

**Articulations of the media, migration and the urban in constructions of  
black African subjectivity in post-apartheid South Africa: A Decolonial  
Approach**

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**(216076988)**



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**INYUVESI  
YAKWAZULU-NATALI**

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**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy in the Discipline of Media and Cultural Studies, School of Arts  
in the College of Humanities, University of KwaZulu-Natal  
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**2022**

# Declaration

I, **Khanyile J Mlotshwa**, declare that

1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.
2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
4. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:
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Khayile Joseph Mlotshwa

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1-08-2021

**Date**

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**Date**

## **Dedication**

I dedicate this work to Qiniso Qinisela Masuku, my wife, to Nqabayezwe Mlotshwa and Ayanda Nkosinhle Mlotshwa, my sons. You have been with me in every step of this journey. In many ways, you have equally paid the price of undertaking this research. You share the pain and struggle of writing each one of the words in here.

I dedicate this work to my niece, Nozithelo Mlilo, who died in a car crash on her way to Zimbabwe from Johannesburg in December 2018. Your death made me realise how all of us travellers on that road are migrants and our lives are precarious. You did not die because you are weak, my darling. You died because death always wants the strong.

I dedicate this work to Valeria and Oscar Martinez Ramirez, two-year old daughter and 25-years-old father who drowned on the Rio Grande River at the US-Mexican border in June 2019. The image of your lifeless bodies has refused to leave me. The pain I carry at the sight of that picture reminds me that if colonial globalisation, to borrow Marx's words "comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt," then there is always another globalisation of tears that restores our humanity.

I dedicate this work to all the migrants, all over the world. I say, as much as we did not choose this life, what is important is that, in Marx's words "the point is to change it".

## Abstract

This study enacts a decolonial Media and Cultural Studies. Rather than think in terms of what the media as technologies of culture ideally ought to do, the thesis focuses on what the media have historically done in South Africa. This epistemic delinking from a Media and Cultural studies that proceed from liberal pluralist normative assumptions locates representation at the centre of what the media have historically done in colonised and postcolonial parts of the world. The study embraces the constructivist approach to representation. Here representation is seen as emerging out of modernity and playing a constitutive role in contemporary postcolonial culture (Lloyd, 2019; Webb, 2009; Colebrook, 2000; Hall, 1997). Culture then occupies a similar space to the economy and material conditions in shaping historical events and social subjectivities (Hall, 1997). Media and Cultural Studies emerged in South Africa in the 1960s as a terrain for conversations and debates between British and Afrikaner viewpoints (Tomaselli, 2002; De Beer and Tomaselli, 2000). Historically, in both media practice and media studies, the black African subject has always been represented, that is spoken *about* and spoken *for* (Webb, 2009; Alcoff, 1991; Spivak, 1988). Decolonising Media and Cultural studies, then, partly means exploring this ‘visible’ black absence. In the postapartheid moment, western theory and methods have continued to be hegemonic. To explore this coloniality, this thesis puts representation at the centre of Media and Cultural Studies historically tracing the media’s articulations to its broader context that includes migration, the border and urbanity. The study theoretically stages a conversation between postcolonial studies, decolonial studies, black studies, Marxism, and other variants of critical theory. Located in the debates between Cultural Studies and critical political economy approaches to the study of culture, this research combines ethnography and textual analysis. Texts include 18 news stories taken from the *Independent On line (IOL)*, *News24* and the isiZulu *Ilanga* newspaper and in-depth interviews are analysed through discourse and ideology analysis. Eleven images, including 5 photojournalism and 6 photographs taken during the ethnographic field work, are analysed through semiotics analysis. The black African subject who emerges tethered to global colonial capital as a racialised colonial labourer, serf and slave still emerges in the contemporary articulations of the media, border and urban discourses as a precarious colonial labourer, illegalised, violent, dead, a non-being and an ethnicised national subject.

## Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to the University of KwaZulu Natal that gave me a three years' fee remission that allowed me to research and write this dissertation. I am equally grateful to Canon Collins Trust, who, once again, gave me a scholarship that allowed me to live and study in South Africa. I would not have started on this degree without the assistance of Canon Collins Trust. Thank you, Eva Lewanicka. I would also like to thank the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, who funded part of my data collection through the Young African Scholars programme. Thank you so much Nyeleti.

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Nicola Jones, who made me feel comfortable and at home at the UKZN. In the early days, studying at the UKZN seemed somewhat a lonely process but I have been assured by her presence and the presence of other lecturers in the department like Dr. Sandra Pitcher, Dr. Fiona Jackson and Dr. Claire Scott, that UKZN is not lonely after all. Opportunities to tutor have exposed me to the intellectual culture at this university. I would like to thank Mrs. Debbie Bowens who has assisted me greatly, especially around navigating the administrative side of studying at the UKZN.

I would also like to thank Prof. Elizabeth Cobbett of the University of East Anglia who assisted me a lot in thinking and shaping my proposal especially on the urban studies aspect. I would also like to thank Dr. Wendy Willems at the London School of Economics, who assisted me in thinking and shaping my proposal, especially the media studies aspect. She pointed me to postcolonial media studies literature.

In the course of my studies, I attended a number of conferences around the world and met a number of people who have shaped my thinking in different ways. I am grateful to the many people I have interacted with in the past three years. I would like to especially thank Dr. Jethro Mpofu, Dr Shepherd Mpofu, and Dr Khangelani Moyo, among the people that I met at numerous conferences, who have in many ways affirmed my thinking. I have written for a number of journals and books and would like to thank the editors and the reviewers who, in some instances, have made me clarify my thoughts.

I would like to thank my family especially my wife, Qiniso, and my son Nqabayezwe, who have kept me sane through everything. I would like to thank my brothers in Johannesburg, Fikile Mhlanga and wife, Sukoluhle Sibanda, Sifundo Mhlanga and wife, Methuseli Mhlanga, Nsikelelo Mlotshwa and Nduduzo Mlotshwa. I would like to thank Pinkie Ncube, Mhlekezzi, malume, Marabha, etc). I would like to thank my sisters, uSenzeni Mlilo, Ntando Nsingo, Mandlenkosi Mkwanazi, their husbands and their children, for all the moral support that they have given me. I would like to thank Faith Ndlovu and her husband, my brother, Bongani Ndlovu; thank you so much. I would like to thank Nhlalisano Mlotshwa and wife, Mrs. Julie Mlotshwa and their children for all the love. I would like to thank my brother Blessings Mlala for all the support.

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## **Glossary of terms and concepts**

This thesis uses various concepts drawn mainly from Cultural Studies, postcolonial studies, and decolonial studies. These concepts are briefly explained below:

**Articulation:** Hall argues that articulation is “the form of the connection that can make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions. It is a linkage which is not necessary, determined, absolute and essential for all time” (1986b:53). For Slack, articulation as a theory allows one to think about the world without falling into either of the twin pitfalls of reductionism and essentialism (1996: 113). Articulation emphasises “a theory of contexts” (Grossberg, 1993:4). As a method, articulation facilitates an understanding of “what a cultural study does” providing a way of “‘contextualising’ the object of analysis” (Slack, 1996: 113).

**Coloniality:** Coloniality refers to patterns of power that emerge at the end of colonialism defining culture, labour, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production (Maldonado Torres, 2007: 243). It is the “technologies of imperialism and colonial matrices of power that continue to exist in the minds, lives, languages, dreams, imaginations, and epistemologies of modern subjects in Africa” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013: 11).

**Colonial present:** The ‘colonial presence’ refers to “the performative force of colonial modernity” (Gregory 2004: 4). Gregory, further, points out that, “while they may be displaced, distorted, and (most often) denied, the capacities that inhere within the colonial past are routinely reaffirmed and reactivated in the colonial present” (Gregory, 2004: 7).

**Creolisation:** Creolisation is the close reading of one theorist through another bringing sets of theoretical approaches into conversation “to allow us to move past the obsolescence of Euro-American theory” (Lionnet and Shih; 2011: 2; Gordon and Roberts, 2015: 2).

**Decoloniality:** Decoloniality can be classified as critical theory emerging in the colonies and ex-colonies (Mignolo, 2007:155). Decoloniality critiques coloniality, postcoloniality and the colonial present exposing its hierarchisation of people on a racialised and gendered sliding scale (Quijano, 2007; Giraldo, 2016:157).

**Diaspora:** The concept of diaspora refers to painful experiences of the scattering of a people (Cohen, 1992: 159). It must not be treated as an object of analysis but, “a condition of subjectivity [...] marked by the contingencies of long histories of displacements and genealogies of dispossession” (Cho, 2007: 11). The diaspora is linked to histories of colonialism and imperialism and is overdetermined by issues of processes of race and processes of racialization (Cho, 2007: 14; Martinez-San, 2014: 1).

**Discourse** - a Foucauldian approach focuses on discourses as “ways of looking at the world, of constructing objects and concepts in certain ways” (Baker and McEneaney, 2015: 4–5). Hall argues that discourse is “a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment. ... Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language” (Hall, 1992: 291).

**Ideology** – The concept of ideology can be traced back to Marx (Thompson, 1990: 28 - 29). Thompson, who conceptualises ideology as ‘meaning in the service of power’, offers two conceptions of ideology: the neutral and the critical. The neutral conceptions do not suggest that ideology is misleading or illusory (Thompson, 1990: 53). The critical conception posits that ideology is implicated in ways that meaning is mobilized to serve power (Thompson, 1990: 56).

**Intersectionality:** Within an intersectional lens, race, class, gender, nation, sexuality, ethnicity, age, and other forms of social hierarchy are theorised as structuring one another as multiple forms of subordination (Crenshaw, 1991; Collins, 2013; hooks, 1984; McCall, 2005). This interaction of multiple systems of oppression and discrimination was first highlighted by Kimberle Crenshaw in 1989 and taken up by Patricia Hill Collins in the 1990s.

