Article

Decolonizing Racialized Media Scripts in the Global South: Analysis of Sports News Reports From the Philippines and Tweets From Kenyans

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Abstract: In a postcolonial Global South context, representations of race persist manifested through media scripts that subtly deploy White ideological frames. According to Stuart Hall (1990), media deliberately or subconsciously constructs race in a way that reproduces ideologies of racism. Media scripts that deploy White ideological frames are, according to Shawa (2019, 89), "leaving intact the legacies of colonialist world view that is perpetuating a racist discourse within the Global South itself". On the one hand, 'Blacks' tend to be inscribed with assumptions around their physical attributes and athleticism while on the other, persons of South Asian descent are essentialized on certain 'fantasized' imaginations (Adam 2015). Informed by a qualitative content analysis of media texts from the Philippines and Kenya, this paper illustrates the perpetuating legacies of colonial mentalities grounded in the civilizing sporting projects of Western imperialism. The paper calls for praxis on decoloniality by reifying the Spirit of Bandung as a broad epistemic concept in offering an opportunity in filling the blind spot for multivalent Afro-Asian epistemic linkages in a new globalist remapping of decoloniality in the Global South.

Keywords: decoloniality, epistemes, intercultural translation, sports media, Twitter, Global South

I. Introduction

Racialized ideologies in the Global South manifest the transnational process of racism centered in questions of 'who travels, what travels, and how transnational connections are made' to particular geographies and economies (Kamari and Thomas 2006). Sport is a site that unravels the transnational nature of racism where 'Blackness' and 'Indianess' become manifest in media scripts and online dialogues in the form of subtle racial enthymemes, which similar with overt racism, explains and legitimizes discriminatory and exclusionary types of behavior or speech.

The realm of sports in the Global South is characterized by lingering legacies of Western-centric colonial ideologies. From a decolonial lens, sports extend Lipsitz's (1998) argument that racism is a pervasive and possessive investment in 'whiteness'. These are manifest in the form of a sub-conscious power, a metaphysical empire (Thiong'o 2009), or the cognitive empire (de Sousa Santos 2018), that unfolds by invading the *mentalities* of colonized people. Elias (1993) considers modern sport as one form of expression that reflects the sub-conscious power of Western colonialism characterized by self-pacification and declining violence (against the colonizer). Various scholars indeed note that civilizing project of Western sports to condition and subdue the colonized subject to the former's norms and behavioral patterns (Hubner 2015; Stoddart 1988). The organization of Western sports in the colonies also reinforced a racialized hierarchical order "where the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production" (Gramsci 1971, 12). The successful transfer of cultural power through sports, Stoddart (1988) argues, rests in the ability of the imperial system to have its main social tenets accepted by the bulk of the population, while at the same time enhance the social distance between the ruler and the ruled. Colonialism and coloniality, according to Bojadžijev (2016, 2237), are in effect "nightmares of history that carry along sedimented forms of racism".

In a post-colonial context, the expression of raciality operates through imagined hyper-visible figures from within local cultural narratives and in geopolitical contexts, and works through different articulations. For example, 'the Black', 'the Muslim', and 'the Migrant' have become imagined figures that reactivate and rearticulate racial conventions and contentions "by giving way to an informalized social ordering and management that exceeds former formal technologies of [colonial] state management of racist invocation" (2238). The digital sphere unravels these racialized expressions in intersections of biopolitics, ethnicity and neo-racism, the latter in reference to culture-based exclusion and color-blindness which perpetuates historical constructions of race and racialization (Balibar 2007; Bonilla-Silva 2010).

