UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

Semiotics of spatial citizenship: place, race and identity in post-apartheid South Africa.

Sibonile Mpendukana

2363561

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape.

Supervisor: Professor Christopher Stroud

November 2021

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Abstract

This thesis uses the work of Frantz Fanon as a perspective to anchor an analysis of semiotic material deployed by students during the #Shackville protests at the University of Cape Town in 2016. Through the notion of Linguistic Citizenship (Stroud 2001) as a decolonial lens, and as a means to account for a myriad of communication tools – linguistic, semiotic materials and the body - as *language* in the broad sense, the thesis weaves together Fanon and Linguistic Citizenship to grapple with the chronotopic links that time, space and bodies have with the past and the present in South Africa. Semiotic landscape is a burgeoning field that, in one of its developments, increasingly addresses what it means to be human in place (Peck *et al* 2019). Several recent studies have used semiotic landscape studies in the study of the politics of protests (cf. Mpendukana and Stroud 2019; Lou and Jarwoski 2016; Taylor- Leech 2020). This thesis argues that wedding Fanon with analyses of semiotic landscape and framed in the notion of Linguistic Citizenship allows a more comprehensive understanding of the racialized politics of protest as genres of vulnerability and violence. The central question addressed in the thesis is how is racialization of blackness in place subverted and reimagined in the context of historically white spaces, here exemplified with the University of Cape Town?

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Key words:

Semiotic landscapes, Linguistic Citizenship, vulnerability, violence, black pain, embodiment.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Declaration

I declare that *Semiotics of spatial citizenship: place, race and identity in post-apartheid South Africa* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full name: Sibonile Mpendukana

Signed: Date: November 2021

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Acknowledgements

I owe this work to a lot of people. To my supervisor, Prof Chris Stroud, you have been great! Thank you for your tremendous support, encouragement and your critical insights that contributed to the development of my thinking. We have travelled a long and at times difficult journey together: through muddy waters, across torrential streams and through tangled jungles. Having almost arrived at the destination, I can only hope that the journey was worth it. I would also like to thank the Black Academics Advancement Programme (BAAP) Sabbatical Grant for giving me the opportunity to write without teaching commitments. This gave me time to focus on this project and see it to completion.

I cannot mention everyone who has assisted me in different ways by name because a conversation, a comment or a question would spark an idea that made it to this work. But special mention goes to Sabelo Mcinziba, Ncedo Mngqibisa, Siyabonga Mviko, Senzo Digala and Sinethemba Mandyoli – your words of encouragement and your consistent support will forever be treasured. Above all, I value your honesty about the quality and commitment to the work.

To my wife Thandeka, words are inadequate to capture your contribution to this project. You were wonderful. To my children, Hlomla, Uzindzo and Nizole, I dedicate this to you. To my families, my maternal Vananda family thank you very much and to the rest of the Mpendukanas I appreciate everything you have done.

The writing process of this thesis has not been easy. I owe debts of gratitude to lot of people who have helped and encouraged me along the way.

Enkosi kuni nonke!

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Table of contents

Abstract ii

Keywords iii

Declaration iv

Acknowledgements v

Table of Contents 1

Chapter 1. Background and introduction

1. Introducing Frantz Fanon to Semiotic Landscape 6

1.1. Introduction and Background 6

1.2. The semiotics of race 16

1.3. Summary 19

1.4. Thesis Research objectives and Research questions 20

1.4.1. Research objectives 23

1.4.2. Research questions 25

1.5. Structure of the thesis 26

Chapter 2. The makings of Shackville

2.1. Introduction 30

2.2. Build ups to Shackville 31

2.2.1. #RhodesMustFall 31

2.2. #FeesMustFall (FMF). 35

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

2.3. #Shackville – the event 36

2.4. The chronology of #Shackville 38

2.4.1. Day 1 39

2.4.2. Day 2 42

2.5. Themes across #Shackville and #RMF 45

2.5.1. Articulating vulnerability: Black Pain 45

2.5.2. Articulating vulnerability: out-of-placeness as a 'decolonial political front' 46

2.5.3. Violence as a (political) genre 47

2.5.4. Material ethnography 49

2.5. Summary 50

Chapter 3. Fanon, Blackness and Linguistic Citizenship

3.1. Introduction 52

3.2. Fanon on Blackness as Black pain 55

3.2.1. Sociogenes 59

3.2.1.1 Racialization in interaction 60

3.2.1.2. Racialization in Discourse and Representation 64

3.2.1.3. Racialization in Place and its semiotics 66

3.3. Resisting Blackness (violently) 67

3.4. (re)subjectification 70

3. 5. Raciolinguistics 72

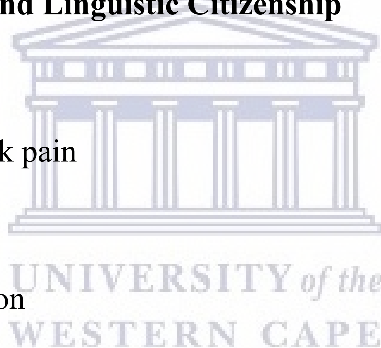
3.6. Linguistic Citizenship, racial vulnerability, and Fanon 73

3.6.1. Linguistic Citizenship and Vulnerability 75

3.6.2. Linguistic Citizenship and resistance 77

3.6.3. Linguistic Citizenship and (re) subjectification 78

3.7. Summary 79



http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Chapter 4. Ethics as Methodology

4.1. Introduction 81

4.2. Researching Southern vulnerabilities and volatilities 83

4.2.1. Researching the South: decoloniality, ethics and positionality 85

4.2.1.1. The researcher as a fissiparous self 90

4.2.2. Researching the protest: violence, spontaneity, and care 92

4.2.3. Voice and Linguistic Citizenship 95

4.3. Approaching Semiotic landscapes 97

4.3.1. Material ethnography 99

4.3.2. Material ethnography of signs 101

4.4. Ethics as methodology in data collection and interpretation 104

4.5. Summary 107

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Chapter 5. #Shackville as an affective regime

5.1. Introduction 108

5.2. Fanon on sociogenesis, place and ‘black pain’ 109

5.3. Semiotic landscapes and affective regime 111

5.3.1. Affective regime 112

5.3.2. Temporality (Chronotope) 113

5.3.3. Traces and Zombies 115

5.4. #Shackville: temporalities of place 117

5.4.1. Time and its makers 118

5.5. Summary 137

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Chapter 6. Building a collective front (LC)

6.1. Introduction 139

6.2. 'The Wretched of the Earth': Fanon on sociality, spontaneity and protest 141

6.3. Linguistic Citizenship in Fanonian framing 142

6.3.2. Spaces of encounter 146

6.4. Linguistic landscape as spaces of encounter 146

6.4.1. 'Proximities of difference' 147

6.4.2. LL of memorials (including zombiscapes) 149

6.4.3. LL in protest signage 149

6.5. #Shackville forming broad affinities/ fellowships 151

6.5.1. #Shackville enacting past macropolitical socioeconomics 152

6.5.2. Solidarity across protest spaces 161

6.5.3. Rupture/ Escalation 164

6.6. Summary 173

Chapter 7: New Selves, new bodies

7.1. Introduction 174

7.2. Fanon on (re)subjectification 176

7.2.2. Linguistic Citizenship and 'carnal humanism' 180

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

7.2.3. Genre 184

7.2.3.1. Violence as a (complex) genre 186

7.3. Protest as performance of violence as genre 187

7.3.1. Quotations 187

7.3.2. Body (savage) genres 192

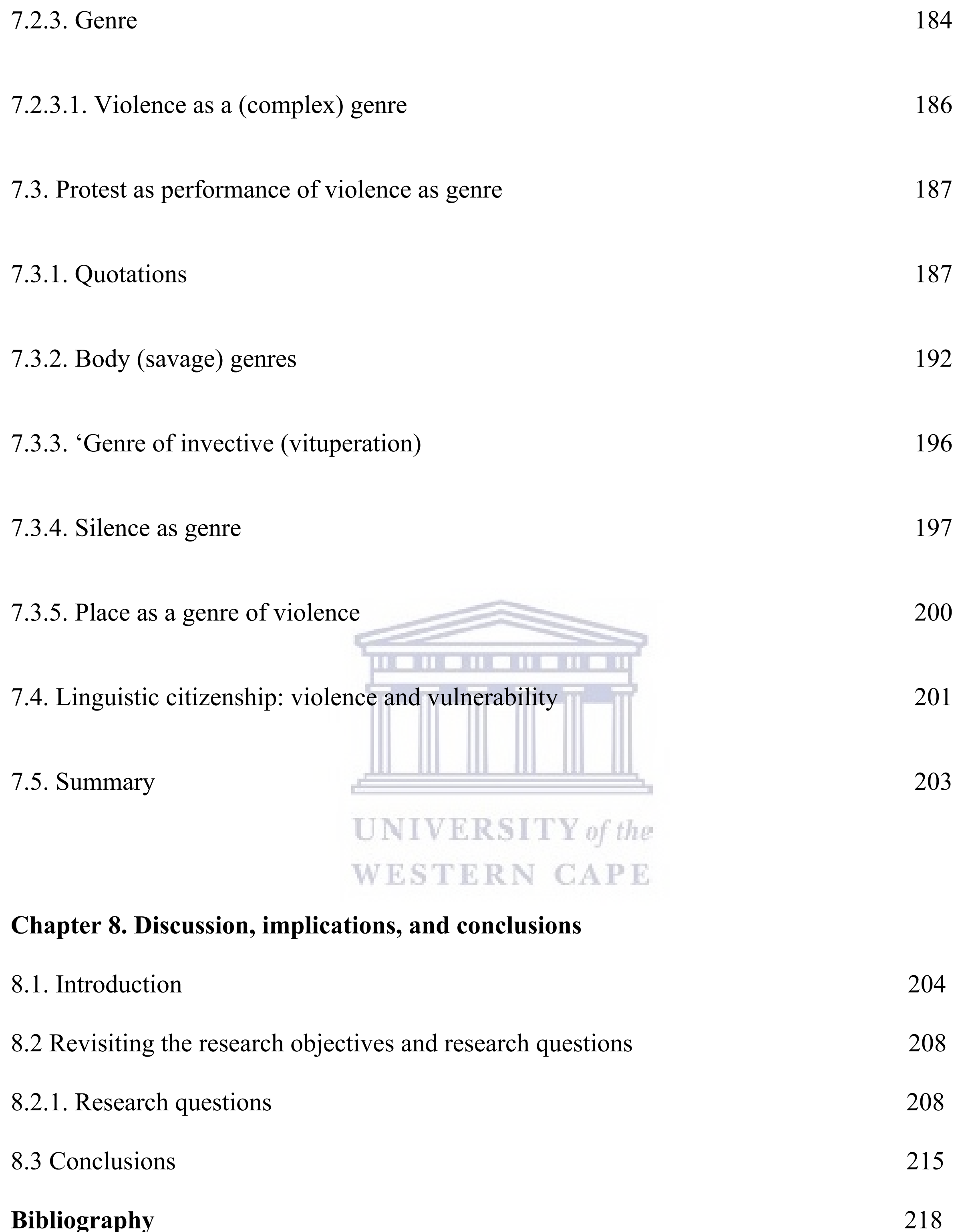
7.3.3. ‘Genre of invective (vituperation) 196

7.3.4. Silence as genre 197

7.3.5. Place as a genre of violence 200

7.4. Linguistic citizenship: violence and vulnerability 201

7.5. Summary 203



UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Chapter 8. Discussion, implications, and conclusions

8.1. Introduction 204

8.2 Revisiting the research objectives and research questions 208

8.2.1. Research questions 208

8.3 Conclusions 215

Bibliography 218

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Chapter 1: Semiotics of spatial citizenship: place, race and identity in post-apartheid South Africa.

1. Introducing Fanon to Semiotic Landscape studies

This is a thesis that reads the Martinican thinker, Frantz Fanon, as a sociolinguist to address issues in racialized politics in a South African university through the analytical frameworks of Semiotic Landscapes and Linguistic Citizenship. Fanon is best known for his work on the racialized body, love, violence, and the nervous conditions of post-colonial existence. There are scattered studies of Fanon's importance in linguistics but as yet little sustained and comprehensive reflection on his contribution to understanding language, nor what his thinking on language, body, race and place can contribute to studies of semiotic landscape – an emerging branch of sociolinguistics, that increasingly addresses what it means to be human in place (Peck *et al* 2019). Several recent studies have used semiotic landscape studies in the study of politics of protests (cf. Mpendukana and Stroud 2019; Lou and Jarwoski 2016; Taylor- Leech 2020). More recent work has attempted to conceptualize Fanon within the framework of Linguistic Citizenship (Mpendukana and Stroud, ftc.). In the rest of this introduction, I give a background to the context of the study.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

1.1 Background and introduction

The thesis studies one event in the life of protests at the University of Cape Town in South Africa in February 2016. It was a protest that to thrust and conceptualization encapsulated both the history and the essence of present day South African politics and in some ways, gave a glimpse of what might potentially be possible futures of South African democracy. The story of how South Africa's democracy was negotiated and debated is well known and perhaps

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

rightfully celebrated for having averted ‘a brewing racial war’ in favour of what is commonly understood to be a peaceful transition. This is an unmistakably popular – as well as important – narrative. However, the concessions made by the ANC government in waiting in this process continue to be hotly debated to this day. There is a generally critical section of South African citizenry comprising of public commentators, intellectuals, and radical leftist organisations, as well as sections of the general public who on various platforms, and from various vantage points, are critical of the impact of the compromises and concessions that were made during the negotiations (e.g., Murray 1994; Ndebele 2007; Ramphela 2008; Alexander 2013; Biko 2013; Wa Azania 2014; Mbembe 2015, 2017; Seepe 2015). There is a general sensibility that argues that there was never a clean break between democratic South Africa and its painful apartheid past, and that many features of apartheid South Africa remain unresolved in the present democracy. The racial divisions at the core of the apartheid system had material and societal implications, such as the unequal distribution of wealth and other resources (e.g., education), and the concomitant creation of multiple forms of antagonisms according to a hierarchical categorization of ‘races’ and their relations with each other. Although the demise of apartheid *formally* brought comprehensive changes to the racial and spatial legislation undergirding the ideology of separate living, the much-needed economic restructuring in a quest for equitable distribution of resources was not pursued as forcefully. The structure of the apartheid state machinery remained largely intact, especially with respect to the question of land ownership, an issue that is centrally tied to the continued racialization of the economy. These are important issues with a significant contemporary resonance on democratic South Africa’s development. The post-apartheid everyday has thus not been a simple linear progression from apartheid to democracy where old divisions have been erased and old crimes forgiven, but rather it comprises a complex and multifaceted process that has involved an almost undetectable continuity in the structural mechanisms that drive and sustain racialized

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

capital accumulation power and privilege (Mbembe 2015; Seepe 2015). These complexities emanate from how "the breath and width of the apartheid phenomenon […] makes it literally impossible to attempt a comprehensive articulation of its varied and complex manifestation" (More 2014: 3). This captures well how such processes unfold in the current dispensation. In other words, one of the ways in which this manifest is seen in how race continues to play a significant role in the access to essential capital such as good education, employment, or the lack thereof, and in how individuals and designated groups relate to each other on a daily basis.

In fact, South Africa is a country of at least 'two nations' as described by former president Thabo Mbeki and in some ways, it is a country of two 'worlds'. This directly links to what Fanon has called "compartmentalization". He notes how "this world cut into two is inhabited by two different species. The originality of the colonial context is that economic reality, inequality and the immense difference of ways of life never come to mask human realities". (1967a: 30). Nowhere is this clearer than in present day South Africa. On the one hand, there is the world of service delivery protests, 'Afrophobic' [1]upheavals and violent crime that largely affect the poor and black communities on the margins – people who largely live on (or under) the bracket of minimal wages (49 Rands /day)[2]. On the other hand, there is a largely white, rich, and privileged community of economic prosperity that is only remotely affected by such problems. If at all, and then principally only in terms of a trifling inconvenience suffered. What has emerged out of apartheid is frustratingly that blacks remain largely poor, as well as

[1] What has been dubbed as "xenophobic attacks" took on a very clear character, the attacks were directed at only other Africans. Xenophobia is inadequate to describe those sorts of events, hence the use of Afrophobia.

[2] It is important to hold in mind that the post 1994 condition has not only been about differences between black and white but involves a myriad of complex forms of competition and conflict. The perennial occurrence of disturbing legacies such as Afro-phobic attacks (which are often termed xenophobic violence) and the many service delivery protests (violent and peaceful alike) as well as violent crime reveal a gory picture of the reality of democratic South Africa and point to a country that remains at war with itself and others.

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE
http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

materially and spiritually disadvantaged, while whites have become increasingly more affluent. These disparities were shown in the 2011 Census Statistics of income where the white population could be seen to continue to enjoy privilege while Black people occupied the bottom of the hierarchy:

> Black African-headed households were found to have an average annual income of R60 613 in 2011. Coloured-headed households had an average of R112 172 in 2011, while the figure for Indian/Asian-headed households stood at R251 541. White-headed households had the highest average household income at R365 134 per annum (Census 2011: 42).

This grim picture has continued to the current times. According to Stats SA, in the second quarter of 2021 "the unemployment rate of white people is 8.6 %, 19.5% among Asians/ Indians, 28.5 % among Coloured people and 38.2% among Black people". Added to this, is the report that was released in 2019 that sums up the continuing patterns as follows:

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

> The earnings distributions starkly depict the heavily racialized inequality in the South African labour market. In addition to having worse employment outcomes, black Africans also earn the lowest wages when they are employed, which we can see from the fact that the black African distribution lies to the left of all the other distributions. Whites, in contrast, also earn substantially higher wages than all the other population groups…. To put things into perspective, the mean real earnings between 2011 and 2015, amongst employed black Africans, was R6 899 per month. For coloured and Indians/Asians the corresponding statistics are R9 339 and R14 235 per month, respectively. Amongst whites, it was R24 646 per month, or more than three times as high as it was amongst black Africans. (Stats SA 2019: 61 – 62).

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

These facts are a poignant reminder that 27 years after the much-celebrated constitutional democracy, the country remains racially unequal. Wa Azania (2014) in the opening chapters of her book bemoans how, “the South Africa that we see today is but a different version of yesterday’s South Africa.” (2014: 38). This speaks to a sustained systematic continuity of structural violence. The author further declares that despite the formal and raw apartheid where racism was formalized, what we have today is that race and racism continue to play a pivotal role because “they are the threads that hold together the fibre of South African society.” (2014: 38). In essence the compartments that Fanon described continue to have a telling on how life with all its affordances is experienced racially in South Africa. These are the conditions of life in South Africa – alive with the vestiges of the apartheid system in the present South Africa. Mbembe (2015) recognizing that apartheid, of course, is just one temporal (albeit well-engineered) phase in a globalized colonial-modernity, preceded by slavery, and industrialization, and is now followed by, what Mbembe (2012, 2017) calls “a new collusion between the economic and the biological” (p. 5), and the ‘Becoming Black of the world” (p. 6) in the current period of transnational neoliberalism.

Racialized spatialization

An enduring aspect of ‘compartmentalization’ pertains to legacies of apartheid’s *spatial* engineering, and more specifically for the purpose of this thesis, *the semiotics of place*. A powerful tool of apartheid legislation used to demarcate, police, and regulate South African society and in accordance with that logic, prescribed different residential areas, schools, malls, parks, universities etc., for different races. Even today, places, including institutions, evoke this racially pervasive history. Goldberg (1993: 206) cited in Durrheim and Dixon highlights the “importance of spatial and temporal categories in the reproduction of racism: ‘race inscribes

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE
http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

and circumscribes the experiences of space and time, of geography and history, just as race itself acquires its specificity in terms of space-time correlates" (Durrheim and Dixon 2001: 433). Durrheim and Dixon (2001), referring to geographers, uncover how "the social construction of place has its roots in ideological struggle with a fundamental impact on how race is experienced in place". Manning (2004) points to the lack of urban integration in how architecture in the South African context remains loaded with remnants of the apartheid era separationist logic. The author laments the lack of transformation that might be indicative of and compliment the democratic principles of equality in racial, social and cultural diversity, he points out that architecture "…remains an area where popular taste remains driven by a firmly Eurocentric and anti-African value system" (2004: 532).

In the context of Cape Town, the site of the present study, Lemanski (2004) notes, "Cape Town continues to exhibit ruthless spatial polarization, dominated by the juxtaposition of centrally located affluent suburbs and economic centres along poverty stricken and overcrowded settlements on the city edges" (Lemanski 2004: 103). These factors impact on how blacks move in spaces and how they are able to inhabit them. This, of course, raises concerns about what it means to belong or feel alienated through a physical or a historical occupation of a particular place, and what implications this carries for a 'sense of race'. Writing on the politics of belonging Davis states that "belonging can be an act of self- identification or identification by others (or not, my addition), in a stable, contested or transient way" (2006: 199). While Lemanski (2006: 397 deals with "the impact of urban South Africa's new spatial order and its fragile dynamics" that may or may not exhibit glaring tropes of the 'old' social psyche around 'belonging' of certain races in certain spaces and not others.

Apartheid's spatial divisions, however, went beyond *residency* to also include *mobility* as a racializing parameter. The system constrained freedom of movement through legislations such

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE
http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

as the pass laws: for instance, (The Natives Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act of 1952) complementing the Group Areas Act, also of the 1950s. Both legal frameworks comprised powerful regulatory structures that came to construct the racialized body through mobility and / or its constraints. In theory the democratic elections of 1994 came with freedom of movement. However, despite the dissolution of legislation barring people from entering or residing in certain neighbourhoods, evidence suggests that apartheid continues to determine how people *move* and *feel* around certain areas and spaces (cf. Bock and Stroud, 2019). In this regard, the location, and dis-location of bodies in place remains a major fact of life in democratic South Africa. Places are imbued with histories, and these histories continue to haunt the present (Bock and Stroud, 2019; Barni and Bagna 2015).

Place and race are important 'ground-bolts' of this thesis for two main reasons: there is significant reason to believe that how the body fits into space (or not) that is, its sense of comfort and belonging, is a major factor in the possible sense of self. As we shall see, 'vulnerability' and a sense of belonging or fellowship – what we could also call 'citizenship' - are essential ingredients of selfhood. Related to this is the second reason, for the importance of place in race, namely its role in mediating racialized relations. It is in place that we encounter others, like and unlike ourselves, and where the potential for (re)constructing and repairing relationships to self and others can take place.

Embodiment and place in sociolinguistics

The interest in bodies/embodiment and place is also found in recent sociolinguistic studies that have foregrounded and argued for significant attention to be given to the nexus between, space, bodies, and mobility (Kitis and Milani 2015; Bucholtz and Hall 2016). For example, Stroud and Jegels (2015) in their study in Manenberg, a neighbourhood in Cape Town, demonstrated how language in a narrative featured and incorporated elements of the Linguistic Landscapes–

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE
http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

that is, how semiotic materials found in and around the area formed part of the narratives on what it meant on a personal and political level to live in Manenberg with its many challenges. The study was a 'walking narrative', looking at the mobility of the telling, the movement of body in space, combined with spatial artefacts and elements of signage in the in the creation of place and its local significance. The authors argue that 'although place, including semiotic landscapes, take the shapes of bodies that inhabit them, place itself is also inscribed onto bodies, or cities or incites bodies to become' (Stroud and Jegels 2015). This exhibits an existence of a symbiotic relationship between bodies and place. Moreover, Stroud (2016), referencing the Casey's notion of 'thick' space, that is space that is saturated with meaning and affect argues that:

> Linguistic landscaping is one powerful means of affective rendering, comprising of acts of citizenship that, together with practices such as graffiti writing, planting gardens and the like, mediate the production of thick places (2016:5).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Place, semiotically mediated and affectively lived, is where the racialization of bodies and minds literally 'takes place', where harmful racializations are conserved and reproduced, and where opportunities for the transformation and rejuvenation of the status quo are found. Education, and universities, comprise examples of such space – institutional and physical/material – in South Africa where encounters of change or conservation, and senses of (Black) belonging or alienation have, and still are, played out with intensity. Since the dawn of democracy and this became heightened in 2016, schools and Higher Education establishments have been held up, fronted, as sites of so-called decolonization and transformation. This has particularly been the case for the so-called Historically White/Advantaged Universities such as the University of Cape Town where this current study is located.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

In apartheid South Africa, universities, as any institution at the time, functioned in line with the principle of racial separation. There were white universities and black universities. The few white universities that accepted black students did so under strict rules of controlled admission via racial categories with specific reference to Black people (in the Stephen Biko sense: African, Coloured, and Indian) these were relaxed through the Universities Amendment Act in 1983. In other words, White institutions could admit Black students *en mass* through this piece of legislation even during apartheid. The advent of democracy in 1994 cemented freedom of movement and resolved the constraints for admission. However, questions relating to the meaning and pace of transformation remain unresolved (Ndebele 2007; Mabokela 2001). In this regard, Mabokela's study of what the author refers to as *Institutional Racial Climate* – "the characteristic climate in relations among constituents of different racial and ethnic backgrounds in an institution" (2001: 72) provides insights into how race relations continued to be strained in the democratic dispensation. Issues of disconnect and alienation of Black students is highlighted as evidence that proved how racial attitudes in institutions of higher learning were "proving to be resistant and unshakable" (Mabokela ibid: 72).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

The exclusionary nature of former white institutions and their insistence on regulating what may be considered acceptable academic standards means that such institutions continue to "assert the status quo" (Ndebele 2007: 16). Universities are places where issues of academic autonomy and serving as "custodian of liberal tradition" (Ndebele 2007: 13) are pushed, especially in English speaking universities. In democratic South Africa, widely diverse forms of regulation such as requirements and standards for university entrance show striking differences between elite universities and 'traditionally black universities', with consequences that racialized exclusions in elite universities still prevail. In this current post-1994 context, the politics of transformation require that prevalent ideas on what has historically been taken to comprise academic excellence and the role of universities generally in the custodianship of

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

racially exclusive practices be subjected to critical inquiry. Given the implied systematic and structural continuities of *coloniality* – "a logic, metaphysics, ontology and matrix of power that continues to exist after independence and desegregation" (Maldonado-Torres: 2016: 10), creates conditions of continued forms of alienation.

The university, and the University of Cape Town, is the particular focus of the present study. This is an important space, and perhaps more than any at the present time – the seam or suture of elitist colonial and apartheid reproduction, on the one hand, and post-apartheid social transformation, on the other. University spaces are populated with the so-called 'born-frees', the generation born on the cusp of democracy or in the post-1994 South African democracy. Various scholars have written about this generation (e.g., Malila 2015; Lundgren and Schecle 2018; Wa Azania 2014). An important question is to what extent and how the younger generation – the youth – negotiate a pathway through some of the intricate intersections between the apartheid past and the democratic present. Authors such as Bock (2014, 2015; Bock and Hunt (2015) document how the young people they have studied attempted to engage the impact of the past in the present democratic South Africa through creating distance between themselves and their parents, by for instance, using various linguistic devices to exclude themselves from the narrative of apartheid and the narrative of suffering endured by their parents (Bock, 2015).

Given what I have mentioned above on the issue of 'belonging' and alienation in post-apartheid spaces and institutions, and the importance of creating conditions for transformative encounters across inherited racial divisions, the main research question for this thesis is, subsequently: how do black students at the University of Cape Town *semiotically* demonstrate alienation, politicize their predicament, and create a sense of belonging and engagement in this historically white and privileged space? One set of events in particular is analysed in respect of this

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

question, namely a protest action known as 'Shackville' that took place in February 2016 on the campus of the university.

In order to approach this question, the study will attempt to explore and unfold the idea of Blackness in terms of 'racialization' and its various semiotic articulations, especially how space is semiotically practiced and bodies (re)conceptualized.

1.2. The semiotics of race

In this thesis, the 'creation' of Blackness is understood as both a fundamentally socioeconomic and semiotic process. With respect to semiosis, there is a large and diverse literature on how different practices and forms of discourse are ideologically and indexically linked to forms of racialization (for South Africa, e.g., Durrheim *et al* 2011; Soudien 2001; Bock 2014; Bock and Hunt 2015). For USA Urciouli (2011) provides a useful synopsis of the semiotics of racializations and describes race as a 'social construct, a social fact'. Much of the literature deals primarily with how each context negotiates and understands forms of racialization in the present that can be equally located within a long existence of such practices. For instance, Bock and Hunt (2015) writing about the challenges of young South Africans in democratic South Africa, observe that the present terrain is saturated with a collision of the old new "through the range of discourses associated with the 'old' and the 'new' in search of spaces and identities which allow them to articulate their complex subjectivities and positions" (2015: 141).

Much relevant research on linguistic/semiotic practices of racialization is found in the burgeoning field of *Raciolinguistics* (e.g., Alim *et al* 2016; Alim 2020; Rosa and Flores 2017)

As noted above, an important dimension of racialization in contemporary urban South Africa is through spatialized practices. Certain 'places', what Casey (1997) would call 'thick places' are imbued with meaning and significance for people, of which racial (in)appropriateness is

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE
http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

one form of significance. Places may encourage or deny certain practices and may be interpreted or perceived as more or less racially saturated (e.g., public places in urban Cape Town that may 'dictate' practices of isiXhosa to take up a minimal slice of the local soundscape, or restaurants that do not easily accommodate African names on their guest list etc.). Thus, spaces and places are not neutral locations but are imbued with social significance. Numerous potential identities can be assumed and derived looking at space and place (Johnstone, 2009). Recent research has explored the ways in which the 'meaning of place/space' is constructed in part through the social and interactional behaviour's that can take place there, and, how in turn, the significance of space constrains or gives potential to particular interactions' (Benwell & Stokoe 2006).

A key aspect of the subjective experience of self in place, and the novel ways of engagement afforded by the freedom of movement, in how people make sense of spaces that were not previously thought/perceived to 'belong to them', is captured in the notion of *comfort.* This refers to the embodied, emotional experience that mediates the fit between body and place – feelings of 'alienation' or 'belonging'. On the relevance of comfort Ahmed notes that:

> to be comfortable is to be so at ease with one's environment that it is hard to distinguish where one's body ends, and the world begins. One fits, and by fitting the surfaces of bodies disappears from view (Ahmed 2007: 158).

In this regard, Ahmed further notes the nexus between bodies and movement, specifically how despite mobility issues, freedom of movement and residence, issues of belonging and estrangement remain intact:

> The politics of mobility, of who gets to move with ease across the lines that divide spaces, can be re-described as politics of who gets to be at home, who gets to inhabit

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

spaces, as spaces that are inhabitable for some bodies and not others, insofar as they extend the surfaces of some bodies and not others (Ahmed 2007: 162).

Peck and Stroud (2015), following Ahmed, further suggest that the body in itself does not shape the world but rather is shaped by it (and its dominant ideological and semiotic bias) and that it is the unfolding of space around the body which shapes impressions of the body, in this way "what you come into contact with is shaped by what you do; bodies are oriented when they are occupied in time and space. Bodies are shaped by this contact with objects" (Ahmed 2007: 157).

However, we cannot be blind to the material, political and socioeconomic dynamics that accompany and script the discursive constructions of Blackness. Alim, among others, calls for intersectional ways to better recognize, "race as always produced jointly with class, gender, sexuality…and other axes of social differentiation used in complex vectors of oppression" ((Alim 2020: 348). Furthermore, Rosa and Flores (2017) also point out the historical and the structural anchors of racialized hierarchies in understanding language and bodies in the context of language education. In their study, the authors move away from individualizing speaking practices and place emphasis on "how institutionalized hierarchies of racial and linguistic legitimacy are central to processes of modern subject formation" (2017: 621) This creates a complex nexus of race and language, and by extension how bodies are meant to inhabit space and articulate themselves in the historical and modern sense as racialized subjects.

In this thesis, I approach the complex nexus of structural and semiotic parameters at play in (re)racialization through Fanon's notion of 'sociogeness', conjointly with the notion of Linguistic Citizenship.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

1.3. Summary

The transition from apartheid to democracy was arguably a commendable severing of *legislated* divisions of people according to racial categorizations. However, Seepe (2015), in line with 'the Fanonian moment' described by Mbembe, and he argues, "the post 1994 narrative failed to appreciate the scale of historical challenges" (2015: 9). For this author the unresolved structural changes are a source that created these issues, "but the structure of the society stayed much the same. And white people remained white people, doing what white people had always done: running professions, the corporations, the universities. Expertise, wealth, technical knowledge, social confidence – all these remained deeply associated with whiteness" (2015: 10). In fact, raced bodies continue to populate South Africa despite post-apartheid democracy, and race remains one of the few stable points of reference in a society in flux and transformation. Posel (2001:51) argues that apartheid racial categories (white, Coloured, Indian and African) "[have] become a habit of thought and experience, a facet of popular "common sense" still widely in evidence" in the post-apartheid era. Mbembe (2008: 6) notes how "the meaning of race and the nature of racial identity are far more complex and ambiguous than they have ever been before". These complexities are largely informed by the two dominant narratives, "the defensive logic of black victimhood and white denialism" (ibid: 7). Furthermore, it is from these realities that Mbembe takes us further and refers to what he terms as a 'culture of mutual *ressentiment'* that frustrates both Blacks and Whites' sense of ownership and national belonging; "the logic of mutual ressentiment frustrates the black's sense of ownership of this country while foreclosing the whites' sense of truly *belonging* to this place and to this nation". Jansen (2009: 49) speaking of Afrikaner youth notes how "white students step into schools and enter universities with a powerful knowledge of the past. With such knowledge, they also carry the emotions of defeat and uncertainty received from and alive among their parents". At this juncture racial experiences are informed by social processes far

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

beyond just bodies. There is a situatedness that is also contextually bound to social and historical narratives of experience and being. Writing on similar themes, Ahmed remarking specifically on the intersectionality of race, body, and history, points out that, “race then does become a social as well as bodily given, or what we receive from others is an inheritance of this history” (Ahmed 2007).

As we know, a key feature of old apartheid was spatial regulation and policing of bodies via racial segregation. This remains a contemporary feature of present-day South Africa where residential areas are still very much defined by the apartheid logic of ‘separate areas for separate races’ – although more by historical legacy and economic contingency than design.

The rich texture of place offers opportunities for encounters across difference and diversity, and the emergence of convivial, contesting and potentially racializing discourses. To focus on place and its contestation and negotiation by ‘born frees’, namely those born since the democratic dispensation in 1994, as I do in this work, is to interrogate, potentially, continuities or differences in the now/here with the past, and possible designs for new futures.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

1.4. Thesis Research Objectives and Research Questions

A key question for this thesis is, how is the racialization of blackness in place subverted and reimagined in the context of University of Cape Town? Pinchevski argues that “social existence is a sore experience of being-with the Other (2005:213) and this relates with Brown (2015), who, arguing for *insurgent citizenship*, notes that,

> Politics occur when a group that has not been recognized as belonging to the social order acts as if it nonetheless has a place, acting as if it were equal to those already empowered, challenging the natural order, and exposing its contingency (2015:5).

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

In order for new ideas to emerge, new discourses and new identities – there has to be some form of 'disruption' of old orders through the struggle for change, through claiming a voice and a space 'to be', that is, by exercising or performing acts of linguistic citizenship. In the present study, the focus of analysis is on *protest*, not only as a way of articulating vulnerability and lack of recognition in place, but also as a catalyst for a new order of social engagement. Democratic South Africa has been characterized by massive protests, such that one could rightly claim that contestation expressed in various forms is a prominent character of the South African political order – a genre of politics or democracy in itself (cf. below Chapter 7 on 'violence as a genre'). Protests potentially open-up new vistas and terrains of political possibility, new ideas and new identities carried in 'unpredictable' forms of politics (Badiou 2009; Ranciere, 2004). In protest, "encounters take place in the context of contest and division, representations and plays of identity in public spaces [which] may be heightened or erased" (Stroud 2016: 1) and may lead to an *event* (Badiou, 2009)), a change in the normative order of things. For the purposes of this thesis, I wish to use discourses in protest as way to explore the collision of the old world with the new world; to gauge how old narratives of displacement and exclusion are reworked into new senses of belonging within post-apartheid South Africa. The current democratic dispensation in South Africa makes such an approach highly relevant. Writing precisely on the problems of democracy – as both of utopian potential and disastrously oppressive, Mbembe (2019) shines light on the idea of democracy and how it functions. He remarks, "The idea according to which life in a democracy is fundamentally peaceful, policed, and violence-free (including in the form of war and devastation) does not stand up to the slightest scrutiny". (2019: 16). What we might consider here, as Mbembe argues, is that democracy is a contested terrain, as well as being a terrains for contestation .

This thesis is a study of the politics of semiotic landscapes in a South African university landscape during one day of protests, the #Shackville protest, where students built a shack in

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

the middle of the University of Cape Town to protest unequal/racialized access to on-campus residences. It is also a study of the 'sociolinguistics of embodiment' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2016) and subjectification (Levon, 2017). As embodiment necessarily involves 'taking up space', semiotic landscapes become important 'indexical' markers of self and Other-hood. More specifically, it is an exploration in the *re-racialization of place* and the simultaneous *re-subjectification* of a racialized self in pursuit of social transformation and a more equitable and non-racial future.

Resubjectification involve freeing up the psychological – Biko's freeing up of the mind. Levon (2017) in a critical review of contemporary sociolinguistics appeals for what he calls a 'theory of selfhood' that would be able to address the question of "how individuals stick together [...] disparate moments in the construction of a continuous whole, into a self that perdues over time and across contexts" (Levon 2017: 282). However, social change also requires some understanding of how individuals may radically alter their senses of self. In this thesis, I argue that a decolonial thinker such as Frantz Fanon offers potentially important insights into a sociolinguistics of *re*-subjectification and its embodiment. From a Fanonian perspective, we might ask how seams of selfhoods could be *ruptured*, and *re-sutured* into new configurations and geometries of self in a continuous process of *becoming otherwise*[3]; or, in the words of the psychoanalyst Lazali, how to give "the unfamiliar within the 'self' a status of intimate interlocutor" (Lazali, 2011: 156).

Thus, in the following chapters, I attempt to develop a theoretical framework for semiotic landscape studies that takes its departure in the insight that place is politics in the very fundamental sense of who and what is to *count* in place, and the implication of this insight is such that politics, and the accompanying theoretical framework must centre questions of ethics

[3]I take it that any larger scale institutional changes must be engage with a political subjectivity

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE
http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

and social justice. Given this framing, the stance taken in this thesis is that sociolinguistics is a deeply political and ethical pursuit, and that the study of semiotic landscapes – a subfield of sociolinguistics - needs in like measure to address the political import of place more seriously for ethical and convivial engagements across difference. I suggest in this context how the notion of linguistic citizenship aligns with a politically and ethically informed sociolinguistics of embodiment in place.

1.4.1. Research objectives

There are five main objectives with this study. Given the larger framing of the socio-historical and socioeconomic strands of South Africa, the post-1994 era presents an opportunity to view the impact or lack thereof, of apartheid on the psychosocial psyche of people in the democratic dispensation, as mediated through the semiotic/linguistic mediation of bodies in place. The first objective is to understand (theorize) enduring processes of *racialization to Blackness* (in the sense of Mbembe who writes about Blackness as "vertiginous assemblage" (2017: 2) in contemporary South Africa. This objective requires mapping the various 'discursive' practices and their shifting nature and extent to which they 'blacken' subjects.

A second objective is explicitly to probe how the youth (university students in this context) deal with current moments of entanglements between the past (apartheid) and the present (democratic South Africa) and the way such entanglements surface in the space/ place that they inhabit. For this reason, the study focuses on the so-called 'born-frees', those born after democracy.

A third objective is to explore to what extent a theoretical understanding of these protesting youth practices can carry any implications for institutional, and wider societal transformation. The #Shackville protest (which is the focus of the present study) was complex and multi-

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE
http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

layered. On one level, the students put forward concrete demands (for student housing) in the form of firm engagements with governance structures of the university. On another level, there were actions that denied and nullified conventional political processes and practices. Given the *ostensible* focus of the #Shackville protest on a conventional politics of protest – in the demands that students made for equitable housing for black students – framed against the decolonial critique of a necessary break with the institutions and governance structures of the past - the objective is to understand the efficacy of different *topoi* of protest – explicit claims vs practice and process? This objective will involve further developing a notion the notion of linguistic citizenship, the non-hegemonic, transgressive, and transformative semiotic practices that marginalized or invisibilized speakers use to exercise 'voice' and agency.

A fourth objective is to explore a model for centring the *political* import of semiotic practices of place. The student protests cannot be understood in their complexity outside of an understanding of the nexus of place, bodies, semiotics/language, and race in the post-1994 era, as alluded to above. Therefore, place is a salient dynamic in different, evolving performances of race and contestations of identity among university students. A model/analytical framework must take its point of departure in a sociolinguistics of embodiment (Bucholtz and Hall, 2016) and the fact of the spatiality of the body. Attempts at sketching the beginnings of such a model are weaved throughout the thesis, especially in the analysis chapters.

A fifth and final objective is to develop clarity on what is means to work with *vulnerable* subjects, where vulnerability is understood not merely in terms of fragility and precarity, but also as a source of political change. This implies pursuing a methodology that builds on black *consciousness insights*, in other words to account for the long process of exclusion and silencing that produced blackness as a mode of existence in ways that give voice, representation and agency to those defined by marginality and exclusion. Such undertakings involve careful

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE
http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

consideration of how students talk about place and talk about themselves in place, and how they represent themselves 'racially' and the role of multilingual and multi-semiotic repertoires as resources in this. Salient in this study is also an attempt to take a decolonial stance on the researchers' role.

1.4 2. Research questions

The specific questions that this work aims to address are as follows:

1. How can the #Shackville protest be understood as an event of the *resubjectification* of racialized (identities) as Black? That is, by means of what practices and ideologies (semiotic, political, material) do speakers/individuals come to think of themselves differently (in non-racial terms) and act accordingly?
2. Specifically, given the importance, historically, of 'place/space' in 'racialization', what is the role of the politics of place in resubjectification, that is, how are semiotic landscapes incorporated into notions of racial emplacement or estrangement*?*
3. A critique of much research from a 'decolonial' perspective revolves around the ethics of working with vulnerable populations. Resubjectification is a 'vulnerable' event given its 'existential politics'. What methodological insights can be gained from this study?
4. Can a theoretical approach to racialized place inform a political and ethical contribution to studies of 'applied semiotic landscape studies', that is studies that can contribute to a transformational agenda of new (non-racial) spatial imaginaries? Is there a 'transformational' potential in the politics of student revolt or are the modes of action another manifestation of a spiral of enduring racialization.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

1.5. Structure of the thesis

The structure of the thesis and the themes explored is as follows:

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter provided a brief background of the study. Referencing a Fanonian theorization of race as a mode of reading the semiotic landscape of protest, I have introduced the reader to some of the broader contending themes of the South African reality around race, place, and mobility. I have sketched the general theoretical framing of the study in terms of notions of race, (re)subjectification, embodiment, semiotic landscapes, and linguistic citizenship. The chapter has also explored some of the broader themes that shape a perspective of South Africa as a contested place. I have also presented the research objectives and the research questions.

Chapter 2: The makings of Shackville

In this chapter, I offer a detailed context of South Africa and expand on identity politics with a particular focus on the youth through the student protest in a given context and place. Here I present the chronology of events that surrounded #Shackville to give the reader a bird's eye-view of what transpired during the two days. This, I hope, sheds light on some of the complex issues that produced #Shackville and brings into focus an exploration of its links to the struggles that preceded it, for example the Rhodes Must Fall Movement of 2015. In this chapter, I also allude to the consequences that followed #Shackville. Even though this is made in retrospect and does not represent the full spectrum of what transpired, my hope is that it places the reader within a perspective of a series of events that unfolded. By so doing, it should allow the reader to see the motives behind the events and this will help in understanding the analysis in the following chapters.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Chapter 3: Blackness and the politics of semiotic landscapes

This chapter deals with theoretical foundations of the research question and situates the thesis within a broader literature. The chapter discusses the notions of *subjectification* and *racialization*. I introduce the notion of *black pain* as an articulation that folds the past into the present and locates memory, artefacts, and place as sites of struggle. I attempt to frame these notions against the idea of *vulnerability* as a significant resource for developing a sense of ethical engagement. I offer an argument for *Linguistic Citizenship* (LC) as a useful notion to read decolonial methods and practices of students during the protests. LC allows us to grasp the layered complexities of political agencies and the processes whereby political subjectifications of those *not* counted can be realized.

Chapter 4: Ethics as methodology

In this chapter, I cover the methodological considerations the empirical work of the thesis has built upon, and I provide a rationale behind the choices of methodology. This chapter also describes the instruments of research used to solicit the data, determine the scope of my research, how to engage my research participants, and presents my research site. Here, I also make submissions for a consideration of an expanded sense of ethics in the study of place and bodies, especially in this current epoch characterized by a growing interest in studying protests and the Occupy Movement across different political settings in Semiotic Landscapes studies. I suggest that what is needed is an ethics that can work within the context of Southern volatilities especially Southern vulnerabilities. I further discuss the politics of decolonization, ethics, and positionality as a Southern scholar. The last part of the chapter investigates how semiotic landscape research might benefit from an approach that considers ethics beyond the simplicity of ethical clearances.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Chapter 5: #Shackville as an affective regime

The focus of the analysis here is on creation of place through various forms of articulation. The assertion of self/selves in place and agency in place in terms of how these engage forms of authority is important here because it provides a reading of how racialized, politicized and placial dynamics speak to both the macro and micro politics of post-apartheid South Africa today. The chapter also illustrates how identity politics and their links to global forms of protests are brought into focus through the exploration of links between a local protest and a global protest, showing how racialized subjects constantly look for, politicize, and claim their 'place' both locally and globally.

Chapter 6: Building a collective front

This chapter is about how 'political subjectivity' is inserted into an intersubjective framing in the building of a "we-they" coalition in an agonistic front (Mouffe, 2018). This chapter is about creating the battleground, lining up the 'troops' as a first step in the creation of a new hegemony (new humanisms), shouting out white privilege and clearly articulating black pain. The chapter thus looks at how forms of hegemonic (structural whiteness) social relationships interpellated/structured/ (sociogeneis) are rejected, at the same time that, a new humanism (Fanon, 1967) is semiotically constituted through the protest. All contestation involves interpersonal relationship and the creation of an intersubjective space that, by defining relationships to others antagonistically, also redefine the self.