**Modernity** - According to Hall, Held and McLennan, modernity is the “distinct and unique form of social life” characterizing modern societies that began emerging in Europe and coalesced in the 18<sup>th</sup> century around Enlightenment (1992: 2). It was an articulation of a number of different historical processes and circumstances leading to the rise of the secular state and polity, the global capitalist economy, classes and a complex sexual and social

division of labour and the transition from a religious to a secular culture (Hall, Held and McLennan, 1992: 3).

**Normative concepts of media:** Normative concepts of journalism are an ‘ideal’ set of theories about what the press should do in relation to larger claims about the good society, and focuses on communication arrangements and how they relate to civic ideals (Benson, 2008:2591-92). Christian, et al, argue that normative concepts of the media are a reasoned explanation of how discourse should be conducted for any community or nation to arrive at solutions to its challenges (2009:65).

**Postcoloniality:** Hall defines the postcolonial as the conjunctural moment when “the crisis of the uncompleted struggle for ‘decolonisation’ and the crisis of the ‘post-independence’ state” are both inscribed (Hall, 1996: 224).

**Public sphere:** Dahlgren argues that the public sphere is the idea that “information, ideas and debate can circulate in society” (Dahlgren, 1995:ix). Habermas (1974) has described the public sphere as that space out of state influence, the “realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed” (Habermas, 1974: 49). The public sphere is ideally characterised by equality. It is this last assertion on equality that is contested (Mouffe, 1999).

**Representation:** Ordinarily, representation is something substitutes or stand in for something else and is a political issue underwritten by power (Webb, 2009: 2). Hall locates representation in culture and language (1997: 1). In the constructionist approach representation is the “very constitution of things” and not their mere reflection (Hall, 1997: 6).

**Subject and subjectivity:** The idea of the subject comes into human history at the dawn of Enlightenment and modernity. Webb notes that “the idea of the subject ... is to say people: me, you, and everyone else in the world” (2009: 63). The idea of subjectivity refers to the space of the self, the self and the factors contributing to the constitution of the self and its agency in the world (Corner, 2011: 86).

## List of abbreviations

|        |   |  |
|--------|---|--|
| ADF    | - | African Diaspora Foundation                          |
| ANC    | - | African National Congress                            |
| BCM    | - | Black Consciousness Movement                         |
| BLM    | - | Black Lives Matter                                   |
| BSAC   | - | British South Africa Company                         |
| CBD    | - | Commercial Business District                         |
| CCCS   | - | Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies             |
| CSOs   | - | Civil Society Organisations                          |
| DEIC   | - | Dutch East India Company                             |
| DRC    | - | Democratic Republic of Congo                         |
| EFF    | - | Economic Freedom Fighters                            |
| FMF    | - | Fees Must Fall                                       |
| HRC    | - | Human Rights Commission                              |
| IFP    | - | Inkatha Freedom Party                                |
| IOL    | - | Independent On Line                                  |
| KZN    | - | KwaZulu-Natal  |
| JCI    | - | Johannesburg Consolidated Investment                 |
| MK     | - | Umkhonto Wesizwe                                     |
| MMDA   | - | Media Development and Diversity Agency               |
| NAFCOC | - | National African Federation Chamber of Commerce      |
| NCOP   | - | National Council of Provinces                        |
| NEHAWU | - | National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union |
| NP     | - | National Party                                       |
| NRF    | - | National Research Fund                               |
| NUS    | - | National Union of Students (UK)                      |
| PAC    | - | pan Africanist Congress                              |
| RMF    | - | Rhodes Must Fall                                     |
| RMFO   | - | Rhodes Must Fall Oxford                              |

|        |   |  |
|--------|---|--|
| SAAN   | - | South African Associated Newspapers    |
| SABC   | - | South African Broadcasting Corporation |
| SACP   | - | South African Communist Party          |
| SANNC  | - | South African native National Congress |
| SAPA   | - | South African Press Agency             |
| SAPS   | - | South African Police Services          |
| SAHRC  | - | South African Human Rights Commission  |
| SIM    | - | Sekunjalo Independent Media            |
| SOWETO | - | South Western Townships                |
| TRC    | - | Truth and Reconciliation Commission    |
| UDF    | - | United Democratic Front                |
| UCT    | - | University of Cape Town                |
| UKZN   | - | University of KwaZulu Natal            |
| UN     | - | United Nations                         |
| UNISA  | - | University of South Africa             |
| US     | - | United States                          |

## Key dates and timelines

**1497 – 1498** – Vasco da Gama voyages around the Cape of Good Hope (Thompson, 2001: 1).

**1602** – The Dutch East India Company (DEIC) is founded. The company would grow to have a monopoly on trade throughout Asia, especially in spices, cloves, cinnamon and pepper. It amasses 150 merchant vessels and 40 warships effectively becoming “a state within the state” (Lapierre, 2008: 5).

**1652** – Jan van Riebeeck arrives in the Cape of Good Hope with a group of other Dutchmen sent by the Dutch East India Company to establish a refreshing station on the route to India (Feinstein, 2005:1).

**1779 – 1850** – wars of dispossession between the Khoi and Xhosa, on one hand, and the settlers, on another (Feinstein, 2005: 33).

**16 August 1800** – First newspapers, *Cape Town Gazette* and the *African Advertiser*, published in Cape Town by George Yonge, Alexander Walker and John Robertson, “renowned for being corrupt slave dealers” (Wigston, 2007: 28).

**1835 – 1840s** – The great trek of the Boers into the Highveld as a result of differences with the English. By 1843, some 12 000 Boers had left the Cape of Good Hope (Feinstein, 2005: 30).

**1837** – Assisted immigration that resettled about 5 000 artisans and labourers in the Cape of Good Hope from the UK to boost the population of the colony (Feinstein, 2005).

**1838** – Boer trekkers set up a republic in Natal with their own port in what today is called Durban (Feinstein, 2005: 30).

**1843** – British take over the Natal colony (Feinstein, 2005: 30 - 31).

**1848 – 1851** – About 4 000 British immigrants assisted to settle in Natal “in order to secure the development of British interests in that coastal area” (Feinstein, 2005: 31).

**1852** – British recognise an independent Boer state in the North of the Vaal River.

**1854** – Bloemfontein Convention that put to rest attempts by the British to maintain their rule over the territory between the Orange and the Vaal River. The Bloemfontein Convention

“effectively divided South Africa into two British colonies and two Boer Republics until Union in 1910” (Feinstein, 2005: 31).

**1857** – A group of Germans, allies of the British in the Crimean war, assisted to settle in farms around the Cape of Good Hope (Feinstein, 2005: 28).

**1858 – 1859** – Settlers reinforced with some 2 300 agricultural labourers from Germany (Feinstein, 2005: 28).

**1860** – Boer settlements – Potchefstroom, Lydenburg and Schoemansdal – combined to form the South African Republic or Transvaal (Feinstein, 2005: 31).

**1870s** – Settler occupation of land accelerated.

**1870s** – Mining increases with a small group of skilled technicians and mechanics recruited from Europe supervising about 10 000 Africans (Feinstein, 2005: 62).

**Late 1800s** – Diamond and gold discovered in the Transvaal area (Feinstein, 2005).

**1800s** – Introduction of the migrant labour system (Delius, 2017; de Vletter, 1985).

**1810** - Shaka assumes kingship of the Zulu people (Wright, 2014: 7).

**1880s** – Colonial authorities standardised the ‘Closed compound system’ (Feinstein, 2005: 62).

**1880s – 1930s** – Emergence of the black press out of the ashes of the missionary press (Horwitz, 2004: 48).

**1884 – 1885** – Berlin Conference that carved Africa into different slices parcelled to different European powers.

**September 1836** – Johannesburg evolves from a gold mining camp into an official municipality (Kruger, 2013: 2).

**1860s** – Development of diamond fields.

**1867** – First township established around Kimberly after the discovery of diamonds (Bond, 2008).

**1881** – Pretoria Convention that later established the Beit bridge signed (Olson and Shaddle, 1991: 367).

**1884** – London Convention that replaced the Pretoria Convention promulgated (Olson and Shaddle, 1991: 367). The London Convention drew and set the boundaries of South African Republic at that time, the Transvaal Republic (Moyo, 2016: 428).

**1886** – Gold discovered in the area accelerating the transformation of the South African economy (MacKinnon, 2012: 173). The discovery of gold marked the emergence of townships as spaces to house “inexpensive migratory labour” (Bond, 2008: 405).

**1856** – First Argus newspaper published, *The Cape Argus*.

**1871 – 1875** – Estimated 50 000 Africans found work at the diamond mines. Men came from as far as Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique to work at the mines.

**1888** – Cape Argus merges with *The Star*, a Johannesburg daily leading to the formation of the Argus Printing and Publishing Company Limited. Through acquisitions, the company bought *Natal Daily News*, Transvaal Newspaper Limited, *Diamond Field Advertiser*, *The Pretoria News*, and the Friend Newspaper Limited (Horwitz, 2004: 37).

**1895** – The Chamber of Mines cobble up a law to give itself unfettered control over recruited labour and force the people’s Assembly to pass the law, which effectively introduced the pass (Feinstein, 2005: 64).

**1902** – Founding of the *Rand Daily Mail*.

**1906** – Founding of the *Sunday Times*.

**1910** – The formation of the South African Union through the joining together of the four colonies.

**1910** – regional pressure groups give way to the South African native national Congress (SANNC), which later became the ANC in 1912 (Limb, 2000: 83 – 84).

**1910 – 1994** – The Union of South Africa comprised of four provinces, that is, Cape, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State (Feinstein, 2005: xx).

**1911** – Native labour Regulation Act introduced.

**1912** – The ANC is founded by the middle and working class as “the first serious attempt to establish a national organisation to address the political and economic situation of the oppressed black population of South Africa” (McKinley, 2018: 28).

**1913** – Conquest and land disposessions reach climax with the promulgation of the Natives Land Act (Feinstein, 2005: 40).

**1920** – Argus and SAAN make an agreement “not to compete directly” (Horwitz, 2004: 38). This creates an oligopolistic media market. The oligopoly controls English language dailies and nearly all of the English Sunday newspapers, accounting for 77 percent of the total circulation by 1968 (Potter, 1975: 50).