This paper situates the production of media texts in the digital age that reflect imperial *mentalities* reproduced as metaphors manifested in a playful *collage* of *jouissance* (enjoyment) (Cisneros and Nakayama 2015). Racialized metaphors, Carstarphen (1999) argues, renders an author's assertions about race remaining "invisible and naturalized" (Rodriguez 2020, 3). A qualitative content analysis of media texts from the Philippines, and analysis of tweets from Kenyans¹, unravels the perpetuating legacies of colonial ideologies in the Global South by "leaving intact the legacies of colonialist world view that is perpetuating a racist discourse within the Global South itself" (Shawa 2019, 89). Racal expressions in the digital age affirms the argument of postcolonial scholars on the transnational nature of racism which extends the contradictions in the entwined histories of Blacks and Indians where shared moments of common struggles, including the mutual fight against colonialism, also "seethes with conflict that reveal how race reverberates throughout the modern world" (Shankar 2021, 1). The recommendation is the adoption of the *Spirit of Bandung* as a broad epistemic concept in filling the blind spot for multivalent Afro-Asian epistemic linkages in a new globalist remapping of decoloniality in the Global South.

II. Background

A. The White Gaze on Black Bodies in Philippine Collegiate Basketball

In the context of the internationalization of higher education, students from Africa have become a key feature in Philippine collegiate sports, notably in basketball. Trends in globalization have transformed modern sports in part marked by the commodification of (athletic) labor and the resultant scouting for sporting talents from around the world (Agozino 1996). The organization of collegiate basketball in the Philippines is significantly structured by capital, and akin to American college sports, necessitates recruiting athletics talents to bring fortune and fame to the school and community (Hawkins, 2010). According to McDonald (2005, 248), the commodification of athletes in the sports-industry nexus however provides "sanitized snapshots that promote integration without equality, representation without power, [and] presence without the confirming possibility of emancipation". A thematic construction of media representation of African student athletes in Philippine collegiate basketball (Rehal 2020) reveals certain unsanitary [racialized] scripts as illustrated next:

1. African Brawn (Agence France-Presse 2017; emphasis added in bold):

"He's a big (forward) who can run, **he's fast, he's agile, physically strong and mentally he's sharp**, and he has a good attitude," [Ben Mbala's DLSU] coach, Aldin Ayo, told AFP.

2. The Brute (Sarmenta 2016; emphasis added in bold):

¹ The context of Kenya is made in reference to tweets from Kenyans following the outcome of a football event held in India hence the reference to the latter in the title.

Over the last decade, **tall and beefy** players mostly from Africa, have enrolled as student-athletes to boost line-ups in need of a dominating center or power forward.

The **size and dominance** of the Africans in our college game is **jarring** for those accustomed to watching **graceful**, **high-flying and sharp shooting** Filipino players.

3. Low Intellect (Sarmenta 2016; emphasis added in bold):

Some players begin with **very limited basketball know-how** and end up being **schooled by patient Filipino coaches.** They improve and sharpen skills **beyond snaring rebounds or clogging the lane.**

4. From the Jungle (Mendoza 2016; emphasis added in bold):

The Archers did not **spear** Mbala in Africa. No. They **snared** him in Cebu, where he was enrolled in a university there.

The textual violence exhibited against Black athletic students in Philippine sport media scripts is reflective of what Phiri (2020) notes is a construction of Blacks in certain long-held White ideologies. According to Guzzio (2005), the White gaze essentially orients around rhetoric of the "animalistic" representations of the black male body that have "long been the site of white fascination, consumption, and fear" (223-224). This speaks of centuries of colonial history and the positioning of the non-White body vis-à-vis the colonizer's body as the "other" (Rehal 2021). The case of media depiction of Black student athletics in Philippine collegiate sports departs from Fanon's (1967) illustration of the Black man becoming an object of voyeurism and an object to be looked at and interpolated into a system of representations. According to Fanon, the White gaze depicts a form of anti-Black racism which views the Black body into an object "in the midst of other objects" (109). Reduced to an object, the Black person's darkness became historicized based on a racial epidermal schema residing within the purview of the White gaze. Fanon's racial epidermal schema translates into a racial muscular schema in Filipino sport media narratives on African student athletes which reinforces a Western imperialist racist ideology that seems to profess specific kinds of essentialized meanings on athletic Black students. A decolonial reading requires grounding of such constructions.

