Cultural Policy and Cultural Industries in Africa

From Culture as a Commodity to Culture as Praxis

Last Moyo

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"Last Moyo's must-read book reconceptualizes cultural policy and cultural industries for a 'decolonial, but also democratic and cosmopolitan national culture and identity in Africa'. Moyo demonstrates how cultural policy and cultural industries as part of the colonial matrix of the modern empire have served to control the internal imaginings of subject peoples in Africa and abroad. As imperialism transformed into corporate and media globalization, the conversion of culture into imperial power and hegemony only accelerated. Against this history, Last Moyo reconstructs the very concept of cultural policy for an African future, in an environment of globalized 'hyper-techno colonial modernity'. This book is a blueprint for the remaking of African subjectivities and agency. It presents a powerful critique of cultural policy discourses and cultural industries everywhere, but most significantly in postcolonial settings of the Global South."

—John Hartley, *Professor of Digital media and Culture,*
The University of Sydney, Australia

"This is a great and timely contribution on cultural policy and cultural industries in postcolonial societies. Based on richly contextualized case studies from across Africa, Last Moyo makes a bold and powerful statement for the decolonization and transformation of the continent's cultural policy, cultural industries, and societies. He identifies culture as a critical part for the decolonization praxis of the consciousness and identity industries in postcolonial Africa. Moyo draws on a body of cutting-edge literature from critical cultural policy studies, decoloniality studies, and cognate disciplines and displays a strong sense of political and ethical passion in his arguments for transforming cultural industries and society in Africa. This book will contribute immensely to academic projects of de-westernization, decolonization and de-imperialization of cultural policy and media systems in the Global South."

—Chin-Chuan Lee, *Yu Shan Professor of Communication,*
National Chengchi University, Taiwan

"In this great and inspiring contribution, Last Moyo boldly traces the problem of coloniality in cultural policy and cultural industries in postcolonial Africa. Moyo proposes some interesting and well thought interventions for media and cultural decolonization that are informed by social justice and democratic cultural and decolonial citizenship. Written against the grain of global coloniality and institutionalized racism in former settler colonies like South Africa, Zimbabwe, and others, this inspiring and illuminating contribution continues the necessary re-humanisation of the world through the decolonial cultural-turn. Moyo does this with a focus on re-inscribing Africans into a humanizing culture that breaks from the cultural stereotypes of the Western gaze. The book provides robust decolonial scholarship for any cultural theorist or practitioner who is keen on unthinking and undoing coloniality in post-colonial cultural policy, cultural industries, and society."

—Colin Chasi, *Professor of Media and Communication Studies, Director, Unit for Institutional Change and Social Justice, The University of Free State, South Africa*

"This is a great book in which Last Moyo clearly put a lot of hard work. Using several case studies of national attempts to decolonize media industries in postcolonial Africa, Moyo investigates how the continent can achieve cultural freedom in its journey towards complete liberation from empire. Of course, cultural freedom begins with real transformative control over cultural policy and culture industries as critical consciousness resources for post colonies. Moyo reminds us that to rescue media and culture from the transnational order requires overcoming coloniality and the capitalist emphasis on profit-maximization which are also predominant across Africa. Noting the centrality of language in cultural freedoms, Moyo suggests that postcolonial Africa must recapture its indigenous languages and construct new language maps that break away from the colonizer's geo-linguistic modelling of Africa. Re-centering African languages in African media systems and cultural institutions provides one of the most viable methods for the cultural decolonization of the continent and constructing cultural identities that break away from elitist and globalist models."

—Lee Artz, *Professor of Communication and Director Center for Global Studies, Purdue University Northwest*

Last Moyo

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From Culture as a Commodity to Culture as Praxis

palgrave
macmillan

Last Moyo
Media and Communication Studies
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Suzhou, China

Paper in this product is recyclable.

For my loving wife Dr Thandeka Moyo
Fountains of wisdom that surpassed those of the proverbial wise men
A perfect art of nature,
Reflecting God's hand of perfection far above roses and daffodils.
Our love is useless if it doesn't heal our souls,
From everyday pains flowing from the blows of a deceitful world,
And bolster our resolve for justice from our duty against oppression
For my children
Melokuhle, Minenhle, and Lindokuhle
Heartbeats of promise for radiant African futures,
The African past gone with its broken wings and dreams,
Learns to fly again through the wings of its future generations.
Bearers of good tidings of deeper freedoms.