**1929** - The Beit bridge built on Limpopo River and is named after Alfred Beit, founder of the De Beers Diamond Mining Company and director of many companies, including the British South Africa Company (BSAC) and Rhodesia Railways (Maredi, 2014).

**Early 1930s** – Argus Group sets up the Bantu Press.

**1932** – Argus’ Bantu Press founds the newspaper, *Bantu World* (Horwitz, 2004: 52).

**1932** – Argus, SAAN and Cape Times join hands with the British news agency to form the Reuter South African Press Agency (Horwitz, 2004: 38).

**1938** – Reuter South African Press Agency became the South African Press Agency (SAPA).

1940s – The “proletarianisation and industrialisation” leads to rapid urbanisation in South Africa (Lodge, 1983: viii).

**1948** – National Party seizes power in an election that year.

**1950** – Group Areas Act promulgated. Together with the Land Act of 1913, this piece of legislation created numerous townships (Bond, 2008). In the same year, the Suppression of Communism Act was promulgated.

**1950s** – Emergence of the *Drum* magazine, a monthly publication, and *Golden City Post*, a tabloid newspaper, focusing on black life (Horwitz, 2004).

**1955** – Black people came up with the Freedom Charter.

**1955** - Formation of the South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) through the merger of Rand Daily Mail Limited and the Sunday Times syndicate (Horwitz, 2004: 38). The group comprised of the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Times*.

**9 August 1956** – Women in South Africa march to Pretoria, the seat of government, to express their protest over the situation in the country.

**1960** – Sharpeville Massacre.

**1964** – Argus group takes over the *Golden City Post*.

**16 June 1976** – Soweto Uprising.

**1977** – Bantu World banned after covering the Soweto Uprising and moving towards a Black Consciousness viewpoint (Horwitz, 2004: 53).

**1980** – *Golden City Post* runs a ‘Release Mandela’ petition for several months on its pages (Lodge, 1983). It is banned. Argus Group launches *The Sowetan* to replace the banned *Golden City Post*.

**1984** – Naspers buys *City Press*, *Drum* and *True Love* (Horwitz, 2004).

**1994** – South holds first multi-race elections that swept the ANC into power and ushered in freedom for the majority black people, marking the end of apartheid.

**1994** – The four provinces become nine provinces (Western Cape, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Limpopo, North West, KwaZulu-Natal, and Free State).

## **Publications from this research**

### *Journal and book chapters*

Mlotshwa, K. 2021. “Marxist theory, decoloniality, and black African subjectivity.” In Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S., J., and Ndlovu, M. Ed(s). 2021. *Marxism and decolonization in the 21st century. Living theories and true ideas.* London: Routledge, Pp. 109 – 125.

Mlotshwa, K., J. 2020. “What ‘African diaspora’ in Africa?: The dialectics of Afrophobia and cultural creolisation in postapartheid Johannesburg, South Africa.” In Henrich, E., and Dellios, A. Ed(s). 2020. *Diasporic, migrant and multicultural heritage.* London and New York: Routledge, Pp. 133 – 147.

Mlotshwa, K. 2019. “Emotions of belonging and playing families across borders in Sub-Saharan Africa”. In Fox Bianca. Ed. 2019. *Emotions and loneliness in a networked society.* Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, Pp 223 – 238

### *Presentations*

Mlotshwa, K. 2019. “African diaspora community in Johannesburg and the memory of the African struggle”. Presented at the Memory in Africa: Transcultural Dimensions Conference, 17 – 19 October 2019, Convened by the Africa chapter of the Memory Studies Association, at the University of Pretoria (UP), Pretoria, South Africa.

Mlotshwa, K., and Jones, N. 2019. “Gender, migrant labour and discourses of citizenship in postapartheid South Africa”. Presented at the South African Communications Association (Sacomm) Conference, 28 – 30 August 2019, Convened by the Sacomm at the University of Cape Town (UCT), Cape Town, South Africa.

Mlotshwa, K. 2019. “Living at the borders within the metropolis”. Presented at the Intra-Regional Migration in Africa: Logics, Practices and Challenges Summer School, 23 – 28 May 2019, Convened by Merian Institute for Advanced Studies in Africa (MIASA), at the University of Ghana, Accra, Ghana.

Mlotshwa, K. 2019. “Xenophobia and the violence of representation in postapartheid South Africa”. Presented at the Young African Scholars Programme Workshop, 5 – 9 April 2019, Convened by the Harry Guggenheim Foundation at the Codesria, Dakar, Senegal.

Mlotshwa, K. 2018. “Brain drain or progress?: A postcolonial and decolonial consideration of the link between migration and development in rural Southern Zimbabwe.” Presented at the 7<sup>th</sup> PhD Conference on International Development, 8- 9 November 2018, organised by the Institute of Development Research and Development Policy (IEE), at Ruhr-University, Bochum, Germany.

# Maps

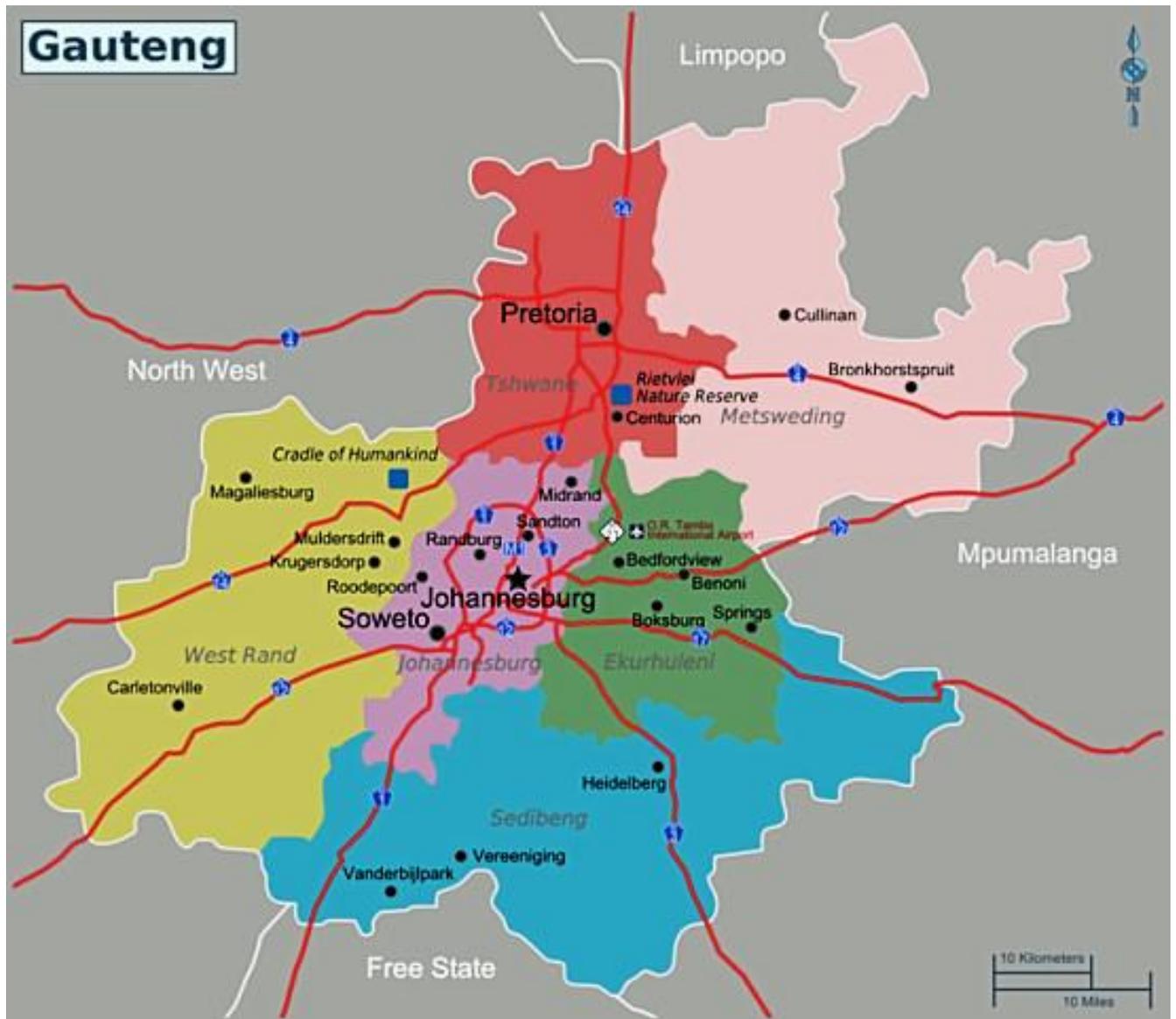


Map of Africa (Geology.com)