American imperialism, Gems (2016) argues, sought to promote social control, American values, the Protestant virtues, masculinity, and a uniform nationalism through sport on a Filipino population that it viewed as "ethnically fragmented, effeminate, indolent, and disorderly" (108). The introduction of physical education in the school program, according to Antolihao (2009, 62), was meant to affirm the

colonial American racial ideology² in projecting the Filipinos as a "weak race." In this regard, Kramer (2006, 2) contends, the distinctive bodily attributes of the locals (Filipinos) became an integral aspect of the "racial politics of [the American] empire". Despite evidence of resistance to such a civilizing project, notably in the endurance of indigenous Filipino cockfighting as a symbol of "nationalism and resistance to American dictates" (Gems 2016, 146), the cultural consumption of American pop-culture has nonetheless prevailed notably that of American professional basketball or what Antolihao (2012) metaphorically terms the 'Hollywoodization of hoops' in reference to the globalization and mediatization of American popular culture.

In the post-colonial Philippine context, the commercialization of collegiate sport is reflexive of Hawkins' (2010, 85) reference to 'The New Plantation', an "economic analogy of the [slavery] plantation system and intercollegiate athletics". This new plantation is a field dominated by Rhoden's (2006) metaphoric reference to the 'Forty Million Dollar Slaves' in which capital accumulates in predominantly non-black institutions to tap the athletic talents of Black athletes in a relationship that does not correlate with the equal power relationship reminiscent of the eighteenth century slave plantations. In this cultural enterprise, Philippine sports media scripts inadvertently use languages (and epistemes) of Western (American) media culture which Jackson (2006) notes are infused with 'normalized' stereotypical meanings that perpetuate certain racial ideologies especially among Black athletes. For instance, Sung (2010) illustrates how the National Basketball Association (NBA) perpetuates the image of a hypermasculine Black athlete as aggressive, violent, animalistic, and misogynistic. It is in this regard that bell hooks (1992, 22) argues that "within commodity culture [including mediatized sports], ethnicity [or race] becomes spice, seasoning that can liven up the dull dish that is mainstream [White] culture". In adopting a similar language of the American NBA, media scripts in the Philippines inadvertently export a universalism on Black sporting bodies inherent in American popular culture and its ideologies. Sport media scripts in the Philippines come to therefore extend imagined figures through stereotypes of Africans on a race-logic by subtly employing a colonial master script as "paths for interpreting information" (Bonilla-Silva 2003, 26). The White gaze, Yancy (2008, xv) argues, therefore provides the language and conceptual frame exploring "the Black body within the context of whiteness".

B. A Jouissance of Tweets following Kenya's National Soccer Team's loss to India

The title of Sharma's (2018) article entitled *Hilarious Tweets From Kenyans* Flood Twitter After Their 3-0 Loss to India, revealed a playful collage of tweets

² The US' imperial occupation of the Philippines in 1898 (Bautista 2008),like the Spanish before them, installed a racist social arrangement that reinforced the alienation of Filipinos (Ngozi-Brown 1997).

following Kenya's two losses to India during the 2018 Intercontinental soccer tournament held in Mumbai (Sharma 2018; Opiyo 2018). Some of these tweets are illustrated next:

Maina nani aliroga [Maina, who bewitched us?] Harambee Stars³, we lose to India in football!? Kama ingekuwa [if it was] Cricket sawa [it's OK] but football, we need to disband this team.

You know you are crap when you lose to of all teams India as in India???? Harambee stars should step aside as well.

Aaaaiii, was it cricket or soccer? Apana [No]. India beating harambee stars 3 nil. It was better to send starlets [Kenya female national soccer team]. Or maybe they were suffering from stomach problem after taking a lot of *rotii*.

Pwehehe... Acha tu nicheke [Ha ha ha ha.. let me just laugh it off] they are beaten by India cricket team??? This is the main reason I don't waste my time watching boring Kenya football team. I thought charoz⁴ only played Cricket!?!

So sad that *Harambee Stars* were hammered by India in both legs considering India know nothing about football. Cricket is their game.