Chapter 7: The Self (historical body) – praxis

The chapter concludes the analysis with a focus on the agency of participants. Thus, it brings the body into focus by looking at how human agency creates conditions for belonging in place. I explore the ways in which the protest landscape was manifested and sequenced in terms of

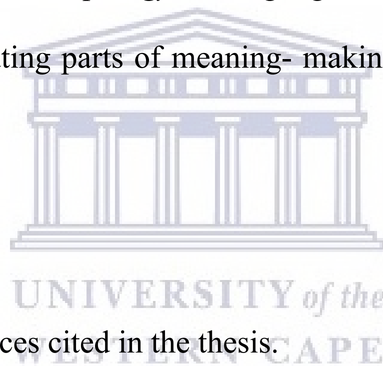
UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

praxis, that is, noting how the centre of gravity shifts from vulnerabilities to solely black caucus. Ultimately, the affectation of the constituency (Chapters 5-6) is here given in praxis a particular political subjectivity and agency.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

In this chapter, I bring together the main themes found in the analysis through a discussion of some of the findings in relation to the objectives and research questions outlined in Chapter 1. In addition, I present a conclusion and suggest future implications for research in mobilities, especially protests. Finally, I discuss how this work can be inserted into a political framework of semiotic landscapes, namely *semiotopology* to bring together the relationship between place, bodies, and artefacts as constituting parts of meaning- making and society building (Stroud, Peck and Williams, 2019).



Bibliography

This contains a list of all references cited in the thesis.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Chapter 2. The makings of #Shackville

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I provide a short narrative account for the reader of the unfolding protest and the circumstances around its genesis and further development. Based on this account, I suggest further some of the main dimensions in the unfolding of racialization that need attending to in a theoretical framework for a placial politics of transformation. At the same time, I prepare the ground for a discussion of ethics and methodology in later chapters.

2.2. Build ups to Shackville

The story of UCT protests is, as will be told, a story of vulnerability lived, and agency sought. It is a story of one day of protest where students' anger at lack of eq uitable black access to a highly valorised place of historical white privilege, the slow pace of transformation, and the resilience of white normativity turned the UCT campus into a laboratory for the re-imagination/re-subjectivization of the black self, and an experiment in strategic ways to undermine or rewrite centuries of Blackness/racialization. Much has been written on the protest as such (Wa Azania 2014; Rhodes Must Fall Movement 2018; Jansen 2015; Xaba 2017; Ramaru 2017; Nyamnjoh 2015; Mangcu 2017), and on the problems of curriculum and fee transformation, and more generally, on the future of protest and the African university (Jansen, 2017). Less has been written on the focus of the current study, namely on understanding the protest as an act of Black (re)subjectification. I begin with a discussing of the 2015 student protest, #Rhodes Must Fall and continue with some notes on the protest under study here, #FeesMustFall.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

2.2.1. #RhodesMustFall

The spark that ignited the powder-keg that became #RhodesMustFall in 2015 was the perceived lack of transformation at the University of Cape Town specifically, but at historically White Universities more generally. Ramaru (2017) highlights this in the following quote:

> Black students spoke of the systematic exclusion that manifested itself through a Eurocentric curriculum, minimal staff transformation — where the majority of academics in senior positions and management were white — and, more shocking, that the University of Cape Town did not have a Black woman professor in 2015 (2017: 90)[4].

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Students begun to raise issues around the need to decolonize the institution, not only in terms of bodies on benches, but also with respect to language of instruction, curriculum, and the content taught (Makalela 2018; Mayaba 2018; van Reenen 2018; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2017). Much attention was paid to the lack of African languages as languages of teaching and learning in the majority of universities, with prominent speakers such as Prah (2017) speaking passionately on the decolonial import of African languages as providing at least the beginnings of a transformed curriculum in universities and in education at large[5]. For Prah (2017) decolonization must begin with embracing African languages as languages of education at universities,

[4] The situation is little changed today, 2021 (cf. Report of the Ministerial Task Team on the Recruitment, Retention and Progression of Black South African Academics).

[5] Keeping in mind, of course, that to introduce historically colonized African languages as Languages of Teaching and Learning is far from any guarantee of decolonization (cf. Veronelli, 2016; Stroud and Kerfoot, 2021)

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

A lack of transformation in Higher education perpetuates the historical vulnerability and marginality of Black students. Exclusion of African languages also hobbles students' epistemic access generally (Makalela 2018; Mayaba 2018; Motinyane 2018; Mwaniki *et al* 2018), and marginalizing indigenous African languages means that African ontologies and epistemologies remain on the fringes of institutions of higher learning, thereby reproducing colonial epistemologies that continue the alienation of African students from the curriculum and their knowledge systems (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2017) and ultimately from society. What excluding black languages, epistemologies and ontologies does accomplish, however, is the perpetuation of white privilege and Eurocentric history, and the reinforcement of the University as a site that continues to reproduce colonial values (Prah 2017; Makalela 2018; Mayaba 2018; Montinyane 2018; van Reenen 2018; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2017).

Thus, the 2015 Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) student protest sprung-up as an angry cry against an institutional culture that celebrated black oppression and colonial conquest in a myriad of ways – from textbooks to statues that excluded and marginalized black people (Ramaru 2017; Seepe 2017; Xaba 2017; Mangcu 2017). However, the match to the fuel that directly led to the explosion of the student movement in 2015 were the actions of one individual, Chumani Maxwele. On the 9th of March, Maxwele flung human excrement on the statue of Cecil John Rhodes that stood centre stage at UCT campus. Through his actions, he sought to protest what he termed a 'celebration of colonial legacy', and the persistence and contribution of a horrid past to a torrid present. The significance of his defacing a key piece of white memory and memorialization cannot be overestimated (see Train 2016; Woldermaran 2016; Ben-Rafael and Ben- Rafael 2016 for studies on the politics of memorial landscapes). Knudsen and Andersen (2019) "explore the geographies of contemporary struggles around colonial heritage" (2019: 239) argue that Chumani's actions, "initiate[d] a new kind of affective politics" (ibid: 240). The UCT based anthropologist Nyamnjoh suggested that the political act was "intended as a

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE
http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

metaphor to explain our collective Black Pain and express our collective disgust" (Nyamnjoh 2015:48) 'Black pain' – refers to a myriad socio-economic and affective issues following on the colonial dispossession of land' (Mpendukana and Stroud 2019). He goes on to say that the gesture signalled a refusal to study in "a university suffocating with relics of plunder, including having to graduate in a hall named after the imperialist, Leander Jameson…" (Nyamnjoh, 2015: 48)[6]. The act articulated a rejection and resistance towards alienating, undemocratic and anti-black symbols, thus highlighting the conflict between different ethical and moral stances.

The juxtaposition of faeces from a township portaloo with the statue of a founding colonist creates a poignantly salient moment where the material indignity of (easily available) shit – in all its 'fluidity', 'earthiness' and human subjection confronts the lofty materiality of a solid and ever-present colonial oppression. The layers of excrement that Chumani threw at the statue brought layers of Black pain into direct contact with the polished surfaces of colonialism. It was an enactment of Black rage in a space and context that literally oozed alienation, highlighting memories of historical Black vulnerability in current time in a most pungent articulation of a(n) *embodied semiotics* – the way in which place, artefacts and language create meanings that are welcoming, comforting or alienating and estranging (see Barni 2015). This political gesture, for its sensitivity and power, to reproduce humiliation at not having a flushing toilet – an infringement of dignity - brought to public discourse histories of dis-privilege, being poor and marginalized. Exploring similar themes, Knudsen and Andersen (2019) see the

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

[6] As one consequence of the protest, the hall was renamed Sarah Baartman Hall in 2018. According to the UCT website, "Sarah Baartman (or Saartjie, as she was known) was only 20 years old when she was taken away under false pretences by a British ship. In London she was exhibited as a freak show attraction. In 1814 she was sold to an animal trainer in France, where she died barely a year later of disease and homesickness. Her humiliation did not end there, however: a plaster cast was made of her body, which was then dissected, and her brain and genitalia were preserved in formalin. Her body was discussed by European scientists of that century as "the missing link between human and ape". Her remains were displayed in the Musée de l'Homme from 1816 until 1986, even after the Griqua people began requesting their return in the 1950s. Finally, in May 2002, Baartman was brought home to South Africa, with a traditional Khoisan ceremony held on 9 August 2002".

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

gesture as putting "the statue in motion by placing it in affective realm of repulsion and attraction concerning its fall from symbol to abject, semiotically speaking" (2019: 249). Above all, and at a deeper level as I have alluded above, it is the origins of the human excrement – where it was sourced and the political and socioeconomic space of lost hope and encroaching disillusion within which portable toilets are framed that carries the force of the action. The material presence of the poo accentuated the vulnerability of Black subjects as people unable to remove their bodies and wastes from public scrutiny. Furthermore, to lay the excrement of the poor at the feet of opulence and dominant moral standards creates a mirror-image moment of the macro processes that otherwise define the country. It is a suggestive gesture that pokes the failings of democracy and brings the two worlds into contact – a literal moment of shit spilling into colonial heritage and white privilege. Furthermore, it is a moment that suggests that the liberal politics of post-apartheid democracy has been seemingly unable to deal with the core politics of social deprivation, dehumanisation, and indignity. Mbembe (2019) highlights how "the brutality of democracies has been swept under the carpet" (2019: 16). It is in this context that the protest threw into sharp *relief* readings of post-1994 as only about progress and freedom. To some, especially those who are dubbed "the previously disadvantaged groups" that is, Blacks, Coloured, Indians and women, 'freedom' might seem "an illusion, a promise heard but not truly experienced – fresh new clothes that concealed the dogged persistence of humiliations of the past" (Nyamnjoh 2015: 50). 'Progress' and 'freedom' are the gloss of cosmetic changes that conceal the lack of a true sense of belonging, agency and voice and the affective fallout of being an absent presence in place/space.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

The Fallist Movement re-opened the debate about the meaning of democracy and ways of existing in the democratic South Africa for Blacks. Maxwele's action could, according to Fikeni (2016), be seen "not only an attempt to subvert the dominant value system but as a

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

beginning of a process of imagining new patterns of social, political and economic life in South Africa' (2016: 1). It was an act that showed dissatisfaction with the current status quo as all too resonant echo of the past. The art critic, Athi Joja, cited in Fikeni (2016), describes the moment when Chumani Maxwele threw faeces at the statue of Cecil John Rhodes, as a protest against the failures of democracy. For Joja,

> When Chumani throws shit there it shifts the entire context of (ikaka) shit. All of a sudden when you throw shit there you're shitting on 1994, you are shitting on democracy, you are shitting on all the dreams, you're shitting on the constitution" (2016: 1).

It was precisely the material aspects of post-apartheid South Africa that was picked up and further accentuated in the 2016 #FeesMustFall movement.

2.2.2. #FeesMustFall

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Chumani's actions inspired or contributed to the formation of the #RhodesMustFall Movement or #RMF in 2015. The movement took on global appeal at Oxford University and many other universities across the world. Out of this came what was subsequently known as the #FeesMustFall movement in 2016. Whereas RMF focused on dismantling the toxic hegemonic institutional culture and heritage that produced marginality and alienation for certain bodies and not others (specifically targeted, black bodies), the #FeesaMustFall (FMF)'s initial purpose was to call for fees to be relaxed to allow many more students to register and study for free – a fight against the vulnerabilities of financial exclusion. Despite this, there is much commonality across the #RMF and #FMF. In particular, both protests emanate out of the failures of democracy, and "a profound experience of alienation, of not being at home in the universities that are promoted as 'post-racial' and race and racism as things to get over" (Gibson, 2017:

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

584). One of the common threads across movements was deep concern with “the abject conditions of poor, black, queer, female-bodied subjects” (Ratele 2015: 59). The more specific and original demand of the #Shackville movement was to do with student residences and their occupation by foreign students whilst Black students from outside Cape Town were squeezed together in cramped lodgings. A very material expression of this was the construction of a ‘shack’ in the grounds on the UCT. As with Chumani’s throwing of excrement at the statue of Cecil Rhodes, the presence of a shack in ostentatious UCT also brought two separate worlds into visceral juxtaposition in a critique that resonated far beyond the walls of the university into the very halls of national democracy itself.

2.3. Shackville – the event

Shackville was the construction of a shack on the stairs of one of the main ‘avenues’ at UCT. and was built on the ‘gains’ of the RMF movement in a number of ways. The forms of resistance displayed by both student protests, (though largely framed by the old ways of protesting) remain distinct in how they problematized democratic progress. However, the Shackville protest was unique in several ways. Importantly, it was a protest that was done on *behalf of others*. Lindiwe, for example says to us about Shackville,

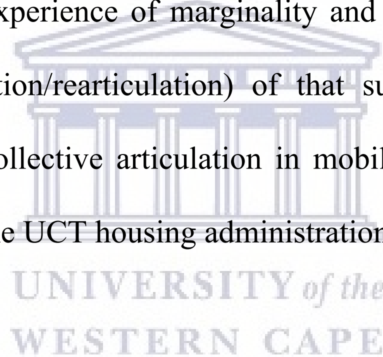
> It is an occupation. We call it Shackville Occupation. It’s in solidarity with students who don’t have residence. Some of these students were offered residence by the university and came from their homes all the way from Limpopo, Eastern Cape, Johannesburg and other places like Lesotho and they come here, and they don’t have student housing. UCT wanted to put them in a transit residence whereby it’s a hall that fits about 30 to 40 beds. Where students must sleep with strangers on their first time in Cape Town. “We’ve decided to put this Shackville residence as a way to symbolize that

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

we are unhappy with the living conditions whereas in this space where we are situated there are two residences behind us, Smuts Hall and Fuller Hall which are occupied by mostly white students who are from around Cape Town. When asked why they are staying here, they say they are just there "for the experience" http://livemag.co.za/featured/why-we-set-up-shackville-uct-students-share-their-stories/ Pam Dhlamini (who later reverted back to her African name, Lindiwe)

The conditions created by the crisis of residences illustrate starkly the racial complaint of Blackness; those who are poor and black are thrust towards a situation where they of necessity suffer less than hospitable conditions and more discomfort. We note how the Shackville protest is grounded in the embodied experience of marginality and how the protest is yet another 'materialization' (rematerialization/rearticulation) of that suffering. Another student also emphasizes the on-behalf-of, collective articulation in mobilization and solidarity of those students who feel let down by the UCT housing administration,


UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

I don't have any personal struggles with res but I know cadres who do. Last week, we were trying to get first years into res, so UCT management moved them to Riverview Lodge and now they are trying to turn Riverview into a res. But students live six people in a room, there's no Wi-Fi. We are trying to show that there are students – white or black – who live close to UCT and therefore don't need res but live at res. Whereas we have students from [far away] who are now living at Riverside, and they don't have family around here. And also, the fact that there are so many international students who have res, so who does UCT prioritise? – voice of Yonela Makoba, who has been part of RMF since its inception).

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

One of the most salient features of the Shackville protest shared with the #RMF is the dimension of the *vulnerability* and exposure of the least resourced students. The purpose is clearly to point to, and reveal, this *vulnerability* (Butler 2012; 2014) and disadvantage that is otherwise concealed through the university's attempts to host students in cheap and private off-campus facilities. Another shared feature is that the protest is very much about a vulnerability that is the consequence of 'spatial exclusion' – the very real, physical/material lack of adequate housing for these students from outside Cape Town who are already disadvantaged in not having available the resources to rent private accommodation. Residences as 'luxury' – the playground of the rich and fortunate who live on residences for the 'experience' is held up against residences as necessity for the poorer peers. When students said 'Rhodes Must Fall' they were dealing with issues of presence and recognition. Shackville makes material and 'everyday' the vulnerability of exclusion. In many respects, what is playing out here on UCT's campus is a microcosm of what plays out on the national canvas with the lack of necessary housing in urban spaces for those who – principally of economic necessity – move to cities such as Cape Town in search of a better life. Mbembe (2015) captures the vulnerability articulated in both movements with the words, "the age of agency is also an age when new wounded bodies erupt and undertake to actually occupy spaces they used to simply haunt" (Mbembe 2015). In this regard, the student protests flow directly from a long history of injustices and a normalization of forms of exclusion.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

2.4. The chronology of #Shackville

In this section I narrate the events surrounding Shackville to contextualize some of the moments that will be addressed in more detail in the analysis. I attempt to give a bird's eye view of the events that unfolded in the first day of the protest and follow on with the events that unfolded in the second day of the protest to give the large brushstrokes of the turn of

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

happenings. My diary-like narrative also touches on some of the methodological issues that arose for me (again dealt with in more detail in later chapters), as well as allows me to narrate the events from a particular perspective. I am mindful that my perspective on the events emerges out of a particular reflective stance and retrospective engagement[7]

2.4.1. Day 1.

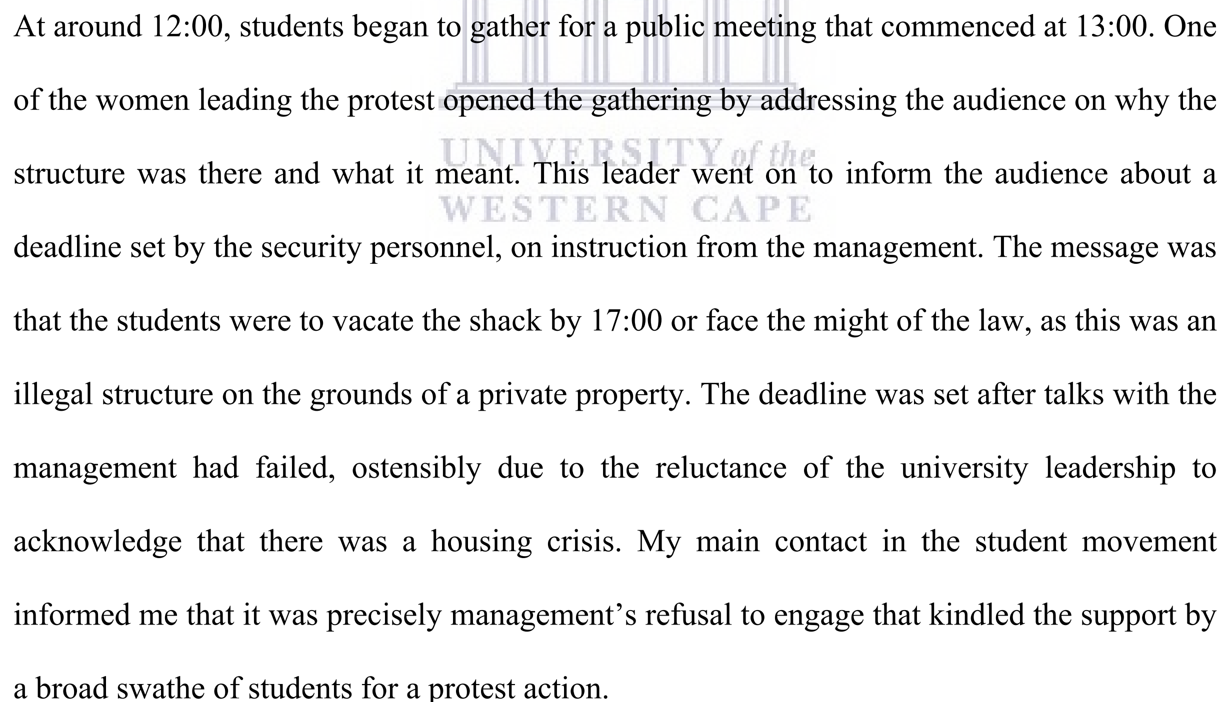
#Shackville was erected on 15 of February 2016 in the morning between 07:30 and 08:30 AM, a date strategically chosen to coincide with the first day of the term in the new academic year. As one of the central participants of Shackville informed me, the shack had been bought from the township of Khayelitsha the day before (14 February 2016, which was a Sunday) and transported in a mini-van (bakkie) by the seller and his helpers in the morning of the 15 February 2016 to coincide with the opening of the university to students. The idea to erect the structure early in the morning was to bypass security officers and ensure the structure was erected without major hindrance as some of the security officers were between shifts - testimony to how well planned the operation was. Shacks are sold as easily to assemble sides that consist of one back, two sides, a front with a window and a door and the roof. This design makes it relatively easy to put together a shack.

As I came to work around 07:50, the protesters were putting the final touches to the shack. My reaction was that of surprise, awe, and amusement, as I, nor anybody else surely, could have expected to find a shack at UCT let alone the fact that it was a complete structure with doors and windows. The mood was jovial, and the protesters told me that they intended to sleep in the shack. There were blankets and fruit on the floor. Some protesters were sleeping in the shack when I arrived. I was informed that the shack had sprung up literally 'overnight' - as a

[7] This perspective also informs the analysis (cf. Chapter below on methodology).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE
http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

protest for lack of accommodation and how poor students were left stranded by management as they could not afford accommodation outside of UCT. The Student Representative Council – a body that fights for students – was not yet active at this time because, they themselves as students were still returning to UCT from holiday. In many ways this created a leadership vacuum in terms of attending to student grievances, one that was readily filled by the #Shackville protesters. Most of the students behind #Shackville had been central figures in the Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) collective when the 2015 RMF action had dominated political discourse at UCT, and indeed across the country. Their intention was clearly to leverage that protest and build on its momentum. A salient and interesting feature of #Shackville was that the protest was being led by women, a deliberate decision intended to dilute the hyper-masculine dominance of males in the volley of protests that had preceded #Shackville.


UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

At around 12:00, students began to gather for a public meeting that commenced at 13:00. One of the women leading the protest opened the gathering by addressing the audience on why the structure was there and what it meant. This leader went on to inform the audience about a deadline set by the security personnel, on instruction from the management. The message was that the students were to vacate the shack by 17:00 or face the might of the law, as this was an illegal structure on the grounds of a private property. The deadline was set after talks with the management had failed, ostensibly due to the reluctance of the university leadership to acknowledge that there was a housing crisis. My main contact in the student movement informed me that it was precisely management's refusal to engage that kindled the support by a broad swathe of students for a protest action.

As the hour of the deadline drew closer, tensions where heightened. Campus security began watching the students more closely, protests songs erupted, and the protesters started to burn

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

tyres in anticipation of an imminent showdown with security. Some of the signage and graffiti writings around #Shackville begun to mirror the bubbling anger of students and their anticipation of what was to follow. The hour came and went with no management in sight and no attempt by the securities to tear down the shack. At 18: 20, I had to leave the protest site in order to commute to Khayelitsha, one of the largest 'townships' in South Africa where I resided.

At home, I kept a close watch on the unfolding of events on social media. At that point, the main source of information was the Rhodes Must Fall page on Facebook. I came to learn the following day around 18:00, just after I had left the scene, some students had felt hungry, and tired from the singing, resolved to "invade" Fuller Hall and Smuts Hall – to get some food. The choice of these two halls was a deliberate one: the two halls housed the most affluent segment of UCT students, and for that reason, the food served there was of "high quality and very delicious" (anonymous student voice). Whilst the protesting students were eating, one of them exclaimed "I cannot eat nicely because of this colonialist looking at me", referring to a painting of one of the white, male historical alumni hanging in the hall. The aggrieved student then proceeded to remove the painting from the wall, prompting others to join in and take down other paintings in the hall. What happened next was to become a pivotal point in the protest event; a call was made by one student to burn the paintings as a symbol of their disdain for what they saw as a continuation of the 'celebration of white colonists who had inflicted genocide against Black people'. The subsequent infamous burning of this historically valuable collection precipitated the engagement of the public order police on the scene. One of their first actions was to, without warning, tear down the shack in an attempt to quell, what they perceived to be, a rebellion, and to assert their authority and restore order. Students who tried to block the police from taking down the shack were overpowered by private security officers and the

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

police and dispersed with stun grenade fire. Police gave chase to the fleeing students, arresting two of them. Other arrests followed.

Protesters attempted to re-erect the badly damaged shack but gave up after a while, as they feared more arrests. Most of these events unfolded after dark and continued into the night; reports were circulated blow by blow on the Rhodes Must Fall Facebook page through pictures shared, posts and videos of the events as they were taking place. The #hashtag #Shackville served to connect the post to the reports and bolster the narrative that the students wanted to build. The retrospective conversations and engagements I subsequently had with a number of the leaders of the protest allowed me to flesh out the detail of what had transpired during the night.

2.4.2. Day 2.

On the second day of the protest, more arrests were made of students suspected of being involved in the events of the first day, including the arrest of bystanders who had not been direct participants in the protest. On this day, tensions were much higher since students "felt that management didn't take them seriously". Instead of the Vice Chancellor coming out to address them, a hastily formed committee, set-up specifically to deal with the situation, the Senior Executive Task Team (SETT) was sent to do the job of engaging with the protesters. The team included the Deputy Vice Chancellor at the time. Interestingly, this apparently unsettled students because the committee only had Black African members whom students felt, firstly, had 'no power' to address their grievances.', and secondly would have meant that 'they [the students] were being pitted against black professionals in the university', being forced to engage on an acrimonious basis with their own 'kind'. It was in this spirit that the students refused to speak to the task team.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

The scenes that met my eyes on the second day showed how the protest had shifted gear; from a protest against a lack of student housing, it had become more focused on the way in which the protest had been violently quelled by police and security personnel. I came across a truck belonging to an outreach project of UCT that had been set alight during the night at Upper Campus and a shuttle bus (belonging to the UCT shuttle service, Jammie Shuttle) that had also been torched at Lower Campus (cf. Figure 1 and 2.) Some voices seemed to claim that the burning of the truck and the bus were a revenge for the wrongful arrest of innocent students. The truck itself became a material screen for different student voices and contesting messages. Other messages mourned the destruction with a wrath of flowers laid on the vehicle. On the other hand, another message quipped, "no flowers for Shackville". These were indicative of the highly polarized views around the protests. On the site of Shackville, there was a writing "Shackville, a site of forced removal" in white cloth pinned down with pieces of small bricks and another writing on a piece of cardboard "stop shooting at Black students". There were securities on the site putting out remnants of a fire of tyres from the night before that also contained the ashes of the paintings[8].

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

[8] I discuss these messages in more detail and framed in the idea of 'violence as a genre' in Chapter 7

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Figure 1 *(picture taken at Upper Campus, UCT, 16 February 2016)*

Figure 2 *(picture taken at Lower Campus, UCT, 16 February 2016)*

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

I return in Chapter 7 to the significant role played over time by these vehicles , almost serving as a political forum for students' contesting views on the #Shackville protest.

2.5. Themes across #Shackville and #RMF

What we see emerging in the chronology are several themes, theoretical as well as methodological that the events of the #Shackville protest put into relief.

2.5.1. Articulating vulnerability: Black pain

Firstly, there is the wedding of a decolonial and transformative program of action, borne out of the RMF, into an equally ideological program of resistance in the face of a perpetuated historical coloniality. In other words, a decolonial ethos was put to work on a real, substantial vulnerability, and there is then a shared recognition of vulnerability as a catalyst for mobilization. Over and above this similarity with the Rhodes Must Fall (as well as a shared leadership), what off-set the #Shackville protest from the RMF/FMF is how the decolonial rhetoric was woven into the fabric of the everyday concerns with inequity – material and otherwise – regarding the practical-political issue of access to student accommodation. #Shackville went beyond an exercise in curricular transformation; it was an attempt to leverage decolonial thinking – repackaged into the more familiar format of a service-delivery protest – to solve a concrete problem. Vulnerability in a manifold of senses, for example, poverty but also indignity in one way produces the subjecthood of 'victim', but it is also because of this a powerful catalyst for productive political agency. I discuss racialized Blackness and its modalities of vulnerability in Chapter 3 and expand in Chapter 5 on the affective regime of Black pain layered into the material and semiotic environment of UCT.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

2.5.2. Articulating vulnerability: Out-of-placedness as a 'decolonial' political front

The mode in which 'vulnerability' is articulated also shares commonalities across both the RMF and the #Shackville protests. Both protests frame, and articulate, the 'mobilization' in terms of a discourse (variously semiotically achieved) of 'out-of-placedness'. In each case, there is a *fetishization* of – what we could call – *out-of-placedness*. Maxwele's faeces are 'matter out-of-place'; the 'sudden strangeness' of a colonial statue in a post-apartheid space, the burnt wreck of the bus and bakkie in the serene grounds of a liberal white university, and of, course, the township shack, likewise impinging on space not usually thought to accommodate such structures are all tremendously, markedly, aberrant, - worlds brought into jarring juxtaposition, bringing the world out of kilter. As with #RMF, the deployment of shit as a protest tool was salient in #FMF but this time in an institutionally more resemiotized/rematerialized sense as a portable loo, a salient architectural landmark of almost every South African township.[9] Below, in Chapter 6, I discuss this conjunctural out-of-placedness as a focal pivot for the re-narrativization of place/belonging; it is what provides the framing or ground for the figure of the protest text, and what picks up and amplifies Black pain into a collective and unfolding protest front. In all cases, the 'text' of the protest is literally 'inscribed' onto this fetish – the faeces are thrown at the statue, and the statue itself re-inscribes, politicizes, the faeces; the shack comes to comprise a mesh of complex meanings inscribed onto its body; and as we have seen in Figures (1 and 2), the burnt carcass of the car becomes the site of the continuing protest long after the main body of protesting students have left the main stage.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

[9] Generally, the use of human faeces as a protest tool in the South African political landscape has become an almost conventionalized modality of political activism.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

2.5.3. Violence as a (political) genre

A third feature of similarity is in the disillusionment of the protesters with the formal institutional means of conflict or problem resolution. In fact, there was a clear perception as I noted above that the SETT team was merely an instrument to reinforce, perpetuate, their vulnerability (on racial grounds) as nothing would come out of – the group was a toothless construction. In some respects, only, the movements are profoundly critical of 'democracy' and the willingness and ability of democratically constituted bodies, governmental structures, and institutions to engage in transformation. There is a questioning of the very idea of formal deliberative democratic practices as able to deliver equitable conditions, or more generally to be a viable system of consensual engagement. The critique is both a theoretical critique (as in FMF/RMF) strongly informed by decolonial thinking, as well as a practical-political critique. It was evident in the groups' refusal to negotiate with the 'management committee' sent to defuse the #Shackville conflict, but was also manifest in the everyday, rhizomatic and 'leaderless' workings of the protests themselves. On the other hand, there are appeals and even nods of affirmation to what we could call democratic niceties, evident in references to who should have priority to campus housing' (namely those indigenous to (South) Africa and in need – a nationalist view of citizenship all too familiar from the regular, loud Afro-phobic outbursts of post-apartheid South Africa,) and in the groups' desires to accommodate gender considerations in the make-up of their leadership. In other words, while eschewing certain aspects of deliberative, democratic principle and practice, other facets of formal protocol were embraced.

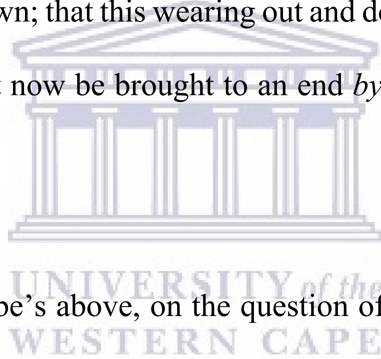
What is remarkable in both movements is spontaneity as a modality of political action. In the #Shackville protest, this was seen among other ways in the 'spontaneous', impulsive, burning of the artwork. Fanon, on this type of action, has written from the perspective of trade unions

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

or political organizations dedicating a chapter on the discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of spontaneity. Towards the end of the chapter, he makes crucial points relevant to the actions of the students pinpointing a break and disillusionment with stale practices of old politics in favour of "politics that are national, revolutionary and social and these are new facts which the native will now come to know exist only in action" (Fanon 1967a: 117). Mbembe (2015) refers to the rise of the student protests as a "Fanonian moment", claiming that:

> What is being said is that twenty years after freedom, we have not disrupted enough the structures that maintain and reproduce "white power and supremacy"; that this is the reason why too many amongst us are trapped in a "bad life" that keeps wearing them out and down; that this wearing out and down of black life has been going on for too long and must now be brought to an end *by all means necessary* (Mbembe 2015); my emphasis).


UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

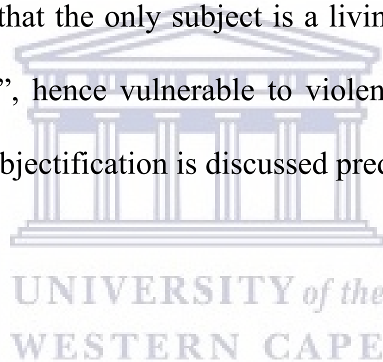
In a similar sentiment to Mbembe's above, on the question of, and the necessity of violence, Fanon makes a bold statement, "violence alone, committed by the people, violence organized and educated by its leaders, makes it possible for the masses to understand social truths and gives the key to them" (ibid: 118). The #Shackville protest contained many of the elements described above through its sheer force as a material reality.

What we see in the violent unfolding of the protest (and especially in the aftermath) is a massive project of Black political subjectification. Vulnerability, of course, as with inequity and other forms of exclusion is a fertile ground on which to mobilize demands for affirmation and equal treatment in the polity. It is one of the dimensions which has extended the reach and meaning

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

of ‘liberal citizenship’ historically and has as its main benefit a widening scope with regards to ‘who may count’.

The decolonial essence of this protest is to be found in an emerging Black consciousness of Black agency. At the centre of the protests, among other things, were questions of identity and belonging, namely “who are African people? Or what does it mean to be African”. This extends to questions of belonging in terms of who has a ‘right’ to demand belonging in a particular space and a particular moment and in whose voices must such claims be articulated. Here, then, we begin to appreciate the contradiction in approaching issues of exclusion in the terms laid down by the very excluding system itself. This point also emphasized by Mbembe (2019: 5) who states, “Fanon understood that the only subject is a living one. As living, the subject is immediately open to the world”, hence vulnerable to violence. The issue of violence as a political modality in Black re-subjectification is discussed predominantly in Chapter 7.

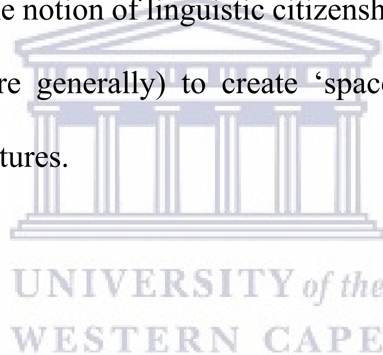

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

2.5.4. Material ethnography

From a methodological perspective, the protests highlight the materiality of the protest. There is a growing interest in studying mass protest, places at the centre mobility, space, bodies and contestations of place (e.g., Rojo 2014, 2016; Kitis and Milani 2016; Bagna and Barni 2015; Kasanga and Said 2016) and as such, these studies gravitate beyond ‘the textual signs themselves towards voices’ (Seal 2017) and includes ‘the performativity of the body’ (Kitis and Milani, 2016; Fanon,1967a) as a semiotic resource. Most remarkably, the protests are about absences being made presences through chains of resemiotized discourses across modalities and material artefacts. This suggests that an appropriate framework for analysing these protests and re-subjectifications of Blackness is a Semiotic Landscapes Studies, and more specifically,

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

of a material ethnography of semiotic landscapes (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009). Semiotic landscape analysis promises to offer unique insights on #Shackville precisely because one of its central concerns is that of mapping the semiotics of presence, erasure, or absence of voices in place (e.g., Train, 2016), and about turning space into place, or “thin place” into “thick place” (Casey, 1997). In Chapter 4, I detail the methodological and ethical considerations of working with emplaced and vulnerable populations, and in Chapter 5,6 and 7 use semiotic landscape analysis to articulate the themes identified above, namely, an articulation of vulnerability (Chapter 5), the building of a political front (Chapter 6) and resubjectification of a Black self (Chapter 7). I thus explore how place was semiotized through #Shackville in ways that articulated a particular voice and a specific presence, and by way of concluding discussion, I frame this analysis in terms of the notion of linguistic citizenship (Stroud, 2001, 2017), the use of language (and semiosis more generally) to create ‘spaces’ of unanticipated action by rewriting pasts and refiguring futures.



2.5. Summary

In this chapter, I have given a bird’s eye view of the unfolding of the #Shackville protest event and attempted to contextualize it in a wider account of post-apartheid politics and link it into the specificities of student protest movements in recent South African history. I have used this to expand in some measures on the questions and objectives of the thesis raised in Chapter 1 and sifted out some more precise theoretical and methodological themes that will structure the bulk of this thesis.

In the next chapter, I provide a brief presentation of literature critically in three dimensions, namely (a) how a wider understanding of semiotic register is required to deal with Blackness subjectification, especially considering the embodiment that takes place in place; and (b) that a Fanonian interpretation of this literature points to ways in which our understandings of

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

subjectification in general, and Blackness in particular, can be taken further; and (c) explore how the notion of linguistic citizenship may further a Fanonian perspective on Black re-subjectification

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Chapter 3. Fanon, Blackness and Linguistic Citizenship

3.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I suggested that an important – although more neglected aspect - of the student protests was an 'exercise' in reconstructing a notion of Blackness outside of the 'ontological' premises of histories of white colonialism and apartheid. In this chapter, I argue that to understand the nature of contemporary Blackness and to chart a way beyond the vulnerabilities of our present time, we require a theory of subjectification (the making of subjects) focusing on the role of vulnerability and violence (specifically Black pain) in the constitution of subjecthood; addressing the role of historical structures at different scales (from the macro to everyday interaction) in the making of subjects; and focusing on how encounters and new socialities may facilitate or impede the (re)formation the self. Importantly, this will also oblige us to entertain a different take on language. To this end, I review and discuss one of the most influential thinkers on 'blackness', the Martinique psychiatrist, philosopher and revolutionary, Frantz Fanon, in order to lay the groundwork for Black (re)subjectification. Fanon is an eminently appropriate writer to engage with around the #Shackville protest, and more generally, around protest events in South Africa. Mabogo More suggests one reason for Fanon's relevance in post-apartheid South Africa,

> "No philosopher, political theorist, or radical and revolutionary thinker could have approximated Fanon's insightful and prophetic vision of South Africa as a post-colonial state. Indeed, most observers of post-apartheid, apartheid South Africa are agreed on the prescience, preciseness and relevance of Fanon's work in the country." (2014: 1). (cf. also Gibson 2011; 2017).

Fanon's discussion on "the pitfalls of national consciousness" captures the structural intricacies

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE
http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

of the transference of institutions from colonial (apartheid) administrators to new governments. He sounded a warning about an "underdeveloped middle class" that lacks real power to affect meaningful structural changes. In the case of South Africa, it could be argued that 'white' masters with black bodies will maintain the status quo while keeping 'coloniality' intact through an inheritance of a system of governance– a situation that epitomizes South Africa.

Secondly, Fanon was first and foremost, a revolutionary who considered 'abstract' theorizing and ideologies of value only if they served to pursue more equitable concrete and particularly political, socioeconomic and social relations. Although the students at #Shackville sought to propose a more encompassing decolonial agenda, they are nevertheless principally concerned (at least initially) with questions of material and socioeconomic justice for poor and rural students, displaced/ excluded from accommodation. Significantly, the students themselves were led by their readings of Fanon in how they understood and tactically manoeuvred their protest.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Thirdly, the #Shackville protest provides a small-scale laboratory (not on the scale of the Algerian revolution) for tracing how protest against the existential and material conditions that are at the nexus of Fanon's thought worked in practice to generate a 'political' re-subjectification of Blackness. Here, I introduce Fanon's idea of 'violence' as a condition for re-subjectification something which, if only with minimal intensity is clearly present in this protest landscape. (I further develop this in Chapter 7).

Importantly Fanon's alternative and a more 'inclusive' understanding of 'language' as a 'material' factor in subjectification (cf. Fanon, 1967) as well as revolutionary transformation (cf. Khalfa and Young, 2019; Mpendukana and Stroud, ftc.) is core. Importantly, Fanon's phenomenological and corporeal (Allen 2004) perspective on language opens-up for a broader construct of 'language', and more broadly semiotics, one that embraces multimodality and that

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

also includes semiotic landscapes. Given the need for a semiotically mediated new sociality for a resubjectified political agency and transformative change, I briefly discuss two approaches to linguistic/semiotic racialization, raciolinguistics (e.g., Alim, 2016; Alim and Reyes, 2011; Flores, 2013, 2016; Rosa, 2018) and Linguistic Citizenship (Stroud, 2001; Stroud, 2015; Williams and Stroud, 2017; Stroud and Williams, 2018). I bring Fanon into dialogue with the notion of Linguistic Citizenship specifically, which holds forth the importance of linguistically mediated plural constituencies in (trans)forming agency and voice for those marginalized. Of central importance here is how the notion of Linguistic Citizenship articulates with 'vulnerability (violence) – black pain - and with performance genres of politics (#Shackville). By engaging, Linguistic Citizenship, I also attempt to lock into a view of language, broadly conceived, that Fanon held as *material action*, and that is a hallmark of how language is used in the protest.

It is within this framing that I seek to connect the events that surround Shackville to a Fanonian thought. This also informs the direction for a political framing of semiotic landscape research and offers some insight into material role of semiosis in revolutionary change (Wynter 2003) also to be discussed in the concluding chapter.

In what follows, I principally deal with the material in his two best known works, *'Black Skin, White Masks* (henceforth 'Black Skin') and *Wretched of the Earth* (henceforth 'Wretched') published within a period of 10 years and returning in later chapters to his other work on decolonization and decolonial strategies. The main focus in this chapter is to lay the groundwork in thinking 'blackness' in such a way that will serve as a foundation for the following chapters.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

3.2. Fanon on Blackness as Black pain

I noted in Chapter 2 that there is a deep existential issue in #Shackville – and generally with Black articulation – namely the question of "who am I?", "what can I become" (if unshack-led). The question emerges out of the vulnerability and discomfort of the marginalization of the black body (here understood in the context of the university and its provisions, but also more generally). They are also questions that Fanon addresses in his oeuvre, and in particular in his two volumes, *Black Skin, White Masks* and *Wretched of the Earth*.

Fanon's classic '*Black Skins, White Mask's* is an exploration of the "lived experience of the black" – what it means to be black in an anti-black and white supremacist world (Rabaka, 2010: 53) seen from a 'bricolage' of theoretical perspectives covering psychoanalysis, existential phenomenology, and engagements with a 'black consciousness' movement of the time, the Negritude movement of Césaire and Senghor (among others). Fanon's "psycho-sociopolitical existential phenomenology of race" (Rabaka 2010: 53) provides us with a viable cartography with which to discern the multifaceted complexities of race as experienced in former colonies and thus his "critique of racism remains an important precursor of Critical Race Theory". Moreover, and relevant to this work, is how his reflections contribute to a crucial understanding how anti-Black racism constructs and deconstructs the subjectivities of both Black and White people, particularly how colonial subjugation oversees the opportunities of engagement and disengagement. This he lays bare by pointing to this aspect as of significant importance in understanding how psychology of colonialism plays out in "the alienated (duped) blacks and "the alienated (duping and duped) whites" (Fanon 1967b: 29).

Fanon's fundamental insight is that Blackness is a construct of whiteness – the experience of being black is "a creation of, and reaction to, whiteness" (Rabaka, 2010: 54), in Fanon's words, to be black is to be 'a white man's artifact', where "willy nilly the black man [negro] has to

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

wear the livery the white man has sewed for him" (Fanon 1967b: 34). To be Black is to be deprived of any of liberties given to human beings and to live a precarious existence. The existential significance of Blackness as a construct of Whiteness is captured in Fanon's classical anecdote of the little boy with his mother coming across a black man (Fanon) who was boarding a train in Lyons. When the boy exclaimed, "look, a negro…. Mama, see the Negro! I am frightened!" (Fanon, 1967b: 112), Fanon describes how he was made/interpellated in that moment as 'pure exteriority'. In this case, the black experiences himself through the white gaze – a 'being-for-the-Other' – that reduces him to an epidermis; he is 'sealed in a world without reciprocity'. A victim of the "epidermalization of race", its internalization and the anxieties of experiencing colonialism's crushing weight of white gaze on a black man. The example illustrates how the manufacture of Black dehumanization takes place in everyday interactional engagements, and through discursive constructions and representations, where Blackness is repeatedly called into existence as 'skin' and construed as nothing beyond this outer shell. In the author's words, this translates to "the phenomenon as being seen as a thing, a mechanistic effect, a being without inner life or self-control", 'an epidermal surface' governed purely by causal factors. The example illustrates an important aspect of the existential understanding of 'corporeality' - the body-schema – which is key to how we act and interact agentively on the world and our Others. The "racial epidermal schema" that takes over in the interaction imprisons and shackles the black man in a "triple person", namely 'his body, his race, and his ancestry' (Fanon: 1967b: 112). Because of this, the image of self, of being in the world, which is a foremost precondition for acting in and on the is beyond the control of blackness. Effectively, the black man is a slave to the white construction of his being, he is imprisoned in a body other than his own (also Mbembe 2017). The construct of himself is dual *scissiparity*; 'reproduction through 'fission', a neologism or novel use of a scientific word – Macey (2000) informs us – from 'microscopy techniques – an instrument used for cutting

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

specimens into thin sections. In disaffirming blackness, blacks are self-negating, and simultaneously, their "unconscious internalization of anti-black racism made them complicit in the white supremacy" (p. 65).

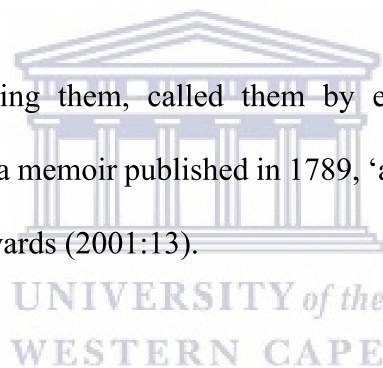
The result here is that living-as-black under white gaze is an existence in trauma, annihilation, inauthenticity, and vulnerability. This is the sense of 'Black pain' that accompanies Black existence and that will emerge and find articulation in the in the #Shackville protest. Even in attempting to appear, the fate of blackness under white gaze is that of preordained conditions of (dis)appearance locked in collective subjectivities. According to Lazali (2011), "subjectivity carries the traces of a collective history" (Lazali, 2011: 150). The history constructed by white men, of making an object out of blackness. To lock blackness into skin is to lock skin into a particular history, understanding and perceptions of "being black". That history is deeply entangled with constructs of the 'other' driven by colonialism, a historical moment continuing today in how subjects are fabricated as distanced from themselves – characterized by a process of loss, humiliation - with no existence beyond the label the White Other has imposed. Colonialism created a "savage slot" for the Black to inhabit– "a space for the inherently Other" (Trouillot 2003: 1) characterised by the extremes of violent constructions. Referring specifically to the case of the French colonization of Algiers, Fanon remarks on how it

> inserted itself into the very heart of the Algerian individual, and from there undertook a careful work of effacement, of expulsion from the self, of rationally pursued mutilation" (in L'an 1967: 65) cited in Lazali (2011: 150).