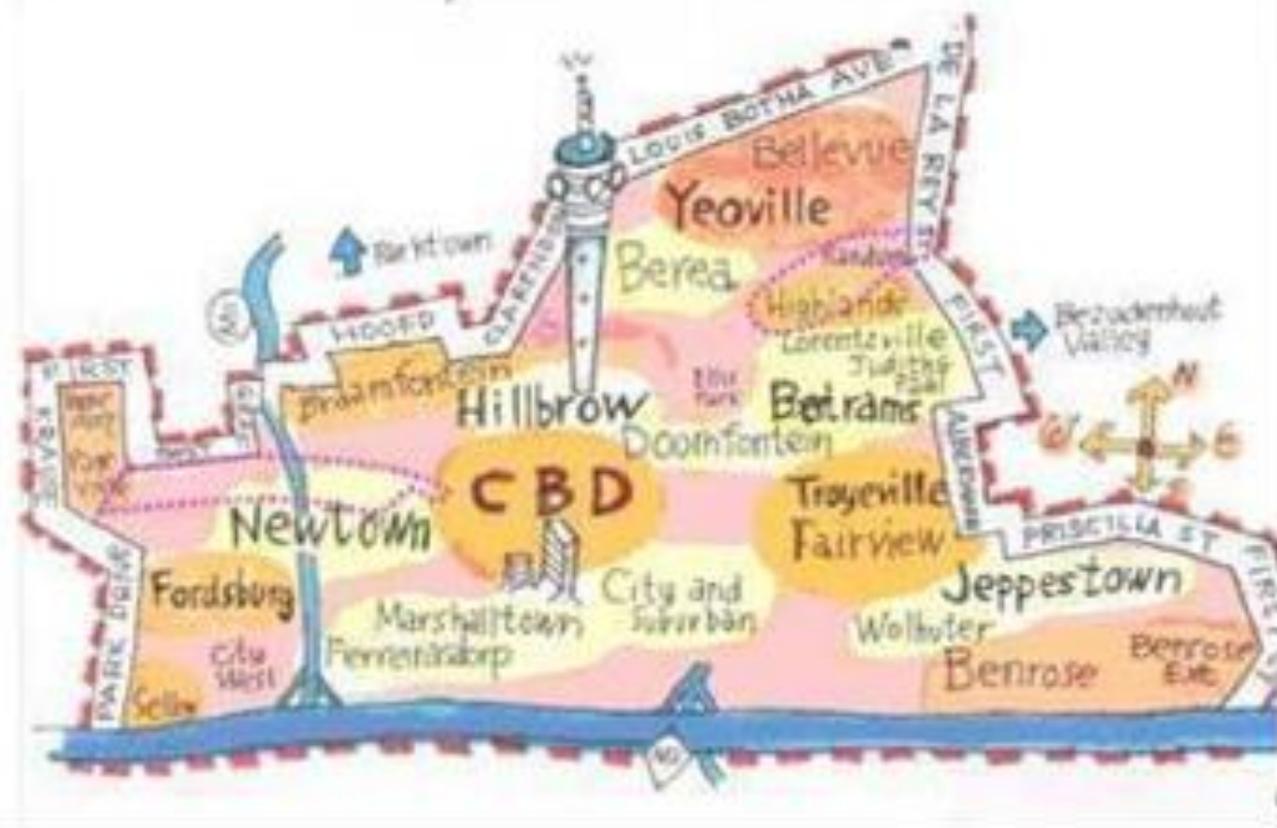


Base 803038AI (C00827) 1-05

Map of South Africa (<https://mapcruzin.com/free-south-africa-maps.htm>)



Map of Gauteng province (<https://www.south-africa-tours-and-travel.com/map-of-johannesburg-south-africa.html>)



Inner city Johannesburg – Yeoville, Berea and Hillbrow (©The Social Housing Foundation)

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# Introduction

“Instead, any talk about objectivity, necessity, or essentiality must be under-a-description, hence historically located, socially situated and “a product” of revisable, agreed-upon human conventions which reflect particular needs, social interests, and political powers at a specific moment in history” – (Cornell West, 1991: 67).

“These calls to “internationalize” and “dewesternize” media and communication studies, however, appeared to be more about extending the coverage of academic inquiry on media and communication to countries not ordinarily included in the Western canon than about questioning the centrality of Western theory” (Willems, 2014: 416).

“Western intellectual grand narratives, though themselves conflicted, often assume that the Rest think the same, or should do, live the same, or should do, and make sense in the way they do, or should do” (Tomaselli, 2018: vii).

## 0.1. Introduction

The articulations of migration, the urban, the media and (media and cultural studies) scholarship in representing and constructing the black African subject as a body expelled from citizenship in postapartheid South Africa has deeper historical roots. Non-citizenship is among many other abject subject positions that black Africans occupy in this long history. Articulation is “the form of the connection that can make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions” (Hall, 1986: 53). It is a way of “thinking the structures” that we take as unities as “a play of correspondences, non-correspondences and contradictions” (Slack, 2006: 113, *see* Grossberg, 1992: 54). This linkage is not necessary and absolute but is “under certain historical conditions” (Hall, 1986:53). This thesis deals with the linkages between the media, migration, the urban and scholarship in representing and constructing the black African subject as expelled from citizenship under postapartheid conditions. This articulation is further discussed in the next section. The postapartheid conditions are taken as a form of postcolonial conditions where both colonial and apartheid conditions still subsist (Hook, 2013). Refusing to define the postcolonial in teleological terms as a time that comes at the end of colonialism, Hall argues it is the conjunctural moment “in which both the crisis of the uncompleted struggle for ‘decolonisation’ and the crisis of the ‘post-independence’ state are deeply inscribed” (Hall, 1996: 224). The black African subject that emerges at both the colonial and apartheid moments as a racialised migrant labourer living at the edges of the city persists in the postapartheid moment.

This thesis builds on strides made in qualitative research and critical theory to further put the humanities in crisis through, not only questioning western theory and methods, but decolonising them. Following Marx's observation that the point is to change the world, I argue that for a long time now compelling arguments have been made about the coloniality and whiteness of knowledge production, the point is to decolonise it. What the thesis does is to decolonise media research through shifting theoretical and methodological resources in the study of the representation of black African subjectivity in selected news reports in post-apartheid South Africa. In the first three chapters the thesis sets out to reveal the coloniality of media studies and lay out a decolonised theoretical framework for the study of the media. It also traces the intersection of practices around the media, migration and urbanity in the discursive construction of black African subjectivity in post-apartheid South Africa. This case study challenges the hegemonic narrative of black-of-black violence as the single narrative around xenophobia and account for gaps between 'officialised' narratives and subaltern narratives of black African subjects in postcolonial Johannesburg. After the theoretical and methodological articulation, the thesis analyses 12 English stories, six isiZulu stories and presents data collected from the field. These three chapters are mostly descriptive. This data is then brought together and analysed in chapter 8 to reveal the coloniality of representation and the points of resistance. The last chapter before the conclusion argues a case for a decolonial media and cultural studies.

This introductory chapter serves as an introduction and briefly delineates conceptual issues, the research problem, the research questions and the significance of the study. It is set up in such a way that after discussing the articulations of the media, the urban, migration, scholarship and black subjectivity, it outlines the research problem, objectives and the research questions. The background section describes the context of the study proffering a brief history of the three media platforms – *Independent on Line (IOL)*, *News24* and *Ilanga* – where the journalism texts discussed are taken from. This sub-section also contextualises the ethnographic study field which is Johannesburg, South Africa's commercial capital, the media and cultural context in South Africa and my position as a researcher explaining how I came to this particular study. The key conceptual issues discussed in this chapter include the coloniality/decoloniality, the postcolonial and the colonial present; representation and subjectivity; and decolonising methodologies.

## **0.2. The media, the urban, migration, scholarship and black subjectivity**

A 1999 inquiry into racism in the media by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) concluded that the media in the country, “reflect a persistent pattern of racist expressions, [...], persistent racist stereotypes, racial insensitivity” and that South African media “can be characterised as racist institutions” (SAHRC, 2000: 89). This raised debate in academic circles. Academics argued that the research was flawed (Berger, 2001; Tomaselli, 2000). However, these academics also pointed out that the shortcomings of the research did not mean that the media in South Africa are not racist. Some scholars even argued that that the media in South Africa have actively deployed elaborate discursive strategies to deny its racism (Durrheim, Quayle, Whitehead and Kriel, 2005; Wasserman, 2010). The Truth and Reconciliation (TRC) hearings heard how in the pre-1994 period, the media colluded with the apartheid system. The racism of the media in South Africa can be regarded as its birth mark. The first newspapers in South Africa, *Cape Town Gazette* and *African Advertiser*, were published on 16 August 1800 by George Yonge, Alexander Walker and John Robertson, described as “renowned for being corrupt slave dealers” (Wigston, 2007: 28). For slave dealers, black bodies were things and commodities at the marketplace (Fanon, 1963; Cesaire, [1952]/1972).

Partly, this thesis makes a case for the coloniality of the urban in postapartheid South Africa through a historicised account of how urban spaces in South Africa emerge in the crucible of a history of racial inequalities, class inequalities, spatial inequalities and brutality in the governance of the poor blacks. This urban authoritarianism dates back to the colonial and apartheid moments. To start with, the urban space appears as alienating to the black man at the colonial moment where the black body laboured to build cities from which it was expelled. The 1913 Natives Land Act and the events it precipitated were central to the subjectivation of the black African subject as expelled and alienated from the city. The historico-legal developments such as the Natives Urban Act of 1923 and the Natives Urban Areas Consolidated Act of 1945 as racialized legal instruments, including apartheid, were “inextricably bound up with urbanization” in South Africa (Smith, 1992: 2; Miraftab and Kudva, 2015; Kruger, 2013; Dyzenhaus, 1991: 37; Dugard, 1978: 422). The black subject’s appearance in the city, as a labourer invited at the pleasure of capital, is both gendered

and racialised and characterised by racial segregation and ‘separate development’ (Murray, 2011: xi, see Biko, 2017: 88).

Urbanisation emerges tied to the migrant labour system inaugurated in the 1800s by governing colonial authorities and capital. This migration between colonial and later apartheid South Africa, on one hand, and the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, on the other hand, subsisted under conditions of global capitalism. Although unwelcome in the cities, this migrant labour from places both internal and external to South Africa was central to the building of these cities. Xulu (2013) takes seriously the idea that in the context of capitalist globalization and the co-option of South Africa into global capitalism under colonization almost all black workers are migrant labourers. She cites Wolpe (1972) who makes a link and continuity in the “ideological foundations of apartheid” especially with regard to “the African reserves and the African migrant labour” (1972, 289). All migrant workers including those from South African reserves were treated as foreigners in the urban areas and mining areas (Xulu, 2013). The genealogy of the migrant labourer can be traced back to the farm labourers of the 1700s at the time of conquests and land dispossessions and mapped ahead to the present African migrants engaged in precarious jobs in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and many of the postapartheid cities. A former editor of the Cosatu magazine, Dominic Tweedie, argues that the South African working class comes from a lot of different countries in the African continent (In Hlatshwayo 2010, 7; Fine, 2010, 330). Central to the exploitation and exclusion of this working class is illegalisation of migration sanctioned by authorities and capital (De Genova, 2002). The use of colonial demarcations agreed to by the European powers at the Berlin Conference of 1884 – 1885 persist influencing how “postcolonial governments open and close borders for particular people” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018: 25; Klotz, 2016: 180).