Mlitaka tufunge wahindi jana mngetupea kazi leo wakishatufuta [you wanted us to beat the Indians yesterday then you would have given us work today after they have

³ *Harambee Stars* refers to the moniker of the Kenya national senior men's soccer team. The term 'Harambee' reflects the national motto of *Collective effort/pulling together* as inspired by the first president of the country, Jomo Kenyatta, in a speech made on 1st June, 1963 on the occasion of Madaraka Day (Republic Day) (Owiti 2014). Debate has however raged on the etymology of the term, with some, without empirical fact, alleging it being of Indian origin in reference to praising a Hindu goddess, *Ambe*, by Indian indentured laborers who worked on the Kenya-Uganda railways in the 1900s (Psimoi 2018), while sociolinguists attribute it to the indigenous Miji Kenda community along the Kenyan coast who use the term *Halumbe* in the same essence as Kenyatta did (Lodhi 2000). in the Kenya, including a petition sent to the Kenyan Senate

⁴ Derogatory slang in reference to *Indians*. According to Urbandictionary.com, a similar term used in South Africa is *Charou* derived from two terms; *cha* (Indian tea) and *ou* (Afrikaans for person). Available at https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=charou

sacked us from the jobs]. My friend somethings you don't need to go to school to learn; common sense, daddy.

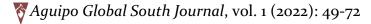
No! Our national team was ass-whipped by the Indians twice within a week in a football match. The same Indians who asswhip their employees here in Kenya in their 'business'.

Kenya played a football match and lost 2-0 to India? I don't care what level of player Kenya fielded but you lost a match to India?

Harambee Stars losing to India whose main economic activity is dancing.

India's victories over Kenya during the soccer tournament rekindled the discourse on the *Asian Question*⁵ that problematize, homogenize and essentialize ethnic and racial minorities. Tweets brought to the surface cultural logics of race in the digital space grounded in a colonial-entrenched resentment against people of Indian descent⁶ among Black Kenyans. Decolonial scholars acknowledge that the digital space has become an important, if not the most important, sites of knowledge production in the 21st century which may unwittingly reproduce legacies of racism embedded in systemic Eurocentrism (McPherson 2012). It mattered less that going into the tournament, India was ranked higher than Kenya at 97th place worldwide whereas the latter was ranked 112th (Wigmore 2018). In contrast to Kenya, India also has a credible footballing history (Dimeo and Mills 2001)⁷. Thus, the new cultural

⁷ India has participated in three Olympics football events-1948 London Olympics, 1952 Helsinki Games, and the 1956 Melbourne Olympics where they beat Australia 4 goals to 2 and finished 4th overall (Dimeo and Mills 2001). India also won gold at the 1951 Asian Games winner and bronze in the 1970 Asian Games held in Thailand (Dimeo and Mills 2001). India has also participated in four editions of the Asia Cup, the second oldest football competition in the world, notably in 1964, 1984, 2011 and 2019. India also qualified for the 1950 World Cup in Brazil but "a lack of foreign exchange,



⁵ During the colonial era in then Kenya Colony, the 'Indian Question' was primarily centered on concerns over Indians ability to question "the hitherto unquestioned superiority of the white man and his claim to domination and for political equality of the races, not only in India but in overseas dominions where Indians were to be found" (Rice 1923, 261). In post-independent Kenya, this 'question' was reintroduced as the Asian Question on the controversy on the role of Indian capitalists in accumulation and development in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania (Himbara 1997). Mamdani (2007) contends, the Asian Question arises for those living in urban and peri-urban areas looking to join commerce and has to do with the crowding of the marketplace by immigrant traders of Indian descent often entitled as 'investors', about unfair competition and unequal access to officially sanctioned resources and connections.

⁶ People of Indian descent in Kenya are collectively termed 'Indians' or 'Asians' without distinguishing differences in their ethnic, religious or nationalities including Pakstanis, and Bangladeshis (Aiyar 2011).

logics of race evidenced by the collage of *hilarious* tweets come to affirm Adam's (2015, 400) argument of persons of south Asian descent is persistently perceived in a "depreciative and unfriendly image to a certain number of Africans" grounded in a colonial legacy of the British in East Africa.