PREFACE

I am extremely happy to have written this book: *Cultural industries and Cultural Policy in Africa: From Culture as a Commodity to Culture as Praxis.* Broadly speaking, the book reflects my journey in terms of my personal life and career as an African intellectual working in the field of media and communication studies. However, my happiness has nothing to do with both. I am happy that as an African I specifically wrote a book for Africa about Africa for an African cultural praxis. Through the prism of African cultural policy and cultural industries, I discuss the potential for African culture to serve as a praxis for the decolonization, democratization, development, and liberation of the continent from the colonial matrices of the modern commercial, metaphysical, and cognitive empire.

While the challenges faced by African cultural industries have certain similarities with those faced by other post colonies in Asia and Latin America, this book was specifically written to stir debate and conversations about cultural policy and cultural industries in Africa: a continent where coloniality has developed a strong inter-generational agency over the drowning voices of freedom and liberation. I hope to provoke debate and dialogue about the role of the 'cultural' in Africa within the broad African intellectual movement comprising academics, policymakers, civil society, cultural activists, feminists, and students.

Indeed, writing a book about African cultural industries has always been my long-standing and enduring ambition. Like any other major goal, that goal was not easy to achieve not only due to the scope and breadth of the work involved, but also due to other unforeseen challenges that lay my way. Many authors can testify that a monograph always requires a degree

of tenacity and fortitude to topple many obstacles lying on a writer's path. That I have succeeded in writing a book that focuses on the reconstitution of the 'cultural' in Africa gives me a deep, immeasurable, and profound feeling of joy and gratification. I am overjoyed and elated to contribute my penny's worth of ideas to how Africa can deal with the challenges of its social and cultural agency, sovereignty, freedom, and self-determination from the perspective of cultural policy, cultural industries, and, by extension, culture itself. Indeed, this is a book for those African intellectuals who still believe in African agency: the belief in the social and historical rootedness of the ideas, ideologies, and identities that must unlock Africa's transformation and development potential.

Writing about Africa has always been either very easy or very difficult. For the most part, as African intellectuals, we have always committed the cardinal sin of choosing the easier approach.

On the one hand, we have all, one way or the other, employed the easy tradition that follows a simple template of Africa as a zone of non-being. For most authors, whether African or non-African, the conventional framing of Africa has tended to be that of non-spaces, non-peoples, non-geographies, non-cultures, and non-histories. In media and communication studies, this active deletion of African spaces, peoples, geographies, and cultures creates the predicament of viewing African media ecologies as non-ontologies, non-systems, and non-spaces. Deleted ontologies produce non-spaces and non-peoples whose existence is only acknowledged as pathological because it fails to meet the (ex)colonizer's standards of humanity, culture, society, knowledge, ethics, policies, and communication and cultural production practices.

Consequently, a whole academic tradition of the wholesale importation and imposition of Western media and cultural theories as finished products that do not in any way represent forms of Western cultural artifacts, but objective scientific universal explanatory categories crystallized and normalized as commonsensical in Africa. Theories crafted in societies that are thousands of kilometers away with radically different social and historical contexts are often uprooted and transplanted on Africa without much cultural translation to frame African cultural industries, cultural processes, and societies. This has produced Whitestream African scholarship that appears robust, but in reality, is a Eurocentric monologue mediating nothing more than the master's voice through the Black mind that is steeped in the colonial archive.

Such theories are then forcibly hammered into African media scholarship and cultural production practices resulting in a sustained culture of puppetry, parrotry, and mimicry that at best only produce case studies in media academy and cultural practices that merely extend the contours of Western liberal-pluralist, critical theory, political economy, and cultural studies approaches. Indeed, the success of the modern metaphysical and cognitive empire has been effected through making African academics and media practitioners living on the oppressed side of colonial modernity think and act as though they lived on the unoppressed side. The empire has been successful in making the oppressed think and do culture from the lens of their oppressors. In the cultural industries, commodification, standardization, and corporatization have become a universal language.

On the other hand, African scholars who are sitting in different disciplines are beginning to embrace a difficult approach of writing about Africa. This approach is difficult because it is neither mainstream nor white-stream. It is fundamentally an exercise of intercultural trans-epistemic dialogue mediated through a radical theoretical language and attitude that is informed by a liberation and decolonization ethic. In media and communication studies, for example, African intellectuals are beginning to transform African media and cultural studies into a pedagogy of liberation and freedom for the colonial/racial subalterns in the continent. The colonial/racial subalterns are those that modernity considers as disposable and discounted peoples existing on the other side of its many lines of abysal, but most fundamentally the color line. The pedagogy of liberation is a pedagogy of the oppressed that is directly motivated by the African structural conditions and socio-historical experiences of long-standing systems of oppression, exploitation, colonization and racialization. A few African scholars are engaging on a nascent, but very difficult journey of learning to unlearn the colonial matrices of Western structuralist and post-structuralist approaches in their academic writing. They are beginning to question and reject the coloniality of knowledge, but in ways that do not throw away the baby with the bath water. They are also learning to critically re-evaluate counterhegemonic knowledges from older African and Global South scholars whose ideas stubbornly continue to resonate with the oppressed despite having been dismissed as polemical and non-scientific in the twentieth century.