### **0.3. Research Problem, objectives and research questions**

This coloniality of the media and representation, the urban space and migration labour is linked to the coloniality of knowledge production in South Africa. Compared to other parts of the continent, Southern Africa, in general, and South Africa, in particular are latecomers in the decolonial efforts to rehabilitate knowledge production. When making a case for the genealogy of decolonial African thought, Ndlovu-Gatsheni notes that the very beginning of the university in West Africa was marked by resistance against the European model of a university in the continent with people like

Edward Wilmot Blyden of Liberia and James Africanus Beale Horton of Sierra Leone, and J.E. Casely Hayford of Ghana agitating and fighting for a university “rooted in African cultural and intellectual soil and climate” against the “university in Africa” which would be “transplanted from Europe” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2017: 55, Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2020: 8). In South Africa under colonial and apartheid rule the university developed as segregated into white and black (African) (Belluigi and Thondhlana, 2019; Sennett, Finchilescu and Strauss, 2003). It was further segregated into Afrikaans and English. In the postapartheid moment, education academics have been seized with researching how black students are adapting in formerly white universities (Sennett, Finchilescu and Strauss, 2003). The possibility of such research in the postapartheid moment shows that nothing has changed. The universities are still white and black bodies have to adapt in these white institutions. Besides the transformational challenges around management and the general university culture, there are outstanding issues in terms of research and the actual knowledge production. The enduring methodological whiteness at South African universities, be they formerly black or white universities still remains largely unfronted. According to Bhambra (2017), methodological whiteness is failure to acknowledge the role played by race in the structuring of the modern world and the ways in which knowledge is constructed and legitimated in this world. In methodological whiteness, the whiteness of the world and the academy becomes invisible because it is taken as the standard state of affairs (Bhambra, 2017). The white experience becomes a universal perspective where other perspectives are dismissed as identity politics.

### **0.3.1. Research problem**

South Africa has a long heritage of western critical media and cultural studies (Salawu, 2013). This scholarship has also grappled with transformation in the media and the crisis of representation in postapartheid South Africa, among other topics, from both critical western theories and feminist perspectives (Haupt, 2013; Steenveld, 2012; Steenveld, 2004). This debate on transformation in the media sector is linked to the broader debates on transformation in the whole country although media studies rarely make that link. Berger (1999) has argued that there are specific issues essential to a thorough analysis of media transformation in South Africa including the legal environment, media ownership, representativity, content and conceptions of media role, and audiences. However, Boloka and Krabil argue that “transformation is not only about replacement of colours

in mass media (although these matter)” (2000: 76). An intersectional transformation in the South African media would ensure that the texts it produces reflect broader society “not only in terms of race, but also socio-economic status, gender, religion, sexual orientation, region, language, etc” (Boloka and Krabill, 2000: 76). They argue that there is a possibility that media transformation can be hijacked by the emerging black elite leaving out “grassroots communities of all colours” (Boloka and Krabill, 2000: 76). What Boloka and Krabill (2000) bring our attention to is the problem of the sterility of western theory, including critical theory, in fully apprehending and comprehending the condition of media production in postapartheid South Africa. Without neglecting the value of western critical theory, especially the Marxist variant, this thesis seeks to address this challenge by taking the debate on transformation on a decolonial path (Moyo, 2020; Chiumbu and Radebe, 2020; Chiumbu and Iqani, 2019; Mutsvairo, 2018; Moyo and Mutsvairo, 2018; Chasi and Rodny-Gumede, 2018; Chiumbu, 2016). The decolonial turn allows for the discussion of media transformation in the context of the calls for transformation in postapartheid South Africa.

Thinking in decolonial terms reveals how media and cultural studies, as part of the academy whose problematic history is discussed in the previous section, rarely reflects on itself. For all the good work it has done in critiquing media practice within the limits of western critical traditions, journalism, media and cultural studies disciplines still have to contend with their history. Simonson and Peters note that “the international history of communication and media studies has yet to be written. To this point, most histories have been national, with the bulk of attention devoted to North America and western Europe” (2008: 764). South Africa’s own history of communication and media studies is scant. What is available, part of it critical, can be regarded as the history of communication studies in South Africa rather than South African communication studies history. This is because the disciplines developed as a debate between the settler English and settler Afrikaner variants of media studies (De Beer and Tomaselli, 2000). In terms of theory and conceptual frameworks, De Beer and Tomaselli identify five paradigms in South African journalism and mass communication scholarship between 1960 and 1990 that are the German and Netherlands traditions focusing on media law and ethics, the positivist approach, the functionalist approach, the interpretative approach and the Marxist approach (2009: 9). The problem is, therefore, the Eurocentricism of media theory in South Africa. Salawu (2013) notes that

communication and media studies discipline in South Africa “allows for diversity– observable in the variety of labels, emphases and curricula” (2013: 87). This observable variety has excluded South Africa’s own black radical traditions in the intellectual work that coalesces around Black Consciousness. It continues to exclude African and Black studies approaches with their emphasis on taking seriously the black experience in a country traumatised by apartheid. In the past there have been moves to de-westernise and rethink the western-centric approaches from a postcolonial angle. However, overall, it can be argued that decolonial approaches still remain at their infancy and marginalized.

Besides the colonial and apartheid roots of the journalism, media and cultural studies disciplines, there is another problem that necessitates this research. Salawu further notes that, besides the size and capacity of the South African academy to proffer intellectual leadership in Africa, media and cultural studies in South Africa has the problem of being “withdrawn and too inward-looking” to the extent of ignoring the rest of the continent (2013: 87). This could be a result of years of apartheid isolation and the resultant South African exceptionalism. On this South African exceptionalism, Lazarus argues that at the height of apartheid “for most whites in South Africa, of course, South Africa was not really in Africa at all. It was a ‘Western’ society that just happened, accidentally and inconsequentially, if irritatingly, to be situated at the foot of the dark continent” (2004: 610). He further notes that this “dangerous and inexcusable ignorance about Africa” was also common within the anti-apartheid movement (Lazarus, 2004: 610). South African exceptionalism is not premised “on indifference but on categorical differentiation” (Lazarus, 2004: 610).

### **0.3.2. Research objectives**

1. To decolonise media and communication research through shifting theoretical and methodological resources in the study of the representation of black African subjectivity in post-apartheid South Africa.
2. To trace the intersection of practices around the media, migration and urbanity in the discursive construction of black African subjectivity in post-apartheid South Africa.

3. To challenge the hegemonic narrative of black-of-black violence as the single narrative around xenophobia and account for gaps between ‘officialised’ narratives and subaltern narratives of black African subjects in postcolonial Johannesburg.

### **0.3.3. Research questions**

1. What would the study of media representations in postapartheid South Africa look like if conceptualised from Anti-colonial/decolonial theories?
2. How do practices around the media, migration and urbanity intersect in discursively constructing black African subjectivity in post-apartheid South Africa?
3. How do people in townships and other impoverished spaces of the city negotiate and understand their subjectivity and subjectivation in a postcolonial Johannesburg? What is the gap between their self-understanding and narratives of their subjectivity as ‘officialised’ in the media?

## **0.4. Background and context of the study**

This section, in brief gives a background and contextualises this research. The section discusses and gives background details of the newspapers where the texts that are studied in the research are sampled from. The section also discusses Johannesburg as a space for the ethnographic part of the research. In the end, the section discusses the media and cultural studies context in South Africa.

### **0.4.1. The newspapers**

According to a survey by the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) in 2009, the national newspaper readership is 15.2 million, and of this figure the Gauteng audience accounts for 69 percent. The MDDA was established by an Act of Parliament (Act 14 of 2002) to enable “historically disadvantaged communities and persons not adequately served by the media” to gain access to the media (MDDA, 2009). The newspapers are printed in English, Afrikaans and the vernaculars. According to MDDA, about 940 million newspapers circulate per annum in the country. The newspaper stable with most newspaper titles is Caxton / CTP that has 130 titles, of which 89 are wholly owned and 41 are co-owned). The company with the most number of titles is

Naspers, which through its print media subsidiary, Media24, has more than 64 titles. The third newspaper group with 35 titles is Independent Newspapers. According to MDDA (2009), in terms of circulation, Media24 has the largest number of newspapers, followed by Independent Newspapers. The English newspapers were purposively selected because they are two of the largest media companies in South Africa. In a sense, their operations influence and carves out the media discursive space in the country. The isiZulu newspaper was selected because it is part of the two biggest newspapers publishing in isiZulu. Unlike *Isolezwe*, *Ilanga* is not owned by any of the big English media companies. It can be regarded as independent.

#### ***0.4.1.1. Media24***

Media24 owns more publishing houses when compared to the rest of the publishing companies. Naspers owns 85 percent of Media24 magazines and has an 85 percent share in Touchline Publishing which has 11 magazine titles and an additional 4 through its wholly owned subsidiary Atoll Media (Pty) Ltd (MDDA, 2009). Naspers, which is based in Cape Town and is also a multinational media company, has lately been in the news for divesting from the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and likely to offload its stake to a bourse out of the country. Naspers is an old media company with roots in the country's colonial media. The company was founded as Die Nasionale Pers (The National Press) on 12 May 1915 and catered for the Afrikaner population. Its print media division, Media24 publishes 5 national dailies: *Daily Sun*; *Die Burger*; *Beeld*; *Volksblad* and the *Natal Witness*. The tabloid *Daily Sun* is the largest daily newspaper in South Africa. On Sundays, the newspaper publishes *Rapport*; *City Press* and *Sunday Sun*. More is discussed on this big media company in Chapter 3.