Fanon introduces 'the zone of non-being' to capture this disassociated self. This is a "zone neither of appearance nor disappearance" (Gordon, 2007: 10), suspended between a fully recognized humanity (White) and a position beneath humanity. It is a peculiar position that is

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

above (in some ways) to animals but occupies a position of being an object of and a fetish for sadistic violence – the savage slot (Trouillot, 2003). This is a position beyond the dichotomy of presence and absence, and beyond recognition and misrecognition; it is instead a position of 'negative presence' (Gordon, 2007). C.LR James gives an account of how the view of 'slaves'/blacks as property dehumanized them, robbed them of their humanity and threw them into 'the zone-of-non-being' through a concentrated, systematic and deliberate degradation to support the continued enslavement of people (cf. James 2001). This was largely driven through the stereotypical naming that made slaves (read black people) as less human to justify their enslavement. James captures the importance of naming by recounting how writers of the time viewed and labelled negroes,


UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

> the planters, hating them, called them by every opprobrious name. 'The Negroes' says in a memoir published in 1789, 'are unjust, cruel, barbarous, half human…and cowards (2001:13).

We note how black people are portrayed as below human recognition, and their existence is perceived to be that of an object – 'things,' instruments of white servitude. This deprives black people the full value of their humanity. Not only is the zone of non-being defined by dehumanization, but it is also defined by gratuitous violence as a necessary evil to regulate the condition of the negative existence of blackness in the white world.

Common across Fanon's different writings is how the politics of encounter unfold in a world defined through lenses of whiteness as a norm. There appears to be an inherent inability in Whiteness to name and describe that which is not 'you' and yet, despite your lack of recognition of that which is not you, it is 'given' to you. This encapsulates the foundations of 'othering' –

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

the 'giving of the body back to a person "sprawled out, distorted, recoloured…." (1967b: 113) that Fanon describes so hauntingly. Black people are not only denied agency, but also a lack of human feeling which positions them as repositories of 'terror/ fear/ savagery'. Therefore, violence was easily visited on their bodies and everyday encounters were framed in relations of the subjugation and the regulation of black bodies – something that remains the case today. Their resistance against this repression – the fight for recognition, their desire to be "men among men" as per Fanon lays primarily in finding a means of catharsis.

3.2.1. Sociogenes

The formation of the Black illustrates what Fanon calls s*ociogenes*. This is the generative dynamic that "emerges from the social world, the intersubjective world of culture, history, language and economics" (Fanon, 1967; Gordon, 2015: 22). Sociogeny is the weave of "a thousand details, anecdotes and stories" (Fanon 1967b: 111) through which the symbolic is made flesh, and the skin and eye opened-up to cultural context (Gibson and Beneduce, 2017: 71). Attention to corporeality and identity has increased across several disciplines (e.g., psychology, history, and anthropology), and not least in sociolinguistics (e.g., Bucholtz and Hall 2016). Likewise, studies of affect (trauma) and identity/sense of self has taken stage in many recent studies (e.g., Wee 2016; Wee and Goh 2019; Knudsen and Andersen 2019 etc.). Language is one of the important modalities through which the psyche and body are glued into the *social* world; historically white constructs of language and ways of speaking, conserved in institutions and enacted in the everyday, work to imprint a racialized socioeconomics onto bodies, and minds, black or white. The interactional and discursive construction of Blackness and Black subjectivity, takes place in everyday relationships of "impossible encounters", what Lewis Gordon calls intersubjective failure and 'radical asymmetry' (Lazali, 2011:154) involving denial of reciprocity between black and white. These (violent) formations do not just

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

take place across unequal and 'racializing' encounters, but equally through how blackness is depicted/represented in literature, text, and other modalities. Much of the work that has studied these formations of Black selves has been done under the rubric of racialization. I explore briefly how racializations are constructed and mediated through linguistic means, focusing on how speakers, through complex and ambivalent techniques, construct "their own or others' racial identities in discourse. I discuss racialization under three rubrics; (1) the interactive accomplishment of race; (2) the discursive-representational construction of race and (3) the material/spatial dimensions of racialization. I then discuss how these dimensions of Blackness subjectification are approached in two analytical frameworks, Raciolinguistics and of Linguistic Citizenship.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

3.2.1.1. Racialization in interaction

One way in which the divisive system of the apartheid era, earlier maintained through residential segregation and racial categorization remains a steady presence in post-apartheid South Africa (cf. Chapter 2) is through language and discourses of identity. Bucholtz has noted, "how social categories once thought to be fixed and unproblematic are in fact constructed via linguistic practices" (Bucholtz 1999: 442). In contemporary sociolinguistics notions such as style and stylization have gained centre stage as means of understanding how interlocutors do identity work (Bucholtz, 2009). Style is increasingly seen as the multimodal and multidimensional performance of many different semiotic practices (Bucholtz, 2009; Coupland, 2008), which opens-up for exploring how the cut on one's clothes as well as how the semiotic environment is stitched together works in conjunction with more conventional linguistic features in racialization. Central to the performance of style and stylization is the notion of indexicality where speakers 'take stances, create alignments and construct personas' through interactional practices and ideological representations. Bucholtz underscores how the

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

notion of stance is “a critical mediating concept between linguistic forms and larger social structures” (2009: 165). Stance finds reflection in Goffman’s notions such as *footing* that refers to “how interactants simultaneously are positioned and do positioning work” (Collins and Slembrouck, 2007: 6), and *alignment* that refers to how speakers variously resist, reject, or align themselves with particular stances in the pursuit of particular identities (cf. Slembrouck, 2007). These interactional dynamics are very much connected to ideological infrastructures.

We can see these aspects of racialization taking place in the following snippet of a South African talk show interview that took place in 2016. In the excerpt, we follow an exchange between a realtor in Durban, Penny Sparrow, and Phat Joe, the radio talk show host. Sparrow, a white middle-aged woman, had risen to notoriety after a post had gone viral on Facebook a few weeks earlier. In that post she had likened Black revellers on the beaches of Durban on New Year’s Eve to ‘‘monkeys”. When challenged with being racist, her defence was that she loved monkeys, but that they also tended to empty waste from scavenging in garbage bins onto beaches, so thereof the likeness, but that no racial slur had been intended.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

In the call-in talk show that took place a couple of weeks later, Sparrow appeared initially unaware that her host was Black until he himself declared it, whereupon the following exchange took place:

1. Phat Joe: So hold on I'm a black man I'm a monkey is that what you saying?
2. Sparrow: Really you don’t sound black at all. That is surprising. Were you educated? Were you educated Joe? Were you?
3. Phat Joe: I don't even wanna dignify that with an answer

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

4. Sparrow: You speak very well, its a compliment for a black man. I'm sorry.
5. Phat Joe: Penny why did you even apologise? What was with the apology?

The exchange is a vivid illustration of a marked lack of relationality and intersubjectivity, as well as illustrating the centrality of language in Black racialization. In line 2, Sparrow avoids directly answering the question as to whether the radio interviewer is a 'monkey', thereby leaving the presupposition that this might be a possibility unchallenged. Generally, Sparrow explicitly avoids engaging with any of the questions or prompts by the interviewer, seemingly intent only on pursuing her own train of thought throughout the interview. She chooses, for example, to focus on the fact of the interviewer's declared Blackness by way of reference to the standard of his English – "you do not sound Black at all….were you educated?", making explicit an assumed link between a particular language variety ("good English") and a racialized White body, and ostensibly taken aback by a body of the wrong colour sounding the way it does - White. She flags Phat Joe's speech as marked and unexpected, thereby classifying him as an exception to the rule, but also at the same time reinforcing the 'rule' that equates the sound of whiteness with education. In line 4, she again positions herself as an authority on good language with the words "you speak very well, it's a compliment", but also reaffirms the hint of a possibility that her ears might still pick up some indication of non-whiteness, a trace of 'not-quite' in Phat Joe's speech with "for a Black man, I'm sorry". The concluding lines of 'apology' appear to be a perfunctory counter to Phat Joe's question, 'what was with the apology?", which we can read as an attempt to probe whether Penny Sparrow was apologizing for her assumption that Blacks cannot speak good English or whether she was apologizing for hurt inflicted on him personally. In her response, she again side-steps the force of the question,

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

taking it literally by explaining that in her upbringing it is 'polite' to apologize if you have offended somebody. By so doing, she can also be seen to be implying that Phat Joe might be lacking in middle-class (White and male) tact again an assumed equivalence between politeness, whiteness and what it means to be properly human (cf. Wynter, 2003).

What we see in the Sparrow excerpt is captured in lively phenomenological detail in 'Black Skin'. We see in quite some explicit detail in the radio interview how the manufacture of Black dehumanization that Fanon writes about takes place in everyday interactional engagements through discursive constructions and representations, where Blackness is repeatedly called into existence as 'skin' and construed as nothing beyond this outer shell. Fanon notes that 'the lived experience of being black' was 'like being put together by another self'' and seeing oneself through the eyes of a 3rd person, eroding the distinction between an inner self and a bodily exterior (cf. also, Gorgis, 2015: 86). The Black is entrapped, in Fanon's words, in "an essence, of a visible appearance", experiencing the self as divided, a state that Fanon calls *fissiparity* -- a medical term referring to 'dissection under a microscope', and that he creatively appropriates to express not only division but 'breaking apart'[10].

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

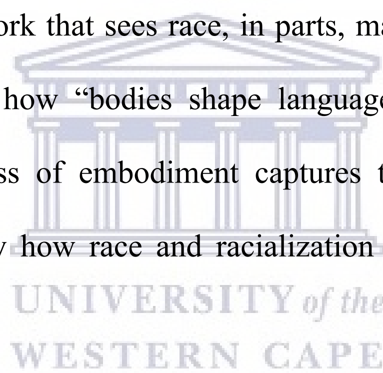
The short snippet demonstrates an important fact about Blackness made by Fanon, namely how Blackness is manufactured' time and again through anecdotes and stories; "you speak good English, for a black man"; "you must be educated"; "it is polite to apologize". The everyday interpellations and interactions we see taking place in the interview are not fabricated at the spur of the moment, but contextually, historically, and institutionally determined. This is an example of *sociogen*y the weave of 'a thousand details, anecdotes and stories' (Fanon 1967:

[10] Cf. Stroud and Williams (2017) for a contemporary South African example of linguistic viscerality involving black speakers and Afrikaans.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

111) through which the symbolic is made flesh, and the skin and eye opened up to cultural context (Gibson and Beneduce, 2017: 71). Language is one of the important modalities through which the psyche and body are glued into the *social* world; historically white constructs of language and ways of speaking, conserved in institutions and enacted in the everyday, work to imprint a racialized socioeconomics onto bodies, and minds, black or white. The ideology and practice of language 'racializes' Phat Joe and interpellates him further as Black, a situation where the being likened to animals that are considered to be 'mischievous and naughty' is normalized as 'cute' and 'likable', and in this context good language is white, and politeness is human.

Importantly for this study, is work that sees race, in parts, mainly constituted and expressed through language in terms of how "bodies shape language and language shapes bodies (Bucholtz unpubl). This process of embodiment captures the close relationship between language and bodies, especially how race and racialization become an indexed feature of interaction.


UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

3.2.1.2. Racialization in Discourse and Representation

Racializations are powerfully present in a variety of discursive representations, ranging from public media (e.g., adverts for products that target, and thereby simultaneously construct particular racial types); ways of referring to the 'Other' (e.g., through strategic use of predication instead of clear nominal reference, for example, "the stolen car was found abandoned on the outskirts of Langa"; through literary use of (il)legitimate forms of language to 'stylize' or animate referents differently; to how events are taken to unfold in narratives with respect to narrative stance, and differential degrees of agency accorded different 'black' and 'white' protagonists etc.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

The semiotic packaging of life-style products is an important factor in the mediation of linguistically constructed identities. In the South African context, Nuttal (2009) has noted how advertisements in the history of consumerism and the culture of the modern subject have moved from a history of denial of black Africans as consumers to a situation characterized by attempts to give content to a new modernist subjectivity through postmodern technologies within a project of desegregation. She notes how “commodity images and the market itself [has] come to produce some of the most powerful re-imaginings of race South Africa has known for some time” (Nuttall 2009: 109). In other words, interacting with material representations in particular spaces, offer up variable resources for ‘reading’ and for identity work, and genres – as repertoires of identity – (Blommaert, 2008) are constructed differently in different spaces.

An example of contemporary reinterpretations of racialization in media given in Stroud and Mpendukana (2010) is the King Korn advert.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

This depicts a young woman in position ‘Given’ on the billboard with relaxed hair but traditional face-markings and showing high interpersonal involvement with the viewer. A traditional food product is found in position ‘New’ on the board, and beside it a modern packaging of the product that one would easily find on the shelf of a supermarket. The construction of the billboard is clear syncretism of the ‘old’ and ‘the ‘new’, as well as the ‘local and the ‘global’ depicting in this case, a modernization of traditional characters against the backdrop of social change and consumerism. An important contribution to the message of modernization is the materiality of the billboard itself – a high investment billboard found in spaces of luxury (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009). High investment signage generally has particular linguistic features that contribute to ‘status’, such as the occurrence of English in Given position in a composition and seldom in mixed-constructions as opposed to isiXhosa. IsiXhosa is often found in the form of fragments, equative structures and as support to non-verbal, whereas English tends to occur as full utterances. We note here how indexical value is differentially accorded to languages, and thereby also serve to invite different evaluative constructions of speakers and their speech. Indexicality is an articulation of social processes as culturalized, i.e., as complexes of understandable (indexical), meaningful terms that offer semiotic potential to people (Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck 2004:4), and thus illustrates sociogeny.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

3.2.1.3. Racialization in Place and its semiotics

Fanon is also emphatic in making the point that the racial sociogenic goes beyond language and discourse/representation to also embrace/envelope place and how place semiotically interpellates a visceral sense of self as ‘feeling at home’, ‘and sense of’ belonging and comfort in place’, or alienation. He describes how feelings of discomfort in the body and in skin under

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

white gaze because "the black man has no ontological resistance in the eyes of the white man" (1967: 110) (cf. below), and we are frequently reminded today of the constant surveillance of Black bodies in public spaces and institutions (e.g., Alim 2016/ 2020; Rosa and Flores 2017 on the relations of language to skin in place). This thesis sees the 'reading' and 'writing' of place as an important racializing semiotic, as noted above. A sociolinguistics focusing only on language in a 'conventional sense' and ignoring a wider idea of semiotic practice limits an understanding of embodiment and of blackness specifically. Embodiment, corporeality, takes up space, and is materialized in place. It is also the case that sociolinguistics has 'expanded its scenery' to also include a multi/trans-modal, multisensorial agenda where viscerality - the gut as cognition – is informing an embodied sociolinguistics (cf. Peck, Stroud and Williams, 2019; Bock and Stroud, 2018 on zombie landscapes).

3.3. Resisting Blackness (violently)

The tropes in Black Skin are the failure of relationality, harmful affectivity, and alienation. These are part of the dynamics of structures and institutions in racialization that produces the experience of language as a prison-house of historically recycled socio-semiotic determinants of Blackness, (cf. also Deumert, 2019) and the position of the Black in the zone of non-being. This is the failure to count or to be counted, to be 'audible', or to unsettle ideas of (non)recognition. The dynamics of epidermalization are what project an unjust socioeconomic order onto the body of the Black, positioning him/her in the zone of non-being, a zone of non-selves and non-others (Gordon 2007). Black pain remains a defining character of blackness not only as pigmentation but 'a singularity of the category and situation in the world in terms of historical experiences of dispossession' (Ratele 2015). The only resolution to contend with the 'rejection', 'denial of recognition', the impossibility to escape "an inborn complex of denial" is "to assert blackness", and "to make myself known" (Fanon, 1967b: 113- 114).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

One way in which the fight for 'recognition/appearance' among blacks was attempted was to *invite* or *expose oneself* to violence. Frank Wilderson writing about the divergent conceptualization of suffering between blacks and non- blacks, provides a bleak example of an account where appearance and existence comes sutured to a deliberate exposure to violence. The author narrates a moment where they (black people) potentially could be shot at he says:

> perhaps the bullets that were promised us did not manifest within our psyches as lethal deterrents because they were manifested as gifts; rare gifts of recognition; gifts unbequeathed to Blackness; acknowledgement that we *did* form an ensemble of Human capacity instead of a collection of kaffirs or a bunch of niggers" (2008: 97).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

We see from the above how violence is a possible terrain where blackness is afforded 'recognition' and 'appearance' – an acknowledgement of existence. In this view, black bodies can only be recognized if they are engaged in precarious acts of resistance against their 'disappearance' in ways that invite physical injury/death. For Fanon, the zone of non-being is "an extraordinarily sterile and arid region, an utterly naked declivity where an authentic upheaval can be born" (Fanon 1967b: 8), that is, where opportunities for appearance mushroom in the darkest recesses of deprivation. The attraction of violence 'humanizes' and brings vulnerability into 'a zone of being'. So, the closer one is to violence the more likelihood that vulnerability could be an act of resistance. Both Fanon and Lewis Gordon contend with black people's positionality that carries both the potential to change issues and that of precarious existence. Furthermore, they capture a position founded on consistent violence and marginality. The material and experiential experiences of black people are saturated with agency that often

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

manifest through acts of resistance, demonstrations, and protests. Therefore, acts of resistance that characterized black pain are in themselves acts that fight for recognition and appearance.

The point here is freedom through disalienation: In 'Wretched', Fanon returns to the broken bodies, embodied language and dispossessed agencies introduced in 'Black Skin', to suggest a revolutionary and anti-colonial agenda for change by bringing voice to the silenced and foregrounding those most marginalized. Importantly, he argues that it is the dispossessed or wretched of the earth, the peasantry, alone that can lead a total revolution because "they have known naked brutality of oppression". The *experience* of living in deprivation provides revolutionary credibility to the 'agency of performative escape', and here Fanon once again (as in 'Black Skin') sources the body as a locus of enunciation, action, and agency. True to this spirit, Fanon gives an account of how the body through motion and performance (dance) can disentangle the knots of immobility, release and create novel ways of engagement and connections beyond the prescripts of language. In this sense, the body becomes the language of understanding. He goes on to note how through the practice of dance, the deprivation of motion gains prominence and expression, it provides an alternative world, a world of 'relaxation' that "precisely takes the form of a muscular orgy in which the most acute aggression and the most impelling violence are canalized, transformed and conjured away. The circle of dance is a permissive circle: it protects and permits" (Fanon, 1967b: 44). The intimate connection Fanon makes between the experience of brutality 'on/off the skin, and the role of viscerality as a catalyst for change and a privileged place of insight and knowledge through struggle, finds resonance also in other, contemporary, decolonial struggle epistemologies (e.g., de Sousa Santos, 2018).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Thus, Fanon's is an anti-institutional stance – critically addressing those who would want to engage in dialogue with whiteness within the structures and on the terms of whiteness. In 'Wretched', Fanon is preoccupied with genres of the political, such as performance (dance), and the potentiality of language for other meanings than conventionally read. Performance, the beat in noise, the emotionally evocative and sensual, draw our attention to the constituencies emerging out of alternative semiotic articulations.

3.4. (Re)subjectification

The escape from the prison-house of language that comes about through engaging corporeal, visceral, registers of bodily performances opens up for a new-found, newly re-scripted self in collective enactments of sociality-belonging untouched by structural whiteness. Fanon offers avenues to go beyond the coloniality of language and to envisage a future free from antiquated notions of identity to pursue the desire for a different narrative of the human – although one yet to emerge in the process. This requires a radical break with institutional practices and processes of Whiteness, including its conserving modalities of articulation, to create a 'space to breathe'. Fanon warns about endlessly engaging with those structures (nationalist, state) and stakeholders that have perpetuated injustices colonially if radical social change is to be possible. Concomitantly, and importantly, he distances himself from the *identities* integral to the functioning of these structures, as well as the romanticism in reaching back to any essentialist pre-colonial identities, noting that, "identification is pathogenic, self-destructive' rather than transforming[11].

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

He thus proposes an anti-essentialist stance to identity, as well as a critical position vis a vis *negritude,* and more broadly decolonization, to the extent that this is any way should involve a

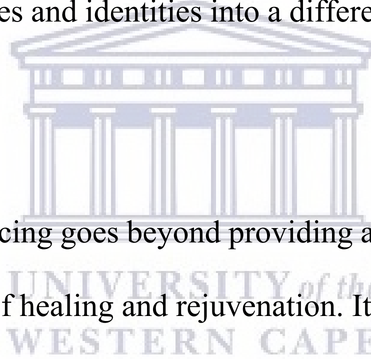
[11] His critique of the essentialist claims to authenticity associated with negritude is a case in point.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

return to a Black essence. In fact, because the Black is an unhappy and violent construction of whiteness, what would the recovery of blackness for a politics of blackness involve. In Fanon's words,

> In no way must I strive to bring back to life a negro civilization that has been unfairly recognized. I will not make myself the man of any past. I do not want to sing the past at the expense of my present and my future. My black skin is not the repository of specific values. (pp. 183-40 and Negritude as 'black mirage' (a "racist anti-racism")

This anti-essentialist understanding of Blackness also translates into a cautious stance a politics of resistance solely based in racial allegiances. His injunction is to move 'beyond' current configurations of (racialized) roles and identities into a different future construct of the human and sociality.


UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Fanon cements his view that dancing goes beyond providing an outlet to express motion, rage, and anger – it becomes a space of healing and rejuvenation. It appears chaotic but in fact "it is extremely systematic" – it dissolves all the negative energy in a "volcanic eruption". Dance is not only an escape. It opens a window towards oneself to begin a journey, unrestrained, to find the core of one's being'. It restores "calmness". In performance (dance), a collective, alternative, and exclusive expressivity carry voices of different futures. Here Fanon speaks of a world that is free from the prescripts and over-determination of the colonizer, here the colonized "find a sphere of belonging to the community" – a community of new imaginations that contain both the history and familiarity of (un)spoken language. It is here we find the seeds of a re-subjectification.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

In what follows, I deal briefly with two analytical frameworks that promise to offer comprehensive approaches to language/semiotics and racialization. These are raciolinguistics and linguistic citizenship.

3.5. Raciolinguistics

Raciolinguistics attempts "to theorize the historical and contemporary co-naturalization of language and race" and "to imagine their de-naturalization as part of a broader structural project of contesting white supremacy" (Rosa and Flores 2017: 621). In similar ways to much work within the broad umbrella of post-decolonial studies (e.g., Makoni and Pennycook, 2019; Veronelli, 2016, Stroud and Williams, 2018 – to mention not even a handful, the raciolinguistic perspective traces raciolinguistic articulations to shifting forms of governmentality throughout historical and contemporary trajectories of coloniality-modernity. Coloniality-modernity have shaped, and continue to shape, constructions of race and language, and the mapping of 'language' and other forms of semiosis (clothing, etc.) and their indexicalities onto constructs of race and constructs of race onto languages (e.g., Alim, 2016; Alim & Smitherman, 2012). Raciolinguistics sets itself the tasks (a) to recognize that contemporary discourses of race and language are 're-articulations' of coloniality-modernity and nation state governmentality; (b) to shift focus away from the practices of 'racialized speakers' practices (thereby avoiding the temptations to indulge in deficit theories, (cf. also Stroud, 2005))and to instead attend to the 'hegemonically positioned modes of perception. These comprise the discourses and technical lenses through which subordination, racialized stereotyping and stigma is accomplished , what Fanon has termed sociogeny and other authors have referred to as 'structural whiteness'); (c) to carefully investigate within what historical, political and economic contexts race is semiotically enregistered (cf. above , this chapter, for a range of ways in which a variety of semiotic forms have been involved in racialization) , and for what purposes of governmentality,

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

and co-articulated with what distillations of other forms of diversity' (intersectionally with gender, sexuality, class etc); (d) to thereby embed the analysis of "individual bodies and communicative practices…within broader historical and institutional frames" (Rosa and Flores, 2017: 637) (cf. also Stroud, 2001; Williams and Stroud, 2015; Stroud and Williams, 2017). A final point (e) is to work towards overcoming current theories of change in "liberal, multicultural framings of sociolinguistics" (ibid: 640) and to move beyond accommodation-oriented/affirmative politics" to radical structural transformation, and the goal of a "raciolinguistic otherwise" (ibid; 641) (cf. Stroud, 2015 on utopias).

The agenda for raciolinguistics is broadly compatible with work done since 2001 within the framework of Linguistic Citizenship. Although Linguistic Citizenship does not deal specifically, or *only* with racialization, it does focus on issues of agency and voice and structural transformation and attends to historical and current material and socioeconomic exclusions, as well as utopic 'otherwises' and modes of 'fugitive' listening within a broad notion of language. Importantly, it offers a theory of change. In the sections that follow, I introduce Linguistic Citizenship with specific reference to Fanon, suggesting how Linguistic Citizenship can articulate with his program for radical racial change.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

3.6. Linguistic Citizenship, racial vulnerability, and Fanon

Fanon has a particular 'understanding of language as action', a desire to reattach language " to the material world and reworking its power in more forceful ways" (Khalfa and Young, 2019: 22) - a conception of language (words) that could "prompt transformative action" (op cit), The authors note that "transformation of the self begins with turning speech into a creative self-defining speech act" (op cit, p29).

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

The notion of Linguistic Citizenship is about transforming the self in transforming language through engagements and encounters in new social and material worlds. Linguistic citizenship is a decolonial and Southern notion that captures the reciprocity and mutual dependencies between linguistic agencies and political subjectivities and links the active semiotically intense socio-political engagement with and around language with social change. Following Stroud 2016, in this context citizenship is best seen as made up of a broad register of semiotic, multimodal forms, including linguistic/semiotic landscapes.

The notion of Linguistic Citizenship was coined at the turn of the millennium in Southern Africa to draw attention to 'grassroots' engagements with language (specifically multilingualism) as a dynamic of transformation. At the time, issues of language and multilingualism were approached predominantly from the standpoint of a politics of recognition and within the affirmative framework of Linguistic Human Rights. It was argued that LHR, contrary to the intentions of its proponents, maintained and reproduced linguistic and social inequalities (cf. Stroud, 2001, 2009, Stroud and Heugh, 2004/2016). Linguistic Citizenship sought to provide a framework for critically interrogating the historical, socio-political and economic determinants of how languages are constructed, ideologized and practiced, at the same time as pinpointing the linguistic, structural, and institutional conditions necessary to accompany change. It emphasizes the bivalency (Fraser 1995) of language, such that "neither socioeconomic maldistribution or cultural misrecognition are an indirect effect of the other, but…both are primary and co-original" (Fraser, 1995: 85) which dictates that refiguration of language must go hand in hand with social, political, and economic transformation. Bivalency allows us to see language and citizenship as two sides of the same coin – citizenship as mediated by forms of language while forms of language in turn emerge out of, and with, the fluid, tense and shifting entanglements of social and material engagement

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

(Stroud, 2009: 217). Importantly, Linguistic Citizenship is about *politics* in the sense of Rancier, who contrasts it with policing and sees politics as the that which allows what was previously seen as *phonos* (noise, rabble rousing etc.) to become *logos* (voice). Thus, the sense of citizenship in 'linguistic citizenship' goes beyond the institutionalized and regulated forms of engagement in conventional understandings of (nation-state) citizenships to (other) forms of relationality to re-establish humanity in a society of plural others as co-conversationalists and interlocutors. Acts of Linguistic Citizenship builds collectivities and new relationalities in the interstices, margins, cracks, fissures, and flows, that make up the rhizomatic underbellies of societal structures and institutions that are premised on exclusion.

Likewise, the diverse and complex configurations of citizenship outside of the conventional understanding of politics and its institutions invite a critical stance towards notions of 'language' that occlude a diversity of 'other' voices as 'noise.' In the process of engaging *politically* in the Rancierean sense, speakers reconfigure language through the creations of new meanings, repurpose genres and transform repertoires in using their languages over many modalities (Williams and Stroud, 2013, 2015). These are often transgressive and non-conventional language (and other forms of semiosis) that open-up possibilities for thought and action beyond the constraints of established genres of power (Ranciere's *policing*).

In what follows, I will give a brief discussion of Linguistic Citizenship in respect of the three features of Fanon's work of specific interest for this study, namely Black pain (vulnerability); embodied and transgressive resistance; and resubjectification.

3.6.1. Linguistic Citizenship and vulnerability

Transformative acts of Linguistic Citizenship engage vulnerability in encounters as an important factor for change. As noted in Chapter one, the post-apartheid condition for the

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

young black students is one of vulnerability, that is Black pain brought on by marginality and estrangement, and 'not counting' when compared to Whites. Judith Butler's (2004) seminal work on vulnerability as a resource for change, though a useful analytical tool for this work, has been subject to scholarly debate particularly with regards to its scope and contextual application (e.g., Shulman 2011; Petherbridge 2016). Much of the debate cites an overreliance on violence in the early conceptualization as a limitation. For example, Shulman (2011) critiques what the author refers to as "formalism" in Butler's argument about vulnerability. According to Shulman, such an articulation is narrow because "it selects only the universal vulnerability to injury and death, while ignoring other forms…" (2011: 233) for example climate change or racial oppression. Similarly, Petherbridge also notes how vulnerability as argued for by Butler (2004) is limited to an "association that is drawn between vulnerability and violence…" (Petherbridge 2016: 590). The author cites the 'over-association of vulnerability with violence as a gross mistake that "limits critical and political dimensions" (ibid: 600) necessary to understand vulnerability. As such, Petherbridge argues for an understanding of vulnerability that traverses beyond injury or violence towards "a general openness towards the other" (2016: 591).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

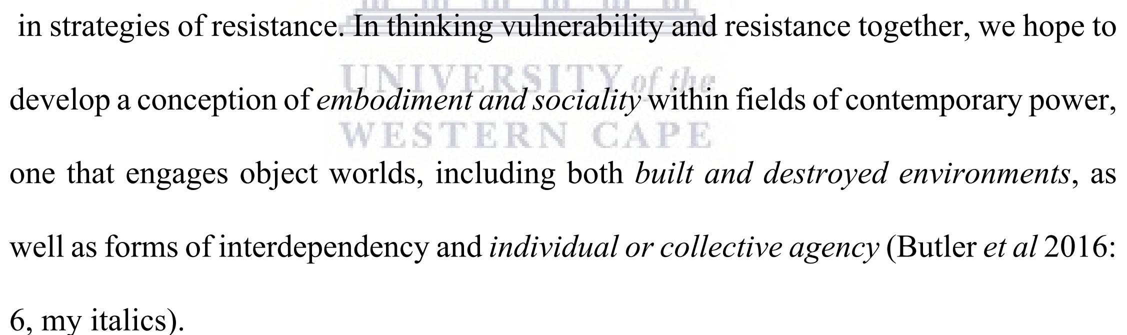
In this study, I attempt to develop an argument following (e.g., Butler *et al* 2016, Butler 2014; Petherbridge 2016; Shulman 2011) that vulnerability can be seen in fact as a resource for political agency and I frame the discussion of vulnerability as political agency in the notion of Linguistic Citizenship. In Linguistic Citizenship, vulnerability in the sense of 'openness to the other' (Petherbridge, 2016) is conceptualized in terms of the necessary encounters with different others in the plural constituencies of which we are part. It is these engagements that confer agency and voice on us as individuals, as it is only through recognition by these plural others that we are visibilized and heard. At the same time, encountering different others

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

necessarily involves newness and unpredictability, which in turn is a source of vulnerability (Arendt, 1957; Stroud, 2020). Thus, vulnerability is an unavoidable concomitant of engaging – and being engaged by – difference, carrying an ethical resonance to care and engage with the other without the temptation to reduce the other to the self, nor to pronounce the other a non-being, but to recognize another humanity. To not confer the possibility to be recognized by human others with whom we might share a constituency is to also ultimately to silence and diminish the (any) self.

3.6.2. Linguistic Citizenship and resistance

Butler argued against understanding vulnerability "as the opposite of resistance" (2014:12) to highlighting the fact that vulnerability doesn't imply weakness, but openness. Instead, Butler *et al* 2016 suggest an analysis of the role of vulnerability


UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

> in strategies of resistance. In thinking vulnerability and resistance together, we hope to develop a conception of *embodiment and sociality* within fields of contemporary power, one that engages object worlds, including both *built and destroyed environments*, as well as forms of interdependency and *individual or collective agency* (Butler *et al* 2016: 6, my italics).

From the above it should be noted that resistance constitutes a crucial aspect of vulnerability as dictated by social relations and context. This is a point driven home by Butler (2014) who suggests that vulnerability takes "both the psychic and political dimension" (ibid: 15), a position that accounts for the complexity of vulnerability as informed by material and social conditions. She goes on to argue that "vulnerability is part of resistance, made manifest by new forms of embodied political interventions and modes of alliance that are characterized by

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

interdependency and public action" (Butler *et al* 2016:7). It is precisely in this juncture that vulnerability as a theoretical notion finds connection with Linguistic Citizenship as a politically transformative construct. Linguistic Citizenship explicitly addresses the ways in which formal, political institutions perpetuate invidious forms of vulnerability (often in the name of human rights, cf. above) and assumes alliances of grassroots actors in broad political affinities. Furthermore, the bivalency (Fraser, 199) of Linguistic Citizenship locates 'resistance', or change dynamics very much in the overarching material and economic structures through which the politics of nation state coloniality-modernity is perpetuated. This resonates with Fanon's call for revolutionary attention to the economics of transformation; Fanon writes passionately on the plight of the dispossessed, marginalized, and excluded - the 'damned of the earth' - who inhabit the zone of non-being, noting how revolutionary transformation of inequitable material, economic and political capital goes hand in hand with new socialities, and the creation of 'a new man'. At the same time, this will involve going beyond the strictures of a normative language long appropriated to structural whiteness in an idea of language misrecognized as signification without body (cf. Allen 2004).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

3.6.3. Linguistic Citizenship and re-subjectification

In all these respects, acts of Linguistic Citizenship frame a decolonial ethos that articulates well with that of Fanon's. Linguistic Citizenship shares with Fanon the understanding that selves are essentially dependent on the affirmation of 'ethical self-other' relationships, and that such reciprocal recognition by a plurality of others (Arendt, 1959; Fanon, 1967) is a prerequisite for voice and agency – and thereof freedom. Reciprocal recognition is what allows speakers to become *interlocutors* and to engage in the building of ethical constituencies of others. In 'Black Skin', it is precisely the White's refusal to engage the Black as interlocutor that leads to

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

fissiparity, despite (or because of) the Black seeking audibility in a shared language, French, with the colonizer.

Linguistic Citizenship is thus an invitation to listen beyond and within that which is conventionally classified as 'noise' and attending to those forms of language through which also speakers 'who do not count', who find themselves on the margins of society, find voice and gain agency, opening up to other discourses of the human (Stroud, 2021: 169). Furthermore, Linguistic Citizenship recognizes that language (as we know it) produces vulnerabilities and marginalizes speakers, and that to be 'heard' and to count, new forms of language are a precondition for – as well as an outcome of – new socialities. Acts of Linguistic Citizenship refers to those linguistic, more broadly, semiotic 'gestures' that build communities/pluralities of 'mutually and reciprocally recognized 'others'. They are the means whereby interlocutors are created, and semiotic spaces crafted where 'absences' emerge as presences, and where subjectifications are made and remade. As Veronelli (2015, 2016) emphasizes, there is a need for new registers of emotionality to capture meanings and selves that are otherwise distorted by conventional linguistic expression and structural whiteness. Of necessity, this broadens what we take to be language. In this way, Linguistic Citizenship encourages disciplinary disobedience to clear the ground for a reconceptualization and expansion of 'legitimate 'modalities for voice, thereby doing 'violence' to language in linguistics.

3.7. Summary

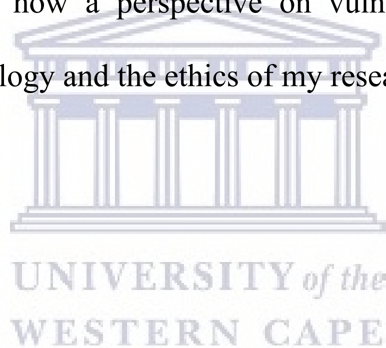
Fanonian sociogenes informs subjectification to blackness as that which takes place in the absence of intersubjective engagements. An important dimension in the construction and experience of blackness has been black pain, an emotional, affect-laden perception and orientation to embodiment in the physical and semiotic world built out of *vulnerability*

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

blackness constructed through whiteness and structural violence. Stroud (2018) highlights the fact that "language takes on singular importance as the foremost means whereby we may engage politically and ethically with others across difference" (Stroud 2018: 17), especially those constituted by vulnerability as agency. The three key dimensions in Fanon's thought sketched in sections 3.2-3.4 are then the vulnerability of Blackness, the anti-institutional sentiment to not engage with structures of colonial governmentality and a search for a subjectivity unconstrained by essentialist notion of identity. Each of these dimensions articulate different facets of Linguistic Citizenship, and each will be further articulated in Chapters 5,6 and 7.

In the next section, I explore how a perspective on vulnerability framed in Linguistic Citizenship can inform methodology and the ethics of my research.



http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Chapter 4: Ethics as methodology

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter I provide insights into the methodological approach of this work, specifically focusing on what it means to empirically engage with vulnerable groups (cf. discussion in Chapter 3). The approach this study takes to black vulnerability and protest is that of Semiotic Landscape Studies (SLS/LLS), a sociolinguistic field that has a history of rich methodological deliberations (see Backhaus 2006; Bagna & Barni, 2006; Ben-Rafael et al 2004, 2006; Calvet, 1994; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Huebner, 2006; Itagi & Singh, 2002; Stroud and Mpendukana 2009, Shohamy and Gorter 2009). However, little of this deliberation has specifically dealt with ethical questions of research on landscapes, of special concern, and compounded by, the areas of LLS that study mobilities and protests (see Rojo 2014, 2016; Kitis; Bagna and Barni 2015; Seals 2015). Inevitably, working with public protests raises a host of ethical considerations, ranging from permissions and copy rights to materials to sensitivities (legalities) of authoring graffiti (cf. e.g., Rubdy 2015; Jones 2017 on surveillance) and the possible ways of publishing images captured in protests that may include the human subject seen to be committing violent or 'illegal acts'. Increasingly, there is much relevant work in sociolinguistics that delves into the ethics of protest, although as I hope to show, there is still a need for a more principled, decolonial and southern stance on research ethics in sociolinguistics. However, even less attention has been paid to research ethics – decolonial or otherwise – in Semiotic Landscape Studies, possibly because the field is seen as predominantly about visual and other manufactured artefacts rather than persons. However, as I shall argue, SLS is even more suffused with 'humanness' (and its refractions in artefacts) than is apparent at first sight However, there are some recent developments in this field that have made significant strides in contending with the challenges of researching protests ethically (e.g.,

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Rubdy and Said 2015), although much remains to be done. Over and above discussing methodologies of SLS and the specific implications they carry for the present study, I therefore focus predominantly on issues of ethics and vulnerabilities *as* research methodology, more specifically when working with Black vulnerability in keeping with the thinking laid out in the previous chapters. Thus, I will organize what follows around two main considerations. Firstly, because my participants comprise a highly vulnerable group as detailed in Chapter 2 who are engaged in potentially illegal activities of extreme protest in a 'private space', aspects of ethics (including researcher self-care) and researcher stance on vulnerability are of paramount concern– not least because researching vulnerable groups in moments of precarity can be dangerous for both researcher and researched, and because the student protest of 2016 were volatile to say the least. I will discuss these issues from two main angles; on the one hand, I attempt to take a Southern and decolonial stance to approaching these questions, asking what it could mean to consider such sensitivities through the lens of decoloniality. On the other hand, I attempt to look more closely at the actual contingent precarities of the specific situation of protest, and what concrete steps were required of me to engage with the protesters. A significant part of an ethics *as* methodology is the question of how to capture voice and represent the thoughts and actions of others without overwriting and distorting representation. On this point, I turn to what methodological insights might be offered by Linguistic Citizenship (in particular, listening/reading the multiple meanings – not always heard through official discourses/ears – including those of a utopic nature. But more specifically, I as the researcher have also come to realize that I grapple with a Fanonian *fissiparity* in that I, as a Black researcher, and subject to the surveillance gaze of my disciplinary training, need to reinsert myself into the very socialities and significances that I am researching. Although I am unable to fully draw out the implications of this insight here, I raise it nevertheless as a point relevant to the interpretation I make of the semiotic dynamics of the protest.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

The second overarching consideration is to ponder the implications of decoloniality and its ethics/the ethics it refracts for the study of semiotic landscapes more specifically especially those of protest. In conjunction with this consideration, I offer a brief review of some of the methodological practices that are deployed in semiotic landscapes studies against a framing of the historical development of the field. My discussion here will be informed by the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 3 (Fanon in particular), by consideration of the contingencies and characteristics of the *unfolding* nature of the protest, and the more general ethical discussion developed in the first part of this chapter. I focus specifically on issues arising from protest landscapes, asking questions as what, for example, are the implications of researching vulnerable groups where the very material with which LL works, although public, can be highly intrusive and revealing of participants' individual privacies.

4.2. Researching Southern vulnerabilities and volatilities

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

The main approach in this study is 'ethnographic', including auto-ethnography. Ethnography generally, concerned as it is with human relationships, including relationships between research participants and researchers has deliberated lengthily on the role of the ethnographer. We note how Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* "places the researcher in the local vortex of action in order to acquire through practice and experience, in real time, the dispositions of participants to gain the full experience of being in your participants' shoes" (Wacquant 2011:87). Such an approach to methodology muddles any clear line between the observation and the observers (Szabo and Troyer 2017: 306). And although Tusting and Maybin (2007) observe that "it is intrinsic to any ethnographic research that the researcher as participant observer is part of what is going on" (2007: 578), they concede that by so being, the researcher will only with difficulty – if at all - divorce the self from the process of interpretive praxis. This means that the researcher will

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

shape what is being researched (2007: 578). They call for “sensitivity to the implications of this [to be] at the heart of the ethnographic endeavour” (ibid: 578). In this context, Wacquant’s idea of epistemic reflexivity is useful,

> as everything conspires to invite [..] them to submit to the preconstructions of common sense, lay or scholarly. By methodological duty, they must be attentive to the agents they study and take seriously ‘their point of view’. (2011: 89).

My position in this study is to see “method as opening up social phenomena rather than reducing their complexities to simplifying formulas” (Zalewski, 1995); and to seek what Vrasti (2013) refers to as ‘ethnographic inspiration’. This is the creative moment of building theory out of the bricolage and myriad surprises that engaging with others throws up, where “ethnography, a constant traveling back and forth between the part and the whole, experience and text, fieldwork and theory” (Vrasti 2013:61).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Importantly, I take a serious view of a more encompassing ethics of engagement. Goodwin and colleagues have noted how “ethics is an ever-present concern for all researchers; it pervades every aspect of the research process from conception and design through to research practice and continues to require consideration during dissemination of the results” (Goodwin *et al* 2003: 567). In this context, the ethical stance is informed by my recognition of the struggle, and my desire, born out of fissiparity, to make audible the discourse of Black protest on its own terms.

In the context of the South, a metaphorical South in the sense of de Santos (2016), a space of historical injustice and disparity, it is inevitable that vulnerability frames the social conditions and lives of both researched and researcher. More generally, what does it mean to take vulnerability as a generative dimension of (all) research methodology. The crux of my argument here is the need to move beyond the usual (although legitimate discussions) of how

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

to engage with participants in empirical work around questions of access, anonymity, representation, and to shift consideration towards issues raised by work on Southern epistemologies (e.g., Fanon 1967a; Mbembe 2015; Troulliot 2003; de Sousa Santos 2018) on the need to re-think deeply the relationship, the roles of researcher and researched to what type of knowledge generation and for what purposes. Smith makes the point that 'method' itself in need of decolonization. Smith (1999), and Law (2004: 143) puts forward that "method is political and performative, creatively producing realities, making 'new signals and new resonances, new manifestations and concealments'. In this thesis, I explore this by focusing on the notion of 'vulnerability' (as presented in Chapter 3) and argue that such a focus must imply that ethical considerations need to have a much broader scope, perhaps determining, for example, what questions are legitimate to ask of a situation and what ethical judgements need to direct analysis and the narrative accounts that researchers offer. In particular, I suggest that 'method' should be seen as a special case of 'encounters across difference' as discussed in Chapter 3, and that research could in fact be seen as an act of Linguistic Citizenship with implications for how to make sense of what is studied.