The presence of Indians in Kenya, and in the larger East African region, has a long pre-colonial history around trading activities in the Indian Ocean rim (Adam 2015; Aiyar 2011). However, Britain's colonization of the Indian subcontinent was followed by sending indentured Indian labor aid in the establishment and consolidation of imperial power in the newly established Kenyan colony (Mangat 1969). Colonial East Africa, as in other Western colonies, was racially stratified with the Whites constituting the upper class, the Indians in the middle class, and the Africans at the bottom class (Aiyar 2011). The quest for equal land rights in the Kenya colony by Indians, in lieu of formal recognition of their contribution to the war effort during World War 1 (Greenwood and Topiwala 2016), was overtly resisted. To counter the Indian's agitation for equality, they inadvertently became constructed as unwanted and threatening (Aiyar 2011). Fearing a potential Indian-African political alliance, the British colonialists propagated a view that Indians were the merciless exploiters of the African. Bharati (1972) aptly captures White expatriates' perceptions of Indians as follows:

> Sneaky, mistrustful, people who tend to stick to each other and do not mix with others, ... they are clannish, they monopolize trade within their fold, they are not trustworthy in business nor in social matters. (170)

The British colonial policy of divide and rule, Siundu (2011, 127) argues, had the effect of entrenching certain dissonances "that have continued to work against any sustainable integration involving both African and Asian communities in Kenya". This was also reflected in the field of sports which, like the rest of colonial society, was racially organized and classed (Gikandi 1996; Chepyator-Thomson 1993). Games popular in England were transplanted in its colonies and mostly used in schools on "the aspect of co-operation and teamwork which could be learned from the playing field and transferred to the classroom as if these had not been typical features of many traditional African societies" (Mählmann 1988, 160). Through sports like soccer, Black Africans became engendered based on a colonial rhetoric of masculinity, health and Christian self-discipline (Clayton 1987). Soccer had created such a big impact on Africans that an annual report by the Department of Education in 1931 exclaimed that "Football and Christianity may save Africa (!)"

the long sea journey and the problem of barefooted players forced India to pull out of this tournament" (Dimeo and Mills 2001, 24). In the new Millennium, India hosted a mega football event notably the FIFA under 17 World Cup in 2017 and is playing host to the under 17 Women's World Cup in 2021 (Reevell 2014; Venkat 2020).

(Kenya Colony and Protectorate 1932, 74). Soccer remained a popular sport among Africans post-independence "where the game found an enthusiastic indigenous people of mostly Luhya, Luo and Miji Kenda origins who quickly turned the sport into their own" (Njororai 2009, 879). Mählmann (1988, 161) notes that while African played soccer "with creditably high standard, Indian boys did the same with cricket." This cultural logic of race has remained relatively the same post-independence.

The racial categorization of people during British colonialism in Kenya, Ghai and Ghai (1970, 5-6) argue, had the effect of strengthening prejudice in that "not only did it produce segregation and exclusiveness, but it also produced stereotypes so that the behavior of a few offending members served to condemn the entire community, the traits of a few being ascribed to all". By becoming the individuals who put colonial exploitative policies into effect, Indians inevitably came to take the blame among Africans for the exploitative colonial system (Ocaya-Lakidi 1975) or as Nazareth's (1972, 45-46) contends that "it is the one who deals directly with the African who is hated most". In this regard, one may concur with Adam (2015) that among some Africans, a simplistic and globalizing view of 'Indians' brings out a depreciative and unfriendly image. It is thus the argument of Furedi (1974) that the attitudes of Western colonialists must have had some influence on African opinion on Indians in the post-colonial era.

III. Discussion

A. Colonially Entrenched Racist Epistemes in Sports in the Global South

Sport generally has some inherent property that makes it a possible instrument of integration and harmonious race relations. However, Jarvie and Reid (1997) note that sport is also inherently conservative and helps to consolidate patriotism, nationalism, and racism. As a form of cultural politics, the process of colonialism and imperialism in different parts of the world lead to the production of stereotypes, prejudices and myths about ethnic minority groups which have contributed to both discrimination against, and an under-representation of ethnic minority peoples within certain sports (Jarvie and Reid 1997). Racism in sport, Houdek (2018) argues, function as the enthymematic and unconscious means of rhetorical production of pre-rhetorical structures which is both historically derived and relational in character that manifests contingently in and in response to situated moments of discursive tension. These *mentalities*, Adam (2015, 402) notes, risk problematizing people of certain minorities grounded on the perpetuation of "a fantasized ignorance".