#### ***0.4.1.2. Independent Newspapers Online (IOL)***

The Independent Newspapers has for a long time been owned by the Independent News & Media Plc, a multinational media group where Irish businessman, Tony O'Reilly, is the major shareholder. However, in 2012, Avusa that held some of the shares in the company were bought out of Times Media Group. In 2013, the Independent News & Media Plc sold its stake in Independent Newspapers to a local consortium Sekunjalo Independent Media (SIM) in a R2 billion deal.

According to Daniels, the sale of the newspaper house to Sekunjalo Independent Media meant that ownership of the company returned to South African hands (2013: 4). O'Reilly's Independent News & Media Plc had bought the shares in the then Argus Newspapers in 1994 from Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (Anglo American) and renamed the company, Independent Newspapers. The group's flagship daily newspaper is *The Star*, and other dailies in the stable are the *Cape Argus*, the isiZulu newspaper *Isolezwe*, *Daily News*, *Cape Times*, the *Mercury*, *Pretoria News*, the *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, *Business Report* and *Daily Voice*. The group also publishes Sunday newspapers that include the *Sunday Tribune*, *Weekend Argus*, *Independent on Sunday* and *Sunday Independent* (MDDA, 2009). More is discussed on this newspaper's stable in Chapter 3.

#### **0.4.1.3. *Ilanga* newspaper**

The isiZulu newspaper, *Ilanga*, that I study in this research is part of the two of the major newspapers publishing in the country's biggest indigeneous language (Buthelezi, 2007: 128). To say the two newspapers – *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* - are major newspapers publishing in isiZulu means that they have the largest circulation in the province of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa (Buthelezi, 2007: 128; Bloom, 2005). *Ilanga* is a bi-weekly, more traditionalist newspaper that first published on 10 April 1903 by the first president of the African National Congress (ANC), John Langalibalele Dube (Buthelezi, 2016: 67; Gasa, 1999; Harber, 2003). Dube's aim of publishing the newspaper was to strategically create "a space where Africans could freely engage among themselves on issues that affected them" (Buthelezi, 2016: 67). It is published on Monday and Thursday. The newspaper also publishes a Sunday edition, *Ilanga LangeSonto* (the Sunday Sun) and a community supplement, *Ilanga LeTheku* (the Durban Sun) (Buthelezi, 2016: 65). It is the longest standing isiZulu language Newspaper in South Africa. The newspaper distributes about 500 000 copies per issue primarily in the KwaZulu Natal province (Buthelezi, 2016: 65). Buthelezi points out that, during colonial rule, the newspaper was a "reflective tool through which the colonised people critically and collectively engaged with their own neophyte colonised identities and their African identities" (2016: 60). The old newspaper was bought from its new owners, Argus Company, in 1987 by Mandla- Matla, a company owned by the Inkatha Freedom Party

(IFP). This has created the impression that it pushes Zulu nationalism (Buthelezi, 2016: 67; Gillwald and Madlala 1988).

#### **0.4.2. The ethnographic field: Johannesburg**

The ethnographic aspects of the research were conducted in Johannesburg, South Africa's commercial capital city. The city occupies a central place in the economy and cultural life of South Africa as it is "where the evolving story of the new South Africa is most fully played out" (Murray, 2011: 1). Kruger notes that Johannesburg is a "city distinguished both by innovation and illegality" such that it is praised by its leaders as a "world class African city" and condemned by its critics as a "city of extremes" (2013: 1). Historically, it appears out of the country's colonial history with the discovery of gold in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As a result, the city has been described as "'World's Greatest Gold Producer," the "New York of Africa," the "City of Record Sunshine," and the "Heartbeat of South Africa" (Sihlongonyane, 2005: 22). However, as Murray points out, Johannesburg is a highly differentiated space that is also heterogeneous reflecting "a great diversity of experiences, activities, and lifestyles" (2008: viii). In illustrating how the new and the old subsist side by side, in Johannesburg, Kruger juxtaposes shopping malls with shantytowns, natives with foreigners, claims of cosmopolitanism with inequality, scarcity and xenophobia (2013: 3). Every person from the rest of Africa who treks to this city hopes to be the next 'Randlord,' within the humble imaginations of earning a living, and not necessarily be a millionaire (Murray, 2008). However, the city has continued to be haunted by "the lack of regular work, affordable housing, and social security for ordinary people" engendering "increased demands for the "right to the city," including spatial justice and legal enforcement of the entitlements of full citizenship" (Murray, 2008: viii). It is in the context of an apartheid history, lack of jobs and increased demand for 'the right to the city' that this dissertation locates xenophobia and the emerging black subjectivities on the margins of Johannesburg and South Africa's Rainbow Nation. The history and context of Johannesburg in postapartheid South Africa is dealt with in detail in Chapter 2.

### **0.4.3. The media and cultural studies landscape in South Africa**

The hegemony of western-centric media theories endures although there are efforts to shake it through decolonial scholarship. However, most of this scholarship still remains as lip service. To put it in another way, it would seem like, up to this moment, media scholars have done everything to examine and explore the Eurocentrism of media studies in the postapartheid South African university. To bastardize Marx's Thesis Eleven, the point is to decolonise it. Tomaselli's (2002) history of media studies in South Africa reveals how, historically, the discipline is positioned within a western theoretical heritage. Media studies has remained impervious to the Black Consciousness movement of the 1970s and the work of radical black thinkers like Bernard Magubane and Archie Mafeje. This is because media and cultural studies in South Africa emerged at a time when "critical discussion on South African communications scholarship was very sparse during the 1970s, and sometimes institutionally discouraged" (Tomaselli, 2002: 112). *Communicatio*, the first media studies journal to published in South Africa starting in 1974 emphasised Western approaches of hermeneutics, reception theory, phenomenology, existentialism and administrative research (Tomaselli, 2002: 116 – 117). The failure to embrace critical lenses from the black tradition could be because, even though media studies have over the years come to embrace neo-Marxist approaches most scholars remained politically aloof (Tomaselli and Shepperson, 2002: 190). Even though black issues were starting to appear in the Black Press, they were still absent in media studies. In response to Tomaselli's questionnaire on the state of media studies in South Africa, Switzer points to the fact that "virtually all popular as well as scholarly publications by and about the South African press before the 1970s were written by and for white audiences in South Africa and interested, influential lobby groups in Western Europe and North America" (in Tomaselli, 2002: 115). The original sin, therefore, not only affects the media whose beginning is at the hands of corrupt slave dealers, but also extends to media studies itself that begins as a white hamlet for debates between the English and the Afrikaans intellectual positions. De Beer and Tomaselli note the lack of vibrant scholarship on South African journalism, media and communication studies (2000: 10). In locating this study in the media and cultural studies field in South Africa, it is important to touch on the language issue. Media studies scholarship in South Africa is mostly in English to reach international audiences (De Beer and Tomaselli, 2000: 10). This means that Afrikaans and languages of the majority South Africans are

excluded from scholarship. This reaffirms the argument that black people have never been part of the conversations in the media and in the academy since from the start they have been closed out. When they join the conversations, language closes them outside. There is a serious lack of the search for a South African theoretical idiom and methodology.

## **0.5. Positioning myself as a researcher**

To borrow from Giraldo “I need to start with my own locus of enunciation, that is, the place in geographical, emotional and theoretical terms from where I speak” (2016: 157). This is central to any decolonial praxis. Hailing from Zimbabwe, I am a foreign African student in South Africa. This means that I am sensitive to any xenophobic outbreaks, whenever and however they manifest themselves. From reading newspapers and consuming other media forms on it, I have been tempted to believe that xenophobic outbreaks were the full story of the relationship between Black Africans in South Africa in the post-apartheid era, that is, the African Others and the native black South Africans. It is through interacting with communities around Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville suburbs of Johannesburg that I realised that not only was a gap between official accounts of migration and xenophobia and how African migrants made sense of their situation, but the story was incomplete. As pointed out in the section where I discussed the research problems, in either dismissing xenophobia as apolitical criminality or arguing that black South Africans hate African Others, there is a sense in which the story of xenophobia in the postapartheid moment is a single story, dangerous (Adichie, 2009). The narrative of xenophobia, with its implied dehumanising black-on-black violence, silenced the narrative of how ordinary South African citizens and African migrants ‘live’ and ‘struggle’ together not only to build communities but also to render each other human. This has made me more interested in making sense of the work of representation done by the media, migration and urbanity in constructing Black African Subjectivity in post-apartheid South Africa.

## **0.6. Key conceptual and methodological issues**

This thesis is conceptualised from a decolonial perspective to challenge the coloniality of media and cultural studies. Mignolo and Walsh (2018) point out that colonialism as it emerged in the

Americas in 1452 was met with resistance. In a sense, they argue that colonialism generated its own resistance which is decoloniality. Decoloniality is challenge to the western-centric version of knowledge and history as it aims to “push for the shifting of geography of reason from the West as the epistemic locale” of knowledge about the world to the ex-colonised epistemic sites as equally valid locales of knowledge (Ndlovu, Gatsheni, 2013; Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Maldonado- Torres (2007) posits that decoloniality as a school of thought is not one thing but a family of theoretical positions that challenge coloniality seen as a contemporary problem. The thesis, partly wants to decolonise media studies by putting a constructivist concept of representation at the centre of the question of what the media does. This section discusses coloniality/decoloniality, the postcolonial, the colonial present, representation and subjectivity and decolonising methodologies as the key concepts around which this thesis is anchored.