In this difficult approach, learning to unlearn is a dialectical process of intellectual transformation through loss and gain. It involves a careful balancing act of epistemic disobedience to the colonial, universalist, and

hegemonic impulses of the Western canon in the field of media and communication studies. It also involves epistemic loyalty to the Western canon's progressive analytical and ethical contributions to the global projects of theory-building and artistic creativity that not only imagine the world in ways that advance social justice and equality, but also non-colonial and non-racist worldviews. This approach is very important because it creates points of convergence that necessitate dialogue as a force for transforming the discipline, culture industries, and wider societies in both the Global North and the Global South.

In short, as African media scholars, we are trying to engage in some form of intellectual revivalism that is hoping to provoke a convivial intercultural dialogue between the sub-field of African media and communication studies and mainstream media and communication studies that has traditionally been centered in Anglo-American explanatory paradigms. In this new approach, young and old African academics are embracing cultural exchange and cultural cross-fertilization between North and South as hallmarks of a true and robust multicultural media and cultural theory. However, they are rejecting the cultural erasure of Africa in the global projects of theory-building and creative practice, and the normalization of hegemonic universalist categories from the West as the locus of enunciation for cultural theory and cultural practice.

The latter approach underpinned most of the thinking on this book which I broadly framed as decolonial cultural policy studies. I have claimed that this approach is difficult because it involves reflexive thinking in which one must navigate the Manichean nature of the colonial archive regardless of whether it's liberal-pluralist or critical-Marxian. It is a revisionist approach that is guided by unlearning the coloniality of Eurocentrism in order to construct a new liberating theory of culture and ontological Africanity, including the rethinking of thinking itself as a way of unthinking the problem of Eurocentrism, coloniality, and racism in African cultural theory and creative cultural production.

Consequently, the reader might observe that *Cultural industries and Cultural Policy in Africa* displays a heightened sense of consciousness about the politics of knowledge production in theorizing African cultural policy, cultural industries, and, by extension, culture itself. The book is a quest for the inoculation of coloniality from African cultural creativity in cultural industries and cultural policy making. It argues against the standardization and universalization of Western codes and conventions of cultural production, particularly those that are germane to capitalism quest to

be the natural order of 'thinking' and 'doing' culture. Decolonizing African cultural industries would be useless if it did not ultimately work to resuscitate African genres and celebrate African ways of storytelling the samilar to how Indian culture haas been a cultural resource for Indian story tellers in Bollywood.

The book begins with a candid acknowledgment of my locus of enunciation as an African media scholar who is cosmopolitan in outlook but writes in support of media/cultural decolonization and cultural freedoms for the African (ex) colonial subject. My social location and epistemic location anchor my thought processes as a decolonial cultural theorist. I write about cultural policy, cultural industries, and culture itself not only as an African, but an (ex) colonized Black male decolonial activist who is part of the collective, but diverse African and Global South struggles working against colonial/racial subalternity and the cultural pathologization of Africans and the other racialized Others.

It is very important to identify myself to the reader because it may not be immediately obvious to others that epistemology and ontology are always intertwined. They are not mutually exclusive. They exist in entanglement in all academic thinking and doing. Unlike in Eurocentric thinking traditions, thinking in decolonial cultural policy studies does not hide its locus of enunciation and its political agenda that is undergirded by liberation and decolonization philosophies of the South.

But what does it mean to study cultural policy, cultural industries, and culture in the twenty-first century in defense of social justice and the equality of cultures as resources for cultural creativity, innovation, and intellectual production?

Since the advent of the unipolar order in the 20th century, culture has often been largely theorized within the Western liberal-pluralist and critical theories of globalization in which global cultural industries and cultural flows are subjected to varying degrees of celebration and criticism. While liberal-pluralist critiques tended to present globalization as technological, structureless, and decentered, critical theories raised interesting questions of cultural commodification, cultural homogenization, cultural alienation, mass culture, consumerism, and the reconfiguration of the role of the state in media and cultural policy.