Narratives in sport, Clevenger (2017) argues, remain wedded as historically Western-centric and subsequently a universal phenomenon which in effect comes to colonize, conceptually and epistemologically, sporting discourses. This is best

illustrated by the Olympics Games where its globalized nature binds nations to a status hierarchy dominated by Western counties, and by rankings in semblance of Wallerstein's core, semi-periphery and peripheral order (Bottenburg and Wilterdink 2014). Bale and Sang (1994, 220) contend that "it is no longer tenable to attribute national success in international sport to national sports systems alone; instead we need to take into account an international or global sports system, which shares several characteristics with the world political and economic system."

Decoloniality seeks understanding of what Quijano (2007, 169) argues is "the imposition of the colonizer's systems and forms of knowing". Paraphrasing Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013a; 2013b), one can think of decoloniality cascading from the context in which the humanity of people of minority races are doubted and their subjectivity is articulated in terms of lacks and deficits. In the context of the Philippines, for instance, racial scripting of Black African student athletes manifest in moments of discursive tensions. Discourses in public debates argue that these African student athletes have hindered the development of home-based local players and to the overall development of basketball in collegiate competitions (Verora 2018). Media scripts of Blackness in Philippines collegiate sport are metaphors which conceal the complexities of identities, nationalism and masculinity through practices that Rodriguez (2020) notes is discussing race without defining it. Richards (1950) notes that "all language is metaphoric" (92-99) and hence even without using the term race, authors can make metaphoric racialized claims about particular identities. The specific ideology propagating the conception of Black bodies in Philippine collegiate sport are multifaceted. The 'othering' of Black sporting bodies are intertwined in the politics of Filipino nationalism that intersects with gender (hypermasculinity) and the neo-liberal commercialization of the game (Rehal 2021; 2020). These othering practices centers Africa as a counterculture of modernity (Goyal 2014; Gilroy 1993) in which the influx of African athletes fits the grand narrative of 'escaping poverty' and "in gaining from the advanced and modern level of basketball in the Philippines" (Rehal 2020, 146). These ideologies extend Gilroy's (1993) concept of the 'Black Atlantic' "by redefining and pushing the boundaries of blackness in the Philippines and in centering the significance of sports alongside race in accounts of nation and diaspora" (Rehal 2020, 146).

Despite the acknowledgement of relationship-oriented virtue ethics, racialized scripts risk persisting as 'anthroporacial', which according to Goldberg (2015, 81), refers to the denial of the racial, which "like the undead, it amounts to racisms without racism". Filipino sport media journalists, and the consuming sporting public, can in turn draw on various Filipino epistemes and ethics as frames to delink from Western-centric ideologies which tend to racially script Black Africans. As Clevenger (2017) argues, decoloniality in sports communication can hopefully provide the appropriate terms, grammar and modes of representation so that discourses of once-colonized subjects do not reproduce the knowledge forms and underlying assumptions of Euro-American-centric ideologies. The *Spirit of*

Bandung offers one such pursuit in filling the blind spot for multivalent Afro-Asian epistemic linkages in a new globalist remapping of decoloniality in the Global South.

B. Unshackling the Cognitive Empire inspired by the Spirit of Bandung

The Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, Indonesia in 1955 was a turning point in the emergence of the Global South solidarity movement. It also ushered in a pivotal moment in the collective quest by the Global South to politically liberate themselves from Western colonialism and reforge the international order on more inclusive and emancipatory foundations (Hongoh 2016). The *Spirit of Bandung* departs from the political pragmatism of the 1955 Bandung Conference⁸ in its pursuit of uniting "the world of people of color" (Mignolo 2014, 27) along common roots in resisting colonialism despite variations in ideologies including socialism and liberalism. Narrow nationalists tendencies by Asians and Africans, Romulo (1956, 113) warned, "leaves us powerless to meet the more serious one" and thus inimical to their respective development.