### **0.6.1. Coloniality/decoloniality, the postcolonial and the colonial present**

This dissertation has been conceptualised around the ideas of postcoloniality, colonial presence and decoloniality. Hall’s (1996) conceptualisation of ‘the postcolonial’ refuses to describe this time that comes at the end of colonialism in teleological terms but designates it in terms of its quality. He defines the postcolonial as the conjectural moment “in which both the crisis of the uncompleted struggle for ‘decolonisation’ and the crisis of the ‘post-independence’ state are deeply inscribed” (Hall, 1996: 224). In precise terms, Gregory gestures us to the “colonial presence” which refers to “the performative force of colonial modernity” (Gregory 2004: 4). In the ‘colonial present,’ the concept of postcolonialism is evoked as that time when the focus shifts from “present futures to present pasts” (Huyssen, 2001: 57). Gregory notes that postcolonialism’s “commitment to a future free of colonial power and disposition is sustained in part by a critique of the continuities between the colonial past and the colonial present” (2004: 7). Gregory, further, points out that, “while they may be displaced, distorted, and (most often) denied, the capacities that inhere within the colonial past are routinely reaffirmed and reactivated in the colonial present” (Gregory, 2004: 7). It is the re-activation of violence and the identity politics in the postcolonial moment that brought back brought back and reaffirmed the evils that “inhere within the colonial past” (Gregory, 2004: 7). Maldonado-Torres defines coloniality as “long standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labour, intersubjective

relations, and knowledge production” (Maldonado-Torres 2007: 243). Ndlovu-Gatsheni refers to coloniality as “the invisible vampirism of technologies of imperialism and colonial matrices of power that continue to exist in the minds, lives, languages, dreams, imaginations, and epistemologies of modern subjects in Africa and the entire global South” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:11). These theoretical concepts – postcolonial, ‘the colonial present’ and coloniality - are related in that the way Hall and Gregory thinks about the endurance of colonialism in the postcolonial moment is not different from the emphasis that Maldonado-Torres and Ndlovu-Gatsheni make about coloniality as born out of colonialism and modernity.

### **0.6.2. Representation and black African subjectivity**

Representation is not only about how we understand the world around us, make sense of it, but also how we understand ourselves. It is linked to subjectivity. Representation is seen as a modern concept emerging out of the modernity epoch (Colebrook, 2000). This marked the move from resemblance to representation as a “move from a system of meaning-making based on similitude to one based on difference” (Webb, 2009: 25). Significant to representation as a political issue are the questions of “who is performing the representation; what does it mean; and what effects does it have?” (Webb, 2009: 2). Hall notes that, representation is located in culture and culture is “about ‘shared meanings.’ [...] Meanings can only be shared through our common access to language” (1997: 1). Since the ‘cultural turn’ meaning has been thought to be “produced – constructed - rather than simply ‘found’” (Hall, 1997: 5). In this constructionist approach “things don’t mean: we construct meaning, using representational systems - concepts and signs” (Hall, 1997: 25). Arguing a case for a constructionist approach to representation, Webb notes that “the processes of representation do not simply make connections, relationships and identities visible: they actually make those connections, relationships and identities” (2009: 10). Here, representation is not just about the substitution of the thing for a symbol, but the constitution of the thing making real “both the world and our ways of being in the world” (Webb, 2009: 10). Extending Colebrook’s observation that representation arises out of modernity, Lloyd (2019) argues for a case of the ‘racial regime’ of representation and its coloniality. He points to how representation emerges in humanities as “the realm in which the notion of the subject of freedom was thought alongside the subordination of unfree subjects” (Lloyd, 2019: viii). Part of the task of this thesis is to question the media as part of cultural institutions of modernity and what has been and is its role in “the

formation of the racial and political structures of the present” (Lloyd, 2019: viii). According to Lloyd (2019), questions of subjectivity and ‘the human’ are central to representation and modernity. The idea of the subject comes into human history at the dawn of Enlightenment and modernity. Webb notes that “the idea of the subject ... is to say people: me, you, and everyone else in the world” (2009: 63). While modernity came with the idea of a unified and centred subject, there have been moves towards a decentred subject (Baker, 2012; Webb, 2009: 64). Butler notes that the role of representation is to give us ‘this lack’ and then fill it to stabilise our identities (1990: 43).

### **0.6.3. Decolonising methodologies**

The proposed research is qualitative in that it seeks to provide “a detailed description and analysis of the quality, or the substance, of the human experience” (Marvasti, 2004: 7). The thesis considers how Black African Subjectivity is “produced and enacted in historically specific situations” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:14). The historically specific situation here is townships in a post-apartheid South Africa. The proposed research starts is premised on the idea that qualitative research is endlessly “creative and interpretive” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005: 14). It is designed following Maxwell’s (2008) “interactive model” that places the research question at the centre to mediate between research goals, research methods, trustworthiness (validity) and the conceptual framework (Maxwell, 2008:216). The research is 50 percent a study of textual content produced by the media between 1994 and 2017, and 50 percent an ethnographic study of communities in townships and other spaces where local black South Africans live alongside black African nationals. The data gathering process is divided into two stages: collecting journalism texts and an ethnographic design that includes keeping a diary and in-depth interviews, among other methods.

### **0.7. Significance of the study**

Since 2015, students’ protests in South Africa intensified bringing in formerly white universities like the University of Witwatersrand, University of Cape Town (UCT) and the university currently known as Rhodes University, among others. In these protests, young people put their lives on the line calling for the decolonisation of education in South Africa. At the time, I started working on

this project, some of the leaders of the Fees Must Fall (FMF) movement were serving jail terms and others house arrests. While acknowledging the bravery, and achievements of the Fees Must Fall movement on the physical spaces of campuses around the country, this thesis responds to the most substantive of their demands; the decolonisation of knowledge in the university today. The FMF movement started as the Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) movement at the UCT before spreading across the world. Bhabra, Nisancioglu, and Gebrial note that movements such as Rhodes Must Fall Oxford (RMFO) and the UK's National Union of Students (NUS)'s 'Why is My Curriculum White?' and #LiberateMyDegree campaigns took their inspiration and built on RMF movement, among others (2018: 1). In calling for the decolonisation of knowledge, students envisaged undoing "forms of coloniality in their classrooms, curricula and campuses" (Bhabra, Nisancioglu, and Gebrial, 2018: 1). Qualitative research is made up of three elements that include the philosophical (paradigm, ontology and epistemology), praxis (methods, theory and methodology) and the ethical (ethics, values and reflexivity). Decolonisation focuses on all the three levels. Decolonisation in the academy is, first, a way of thinking that takes colonialism, empire and racism as its empirical and discursive objects of study bringing into view their ideological underpinnings, and, second, it endeavours to offer alternative ways of thinking about the world (Bhabra, Nisancioglu, and Gebrial, 2018: 2). Ndlovu- Gatsheni has argued that the imperative to decolonise is because, when one seriously considers the content of the university curriculums, it can be said that there are no African universities but universities in Africa (2013: 10).

It is necessary to decolonise the university because, emerging as tied to the colonial project, knowledge production in Africa is intricately linked to subjectivity and the question of 'the human'. The struggle for decolonisation in the academy is marked by the "entry of descendants of the enslaved, displaced, colonized and racialized peoples" into universities who start to assert that they "are human beings, their lives matter, and that they were born into valid and legitimate knowledge systems" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018b: 3). This thesis was produced under conditions where, besides an urgent call for decolonisation in the university, citizens have been impatient for many years now around the transformation of their lives as promised in the postapartheid era. Matlawe notes that in 2018, there were 263 land occupations in the Western Cape alone, and a similarly high number of service delivery protests related to the land occupations (2019: np).

Matlawe, who argues that the housing crisis is inextricably entwined with land occupations, notes that these land occupations are “not new to the history of struggle in South Africa; occupations and protests have become a permanent feature of the political landscape since the early 2000s” (2019: np). Ahead of students at universities, citizens have been decolonising although they did not have the language. In many ways it can be claimed that when students rose up against the university system, they were expropriating the decolonial struggles that their parents are engaged in in their communities. Whether they call it *umzabalazo* or the struggle, for most South Africans who are north of the inequality gap in the country, decolonisation is as real as accessing land to anchor their lives. Written in the context of calls for land reform, which emerges from communities and has found language in parliament, this thesis is significant in that it contributes to those debates that seek to close the gap between rhetoric about freedom and liberation. In pursuing the decolonisation of representation, in general, and the media, in particular, this dissertation hopes to contribute to the broader conversations in South Africa and the world.

## **0.8. Structure of the dissertation**

The rest of the dissertation is organised in the following way:

***Chapter 1 – Decolonising critical theory*** - This chapter discusses the articulation of a decolonial theory for the study of constructions of black African subjectivity in postapartheid South Africa. It puts western Marxist critical theory of Louis Althusser, Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault into conversation with postcolonial and decolonial theories of Frantz Fanon, Steve Biko, Sylvia Wynter and others. In an act of epistemic disobedience, I start off tracing the emergence of the black African subjectivity through African theories to avoid the teleology, normativity and universalisation of western perspectives.

***Chapter 2 – The idea of postapartheid South Africa*** - This chapter provides a brief history of South Africa in relation to urbanisation, migration, the media and media studies so as to contextualise the study of the constructions of black African subjectivity in the postapartheid moment. The chapter reveals how migration, cities and the media are not only tied to the colonial project, but shape black African subjectivity in significant ways.

**Chapter 3 – *The coloniality of representation and black African subjectivity*** - This chapter puts into perspective the coloniality of representation and black African subjectivity. The chapter embraces the constructivist approach to representation arguing that the media not merely reflect, in this case black African subjectivity, but is actively engaged in ‘construction’ work (Lloyd, 2019; Hall 1997). In this chapter, I argue that representation arise out of modernity as a repressive technology of speaking about and representing, that is, effectively constructing the “Other” (Lloyd, 2019; Mignolo, 2018; Foucault, 1977). As a result, subjectivity and the question of the (hu)man are deeply embedded in colonialism and the coloniality (Mignolo, 1997; Wynter, 2003).

**Chapter 4 – *Decolonising methodology*** - This chapter builds on debates in qualitative research to decolonise methodologies and methods through a triangulated, interdisciplinary, and interpretivist research design. The research adopts ethics that are alive to making sense of the crisis of representation of black African subjects in postapartheid South Africa. Located broadly in Cultural Studies, the research deals mostly with texts that include news stories, photojournalism pictures, graffiti, and other images as collected during the ethnographic fieldwork. The analysis of these texts is based on discourse, ideology and semiotics analysis.