4.2.1. Researching the South: decoloniality, ethics, positionality

Research methodologies are informed by a large archive of research predominantly developed in the epistemic context of the North framed by a specific politics of knowledge production. Michel-Rolph Trouillot writing about *Anthropology and The Modern World* alerts us to the importance of understanding the 'world and the rest' – which he highlights as an integral part of comprehending the mechanics of how colonialism through European renaissance 'shaped the geography of imagination', that is how we view the world and others as creations of that world. Troulliot has aptly captured the essence of this in his discussion on the creation of the

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

savage slot as a 'methodological' alter ego that the West has created for itself. He details how the construction of the West in European renaissance contributed to the creation of this 'uglier' other – the savage slot – that became so instrumental in the justification of colonialism for its 'noble enterprise of civilizing savage others'. This illustrates an important point made by decolonial authors, that is, how knowledge production has a history of creating a hierarchical society with the colonial subjugation of populations (Troulliot 2003; Maldonado-Torres 2007). In the context of (South) Africa, researching and writing within the framework of the dictates of the colonial episteme has been noted by Nyamnjoh (2012) who argues that "social science disciplines and fields of study have sacrificed morality, humanity and the social on the altar of a conscious or implied objectivity that is at best phoney" (2012: 131). The perspective he brings forward is how the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism" (ibid: 1). Much research in colonial contexts of knowledge production was founded on the ideas of objectifying people as mere objects of scientific curiosity and inquiry to map, order and regulate colonized populations for purposes of colonial exploitation. It also involved stripping them of any 'moral' character. Fanon provides a discussion of how colonialism determines "a lack of values" for the native. He declares, "the native is declared insensible to ethics, he represents not only the absence of values, but also a negation of values (1967a:32). Maldonado-Torres (2007) talks of the coloniality of *power* referring to the interrelation among modern forms of exploitation and domination (power), and the coloniality of *knowledge*, that is, the impact of colonization on the different areas of knowledge production (2007: 242). Knowledge produced from this reality is not neutral in how participants are portrayed and represented. The "implications of the coloniality of power and the coloniality of knowledge are intimately entwined with, what he calls, the 'coloniality of being' (ibid: 242), that is, the lived experiences of historically colonized people, the subjugated senses of self and alienation that Fanon and other decolonial thinkers draw attention to. Here we are reminded of

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Fanon's observation on how the blackness is thrown back to him through the white gaze as a body 'sprawled'.

The idea of the colonialities of power, knowledge and being finds another expression in the work of de Sousa Santos (2018) who emphasizes how the materiality of the *body,* and its senses and experiences, are removed from knowledge production in preference to Cartesian rationality (cf. also Brown 2002). He remarks that:

> Even though we think and know with the body, even though it is with the body that we have perception, experience and memory of the world, the body tends to be seen as mere support for or tabula rasa of all the valuable things produced by human beings. This is particularly so as regards to Eurocentric knowledge, whether scientific or not… (de Sousa Santos 2018: 88).

In fact, the body that is 'erased' but singularly present in the research endeavour is the body of MAN (Wynter, 2003), the White, Male, Bourgeoisie. The idea of 'embodied knowledge' lays bare the different conceptual frameworks between Northern and Southern epistemologies. Northern theories, (despite the growing significant consideration of the body) the somatic/corporeal schema and historical body doesn't come with the baggage of 'a negation of value' *ala* Fanon, or as a 'somatic narrative' *ala* de Sousa Santos, and as such, tends to downplay the body as knowledge producer, but Southern epistemologies cannot "accept forgetting the body…" (2018: 88). Authors such as Walker (2010: 257-258), in the spirit of Fanon, propose that we should "avoid analytical procedures that presume a radical dualism as ground of scholarly credibility". For Southern epistemologies bodies with all their experiences are essential in the production of knowledge because the bodies of the Black and subaltern (promise to) sustain and produce alternative 'bodies' of knowledge with all their spectrums of affectivity (cf. also Todd 2021 here).

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Researchers working in former colonies, more generally, contexts characterized by gross historical disparities and injustices, must negotiate with such complexities in their research, and research methods adopted in contexts of the South (and I would also argue the South in the North) need to respond to the challenges presented by such a history, where research has been about documenting the 'subaltern'. Research methodologies are, of course, the very tools of knowledge generation and are crucial in Northern epistemological projects in separating so-called objective, rational knowledge from subjectivity (read Black embodiment) and bias. Importantly, such methodologies tend to move towards decontextualization and erasure of the concrete circumstances – corporeal, material, affective – removing the voice of the researcher from those of the participants studied, leading to questions of (a skewed, Northern construct of) authenticity and representation.

There is also an increasing body of work that addresses inclusion of Southern epistemologies and practices, much of which research is emanating out of former colonies (e.g., Tauri 2014; Kwame 2017). For instance, in the African context, Nyamnjoh (2012) is critical of how the preoccupations of colonial epistemology are mainly concerned with the *what* and not the *why.* Such an approach, argues Nyamnjoh, "privileges scholarship by analogy and the 'ethnographic present'…over historical ethnography and continuity" (2012:130). To negate the impact of history is to cast aside the development of things which concerns the *why* aspect that is emphasized by Nyamnjoh. (cf. the importance of temporality as an analytical dimension in Chapter 5 in this thesis). He goes on to argue that African epistemologies "create room for *why* questions…" (2012: 131). The inclusion of the *why* question extends and broadens the inquiry to account for the fact that "the real is not only what is observable or what makes cognitive sense; it is also the invisible, the emotional, the sentimental, the intuitive and the inexplicable"

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

(Nyamnjoh 2012: 132) (cf. also discussion below on what Bock and Stroud, 2019 have called 'zombie' landscapes). In the context of this study, a protest movement of young black students, being cognizant of the why –question, probing the historical conditions of the 'coloniality of being' and the struggle for the humanity of the black, colonized, and subjugated subject, is highly pertinent to understanding the *what*-question of the manifestation of the protest.

Importantly for this study, *why*-questions cannot avoid engaging with suffering – bounded by history, memory, and experience. de Sousa Santos (2018: 91) points out how "regarding suffering (black pain, my addition) in the struggle, epistemologies of the South do not distinguish between knowledge, ethics and politics". Smith likewise reminds us that, especially for Southern or indigenous contexts, "research is not an innocent or distant academic exercise but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions" (1999: 5). Similarly, Juris (2007) speaks of a 'militant ethnography' – a politically engaged and collaborative form of participant observation carried out from within rather than from without grassroots movements' in an attempt to avoid disengagement, and towards a politics of sharing and solidarity. Madison (2005:5) posits that an ethnography "begins with an ethical responsibility to address processes of unfairness or injustice within a particular lived domain". As pointed out by de Sousa Santos (2018), the politics of sharing or of solidarity are not possible without care and empathy, insight into the conditions of life of others and a real concern for the voice and agency of the research participants. All of this requires that the researcher has "visibility to other libraries and other knowledges" (de Sousa Santos 2018) and privileges a multiplicity of knowing and voice-ings of different vantage points. It involves the researcher (as well as the participant) in dealing with complexity, uncertainty and ambiguity, and a cultivation of the ability of listening beyond or between what is 'conventionally said', or

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

of being able to engage with other repertoires of accounting and narrative (cf. Veronelli 2015, 2016, on the coloniality of language). It involves engaging with the methodological implications of seeing research as an act of Linguistic Citizenship, recognizing that what is meant has more significance than what is ostensibly said and that what is said is always an act of socio-politically anchored citizenship.

4.2.1.1. The researcher as a *fissiparous* self

de Sousa Santos emphasizes how "…epistemologies of the South call for establishing bridges between comfort and discomfort zones, between the familiar and unfamiliar, the strange fields of domination and of struggle" (de Sousa Santos 2018: 118). Indigenous researchers cannot disavow their proximity and connections to the researched, and the part they play in the community they research. My point in this chapter is that one needs to be cognizant of what this dual status implies for the indigenous, Southern researcher.

There is always the risk that showing empathy and giving voice to subjugated people in a decolonial and militant paradigm of research comes into conflict with the requirements of scientific objectivity and accountability of the established research protocols with respect to which researchers are trained. Smith (1999) engages with problems of the interconnected worlds, "the world of the researcher and the world of the participant" (Aluwihare-Sanaranayake 2012: 64), pointing to the plight of indigenous people/researchers who grapple with the contradictory requirements and demands of the research endeavour, on the one hand, and the knowledge they have of the community needs and perhaps even what the community expects of them by way of action and intervention (Smith 1999: 5). She also writes about how indigenous scholars many times "position themselves quite clearly as indigenous researchers who are informed academically by critical and often feminist approaches to research, and who are grounded politically in specific contexts and histories, struggles and ideals" (1999: 4).

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

In Southern contexts – more so than in many other contexts - the researcher, in other words, is in some respect both the subject of inquiry and the producer of the research. The ambiguity and uncertainty, the need to build bridges between discomfort and comfort, between struggle and familiarity, is likely the daily struggle faced by the many an indigenous researcher. The lines are blurred because of sharing common experiences and a history of power and subordination with the researched. This moves the researcher beyond self-positioning to a more complex arena of moving between two identities, a researcher and one of the participants. On a personal note, as a black person, constituted by black pain historically, and subject in contemporary time to the insidious effects of 'structural whiteness' my 'locus of enunciation' (Mignolo 1993) and positionality (e.g., de Sousa Santos 2018) in relation to my participants and my role as a producer of a researcher in a predominantly Northern oriented academy, does not sit easily with my position as a member of the protesting group, sharing a common history and trajectories of poverty and aspirations for a different future. This duality does not only give rise to an ambiguity of role in the psyche of the researcher which requires overcoming. It may equally have implications for how the community participants understand the role of the researcher. Kwame (2014) uses his personal experiences to illustrate how some of his research participants viewed him as outsider due to his education and role as a researcher even though they knew his family, shared a religion and culture with him. He attributes his labelling as an outsider to power, stating that, "I became an outsider, someone who belonged to the educated class and therefore one of those who can create trouble for others" (2014: 221).

My relationship with the community was also influenced by my race, the fact that I am Black, together with my age, (and to some extent gender and class). These factors shaped my evolving relationship with my field site and my participants (Aluwihare-Sanaranayake 2012:72). I was first introduced to my research participant in 2015 during Rhodes Must Fall's occupation of Azania house 2. My contact had been a grassroots activist through a local Non-Profit

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Organization named Equal Education. My being allowed to interview and later follow the protests was based on two things: I was Black and during my student politics days, I belonged to a leftist leaning organization. For me researching a protest in a historically white university underscored my ambiguous positionality with respect to questions of familiarity and trust between the research and the researched and sharpened my inclusivity among the protesters. For instance, during the protests, white students were often ejected out of "black spaces" in order to allow Black students to discuss their issues or an issue at hand, in the absence of "whiteness". During #Shackville, White people were prohibited from passing through the cordoned off area surrounding the shack while I was at ease.

Furthermore, during my data collection, I was manhandled on two different occasions, 'being mistaken' by the authorities for a protestor. The racial profiling was clear. Common history, skin colour, and perhaps, gender and age, put me within the experiences of my participants and showed me to be a potential insider and ally that was meted the same treatment that protesting students received. Peshkin (1985: 278) has argued that a researcher's identity will have both "enabling and disabling" elements, and this was definitely the case for me. Gaining access to the students and proximity to them was based on my identity that can be read as "enabling". (cf. also Langa (2016) on the many sensitivities of researching student protests in South Africa, (cf. also Atkinson (2009) on the general problem of gaining access to protests)).

Thus, the decolonial considerations in the previous section very much resonate with my own *experiences* and this experience (historical body) informed where I directed my attention in data gathering and analysis (cf. below for a further discussion of this as a modality of research engagement in terms of zombie landscape).

4.2.2. Researching the protest: violence, spontaneity, and care

I indicated in the previous chapter that Fanon in 'Wretched of the Earth' wrote perceptively on

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

violence, spontaneity, and performance/dance as expressive of an embryonic resistance to colonial oppression and as articulations of pre-political forms of protest. He also uses of spatial/palatial terms, e.g., 'closed in' etc. as metaphors to capture the Black's alienation from self-determined futures and their forced habitation in the past, highlighting a semiotics of landscapes/place as creating a productive political space of protest. (The question, of course, is to what extent these forms of protest can morph into a more organized 'political front' – Fanon seems to have thought not). These dimensions of protest are highly salient in protest literature generally, and in the events in focus for this study, motivating careful consideration and unfolding of the students' unfolding of protest in the semiotic landscape.

Much of the linguistic work on protests came into prominence with the advent of the Occupy Movement which in turn can be traced back to the Arab Spring of 2011. The Occupy Movement has since evolved and found expression in many different parts of the world. In general, there has been a significant increase in sociolinguistic studies that engage the rich data that is found in protests, something that is indicative of the different vantage points and approaches possible in such studies. Taking into account that much protest produces material manifestations of language/semiotics in place, and Messekher's (2015) point that language is what mediates protests, we can agree with Seals (2015) when she claims that "Linguistic Landscapes serves as both approach and a unit of analysis" and concur with Shiri who sees "studying protests signs as a legitimate bottom-up-counter-power genre of LL (2015:241). Wee (2015: 185) suggests that studies of protests ought to consider the totality of "how social actors might attempt to shape the landscape" (Wee), and Rudby highlights something similar when she states "…semiotic landscape is a product of social action and social history" (2015: 283). However, it can also be argued that the semiotic landscape itself *animated* (Amin 2015) social actors in particular ways, thereby in a sense extending Fanon's idea of sociogeny to also incorporate semiotic landscapes as 'scripting' of 'agency'. (I suggest in the analysis Chapters

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

that understanding semiotic landscapes as animating in some measure can account for the unpredictability and spontaneity of the protest's unfolding).

Seals importantly highlights the methodological *challenges* of researching protests, not least given the fact that protests comprise dynamic, mobile, and unsettling, fleeting events that are in some contexts fraught with danger (e.g., Messekher 2015). Not only were the #Shackville protests volatile, testing the limits of authority, policing and the law, but many of the protesters subsequently had standing cases before South African courts for public violence, damage to property and other related charges. In some cases, the actions of the protesters led to their expulsion from the university, suspension of their studies, and criminal conviction. Some today must contend with living with criminal records because of participating in the student protests. At the time of the protest, the UCT campus was almost a militarized zone. There was the ever-present possibility that some 'protesters' might be informers.[12] Langa (2016) discusses at length issues pertaining to the sensitivity of information emerging out of researching the situation of protest, detailing how student researchers were recruited who themselves were part of the protests, but "encouraged to be highly reflective about their own subjectivity, biases and lived experiences of being #FeesMustFall activists, while simultaneously researching the movement" (Langa 2016: 6).

Unlike studies published in Langa (2016) that relied on interviews and focus groups, my study employed a digital camera to capture images of protesters holding placards, posters, banners, and graffiti inscribed on various surfaces etc. The use of a digital camera raises a series of questions that relates to 'danger', consent, and representation, not least because this type of data raises questions of 'risk' in ways different to interviews and verbally recorded data. In

[12] A commission of inquiry into so-called state-capture following 10 years of President Zuma, the Zondo Commission, heard that the State Security Agency allocated millions of Rands to recruit students as informers during the student protest in what they called "Project academia".

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

capturing potentially incriminating acts of damage (as well as being amenable to photo-shopping etc.) it suffers similar drawbacks to the use of postings on online platforms such as Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter as data, where content once posted may be subject to many unintended uses, interpretations and purposes that may cause harm to those who post. It is not just the question that a person's identity might be at stake (Moreno *et al* 2013), but that the identity is a potentially criminally answerable one. Atkinson touches on questions of trust in representing those "…social actors [who] may grant the researcher access to their everyday lives: they grant license to witness, participate in and converse about issues that might otherwise reach a more restricted social circle" (2009:19). The following quote from De Walt (1998) cited in Goodwin et al (2003) speaks to the political and ethical dimensions of risk:

> It is the ethnographer's responsibility not only to think a bit first, but to make conscious decisions on what to report and what to decline to report based on careful consideration of the ethical dimensions of the impact of the information on those who provide it, and the goals of the research. (1998: 273).

4.2.3. Voice and Linguistic Citizenship

Risk, and thereof individual vulnerability is compounded by the *complexity* of unfolding events in protest. In any movements or fronts, there will be multiple views, opinions, and interpretations, as well as preferred courses of action. Blackledge (2006) argues for an emic perspective that 'acknowledges not only the differences between outsider and insider views but is aware of the existence of many insider views, arguing that these *complexitie*s need to be accounted for (2006: 23, my italics). In like manner, Mauther & Birch (2002) (cited in Aluwihare-Sanaranayake 2012:65) argue for qualitative research "to capture the voices of participants and represent them and their experiences in as true a form as possible" in the

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

context of complexity and protest. Trusting and Maybin (2007) argue that it is important to understand that "linguistic ethnographers need to take on the epistemic authority to make truth claims which may differ from those of their research participants. However, this may sit uneasily with an ethnographic commitment to representing participants' perspectives and may raise particular ethical issues where these claims challenge, or even directly contradict, participants' understandings" (2007: 579). In attempts to navigate the complexities presented by the dynamics that surround #Shackville and research during protests, I borrow from Aluwihare-Sanaranayake's (2012) notion of 'critical consciousness' that:

> "…represent(s) thinking (through assessing, analysis, and reconstructing) and being aware of multiple angles from *outside in* and *inside out* in the process of creating transparency to all thoughts, actions, and ways of being, taking into consideration different socio-cultural, economic, and political contexts" (ibid:66)

Critical consciousness links to the idea of acts of Linguistic Citizenship, and the constituency of plural others (researcher and researched) that frame the unfolding interactions. The recognition of voice through careful and fugitive listening between and beneath the lines of what is said, and the 'positionality', or listening subject of the researcher mediated through a lens of shared 'fissiparity', is crucial to capturing this complexity.

Complexity in turn leads to multiple and possibly ambiguous *unfoldings* of events; utterances, sloganized in particular contexts, may be taken as rallying calls to collective action with unpredictable or unintended implications. How can an analysis capture such unfoldings in contexts such as this, where individual agency loses foothold in favour of collective chains of interpretation and group responsibility? Particularly useful in terms of interpretation and voice is an extension of the point on the 'performativity' of signs made by Malinowski (2009). This recognizes that signs may have layered interpretations that only become clear over time

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

(depending also on from what position they are read) and that the meaning of signs as understood by the reader may not have been the intended meaning of the author. I pose the question as to in what ways third person readings of the signs comes into conflict with the voice and agency of the authors of signage (witnessing and responsibility), but also raise the question of individual versus collective responsibility for any ensuing interpretations of a signed message. To consider such issues with a context of a protest is to delve into a different, and more reflexive, notion of *care* and protection that highlights vulnerability on centre-stage.

As I have noted several times, the scene on which the performance of the #Shackville protest is played out is on the various semiotically designed and labelled 'places' that the students created in the built campus of the University of Cape Town. This brings us to the second main question to be dealt with in this chapter, namely what implications of the considerations I have presented in the above sections, undergirded by a decolonial and Fanonian ethical engagement with others, may carry for a field (as materially fetished) as Semiotic/Linguistic Landscape Studies. I deal with this in the next sections.

4.3. Approaching semiotic landscapes

The #Shackville protest was about "the development of new perceptions of place/space – in particular, the democratic reclaiming of urban environments (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009: 363), and ultimately about the politics of belonging and alienation. It is thus fundamentally about semiotic landscapes and the politics of the protests are carried in the signage, the protesters organize themselves *around* the signage and the signage is an integral part of the *unfolding emerging* progression of the protests, and concomitantly the subjectivity and agency of the protesters. The approach in this thesis is thus to explore the semiotics of protest politics through their articulation and emergence in semiotic landscapes, that is, signage (taken in a wide sense as also including that which is produced around signage (e.g., interactions)) and

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

urban design.

The theoretical and methodological developments of Semiotic or Linguistic Landscape Studies (S/LLS) since the inception of the field have increasingly come to focus on the 'human' in conjunction with place as semiotically constituted. From earlier work that work with photographic taxonomies of signage through work that explores the placement and material affordances of signage, extending its focus from written 'scribblings' to encompass a wider range of semiotic exemplars (such as pictures, colours etc.) and mobile signage (including traces, Karlander 2019) and zombie landscapes (Bock and Stroud, 2019)). Concomitantly more recent work is centring the place of the 'human' and engaging a wider range of senses than the purely visual/ocular in 'reading' or 'writing' place (e.g., Pennycook and Otsuji (2015) on, smellscapes; Peck and Stroud, 2015 on skinscapes). In what Stroud *et al* (2019) have called the *semiotopologica*l perspective on S/LLS, the sign in an extended sense is what mediates the person in place and where place is simultaneously called into existence through person.

A volume of methodological innovation has emerged in the wake of, or accompanying, the developing theoretical perspectives in S/LLS (e.g., Backhaus, 2007; Bagna & Barni, 2006; Ben-Rafael *et al* 2004, 2006; Calvet, 1994; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Huebner, 2006; Itagi & Singh, 2002; Jufferman 2012; Reh, 2004; Scollon & Scollon, 2003; Spolsky & Cooper, 1991, Blommaert, 2016). Some of this work offers innovative approaches to the study of protests through semiotic landscapes (Rojo 2014; 2015, Kitis and Milani 2015; Rubdy and Said 2015). Given the framing of decolonized methodologies, I argue for the incorporation of *material ethnography* in studies that look at mobility, space, and contestation (e.g., Rojo 2014; 2016; Aboelezz 2016), the 'performativity of the body' (Kitis and Milani 2015), 'transitory Linguistic Landscapes' (Barni and Bagna 2016) as well as the need to consider 'the reality of dynamic and mobile lives and experiences' (cf. Seals 2017). Material ethnography affords us the

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

opportunity to attend to 'the material conditions of production' (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009) of signs and to reflect on what this may mean for interpreting and a reading of signs in space/ place. In the next section, I briefly characterize the overarching approach to semiotic landscapes employed in this thesis, namely material ethnography.

4.3.1. Material ethnography

The methodology I use in this thesis is dictated by my overarching research questions as detailed in Chapter 1, and my desire to ultimately understand the role that the semiotic landscape of the student protest played in the resubjectification of Blackness. A primary concern of my research is to critically reveal the role *place itself* plays in the 'coloniality of the body' (and mind), that is, how the 'design' (semiotically, architecturally) of place creates a viscerality of blackness, an epidermalization of place, that has historically been felt as oppressive and discursively determinant of a particular form of blackness, that is, what we can understand as how 'signs' determine place and, in so doing, determine people. This involves taking as a point of departure the semiotics of place as integral to the creation of the racialized body and its senses and experiences (through place) as integral in a 'racialized' knowledge production (cf. de Sousa Santos 2018; Fanon, 1967b). In terms of an approach to semiotic landscapes, this implies understanding how signage determines the nature, sense, and significance of place. (I deal with this angle in Chapter 5 in relation to research question 1 on the *meaning of Black pain* in the racialization of Black subjectivities.

The second question pertains to how this performative protest creates a politically 'productive' situation. Fanon queried somewhat sceptically whether the spontaneous, liberatory movements of dance and performance carried political consequences. This recognizes that research occurs in a set of political and social conditions, and that the semiotic landscape needs to be seen in terms of how it creates a politics of sharing and solidarity' (Juris, 2007, 2013) – a political front

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

in the sense of Mouffe (2018), where different voices are brought together, and where the circulation of signs (material ethnography) carries and links these different voices (signs as mediators of relationships). This is also about contextualizing the *what* of the signage (as protest tools) against the historical *why* (cf. Nyamnjoh, 2012) in recognition of 'militant ethnography' (Juris 2007). To this end, I explore signage as a form of *praxis* in the temporal *unfolding* (and escalation) of protest - not as a chaotic cacophony of leaderless 'disorder' (as it is often represented, cf. Chapter 2) but as a 'concerted' engineering of voices in the pursuit of a political goal (signs as political praxis). I deal with this issue in Chapter 6, which addresses research question 2.

The third research question has to do with emerging (political) subjectivities and the concerted engagement of a variety of (student) actors around signage that allowed for different voices to emerge and be attended to. To this end, I study how signage created a particular kind of public genre – violence as genre - and afforded pockets of possibility for dialogue among the students, either condoning violence or refusing it. I deal with this aspect in Chapter 7, the final analysis chapter.

Working with these three dimensions (each represented in a dedicated chapter and responding to facets of the research questions requires accounting for how the materiality of #Shackville in place orchestrates temporally linked discourses of Black alienation in historical and contemporary time in ways that are not only re-*tellings* but also re-*actions* (praxes) to Black pain through which student agency is fashioned in a particular way. This approach places my study within the tradition of ethnographic methods that account for the 'richness the social context of language use' (Androutsopoulos 2006) in ways that may also incorporate semiotic artefacts as *actors* in the context of their use. As a means to counter the possible limitations of ethnographic studies within the tradition of researching protests that are characterised by

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

mobility, fluidity and flux, I lean towards Seals (2017) who argues for a 'consideration of individual (collective) experience' as a crucial avenue to 'understanding the connections between space, time, cultures and textual artefacts (cf. O'Connor and Zentz 2016). I approach each of these analytical data 'sweeps' across the unfolding of events through a *material ethnography of signa*ge (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009) that attends to the circulation and rematerialization of messages (discourses, text fragments etc.) across modalities and media. A focus on material ethnography offers a stance where landscape is "a resource for the study of social circulations of meaning in society" (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009: 380), allowing a teasing apart of a variety of possible interpretations that includes possible motives, historical and present relations of a sign to place/ space and its geosemiotic location. In this sense material ethnography develops our perspective to include not just the artifact and text in signs but to investigate the semiotic meaning of a sign holistically – that is to include to the sign with its modes of production, as well as see it as a conduit for resemiotized discourses. Below, I expand on the idea of material ethnography in relation to a select three other compatible approaches.

4.3.2. Material ethnography of signs

Looking at protests requires attention to the fluid and affective nature of place and the subjectivities and emotions that circulate in these spaces; signs as mediators of (social/political) relationships and affectations (material and emotional) and a recognition of signs as animators of (individual and collective) action. There are various comprehensive, scalar approaches to LLS that addresses each or more than one of the dimensions. For example, Hult (2008), offers a dynamic take on linguistic landscapes by marrying Scollon and Scollon's nexus analysis to landscape studies. Whereas linguistic landscape studies serve as 'a tool for investigating certain niches of specific languages in the linguistic ecosystem', nexus analysis, which studies how discourses operate across time and space focus on 'relationships between languages and social

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

actions of those who inhabit ecosystems', thus capturing scale and polycentricity of signage in an alternative way

Alastair Pennycook (2004) has emphasized the need to study signs or semiotic 'marks' in context, suggesting that it is more appropriate to talk of how different semiotic resources are used in terms of the total ecology, namely in terms of their pretextual, intertextual, subtextual, post-textual and contextual meanings. In other words, to know what a sign means, we need to know more about how, why and with what intentions (beliefs or ideologies) a sign came into being, and how they are made, and their likely destiny. Pennycook is relevant to an understanding of the how signage animates meanings. Huebner's (2009) approach attends to how signage mediates and creates intersubjectivities. This author has proposed an integrated framework based in an ethnography of language framework (Hymes), taking the notion of *genre* as fundamental. Genres, "a class of communicative events identified by both its traditionally recognized form and its common functions" (Hymes, 1972: 65), are often recognized and labelled by the community itself, and therefore provide a potentially real and grounded taxonomy of signage types.[13] The notion of genre will be considered more fully in Chapter 7.

A material ethnography traces how meanings over time take one more or less tangible forms of visibility – as forms of logographic, pictorial or multimodal inscription, as artefacts of objects or structures (buildings) or as body shapes. It attends to the various forms and modes where inscriptions occur and relates the unfolding of these inscriptions to each other over time and in relation to their material affordance. In particular, the approach suggests we need to explore how the physical appearance contributes to the form and content (including language choice) of the message and most importantly, its temporal distribution. Taking materiality into

[13] For a discussion of LC in terms of Hymes model, cf. Rampton *et al.*

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

consideration broadens the lens of analysis by tapping into the affordances and limitations of a particular artifact in its socio-historical, socioeconomic, and socio-political context. Rather than look at signage as created and placed in a specific location at a particular time, materiality attends to the trajectory and facets of production. A 'material ethnography' also explores the impact of geopolitical placement on the meaning of signs. This approach also attempted to articulate with a sociolinguistics concerned with scale and history of production of the artefact, how different 'agencies' came together in the production of a landscape (polycentricity) – read out from the 'product' by tracing the practices involved sedimented into it.

Thus, in a material ethnography, signs are not just artifacts but are 'discursive' stages in chains of interactionally created and resemiotized meanings, and thereby capable of inducing particular affects on those who create them and those who read them through a span of time and across context(s). This approach sees signs as fluid discourses and therefore no easy definition of sign is possible. Studies have deliberated on what may comprise a sign– the unit of analysis – (whether to define it physically in terms of extension/cohesion or semantically, in terms of information units or discourses (Scollon & Scollon, 2003), and whether newspapers, posters, books etc. should be included), how to sample and define survey areas and determine their representativity, and what sampling procedures to use; how to encode the characteristics of signs, and how to classify them (e.g. a common distinction employed in many studies between official/non-official or top-down/bottom-up signage obscures the fluid interactions between these categories). In material ethnography, the 'sign' is broadly speaking phenomenologically determined as that which is attended to, oftentimes in multiple and complex ways across the flow of messages. Given this framing of the problematics of the decolonial research methods explained by Smith (1999); the postabyssal methodologies of de Sousa Santos (2018; 2006); the attention to my 'locus of enunciation' and fissiparity/ positionality Mignolo (1993); and Maldonado- Torres' (2007) 'coloniality of being, power and

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

knowledge', in relation to a material ethnography that prizes open the nexus of the sign and human, ethical considerations become paramount in this study. This must be an ethics that is cognizant of the move beyond studying 'the object' to 'the human participant' as an integral part of a semiotic meaning (see Seals 2015, 2017; Malinowski 2009; Jarwoski and Thurlow 2009; Stroud and Jegels 2014). Further, another ethical consideration pertains – as mentioned above - to my felt need to represent the dynamic *complexity* of the unfolding protest in such a way that the significance and import of the signage is informed by *my* locus of enunciation/positionality/fissiparity as a Black person. Importantly, in as much this approach explicitly attends to how different voices, in different registers and genres (material/non-material) unfold variously over time and in concert, it is highly compatible with Linguistic Citizenship.

4.4. Ethics as methodology in data collection and interpretation

In the following, I pull the considerations made above into the selection, compilation and labelling and analysis of data. There are three points in particular that inform work with the data, namely *positonality* of the researcher (fissiparity and historical autobiography); the perception of the significance and value of the historical landscape that the protest attempted to reconstruct (*zombie landscapes*); and the reality of *surveillance*, a contextual feature that licensed against treatment of certain types of data, and which also included non-rhizomatic, hierarchical structures. Each of these dimensions are further covered by principles of Linguistic Citizenship, which from a methodological perspective encourage co-construction of voice and subjectivity in new socialities, attending to the ethics of dealing with historical vulnerabilities outside of institutional stricture.

In order to elicit the data traditional methods of LL research were employed, namely taking photographs in protest (see Seals 2011, 2015; Stroud and Jegels 2015, Barni and Barna 2016

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

and Said and Kasanga 2016; Rudby and Said 2015). And because this was a protest rather than stationary photographs, the data included participant observations stemming from the researcher embedding himself and forming part of the protests to gain access to important processes of how such protests took place and the motivation behind them. In essence this is what Seals (2017) refers to as the "ethically appropriate way to collect data as the research is conducted with participants instead of on participants" (2017: 273). As part of attempts to get the "experiential nature of the creation and shaping of this type of LL" (ibid: 273) for its the mobile, fluid and flux nature, the researcher walked, interacted, and observed protesters as they engaged (verbally and non-verbally) with their social and material environments making observations. In fact, "by participating, the researcher is also experiencing" (Seals 2017), therefore the process of data collection ensured that as a researcher I *experienced a*nd witnessed most of the happenings during this event. However, importantly, my experience of this event was also informed by the history of my own Blackness, and my experience of structural whiteness. 'Participating' in the protest sharpened acutely my awareness of my own *fissiparity* and contributed to which moments of the protest I came to attend to.

One aspect of how my own autobiography as Black impacted on data gathering was how I could move with the protesters through the zombie landscapes of the apartheid 'past'. Bock and Stroud (2019) coined the term 'zombie landscapes' to refer to the historical significances and meanings of landscapes that remain 'legible' at the present moment – assisting me in grasping the *why* behind the *what*.

A further factor determining how I could engage with the students was the issue of surveillance. The decision to take photographs using both my mobile phone and my digital camera maximized by participant observation as it allowed for more interactions and conversations, also given me the opportunity to gain information and insights as events unfolded. I must add,

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

that during this time, protesting students were much sceptical of allowing video footage to be taken by 'outsiders' as it could be sent to authorities and would then, possibly, be used against them should they face arrests. So, video footage became a source of *surveillance* in in the sense that video footage possesses the power to record people in action in ways that make it nearly impossible to dispute the contents of the video. As still photographs cannot reproduce audio sound in the same way photographs were more tolerable to student protestors. It was in consideration and in awareness of such concerns that motivated my decision to take only photographs and observation notes. I must add that because my gadgets had settings of dates and time for each photograph, I am able to piece together the sequence of events with accuracy. Generally, as a Black person, growing up in the township of Khayelitsha, I am often acutely conscious of the different tell-tale signs of being watched and surveilled (cf. also Ellis on how surveillance is a dynamic factor in certain forms of urban protest graffiti).

Procedurally, I explore the same public inscriptions from different vantage points in each of the three analysis chapters, that is, in terms of Black pain and landscapes of affect in Chapter 5; in terms of signage serving as anchor points, rich points, discourse nodes, rhizomatic trajectories for an unfolding political front in Chapter 6; and in Chapter 7 as component parts of an emerging genre of violence. Malinowski (2009), when interrogating the readings of the sign, found that "the emergence of unexpected meanings …. suggest that signs in the linguistic landscape…might mean more, or mean differently, than the individuals recognized as authors could have intended" (p. 118) – the linguistic landscape (p. 120) 'generates meaning beyond control'. This is an observation with an important methodological/analytical implication which I here use as a methodological principle to sift the data through an increasingly finer mesh.

A total of 215 photographs were taken during #Shackville. The number of photographs for an event that lasted 2 days can be attributed to the fact that placards kept changing through various

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

contributors. Graffiti writings on walls were continually erased and cleaned, which meant that as a researcher. I had to document each change as it happened. For example, as more students joined the protest, placards kept being added into the protest and the editing of signage also took place as part of the consistent, lived, and *fleeting* nature of #Shackville. This in some way reveals how the discourse and semiotics of protests were being authored and edited in practice, in real time. And due to the suspensions of students involved in the protests, after #Shackville a series of other demonstrations took place and a total of 20 additional photographs was taken to document those protests.

4.5. Summary

In the above discussion, I have presented a case for decolonial methodologies that consider the precarity of the researcher as an insider-outsider, an object of inquiry and a producer of knowledge. I have illustrated how Southern epistemologies allow for the foregrounding of experiences and memory in the engagement with participants. This carries implications for how research is approached and presented. I have also alluded to a need for an ethics that humanizes participants beyond just the prescripts of meeting standard ethical requirements, but more towards looking at the historicity of epistemological effects on the design of methodologies and an understanding that "…ethical conduct is not fixed, but is personally, socially, and contextually constructed".

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Chapter 5. #Shackville as an affective regime

5.1. Introduction

This chapter looks at #Shackville from the perspective of the semiotics of place, and how it articulates the crux of the protest. As noted, I take the protest landscape to comprise both the material artefacts, inscriptions, as well as the explicit discourses that circulate across the material signage. However, I also engage with the 'zombie' landscape (Bock and Stroud, 2019), that is, the 'historical, 'invisible' but ever-present historical reading and sense of place, layered into the walls and monuments of the university, that haunts the present through the visceral sensibility of the black body.

More specifically, given that semiotic landscapes are "intimately tied to concerns of *the human in place* (cf. Chapter 3), that is, "provide the discourses and important reference points whereby people make *sense* of themselves and their relatedness to others in place" (Stroud *et al* 2019: 2), this chapter looks at how #Shackville materially, through juxtaposition with the geosemiotics of the university, co-inscribes a particular semiotics of place together with a particular affective (vulnerability), that is *black pai*n. I discuss here how the notion of 'black pain' is an effect of an affective regime in Wee's terms (cf. Wee, 2017; Wee and Goh 2020), that is a "set of conditions that govern with varying degrees of hegemonic status the ways in which particular kinds of affect can be appropriately materialized in the context of a given site" (Wee 2017: 109). In the context of UCT, an 'appropriate' materialization of affect might be expected to encompass awe and a sense of reverence for respected scholarly tradition, and admiration and pride at the architectural opulence of colonial conquest. However, when read viscerally by a Black body through the material mediation of how the Shack and portaloo, are juxtaposed with White spatial semiotics of the university, the effect is to drive home the sense of loss, non-belonging and dispossession – Black pain. This articulates well with the dynamics

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

of a semiotics of protest as a reconfiguration of *affect* – that is a moment that contests the 'prevailing affect' of a particular space. Wee and Goh "adopt a phenomenological orientation that understands the landscape to be ideologically loaded…" (2020: 2). It is in those particular ideologies that a prevailing affect is constituted and contested. Furthermore, I suggest that this affective regime 'determines/feeds' an alternative 'political' register (treated in more detail in Chapter 6 in conjunction with the notion of Linguistic Citizenship) that in turn 'gives affordance' to a particular type of (political) subjectivity/resubjectification (this is discussed further in Chapter 7).

I begin by discussing Fanon's use of spatial terminology to reference the temporal capture of black bodies; historically and materially (black bodies with no future, living in a present that endlessly repeats the past). This provides the leverage to account for how the protest landscape can be read. The location of the protest unfolds in the time-space trajectory with prevailing emotions/ affective regimes of Black pain. This is crucial in the understanding of the nuances of the connections of time and history, as Wee and Goh argue, "thinking in terms of affect also allows us to focus on a variety of phenomena that are not always clearly identifiable via specific emotion labels" Wee and Goh (2020: 7).

5.2. Fanon on sociogenesis, place and 'black pain'

As I noted in Chapter 3, 'sociogenesis' is "what emerges from the social world, the intersubjective world of culture, history, language, and economics" (Gordon, 2015: 22) and Fanon himself is concerned with "the meaning of black identity" in relation to its socio-political and historical productions in context – that is, he pursues the production of the modalities of being (cf. Deumert 2021; Maldonado- Torres 2007). Fanon's notion of '*sociogenesis*' discussed in Chapter 3 is about the ways in which blackness is a failure of relationality, harmful affectivity and alienation. These are part of the dynamics of structures and institutions in

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

racialization that produces the experience of language as a prison-house of historically recycled socio-semiotic determinants of Blackness, and the position of the Black in the *zone of non-being*. This is the failure to count or to be counted, to be 'audible', and to unsettle 'ideas of recognition'. The dynamics of epidermalization are what project an unjust socioeconomic order (represented as UCT) onto the body of the Black, positioning him/her in the zone of non-being, a zone of non-selves and non-*others*. As we saw in Chapter 3, this non-being is brought about through a battery of forms of interpellation in the structure of language (cf. also raciolinguistic work by Alim *et al* 2016; Flores and Rosa 2015, Alim 2020). In this chapter, we see how spatiality and the semiotics of place (as indicated in Chapters 1 and 2) also contribute to the building of a space of non-being.

Fanon himself often uses spatial metaphors to describe the situation of the black', such as 'locked in' (the politics of denial) 'erasure and disappearance' – a desire "to find shelter" (Fanon 1967: 114). In 'Wretched', there are frequent references to the Black body depicted in metaphors of spatiality, such as 'locked in', 'body broken', living in 'compartments', 'motionless', and "hemmed in". In these references, Fanon is underscoring the viscerality of the experience of alienation. This world in which the Black (native) learns "to stay in his place, and not go beyond certain limits" (1967: 40) turns the body of the Black into a repository of colonial violence, thereby sustaining a steady grip on the colonized body as both a canvas of violence and erased agency. As Gordon (2015) points out, when Fanon uses spatial terms in this way, he is actually referring to the temporal 'closure' of the Black - unable to determine their own futures outside of coloniality, thus unable to move forward, and enclosed in a past that is not theirs, locked in to a self that is determined by others, in a moral ordering that estranges and invisibilizes the Black in an ontology of affect and emotion built on Whiteness. I noted briefly in Chapters 1 and 3 how semiotic landscapes alienate or embrace bodies. In the following section, I look briefly at semiotic landscape literature from the perspective of the

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Fanonian production of non-selves, specifically by tying to Lionel Wee's notion of 'affective regime' landscapes. In the subsequent section (5.4.), I then explore in more detail how the affective (zombie) landscape in the form of the Shack is brought out in the open to illustrate Fanon's point that the Black subject is stuck in time. I suggest in Chapter 6 that this allows a narrative of black pain to be used as as a political point of departure for the student movement.

5.3. Semiotic landscapes and affective regime

Fanon's insights around racializations as semiotic and discursive constructs raise the question of how senses of alienation or belonging in place impact on how racial identity is construed or constructed. One of the 'constitutive discourses' of apartheid in the South African racialization project was constraining engagement between white and non-whites in a manner that "worked to spatially delimit the nature of identity, drawing ever tighter the boundaries separating self from other" (Popke and Ballard 2004: 99). However, the advent of democracy legally dissolved racial segregation brought us a context "in which all identities – previously legislated and believed to be immutable – are suddenly open to threat and negotiation" Thornton (1996: 144). Space/place is important in the process of threat and negotiation of identities as it is in the local, everyday entanglement and encounters across difference that convivial or contesting relations occur. Blommaert *et al* (2007) also note how relations of power and inequality are linked to the scaled polycentricity and multifunctionality of place, and that this determines local interactional regimes, sets of 'behavioural' expectations regarding physical conduct, including language (2007: 212). In this sense, what an individual defines him/herself to be is indirectly and directly extracted from social activities and space frames such activities (Johnstone, 2009; Benwell & Stokoe 2006).

As I have noted, in the context of South Africa, place is semiotically saturated with histories and entanglements of racial encounter. As Peck and Stroud (2015) note "places take the form of bodies that inhabit them". An area such as Newlands in the Southern suburbs of Cape Town

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

has folded itself around the privileged White class that has historically lived in this place, as evidenced in large mansions and tree-lined avenues. However, as these authors also note, following Ahmed (2004) 'the malleable bodies' are also sculpted and formed in accordance with the places they find themselves. Identity is thus in interesting ways – although not exclusively – an emplaced or spatial construct, where people become 'racialized selves' in the nexus of place, interaction and language.

5.3.1. Affective regime

Being epidermically formed in places happen affectively and viscerally. Fanon has noted how body, affect and sense of self are impacted on, produced, and constructed by whiteness. In 'Black Skin', Fanon, remarks on how the production of black identity has "forced an existential deviation on the Negro" (1967b: 14). These themes are explored more broadly in "The Wretched" – where issues of relationality and colonialism begin with language in "Black Skin" and move to the body, space/ place, and agency in "The Wretched". It is no surprise that Fanon has built a solid theoretical grounding around the politics of encounter framed by the grammar of colonialism, and how this in turn and in many ways, contributed into the politics of affect. Deurmert (2021) notes that "colonialism was a multi-scalar world-system, a brutal macro-level structure, that has affected –and continues to affect –micro-level interactions in multiple locales, both in the metropole and in the former colonies". This is what Maldonado- Torres theorized as 'the coloniality of being'. In a similar fashion, looking at the effects of colonialism, Veronelli writes about the 'coloniality of language', of relevance to grasping the realities of how *others* are made to feel in certain contexts. Wee and Goh develop an argument for a consideration of "affect as an important aspect of the landscape" (2020: 1). This is rooted in the idea that, spelled out by Wee and Goh (2020: 1), "the study of affect requires attention not only to language but to other modalities as well". A consideration of this is vital in understanding how politics of encounter are operationalized and how affect finds expression

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

in those contexts. Speaking of 'affective regime', Wee further notes that "[b]ecause an affective regime operates at the level of the site, even in the absence of any particular individual, that is, even when a given site happens to be uninhabited or unoccupied, it is still meaningful to speak of an affective regime associated with that environment" (Wee 2017: 109). This is the sense in which I understand the affective regime of UCT, that irrespective of the presence of 'white bodies' at the place of protest, the site itself 'retains' its affective script, which the students articulate through their juxtaposition with the counter-discourse of Black pain as carried in the Shack. In addition, this also finds expression in the 'politics of encounter' where absence or presence govern modes of being in place.

#Shackville is an articulation of an encounter between Black bodies and White – a 'situation'. Collins argues that "the key to understanding social life is to focus on "the situation" which he defines (2004: 3) as "momentary encounters among human bodies charged up with emotions and consciousness because they have gone through chains of previous encounters" (Wee and Goh 2020: 22). Moreover, Wee and Goh emphasize that individuals always enter any new situation already bringing with them the effects of past situation…". The protest site comprises a situation where the place of UCT becomes an amalgam of past happenings, present contingencies, and future aspiration of those that occupy or move through space. Thus, not only is the *materiality* and *placement* of the sign of interest, but equally so its *temporal and mobile* features.

5.3.2. Temporality (Chronotope).

I noted above the way in which temporality in Fanon was expressed through spatiality/ constraints, stillness, and awareness of being 'othered' in place. An important concept to understand how a manifestation of semiotic artefacts and language on display may create connections or alienation and feelings about being in place at a particular time, in a specific

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

environment, is that of *chronotopes* (cf. Blommaert and De Fina 2016). This notion is useful in addressing how "co-occurrences of events from different times and places…" (Blommaert and De Fina 2016: 3) may find expression and resonance at a different context, in time and in space. Chronotopes is a Bhaktanian notion "to point toward the inseparability of time and space in human social action and to the effects of this inseparability on it" (Blommaert and De Fina 2016: 3). Moreover, in their work on chronotopic links of identity, Blommaert and De Fina (2016) provide us with a framing to see how chronotopes feature in everyday politics of identity. As such, the authors remark:

> we would say that chronotopes invoke orders of indexicality valid in a specific timespace frame (cf. Blommaert 2005, 73). Specific timespace configurations enable, allow, and sanction specific modes of behavior as positive, desired, or compulsory (and disqualify deviations from that order in negative terms), and this happens through the deployment and appraisal of chronotopically relevant indexicals—indexicals that acquire a certain recognizable value when deployed within a particular timespace configuration. (2016: 3)

Chronotopes help us understand how the connections between semiotic landscapes, people and place link to another timespace and a current manifestation in which they find meaning and resonance. In addition to this we see how ideas of memory, politics, history can be rearticulated and re-authored to express different political stances by bringing the past to the present through values of association and disassociations, through voices and manner of articulation that invoke a particular chronotope. Importantly, as we shall see, the very materiality of some of the #Shackville structures organizes the shape of protest chronotopes.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

5.3.3. Traces and zombies

Considering how people and their chronotopical organization are projected onto spaces to create places of encounter are brought in mobility and changing landscapes over time also suggest that we also need to focus on what is not – that which is absent and erased from landscapes, where only traces or memories may remain, alternative narratives and representations of place that go unheard, or that are only heard by those who know what to listen for (e.g., Banda and Jimaima 2015). In other words, it is essential to understand that there are moments where issues of absence and presence are not clear. But being alert to 'absence' is in accord with Fanon's many remarks on Blacks as absent presences (cf. also Wilderson). Whereas landscapes of memorabilia (Ben-Rafael 2016) take as their object the representation of landscapes of '(ever)present absences' (Cecil John Rhodes), zombie landscapes carry the traces of the those still living dead – absent presences'.