Nowadays, there appears to be a temporary hiatus in the radical leftist critiques of culture and cultural industries in the West although there are certain key older Western scholars in mainstream cultural policy studies who still write fervently within the critical theory and political economy

traditions in ways that were very inspiring to this book. I used some of the ideas from these scholars as a springboard for my decolonial cultural policy studies project in this book.

There is another sub-field of cultural policy studies that is increasingly employing the concept of global creative economy in which culture is subjected to the economistic doctrines of the global neoliberal trade systems or recast as soft power for the neoliberal state where the state in often reformulated as a passive player in entranching the neoliberal global free market system/order. Apart from being fashionable to policy think tanks and governments in Africa and the West, there is nothing new in this liberal-pluralist approach except that it is part of the colonial library in terms of its unproblematic acceptance of the global cultural order of the modern, capitalist, colonial world system.

In this book, I contend that postcolonial Africa will not be able to unleash the transformative power of its cultural industries and cultures until it produces cultural policies that reflect a deep understanding of how the modern empire uses the three to advance its global hegemonic interests. Immanuel Wallerstein characterized the world system that emerged in the eighteenth century as a modern capitalist world system. This was a simple characterization in which Wallerstein explained how the modern capitalist world system was a centralized system of capitalist exploitation where the center and the periphery were impacted differently economically, socially, politically, and culturally. In the twentieth century, many Black Marxist scholars were inspired by the Wallerstein world systems theory. To Wallerstein's economic analysis, they added more layers of capitalist oppression such as race, gender, and ethnicity. This gave Wallerstein's world systems theory a Third World perspective.

In the twenty-first century, decolonial analysis has further developed a more nuanced analysis of world systems theory which is not classical Marxism in orientation but is largely influenced by some of the ideas from Black Marxist thinkers like William DuBois, Frantz Fanon, Samir Amin and many others. Decoloniality acknowledges the existence of a multiplicity of hierarchies or layers of oppression and domination within the world economic system such as capitalism, racism, gender, spirituality, culture, tribalism, sexism, nationalism, etc. Decolonial thought situates all these within the context of colonial difference in the Global south which is a marker of those who have been condemned as the wretched of the earth and non-beings. In analyzing forms of cultural domination from the center, decolonial thinking understands the significance of the concept of

intersectionality which is key in unmasking the simultaneity of oppression in the postcolony and the need for the simultaneity of resistance among oppressed groups.

To decolonial cultural policy scholars, therefore, the locus for the analysis for African cultures is also based on the understanding that the world system is not only modern and capitalist, but actually neoliberal/imperial/colonial/racial/patriarchal/capitalist/militaristic/Western and Christian-centric. It is a world system that has many layers of oppression where different cultures and civilizations are impacted differently compared to the West. Oppression in the Global South has a colonizing and dehumanizing impulse. This characterization of the oppressive world system in the book is important because it captures the lived experiences of the Africans as the colonial subalterns who exist as non-beings in the exteriority of the modern colonial capitalist world system. As I argue in the book, modernity invented Africans as a colonial subjects or crisis-ridden people with no culture, history, technology, and creativity of note, etc. As such, the solution to this global systemic and historical racism faced by African cultures goes beyond the development of anti-capitalist media and cultural systems that eliminate problems of the commodification and corporatization of culture as suggested by Western critical political economy and critical cultural policy traditions. From the decolonial cultural policy studies perspective, the solution lies in the capacity of Africans to institutionalize the decolonization of culture and media representation practices through policy and to re-invent African cultural industries as transformative institutions that re-center Africanity as the locus of enunciation and identification for all Africans.

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They say that writing is not only a product of the author's inspiration; it also comes from good reading, good conversations, and good company. While writing may appear as a product of solitary moments in quiet spaces, the reality is we write in community. Books are mirrors of what we read, the conversations we have, and the support we receive from good friends who enjoy to see us fly. This book is a product of all the three factors for which I hesitantly take the credit as the author.

First, I would like to thank all the authors of the great books I read from the fields of critical media studies, cultural policy studies, cultural studies, cultural economics, critical political economy studies, and postcolonial and decolonial studies. This book is a product of the treasures of wisdom I mined from some of these academic traditions in books that had gathered dust in my study and in the aisles of various libraries in Africa, Europe, and Asia.