The Philippines', in recognition of its own colonial history, reflects some ambiguity in the *Spirt of Banding* given its historic dalliance with its former colonial master, the Americans. However, according to Solar and Poblete (2015, 1355), this is an innovative approach which does not transgress the *Bandung Spirit* per se, but offers a balancing act "as a means by which the state adjusts or adapts to the evolving environment while preserving its national individuality". The balancing act by the Philippines, Solar and Poblete (2015, 143) contend, "is not an irreverence of the Bandung Spirit but an adaptation of it". The same logic applies in adopting pluriverse Global South epistemologies that may strengthen Afro-Asian solidarity without losing their authentic essence. The decolonial turn in the *Spirit of Bandung* thus requires a form of translatability of epistemologies which acknowledges differences and seeks the motivation to deal with such differences by employing praxis on critical humanism.

Critical humanism refers to world views that are "organized, disorganized and "ultimately transformed by human beings" (Plummer 2021, 20). The critical task, in Said's (2003) argument, is offering resistance against inhuman practices and injustices "that disfigure human history". The critical humanism in the *Banding Spirit* may not necessarily propagate color-blind politics of non-racialism, but rather

⁸ The 1955 Afro-Asian Conference held in Bandung, Indonesia was organized to discuss the role of countries from the Global South in the geo-politics and coloniality of the Cold War, economic development, and decolonization. Wright (1956) sums the Conference as a place where "the despised, the insulted, the hurt, the dispossessed-in short, the underdogs of the human race were meeting...This meeting of the rejected was itself a kind of judgment upon the Western world" (12). Inspired by the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) the outcome of the Conference led to the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in 1961.

what Shankar (2021, 52) argues is a critical racism in which Black/Asiatic racial knowledge is deliberately promoted through "mythical historical epistemologies of ancient migrations, mixing, and millennialism". Reference can be made to the literal works of Fanon (1967) who provides the anti-colonial impulse, and Nandy (1983) on decolonial sensibility that "enlivens the spirit of Bandung that proselytizes logic of solidarity otherwise to the postcolonial condition" (Shilliam 2016, 433). In as much as Fanon and Nandy emanate from different positions and engage different hinterlands differentially situated towards colonial rule, they both nonetheless cultivate different ethos-the chants of Africa-Zion and epics of India respectively, to dismantle the colonial architecture and redeem a space for living otherwise (Shilliam 2016).

A critical race consciousness in the fusion of pluriverse Global South episteme would allow for a redefinition of 'Blackness' and 'Indianness' not only in opposition to Whiteness per se, but affirmatively as critical humanism (Shankar 2021). In this regard, the *Spirit of Bandung* requires bringing back into the domain different displaced Global South knowledges or what Connell (2015, 2) terms as a "mosaic epistemology" which may help bridge ecosystems "that are rarely in dialogue with each other, often because they are unable or unwilling to speak past national and linguistic barriers" (Abou-El-Fadl et al. 2018, 181). I illustrate these in reference to *Ubuntu, Ujamaa, Satyagraha*, and *Pagkakaisa/Bayahinan/Malasakit*.

Ubuntu refers to an African philosophy synonym to the African way of life that preaches togetherness and unity among people. Omodan (2020) notes that this philosophy is indigenous to Africans since its draws from idioms such as 'Motho ke motho ka batho' and 'Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu' ('A person is a person through others' or 'I am because we are') (Goduka 2000; Lefa 2015; Arthur et al. 2015). The episteme of *Ubuntuism* allows for agency to be projected through acts of honesty, love, cooperation, openness, and "collaborative-ness" (Omodan 2019; Tsotetsi and Omodan 2020). A decolonial turn in Ubuntu departs from Omodan's (2020) argument that this is "achievable with the implementation of the principles of Ubuntu as a transformational agenda that derived its beauty from oneness, love, and unity in diversities" (316). Such an agenda, Omodan (316) notes, ensures internal and external reconciliation among people, which automatically prevent disagreement...". Complimentary to Ubuntu is Nyerere's (1967) Ujamaa, in reference to a co-operative and collective advancement rationalized on every individual's existence (being) under the guiding principles of freedom, equality and unity (Ibhawoh and Dibua 2003). These African philosophies share values similar with Asian ones including the Gandhian philosophy of Satyagraha (non-violence) and Paqkakaisa/Bayahinan/Malasakit in the Philippines.