Karlander (2019) discusses absence and presence within Linguistic landscape research and poses a question; "what if there is nothing?". Using the anti-graffiti movements or spaces where graffiti is erased, he develops the notion of traces. The author brings to the debate an essential tool similar to the ideas of affective regimes discussed above – particularly how absence doesn't mean a denial or nothingness. Kalander, discussing the erasure of graffiti opines that, "[t]he continuous reassertion of this relation between existing and erased graffiti likewise reasserts the officialised conditions of semiotic normality and alteration. For this reason, '*nothing just vanishes; of everything that disappears there remain traces*" (2019: 203). What is significant here is how something that is particularly 'not there anymore' or 'in the physical sense', expressed differently, something that is 'no longer there' is imbued with meaning. Similar issues come up in Banda and Jimaima (2015) in their study of the Linguistic Landscape of rural Zambia where faded signs are "repurposed" through "oral narratives and cultural

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

memory". The study shows how things no longer there leave footprints of their selves. In other words, even when things are erased, they leave residues and evidence of their presence – the traces. This illustrates how the notion of traces contributes to other modes of reading and interpretations.

Bock and Stroud (2019) use the notion of *trace* "to conceptualize how place is imagined out of the circulation of memories of apartheid and fragments of experience" (2019: 13). In Bock and Stroud, the notion is deployed to understand how people narrate and articulate their sense of space. They coin the notion of *zombie landscapes* to put forth the idea of 'a haunted space' – landscapes that are populated and structured in ways no longer physically tangible' or present, here but are felt in or beyond their absence. They argue that "zombie landscapes are reconstructed and imagined landscapes, pieced together through *traces* of memory and the visceralities of affect these memories call forth" (2019: 15). Similar themes are discussed in Wee and Goh (2020) where issues of absence and presence in semiotic landscapes and their implication are explored through the lens of affective regimes. Of value across these theories is how history and accepted practices render meaning to absences in ways that illustrate a past that never leaves or that revokes other ways of meaning.

To generate an understanding of what #Shackville is doing in terms of creating an alternative narrative of the present in the past, one can view see #Shackville as a UCT zombie landscape – of that which has been displaced but where memories reside – a place of non-existence. Tapping into these memories (through zombie landscapes) involves using the very same tools - time/temporality – that zombies deploys to occupy our presents. Taking material ethnography as the analytical framing, suggests that the built artefacts are what carry messages of displacement across time. In the next sections, I look closely at #Shackville as a material modality for a chain, space, of inter-discursive messages of erasure. In the next chapter, I show

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

how listening through Linguistic Landscapes generates (rekindles) revisiblizes the erased messages and makes them hearable – albeit in another 'semiotic'/language modality.

5.4. #Shackville: temporalities of place

The idea with #Shackville was to "bring the township life into the posh and leafy suburbs of privilege", literally compressing, grafting, or enfolding, the township into the spatial envelope of upmarket structural whiteness in the guise of UCT – thus creating a 'situation', an encounter of different pasts and presents. The act of bringing the shack to UCT was meant to bring 'real life experience' of what impoverished people of South Africa live like. The erection of a shack at UCT was a mode of communicating grievances, an act of reclaiming and redefinition of space. This links semiotic resources to 'socio-political discourses of justice, rights and equity' (Stroud 2001: 351). It does this on many levels.

Figure 3

As noted above, Fanon often uses spatial metaphors of enclosure to refer to how time stands still for the Black person (Gibson and Beneduce, 2017). To be "hemmed in" is to be confined

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

to an eternal present which endlessly repeats the past, and where the colonized has no agency to determine his/her own future beyond ever-present colonial Whiteness. In what follows below, I zoom into temporalities as an important lens to frame the themes that emerged during #Shackville. The shack-cum-portaloo as a form of protest orchestrates complex layerings of different temporalities that carries significance at multiple levels. Its presence and form in the grounds of UCT is indexical of the apartheid of times past; draws attention to the continuous presence of structural whiteness in the present; references punctual moments of significant historical events (such as the Sharpeville massacre) and the repeated moments of post-apartheid struggle (such as land invasions); and locates #Shackville in the more recent coordinates of the protest events themselves.

5.4.1. Time and its makers

Firstly, at a general level, the *materiality* of the structure itself directs the temporal unfolding of the protest in that both the shack and the portaloo are temporary structures. The temporary and mobile dimension of black lives (organized by forced removals and apartheid era work (places located far from home ('dormitories')) was the dynamo of apartheid era South Africa, although it also continues until today. Shacks are the epitome of poor and marginalized Black lives. They have always been seen as temporary places that will one day be removed from whatever site they occupy to be placed into new habitable areas, together with be the people that inhabit them. This is even more the case for the portaloos that are replaced on a frequent basis with new portaloos as the old ones are taken away and emptied. And although both structures are designed to be temporary and mobile, they have become a permanent fixture of the township environment (even as they are regularly replaced by new shacks and portable toilets). In other words, the temporariness is underlined at the same time as the permanent nature of this temporariness is underscored. Shacks and loos thus are the very epitome of

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

constrained mobility and temporariness, thus allowing the presence of these structures in UCT grounds to create a particular post-apartheid chronotope of the continued contestation for space/ for place and the material links of blackness as permanently displaced and temporary.

The first set of temporal co-ordinates that #Shackville indexes are discourses of *punctual moments in the present and near past*. At its most basic, #Shackville references an immediate moment, namely the lack of student accommodation. By introducing the construction, the students are protesting the lack of accommodation at the same time as they are voicing their dissatisfaction with the passivity of university senior management in resolving the issue; despite a series of letters sent by the students pointing out the inadequacies, management has hitherto failed to act. The issue of lack of accommodation brings into sharp focus unresolved issues of inequality and exclusion that are often central in the politics of belonging through class and race.

A second temporal envelope tethers #Shackville into, what we could call, the *durative present* (rather than the punctual present or past) by way of reference to land occupation. In the post 1994 South Africa land occupation using shacks was made popular by Abahlali baseMjondolo (roughly translated to Shack dwellers) – a social movement that fought for people's rights to occupy land especially in contexts where townships lacked more land for new townships to mushroom due to urban migration and immigration. Therefore, shacks are potent instruments of the decade-long occupations whereby citizens identify open land and forcefully take possession of it by building a shack on the premises. Thus, the shack along with a portable toilet can be read as a tangible articulation of "Black pain" – the notion I earlier introduced that refers to a myriad socioeconomic and affective issues following on the colonial dispossession of land. In fact, when the police removed the shack at UCT, it resembled how most Black

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

townships were removed during the 1950s without the consent or engagement of those who lived there or when municipalities in the post 1994 context remove 'illegal squatters' from municipal land or private owned land through the police and securities commonly known as 'red ants' because of their red attire.

In Figure 4, we see how the situation of encounter inserts whole histories or 'effects of past situations' and their "chains of previous encounters" into the present of the protest. It illustrates how different temporalities/historicities are brought to bear on structural issues of the day.

Figure 4

In the display, there are layers of historical discourses. The placard depicted in figure 4, mounted on the portable toilet and is handwritten on cardboard with red paint. The phrase "asinamali & asiyindawo" is in isiXhosa – the second biggest language in South Africa and an

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

official language. In addition, this language has a strong association with the liberation struggle of South Africa (due to the province it is mostly spoken in) and roughly translated reads, “we don’t have money and we are not going anywhere/ we won’t move”. The form, in isiXhosa, red paint on cardboard, handwritten suggests an interpretation as a rallying cry, a slogan, a call for action against poverty, dispossession and spatial exclusion. This is both history and the present moment/ now and then folded in an affective regime. The temporary-permanent dimension noted earlier is clearly articulated in these words.

As with the materiality of the shack and loo, this handwritten slogan works as a node for several different discourses located in different temporalities. On the one hand, it refers to the crisis of the present moment, namely that the students themselves have no money and cannot afford to find accommodation off-campus. On the other hand, it references back in time to the ‘forced removals’ of Black and Coloured South Africans who were removed their areas (that were mostly racially and ethnically diverse) to make way for white people by so doing enforce racial separation as stipulated by the Group Areas Act. Racial categories were the driver of the apartheid state; the phrase ‘asiyindawo’ is especially embedded in the history of this country where the lament of ‘we are going nowhere/ we won’t move’ directly refers to the evictions of the 1950s because of the Group Areas Act of 1950 that relocated people according to racial categories. These are chronotopic links of the present moment to past events in ways that “ritualize the situation”. Collins (2004) makes a crucial point expanding on the importance of ‘rituals’ – in this case the protest as solidarity, arguing that “situations are ritualized, and rituals create cultural symbols. These cultural symbols, if they are part of successfully ritualized situations, then become “charged up” or “recharged” with “renewed sentiments of respect” (2004: 38). In other words, the struggle in the present links to past rituals of similar sentiments. The protest against systematic removal due to lack of finances for accommodation is pegged

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

to the history of ‘forced removals’. We also note how a “relevant indexical” of a past struggle resonates with the students’ politics of accommodation and their sense of belonging. In this way the present time-space of #Shackville is directly linked to the forced removals of the 1960s. The phrases are a recognizable cry against injustice, force, and power, which students exploit by bringing them to current discourses. The significance of such an approach is to bring colonialism, power, and whiteness, pitted against the Black material condition of dispossession, policing and regulation as relevant to the moment. Importantly, reading the phrase in the present moment and newly created is not different to reading a material sign created a very long time ago. It influences our present behaviour, and “*our present behaviour thus becomes in some small part a moment in long-term processes of social continuity and cultural change*” (Lemke 2005: 191, my emphasis). The meaning of the phrase moves across times, activities, and behaviours. But it operates within different affordances that may yield different or similar outcomes. In both contexts, the now and the past, the impeding resistance of forced removals is present in both but what is different are the times and contexts.

Lemke (2005) uses the idea of chronotopes to capture these continuities, and for “…the culturally typical movements from place to place, each with its own characteristic timing and pacing, that characterize complex extended human activity every bit as much as they do the spatio-temporal organization of action in a novel” (ibid: 192). And further, “separation and connection, placement and distance are not just enabling and constraining facts of life regarding action, they are also resources for expressive meaning-making” (2005: 198). Put differently, the understanding of the phrases, if read only in relation to #Shackville, provides a limited reading. But when connected to the past, it envelops the current event into a long tradition of protest against forced removal and systematic exclusion. In addition, it curates the subjectivities of race and its associations and power that rule/ or construct them.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

The other sentence “we don’t have money” also speaks to inequality and exclusion based on lack of money that suggests that UCT allocates residences to students that can pay. These are part of the macro discourses of exclusion. When read with #Shackville they reveal old burdens of dispossession, displacement, and deprivation of the majority, again carried forward unchanged to the present moment. In addition to this, the phrases “asinamali & asiyindawo” can also be read as declaratives of resistance against a looming forced removal and a clear claim to belonging in the space. In other words, the phrase predicts the outcomes and response to the erection of a shack at UCT, and, by so doing reinforces the idea of *illicit appear*ance as an inherent trait of blackness at UCT. This can be seen in how the writing through the erection a shack predicts how that maybe removed so the phrase actually signals the intent to remain even if there will be a “forced removal”. To declare that ‘asiyindawo’ also shows a reclaiming of space, a push from the marginality of being poor and black to assert strongly, to reclaim place in a way that articulates politics of belonging. Here we see how resistance as informed by marginality resurfaces through language. The choice of isiXhosa binds students to the history and subject position in a tradition of resistance against exclusion. In a democratic dispensation led by a former liberation movement, the protest problematizes not only the issues at UCT but the structural/ historical and social issues that remain unresolved.

Appended to the bottom of the hand-painted slogan is a piece of paper machine-typed in the font ‘Times New Roman’ with the words ‘yhuu abelungu’. Beneath that, in turn, in smaller print and with a different font and placing reminiscent of a metacommentary is the phrase ‘Old African Proverb’. The stiff paper is more permanent than the painted, cardboard slogan. The isiXhosa part on this piece can be roughly transliterated to “Ooh white people”. This segment is clearly appended to the original cardboard on a later date or as an afterthought. The juxtaposition of these messages on the different materials suggests that the decision to stay put,

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

to not move, and not having money is the fault of white people; "yhuu" is an expletive, pronounced with an expiration and folded tongue, suggesting exasperation, disbelief at "how inconsiderate/ ignorant" white people can be, thus also linking whiteness as the reason for the battle-slogan. Interestingly, the phrase 'Old African Proverb' typed in this way projects the prior utterance as something historical but continuing into the present – proverbs are quintessentially timeless truths, and the 'disbelief and this 'truth' is inscribed, however, in a form that is reminiscent of a museal note: the type, the white paper appended to the artifact, the explanatory phrasal are suggestive of a particular white historical/imperial gaze on the collected experience of otherness. The "old African Proverb" phrase is also deployed as a mocking device against what many Western scholars often attribute as an African proverb as if they are suggesting that Africa is a homogenous village or country. These are subversive techniques that mock the epistemological foundations of Western thinking. It is an 'epistemic disobedience (Mignolo) that forces a reflection about the epistemic normative orders. Thus, we find in this note appended to the structure of the loo, a layeredness of temporalities and a multivocality, subtly indexed for racial voice: firstly, the immediate, imminent time of action (through sloganeering and the medium of paint and cardboard on the temporal structure of the loo); secondly, the *long duree* of colonial time linked to the present through the museal gaze, a genre indexical of Whiteness and the production of black otherness. Thirdly, the meshing of time is pinpointed in the *now* of protest – with a certain permanence – a continuous past in the present.

Another way in which the materiality of #Shackville structures time and thereby reconfigures place is how it regulates the flow and circulation of linguistic form, and the attendant significance of inscriptions. In #Shackville, inscriptions, such as placards, notices pinned to the structures, graffiti, etc. wax and wane and are carried across modalities and modes. The sign in

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Figure 5 is a case in point. This sign posted on the portaloo has an interesting composition, and again is actually a compendium of intersecting voices, metacommentary and discourse (temporally structured).

Figure 5

The inscription/signage, "no home for Blacks at UCT" actualizes racialized ideas of person-place relationship in ways that frame and reproduce the old narrative anew especially in institutions of higher learning (Mabokela 2001; Ndimande 2009; Suransky and van der Merwe 2014) where black students feel out place culturally and linguistically. Such a discourse touches on structural and historical forms of exclusion that persist as "salient features of contested social realities" (Suransky and van der Merwe 2014: 17). In fact, these realities and ideas present a different picture of UCT as an inherently anti-black space. This is despite its liberal posture. It must be remembered that anti-blackness is not only seen from a materialist

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

perspective but a cultural perspective as a whole; sensibilities and norms remain informed by whiteness. As noted initially, *forms* of presence and absence and the temporalities and orders of their 'visibility' (Kerfoot and Hyltenstam, 2017) over time are highly relevant to understanding the condition of 'illicit appearance'.

As seen in the next Figure 6, feelings of despondency and blackness were very much part of the messages during the first day as seen above (although the modality or feel of the protest changed over time, as I show in Chapter 6).

Figure 6

One of the readings of this despondency and anger is perhaps that Blackness in relation to whiteness is seen to be the worst thing to be especially at UCT where whiteness and white sensibilities are a norm and a standard.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

These themes reveal how association of space provides a *political moment* with a lens to read how disprivilege functions and is realized materially, historically and semiotically in protest. The potency of such articulations is made through how the political and material associations reveal nuanced socio-economic and racial dynamics through the #Shackville protest. The analysis points to how the material presence of blackness with all its associations pulls into singularity the multiplicity of linkages between race, place, identity, and politics of belonging through semiotic and linguistic artefacts. These are explicit and unconventional modes of communication that reveal "new ways of inhabiting a space" (Rojo 2014: 625) through a performative protest that blurs, or introduces a parallel reading of, reality and experience by bringing a real shack to UCT. There is an emotional investment of deploying 'new registers' of communicating and this links to the import of LC as a reading lens of such articulations. The political *genre* can be traced back to the Rhodes Must Fall movement, that through its calls for the fall of Rhodes's statue at UCT begun to question issues relating to the curriculum and content being taught at UCT (Ramaru 2017; Xaba 2017) and was instrumental in how bodies became political tools to communicate dissatisfaction with the status quo.

The tactful choosing of the space/place in which to erect the shack to actualize resistance against exclusion proves geosemiotics as an important tool to read into the layers of marginality that were exhibited at #Shackville. Not only is the act a sensitizing reminder of different social relation of poverty and affluence. But it also shocked the management and the UCT community at large in ways that they might have not thought of. On the one hand, the reality of other people's living condition brought into focus as a 'spectacle of protest' and on the other hand, this protest poses questions to the country's lack of transformation, questions of dispossession, questions of displacement and a rejection of poor students within the confines of the university.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Here UCT provides an arena in which long-standing social issues of national relevance are highlighted in one protest event.

Another interesting sign is the one attached to the shack in Figure 7, and that reads 'the people's management'. Here protesters referred to themselves as a people's management as a criticism to the institutional management that they thought was slow and did not represent poor and Black students.

Figure 7

The narrative was that UCT was valuing money over people – a clear perception here was that the students are the marginalized (Black, poor and gender and sexuality). In chapter 2 I mentioned how the occupation was consciously led by women to further push the idea of the 'people' – issues of reflexitivity seem to be the guiding praxis of this particular event (Xaba 2017). This is something that the students repeated throughout #Shackville. Forms of exclusion are also found in these signs, for example, "homeless at UCT" this speaks to the immediate

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

motivation in the lack of accommodation for the protest and it suggests in terms of place, UCT remains not a home. This sense of homelessness creates feelings of alienation.

The theme of decoloniality – to reimagine anew our context, politics, and language (semiotics) was common during the student protests of 2015-2016. In this analysis, decolonial ethos refers to the modes of articulating grievances that were used in the protests. For instance, there is other signs are that are part of the narrative of exclusion and decolonial ethos that protesters were championing (as I have discussed in the previous chapter). A more explicit link to decolonization is on the portaloo: in the sign that says "#free decolonial education" this was part of the national protests across the country where students demanded that education must not only be free, but it must be decolonized (Mbembe 2015; Jensen 2015).

The day after the removal of the shack, I came back to find this banner, depicted in Figure 8, left around the area that had held the shack in it.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Figure 8

There is a clear link here to the history of forced removals of the 50's and 60s where Black and Coloured people were removed from residential areas that were multi-racial and closer to city centres for White people to occupy. Areas such as District six and Sophiatown are examples of forced removals, and to date the memory of forced removals remains imprinted into the fabric of South African politics and memory. Not only this, but the forced removals also still have a telling impact on South Africa where people who were removed must take long hours commuting to and from workplaces because of forced removals. This constrains mobility and impacts on the prospects of upward mobility. Protesters are very much aware of such realities and are carefully deploying such messages to critique what they see as an unjust treatment. I must add that the constant use of such references puts UCT as inside the narrative of having had a hand in the disprivileging of people and for its lack of engagement of students. The continuities of history into the present, into the democratic South Africa posed serious

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

questions to the notion of democracy. The almost performative act of leaving the banner where it lay smacks of the refusal to be erased and a powerful contestation for belonging. What is very intriguing, and I suspect that the protesters were aware of this, is the loud resonance of the messaging that they deploy in the protest. The play and reference to history is deliberate to maximize the affective message of collective feeling and alienation/ exclusion.

A sign that in its construction and display shows some form of authority is that in Figure 9. However, a closer reading with an understanding of where, why, and when it was displayed shows a creation of a counter-space that subverts hegemonic authority.

Figure 9

It's formulation TRESPASS – ERS straddles a nice ambiguity between the act of trespass and the social role of the trespasser. Such writings are often seen put outside private properties and act as warnings to any potential trespassers. It brings into sharp focus the politics of restriction, order, and authority as well as ownership and belonging. To read this within UCT and at #Shackville reveals many levels of contestation, exclusion, and policing. In this context, this

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

particular sign was written as a warning targeting exclusively *White* individuals who were barred from entering or crossing the red tape that had demarcated #Shackville. During data collection, I witnessed two incidents where two white males were physically manhandled and stopped from passing through #Shackville,

A similar theme is continued in figure 10 where we see how the notion of authority continues to demarcate space and issue a warning. Here we also see an undertone of law or a promise of how, if it happens, an unauthorized entry may lead to some form of punishment or action.

Figure 10

There is another play on on ownership and authority; “beware of the dog” in Figure 11.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Figure 11

Such warnings are usually placed outside people's homes/ private properties to warn off any potential intruders of the risk of entering 'unauthorised'. Students positioned #Shackville as a 'home' and a 'private' property where they were the owners and authority that can decide on what happens. In line with the above arguments, the warning message reinforces the idea that #Shackville was a space intended to 'escape the control of established order' (Aboelezz 2014) through subverting control and replacing it with their own.[14]

In figure 12, below, we see how the relationship between #Shackville as a structure and a concrete semiotic artefact is directly tied to discourses of the lived experience. It is clearly spelt out in the signage how the structure represents a 'reality for millions of Black people' in a way, this sign can be read as some sort of a museal introduction of the rich and elite, mostly white, to the realities of the material conditions of Black people.

[14] In the next chapter, the intersubjective aspect of the protest is elaborated in more detail

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Figure 12

Like figure 10, figure 12 implicates white bodies – whiteness as 'a background to experience(s)' (Ahmed 2007) of alienation. Furthermore, Ahmed argues that "Whiteness could be described as an on-going and unfinished history, which orientates bodies in specific directions, affecting how they 'take-up' space" (2007: 150). The presence of statues and building names that celebrate colonial figures at UCT orientates black people to a history that produced the complexities of blackness as absence (cf. Chapter 2 and 3 and discussions of Wilderson and Fanon). Ben-Rafael argue*s* that memory and remembrance of history remains a highly contested arena because "the same ritual that is celebrated by many for identification with a past figure or an event may be interpreted by others as an act of repression, oblivion or denial" (2016: 207). I think it is fair to argue that it is precisely through such unresolved issues that reproduce the need for students to assert a different set of rules that produce discomfort for people who are not used to such feelings. Moreover, to engage such issues in the manner, in which the students did, juxtaposed with freedom of expression and freedom of association

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

enshrined in the constitution, presents the complex layers of morality and ethics of a society in transformation.

Working in tandem with the spatial and artefactual semiotics of the protest in creating a 'populist' base around 'black pain' as the key political 'edge' is how languages were used across the signage and in talk around texts. Whereas the use of English might be intended for reading by a wider audience, the use of isiXhosa as an indigenous language was deployed in two prominent ways: emotional expressivity (in swearing) and in connecting struggles historically and in the present (Montinyane 2018). An example of the latter use is Figure 14 in chapter 6 (also inserted below is a close-up of the sign to illustrate my argument here), a sign in the window of the shack with an iconic isiXhosa/ isiZulu struggle phrase "sixole kanjani?" translated as 'how can we be at peace/ reconcile/ forgive'.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

This is a question that has a long history and that can be traced back to struggles against the apartheid regime, particularly when activists who opposed apartheid were killed or imprisoned, the question was posed thus. Similar to Asinamali and Asiyindawo in Figure 4, discussed above, we see here a very strong link to the struggle for freedom. Another interesting fact is how, although isiXhosa and indigenous languages in general are confined to mostly private conversations and sometimes used as examples in lectures, here we see a deploying of African languages as instruments of resistance and solidary, tools to ridicule and contest the dominant Eurocentric ideas about Africa as shown by the "yhuu abelungu" signage. The deployment of indigenous languages and its link to the struggles intersects with politics of historical identity, suffused with black pain, that serves to mobilize students.

Overall, taking stock of the general design of the protest, the type of wordings and discourses that circulate, we can note a clear inter-discursivity (cf. also Chapter 6 for more detail) with an *archive of protest* around the history and a material condition of Black people, historically and in contemporary times. For example, Kros (2015), in her study of the meaning of the statue of "Rhodes Falling", points out that "vocal members of the student body (RMF, later FMF) demonstrated familiarity with principal theorists of decolonisation, especially those who have written about spatial patterns of exclusion and injustice, notably Frantz Fanon" (2015: 154). The many references to this archive that bring discourses of dis-privilege and anger into UCT, an affluent space full of historical artefacts, are made material and mundane by the loo and the shack, underscoring the lack of success in minimizing the continuing structural inequalities, and the futility of the idea of a more palatable rainbow nation idea that in reality merely glosses over these prevailing contradicting experiences of life. All of these tools were used to make maximum impact in their being there in ways that suggest loudly "we are here" (see Rojo 2014).

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Thus, we see how the deployment of historical moments of the past in the present connects students to a past-present of struggles against forms of exclusion and illustrates an awareness of how unfolding past events fit in with the current politics of contesting for space.

5.5. Summary

This chapter has attempted to argue that themes of vulnerability in the sense of 'black pain' is what is articulated across the semiotic landscape in #Shackville and comprises the theme that mobilizes the political consciousness of the students, turning 'despair' into an agentive resistance, Alienation resurfaces articulated with feelings of discomfort and this augments resistance against forms of exclusion as a prominent feature of #Shackville. At a more specific level, the structure indexes the ever changing, non-permanent, temporary, and arbitrary. It is the complex temporalities of the materiality of #Shackville that structure the circulation, flow, and significance of messages, providing for a compendium of intersecting voices and metacommentary of different dignity and reach.

The shack with all its historical and material meanings is a realization of what Frank Wilderson refers to as "a grammar of suffering", the modes in which forms of vulnerability are articulated and understood. In fact, the author argues that "how we understand suffering and whether we locate its essence in economic exploitation or in anti-Blackness has a direct impact on how we imagine freedom; and on how we foment revolution" (2008:97). In this sense it is precisely through how we conceptualize our positionality in the world that we can imagine and define the coordinates for total change. In other words, the different social realities (referred to above), historically and presently, are filtered through the lense of black pain. This also determines how one can imagine and manifest Black voice and presence. The connection of student protest with black, apartheid history, and national political issues, is splendidly present

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

in the portaloo and how it was inscribed over the unfolding of the protest as an extension of historical contestations.

Lewis Gordon and Frank Wilderson, referencing Fanon's meditations, use the idea of "Blackness-as-Absence and Blackness-as-Presence" to read into the experience of Blackness in relation to whiteness in the world and in this context, South Africa. So, #Shackville as a structure, a material history and a present reality for many Black people, when seen as a protest tool, brings into material existence the plight of the poor who operate and live-in abject marginality. In defining absence and presence, Wilderson states that "Black 'presence is a form of absence' for to see *a* Black is to see *the* Black, an ontological frieze that waits for a gaze, rather than a living ontology moving with agency in the field of vision" (Wilderson, 2008: 98).

Through this protest of the shack, we see how students' confrontation of management to demand 'space to live', space for accommodation, borders on the ideas of "re-territorialisation" and "de-territorialisation (Rojo 2014) where the focus is on how an urban space becomes a site of contestation to describing how "protesters replace the traditional organization of and uses of space with their own beliefs, rituals and communicative practices" (ibid: 625). In the case studied here, it is the narrative of place in the silent and unheard 'languages' that are represented in UCT as 'Zombie landscapes'. The shack becomes a medium and symbol of ideologies, histories and lived practices in the shadows of the White space. This forms the basis of agency for students to articulate their pain through a decolonial ethos. In the following chapter, we look at how are these voices amplified, made audible, tangible (even).

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Chapter 6: Building a collective front (LC)

6.1. Introduction

Black pain is an affective regime emerging semiotically in the material landscape of #Shackville and serves to articulate 'black absence' in the university space in particular and South African society in general. In this chapter, I explore how the semiotics of this emergent 'affectation' (Spinoza) – the nexus of 'ideas' (ideological discourses), interdiscursivity and material reality serve as the building blocks of a resistant front, a 'political coalition' – something similar to what Wee and Goh (2020) articulate as affective regimes engaged in contestation. This chapter is thus about how students are mobilizing Black pain and creating the battleground, lining up the 'troops' as a first step in the creation of a new hegemony (a Fanonian new humanism(s)), calling out white privilege by visibilizing Black pain. The chapter thus looks at how hegemonic structural whiteness is rejected in conjunction with the formation of a new sociality framed by #Shackville, that gestures towards a new humanism and its semiotical constitution in the protest. There are clear links between the manner in which relations in place are semiotically articulated and made sense of and how space/place is contested as a battleline, a front. As I noted in Chapter 4, I will use the same data as Chapter 5, although framed differently in order to bring out the complex, interconnected and multiple meanings that can be read out from (enacted through) the landscape.

Concurrently, as I shall argue in Chapter 7, the experience of protest and its semiotic structure as described here generate conditions for a new sense of 'Blackness', a re-subjectification of Black life beyond Black pain (as described in Chapter 5). This is another key feature/dimension of the protest, namely its pointing towards a new sociality – a new humanism, where Blackness

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

is experienced alternatively – visibly and concretely also in opposition to Whiteness, perhaps in the South African context, akin to what Sobukwe phrased as

> "Let me plead with you, lovers of my Africa, to carry with you into the world the vision of a new Africa, an Africa reborn, an Africa rejuvenated, an Africa re-created, young Africa. We are the first glimmers of a new dawn".

And Stephen Biko said that

> "We have set out on a quest for true humanity… In time we shall be in a position to bestow upon South Africa the greatest gift possible - a more human face."

These two leaders were without a doubt enormously instrumental in inspiring the students of FMF. In this chapter, I reflect on the idea of 'zombie landscape' (discussed in Chapter 5), the emergence of the non-living, non-human voices, the agencies of the marginalized and absent habitants of the land, the shadowy, urban space, and its meanings at UCT. In the rest of this chapter, I shall first briefly present some of Fanon's key ideas on protest, performance and spontaneity as laid out in his book 'Wretched'. I will then comment on the notion of Linguistic Citizenship as a mode of reading and listening to the 'fugitive' meanings (Harmes-Garcia 2014) carried in the undertones of the protest (ostensibly about the lack of accommodation) linking these explicitly to my reading of Fanonian protest. I move in following sections to a presentation of Semiotic/Linguistic Landscapes of protest, and to further elaborating an account of the #Shackville semiotic landscape in the bulk of this chapter as a protest landscape. Linguistic Citizenship is about creating alternative socialities. I argue that the performance of the protest creates a semiotic and symbolic sphere of experimentation for such an alternative sociality – allowing a tension and 'opening the possibility for a broad fraternity/affinity.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

6.2. ‘The Wretched of the Earth’: Fanon on sociality, spontaneity, and protest.

Wretched’ was the work of a revolutionary Fanon, writing in the heat of the Algerian war of independence in which he played a number of important roles. As I noted in Chapter 3, Fanon once again (as in ‘Black Skin’) sources the body as a locus of enunciation, action, and agency. The intimate connection Fanon makes between the experience of brutality ‘on/of the skin’, and the role of viscerality (in particular violence, cf. Chapter 7 for a discussion of this) as a catalyst for change and a privileged place of insight and knowledge through struggle, finds resonance also in other, contemporary, decolonial struggle epistemologies (e.g., de Sousa Santos, 2018).

There is an urgency for radical change in ‘Wretched’ that necessitate tactics of revolutionary transformation beyond colonial systems of meanings and conventional linguistic expression. Fanon locates a transformative emancipatory semiotics beyond a conventional understanding of language, which partially accounts for his critical stance on the colonial language as a liberatory modality. He remarks on how “the language of the ruling power is felt to burn […] lips” (1967a: 178). And that the colonial languages that were once the languages of honey, of desire, and prestige are now languages that taste bitter, “languages that came imbued with the desire to be/ for whiteness are now violent on the bodies of the colonized.” (Fanon, 1967a: 178). But neither does the local language, the non-colonial language, per se, offer meaningful modalities for transformation. This is reflected in his choice of the peasant, or the bodies of those worst abused, as the locus of enunciation for change, and in his warning that (for the colonial elite to seek revolutionary redress) merely speaking a local language does not necessarily make either the speaker or the language decolonial. Of course, given the colonial appropriation of indigenous languages over centuries, we should not expect that they can easily

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

become the decolonial panacea they are willed to be in decolonial discourse, (cf. Stroud and Guissemo, 2017; Stroud and Kerfoot, 2021; Veronelli, 2015; Williams, 2021).

Therefore, in 'Wretched', Fanon is concerned with genres of the political, such as performance (dance), and the potentiality of language for other meanings than conventionally read (cf. below). Performance, the beat in noise, the emotionally evocative and sensual, draw our attention to the constituencies emerging out of alternative semiotic articulations. In these visceral performances of anti-institutional and anti-identitarian selves, we read the search for new socialities – these are programs of new imaginations outside of the confines of neat colonial regulations. It is a quest for agency.

6.3. Linguistic Citizenship in Fanonian framing

Fanon's example of his encounter with the boy on the train "oh a nigger!" speaks about the role of language in the formation of 'disfigured' bodies. In essence, "[b]odies are made through talk, if not wholly, at least in part(s). This means that bodies are not just in or out of the world as 'entities uncoupled'; they are "not a site or surface but a process of *materialization* that stabilizes over time to produce effects of a boundary and surface we call matter" (Butler, 2016). We noted in Chapter 3 how Black bodies (as anybody) are what are distilled out of *relationships* (sociogenes/forms of interpellation) at different scales of 'surfacing' (Taylor, 2005)', the practices, processes and discourses /representations[15], which bring bodies and their parts and interiors into existence. Thus, the making of abused bodies is a long discursive process – a chain of signification through a mesh of relationalities. Indeed, it is "the very permeability, the openness and vulnerability in relation with/to others out of which bodies emerge, a "constitutive openness, whether wanted or not" (Sabsay, 2016: 285).

[15] How bodies are represented determine what can be done with bodies.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

How, then, can we understand the new affective registers (Veronelli, 2016) required for a decolonial politics, one that can produce/articulate relationships of affinity with others that carry political implications. As we saw in the previous section, Fanon is underscoring how such 'affective registers' need to be sought beyond conventional understandings of language. The idea of Linguistic Citizenship offers such a wider view of 'language' (a more extensive ontology) and incorporates a Fanonian perspective on language as corporeality, and the centrality of subjectification and its 'powered' production, as laid out in 'Black Skins' Linguistic Citizenship, broadly, is what speakers do in relation to the manufactured linguistic marginalities of their speaker-hood to constitute themselves as political actors/subjects. Linguistic Citizenship comprises the strategies and processes, the acts of 'creating' or deploying in novel ways, repertoires, and registers (linguistic or multimodal) whereby speakers engage with spaces of vulnerability to create or engage with new and more 'powerful' subjectivities, selves, and constituencies, – often on the cusp of, or outside of, or in the interstices/hidden spaces of established constituencies. Acts of *Linguistic Citizenship* comprise precisely the new registers of emotionality (Veronelli, 2015) that may destabilize colonial systems of meaning (e.g., dance and performance in keeping with the visceral and embodied idea of selves).

Fanon captures something of the linguistically non-conventional, creative, and utopic dimensions of Linguistic Citizenship when extending the visceral, non-conventional registers of meaning to the language code itself. His perspective and the depth of his psychoanalysis of the colonial condition moves beyond the denial, the erasure, the exclusion, the refusal, and the misrecognition so must that the colonized subject may "reinventing his own language woven with rejected desires" (Lazali 2011; 154), and in a letter to his publisher, expresses a deep belief

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

in the power of words to transform. When explaining the meaning of a sentence to his publisher, he went on to say,

> I cannot explain this sentence. When I write things like that, I am trying to touch my reader affectively, or in other words irrationally, almost sensually. For me, words have a charge. I find myself incapable of escaping the bite of a word, the vertigo of a question mark (cited in Macey, 1968: 159).

Fanon points us here to the visceral charge of language and the evocative sensuality of language suggestive of other meanings beyond what is 'said' or might be conventionally meant behind the appearance of words. 'Linguistic viscerality' as a modality for meaning, the 'charge of language' that Fanon alludes to, reiterates the importance that he accords to corporeality in 'Black Skin, and offers the beginnings of a novel ontology of language built on the indivisible synergies between language, body and agency [16] (cf. also Allen, 2004). At the same time, it opens-up for transgressive, imaginative meanings, new registers of emotionality (Mpenduakana and Stroud, ftc.; Veronelli, 2015, 2016).

However, acts of Linguistic Citizenship go beyond emerging genres of 'conventional' language – or the re-purposing or rupturing of established genres in new functions. They also involve the 'invention' of new *modalities* of expression (Williams and Stroud 2017; Stroud *et al* 2020). Acts of Linguistic Citizenship engage with transgressive and non-conventional language, and, more generally with forms of semiosis that open-up possibilities for thought and action beyond the constraints of established genres of power and their institutionalization. The practices may

[16] Allen (2004) notes the originality of Fanon's 'fleshiness' of language when leading linguists of the time were abstracting language from speech, "when sign was wrenched from signifier".

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

comprise of unconventional genres such as (multimodal) performances, and/or use of material artefacts that lay bare the synergies of body, affect and language in the pursuit of voice and ontological refashioning of self (cf. Stroud, 2018; Stroud and Williams, 2014, 2017).

Much in Fanon's 'Wretched' can be read through such modalities of Linguistic Citizenship as performance, poetry, and dance, (cf. Stroud and Williams, 2017; Williams, 2021), and as alternative 'genres' of his visceral, corporeal idea of language. These modalities are manifestations of acts of Linguistic Citizenship that return and interlace language with the beat and rhythm of the body, thereby making the first stich of re-suturing what f*issiparity* had divided. Williams (2021), for example, shows how Hip Hop can help to reinstate consensual coordinated engagements across and with 'difference'. In particular, he showcases the potential of Hip Hop for deep 'corporeal' connects to other histories and potent knowledges of self, where care, hope and love can be engineered.

Reading protest and performance through the lens of Linguistic Citizenship highlights Fanon's unique construct of language as embodied/corporeal ('Black Skin') and as performative, political, and loving ('Wretched'). Importantly, it helps trace the 'seepage' of agency and voice out of language proper to a spectrum of multisemiotic articulations ('Wretched') that open up the possibility for actors to collectively break free with the normativities of the old across multiple modalities.

Brook (2020), in moves reminiscent of Linguistic Citizenship, proposes "a mode of fugitive listening that allows us to open our ears to the noisy voices and modes of speech that sound outside the locus of politics proper" (2020: 25). Inspired by the work of Harney and Moten (2013) he situates a fugitive listening in 'the under-commons', "a space of polyphony and

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

noise, a space that moves towards a collective understanding of subjectivity that is always already predicated on a collective relation (p. 36), that is “a radical reimagining of the traditional concept of the commons” (ibid).

6.3.2. Spaces of encounter

In exploring the sociogenises of Blackness, Fanon in ‘Black skin’ lays bare the multiple ways in which encounters, relationalities across difference or their denial and refusal to engage across difference, produce a fragmented Black self/subjectification. As I noted in Chapter 3, the notion of citizenship in ‘Linguistic Citizenship’ lifts forth this key ‘political aspect’ of language, namely relationality, and the attendant openness or closure to the vulnerability of self and other in the encounter or meeting those speakers construct semiotically.

Acts of Linguistic Citizenship is the semiotic articulation of the *relational aspects of mutual dependence.* Acts of Linguistic Citizenship are what speakers do in relation to the manufactured linguistic marginalities of their speaker-hood in order to constitute themselves as political actors/subjects. Such acts comprise the strategies and processes, repertoires, and registers (linguistic or multimodal) whereby speakers engage with spaces of vulnerability to create or engage with new and more ’powerful’ subjectivities, selves, and constituencies – often on the cusp of, or outside of, or in the interstices/hidden spaces of established constituencies. Vulnerability is thus a key aspect of linguistic citizenship and a formative dynamic in social change (cf. Mpenduakana and Stroud, ftc.).

6.4. Linguistic Landscape as a space of encounter

I noted in the preceding chapter how we can view the ‘protest’ as a ‘situation’ in Collin’s terms, an encounter momentary encounters among human bodies charged up with emotions and

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

consciousness because they have gone through chains of previous encounters" (Wee and Goh 2020: 22). In this section, I briefly present a view SLLs as places of where differences become *proximate* in different ways, for example, through memorialization, which brings histories into contemporary times, or through protest such as Shackville.

6.4.1. 'Proximities of difference'

#Shackville created a new representation/narrative of place in terms of the clash, coincidental presence or 'proximity of difference'. Bringing the shack and its artefacts into the white space creates a hybrid, complex, semiotic in the 'geographical' grounds of UCT which now have become a 'space of encounter' between a landscape of absence of Black bodies and the UCT white monumentalism. Although Mac Giolla Chriost (2007) has coined the term s 'proximities of difference' to refer to multilingual spaces, it is fits appropriately to what we see in #Shackville. There are now a variety of studies that have addressed the semiotics and sociopolitics of situated spaces characterized by 'proximities of difference' (Mac Giolla Chriost, 2007), which may comprise: ethnic diversity/difference, (Ben Rafael, Shohamy & Barni, 2010; Gorter, Marten, Van Mensel, & Hogan-Brun, 2012; Backhaus, 2007; Hélot, Barni, Janssens, & Bagna, 2013; Shohamy & Gorter 2010); differences in senses of belonging and selective memorilization (Shohamy, 2006, Leeman & Modan, 2009; Banda & Peck 2013; Nayak, 2010; Johnstone, 2004). Much work sees signage in different languages as distinguishing several different indexical layers of place – as a space in which a specific linguistic population resides (as when a sign is composed in a local language), or as a pointer to the relations of power between local and non-local communities (as when a bilingual sign gives informational prominence to the message in one of a number of 'competing' languages). Reh (2004: 38) claims that the study of linguistic landscapes enables conclusions to be drawn regarding, among other factors, the social layering of the community, the relative status of the

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

various societal segments and the dominant cultural ideals (cf. Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009; Stroud and Jegels, 2013).

These proximities of difference that signal the simultaneous presence of multiple constituencies of speakers in space/place are reflected in place semiotics. An early study by Spolsky and Cooper (1991) remarks on how signage functions as an 'informational marker on the one hand and a symbolic marker on the other, communicating the relative power and status of diverse linguistic communities in a given territory' (cited in Ben-Rafael *et al* 2006: 8). And Ben-Rafael *et al* (2006) provides a theoretically sophisticated analysis of Israeli linguistic landscapes as symbolic constructions of space and as products of conflicting and shifting religious and identities.

Pujolar has noted how the public space of urban centres "has been turned into a constant re-enactment of a culturally diverse community" (2007: 78). These so-called ethnoscapes find a heightened semiotic visibility through the linguistic landscape. In South Africa, the formation of new 'ethnoscapes' is a result of an unprecedented mobility brought about in part by the freedom of movement that followed from the abolition of the pass laws and in part due to the liberalization of the economy, rising unemployment (in South Africa and the continent as a whole) and the search for jobs. This socioeconomic push and pull factors find expression in the types of signage found in different places (e.g., local shopkeepers, vehicle maintenance, etc.). Studies of African immigration, particularly 'xenophobia' and those engaged in looking at the urban-rural dichotomy deal with the manifestation of the above (e.g., Mlambo 2018; Landau *et al* 2005; Nyamnjoh 2010).

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

However, not all encounters take place between presences: spaces/places may be characterized by the semiotic presence of absences, such as in memorials and monuments to people and times and events past; however, they may also reflect the absent presence of the zombie landscape, that spectral, co-existing landscape of trace and the historical imaginary that haunt those that tread certain urban scapes (cf. Bock and Stroud, 2019 and Chapter 3 above).

6.4.2. LL of memorials (including zombiscapes)

According to Ben-Rafael, a memorial is "a structure that commemorates in the public space, persons or events that are deemed to require remembrance. The intention – not always – is to set out some facts on concretizing a consciousness of the past" (2016: 207). Furthermore, Ben-Rafael (2016) argues that memorials are important and contentious artefacts of societies. The author states that "collective memory and remembrance may also be arenas of conflict, political interests, clashes of ideologies or antagonisms of religious beliefs (2016:207). In this regard we see histories diametrically opposed to each other being fashioned and defined by the protests. James Taylor (2012) notes how monumentalization is often about lines of power, imagination and resistance around dominant ideologies (2012: 141), sites for the articulation of moments and narratives of resistance (2012: 148).

6.4.3. LL in protest signage

There is also significant work that focus explicitly on the ways in which semiotic landscapes, not only reproduce, but also *contest* forms of normativity. Recent semiotic landscapes scholarship has been intrigued by the idea of "occupation" and "public space" protests as political tools (see Rojo 2014; Stroud and Jegels 2015; Nyamnjoh 2017; Aboelezz 2014; Steinberg 2014). As noted by Modan, "discourses of place are key in *struggles* (my italics) over urban space, as well as in people's *identifications* (my italics] with or oppositions to

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

particular spaces" (Modan 2008: 328). The Occupy protest movements have wrought scholarly interest around the politics of identity and place (Rojo 2014a; 2014b; Kitis and Milani 2015: Aboelezz 2014; Goutsos and Polymeneas, 2014), stressing the importance of understanding texts that are produced in the context of protests because, after all, protests are 'discursive interactions' "although not often thought of in such terms.

Fikeni (2016) writing about what calls the "performative act" to refer to the act of throwing faeces to the statue of Cecil John Rhodes, emphasizes the collision of 'historical black reality and historical white reality that imply different social realities' – through 'language and bodily movements' (Mondada 2016). The notion of 'turbulent citizenship' (Stroud, 2016) is relevant here in highlighting how the very presence of bodies, their articulation of presence, physically, semiotically and linguistically, created moments of turbulence as "…the history of apartheid-segregated place still shapes how bodies emerge, circulate, and mean, and contemporary legacies of apartheid find expression in the many protests…" (Stroud 2016: 3). The turbulent nature of protest reveals "…the fault lines upon which semblances of order get built". (Stroud 2016: 5). Kitis and Milani (2015) expand on this notion of protests as moments of turbulence by highlighting how "the spatial manifestations of social restlessness under prevailing neo-liberal capitalist conditions" creates the conditions of turbulence as contestation. In addition, the authors, argue that when this occurs it is a moment,' where different orders and regime of understanding may come together through moments of dissonance, disagreement, and contest (2015: 269).