Second, because the seeds of this book were planted and cultivated when I was still at the American University in Nigeria, I would like to thank my friends and colleagues there. I thank professors Bill Hansen, Patrick Fay, Emeka Umejei, Suleimam Suleiman, Mahamadou Sagna, Malacky Okeke, Wasiq Khan, Loveday Gbara, Jeniffer Tyndall, and Ikechukwu Ike.

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INTRODUCTION

Over three decades ago in *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, Ali Mazrui observed that Africa was still at war. This was very ironic because apart from South Africa, the entire continent had been freed from colonialism and imperialism. However, Mazrui was talking about a different kind of war: the cultural war. In his typically unflinching style, he contended that 'Africa [was] at war. It [was] a war of cultures. It [was] a war between indigenous Africa and the forces of Western civilization' (1986, p. 12). Like most of the scholars writing from the epic school which views coloniality and colonial legacies as inevitably imbricated in modern African societies, worldviews, and cultural identities, Ali Mazrui regarded the cultural war as a self-perpetuating neocolonial hegemonic project that has transcended time and space in the post colony. His belief in the power of culture, regardless of culture's very well-known imperfections even at that time, was that beyond giving Africans a sense of symbolic, affective, and socio-political community, culture also had the potential to galvanize the people's revolutionary action to resist neocolonial and imperial domination in the post colony.

This profound belief in the transformative power of culture, currently constitutive of the cultural turn in African decolonial thought in the twenty-first century, is what forms the moral, critical, and epistemic foundations of this book. African cultures are not extraneous to African humanity. They define, situate, and anchor the idea of African personality in space and time.

In their dynamic and evolving nature, African cultures must not be confined to the self-contained and restrictive realms of tangible materiality and economic determinism because they are, more significantly, also about the metaphysical, cosmological, and the spiritual which are ingrained in the human agency and social action of Africans as they struggle to transform their life worlds. Indeed, as part of Africa's intangible cultural resources, the metaphysical, symbolic, and the spiritual recast culture not only as an animating force that awakens a civilization to the power of its collective identities, but also as a rehumanizing force with which to navigate, domesticate, and resist the corrosive aspects of capitalist colonial modernity.

Yet the belief in the transformative power of culture was not exclusive to Ali Mazrui. It was the centerpiece of the decolonization philosophy of the African anti-colonial intellectual movements in the 1970s who believed in the revolutionary power of culture in the nationalist projects of the time. Similarly, despite its obvious weaknesses if taken literally, the metaphor of cultural war was also not exclusive to Mazrui. It had always been a recurring motif in the broader field of African studies, particularly those that focused on colonialism, (neo) colonialism and (neo) imperialism (Cabral, 1973; Fanon, 1964).

Frantz Fanon had used it 22 years earlier when he described the cultural war that was waged by Western empires as part of a colonial hegemonic project for the permanent defeat, control, and enslavement of the African. For Fanon, colonialism was enforced through not just cultural genocide as a concomitant part of colonial wars, but also through the processes of modernization and Westernization where 'the destruction of [African] cultural values and ways of life [were] valorized *and normalized as a natural part of cultural relations under colonial domination*' (1964, p. 33, Emphasis added).

Culturecide, a concept that has been popularized by Chinweizu Ibekwe and Ngugi WaThiongo, both renowned African critics of the modern empire, has become a shorthand not only for the destruction and neutralization of African cultures by global coloniality, but more significantly the decimation of African cultures as value systems and worldviews that are foundational to a whole way of life for African civilizations. Echoing the war metaphor, Ngugi WaThiongo equated the destruction of African cultures to a 'cultural bomb' whose 'effect has been to annihilate a people's belief in their names, languages, cultures... capacities and ultimately in themselves' (1986, p. 3).

Against this backdrop, this book argues that in Africa culture is not a problem of the past, it is a problem of the present and the future. Since

culture simultaneously offers the footprints of a people's existence in time and space and the repositories of their worldviews or world sensing tools, the African cultural problem raises the existential question about the survival of the African civilization across time and space especially in the age where global coloniality is increasingly invisible, seductive, biopolitical, and hyper-technological. As a temporality created by imperial and colonial forces, colonialism as a system was not necessarily the root cause of Africa's cultural destruction. Despite the physical genocide and cultural genocide of indigenous black populations, colonialism must be seen as a temporality that was used to administer racial modernity's necropolitics to effect the collective social death and cultural invisibility of Africans. Colonialism provides us with evidence of Africa's trans-historical cultural death project rooted in racial modernity's invention of Africa and African cultural identities. Put differently racial modernity is the disease. Slavery, colonialism, and neoliberal globalization are symptoms of the problems caused by the neurosis of racial modernity.