According to Adjei (2007), *Satyagraha*, derived from the Sanskrit terms, *satya* meaning Truth, and *agraha* meaning firmness (Gandhi 1993), similar to *Ubuntu*, centers on love (compassion) and humanity. Nelson (1975) argues that Gandhi's

Satyagraha is less threatening to oppressors who instead should feel safe against their deeds because the latter are peaceful and are non-violent. Gandhi's message of *Truth* and *Love*, Kumar (2019) argues, finds greater relevance in scenarios in which awareness of the structure and organization of power including the control of intersubjectivity as evidenced by Euro-American-centricism. Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of *Satyagraha* is a useful discourse on decoloniality as it offers practical ways and strategies to resist oppressive structures and practices. Employing *Satyagraha* in education and training in the context of Ghana, Adjei (2007, 1052) argues that the philosophy can serve as "destabilizing [non-violent] colonial and recolonial structures in knowledge production, validation, and dissemination.

According to Ang (1979), Pagkakaisa/Bayahinan/Malasakit are rooted in the Filipino ethics of care, concern for others, and mutual help. As an indigenous Filipino trait, Bayahinan and its expression as Pagkakaisa, is an act of "unselfish cooperation [that is] is very much like the sense of brotherhood (or sisterhood)" (91). Evidence of a decolonial turn that these Filipino philosophies offer are in the nature of the bounded disenfranchisement of both African American soldiers and Filipinos during American imperial control of the Philippines where neither was regarded to be capable of self-determination nor perceived to possess a sufficient coercive apparatus to challenge the hegemony of the imperial power (Ngozi-Brown 1997). One form of disenfranchisement was manifest in "the same epithets to describe Filipinos as they used to describe African Americans, including 'niggers,' 'black devils,' and 'ququs'" (Espiritu 2003, 52-53). In this shared subjectivity, some African American soldiers connected their fight against domestic racism experiences in the US and within their military service to the Filipino struggle against American imperialism resulting in switching allegiance and joining the native armed struggle for independence (Espiritu 2003).

The epistemology in the Spirit of Bandung, Lee (2019) convincingly argues, can bring an unstable communitas of the Global South into a community of feelings based on the shared experience of Western imperialism, or what Gramsci (1971) terms con passionalità, that is, a collective and emotional effort of active and conscious sharing under an axiology of care, that reiterate Afro-Asian solidarity that treats all equally. As Kessi (2017, 509) argues, "reviving these ideas is key for informing the decolonial agenda at large", an endeavor that de Sousa Santos (2014, 212-213) contends necessitates intercultural translation which "consists of searching for isomorphic concerns and underlying assumptions among cultures, identifying differences and similarities and developing, whenever appropriate, new hybrid forms of cultural understanding and intercommunication that may be useful in favoring interactions and strengthening alliances among social movements fighting, in different cultural contexts, against capitalism, and patriarchy and for social justice, human dignity, or human decency". A decolonial turn in sports media and digital media communication in the Global South therefore requires suggestion for

radical changes in academic [and professional] historical practice which 'territorializes knowledge' (Abou-El-Fadl et al. 2018).

IV. Conclusion

This paper highlights the Global South perpetuating legacies of colonialism in forms of textual violence reproduced as metaphors. These colonial-entrenched *mentalities* reinforce cultural logics of race illustrated by the case of sports and media consumption in Kenya and the Philippines, because "there is no way out of the coloniality of power from within Western categories of thought" (Mignolo 2007, 45). There is a need to plug blind spots in communication practices by enabling multivalent Afro-Asian epistemic linkages in a new globalist remapping of decoloniality in the Global South that would render relevant the *Spirit of Bandung* subversively alive in its past memories as a promise of "subaltern solidarity forged through anti-colonial struggle" (Pasha 2013, 154); a fusion of the 'hinterlands of the (post) colonized' to break free "from the global architecture [including epistemes] laid by the colonizer" (Shilliam 2016, 426).

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