Protests, such as occupations, in the nerve centres of the city contributes to the significance of the messages of protest, while simultaneously transforming the sense of urban space for those who live or pass through these spaces (Rojo 2014: 627). However, the shift or transformation of the significance of place through protest also extends to the experience and feel for the

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

languages that we inhabit. Kasanga, for example, stresses the importance of 'code choice', as the author argues that "given the symbiotic relationship between the act of protest and discourse, code choice is a crucial decision" (2014: 25). The use of English is part of the discourse of protest that has a particular target audience. This is the case not only with regards to the particular context of #Shackville but holds for (student) movements across the world. UCT students' perception of English shifted in radical ways with discourses of decoloniality of curriculum (cf. Njabulo's talk at UCT in 2017 explicitly around the importance of language issues in decolonial strivings). In other ways, language choice also probes the colonial relations of the former colonized with the language of the colonizer (e.g., Alexander 2013).

6.5. #Shackville forming broad affinities/fellowships

Up to the moment of #Shackville, student protests had deployed the traditional tools of protests common in South Africa, namely: burning tyres, rubbish bins, cars, buildings, the singing of struggle songs, submitting memorandums with lists of demands and public addresses about their grievances. However, with the #Shackville moment, the lived experiences of being Black was now being "concretized" in a sophisticated show of protest semiotics that builds a collage of materiality and bodies in powerfully symbolic images of Black suffering and exclusion. #Shackville was a 'tool', a tactic, to claim and assert a different set of values, in place and time with a view to subverting the dominant cultural and political hegemonies at UCT highlighting bodies, objects and symbols (Barni and Bagna 2015). The unfolding political action which would come to result in a 'turbulent tip' in the Jameson Halls when students would burn paintings can retrospectively be read as anticipatory of this act. 'Retrospectively', this is noticeable in the (chronological) progression in signage/public inscriptions which became increasingly strident and 'vocal'(as I mentioned in Chapter 2) as students brought the past semiotically to bear on the present in search of a new future. In an attempt to capture this

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

progressive chronology, I divide the #Shackville signage thematically into three (fluid and overlapping) sets; (a) signage linking UCT politics with *past* macropolitics (Sharpeville) (6.5.1.) (b) readings of protest signage in the (trans)national present (6.5.2.) and (c) ruptures, escalations, and futures (6.5.3.). These thematic rubrics attempt to capture an increasing militancy and solidarity, and calls to arms among the students.

A note on methodology is in place at this juncture: As I have mentioned earlier, authors such as Malinowski (2009), for example, have reached out to performativity theory noting how "the complexities of the authorial intention amidst multiple and simultaneous processes of signification remain necessarily unexplored" (p. 111). When interrogating the readings of the sign, Malinowski suggested that signs themselves may animate meanings, that there are in fact an excess of interpretations for any given sign, and that in a very fundamental way, signs come to mean what their readers 'think' or 'want' them to mean (p. 118). The linguistic landscape, he says, 'generates meaning beyond control' (2009: 120. It is in this regard that my shared 'fissiparity' with the students who I am 'voicing' might give me license to find significances in signage not immediately and literally present, at the very least permitting multiple readings for each piece of signage in accordance with the chronological themes – a temporal span of meaning and action comprised into a prism of real-time present.

6.5.1. #Shackville enacting past macropolitical/socioeconomics

A great deal of the #Shackville signage has clear political precedents/pedigree in protest actions and conditions in apartheid South Africa to at least the 1980s. In a compression of space-time worthy of Harvey (1990), these historical reference points are brought to bear on the university space. The township shack literally transposes the complexities of historical Black pain (Chapter 5) and apartheid relationalities in the past into the contemporary space of the 'white'

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

university, thus tracing continuing forms of vulnerability through poverty and the black material condition. When, for example, students bemoan the lack of accommodation, their protest calls to mind the broader racialized skewing of housing availability for the Black population.

In the words of one student commenting on #Shackville:

> A lot of students have been financially and academically excluded so we thought 'fuck the institution, we are going to literally drop poverty at their feet'. They think it's a joke that people are actually homeless. So, what better way to do that than come to the most unequal society of all, the haven of whiteness and be like here's a shack, here's a porta-potti, let's see how that actually goes." – Nombuso Mathibela.

Salem Badat has documented a protest that is much similar to the protests discussed and analysed here. The author writes the following about this protest that took place in 1980s South Africa:

> At UCT, *the shortage of accommodation for black students* was linked to protesting the university authorities' acquiescence to an apartheid law that prohibited black students from being accommodated with white students and meant that black students were housed at a separate residence, in an African township (1999: 283).

We can take two significant points from the above: lack of accommodation for black students has a long history at UCT, although defined by different conditions, then and now. Secondly students protesting in the 1980s also included the pitching of "a squatter shelter in front of the main hall at UCT" (ibid: 283). These two events separated by time but connected by form and medium of protest reveals complex connections of temporalities, materiality space/ place

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

folded into a singular semiotic trope – the shack. As with #Shackville, the historical condition of Black pain became projected onto, and carried in, the materiality of the shack. However, protesting the lack of accommodation for Black students is a 'performance' that also carries a critique of conditions at the level of the nation.

From this example, we see that protesters were able to situate themselves within a continuum of student protests that have a very rich history in South Africa. It is clear here that history plays a significant role in shaping the discourse of protesters in this particular context. This significance brings to the fore a long tradition of establishments dealing with dissenting voices. The fact that it was students who challenged the government of the time in 1976 and it was students challenging dominant views in 2016 carries a deep meaning of reading history and progress. On the one hand, there is a celebrated democracy of 27 years and yet there exists little, or, at best, slow changes in dealing with structural issues. On the other hand, these ideas are being pursued by students who might be seen as 'born- frees', that is people born in the early 90s or have arguably not directly experienced apartheid themselves. These protests through the language on display are located in and are defined by the history of the struggle, and the relevance of the idea of 'zombie landscape' The deployment of a rhetorical question denotes that there exists a common history known to both the writer of the sign and the intended audience (I gave a brief discussion of this under 5.4.1). Montinyane (2018) writes that common history allows the sender and receiver to share prior experiences' that can be expressed through language and rhetorical questions. The rhetorical question is a device deployed to assert prior knowledge and prior history that resemble the present moment and probes memory. In addition, the sign I analyse here is attached to the shack but in other instances during the protest it was hand-held by the protesters. This is in fact an important trait of mobility and flexibility while the meaning of the sign remains largely the same.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Another reading that brings out how #Shackville performs a politics of memory (Ben Rafael) is one that also references the *momentous past of resistance.* In choosing to call the event #Shackville, the students explicitly connect the contemporary condition of 'black pain' to apartheid pasts. #Shackville is, of course, a play on 'Sharpeville' of the Langa/Sharpeville massacre, the place forever known in history where a peaceful protest against the pass-laws organized by the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, it resulted in the protestors being shot at with live ammunition by the police, killing 69 people and wounding over 200. Thus, the choice of Sharpeville, invoking the themes of identity assertion and self-determination in the face of historical constraints on movement, serves as a metapragmatic commentary on the nature of the demonstrations the students are carrying out. Explicit comparisons are drawn between what is happening at UCT with the planting of a shack in the university grounds and the concerns that motivated the Sharpeville protests in the 60s. Ultimately, this was a struggle to assert the right to exist and to be visible without policing or constraints.

A further such reference to a momentous historical moment was the students' renaming of *The Jameson Hall* stairs on which the shack was erected as the Marikana Memorial in remembrance of the Marikana massacre of 44 mine workers by the police in 2012. Moreover, the renaming sought to connect UCT to the London Mining Company that was responsible for the massacre, highlighting the fact that UCT has a relationship with Lonmin, and thereby problematizing the colonial links that UCT has with Lonmin. These referential linkages serve to ground the *legitimacy* of, and give warrant to, the #Shackville protest in the shared historical narrative of the nation.

Other signage could also be read as eliciting associations to the macropolitical issues and affairs of the country is the cluster of signage in figure 14 below in Chapter 6, pinned or painted onto the shack, which thereby provides a context or 'screen' for the signage. Here I use the term

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

‘screen’ to capture how the cluster of images is similar to a curation of images on a digital screen. The centrepiece of the screen is taken up by the word ‘CRISIS’ manually scrawled, casually sloping to the right from the near centre of the shack wall. The writing reinforces the significance of the shack to function as a concrete instantiation of the national crisis, something that is underscored by the loose, temporary, and changeable cardboard signage pinned or leaning against the shack. One of these signs refers to the ‘State Of Your Nation’ to communicate how the deplorable conditions of being ‘homeless’ evidence some of the real issues affecting the country. The placement of this sign on the shack allows the shack to give a context for this meaning, suggesting how shacks are the very epitome of poverty and inequality – a (sorry) state of the nation. The inscription/artefact also alludes to the presidential ‘state of the nation address’ where the president of the country lays out the nation’s accomplishments for the year, its current health, and government’s plans and budgets for a financial year; it’s presence on the shack is a bold highlight of the ‘real’ state of the nation, not a ‘happy’ state. When appended to the shack, ‘the state of your nation’ becomes a lament; it serves as a concrete reminder to those who are otherwise cushioned from this reality by privilege, bringing to poignant awareness how structural marginalization is still very much part of black experience in a democratic South Africa.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Figure 13

In the bottom left-hand corner of the ‘Crisis’ screen, placed just outside the in-step to the door is a cardboard, hand-written sign in green capitals, ‘We Want Our Land’. Again, this is part of a larger discourse of land expropriation (permitted by the constitution although not executed by the government). The politics of land distribution seeks to dismantle, reverse, the atrocious theft of land by the Whites minority that was cemented with the 1913 Land Act, that saw 80% of the land taken from Black owners, and subsequent forced removals (For an account of this at the time, cf. Plaatjie 1913/ 2007). At this point in time, the radical Economic Freedom Fighters led by Julius Malema had again raised the land issue in parliament with the suggestion to change a wording in the constitution, ostensibly to allow expropriation without compensation to present ‘owners’. The articulation of ‘We Want Our Land’ is very similar to the discourses that link issues of ownership and belonging in the country to race. As I discussed above, issues of belonging come imbued with the politics and effects of colonialism. So, the presence of the sign embeds the question of lack of accommodation in a CRISIS of the nation that is part and parcel of colonialism and apartheid land and property grabs. As I noted above,

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

this sign is momentarily ‘dropped’ at the doorway of the shack, ostensibly ‘parked’ there for the time being. Its message is one that can be carried in a demonstration, that is, a mobile or transportable signage, as opposed to the more ‘fixed’, immovable, ‘State of the Nation placard fixed in the top left corner.

The national politics of inequitable lives is also enacted through the very *location* of the shack in the grounds of the university, highlighting (monumentalizing) the housing crisis and the historical conditions of unfair Black living arrangements that remain in force today, Because housing in urban South Africa has long been a problem, with a mushrooming of informal settlements keeping good pace with urban migration of rural people to the cities in search of work, so-called, back-yard dwellers have become an almost established – if informal - category of domicile[17]. #Shackville was located - almost as an appendage – close to the student Halls of Residence a stone throws away, which makes it highly suggestive of a backyard dwelling, the ‘yard’ in this case, comprising of Jameson Hall rather than a cramped yard of the township. Interestingly, the shack in this ‘screen’ has been made ‘off-bounds’ to the public using red-white police tape folded around the shack by the protesting students, suggestive of a crime – scene, a detail/semiotic flourish that again suggests ‘illegality’. #Shackville thus ties the protest into the larger national discourses on black African dispossession and marginalized presence in the urban spaces of South Africa that has been ongoing since post-apartheid (and earlier).

Figure 13 showed the back side of the shack. In figure 14 below, the frontispiece of the protest, there is a cluster of signs neatly put together, almost awaiting mobilization for a planned march.

---

[17] The term refers to people who rent a space for a shack in the backyard of a house

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Figure 14

This screen captures #Shackville as a workshop for the unfolding of the protest. The central role of the shack itself as a dynamo for the protest is indicated by the sign ‘The People’s Management’. A colourful banner covering the front of the shack ‘Max Price 4 Black Lives?’ uses colour to typographical effect. In like manner with the bulk of the protest signage, the focus of the message is painted in red, whereas preposition in green ‘4’. The black paint in ‘Black Lives reinforces a strong connection to the Black Lives Matter. The other signage laying around is part of the narrative of Blackness and Black lives. Themes of poverty indexed by “our tables are empty”, “homeless @UCT”, and “No home for blacks at UCT” all play around these ideas of despondency. In addition, “we can’t breathe” is really a Fanonian phrase that articulates the social, historical, and literal suffocation of Blackness under the yoke of whiteness and implied in it is the idea of a “revolt” as a result of suffocation.

Dr. Max Price was the vice chancellor of the university when the first Rhodes Must Fall protests erupted in 2015 and during the time that the #Shackville protest was unfolding (we see a

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

reference to this in the bottom, right hand corner of the signage, RMF). In this regard, he was implicated as being directly responsible for anything that happened at UCT due to his position as a vice-chancellor who had authority on matters concerning the institution. The question mark frames this as a question that needs answering or a reflection. Alternatively, this can also be read as a provocative rhetorical question. I argue that the question was meant to provoke dialogue around the issues that the students were raising and to implicate a possible backlash against the protest action. Another reading could be that of a dare or prediction that Max Price was for Black lives. It also suggests a dare similar to the "1976 or 2016?" sign discussed in chapter 6. As illustrated above, there are multiple ways in which one can speculate as to the meaning of the 'max price' that can also be expressed as 'maximum price' – but a more likely link and a salient suggestion in this context is that of a demise of black students in the form of arrests, expulsion or from a potential retaliation of authorities against the protest in the form of securities (police and institutional securities) or even death. To suggest this meaning hinges of the global tone and links that this sign possesses. The use of the Euro currency sign connects the banner and the message to inaccessibility and the exorbitant fees to get residential placement. During the "housing crisis" the management suggested that students can get 'alternative accommodation' around/ closer to the university something that was read as a very elitist and classist tone for poor and mostly Black students who could not afford to get off campus accommodation. This created a perception that there is a bias in 'prioritizing foreign' who make upfront payments to the university versus local students who cannot. This in other words was linked to money as the policy of the university dictates that foreign nationals pay upfront. The RMF activist, Maxwele, supports this interpretation when he claims that the central issue around #Shackville (namely, shortage of residences) was the prioritization of foreign students at the expense of South African students "…Now for us it is a question of who are you prioritizing? The university can easily say to those white students leave the residence

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

so that they can accommodate the citizens" (2016) (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KNJ5iTLkry8). Suggested here is how UCT values money more than students who cannot pay.

This is what makes #Shackville a potent political tool in critiquing the democratic South Africa with UCT being the arena where the sharp contrasts at national level are played out at the level of the local and everyday (cf. Rojo 2014; 2015).

6.5.2. Solidarity across protest spaces.

The hashtag ties the event of #Shackville clearly to the broader on-going student protest known as RhodesMustFall. The most prominent material aspect of this 'display'/performance' staging' is that the 'undignified and temporary, visceral structure of the portaloo' is the board for rallying calls and more militant sloganeering, recalling the immediate history of the portaloo in the run-up to the #RMF protest – not least in its emphasis on excrement.

Rather than an 'arbitrary occupation', the # inserts Shackville into a range of linked protest discourses and rallying calls on social media such as Facebook, YouTube and Twitter that all draw attention to the felt 'injustices' thought to have been committed by the management, and their narrative of misrepresentation of the protest. Luescher *et al* (2016) describe this practice as the "internet-age networked student movement" (2016: 231). This is one way to capture new forms of organizing and forums of solidarity that employ the limitless power of the Internet age. The hashtag thus loops the shack into a *series of contemporary protest genres* across media and modality. The presence of the portable loo also serves to further underscore the link to the RhodesMustFall protest (specifically the use of poo from a portable toilet). Moreover, because portaloos are popular and easily accessible instruments of protest its use in #Shackville

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

highlights and makes explicit the connection with service-delivery protests more widely – with a clear underlying message of indignity and deprivation.

Figure 15

The 'Max Price for Black Lives' in figure 15 above phrase also seems to suggest that 'Max Price' is gunning for black lives or maybe gunning for black lives to punish or regulate their anger. Here we also see a clear link to the Black Lives Matter Movement of the US through the phrase "black lives". This was a deliberate reference to link this particular protest to the global issues affecting black people. The Black Lives Matter movement raised issues that carried resonance with the South African context of marginality and obscene violence against black people. In line with this reading is a strong suggestive undertone of racial antagonisms that come in the form of race and racism in the banner. This is based on two reasons: firstly, Max Price is a white man. Secondly, the protesting students were black students.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

At this juncture, I return to the apparent theme of 'the micro-macro linkage that inheres racial dynamics' (Winant 2000: 171) of local and global nature that I touched on above. The phrase 'Black lives' as a deliberate and conscious arguably links to the Black Lives Matter movement. Therefore, the #Shackville protest raises similar themes of blackness versus whiteness and the precarity of Black life in a white supremacist world. When one reads this, there has to be a significant consideration of the colonial and apartheid relations between black and white people in South Africa. This is juxtaposed with the African American experience in the US. The Black Lives Matter movement from the USA was concerned with the merciless killings of Black people by the police who are mostly white. Their protests revolved around how Black people were being killed, unarmed by the police. According to Alicia Garza, (a founding member) the movement was formed to fight against *absence of presence* of Black people, and it was intended to afford them agency and voice,

> Black Lives Matter is an ideological and political intervention in a world where Black lives are systematically and intentionally targeted for demise. It is an affirmation of Black folks' contributions to this society, our humanity, and our resilience in the face of deadly oppression (Garza 2014).

The influences of global protest are clear in the sign in how the students positioned themselves as a vulnerable group that is marginalized through skin colour, economically and otherwise. The connection is not only on the language but is also contained on content of articulating issues of blackness *materially* (through embodied senses) and in terms of the precarity of blackness when confronted by structural whiteness. A notable difference however is on the contexts in which such issues are engaged. One can see how the *grammar of suffering* (Wilderson 2008) captures the idea 'blackness as a problematic presence' not just at UCT but

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

within the global white supremacist ideologies. Race, in other words, continues to be 'a social fact, a constitutive and highly resilient organizing principle' (Omi and Winant 2009) in the world to index continuities and intersections of race with other structural issues. The banner brings together these politics in ways that have both local and global appeal. This frames blackness as a resonating experience framed by vulnerability of black bodies and sadistic violence visited upon people.

6.5.3. Rupture/ Escalation

The protest semiotics discussed above is an articulation of despair, anger, and a plea for change. Some signage, however, paints a more militant stance, referencing back to explicit moments of resistance against the apartheid regime, and suggesting that this is an appropriate lens with which to view the contemporary protest situation at UCT. In figure 16, we note how the signage taps into the collective memory of Black people and their encounter with the brutality of the apartheid police in their quest to participate in determining what language they should be taught in – today, a question of key interest for the decolonial demands of the students. In June 1976, the Soweto uprisings comprised a collection of grievances expressed as a singular event of protest against the then government's attempt to stipulate Afrikaans as the language of instruction.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Figure 16

Here we see a continuation of the play with and references to history, namely a clear reference to the June 16 Soweto Uprisings of 1976 – where students resisting to be taught in Afrikaans were shot at by the police leading to the scores of the youth leaving the country and joining South African liberation movements in exile. The issue of the Afrikaans language was that it was used to show the level of discontent that people generally had against the apartheid regime. The use of a single issue or protest to show discontent is common in South African history and in the current dispensation. The reference to 1976 can be read as an attempt by the current students to suture their own struggles to those of the past, possibly to those of their parents, as I noted earlier. This attaches the issue of lack of accommodation to a long history of resistance against injustices. The question mark seems to be posing a question to the management and by extension to the government with regards to whether they will do what was done to the students of 1976 to those of 2016. Agustin and Diaz (2014) argue that the students are showing the

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

possibility of history repeating itself or a 'tactical appropriation'. This shows how at the level of authority and policing there seems to be a reproduction of the same ways to deal with dissent and protests. Moreover, to pose this question in the post 1994 democratic South Africa suggests that the students were in fact aware and vulnerable to the possibilities of participating in the protests. The state violence of 1976 against student is a possibility is 2016. In a way this shows how the "embodied experience" of blackness and its potential to attract forms of repression continues.

As the protest gained momentum, and the readings of militancy came to predominate, protesters began to show increasing agitation. In figure 17, this is displayed in 'violent' red 'Fuck Black Exclusion' and 'Fuck White People' spray painted on to a memorial in honour of those South Africans who perished in the two European wars. The phrase "Fuck White People" was first used by student protesters at used at the University of Witswatersrand (Wits). The student subsequently had a case of 'racism' against him pursued by the Human Rights Commission of South Africa. At a similar incident at UCT, a student had written "sKIIL all Whites" on his t-shirt, which was not surprisingly, read "Kill all Whites". The use of the same, provocative phrasing (although without the legal consequences it had at Wits). This illustrates the interdiscursivity and solidarity with other protest movements. Additionally, and importantly, it shows the 'upscaling' and increased stridency of the movement.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Figure 17

Figure 17 generated a heated debate when White students felt aggrieved by being addressed directly by the writing on the right. The image of the monument and the students in fervent discussion was taken shortly after the author of the piece had left. Some of the White students felt that they understood what the whole protest was about, but now felt offended by being sworn at. The Black students seen in the picture, were busy engaging them on issues relating to structural violence that accompanied the colonial history of this country. By this time a clear message of disprivilege and exclusion was becoming clear through the writings of the students. I was privy to the engagement between the White and Black students and could witness how facts of historical injustice featured quite prominently in defence of the defacement of the monument and the burst of anger against 'White People'. Black-White alienation (Nyamnjoh 2017) and discourses of Black marginality and exclusion became increasingly louder at this

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

time, with the protest definitely taking on more of a racialized protest beyond 'student affairs'. As Nyamnjoh (2017) stated this piece shows how fighting against alienation produces other forms of alienation. The culmination of 'the new anger' registered a discourse of disillusionment with the status quo and a language far removed from that of harmony and reconciliation otherwise officially prevalent post 1994. In other words, one can argue, that this writing was intended to provoke a reaction from white people. Black exclusion is clearly seen as juxtaposed, defined, and regulated by whiteness (Wilderson 2008).

The graffiti writing of this memoriam is an epitome of transgressive practices of protests. An even more transgressive signage is prominent in figure 18.

Figure 18

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Figure 18 also captures the shift from writing on mobile materials such as placards to "transgressive writing" (Pennycook 2008) through this graffiti like writing as the temperature of the protest was ramped up. This writing is significant because it is part of a series of similar writings that denoted a drastic shift from the initial writings in tone and content. Notable, of course, is that the 'in memoriam' referred to the two great European wars.

However, #Shackville does not just link to the socioeconomic and macro-political but also to the coloniality that have produced these inequities. Much like in the previous reference to history discussed above, we see another one that suggests not only a possible vulnerability with the potential arrest and forced removal but a much deeper source for the students' discontent with the state of affairs in the country and at UCT. The first message on the left, in figure 18 "1652 must go!" is a reference to the recorded year of the arrival of White settlers on the shores of Table Bay led by Jan Van Riebeeck of the Dutch East India Company. This date is significant on the South African political history for many reasons: the most common and widely known, particularly amongst Black people, is that 1652 is a year known to signal the beginning of the destruction of Black people's lives by colonialists. It is often quoted as the source of the dispossession and dehumanisation of Black people in South Africa. We see the year being deployed as a noun to refer to white people, and it is exclusively used to refer to white people as a tongue in cheek reference. In addition, this use of the date as a noun is something that was taken up in social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook. Another important reading of the usage of this date as a noun is that it connects white people to colonialism, to being settlers and the violence that accompanied it. Suggested by this reference are politics of belonging and ownership of the land – to refer to the year, then, serves as a reminder that white people's status here is that of settlers and not indigenous Africans like the protesters. In the context of UCT racial antagonisms became quite clear throughout the protest. The message

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

that ‘they must go’ written on the memoriam of what is seen as ‘a celebration of colonial conquest’ is in some ways indicative of how students were contesting historical narratives and writing their own; a history of being fed-up under the crushing weight of whiteness.

The second message substantiates the fact that protesters view UCT as an extension of the colonial enterprise even in post 1994 South African celebrated for its democracy. The writing in the middle, “UCT is a site of conquest” centralizes the politics of memory and remembrance. The message here is clear that UCT is seen as ‘a site of conquest’ in its celebration of ‘colonial traditions and history through not only its statues and paintings but also its entire set-up. For example, includes the continuation of using English as a medium of instruction and some of the names of the buildings. To have this written on a memorial shows a deliberate supervision of that particular history and an intention to rewrite a history reflecting the past injustices of colonialism. As we see in this writing, there is an obvious intention to locate the history of colonialism and its effects on the present moment. This becomes even more telling when one considers that this happens in a democratic South Africa. The use of English allows non-African language speakers to see how their privilege and UCT are products of colonialism and coloniality.

The third message on figure 18 could be said to be isiXhosa mixed with English and Afrikaans and it can roughly be translated to mean, “UCT is shitting”. This is an expression of frustration that students have against UCT as an institution especially with regards to the shortage of residential spaces. Here we see a common use of language where the syntactic structure is that of isiXhosa but there are borrowed words, in this case, ‘ikaka’ (shit) borrowed from Afrikaans “kak” and in fact the word has been ‘naturalised’ into isiXhosa lexicon and moer is an Afrikaans swearword, meaning “to beat up someone or more appropriately to fuck someone

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

up". Swearing at white people became prominent during the protests, it was used, as some argued, 'to poke privilege and express dissatisfaction with years and years of being marginalized'. In this sign, it is deployed as a discourse marker to exclaim a sense of exasperation. It also signals anger and frustration. The use of 'isiXhosa' shows how language plays a pivotal role in articulating the struggle of students. Kasanga (2014) (cf. also Montinyane 2018) see language or variety choice as of great importance for creating unity or alienation and sometimes to direct messages to specific audiences. If this sentence falls under indigenous or African language, because of its resemblance of isiXhosa grammatical and syntactic features, then Montinyane is useful when arguing, "African languages played a unifying role rather than a group identity role as often discussed in the context of group identities" (2018: 45).

Just hours prior to the burning of the Smuts Hall paintings, discourses referencing 'monkeys' were circulated. The sign, figure 19 inserted below, written in red and yellow, "respect the monkey" is a direct reference to comments made by the real estate agent Penny Sparrow's reflections on the state of Durban's beaches the day after New Year's celebrations in 2017 (also see Mpendukana and Stroud 2019); Mpendukana and Stroud, ms).

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Figure 19

In a way it shows that students are assuming and owning a particular negative narrative similar to that of the derogatory word “nigger” to refer to African Americans.

Immediately following on the ‘Monkey’ references, the students set off to march to Smuts Hall, one of the ‘White’ university residences. The march resonates with Fanon’s use in ‘Wretched’, of the power of motion and movement as a counterpoint to the foreclosure of the Black body and the endless reach of the colonial past metaphorically encoded in immobility and capture. Fanon remarks on ‘dance’ as the epitome of freedom through movement as “it dissolves all the negative energy in a “volcanic eruption”, but also goes beyond providing an outlet to express motion, rage and anger, becoming a space of healing and rejuvenation. He notes how through dance as a form of collective performance, the deprivation of motion gains prominence and expression, breaking with the stagnation of enclosure to enact new selves and futures, and to offer a sensibility of an *alternative* world, free from the prescripts and over-determination of

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

the colonizer, where the colonized “find a sphere of belonging to the community” (1967: 44 - 45)

6.6. Summary

In this chapter I discussed the building blocks of creating new socialities/ the new MAN. In the discussion, I touched on the role of place that is semiotically articulated in the creation of a mosaic of politically loaded messages and the role of the body as a vehicle in such articulation. The analysis showed an alternative experience of blackness – shifting the geography of engagement and imagination (Troulliot 2003, Gordon 2011). Taken together, the range of semiotic expression in the #Shackville’ artefact’ illustrate the workings of Linguistic Citizenship, and the trope of black pain informed the reading/interpretation of the political discourses manifest in the protest signage. This was framed by the Fanonian ideas of new imaginations that are disruptive to hegemonic ideas.

As intimated in the analysis above, there was a significant multivocality and orchestration of a variety of interdiscursive, moves. One aspect of the protest was that it continually unfolding. This could be seen in the graffiti writings which were constantly being cleaned every time they appeared, so they were always defined by flux and temporality - a dialogue of traces – comprising *fleeting moments* (Jarwoski and Thurlow 2010). These were collaborative moments – write-erase-write (cf. Karlander 2019). I explore this facet of the protest in the next chapter, focussing specifically on how this conversation in time and across materialities fed new subjectivities – a resubjectification of Blackness among those that took part.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Chapter 7: New Selves, New Bodies

7.1 Introduction

In Chapter 5, I discussed how the #Shackville protest articulated the affect of black pain as a condition of being Black, revealing the historical roots of Black violence and vulnerability and lack of ontological footing as a consequence of (the violence of) intersubjective failure. In Chapter 6, I explored how activists or political 'constituency' was semiotically constituted in terms of a broad affinity of 'vulnerable' persons and histories (black, gay, non-binary cleaning staff, etc.) through the production of alternative 'emotional registers' (Veronelli, 2016) in a particular socioeconomic and political context. In this current, Chapter 7, I explore the ways in which the protest landscape can be seen as embryonically formative of new black (protest) 'subjectivity', thus returning to the question of subjectification that was one of the mainstays of this study as sketched in the introduction to this thesis. What I take from Fanon is the propensity of violence to be an all-encompassing mode of relationship to the world and to others. As Fanon has pointed out, violence is also the modality through which breaks with the past can happen through the formation of new subjectivities (cf. above Chapter 6 on dance). Violence may be used to perpetuate oppressive structures, but also be the driver towards new selves. All contestation (violence) involves interpersonal relationship and the creation of an intersubjective space that, by defining relationships to others antagonistically, also redefine the self. In Fanonian terms, this is to engage violence in the encounter with others. Importantly, I will suggest, reading Fanon, that subjectification involves 'freedom' though *disalienation*, in other words, it implies a dynamic to get the s*elf* back into the body (Dolrin n.d.) from the splintered and fissiparous self (Khalfa and Young 2019), that is, "to think and construct freedom [and thereby the 'self', my note] within a necessarily historical and political process" (2019: 5).

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

As with the previous two chapters, my angle of approach in Chapter 7 is to explore how the semiotic landscape of the protest may mediate Black subjectification using the Fanonian lever of 'violence', and how Linguistic Citizenship can be seen to function in this context. I noted in Chapters 3 and 6 that acts of Linguistic Citizenship fundamentally have the effect of transforming, or contributing to the transformation, of higher order institutional and political structures. This is accomplished in local, (non-institutional) practices of transgressive uses of 'language', where language is widely conceived semiotically. I also noted how acts of Linguistic Citizenship 'build' new socialities concurrently with new selves, and that it is here we find the seeds of social and institutional change. The question, then is how to bring the formation of transformative subjectivities through acts of Linguistic Citizenship into dialogue with Fanonian processes of violent disalientation and (re)subjectivation?

I attempt to answer this question by introducing the notion of *violence as genre* (e.g., Briggs and Bauman 1992) as a way of linking Fanonian thought to social change to language use and to Linguistic Citizenship. I note with Bahktin (1986) how genres are "the drive belts from the history of society to the history of language" (65), that "allow us to understand the relationship between large-scale social changes (or conservation) and language on the ground". Genre is also a useful notion with which to elucidate how subjectivities are articulated in how speakers align, juxtapose and contest genres in their repertoires. This requires an expansion of the notion of genre along the lines of current developments in genre theory (e.g., Gershon and Prentice, 2021) that I suggest also can be extended to semiotic landscapes.

In what follows, I follow the structure of the previous two chapters in first looking at Fanon on self, briefly recapitulating some of the themes from Black Lives' (Chapter 5 and performativity of protests (Wretched) in Chapter 6 in conjunction with Fanon's thoughts on subjectification.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Here, I pay particular attention to 'violence' and its various articulations. I then expand on the idea of violence as genre, and briefly discuss Linguistic Citizenship in this context before moving over to semiotic landscapes and the #Shackville materials/ archive for discussion.

7.2. Fanon on (re)subjectification

In order to understand the import of violence in the possible formation of a new consciousness, we need to return to the issue of the black body and black pain presented in Chapter 5 following Fanon's '*Black skins, White Masks'*. There we noted how the fissiparous nature of being interpellated as black led to a (divided) sense of self as "pure exteriority" (e.g., 'Look Mama, A negro!') - the body seen in the white gaze not as a person but as a species. This 'divided', fissiparous, 'self' is characterised by alienation. The significance of this is that in phenomenological terms, embodiment is constitutive of 'consciousness and a sense of consciousness of the self': To have a body is to have consciousness *in the flesh*. In Chapter 5, I noted with reference to 'Black Skin, White Masks', that the body's sense of Blacks/the Native/the Negro was reduced by coloniality to skin and to 'pure exteriority' and to a hierarchy of skin, so that only white skin was seen as embodying a fully *human* consciousness and self, and language. So, the sense of self refracted in the gaze of the white that sees only skin is fractured and - one locked into a colonially imposed self/identity. Importantly, with Fanon, we need to recognize that the subhuman status of the Black is an outcome of an ongoing and pervasive violence on behalf of the colonizer. Elsa Dorlin (xxxx) points out that Black Skin was a study of "violence tolerated and undergone". Fanon expresses this embodied, visceral, alienation of self as the embodiment of violence that creates world of "compartments" and "motionless" bodies, suggesting that in the colonial world the "native is a being hemmed in", his movement is constrained. Fanon centres the body as a vital repository of colonial violence because it is in this world where the native learns "to stay in his place, and not go beyond

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

certain limits" (Fanon 1967: 40). This bodily description centres the body as a site of control. Thus, reclaiming the self, one's humanity, is a question of disalienation, of regaining control of the body and consciousness and reclaiming the self. Dorlin (xxxx) expresses it thus, "[t]he colonized subject (re)gards himself from outside his very body, a body unknowable and unthinkable. And thus, he fantasizes about his very body: he dreams of moving, running, jumping, swimming – "this hyperbolic tendency to fantasize is the crucible of a *pathogenic subjectivity*. To be expelled from my body which is nothing more than an object". As Fanon expresses it, "this is why the dreams of the native are always of muscular prowess; his dreams are of action and of aggression" (Fanon 1967a: 40). Thus, the external deprivation of motion finds and manifests in the psyche of the native. His body houses his struggle for motion. It becomes a site for yearning to express, to free oneself from the suffering of immobility – *alienation* – the subject not 'inhabiting the body. In other ways, this is the struggle to exhale, to scream and to move without restraint. The denial of such movements is akin to suffocation – e.g., "I can't breathe" as a rallying call to revolt.

Fanon's appeal in 'Black skin, White Masks' is to reclaim the self. The question is: what would 'reclaiming' a sense of self mean? Dorlin argues (with Fanon) that, "in order 'to stop being acted upon", to become active, he [the Black] must tear himself from his being, get out of this tragic state"; violence interiorized needs to be exteriorized. This brings us then to the focus of this chapter, namely the role of violence in reclaiming embodied consciousness of black self beyond its subhuman exteriorization in the context of the colonial world and history. In fact, 'Wretched' is clearly shows that there is sense of a self-pre-existing' its violent fabrication, and there is no 'self' or consciousness beyond or before it's birth in violence.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Dorlin (xxxx) explains further that there are different levels of violence, and that the first level of violence is self-violence – of getting out of oneself, that is self as colonially defined at the same time as one is bound to one's body – a body that, as we know from Black Skin is a realization of White colonial imaginations – the Black is bound to the body but is beyond the self. Fanon has written on the sort of expression this can take when he notes how the native seeks and demand a release for "the muscular tension" he experiences. Therefore, the native finds an "outlet regularly in bloodthirsty explosions – tribal warfare…". His aggressiveness locates an outlet in his proximity" (Fanon, 1967a). His release is destructive. Moreover, Fanon argues that by engaging in bloody tribal wars and "by throwing himself with all his force into the vendetta" the native is engaging in a denial of the existence of colonialism…". These fatal violent orgies are, according to Fanon, what 'proves to the settler that these men are not reasonable human beings'. Therefore, the denial of an outlet to release anger has demonstrated the justification for the denial of his humanity. So, this is enacting a violence that in ways similar to and was noted by Wilderson in ways that reinforces a colonial view of the Black.

However, there are other forms of 'violent' release, Fanon writes an exposition of the public dance. In so doing, he takes us through the centrality of the body, and the relationship the body has to the mind, consciousness, and the subconscious. Through the practice of dance, the deprivation of motion gains prominence and expression, it provides an alternative world, a world of 'relaxation' that "takes precisely the form of a muscular orgy in which the most acute aggressivity and the most impelling violence are canalized, transformed and conjured away. The circle of dance is a permissive circle: it protects and permits" (Fanon 1967a: 44). Fanon cements his view that dancing goes beyond providing an outlet to express motion, rage, and anger – it becomes a space of healing and rejuvenation. It appears chaotic, but in fact it is far from it, and through dance negative energy is dissolved in a "volcanic eruption". Dance is not

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

only an escape. It opens a window towards oneself to begin a journey, unrestrained, to find the core of one's being'. Dance restores 'calmness' in conjunctive rhythm with others.

Fanon frames his discussion of dancing by way of reference to the world of spirits and magic He declares that,

> the atmosphere of myth and magic frightens me and so takes on an undoubted reality. By terrifying me, it integrates me in the traditions and the history of my district or of my tribe, and at the same time it reassures me, it gives me status, as it were an identification paper" (1967a: 43)

In other words, it is this particular aspect of life, beyond spoken language or his 'Africanness', in transcending to the realm of spiritual connection that Fanon finds and locates his own belonging. He further strengthens his relationship to this world by asserting, "by entangling myself in this inextricable network where actions are repeated with crystalline inevitability, I find the everlasting world which belongs to me and the perenniality which is thereby affirmed of the world belonging to us" (Fanon 1967a: 43). It is interesting that he elevates this particular aspect. He explicitly articulates the motive for this by expressing how the sacredness of this aspect of life escapes from and is free from colonial machinations. It is beyond the purview of surveillance and settler understanding. Thus, the native finds a space to exist on his/her own terms.

What we note here is how violence is the means whereby the body comes to inhabit a different world, and in the process, how a different, alternative subjectivity emerges concurrently with the new body (cf. Dorlin, xxxx). This outlines the intricate relationship of the body with

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

violence as a constitutive force. There is no subject that exteriorizes violence. There is no subject before violence which instead is rather constitutive of the subject. The self only comes into being through violence which is constitutive of self-invention. This is much similar to Wilderson's view on violence as a passport to recognition. In engaging the psychological and social relations of the colonized with the body, Fanon seeks to dismantle the pathogenic subjectivity in which the Native has been colonially captured.

We note, then, the phenomenological import of the body schema for subjectification for how consciousness is embodied, and how embodiment is fully social and interactive. As we interact with others and engage with the world through our bodies - through our skin – we come to perceive ourselves. The process also implies what Fanon has called in *Black Skin*, the shedding of skin. Butler makes the point that Fanon's conception of violence is that it qualifies as *an openness to the othe*r. I explore the implications of this in the next section in conjunction with Linguistic Citizenship.

7.2.2. Linguistic Citizenship and 'carnal humanism'

When Fanon makes the appeal to "touch the other, to feel the other, to explain the other to myself", he is gesturing towards a relational engagement that is exploratory and deeply empathetic. He goes on to say, "O my body, make of me always a man who questions!" Judith Butler points out that in Black Skin, Fanon's final words are actually *the aftermath* of violence, – gesturing towards the possibility of a pacified community and subjectivity – carnal humanism. In this regard, Butler (2015) argues that in these last lines, Fanon, "calls for a kind of *openness that is at once bodily and conscious*. He addresses himself and seeks to reconstitute himself through a direct address to his own body" (2015: 192). In the words of Lazali, this is the moment after a realization that "self-sufficiency is a fantasy of being all powerful".

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Therefore 'openness' is not a question of "liberating oneself", but, in the author's words, a shift "rather from the position of disposable object to *become a speaking and thinking subject* (2011: 155, my emphasis). This very similar to Lewis Gordon's assertion that "it is not that colonized groups fail to speak. It is that their speaking lacks appearance; it is not transformed into speech" (Gordon 2011: 99-100). Subjectification is without agency to articulate, normally, any form of language.

We note then our sense of self (and reclaiming a sense of self – subjectification) is not so much a 'thing' a substance' but an ongoing activity of engagement and expression in social contexts, When Fanon declares, "O my body…", Butler's point is that this is a moment of openness to the other, to the world itself; a permanent tension of freedom – of becoming selves in an unending process. The important thing is to get out of one's skin – to shed one's skin. This needs to be done in sociality.

'Shedding skin' is to get beyond the White epidermilization of the Black body. In contemporary (neo)liberal societies, there are a manifold of liberal human rights institutions and structures that seek ostensibly to reconcile (Black) bodies and consciousness in liberatory ways. However, even the most liberal of these well-intentioned, the (neo)liberal institutions (of which UCT is a prime example) do violence to Black subjectivity, as noted throughout this thesis, not least in Chapter 5 on Black pain. The machinery of human rights oftentimes works as a powerful technology in the production of governable bodies that does violence to the subjectivities and flesh that it subordinates, although seeking to accord humanity and dignity to abused bodies and minds . Sabsay (2016) notes how the institutional structures of liberal humanity and its politics 'humanitarianism and human rights - obscures this. She notes how crusades against clitoris circumcision (or prohibitions for European Muslim to wear the Burka– ostensibly women's rights issues - are thinly veiled "civilizational crusades in the production

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

of the racialized Other" (Sabsay, 2016: 281). In this respect, "human rights discourses re-affirm (and keep firmly in place) rather than question or topple assigned injurability (Sabsay, 2016: 230).

The notion of 'voice' in liberal politics is tied to the recognition of others as in some sense 'same' Rights accord audibility to recognizable identities. This has emerged over centuries with encroaching, enlightenment Whiteness through the definitional exclusions of the colonialized Other, that is, the black, female, language-less and heathen subject against the 'human' colonizer, the disembodied yet white, male 'master'. With Sabsay I note that liberal rights frameworks require a certain type of subject, one that is disembodied and abstract and universal, so that only those voices that clearly echo those of Silvia Wynter's (2003) MAN (the disembodied white male) are audible. The recognition that Arendt (1959 (among others) sees as a condition for voice and agency is only possible if that which needs to recognized is recognisable in schemas of the Human/MAN form. But this means that voice has become disassociated from the body which hosts it: In Wendy Brown's terms (1995: 106) "the subject is […] ideally emancipated through its anointing as an abstract person, a formally free and equal human being, and is practically re-subordinated through this idealist disavowal of the material constituents of personhood". There are clear resonances with Fanon here, and his insights on the privilege of Whiteness in defining the human in its image. The liberal human rights framework thus treads a fine line between continuing the manufacture of 'abuse' – albeit in more palatable forms (for some) - and a very limited construct of agency and voice that reinserts vulnerable and precarious groups into the very order that continues to subjugate them on the very grounds on which they are subjugated (cf. Stroud, *et al*, 2021).

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

The question, is: how can we engage with voices whose 'material' constituents have been historically constituted as voiceless/as lacking voice and language (e.g., 'the native) without losing these voices in translation? Is there a voice beyond the assumed universal voice of 'rights'? I noted above how Linguistic Citizenship refers to those practices, discourses and processes through which speakers strive for agency and voice in new and 'irregular' constituencies that fall outside of, or go beyond, the institutionalized and regimented, liberal, idea of communality/sociality/citizenship. Studying modalities in acts of Linguistic Citizenship implies addressing how actors engage (semiotically) with the hegemony of institutionalized power through creating 'liveable' spaces, on the margins of institutionalized politics. I also pointed out the performative and corporeal nature of acts of Linguistic Citizenship in Chapters 3 and 6, noting the congruence with Fanonian view on language. In what follows, I will attempt to link Linguistic Citizenship even closer to Fanon through the notion of *genre*, specifically to *violence as genre*. I suggest how contemporary developments in the notion of genre could offer an analytical inroad to how semiotic practices might provide speakers the means to formulate subjectivities beyond the (neo)liberal, identitarian straitjacket. As Bauman and Briggs (1992: 156) have emphasized "the capacity of genre to create textual order, unity, and boundedness (and conversely fragmentation and disorder (Gershon and Prentice, 2021: 267)) can be invoked to varying degrees…is of profound interactive, ideological and political-economic significance". Gershon and Prentice underscore how genres (of new media) "offer productive yet unexplored terrain for linking linguistic and semiotic complexity on the ground with broader macro-level phenomena" (2021: 117). In #Shackville, the genres in question are those of violence.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

7.2.3. Genre

Richard Bauman (2008:84) characterizes genre as "an order of speech style, a constellation of systemically related, co-current formal features and structures that serves as a conventionalized orienting framework for the production and reception of discourse". And, "when an utterance is assimilated to a given genre, the process by which it is produced and interpreted is mediated through its intertextual relationships with prior texts". Briggs and Bauman (1992) call attention to the connection between "discourse, textual and social order and power…" (p.131), which is materialized in genres where "the complex intertextual relations that underlie genre" are in point of fact drawn from "social, cultural, ideological and political-economic factors" (Briggs and Bauman 1992: 132). Genres are far from static and stylistically homogenous, but rather fluid and dynamic, and may be complex, absorbing and digesting other generic, hierarchically ordered types (Bakhtin, 1986).

Blommaert (2005; 2008) has noted how identities are in fact 'particular forms of semiotic potential organized into repertoires', and the notion of *genre* is one way of capturing how (re)organizations of forms of semiotic potential provide for new positions of subjectivity and ways of talking about and managing social transformation. Genres organize multilingual and multimodal resources into complexes of communicative-formal features that make a particular communicative event recognizable as an instance of a type (Blommaert, 2008; Bauman and Briggs, 1999), by community members as conventional performances of subjectivities and activities. Blommaert (citing Fabian among others) points out how textual practices, repertoires, registers, that is, genres, are important arenas where new social processes and cultural innovations are formed; offering new epistemological or cultural forms for the formation and expression of particular types of identity (Blommaert, 2008: 47). They are therefore ideal for looking at how identities change – how in this case, re(subjectification may

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

be negotiated and changed - and with this, how linguistic and multimodal resources are redistributed and realigned, with changing social circumstances – notwithstanding that genres may also directly influence these circumstances.