Africa's invention in racial modernity and Western imagination in the nineteenth century was always reverted to a dehumanizing colonial discursive formation whose chief aim was to discount African humanity and its cultural identities to protect white guilt over the enslavement and exploitation of the African. Racial modernity gave birth to an idea of a culturally rudimentary and savage African sanctioned by fate to be 'saved' by Europe through civilization, modernization, and the institutionalization of human rights. Of course, these utopic registers were nothing more than ideological justificatory mechanisms for the enslavement, colonization, and disenfranchisement of Africans through the looting and plundering of their resources by Western empires.

This invention and articulation of the continent's humanity and its cultural subjectivities was executed through modernity's paradigm of difference which continues to frame and reproduce the stereotypes of an infantile, barbaric, primitive, and uncivilized African to be saved from himself and his culture. This template of cultural dismemberment of the African continues to be in service of modernity's colonial impulses. It will continue to exist until Europe is able to think in non-colonial terms. Of course, the discounting of African humanity and African cultures is done not just to invent the superiority of the Europeans over Africans, but more importantly to provide moral legitimacy for the oppression and exploitation of the Africans: their bodies, their sweat, their land, their mineral resources, and ironically even their cultures that were stolen and commodified as artwork by colonialists to create profits for Western museums.

The West's invention of Africa has always been, from the outset, informed by a colonial and capitalistic logic that is implemented through the three processes of cultural demonization, domination, and destruction. Thus, the invention and articulation of African humanity has always been a product of the Western cultural gaze. In Europe's cultural modeling of African cultures, Africa is always caught up in a time warp and spatial capsule of inescapable primitivity that is seen as definitive of Africa's zone of nonbeing. In the Western mindset, Africa's zone of nonbeing is defined by darkness, emptiness, and culturelessness. Africa is seen as incompatible with modernization, science, and technology, and represents a putrefying cultural nidus that envelopes the African soul, body, and mind. In Western imagination, even an innocent African child born today is automatically rendered culturally invisible and primitive because of the mere fact that they are born not only into the African space and time, but also a body that is already invented by a paradigm of difference as primitive.

Hence, from an African perspective, modernity did not lead to the birth, but death of the African subject. In the project of racial modernity, African space, time, being, and culture are a collectivity that negates and alienates African humanity rather than affirm and validate it. Coloniality, a trans-historical Eurocentric hegemonic universal about the absolute, but false claim of the superiority of the Occident over Africans and other races, produced a system of modernity that is based on the color line. Hence, from the perspective of decolonial cultural politics, racism, coloniality, Eurocentrism, and capitalism are all a constitutive part of racial modernity as a system that is anchored on the color line.

We cannot think of any one of them outside the other because they exist in some form of entanglement. Thus, the critical and political reference to modernity as racial modernity, colonial modernity, capitalist modernity, and Euro-American modernity is both a way of identifying its modes of domination and the multiple hierarchies that constitute the simultaneity of domination over African civilizations and cultures. In other words, while coloniality is experienced by Africans as somatic and cultural, in reality, it is systemic and global since it is reproduced at racial/cultural/economic/political/ethnic/gender/sexual and geographic levels in ways that mask the intersectionality of the dominance of the African. This renders the cultural domination of the continent a complex issue to unpack because coloniality by the modern empire is pervasive and diffused into every sector of the African social systems.

In the post-Enlightenment period, coloniality has become global and is simultaneously reproduced by both the empire and the African post colonies themselves through the African elites and the postcolonial state who, in terms of global imperial designs, work to implement and maintain the colonizer's socio-economic and cultural model of the continent.

The book argues that although coloniality in postcolonial Africa is still very pervasive and totalizing, it is important to understand it as particularly embedded on the functions of the media and cultural industries where it is normally reproduced subliminally in discourses of being, culture, cultural citizenship, and society by the market and the state. As Foucault (1980) reminded us of discourse many years ago, the power of discourse—any discourse that is exercised through institutions—is that it shapes what can be regarded as knowledge, truth, and reason: 'There can be no exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth' (Ibid., p. 93). Thus, the invention of Africa in the Euro-American modernity (neo) colonial discourses has attained the status of Western commonsense and truth about the continent.

In other words, power in the modern empire works effectively through subjectification, that is, through maximizing 'the productive forces of the subjects it works upon while simultaneously decreasing their political or resistance forces' (Picket, 1996, p. 458). The media and cultural industries constitute that space where coloniality as a discourse is institutionalized, packaged in and through texts, and distributed for African consumption. However, the media and cultural industries are also a space where ideological contestations that make both domination and resistance a possibility. Imperial power often institutionalizes its cultural domination, but so can African resistance by the oppressed.

Yet coloniality is not only embedded in the media and cultural industries as social institutions, but also on the symbolic content they produce which often embodies the interests of the powerful global elite. Coloniality is dormant or actively present in the news, films, soap operas, the arts, paintings, photography, advertising, and even museums and statues as symbols of cartographies of its power in space. Consequently, the media and cultural industries represent a whole institutional and technological infrastructure that ensures the continued reproduction of African cultural inferiority on the one hand, and European cultural superiority, on the other hand.

Yet there is hope for an African renaissance that can deliver African cultural freedoms. Although cultural inferiority is reproduced within national

and global media systems of the empire, their processes of subjectification of the African by imperial power are never a fully complete and perfect project. Since cultural resistance is always a concomitant part of any process of cultural domination, there is always a possibility for revolutionary action by the Africans. That possibility lies in our understanding of how the modern empire reproduces itself in time and space through the function of culture and its other political technologies. The body-politics and geo-politics of the modern empire are not watertight and can never represent a sealed fate for the African cultures. The cracks that exist create immense possibilities for the Africans to subvert the cultural domination.

In view of the above, the chapter discusses how the value of African cultures and national cultural policies can be reclaimed not only to reconstitute the cultural in the continent, but also to decolonize consciousness industries that are strategic in galvanizing Africa's counter hegemonic cultural action. While national cultural policy has in the past been defined in variegated ways by different authors, it is used here primarily as a sociopolitical process by which a progressive postcolonial state unthinks and rethinks the role of culture in constructing the kind of society its people need for their wellbeing. In other words, national cultural policies in Africa must be central in building a deeply decolonial, but also democratic and cosmopolitan national culture and identity.

As such, the book recasts national cultural policy in postcolonial Africa as a broad-based social value system that undergirds the moral philosophy of the totality of the role of the cultural in postcolonial societies, including more significantly, that of the media and cultural industries as consciousness industries. In this vein, the book argues that national cultural policy is indispensable in twenty-first-century Africa's moral and political projects of not only decolonizing society, but also creating conscious decolonial citizens who are able to see through the invisible entanglements of interests between the postcolonial state and the global empire. Hence, the book also frames cultural policy as a critical intervention in the decolonization and transformation of African societies, the media, and cultural industries. As other scholars have reminded us, 'getting to know cultural policy and intervening in it is an important part of participating in cultures *as a source of our social bonds and a source of contradictions that move society forward*' (Miller & Yudice, 2002, p. 34, Emphasis added). Cultural policy, ultimately, ought to be about the moral authority of the people's culture to found society, to be different, to regenerate the self, to transcend societal limitations, and to question the excesses of the powerful through the freedoms and

responsibilities it has accorded to its artists, the film makers, the sculptors, the painters, the journalists, everyday creatives, and the citizen.

While the book does not claim that cultural policy can be a source of revolutionary action in decolonization processes, I believe that the function of cultural policy in post colonies can be better understood as that of raising political consciousness about how global coloniality has permeated Africa's life worlds and the need for popular cultural resistance against the bourgeoisie classes and their institutions that advance the colonial matrices of the modern metaphysical empire. Its task in the postcolony is that of awakening the masses without which the risk of becoming the cultural dupes of thecommercial and cognitive empire is high.

As public policy, national cultural policy has a potential to deepen the most ideal normative value systems about the role of the media industries and cultural industries in African societies because ultimately, national cultural policy is not necessarily about government action, but the power we give to our national cultures in shaping our media and cultural industries: what we 'broadcast, [what] languages can be spoken, customs practiced, how we educate our children and treat our elders, how we relate to our diversity as a nation and to the rest of the world' (Adams & Goldbard, 1993, p. 231). In other words, the value of cultural policy is that it has a constitutive and regulatory role on the kind of cultural industries and postcolonial societies we need. The only predicament, it seems to me, is that reclaiming the power of both culture and cultural policies is a daunting task to the African elite who for the greater part of the continent, have lost touch with the cultural aspirations of ordinary people in compliance with the global cultural policy goals and benchmarks prescribed by neocolonial supranational bodies.