Gershon and Prentice (2021) remark on how more classic, traditional indexical markers of identity such as accents or style are being replaced – at least augmented by – construal of speakers' personae on the basis of how different genres are calibrated, such as how the self is presented for others in cover letters for job applications versus Twitter and Facebook resumes. They point out the complexity of social media profile pages that are complex juxtapositions of a variety of multimodal and multimedia 'texts', visual (profile pic) as well as descriptions of hobbies and personalized links to other pages and other sites that together convey a mosaic of fluid identifications. Research by Eisenlohr (2010) shows how religious subjectivities are created out of the juxtaposition and calibration of multiple religious genres (chanting, prayer). Furthermore, the calibration of genres is also instrumental in building new communities, such as special interest social media groupings (Jones, 2009; Gershon and Prentice, 2021). Gershon and Prentice suggest that by aligning and mis-aligning genres, "actors produce and transform social hierarchies and classifications' (20121:117). By invoking a particular genre, producers assert (tacitly or explicitly) that they possess the authority needed to decontextualize discourse that bears these historical and social connections and to recontextualize it in the current discursive setting" (Briggs and Bauman 1992: 148). In other words and of import here is how genre is a by-product of social connections and social actors that may reinvent and re-articulate it in various forms depending on the purpose.

Briggs and Bauman note that

> Genres also bear social, ideological, and political-economic connections; genres may thus be associated with distinct groups as defined by gender, age, social class,

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

> occupation, and the like. Invoking a genre thus creates indexical connections that extend far beyond the present setting of production or reception, thereby linking a particular act to other times, places, and persons (Briggs and Bauman 1992: 147).

These authors also emphasize the complexity of modern-day genre performances that are made up of multiple modalities and different media, and – as we have seen in Chapters 5 and 6 – comprise of a web of interdiscursive linkages.

7.2.3.1. Violence as a (complex) genre

Norgaard (2021) has put forward the idea for urban geography that violence, in South Africa most clearly, is a genre. In the context of the study and with reference to genre, the author argues that " genre constitutes forms or styles of action that develop, over time, through agreed-upon norms or practices" (Norgaard 2021: 1). This ties in well with the above discussion of genre as a consequence of socio-historical factors of a period of time. Through the use of "muscle memories" - a metaphor to capture how bodies almost have an automated response and actions that is violent as reactions to structural and historical forms of violence exerted on their bodies, the study notes that "muscle memories are ready-in-hand responses to repeated prior and anticipated future acts of violence" (ibid: 5)[18]. A link is to be drawn to how genre relies on social connections that are built on social norms. In a similar way, violence as genre is tied to the fact in that in the South African context it is organized by and mapped "onto collective memories and social norms". Norgaard 2021: 4). An important point mentioned in the study is what the continuation of violence reveals about the collective psyche of South Africa society. The author states, "the fact that violent situations recur in South African cities reveal how genre knowledge manifests itself in unconscious "muscle memories," caught in a

[18] a form of embodied interdiscursivity

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

flux between mutation and historical sedimentation" (Norgaard 2021: 4); violence as a genre in general is subject to continuity but finds different expressions over time. This is similar to the points raised by Briggs and Bauman about the importance of seeing genre in the broader sense not only as a notion to categorise or classify meanings. I think there is a similar understanding of violence as genre. In the sense that Norgaad (2021) points out, violence is ingrained in the social fabric of South Africa as an ever-present imprint that implicates "individual actions within collective structures, and vice versa,[and that] take on a physical manifestation through a mechanism akin to "muscle memory (2021: 5). The notion of genre applied to violence helps us to understand the unfoldings of violence as an expression of entangled modalities of existence.

In the following section, I explore #Shackville as a performance of a genre of violence.

7.3. Protest as performance of violence as genre

There are various subgenres of the protest that we can identify in #Shackville and that taken in this context can be seen as contributing to a superordinate genre of violence. Firstly, there are the *quotations*, that is, pithy, world-wise reflections of slogans, aphorisms, etc. attributed most often to named authors (although not always) (Morson 2006), and with 'revolutionary intent'. There are also classes of invectives; genr3es of savage bodies; genres of silence and place genres. Together they combine in their mix and match to an overarching genre of violence.

7.3.1. Quotations

In the #Shackville landscape, there a variety of different exemplars of the class of quotations. aphorisms and citations of freedom fighters, frequently Black or from the South that circulate with their interdiscursivities and chronotopical narratives. On the second day of #Shackville

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

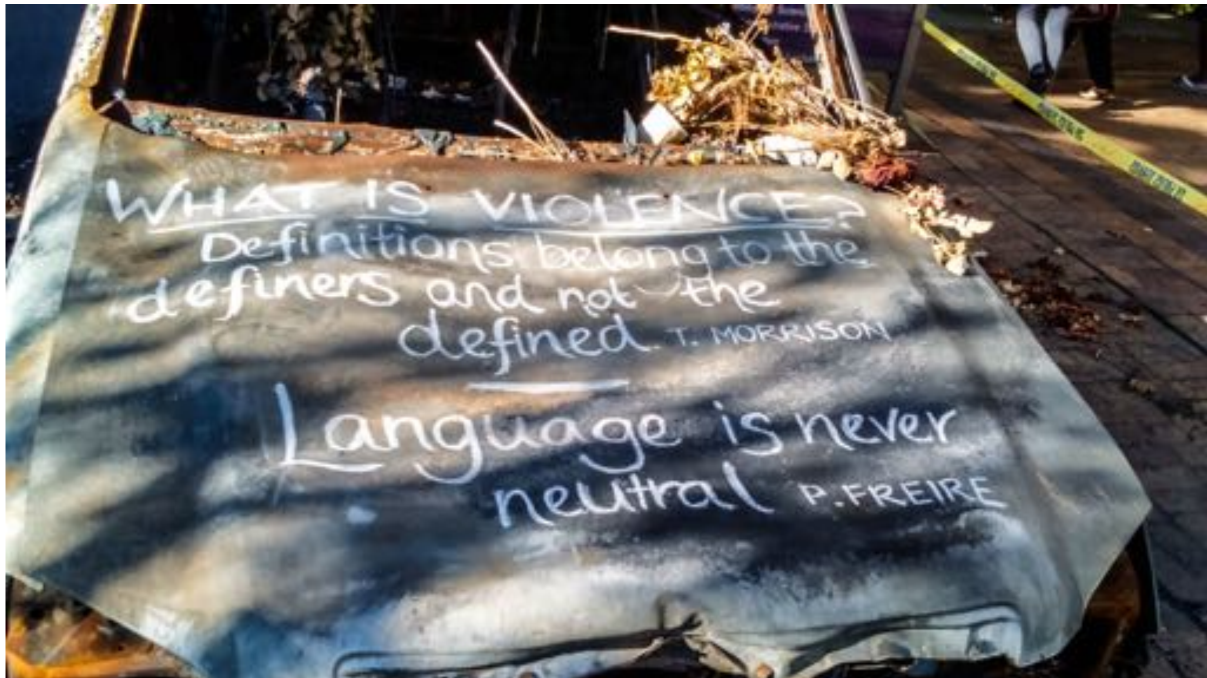
following on the violence of the shack removal and the burning of university service vehicles, a number of such quotables were written on the different surfaces of the burnt vehicles. Prominent Black freedom fighters, authors and activists such as Angela Davis, James Baldwin,Toni Morison and Brazilian author Paulo Freire are seen quoted here. In figure 20, the words of Angela Davies, a well-known Black radical in the 60s and 70s USA, are printed in capitals, and together with the scripted identity of the author, lend authority, and time and place and significance to the perspective on violence re-scripted here on the side of the truck.

Figure 20 *(Picture taken at Upper Campus, UCT, 10 March 2016)*

Figure 21, likewise, also directly addresses the question and legitimacy of violence, querying who has the right of (legitimate) definition, and the fact, that ‘language is never neutral’.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Figure 21 *(picture taken at Upper Campus, UCT, 10 March 2016)*



In all three cases, the import and significance of the quotes gain their traction from those who are credited with authoring them. The anchorage of the quote in authorships also ties the wordings interdiscursively to specific times and places, and in particular to the, what would generally be considered, battles for the just causes that they represent (anti-racism/facism/neoliberalism), and the social and economic conditions that motivated the protests at the time. The tidy and cursive typography is reminiscent, on the one hand, of what one might find in the pages of a reputable anthology of quotations, which contributes a sense of timeless-ness to the words of these great authorities. The transport of these words into the current situation of protest legitimizes #Shackville as an equally just and legitimate cause. On the the other hand, the fact that the words are spray painted gives the quotables a graffiti-feel, which in turn sensitizes readers to the involvement of young, angry (and possibly fugitive) protesters.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

The fact that these words are found on the burnt trucks localizes and grounds the quotables very much in the present moment of protest, again serving to underscore the relevance of these timeless words. And further, the choice of the burnt-out trucks as screen or background adds a temporal dimension; it contextualizes the words in the *aftermath* of the protest, and encourages us to read them as retrospective contributions – invitations to dialogue - in an ongoing debate on the rationale and justification for the earlier explosive violence of the protests Figures 22 and 23 explicitly address the aftermath, and what stance to take on it – wreathes (Figure 22) or no wreathes (Figure 23)?

Figure 22 *(picture taken at Upper Campus, UCT, 25 February 2016)*

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Figure 23 *(picture taken at Upper Campus, UCT, 10 March 2016)*

Importantly, the quotables framed against the burnt truck became a site for political contestation between those who were in support of the #Shackville protest and those who deemed the burning of the truck to be insensitive. Shackville was one event that divided opinion at UCT especially in light of supporting students. One view pertained to how one can continue to support students who were 'violent and had destroyed property belonging to the institution; paintings and the cars' and the other one was 'how can support for protesters come with conditions in the face of structural violence of centuries' – these defined the dominat ideas around Shackville and to an extent, revealed many issues about the meaning of violence and support. The alignments or disalingments that students took in relation to the quotables made the truck an active site where the students were able to refine and test their emerging subjectivities.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

7.3.2. Body (savage) genres

Body genres and accompanied situated practices (cf. below Figure 24) play an important role in performing violence as genre in the #Shackville protest landscape. Gruber (2017) citing the rhetoricist Rilker, argues that "genre studies could more thoroughly examine the role of bodies and situated practices in how texts come together" (p. 417) by incorporating Rickert's 'ambient rhetorics' (2013: 21), because "ambient rhetorics ….is a way of becoming with the world" (417). Body genres further refer to those genres (cf. Linda Williams (1991) for body genres in film) that viscerally effect interlocutors' or spectators' body (such as fear, loathing, anticipation, desire) and that are realized in/through the body. I have noted above how Fanon puts great store in the performance and phenomenology of the body in the formation of Black consciousness and subjectivity, and #Shackville performances are replete with body genres that are orchestrated as part of the genre of violence.

Fanon in Black Skin writes about 'the savage image' of the African and notes that

> Face to face with the white man, the Negro has a past to legitimate, a vengeance to exact; face to face with the Negro, the contemporary white man feels the need to recall the times of cannibalism" (1967b: 225).

As the protest escalated, the students' reference to themselves as monkeys, is more than a tongue in cheek mocking of the degradation – it is a 'call to arms'. At the culmination of the protest, one of the protesters drew on the savage and less than human image in the following words:

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

> "*The apes* want the whole institution. They want a place to live. They want some bananas to eat. Now what you do? *The humans* don't want to engage with the monkeys. *Now the monkeys* are here climbing trees now the humans want to talk". Mzwandile Zazi (**https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KNJ5iTLkry8)**

The message here plays on the image of Blacks as de-humanized, 'animalizing black people', a 'savage' body genre well represented in Western discourses from the enlightenment onwards as a common practice in making them lesser that humans (read white) as things incapable of judgement, mischievous and devoid of 'civil/orderly behaviour'. There is also interdiscursive link here to the film 'Planet of the Apes', a sequel of which was released around the time of the protests at UCT. And, of course, as reviewed in Chapter 3, this was about the time the Penny Sparrow incident with the 'monkeys' on Durban's beaches was being widely discussed. According to Butler, this frames 'blackness as a deviation from the human or even as a threat to the human, or as something not quite human' (Butler 2015) (cf. discussion in Chapter 5 which details how the destruction of black life through continued inequality has been normalized and felt daily as 'black pain'). The linkage of the protest to the particular material and socioeconomic and material inequities is clear, and the notion of climbing tress to take back is suggestive, not least of the physical, embodied, mobility that Fanon describes in 'Wretched' as a way for Blacks to regain a sense of muscular engagement with their bodies. Once 'violence' by the monkeys is given free reign, the human wishes to talk, but there is no affirmation of whether this will result in the Black (re)gaining humanity and appears to reference trying to close the stable door once the horse has bolted. Irrespective, this particular genre is forceful in 'rallying the troops' in protest.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Another expression of the savage body genre is Figure 25. As time goes on and anger escalates, as we have seen, protest turns to resistance and gradually morphs into violence with a marshalling of the foot soldiers', a self-selection or inscription of bodies into the semiotic landscapes of protest, (cf. Caldwell 2017; Thurlow and Jaworki 2012; Peck and Stroud 2015). In figure 24, the T-shirt is a significant semiotic artefact labelling the body as 'swaart gevaar', 'Black danger'.

Figure 25

This phrase was popular in the early 90s among conservative white people who were against the negotiated settlement that led to the 1994 elections. The phrase communicated the 'fear' or loathing of an 'angry/ free black male' it resonated with the image of 'the angry savage'. Those who coined it were worried about what they saw as a possible encroachment to their lives and their country by Black people - a possible loss of privilege on the basis of skin colour (cf. Steyn 2004). The interdiscursive linkage of the present moment with apartheid South Africa is

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

explicit. In the context of UCT, the message seems to critique UCT for its perceived fear of Black people and structural change expressed in the ideas of 'Africanizing the university or decolonization'.

Furthermore, we see here that the protesters are engaged in braaing meat while the protest was on going, a gesture towards the carnality of the 'Native'. Again the "black danger' through cultural aesthetics and materiality in the form of the shack are in practice to concretize the black lived experience (Fikeni 2016). This can also be extended to how the presence of Black students and the call for the Rhodes statue to fall, is putting into question the legacy of UCT in scrutiny while it also presents a possible 'danger' in the known and existing narrative of UCT as a white establishment. The *materiality*, the *mobility* and *embodiment* of this writing can be said to reinforce the message of how in this instance a Black student, specifically male as seen in the picture, represents 'danger'. Some of these messages were borrowed directly from the discourses of Blackness/ Black people as a danger, especially Black males. During the course of the protests there were frequent references by White lecturers and students to how 'scary' protesters were with 'their sticks, coming and charging at white colleagues'. And protesters were aware of such views and were thus playing into the gallery of stereotypical beliefs and racial profiling of Black people.

In the context of the protest and read with the other semiotic resources analysed here, one can see how this particular piece is a piece of a whole politics of race, place and identity that defined South Africa's history. Furthermore, the decision of wearing the t-shirt in the context of the protest, suggests that the wearer is 'visually articulating the meaning presented on the T-shirt' (ibid: 127). This speaks to an 'embodied language' (Bucholtz and Hall 2016; Mondada 2016) and the politics of 'fitting a body into place' (Stroud and Peck 2015).

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

7.3.3. ‘Genre of invective (vituperation)’

As the protest was gaining momentum in the day, the signs started taking a more radical posture being directed at white people. Two types of invective violence came to the fore: One set of messages started to contest the narrative of who the country belongs to, thus moving beyond the issues at UCT, or at least embedding UCT issues in a wider framing. In figure 26 (which can be read in conjunction with the ‘1652’ signage reproduced in Chapter 6), two pieces of writing on the pavement of the stairs, ‘fuck white terrorists’ and ‘fuck white tears’, are attributions of colonial privilege to white people.

Figure 26

The use of graffiti writing is an expression of rage that indexes “the emotional geographies of race in young people's lives” (Nayak 2010: 2370). The improvised nature of the writing manifests a “genre of personalization (personalized transaction) that organizes verbal and

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

visual practices into a repertoire of individual, personalized and idiosyncratic voice” (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009: 479. It also reflects how the creativity of students moved more towards spontaneous writing as the protest unravelled. The personalized writing is a strong attribute in these types of signs – protest signs.

7.3.4. Silence as genre

Aposiopesis, a class of forms that attends to the various forms and effects of silence (obticentia, praec isio, reticentia) is a genre also present in #Shackville protest. Interestingly, silence as a genre has largely been studied in conjunction with feminist rhetoric, originally as the effects of women being made inaudible and not to count. More recently, it has attracted attention from researchers as deliberative and strategic choice (cf. Farmer, 2001). Bakhtin, likewise, although not writing at length on silence, was aware of its role in ’the chain of speech communion’ (Bakhtin, 1986: 84), seeing it as comprising with the word “a special logosphere, a unified and continuous structure of significance” (Bakhtin, 1986: 134), and that certain silences may function as utterances (Bakhtin, 1986: 68-6p).

Silence, then, was a form of locutionary violence, that together with racial in vocatives, rejected an explicit engagement with the words and communications of ‘White establishment’. I noted in Chapter 2 how the students declined to take on the role of institutional interlocutor when the University management attempted to extend an olive branch of negotiation and appeasement. Accompanying their use of silence, non-responsiveness was an ‘ambient’ strategy to constantly change their designated interlocutors with university management in a regular change of student leadership – university management found that those they might had previously

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

negotiated with no longer had the mandate in the eyes of the students to engage the institution. The #Shackville rhizomatic structure of leadership functioned along with silence to strategically wrong-foot the institution, allowing the students to step outside the established structures of authoritative communication that would otherwise had 'captured' their voices. Refusal to engage with the university leadership were seen by UCT management as disruptive of procedure. rather than a rejection of particular forms of institutional violence and Black silence. The UCT management structures have held this view since RMF. As I noted in Chapter 2, rejecting the forms of student activism taken in RMF and FMF, the UCT has 'individualized' students' protest (as about particular disruptive individuals) rather than see it as a collective and considered action.

Crain Soudien, then deputy Vice- Chancellor of transformation wrote on the 13th of April 2015 following the protest:

> One of the most critical features of the protest around the Rhodes statue has been the recurring critique of the students that the university has not heard and much less understood black pain. The students make the argument that this pain and the anger they feel about their pain can only be responded to by themselves in a way that they will define.

And this is precisely the point the students themselves were wanting to make, namely that they are politically conscious and considered actors who articulate grievances in appropriate registers that might not be immediately familiar to the institutional ear. Furthermore, the broader significance of these practices is found in their capacity to create different agencies that circumvent the traditional methods of communication that are often based on hierarchies and linear ways of communicating. In this, the students were firmly committed to the Fanonian position, locally in the South African context articulated by Steve Biko as acting beyond what

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Biko termed a "liberal ideology" in the politics of 'integration' that ultimately culminated in the negotiated settlement of the early 1990s. Though writing in a different political context of the 1970s, Biko analyses integration as a problematic terrain defined by unbalanced power predetermined by existentialist politics of blacks and whites. The problem of such integration as Biko sees it, is that it "insists that the problems of the country can be solved by a bilateral approach involving both black and white" (2004: 21). He dismisses this "as a modus operandi of those who have vested interests in changing the status quo". Furthermore, according to Biko such attempts smack of liberalism that "insists on integration not only as an end goal but also a means" (2004:21). The shortcoming of such thinking is in its assumptive logic that it would solve historical structural issues, and this has been proven to be a misdiagnosis (Gibson 2011; More; 2014). Biko's rejection of a compromised integration emanates from how it negates the historicity of bodies that would form the integration. This is extracted from the understanding that the integration would be constituted "from segregated societies with their inbuilt complexes of superiority and inferiority and these continue to manifest themselves even in the 'non-racial' setup of the integrated complex" (2004: 21). Here Biko hints at the resistant residues of colonialism that trap and define black and white people from a historical and structural perspective. Echoing Biko, Gibson argues that the liberal integration that Biko spoke against is 'artificial'. This is because, argues Gibson, "mutual recognition can only come from a rejection of the other's definition" (2011: 46). In other words, continues Gibson, "insofar as 'liberal' is understood in terms of a discourse of mutual reciprocity and dignity, of equals facing each other in an equal situation, Biko would have no problem" (ibid: 46). Therefore, of paramount importance in such a context would be a total reconfiguration of the "structure and values" of liberalism. The same stance is held by #Shackville protesters. We see then clearly how the South African genre of violence (Norgaard, 2021) delineates continuities across distinct temporalities of struggle.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

7.3.5. Place as a genre of violence

Clearly, how place is designed to facilitate flows and constructions of bodies and minds is of paramount importance for senses of belonging or alienation, as I have discussed in Chapter 2 and 3. Students consciously designed the #Shackville space so as disengage with the White institutional presence. The placement of #Shackville at a busy part of the university was intended 'stop normal flow of traffic and any normalcy'. In so doing, it also created an arena for certain social actors defined by the time segments of their appearance. Material ethnography points us to interrogating how different social actors acted and were authored by the semiotic artefacts they engaged with. Figure 9 in Chapter 5 was ostensibly, not just a warning to trespassers to keep out, but, when read in the ecology of racialized signage, also served to define, or imply who those trespassers were, namely Whites. It is found in conjunction with and reinforcing the red tape surrounding the structure.

Dixon and Durrheim (2000) discuss ideas of 'place-identity' and speak about "the importance of belonging to processes of self-definition" (2000: 29), and how "identity was realized mainly through the participants' physical presence in a concrete space" (Stroud and Jegels, 2014: 693) – also very reminiscent of Fanon's dance example. In his work on the production of space, Lefebvre (1984) highlights how 'social relations, which are concrete abstractions, have no real existence save in and through space'. I can go further and suggest with Chun that 'space is 'agentive' in the production of the practices of human agents' (Chun 2014: 655), creating the conditions for human agents to act, towards and with each other in various ways – perhaps what Ash Amin terms 'animated place'.

Work that has investigated protest landscapes (e.g., Rojo 2014; Kitis and Milani 2015; Mpendukana and Stroud 2018) has explored the role that semiotics and language "plays in

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

encouraging or creating a particular ambience/ atmosphere" (Wee 2017: 109). I noted in Chapter 5 how certain sites can give birth to different feelings and displays of such feelings in a given socio-political context. Also suggested is how different modalities of contesting space and place affect people – or even sculpt people.

From the above, one can pick up the motives of the protests and the criticism of the use of violence, the numerous forms of exclusion based on race, gender, sexuality, and class that created many complex layers that are intersectional. In the context of UCT that pushes liberal values of openness and the broader democratic South Africa, these topics question the functioning of democracy. Much more broadly this shows that UCT is affected by the macro discourses and conditions that create, maintain, and enforce forms of vulnerability.

7.4. Linguistic Citizenship: violence and vulnerability

We are now in the position to see how Linguistic Citizenship may connect with violence as re-subjectification and the building of new collectivities/socialities. In the above, I investigated the possibility of viewing protest as a performance of (sub) genres of violence, suggesting that the students through their protest are calibrating, aligning, coordinating, and rejecting a range of genres relevant to an overarching *genre of violence*. #Shackville is a complex, multimedial, multimodal and multi-sited orchestration of body, text, image and place, and their historical and contemporary interdiscursivities, locally and transnationally. 'Violence' is a multimedial and multimodal genre. It is this enactment of subgenres of violence where acts of Linguistic citizenship that coordinate new subjectivities in new collectivities are operative.

Linguistic Citizenship as a tool helps us engage the agency in which the students articulate their own ideas of decolonization, their sense of presence, and their politics through this range

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

of genrered semiotic resources. The concept captures how students had their "own vocabulary and modes of protest" Molefe (2016: 31). Through the semiotics of protest deployed at #Shackville, we see how blackness at UCT articulates itself as resistance and a 'new' presence.

The implications of the temporal structuring and significance of the material affordances of the circulation of messages gave place to a variety of voices. The semiotic landscape kept changing continually as different contributors/authors inserted their artefacts and inscriptions to the scape. Graffiti writings on walls were continuously erased and cleaned, and as more students joined the protest, new placards were added into the protest, and old ones removed or taken down. This *editing* of inscriptions, the heterogeneity of modality and mode, the combination of genres, the time 'allotted' to where inscriptions were permitted to appear and the hierarchy of places/materials in which they appeared over time (e.g., shack or portaloo) was very much part of what made #Shackville the dynamic changing and fleeting event it was.

In fact, in one respect the editing could be seen as one of the overriding authorial principles of this event, as more and different voices layered themselves into the space with different spaces of articulation, allowing different types of speakership or authorial roles and forms of engagement through the interweaving of different genres in different modalities. Additionally, the flow of clock time itself – the time allotted to messages on the different structure and the duration of the event over two days - defined the protest as a particular genre of sit-down protest, and also determined the flow/audibility/visibility of a plurality of voices. All of this was orchestrated by the students as a collective body, providing 'slots' for students to engage and build their awareness and subjectivities, and ultimately concert these activities to potential macro-social change (Gershon and Prentice, 2021)

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

7.5. Summary

In this chapter, I explored how the processes of new subjectification are semiotically articulated in the Fanonian sense of violence to escape the 'imposed exteriority of skin'. In the course of the discussion, LC became an able notion to read how the new knowledge of the self emerges out of new socialities and engagements with difference. The above discussion and analysis explored the 'semiotic practices' that contribute to a new subjectification in the sense of disalienation. In so doing, I took the body as a central cog in the understandings of both violence and agency. I discussed this through the notion of dance as a metaphor and as an illustration of new imaginations and new becomings that are entirely in the control of their authors by design, articulation, and practice. In this way, the body constrains, and the body carries potential to liberate. In other words, both freedom and violence come to, and can be realized through the body. The discussion touched on the idea of the 'body as consciousness' – a means to understand oneself in contestation and relation to others.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Chapter 8. Discussion, implications, and conclusions

8.1. introduction

This thesis has broadly explored how the attempted *re-racialization of place* and the simultaneous *re-subjectification* of ((non)racialized self) in pursuit of social transformation and a more equitable non-racial future unfolded during the #Shackville protest. Much more importantly, as demonstrated by the three preceding analysis chapters, there are salient and multiple entanglements with race and its diverse links to the social, economic, political, and historical aspects of the country, and of cause the global resonance, specifically around issues of 'blackness' (e.g., Gordon 2015; Gibson 2011; 2017; More 2014). The thesis has hopefully demonstrated the role language/semiotics play in the formation of new imaginations of racialized subjects and the production of modalities for new grammars of protests. Addressing similar concerns, Soudien (2014) points to the "significance that South Africa, as a particular place in history and in time, holds for thinking through the puzzles of how language as a resource for imagining and taking upon subjecthood and the active process ontological fashioning…works (2014: 206). The thesis has covered a broad terrain of language; beyond language proper as we know it (language in the view of linguists), language in the sense of the 'unimportant', hardly language-ified inscriptions on signage; language in the sense of corporeal and spatial semiotics, and language as practiced in acts of Linguistic Citizenship including genres of silent violence. It is in these junctures of semiotics and society that this thesis has explored the intricacies of these intersections. Furthermore, Soudien beckons us to "engage with the meaning and indeed the possibilities of what it means to be human beyond our historically constructed understandings of who we are" (ibid: 206). South Africa in this sense becomes an important site as it engages with realities and possibilities of new futures, new humanism, and the realities of what this may mean. Perhaps the most fundamental and salient

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

aspect illustrated by the analysis chapters is the turbulence of new imaginations in expression, deed, and their entanglement with bodies as reservoirs and vehicles of articulations. For this work, the lack of transformation and the trappings of socio-political and historical structural issues continues to impact on today's South Africa. Thus, the quest for new humanism and a new sociality pursued by the students under the ambit of social transformation, unavoidably ignited the powder keg of the protest and by so doing, through calls for decolonization, ushered in a new grammar of engagement. In other words, the protest problematizes South Africa's democracy through various strategies that bring history to bear with the present in unsettling ways.

In chapter two I provided the context in which some of the issues of concern addressed in the thesis played out. There was a myriad of issues, mainly about dissatisfaction with the status quo, lack of change and lack of student accommodation at UCT in the epistemological sense (with reference to the curriculum), cultural (statues and other sources of heritage), and in the racial sense (feelings of exclusion and belonging) combined into complex relational matters that provided the impetus of action. In the chapter I sketched a progression of protests within the context of UCT from RMF and FMF as a key element that influenced the mode and the strategic modalities of engagement and disengagement. Through the notion of *vulnerability* as a constant presence and definitive cog of black pain, I thread through the events that culminated into #Shackville – as an expression of anger/ rage/ riot and the politics of asserting new senses of collective selves in the arena of the politics of space/ place and bodies. In respect to this, Mondada (2016) argues for a consideration of "multimodal resources including language and bodily movement…used in building human action" (2016: 336). Furthermore, the author mentions a crucial point of the "involvement of entire bodies in social interaction, overcoming the logocentric vision of communication" (ibid: 336). These points reject a narrow

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

understanding of language and elevates bodies as repositories of action and meaning. Moreover, these points connect with the Fanonian ethos of centring the racialized body in its agency, its history of subject formation in post- 1994 South Africa (see More 2014). In many ways, it also links to the quest for new humanism and a new sociality through looking at the body as a point of departure for change. Gibson (2011) writes about what he terms as *Fanonian practices in South Africa* that focuses on Fanon's dialectic for liberation, grounded in the idea of social transformation towards a radically humanist society'. One way such can be pursued is to "put the human being at the centre of society, starting with the worse off" (Gibson 2011: 21). Such thinking was put into praxis by the students through pursuing the struggle for accommodation for the poor and most vulnerable students as discussed in chapter 2.

Following this, in Chapter 3, I provided an exposition of the theoretical framework of this work centralizing the notion of reconstructing Blackness through the theories of subjectification and black pain. Fanon's theoretical concerns of the colonized and the colonizer relations provided an important lens of making sense of the post-colonial and post-apartheid conditions that are defined by coloniality as a lived experience of the black. It is from Fanon's perspective that this work discerns the multiple intersections and complexities of race as experienced in the present-past. I moved to build on Fanon's theorization of racialized bodies through looking at racialized interactions, semiotic landscapes, and discourses of race to find theoretical links and to situate this work in the literature that concerns the global south conditions. Informed by this direction, I posited Linguistic citizenship as a tool to engage and explain unorthodox ways of using language and meaning, subsequently illustrated in the analysis chapters. Perhaps, of greater significance is how the analysis, through the discussion of Linguistic Citizenship, for example, demonstrates the limitations, a rejection of and an abandonment of traditional modes of language/articulation and racial categories in pursuit of new modes of resubjectification

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

defined by agency and materiality. Chapter 4 drew out some of the implications of this for an ethical research methodology. In chapter 5 I discussed how the #Shackville protest articulated the affect of black pain and its historical roots as vulnerability and lack of ontological footing. More specifically, I referenced the notion of sociogenesis introduced in Chapter 3 to read blackness as a marked category for displacement, purging and regulation within the context of UCT and the world. This configures space/ place an arena of contestation characterised by temporariness of the protest that has chronotopic links to South Africa's struggles against injustice and for equity. The politics of affectivity under a democratic neoliberal dispensation in South Africa provides a potent outlet for the grammar of coloniality that continues to impact on the daily lives of those whose existence has been marked by black pain. In chapter 6 I discussed the politics of resistance in pursuit of a new humanism and a new sociality. The calling out of Whiteness by the students produced by, accepted into whiteness (even if partially, through multiracial schools that push for monolingualism and sensibilities of white culture), and whom, in turn move and engage through a racially inspired rejection of white sensibilities truly caps the Fanonian demand for new imaginations of black life away from and despite black pain, by articulating the fact of blackness as a category for new possibilities. The notion of proximity of difference unmasked the known/ denied/ the regulated/ subordinated and dominated voices. Chapter 7 attempted to lay bare Fanon's centring of the body both as vehicle for actions and suppression or control of action. The body becomes both the source of and about struggle to exhale/ to scream/ to move/ to riot and ultimately '*to breathe* and live' and be present as unmarked. The analysis in point and fact, showed how the protest was about the desire to 'breathe', to be recognized and to be present. In other words, certain modes and performances of the body become an avenue of movement and freedom when unrestrained, unshackled and in charge of its agency. The bulk of this Chapter was an excursus into how the idea of Fanonian transformative violence, and its articulations, could be reconciled with

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Linguistic Citizenship through a development of the notion of (violence as) genre. Those Fanonian moments depicted in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, even if fleeting or temporary, are a window to the possibilities to belong to self and to others with whom you share common solidarity. Expressed differently, black bodies and their materiality become part of the semiotic units that articulated a blackened presence.

In what follows, I revisit to the research objectives. This will be followed by a summary of the research questions linked to the main finding discussed in the analysis chapters.

8.2 Revisiting the research objectives and research questions

The central question addressed in this work is how the racialization of blackness in place is subverted in the context of UCT. In the analysis chapters, blackness finds expression in different modalities and has different articulations. To address the concern of this main objective, I revisit the research questions below to breakdown this overarching objective into chunks. Each question will be followed by the main themes that emerge in the analysis chapters. Following this will be the implications of the study for future research directions and conclusions.

8.2.1. Research questions.

The specific questions addressed in this work were as follows:

8.2.1.1 How can the #Shackville protest be understood as an event of resubjectification of racialized (identities) as Black? In other words, by what means of what practices and ideologies (semiotic, political, and material) does resubjectification take place (that is, how to count as what sort of political and ethical subject?".

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

We noted in chapter 5 that the protest proceeds from a continuum of black bodies living the past in the present. In other words, even in a democratic and modern South Africa, blackness continues to come alive but as a negative presence, a failure of relationality, harmful activity, and suffers alienation in place. The analysis showed how to understand how bodies can traverse across time and space, in the present moment, to re-politicize space through deploying bodies in a *time-less* conversation between space, language and racialized bodies in each context. Here we see how the notion of black pain became not only an expression of despondency today but a notion that ties the present into a continuum of disenfranchised blackness. It engages with the constant *absence- presence* logic that defined colonialism as argued by Frantz Fanon. Further to that, it solidified how Fanon's notion of *sociogenes* describes how blackness is a production of engagement with intersubjective failure. The instrumental cog in this understanding is the (dis)interaction and the (dis) engagement of the body with space. It is in this exploration of the fraught relations and the politicization of such relations that materiality, bodies and space create an amalgamation of meaning that can be understood in memory, time, space, mobility, and temporality as characterised by Shackville. Throughout the conceptualization of, and the creation and the eventual erection of a shack at UCT – there is a constant implication of whiteness. This is the point that is crystalized by authors concerned with the existentialist politics of the fact of blackness. For example, Lewis Gordon, writing on the *phenomology of Biko's Black Consciousness* argues that "whiteness by itself is never white enough except in relation to Blackness, which makes domination a form of dependency" (2008:84). The politics of Shackville play on blackness in its antagonistic relations to whiteness. Of value here was how Shackville was conceptualized as a material expression of a marginalized existence of poor and black people whose material realities are often 'invisible' in the posh suburbs of affluent areas and whose existence must adhere to their reality being a footnote or a distant reality. Thus, the power of Shackville lays in its simplicity and yet potent power to reconfigure

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

the conditions of 'illicit appearance' – the spectacle of the shack brings with it the reality of a marginal existence and at the same time it augments an embodied sense of 'fear' and material reality of the *swaart gervaar*, through the concrete material and symbolic power, of an otherwise distant reality. Many of the inscriptions and material artefacts deployed in the process represent the dislocation of bodies and the inherent black pain as being constantly denied a sense of presence and the constant temporality of 'the fact blackness'. This becomes more potent because it happens 26 years after democracy and was orchestrated by students who were born at the end of or after apartheid. Shackville then becomes not only a demand to live, but it also becomes a voice to articulate a critique against the continuation of being marginalized and denied agency in a democratic country of equal opportunities. It can be summed up that the material, semiotic and linguistic tools deployed during this protest took an ontological spin because the combination of those tools brought to bear a sense with which politics of existence and how relationships manifest in the politics of the university, and the society at large. An explanation of this pivot is found in Welcome's discussion of ontology, the author opines as follows, "ontology frames our understandings of what exists and the relationship between those things that exist" (Welcome 2004: 61). Shackville brought to bear the strained relations of non/ existence. Essentially, Shackville comes imbued with the politics and the poetics of resistance and the politics of refusal and ultimately of forcing an 'ugly appearance' – an appearance of historical and material significance, and this is brought into the moral and political fabric of the post-1994 dispensation. In this equation UCT assumes its posture in the historical and material sense, and the post 1994 political conditions are enmeshed into a moment that reveals the fissures of failure. Therefore, the structure of Shackville in its materiality, history, and political potency indexes the grammar of suffering both in the present moment of the protest for student accommodation and in the broader context of structural inequality.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

8.2.1.2 In what sense can these practices be seen as reforming/exercising acts of Linguistic Citizenship'? Or to what extent do they continue racializing practices (through deploying conventional ideas of citizenship

The notion of citizenship, particularly linguistic citizenship as conceptualized by Stroud (2001) is a constant feature in the politics of Shackville. It locks Shackville in a durative conversation with the understanding of the idea of a citizen/ the human and how it should be articulated versus how it was articulated. An apparent feature in the moulding of the politics of citizenship lays primarily on the utilization of highly politicized senses of being in place. In essence, the analysis illustrates how the creation of the *new human/ new humanism* relies on borrowing from the politics that emerged during the colonial encounter. It is here where racialized politics, of struggles to be, of the politics of belonging and the racialized language of self and others links to the politics of subject formation of blackness versus whiteness as antagonistic realities.

The processes of articulating identity from/about self in ways that escape hegemonic and imposing frames of reference became a vital tool for the students. There is room to argue that Fanon's conception of self-consciousness that lives outside the colonial and restricting frames of power/ regulation/ authority provided an impetus for the students to (re)imagine novel ways of articulating themselves. This is where the idea of Linguistic Citizenship as a decolonial reading lens finds expression. In Linguistic Citizenship, we find a notion that extends our definition of language and its expression beyond the narrow understanding of meaning towards a broader and deeper idea of language that foregrounds agency and free will to create and be creative in the formulation of expressions. My analysis shows that the acts of citizenship observed in the analysis such as creating spaces of prohibiting movement of other bodies while

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

allowing others free movement. The various material and other artefacts aided the students in reaching beyond one way of expressing their ideas.

8.1.2.2 Given the importance historically of 'place/space' in 'racialization', what is the role of the politics of place in resubjectification through protest, and how can this be modelled/conceptualized semiotically? enduring racialization. How are semiotic landscapes incorporated into notions of racial emplacement or estrangement?

In articulating the politics of place/ space, the students' deployment of a shack is perhaps the most singular and potent grammar that expressed the multi-layeredness of blackness as an absence. As we know the protest emerged as a protest for lack of accommodation on behalf of others but the most striking feature here was how racialization by the students themselves, and the historical regulation of blackness at UCT under apartheid created the conditions of denial and erasure of blackness at UCT. In fact, this point made the student protest necessary. The language of expression easily relied on the constant narrative of blackness as a 'problem' and the rich archive of the history of protest that the students had at their disposal. To refer to past events like the 1976 Soweto Students Uprisings, the use of the name Shackville borrowed from Sharpeville, and the links to the forced removals of the 1960s pits the students against the state in a consistent fight by the students against morally and politically unjust conditions. The students join a long picket line fighting injustice as the generations before them did but now the intrigue is how it is the generation of the 1976 era that sits in government unleash similar tactics as did the apartheid government. This perhaps highlights how semiotic landscapes possess the tools to peel the layers of meaning found in this protest. The antagonistic approach students deploy here, namely to label UCT as a colonial establishment and them, as activists resuming an old fight brings to the fore the question of moral and ethical engagement.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

8.1.2.3. A critique of much research from a 'decolonial' perspective revolves around the ethics of working with vulnerable populations. Resubjectification is a 'vulnerable' event given its 'existential' depth. What methodological insights can be gained from this study.

Chapter four engaged the methodological dilemmas of researching vulnerable groups in detail. A significant point made here relates to the need to reimagine the roles of the researcher and the researched not only in terms of knowledge production but the purpose of those relationship. Furthermore, I highlighted through the discussion of Southern scholars' ideas on methods and the relationship with the colonized world(s), how knowledge production has a history nestled in colonial foundations. This is further compounded by the positionality of the researcher and in my case, I shared a lot of history with the protestors not only in terms of solidarity and relationality but through being subjected to the same treatment that the protesting students received. Above all, I considered a forceful factor of "ethics of engagement" in defining the relationship of the researcher and the participants in moments of precarity and vulnerability. I made an argument for a consideration of ethics in semiotic landscape research. Not only in terms of protecting the integrity of participants but to also consider asking the right questions that are informed by the context of the research; in other words, to probe at a deeper level the type of knowledge generated by the research and its intentions. My reflections in chapter four are anchored in decolonial methods scholarship and implied the need for a much broader scope of ethics particularly in the special case of 'encounters across difference'. Much of the thinking is informed more broadly by, and departs from, the knowledge of how research methods are by and large derived from a large archive of research mainly developed in the epistemic context of the north (e.g., Troulliot 2003). In addition, I made a point for research methods to consider the complexities of the fraught histories of the South. The key insight from my study and

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

experience has to do with how the researcher can be both the subject of inquiry and the producer of research, a position that demands very complex tools of management.

8.1.2.4 Can a theoretical approach to racialized place inform a political and ethical contribution to studies of 'applied semiotic landscape studies', that is studies that can contribute to a transformational agenda of new (non-racial) spatial imaginaries? Is there a 'transformational' potential in the politics of student revolt or are the modes of action another manifestation of a spiral of enduring racialization

South Africa's engagements with the racialization comes partly from a long history of colonialism and apartheid, especially the significance of how law became a tool to enforce such ideas. The relevance of law here specifically derives from the legislative enforcement of the geographical creation of places through segregation which continue to affect how people relate to places and mobility, and the role of race in this equation. Modiri (2012) writing specifically about law in post 1994, states emphatically:

> "to engage the vicissitudes of race in post 1994 South Africa one must also consider the implications of life under apartheid law – particularly the reproduction and maintenance of white supremacy and white privilege as well as the systematic exclusion of Black people through direct and indirect forms of racial marginalization" (2012: 406).

In the post 1994 South Africa the impact of race/ racialization is often implied than explicit, covert than overt. And to a large extent, the analysis chapters illustrated how the chronotopic connection between the past-present and the future conjures a complex entanglement of race

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

articulated through language, bodies, and semiotic resources. In this manner, the development of the ontology of race and racialization illustrates the inherent politics of contemporary South Africa, particularly the discourses of race, belonging and estrangement. It is at this vantage juncture that semiotic landscapes studies become powerful as they can link language, space, bodies, mobility, and material artefacts into a singular frame of analysis that can help us to best understand what is unfolding at a given time. Peck, Stroud, and Williams (2019) have proposed a semiotoplogical framing of Linguistic Landscapes research that fits well with the findings and spirit of the present thesis). In essence this is an approach to semiotic landscapes that see "signage and the material semiotic landscape play an important role in organizing place, and how place in turn determines the reading of signage…" (2014: 180) in conjunction with how self is perceived and represented in narrative. These authors argue that senses of place are narratively constructed around the *praxeological* experience of *moving through and living in* place, at the same time incorporating features of the semiotic landscape into these narratives, as identity and sense of self are very much spatially mediated constructs (e.g., Mondada 2011; Crouch 2003).

8.3. Conclusions

This thesis departed from an interest on race and place in the post-1994 epoch among the student populace, looking primarily at how a politics of belonging are a major ingredient in ideas of selfhood. In addition to this, I considered the value of place in race, specifically its functions in mediating racialized relations. Using linguistic landscape research, I looked at embodiment and place as avenues of possibility in the creation of transformative encounters across inherited and structural injustices. The central point of interest then, was on how alienation is demonstrated, enacted, and politicized in attempts to create a sense of belonging in a historically white and liberal space, UCT. In pursuing this broad objective, I consequently

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

moved from ‘the creation of blackness’ as a fundamentally material/ socioeconomic process that can be located in a chronotopic long *duree* of struggle for belonging in South Africa.

Through the notion of semiotic landscape and semiotic materials available, this thesis has curated complex intersections of race in a time-less contestation of place which are imbued in meaning and hierarchies of significations for different bodies. From this understanding, I have illustrated how the Shackville became a semiotically loaded pivot point of analysis to understand a myriad of complex issues. Moreover, I showed how protests are complex events framed by temporality. In disentangling the complexities, the notion of semiotopology extended our analysis to better theorise more in-depth about bodies in place and bodies in context across time and space – with similar modalities that carry both the present and past meanings in a chronotopical tapestry.

It was also quite prominent that the racialization of the body/ language/ place occupies the body politic of the South Africa – wherein, black pain is a material condition to navigate the socio-political and socio-economic impetus of the students in a democratic South Africa. In order to understand those complexities, Linguistic Citizenship provided a cartography to understand the use of *language/ semiotics* outside the normative and hegemonic orders of ‘acceptability’ and ways of ‘being and speaking’. In other words, the resubjectification of the racialized body required a notion that speaks to both agency and voice without imposing on vulnerable subjects. Thus, vulnerability codified in racialized agencies and the precarity embedded in the complexity of such politics, points towards a different path of ethical development both in the approach to studies of this nature, and the methodological considerations demanding an ethics of care and solidarity. Moreover, my study has illustrated how subjectification finds purchase

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

in a Franz Fanon's construct of *sociogenes* in the formation of black subjectivity which can be extended to a notion of subjectification relevant to sociolinguistics more broadly.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Bibliography

Aboelezz, M. (2014). The geosemiotics of Tahir Square. In *Journal of Language and Politics*, 13 (4), pp. 599-622.

Agha, A. (2007). Recombinant Selves in Mass Mediated Spacetime. *Language and Communication*, 27 (3), pp. 320 – 335.