In that sense, the book uses the term postcolonial not to imply the end of colonial domination in Africa. The term must be understood in the Gramscian sense of the ending of direct dominant colonial rule as epitomized by the previous existence of colonial administrative structures in Africa. In this case, the concept points to the rise of the hegemonic-absent (i.e., coloniality) over the dominant-present (i.e., direct colonialism). According to Jones (2006, p. 17), Gramsci generally viewed hegemony as 'the ability of the ruling power's values to live in the minds and the lives of its subalterns as a spontaneous expression of their own interests'. Hegemony doesn't require the everyday presence of the colonizer. It thrives through the invisibility of the colonizer.

Unlike ideology that paints a predictable and linear understanding of the relationship between the former colonial power and the post colony,

hegemony is really more about newer forms of social domination that are complex, subtle, fluid, invisible, and ingrained in the DNA of the (post) colonial subject. It is domination that is 'consented' to where consent means that the ordinary people in the continent begin to see coloniality as natural and commonsensical and willingly and actively participate in their domination. In line with this, Salmon's (1991) characterization of the postcolonial might also prove useful. He advises that the 'postcolonial' must not be used synonymously with 'post-independence', but to refer to '…the moment that the colonial power inscribes itself onto the body and space of its 'Others' and which continues as an often-occulted tradition' (Ibid., p. 3).

Global Creative Economy and African Culture in the Twenty-First Century

The cultural question has been a long-standing historical concern for African countries due to the historical experiences of slavery, imperialism, and colonialism. As is commonly known, these concerns were mostly ventilated under the auspices of the *Organization of African Unity* (OAU) and the *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization* (UNESCO). Like land that defines the spatial existence of all human communities, Africans regarded culture as directly tied their existence in time and space. Through symbols, it provided footprints of African existence as a counter narrative to the negative invention of Africans in Western modernity.

From the Pan-African Cultural Manifesto (1969) to the Declaration of the Cultural Aspects of the Lagos Plan of Action (1985), Africans pivoted the African personality and struggle, the African people's past, present, and future *on culture*. The Cultural Charter on Africa (1976), a foundational cultural decolonization document, believed that in order to survive across space and time, the continent needed to defend its 'traditions, languages, ways of life and thought' and those 'set of cultural values which reflect its distinctive character and personality' (1976, p. 1). In the spirit of Pan-Africanism, an ideology that imputes a common destiny for Africans based on their colonial historical experiences, the Charter further noted that: 'Under colonial domination, the African countries found themselves in the same political, economic, social and cultural situation; that cultural domination led to the depersonalization of part of the African peoples, falsified their history, systematically disparaged and combated African values, and tried to replace progressively and officially, their languages by that of the colonizer' (Ibid., pp. 1–2). It ominously, also highlighted that 'colonization had encouraged the formation of an elite which is too often

alienated from its culture and susceptible to assimilation and that a serious gap has been opened between the said elite and the African popular masses' (pp. 1–2).

Many other successive Charters and Declarations on the question of culture in Africa at the time, demonstrate visionary leadership from the African nationalists of the 1970s and 1980s. However, this kind of revolutionary leadership that believed in the virtues of the cultural resistance struggles slowly fizzled out with the advent of a unipolar order. The new crop of leadership particularly post- 1990s is somewhat lukewarm or misguided about the value of cultural struggle.

Pan-African cultural struggle has increasingly become a porous and futile concept. The New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) debates characteristic of the 1970s and 1980s have slowly disappeared particularly after the withdrawal of the USA and UK from UNESCO. Consequently, lack of funding adversely impacted the role of UNESCO in being the voice of Third World countries.

The end of the OAU in 1999 also negatively impacted its programs on decolonizing culture which were conceptualized as an intrinsic part of political struggle for self-determination. Gradually, African countries were slowly subsumed into the doctrine of the global creative economy, a post-industrial information society ideology driven by imperialistic policies where culture is recast as a commodity within the neoliberal trade systems of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and other Western centric bodies.

The economistic perspective on culture has gained more impetus in the twenty-first century. Across the world, culture is now commonly viewed as a saleable good or commodity. Culture is now firmly located within the realm of the global creative economy: a concept that the global south considers a capitalist, modern, neoliberal trope that shows how global capitalism is industrializing and colonizing culture to extract mega profits particularly for Western creative industries and artists. Culture is increasingly reduced to the creative production of cultural goods and services that are produced for consumption and profits. It has been reduced to individual talent to innovate, create, and sell in a global economic system where copyright and intellectual property guarantee profits for the individual artist and the corporates.

Between culture and everyday people now stands the individual artist and the creative industries. Culture has been reduced to art that is realized through the capitalist processes of ideation, creation, production, standardization, distribution, and mass consumption. For example, according to a recent Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) report, 'creative industries