Agustin, O, G. and Diaz, J, A, F. (2014). Spatial practices and narratives: The GenkiDama for education by Chilean students. *Journal of Language and Politics,* 13 (4), pp. 732 – 754.

Ahmed, S. (2012). Whiteness and the general will: Diversity work as willful, *PhiloSOPHIA,*1 (2), pp.1 – 20.

Ahmed, S. (2007). A phenomenology of whiteness. *Feminist Theory*, 8 (2), pp.149-16l8.

Ahmed, S. (2004). Collective feelings or, the impressions left by Others. *Theory, Culture & Society,* 21 (2), pp. 25 – 42.

Allen, R. L. (2004). Whiteness and critical pedagogy. *Educational philosophy and theory*, 36 (2), pp.121-136.

Alexander, N. (2013). *Thoughts on the new South Africa.* Jacana: Johannesburg

Alim, H, S. (2020). Sorry to Bother You: Deepening the Political Project of Raciolinguistics. In *Raciolinguistics: How Language Shapes Our Ideas About Race*, Alim, H. S, Rickford, R. J, and Ball, F. A. (eds.), (pp.347 – 365). Oxford University Press: New York.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Alim, H. S, Rickford, R. J, and Ball, F. A (2016). (eds.). Introducing raciolinguistics. *Raciolinguistics: How language shapes our ideas about race.* Oxford University Press: New York.

Alim, H.S. and Smitherman, G. (2012). *Articulate while Black: Barack Obama, language, and race in the US*. Oxford University Press.

Alim, H.S. and Reyes, A. (2011). Introduction: Complicating race: Articulating race across multiple social dimensions. *Discourse & Society*, pp.379-384.

Aluwihare- Samaranayake, D. (2012). Ethics in qualitative research: A view of the participants' and researchers' world from a Critical standpoint. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods,* 11 (2), pp. 64 – 81.

Amin, A and Thrift, N. (2002). *Cities: Reimagining the urban*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Androutsopoulos, J. (2006). Introduction: Sociolinguistics and computer-mediated communication. *Journal of sociolinguistics*, 10 (4), pp. 419-438.

Appadurai, A. (2000). Grassroots globalization and the research imagination. *Journal of Public Culture*, 12 (1), pp. 1-19.

Arendt, H. (1959). Reflections on little rock. *Dissent*, 6 (1), pp. 45-56.

Arendt, H. (1998). *The Human Condition*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Atkinson, P. (2009). Ethics and Ethnography. *Twenty-First Century Society,* 4: 1, pp. 17 – 30.

Backhaus, P. (2007). *Linguistic landscapes: A comparative study of Urban Multilingualism in Tokyo*. Clevedon, Buffalo and Toronto: Multilingual matters.

Badat, S. (2016). Deciphering the meanings and explaining the South African Higher Education student protests 2015-16. *Pax Academia,* Nos 1& 2, pp.71 – 106.

Badiou, A. (2009). *Logic of Worlds: Being and Event II*, trans. Alberto Toscano. London: Continuum. (First published in French in 2006.)

Banda, F., & Peck, A. (2016). Diversity and contested social identities in multilingual and multicultural contexts of the University of the Western Cape, South Africa. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 37 (6), pp. 576-588.

Banda, F. and Jimaima, H. (2015). The semiotic ecology of linguistic landscapes in rural Zambia. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 19 (5), pp. 643-670.

Barni, M and Bagna, C. (2015). The critical turn in LL: New Methodologies and new items in LL. *Linguistic Landscape,*1 (1/2), pp. 6- 18.

Barni, M and Bagna, C. (2016). "1 March – 'A day without immigrants': the urban Linguistic Landscapes and the immigrants' protest. In Lanza, E and Woldemariam, H (eds.), *Negotiating and Contesting identities in Linguistic Landscapes,* (pp.55 – 70). Bloomsbury: London/ New York.

Bauman, R. (2008). *A world of others' words: Cross-cultural perspectives on intertextuality.* John Wiley & Sons: UK.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Briggs, C.L. and Bauman, R.1(992). Genre, intertextuality, and social power. *Journal of linguistic anthropology*, *2*(2), pp.131-172.

Ben Said, S, and Kasanga, L. A. (2016). The Discourse of Protest: Frames of identity, intertextuality and Interdiscursivity. In Lanza, E and Woldemariam, H (eds.), *Negotiating and Contesting identities in Linguistic Landscapes,* (pp. 71 – 83). Bloomsbury: London/ New York.

Ben-Rafael, E. (2016). Introduction. *Linguistic Landscape*, 2 (3), pp. 207 – 210.

Ben-Rafael *et al*. (2006). Linguistic landscape as symbolic construction of the public space: The case of Israel. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3 (1).

Ben-Rafael, E and Ben-Rafael, M. (2016). Shoneberg: Memorializing the persecution of Jews. *Linguistic Landscape*, 2 (3), pp. 291 – 310.

Benwell, B. (2006). *Discourse and identity*. Edinburgh University Press.

Benwell, B & Stokoe, E. (2006). *Discourse and Identity*. Oxford: Edinburgh University Press.

Biko, S. (2004). *I write what I like.* Picador Africa

Biko, H. (2013). *The great African Society: A plan for a nation gone astray*. Johannesburg & Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers.

Bhaktin, M, M. (1986). *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*. USA: University of Texas Press.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Blackledge, A. (2006). The magical frontier between the dominant and the dominated: Sociolinguistics and social justice in a multilingual world. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *27*(1), 22-41.

Blommaert, J and De Finna, A. (2017). Chronotopic Identities: On timespace organization of who we are. In *Diversity and Super-diversity. Sociocultural Linguistic Perspectives*, De Fina, A, Wegner, J. and Ikizoglu, (eds.), (pp.1-15). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Blommaert, J. (2016). The conservative turn in linguistic landscape studies. *Ctrl+ Alt+ Dem*, *5*.

Blommaert, J. (2008). *Grassroots Literacy: Writing, Identity and Voice in Central Africa*.

Blommaert, J. Collins, J. and Slembrouck, S. (2004). *Working papers on Language, Power & Identity: Polycentricity and interactional regimes in 'global neighbourhoods'*: Gent/ London, no 20.

Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse: A critical introduction*.UK: Cambridge University Press

Bock, Z and Stroud, C. (2018). Zombie landscapes: Apartheid traces in the discourses of young South Africans In *Making Sense of People and Place in Linguistic Landscapes*, Peck, A, Stroud, C and Williams, Q (eds.) (pp. 11 – 28). Great Britain: Bloomsbury.

Bock, Z. (2014). Negotiating race and belonging in post-apartheid South Africa: Bernadette's stories, *Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies,* Paper 144

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Bock, Z. (2015). ‘Why can’t race just be a normal thing?’: entangled discourses in the narratives of young South Africans, *Working Papers in Urban language & Literacies,* Paper 169.

Bock, Z, and Hunt, S. (2015). ‘It’s just taking our souls back’: discourses of apartheid and race. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 33 (2), pp. 141 – 158.

Briggs, C, and Bauman, R. (1999). " The Foundation of All Future Researches": Franz Boas, George Hunt, Native American Texts, and the Construction of Modernity. *American Quarterly*, 51(3), pp.479-528.

Brooks, N, A. (2020). Fugitive Listening: Sounds from the Undercommons. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *37*(6), pp.25–45.

Brown, J. (2015). *South Africa’s insurgent citizens: On dissent and the possibility of politics*. London: Zed Books.

Brown, D. (2002). The rationality of cartesian passions. In *Emotions and choice from Boethius to Descartes* (pp. 259-278). Dordrecht: Springer.

Brown, W. (1995). States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity . Princeton: Princeton University Press

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Bucholz, M and Hall, K, (2016). Embodied Sociolinguistics, In N. Coupland (Ed.), *Sociolinguistics: Theoretical debates* (pp. 173–197). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bucholtz, M. (2009). From Stance to Style: Gender, Interaction, and Indexicality in Mexican Immigrant Youth Slang. In Jaffe, A. (ed.), *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. London: Oxford University Press.

Bucholtz, M. (1999). You da man: Narrating the racial other in the production of white masculinity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 3 (4), pp. 443 – 460

Burdick, C. (2012). *Mobility and language in place: A linguistic landscape of language commodification*. (https://scholarworks.umass.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=chess_diss) retrieved on 27 October 2020.

Butler, J, Gambetti, X and Sabsay, L. (eds.) (2016). *Vulnerability in Resistance*. USA: Duke University Press.

Butler, J (2015). *Senses of the Subject*, (pp. 171 – 197). New York: Fordham University Press.

Judith Butler. 2014. Bodily vulnerability, coalitions, and street politics. *Critical Studies*, 37, pp. 99–119.

Butler, J (2012). Precarious life, Vulnerability, and the ethics of cohabitation, *Journal of Speculative Philosophy,* 26 (2), pp. 134 – 151.

Butler, J. (2004). *Precarious life: the power of mourning and violence.* New York: Verso.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Caldwell, D. (2017). Printed t-shirts in the linguistic landscape: A reading from functional linguistics, *Linguistic Landscape*, 3 (2), pp. 122- 148.

Casey, E. (1997**)**. *The Fate of Place: A philosophical history.*: Berkley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.

Calvet, L. J. (1990). *Des mots sur les murs: Une comparaison entre Paris et Dakar. In R. Chaudeson (ed). Des lengues et des villes (Actes du colloque international a Darkar, du 15 au 17 December 1990) (pp. 73-83)* Paris: Agence de cooperation culturalle et technique.

Cenoz, J. and Gorter, D. (2006). Linguistic landscape and minority languages. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 3 (1), pp. 67-80.

Chun, W.C. (2014). Mobilities of a linguistic landscape at Los Angeles City Hall Park. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 13 (4), pp. 653-674.

Collins, J. and Slembrouck, S. (2007). Goffman and globalization: Participation frames and the spatial and temporal scaling of migrated-connected multilingualism. *Working papers in Urban Language and Literacies,* No. 46. Kings College, University of London.

Collins, R. (2004). *Interaction Ritual Chains*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Cutler, C. (2003). "Keepin' It Real: White Hip- Hoppers' discourses of language, race and authenticity. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 13 (2), pp. 211 – 233.

Census Statistics 2011 statistical release. https://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P03014/P030142011.pdf retrieved May 2016.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Collins, J. and Slembrouck, S. (2007). Goffman and globalization: Participation frames and the spatial and temporal scaling of migrated-connected multilingualism. *Working papers in Urban Language and Literacies*, No. 46. Kings College, University of London.

Coupland, N. (2008). Aneurin Bevan, class wars and the styling of political antagonism. In *Style and Social Identities: Alternative Approaches to Linguistic Heterogeneity* (ed.) Peter Auer, (pp. 213 – 246). New York/ Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter

Coupland, N (2007). *Style.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cutler, C. (2003). " Keepin'It Real": White Hip-Hoppers' Discourses of Language, Race, and Authenticity. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 13(2), pp. 211-233.

de Sousa Santos, B. (2018). *The end of the cognitive empire: the coming of age of epistemologies of the South*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Diprose, R, and Ziarek, E. P. (2013). Time for beginners: Natality, biopolitics, and political theology, *PhiloSophia*, 3(2), pp. 107-120.

Dixon, J and Durrheim, K (2000). Displacing place – identity: a discursive approach to locating self and other. *British Journal of Social Psychology,* 39, pp. 27 – 44.

Deumert, A. (2021). Insurgent words: challenging the coloniality of language. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 272(1), pp. 101-126

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Deumert, A. (2019). Sensational signs, authority and the public sphere: Settler colonial rhetoric in times of change, *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 23(5), pp. 467-484.

Dlakavu, S, Ndelu, S and Matandela, M. (2017). Writing and rioting: Black womxn in the time of Fallism, *Agenda,* 31 (3-4), pp. 105 – 109.

Dolrin, E (xxxx) *To Be Beside of Oneself: Fanon and the Phenomenology of Our Own Violence.*https://www.documenta14.de/en/south/455_to_be_beside_of_oneself_fanon_and_the_phenomenology_of_our_own_violence Accessed in September 2021.

Durrheim, K, and Dixon, J. (2010). Racial contact and change in South Africa, *Journal of Social Issues,* 66 (2), pp. 273 – 288.

Durrheim K, and Dixon, J. (2001). Geographies of racial exclusion: Beaches as family spaces. *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 24, pp. 333-350.

Durrheim, K, Mtose, X, and Brown, L. (2011). *Race trouble: race, identity and inequality in post – apartheid South Africa*. South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Elliot, A, and Urry, J. (2010). *Mobile lives: Self, excess and nature*. UK: Routledge.

Eisenlohr, P. (2010). Materialities of entextualization: The domestication of sound reproduction in Mauritian Muslim devotional practices. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, *20* (2), pp.314-333.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Farmer, F. (2001). ‘Saying and Silence: Listening to composition with Bakhtin. Logan Utah: Utah State University Press.

Fanon, F. (1967a) *The Wretched of the earth*. England: Penguin books.

Fanon, F (1967b). *Black Skins, White Masks*. New York: Groove Press.

Fikeni, L. (2016), ‘*Protest, art and the aesthetics of rage: Social solidarity and the shaping a post-rainbow South Africa’*, Ruth First lecture, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 18 August.

Fraser, N. M. (1995). Quality standards for spoken language dialogue systems: a report on progress in EAGLES. In *Spoken Dialogue Systems-Theories and Applications*, pp. 157 – 160.

Flores, N. (2016) ‘A Tale of Two Visions: Hegemonic Whiteness and Bilingual Education’, *Educational Policy*, 30 (1), pp. 13–38

Flores, N. (2013), The Unexamined Relationship Between Neoliberalism and Plurilingualism: A Cautionary Tale. *Tesol Quaterly*, 47, pp. 500-520.

Garza, A. (2014). *A Herstory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement by Alicia Garza*. https://thefeministwire.com/2014/10/blacklivesmatter-2/ accessed in June 2016.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Gershon, I. & Prentice, M.M. (2021). Genres in new economies of language. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, (267-268), pp.117-124.

Gibson, N, C. (2017). The Spectre of Fanon: the student movements and the rationality of revolt in South Africa *Social Identities*, 23:5, pp. 579 – 599.

Gibson, N. C, and Beneduce, R. (2017). *Frantz Fanon, psychiatry and politics*. UK: Rowman & Littlefield.

Gibson, N, C. (2011). *Fanonian Practices in South Africa: From Steve Biko to Abahlali baseMjondolo*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of Talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Gordon, L. (2015). *What Fanon Said: A philosophical introduction to his life and thought*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Gordon, L. (2012*). Of Illicit Appearance: The L.A. Riots/Rebellion as a Portent of Things to Come*. http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/9008-of-illicit-appearance-the-la-riots-rebellion-as-a-portent-of-things-to-come retrieved on 12 August 2017.

Gordon, L. (2007). *Through the Hellish Zone of Nonbeing:* Thinking through Fanon, Disaster and the Damned of the Earth, *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-knowledge,* V, Special Double Issue, pp. 5 – 12.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Goodwin, D, Pope, C, Mort, M. and Smith, A. (2003). Ethics and ethnography: An experiential account. *Qualitative health research*, 13(4), pp. 567-577.

Gorter, D, Marten, H. F, and Van Mensel, L. (Eds.). (2011). *Minority languages in the linguistic landscape*. UK: Palgrave McMillan.

Gorter, D. (2006). Introduction: the study of linguistic landscape as a New Approach to Multilingualism. International Journal of Multilingualism, 3, (1).

Goutsos, D, and Polymeneas, G. (2014). Identity as space: Localism in the Greek protests of Syntagma Square. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 13 (4), pp. 675 – 701.

Gruber, D.R.(2019). Bodies in Genres of Practice: Johann Ulrich Bilguer's Fight to Reduce Field Amputations. *Journal of Medical Humanities*, 40 (3), pp.417-435.

Hayik, R. (2017). Exploring the perceptions of passers-by through the participatory documentary photography tool PhotoVoice, *Linguistic Landscape,* 3 (2), pp. 187 – 212.

Hames-Garcia, M. R. (2004). *Fugitive thought: Prison movements, race, and the meaning of justice*. Minnesopolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Hélot, C, Barni, M. Janssens, R, and Bagna, C. (2012). *Linguistic landscapes, multilingualism and social change*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Hassim, S (2014). Violent modernity: gender, race and bodies in contemporary South African politics, *South African Journal of Political Studies,* 41 (2), 167 – 182.

Harney, S, and Moten, F. (2013*). The undercommons: Fugitive planning and black study.* New York: Minor Compositions

Harvey, D. (1990). *The condition of Postmodernity*. Blackwell Publishing: Oxford.

Heubner, T. (2009). A framework for the linguistic analysis of linguistic landscape In E, Shohamy. and D, Gorter. (eds.), 2009. *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery*. New York and London: Routledge.

Hill, J. H. (2009). *The everyday language of white racism*. UK: Wiley – Blackwell.

Hodes, R. (2016), 'Briefing: Questioning "Fees Must Fall"', *African Affairs*, pp. 1–11.

Hult, F. M. (2008). Language ecology and linguistic landscape analysis. In *Linguistic Landscape* (pp. 96-144). Routledge.

Hutchinson, D. L. (1999). Ignoring the sexualization of race: Heteronormativity, critical race theory and anti-racist politics. *Buff. L. Rev.*, 47, 1.

Hymes, D. (1972). On communicative competence. *Sociolinguistics*, *269293*, 269-293.

Itagi, N. H. and Singh, S.K. (eds.) (2002). *Linguistic landscaping in India with Particular Reference to the New States: Proceedings of a seminar*. Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages and Mahatma Ghandhi International Hindi University.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

James, C. L. R. (2001). *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*. Penguin UK.

Jansen, J. (2017). *As By Fire: The End of the South African University*. Pretoria, South Africa: Tafelberg

Jensen, D, J. (2015). A quiet contemplation on the new anger: The state of transformation in South Africa. *Agenda,* Issue 60, pp. 6-8.

Jansen, D, J. (2009). *Knowledge in the blood: Confronting race and the apartheid past.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Thurlow, C., and Jaworski, A. (2012). Elite mobilities: The semiotic landscapes of luxury and privilege. *Social Semiotics*, *22*(4), 487-516.

Jaworski, A and Thurlow, C. (2010). Language and the Globalizing Habitus of Tourism: Toward a Sociolinguistics of Fleeting Relationships in *The Handbook of Language and Globalization* (ed) Nikolas Coupland United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing.

Johnstone, B. (2009). Language and place. In W. Wolfram and R. Mesthrie (eds). Cambridge *Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Johnstone, B. (2004). Place, globalization, and linguistic variation. In: *Sociolinguistic variation: Critical reflections*, (pp. 65-83). Carmen Fought (ed.), USA: Oxford University Press

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Jones, H, R. (2017). Surveillant landscapes, *Linguistic Landscape,* 3 (2), pp. 149 – 186.

Jones, T. (2009). The canniness of the Gothic: genre as practice. *Gothic Studies*, 11 (1), pp.124-133.

Juffermans, K. (2012). Multimodality and audiences: Local languaging in the Gambian linguistic landscape. *Sociolinguistic Studies= Estudios de Sociolingüística*, 6 (2), pp. 259-284.

Juris, J. S. (2007). Practicing militant ethnography with the movement for global resistance in Barcelona. *Constituent imagination: Militant investigations, collective theorization*, pp. 164-176.

Karlander, D. (2019). A semiotics of nonexistence?: Erasure and erased writing under anti-graffiti regimes. *Linguistic Landscape*, 5(2), pp.198-216.

Kerfoot, C, and Hyltenstam, K (eds.). (2017). *Entangled discourses: South-North orders of Visibility*. Routledge Critical Studies in Multilingualism. New York: Routledge.

Khalfa, J, and Young, C. R. (2019). *Frantz Fanon: Alienation and Freedom*. UK: Bloomsbury Publishing

Khan, K. (2017). Intersectionality in student movements: Black queer womxn and nonbinary activists in South Africa's 2015-2016 protests. *Agenda,* 31 (3-4), pp. 110 – 121.

Kitis, D and Milani, T (2015). 'The performativity of the body: Turbulent spaces in Greece, *Linguistic Landscapes* (1) 3: pp. 268 – 290.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Kros, C. (2015). Rhodes Must Fall: archives and counter-archives, *Critical Arts,* 29:1, pp.150 – 165.

Knudsen, B. T, and Andersen, C. (2019). Affective politics and colonial heritage, Rhodes Must Fall at UCT and Oxford. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 25 (3), pp. 239-258.

Kwame, A. (2017). Reflexitivity and the insider / outsider discourse in indigenous research: my personal experiences. *AlterNative,* 13 (4), pp. 218 – 225.

Laband, J. (2015). *Rhodes Must Fall: Unleashing the racist demon*. https://www.politicsweb.co.za/news-and-analysis/rhodes-must-fall-unleashing-the-racist-demon retrieved on 27 August 2017.

Landau, L. B. (2012). Race trouble: Race, identity and inequality in post-apartheid South Africa. *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 35 (4):1-2.

Landau, L. B, Ramjathan-Keogh, K., and Singh, G. (2005). *Xenophobia in South Africa and problems related to it*. Johannesburg: Forced Migration Studies Programme, University of the Witwatersrand.

Langa, M. (2016*). #Hashtag: An analysis of the #FeesMustFall movement at South African universities*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Landry, R, and Bourhis, R.Y. (1997). Linguistic landscapes and ethnolinguistics vitality: An empirical study. *Journal of language and Social Psychology*, 16 (1): pp. 23-49.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Law, J. (2004). *After method: Mess in social science research*. Routledge.

Lazali K. (2011). The Emergence of the Subject in Politics: Some Reflections on the Algerian Situation and on the Work of Frantz Fanon. In: Gibson, N.C. (eds.) *Living Fanon*. Contemporary Black History. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Leeman, J., and Modan, G. (2009). Commodified language in Chinatown: A contextualized approach to linguistic landscape. *Journal of Sociolinguistics,* 13, pp. 332–362.

Lemanski, C, (2006). Spaces of exclusivity or connection? Linkages between a gated community and its poorer neighbour in Cape Town Master Plan Development, *Urban Studies,* 43 (2), pp.397 – 420.

Lemanski, C. (2004). A new apartheid? The spatial implications of fear of crime in Cape Town, South Africa. *Environment & Urbanization,*16 (2), pp. 101 – 111.

Lemke, J. (2005). Place, pace, and meaning: Multimedia chronotopes. In *Discourse in action* (pp. 122-134). Routledge.

Luescher, T, Loader, L and Mugume, T. (2017). #FeesMustFall: An internet -Age Student Movement in South Africa and the case of the University of Free State, *Politikon,* 44 (2), pp. 231-245.

Levon, E. (2017). Situating sociolinguistics: Coupland - Theoretical Debates, *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 21(2), pp. 272-288

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Lou, J, J, and Jaworski, A. (2016) Itineraries of protest signage: semiotic landscape and the mythologizing of the Hong Kong Umbrella Movement. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 15 (5), pp. 612-645.

Lundgren, B, and Scheckle, E. (2019). Hope and future: youth identity shaping in post-apartheid South Africa. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, 24(1), pp. 51-61.

Mac Giolla Chriost, D. (2007). *Language and the City.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Madison, D. S. (2005). *Critical ethnography: Method, ethics, and performance*. London: SAGE Publications.

Makalela, L. (2018). "Our academics are intellectually colonised": Multi-languaging and Fees Must Fall, *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 36:1, pp.1-11.

Malila, V. (2015). Being a Born Free - the misunderstandings and missed opportunities facing young South Africans, *Rhodes Journalism Review,* 35, pp. 126 – 135.

Mabokela, R, O. (2001) Student Perceptions of Institutional Racial Climate, *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 34 (3), pp.70-79.

Maldonado-Torres, N. (2016). Outline of the Ten Theses on Coloniality and Decoloniality. *Frantz Fanon Foundation*, pp. 1 – 37.

Maldonado- Torres, N. (2007). On the coloniality of being. *Cultural Studies*, 21: 2- 3, pp 240 – 270.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Malinowski, D. (2009). Authorship in the linguistic landscape: A multimodal performative view. In E, Shohamy. and Gorter, D. (eds.). *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery*. New York and London: Routledge.

Mangcu, X. (2017). Shattering the myth of a post-racial consensus in South African higher education: "Rhodes Must Fall" and the struggle for transformation at the University of Cape Town. *Critical Philosophy of Race*, 5 (2), pp. 243-266.

Manning, J. (2004). Racism in three dimensions: South African architecture and the ideology of white superiority. *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture,* 10 (4), pp. 527 – 536.

Matandela, M. (2017). Redefining Black Consciousness and resistance: The intersection of Black Consciousness and Black radical feminist thought, *Agenda,* 31 (3-4), pp. 10 – 28.

Mayaba, N, N. (2018). A reflection on language politics at Nelson Mandela University, *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 36:1, 49-57

Messekher, H (2015). A Linguistic Landscape Analysis of the Sociopolitical Demonstrations of Algiers: A Politicized Landscape. In Rudby, R and Ben Said, S (eds.) *Conflict, Exclusion and Dissent in the Linguistic Landscape*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp 260 – 279.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Mignolo, W. D. (1993). Colonial and postcolonial discourse: cultural critique or academic colonialism?. *Latin American Research Review*, 28 (3), pp.120 - 134.

Milani, T. M. (2015). Sexual citizenship: Discourses, spaces and bodies at Joburg Pride 2012. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 14 (3), pp. 431-454.

Mbembe, A. (2019). *Necropolitics*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Mbembe, A. (2017). *Critique of Black Reason.* Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Mbembe, A. (2015). *Exorcise our white ghosts* .https://www.news24.com/citypress/Voices/Exorcise-our-white-ghosts-20150918 retrieved in 2016.

Mbembe, A. (2008). Passages to Freedom: the politics of racial reconciliation in South Africa. *Public Culture* 20 (1), pp. 5- 18.

Mlambo, V. (2018). An overview of rural-urban migration in South Africa: its causes and implications. *Archives of Business Research*, *6*(4).

Milani, T (2014). Sexed signs – Queering the scenery. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 224, pp. 201 – 225

Molefe, T, O (2016). Oppression Must Fall: South Africa's Revolution in Theory, *World Policy Journal,* 33 (1), pp. 30 – 37.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Modan, G. (2007). *Turf Wars: Discourse, Diversity and the Politics of Place*. Blackwell: Oxford.

Mondanda, L. (2016). Challenges of multimodality: Language and the body in social interaction. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 20 (3), pp. 336-366.

Mondada, L. (2011). The interactional production of multiple spatialities within a participatory democracy setting. *Social Semiotics,* 21 (2), pp. 289 – 316.

More, M. P. (2017). Locating Frantz Fanon in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 52 (2), pp. 127–141

Moreno, M. A., Goniu, N., Moreno, P. S., & Diekema, D. (2013). Ethics of social media research: common concerns and practical considerations. *Cyberpsychology, behaviour, and social networking*, 16 (9), pp. 708-713.
Morson, G.S., 2006. Bakhtin, the genres of quotation, and the aphoristic consciousness. *The Slavic and East European Journal*, 50 (1), pp.213-227.

Motinyane, M (2018). A textual analysis of the African language expressions used during the #RhodesMustFall campaign. *South African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies,* 36:1, pp. 37 – 48.

Mouffe, C. (2018). *For a left populism*. Verso Books.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Mpendukana, S, and Stroud, C (2019) Of Monkeys, shacks and Loos: Changing Times, Changing Places in *Making Sense of People and Place in Linguistic Landscapes*, Peck, A, Stroud, C and Williams Q (eds.) (pp.183- 200). Great Britain: Bloomsbury

Murray, M, J. (1994). *The revolution deferred: The painful birth of post-apartheid South Africa*. Verso: London & New York.

Mwaniki, M, van Reenen and Makalela, L. (2018). Advanced language politics in South African higher education post #RhodesMustFall, *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 36:1, pp. iii-v.

Nayak, A. (2010). Race, affect, and emotion: young people, racism, and graffiti in the postcolonial English suburbs. *Environment and planning A*, 42(10), pp. 2370-2392.

Ndebele, N, S. (2007). *Fine Lines from the Box: Further thoughts about our country*. Houghton: Umuzi.

Ndimande, B. S. (2009). " It is a catch 22 situation": The challenge of race in post-apartheid South African desegregated schools. *International Critical Childhood Policy Studies Journal*, *2*(1), pp. 123-139.

Ndlovu- Gatsheni, S, J (2017). The emergence and trajectories of struggles for an 'African University': the case of unfinished business of African epistemic decolonisation, *Kronos* 43, pp.51- 77.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Ndlovu – Gatesheni, S, J. (2012). Racialised ethnicities and ethnicised races: reflections on the making of South Africanism, *African Identities,* 10: 4, pp. 407 – 422.

Noble, G. (2006). The discomfort of strangers: Racism, incivility and ontological security in a relaxed and comfortable nation. *Journal of Intercultural Studies,* 26 (1-2), pp. 107 – 120.

Nuttal, S (2009) *Entanglement: Literary and Cultural Reflections on Post-apartheid*; Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press

Nyamnjoh, A. (2017). The phenomenology of Rhodes Must Fall: Student activism and the experience of alienation at the University of Cape Town. *The Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, 39(1), pp 256 – 277.

Nyamnjoh, F, B. (2015). Black Pain Matters: Down with Rhodes, *Pax Acedemica,* Nos 1 – 2, pp. 47 – 70.

Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2012). 'Potted plants in greenhouses': A critical reflection on the resilience of colonial education in Africa. *Journal of Asian and African studies*, 47(2), pp. 129-154.

Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2010). Racism, ethnicity and the media in Africa: Reflections inspired by studies of xenophobia in Cameroon and South Africa. *Africa Spectrum*, 45(1), pp. 57-93.

Omi, M and Winant, H. (2009). Thinking through race and racism. *Contemporary Sociology,*38 (2), pp. 121 – 125.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

O'Connor, B. H, and Zentz, L. R. (2016). Theorizing mobility in semiotic landscapes: Evidence from South Texas and Central Java. *Linguistic Landscape*, 2 (1), pp. 26-51.

Parmentier, R. J. (2007). It's about time: On the semiotics of temporality. *Language & Communication*, 27 (3), pp. 272-277.

Peck, A, Stroud, C and Williams, C.(eds.) (2019). *Making sense of people and place in linguistic landscapes*. Bloomsburry Academic: London & New York.

Peck, A & Stroud, C. (2015). Skinscapes. *Linguistic Landscapes,* 1 (1-2), pp. 133 - 151.

Pennycook, A. and Makoni, S.(2019). *Innovations and challenges in applied linguistics from the global south*. Londond: Routledge.

Pennycook, A (2018). Posthumanist Applied Linguistics, *Applied Linguistics,* 39 (4), pp. 445 – 461.

Pennycook, A. and Otsuji, E.(2015). Making scents of the landscape. *Linguistic Landscape*, 1 (3), pp.191-212.

Pennycook, A., 2004. Language Policy and the Ecological Turn. *Language policy*, 3(3), pp.213-239.

Peshkin, A. (1985). From title to title: The evolution of perspective in naturalistic inquiry. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 16 (3), pp. 214-224.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Petherbridge, D. (2016). What's critical about vulnerability? Rethinking interdependence, recognition, and power. *Hypatia*, 31(3), pp. 589-604.

Pinchevski, A. (2006). The ethics of interruption: toward a Levinasian philosophy of communication. *Social Semiotics,* 15 (2), pp. 211 – 234.

Plaatjie, T, S. (2007). *Native life in South Africa.* Picador Africa

Posel, D. (2001). What's in a name? Racial categorisations under apartheid and their afterlife. *Transformation* 47, pp. 50 – 70.

Popke, E. J., & Ballard, R. (2004). Dislocating modernity: Identity, space and representations of street trade in Durban, South Africa. *Geoforum*, 35 (1), pp. 99-110.

Pujolar, J. (2007). Bilingualism and the nation-state in the post-national era. In *Bilingualism: A social approach* (pp. 71-95). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Prah, K.K.(2017). The Centrality of the Language Question in the Decolonization of Education in Africa1. *Alternation Journal*, 24 (2), pp.226-252.

Putz, M, and Mundt, N. (2019). *Expanding the linguistic landscape: Linguistic diversity, multimodality and the Use of Space as a Semiotic Resource*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Rabaka, R. (2010). *Forms of Fanonism: Frantz Fanon's critical theory and the dialectics of decolonization*. Lexington Books.

Ramaru, K. (2017). Feminist reflections on the Rhodes Must Fall Movement. In Feminists Organizing – Strategy, Voice, Power, *Feminist Africa*, 22, pp. 89 – 96.

Ramphela, M. (2008). *Laying ghosts to rest: Dilemmas of the transformation in South Africa.* Cape Town: Tafelberg.

Rampton, B. (2008). Disciplinary mixing: Types and cases. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12 (4), pp. 525-531.

Rancière, J (2004) *The Politics of Aesthetics*, trans. Gabriel Rockhill with an Afterword by Slavoj Žižek. London: Verso. (First published in French in 2000.)

Ratele, K. (2015). The singularity of the post-apartheid black condition, *Psychology in Society*, 49, pp. 46 – 61

Radcliffe, S. A. (1999). Embodying national identities: Mestizo men and white women in Ecuadorian racial-national imaginaries. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 24(2), pp. 213-225.

Reh, M. (2004). Multilingual writing: A reader-oriented typology – with examples from Lira Municipality (Uganda). *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 170: pp. 1-41.

Rojo, L. M. (2016). (ed.) **Occupy:** The spatial dynamics of discourse in global protest movements. John Benjamins Publishing Company: Amsterdam/ Philadelphia.

Rojo, L. M. (2014). Taking over the Square: The role of linguistic practices in contesting urban

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

spaces. *Journal of Language & Politics*, 13 (4), pp. 583–598.

Roth-Gordon, J (2009). The Language That Came Down the Hill: Slang, Crime, and Citizenship in Rio de Janeiro. *American Anthropologist,* 111 (1), pp. 57–68.

Roth-Gordon, J (2011). Discipline and Disorder in the Whiteness of Mock Spanish. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 21 (2), pp. 211–229.

Roth-Gordon, J. (2003). Critical whiteness studies and the antiracist imagination. *Postcolonial Studies*, 6(3), pp. 399-402.

Rosa, J. and Flores, N., (2017). Unsettling race and language: Toward a raciolinguistic perspective. *Language in society*, 46 (5), pp.621-647.

Rubdy, R. (2015). Conflict and exclusion: The linguistic landscape as an arena of contestation. In *Conflict, exclusion and dissent in the linguistic landscape* (pp. 1-24). London: Palgrave Macmillan

Rubdy, R., & Said, S. B. (Eds.). (2015). *Conflict, exclusion and dissent in the linguistic landscape*. Springer.

Sabsay, L. (2016). 13 Permeable Bodies. In *Vulnerability in resistance* (pp. 278-302). USA: Duke University Press.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Said, B, S and Kasanga, L, A. (2016). The discourse of Protest: Frames of Identity, Intertextuality and interdiscursivity. In Lanza, E and Woldemariam, H (eds.), *Negotiating and Contesting identities in Linguistic Landscapes,* pp. 71– 78. London/ New York: Bloomsbury.

Scollon, R and Scollon, S (2007). Nexus analysis: Refocusing ethnography on action, *Journal of Sociolinguistics,* 11:5, pp. 608 – 625.

Scollon, R and Scollon, S. (2003). *Discourse in Place: Language in the Material World*. London: Routledge.

Seals, C. (2017). Analyzing the linguistic landscapes of mass – scale events. *Linguistic landscapes,* 3 (3), pp. 267 – 285.

Seals, C, A. (2011). Reinventing the linguistic landscape of a national protest. *Working papers of the Linguistic Circle of the University of Victoria* 21, pp190 – 202.

Seepe, S. (2017). Dismantling the false post – 1994 narrative, *New Agenda,* 60, pp. 9 – 11.

Shaikjee, M, and Stroud, C. (2017). Fanon in drag: Decoloniality in sociolinguistics? *Journal of Sociolinguistics,* 21 (3), pp. 371–396.

Sheller, M, and Urry, J. (2006) The new mobilities paradigm. *Environment and Planning A,* 38, pp. 207 – 226.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Shiri, S. (2015). Co-constructing dissent in the transient linguistic landscape: Multilingual protest signs of the Tunisian revolution. In *Conflict, exclusion and dissent in the linguistic landscape* (pp. 239-259). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Shohamy, E and Gorter, D. (eds.), 2009. *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery*. New York and London: Routledge

Shulman, G. (2011). On Vulnerability as Judith Butler's language of politics: From "Excitable Speech" to "precarious life", *Women's Studies Quarterly,* 39 (1/2), pp. 227 – 235.

Slembrouck, S. (2007). Transcription—the extended directions of data histories: a response to M. Bucholtz's' Variation in Transcription'. *Discourse Studies*, 9(6), pp. 822-827.

Soudien, C. (2001). Certainty and Ambiguity in youth identities in South Africa: Discourses in transition. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 22 (3), pp. 311 – 326.

Soudien, C. (2014). Bodies of language and languages of bodies: South African puzzles and opportunities In: Prinsloo M., Stroud C. (eds) *Educating for Language and Literacy Diversity*. Palgrave Advances in Language and Linguistics (pp. 206-215). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Steinberg, R. L. (2014). The Occupy Assembly: Discursive experiments in direct democracy. *Journal of Language and Politics,* Vol. 13 (4), pp. 702 – 731.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Stroud, C., Williams, Q., Bontiya, N., Harry, J., Kapa, K., Mayoma, J., Mpendukana, S., Peck, A., Richardson, J. and Roux, S., (2021). Talking parts, talking back: Fleshing out Linguistic Citizenship. *Trabalhos em Linguística Aplicada*, 59, pp.1636-1658.

Stroud, C. (2018). 1. Linguistic Citizenship. In *The Multilingual Citizen* (pp. 17-39). Multilingual Matters.

Stroud C, and Guissemo M. (2017). Linguistic Messianism: Multilingualism in Mozambique. In: Ebongue A., Hurst E. (eds.) (pp. 35 – 51), *Sociolinguistics in African Contexts*. Multilingual Education, vol 20. Switzerland: Springer,

Stroud, C and Williams, C. (2017). Multilingualism as utopia: Fashioning non-racial selves. *AILA Review 30,* pp. 167 – 188.

Stroud, C, and Heugh, K. (2016). *Language rights and linguistic citizenship* (pp. 198-225). Routledge.

Stroud, C. (2016). Turbulent Landscapes and the Semiotics of Citizenship. In Blackwood, R., E. Lanza and H Woldemariam (eds.) *Negotiating and Contesting Identities in Linguistic Landscapes*, (pp. 1 – 18). Bloomsbury: London and New York.

Stroud, C, and Jegels, D. (2014). Semiotic landscapes and mobile narrations of place: performing the local. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 228, pp. 179 – 199.

Luphondo, N. B., & Stroud, C. (2012). Deconstructing gender and sexuality discourses in “Brothers for Life”: A critical look at chronotopes of consumption in HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus*, 41, 41-58.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Stroud, C. (2010). A postliberal critique of language rights: Toward a politics of language for a linguistics of contact. In Petrovic, J. E. (Ed.). *International perspectives on bilingual education: policy, practice, and controversy*. IAP., pp. 191-218.

Stroud, C and Mpendukana, S. (2009). Towards a material ethnography of linguistic landscape: Multilingualism, mobility and space in a South African township. *Journal of Sociolinguistics,* 13 (3), pp. 363 – 386.

Stroud, C. (2001). African mother tongue programs and the politics of language: Linguistic citizenship versus linguistic human rights. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Developmen*t, 22 (4), pp. 339-355.

Spolsky, B. and Cooper, R. (1991). *The languages of Jerusalem*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Steyn, M (2004). Rehabilitating a whiteness disgraced: Afrikaner white talk in post-apartheid South Africa, *Communication Quarterly,* 52: 2, pp. 143 – 169.

Steyn, M, and Foster, D. (2008). Repertoires for talking white: Resistant whiteness in post-apartheid South Africa. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31(1), pp. 25-51.

Smith, T. L. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. UK: Zed Books.

Suransky, C, and Van der Merwe, J. C. (2016). Transcending apartheid in higher education: Transforming an institutional culture. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 19(3), pp. 577-597.

Szabo, T, P and Troyer, R, A. (2017). Inclusive ethnographies: Beyond the binaries of observer

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

and observed in linguistic landscape studies, *Linguistic Landscapes,* 3: 3, pp. 306 – 326.

Szerszynski, B, and Urry, J. (2006). Visuality, mobility and the cosmopolitan: inhabiting the world from afar. *The British journal of sociology*, 57 (1), pp. 113-131.

Tauri, M, J. (2014). Resisting condescending research ethics in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Alternative,* 10 (2), pp. 134 – 150.

Train, R. W. (2016). Connecting visual presents to archival pasts in multilingual California: Towards historical depth in Linguistic Landscape. *Linguistic Landscape*, *2*(3), pp. 223-24

Taylor-Leech, K. (2020). Timorese talking back: The semiotic construction of chronotopes in the Timor Sea protests. *Linguistic Landscape*, 6 (1), pp. 29-51.

Thornton, R. (1996). The potentials of boundaries in South Africa: steps towards a theory of the social edge. In: Werbner, R., Ranger, T. (Eds.), *Postcolonial Identities in Africa*. Zed Books, London, pp. 136–161.

Thurlow, C., & Jaworski, A. (2012). Elite mobilities: The semiotic landscapes of luxury and privilege. *Social Semiotics*, 22 (4), pp. 487-516.

Todd, J. D. (2021). Experiencing and embodying anxiety in spaces of academia and social research. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 28(4), pp. 475-496.

Trouillot, M. (2003). *Global Transformations: Anthropology and the modern world*. Palgrave Macmillan: New York.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Trumper- Hetch, N. (2010). Linguistic landscape in mixed cities in Israel from the perspective of 'walkers': The case of Arabic. In Elana Shohamy, Elizer Ben-Rafael & Monica Barni (eds.), *Linguistic Landscape in the city*, 235 – 251. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Tusting, K and Maybin, J (2007). Linguistic ethnography and interdisciplinarity: Opening the discussion. Journal of Sociolinguistics, 11 (5), pp. 575 – 583.

UCT Management (2016). *DVC Desk: Campus Update Released: 16h55, 16 February 2016.* https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2016-02-16-dvc-desk-campus-updatereleased-16h55-16-february-2016 retrieved on 1 August 2017.

Urciuoli, B. (2011). Discussion essay: Semiotic properties of racializing discourses. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 21 (1), pp. 113 – 122.

van Reenen, D. (2018). Communicative rationality in conflicted language ecologies post# RhodesMustFall at the University of the Free State. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 36 (1), pp. 59-71.

Veronelli, G. A. (2016). About the coloniality of language. *Universitas humanística*, (81), pp. 33-58.

Veronelli, G, A (2015). The coloniality of language: Race, expressivity, power, and the darker side of modernity, *Wagadu,* 13, pp. 108 – 134.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Vingron, N., Gullifer, J. W., Hamill, J., Leimgruber, J., & Titone, D. (2017). Using eye tracking to investigate what bilinguals notice about linguistic landscape images: A preliminary study. *Linguistic Landscape*, 3 (3), pp. 226-245.

Vrasti, W. (2013). Travelling with ethnography. In Mark, B.Salter and Can, E, Mutlu (eds.) *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies* (pp. 59-62). London and New York: Routledge.

Walker R, B, J. (2010). *After the Globe, before the World*. London: Routledge.

Wa Azania, M. (2014). *Memoirs of a born free: Reflections on the New South Africa by a Member of the Post- Apartheid Generation.*: New York, Oakland & London: Seven Stories Press

Walker, M. (2005). Race is nowhere and race is everywhere: narratives from black and white South African university students in post-apartheid South Africa. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 26 (1), pp. 41-54.

Wacquant, L. (2011). Habitus as topic and tool: Reflections on becoming a prize-fighter. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 8 (1), pp. 81-92.

Wee, L (2004). 'Extreme communicative acts' and the boosting of illocutionary force, *Journal of Pragmatics,* 36, pp. 2161 – 2178.

Wee, L. (2016). Situating affect in linguistic landscapes, *Linguistic Landscapes,* 2;2, pp. 105 – 126.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Wee, L., & Goh, R. B. (2019). *Language, space and cultural play: Theorising affect in the semiotic landscape*. Cambridge University Press.

Welcome, H. A. (2004). “White is right”: The utilization of an improper ontological perspective in analyses of black experiences. *Journal of African American Studies*, 8 (1), pp. 59-73.

Wilderson, F.B. (2008). Biko and the Problematic of Presence. In: Mngxitama A., Alexander A., Gibson N.C. (eds) *Biko Lives!. Contemporary Black History*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, pp. pp 95-114.

Williams, Q. E, and Stroud, C. (2014). Battling the Race: Stylizing Language and Coproducing Whiteness and Colouredness in a Freestyle Rap Performance. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 24 (3), pp.277-293.

Williams, Q.E, and Stroud, C. 2013. Multilingualism in transformative spaces: contact and conviviality. *Language Policy*, 12(4), pp. 289-311.

Williams, L., 1992. *Figures of desire: A theory and analysis of surrealist film*. University of California Press: Los Angeles.

Winant, H. (2000). Race and Race Theory. *Annual Review of Sociology,* 26, pp. 169 – 185.

Wise, A. (2005). Hope and Belonging in a Multicultural suburb. *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 26 (1- 2), pp. 171-186.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

Woldermaram, H. (2016). Linguistic Landscape as standing historical testimony of the struggle against colonization in Ethiopia. *Linguistic Landscape*, 2 (3), pp. 275 – 290.

Wynter, S. (2003). Unsettling the coloniality of being/power/truth/freedom: Towards the human, after man, its overrepresentation—An argument. *CR: The new centennial review*, 3 (3), pp. 257-337.

Xaba, W. (2017). Challenging Fanon: A Black radical feminist perspective on violence and the Fees Must Fall movement. *Agenda*, 31:3-4, pp. 96-104.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006). Theorizing identity: beyond 'us' and 'them' dichotomy, *Patterns of Prejudice,* 44 (3), pp. 261 – 280.

Zalewski, M. (1995). Well, what is the feminist perspective on Bosnia?. *International Affairs*, 71(2), pp. 339-356.

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/