**Chapter 5 – *Criminals, illegals, dirt and dogs*** - Through a close study of language, this chapter discusses 12 English journalism stories and four photojournalism pieces sampled from the *Independent On Line* (IOL) and the *News24* platforms. Through a combination of critical discourse analysis (CDA), ideology and semiotic analysis, I trace and map the media’s discursive practices in the construction of black African subjectivity in post-apartheid South Africa. This discussion is divided into three sections focusing on the biopolitics of xenophobia, leadership’s culpability in xenophobia and marches.

**Chapter 6 – *Zulu nationalism and the enduring elitism of the public sphere*** - This chapter is a decolonial reading of isiZulu journalism which inevitably involves translation. The imperative to pay serious attention to translation in the decolonisation of media and cultural studies is as a result of the dominance of the English media in a multilingual and multicultural postapartheid South Africa. In the chapter, I analyse six IsiZulu stories that I closely read within their linguistic and

cultural context over and above the hegemonic objective and professional journalism ecosystem of South Africa.

***Chapter 7 – Afrophobia, neoliberal capitalism and memories of the African struggle*** - This chapter presents data from fieldwork and seeks to challenge the hegemonic narrative of black-of-black violence as the single narrative of postapartheid townships and impoverished spaces of Johannesburg. It reflects on how people in townships and other impoverished spaces of the city negotiate and understand their subjectivity and subjectivation in a postcolonial and postapartheid Johannesburg. The chapter is located in urban cultural studies combining observation, interviews and visual research methods. Urban cultural studies' interdisciplinarity integrates urban studies and cultural studies with an emphasis on the “textual dimensions” of the city (Fraser, 2015: 1, 15; Hoelscher, 2006; Barthes, 1987).

***Chapter 8 – Constructions of black African subjectivity in postapartheid South Africa: A decolonial analysis*** - This is the analysis chapter. Here, I focus on emerging themes and discourses in the 12 English stories, six isiZulu stories and the ethnographic data presented in Chapter 7. The themes or discourses are divided into five major categories sub-divided into various sub-categories. The five major categories are: the spectre of xenophobia haunts the black subject; the coloniality of media and representation; articulations of migration, citizenship and nationalism; ethno-nationalism, South African nationalism and Pan-Africanism; black African subjectivity; and the border, coloniality, de/bordering and decolonising.

***Chapter 9 – Conclusion: The point is to decolonise it*** - This chapter wraps up the research summarising the dissertation and pointing to possible further areas of media, representation and black subjectivity in postapartheid South Africa that can be explored. The chapter reflects on the emergence of migration, the cities and the media in imperialistic violence and their articulations in the construction of the black African subject as out of citizenship.

# Chapter 1

## Decolonising critical theory

“Decolonization, as we know, is a historical process” (Fanon, 1963: 35 - 36).

“There can be no discourse of decolonization, no theory of decolonization, without a decolonizing practice” (Cusicanqui, 2012: 100).

“How do we sort through the entanglements among these conjectural formations, and what implications do these entanglements have for a different notion of theory with a lowercase t? What might this theory look like, where do we find it and what might be its resources?” (Lionnet and Shih, 2011: 12).

### 1.1. Introduction

First, this research aims at decolonizing media and cultural studies research through a transdisciplinary design that shifts theoretical and methodological resources in the study of the representation of black African subjectivity in post-apartheid South Africa. Second, the thesis aims at tracing the intersection of practices around the media, migration and urbanity in discursively constructing black African subjectivity in post-apartheid South Africa. If the overall aim of this work is to enact a decolonised media and cultural studies, then it is imperative to reveal ways in which the disciplines currently suffer coloniality. Third, the research challenges the hegemonic narrative of black-of-black violence as the single narrative around xenophobia, and accounting for the gap between ‘officialised’ narratives and narratives of black African subjects in townships and other impoverished spaces of postcolonial Johannesburg. For this task, it is imperative to consider a decolonized theoretical framework for these three tasks at hand. The decolonisation of theory is necessitated by the need for “a self-conscious rethinking and reorientation of the subject in the light of its past complicity, direct or indirect, with the colonial project” (Mills, 2015: 1).

### 1.2. Articulation and creolization

In its transdisciplinary, this dissertation starts off from the media and cultural studies disciplines where the media are seen as articulated to urbanity and migration in the representation of black African subjectivity in postapartheid South Africa. An articulation is a form connection that makes a unity of two different elements “under certain conditions. It is a linkage which is not necessary,

determined, absolute and essential for all time” (Hall, 1996: 144 – 145). The media, migration and modernity are here seen as connected under specific postapartheid conditions in the production of black African Subjectivity. The imperative to decolonise is due to the fact that, Media studies, (and many other disciplines in the humanities and social sciences category), are conducted in a way that does not question the object of study (the media) and its historically problematic relationship to modern South Africa as a country that emerges out of a colonial and apartheid project. The complicity of the media in the colonial project is taken up in detail in Chapter 3.

In this chapter contribution, I put the western critical theory of Marxism into crisis through putting it through a conversation with anticolonial – postcolonial and decolonial – frameworks. Following Lionnet and Shih (2011), Gordon (2014), and Gordon and Roberts (2015), my theoretical and conceptual framework for this dissertation a creolisation of critical Western theory and postcolonial and decolonial work. This close reading of one theorist through another brings “into conversation a set of theoretical approaches that can enable us to move past the increasingly melancholic tone adopted in the past decade by the aging field of Euro-American theory” (Lionnet and Shih; 2011: 2; *See* Gordon and Roberts, 2015: 2). In that there has already been dialogue between Marxism and postcolonial approaches, my choice for critical Western theory includes that of Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser and Michel Foucault.

In this creolised approach I seek to retain what is relevant in both Marxism and anticolonial approaches in an effort to recover ‘the human’ and put the black African subject into the centre of theory in pursuit of a liberatory intellectual politics. I start off by discussing the challenges of beginnings in theorising in Africa in that in the colonised continent, theory has always been western. In an act of epistemic disobedience, I refuse to start off tracing the emergence of the black African subjectivity from western theory and, therefore, deliberately begin from an African perspective. This way I seek to avoid the teleology, normativity and universalisation of western theory. This is because the coloniality of Western theory, in part, is in the assumptions that history moves in a teleological manner as understood from the West and that way Western values, such as liberal democracy, are normative and must be universally embraced.

### **1.3. The challenge of beginnings**

Theory, all theory, constructs its own subject. In that theory is history then all theory constructs its own subject of history. This realization raises the challenge of beginnings in theorizing in and about Africa. These challenges are linked to normativity, teleology and universalism. For example, in his work, Gramsci (1977) pays attention to the colonial question. However, for all the important insights on how the colonies are exploited to develop the metropolises in Europe, Gramsci writes out the black African subject. He posits well that, in colonisation the industrial bourgeoisie were using state power to solve the problems of markets and raw materials in Europe by subjugating “a growing proportion of the world’s population” (Gramsci, 1977: 301). From this perspective, colonialism was the expansion of the capitalist system outside the West where the colonial population allowed “the soil and subsoil of its own country to be impoverished for the benefit of European civilization” (Gramsci, 1977: 302). Here critical black studies scholars would agree with Gramsci, adding that in any case the genesis of the capitalist system is in the moment of colonisation and slavery (Wynter, 2003, James, 1941). The problem is that for Gramsci, it is the European working class that is at the centre of this globalizing history in that this working class in the metropolitan country is “subjected to servile labour” to transform “raw materials plundered from the colonies” into profit for capital (Gramsci, 1977: 302). The colonial labourers are symbolically annihilated: their appearance in Gramsci’s theorising of the colonial question is that of absence/presence. In as much as he notes that the “colonial populations become the foundation on which the whole edifice of capitalist exploitation is erected” (Gramsci, 1977: 302), he fails to make the link between colonialism and racism explicit. This is because he is blinded by Eurocentrism as he argues that there is a chance of extending “industrial civilization to the whole world” (Gramsci, 1977: 303). In the next sentences, Gramsci invisibilises the black African subject and denies this subject of autonomy arguing that the problems of capitalism can only be resolved by the European working class as “the class that is not burdened by any property or national interests” (Gramsci, 1977: 303). The challenge of theorising in Africa is the challenge of locating the black African subject at the centre of theory as a historical subject. It is the challenge of a theory that constructs a black African subject. This is made onerous by the fact that for many years, in the colonized world, western theory has been taught as the theory with a capital T (Lionnet and Shih, 2011). Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) notes well that there is no African university, but universities

in Africa such that, in such an environment, even theory that could be liberating like Gramsci's work on the colonial question is invisibilising and writes the black African subject out of history. This is why a textured dialogue between Marxism and decolonial perspectives, as undertaken in this chapter contribution, is imperative. The challenge is where that dialogue begins.

#### **1.4. Placing Africa at the centre of theory**

Starting off with Marxist theory, in as much as it offers possibility for articulating a decolonial theory that is intersectional, especially in the work of Gramsci, it has the implication of teleology, normativity and universalism. It creates the impression that history moves in a straight line: that at the beginning there was western theory, and in the end there will appear western theory and the western subject. In all accounts of theory, Africa has always been elided or came in as an afterthought. In this chapter contribution, I prefer two beginnings. First, and at a broader sense, it would be ideal to start at the point when the black Marxists get into conversation with Marx and point out the racism of capitalism (Melamed, 2015; Robinson, 1983). At this level, the critical western theory of Marxism is creolised with postcolonial and decolonial work (Gordon and Roberts, 2015; Gordon, 2014; Lionnet and Shih, 2011). This close reading of one theorist through another brings “into conversation a set of theoretical approaches that can enable us to move past the increasingly melancholic tone adopted in the past decade by the aging field of Euro-American theory” (Lionnet and Shih; 2011: 2). In that there has already been dialogue between Marxism and postcolonial approaches, my choice for critical Western theory includes that of Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser and Michel Foucault. Second, and importantly, considering that in western critical theory, postcolonial studies and early versions of decolonial theories, starting off by positioning Africa at the centre of theory is important. Here the work of Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni, who has, over the years, laboured hard to centre the African intellectual archive in his decolonial work.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni works at the intersections of western critical theory, Latin American decolonization, postcolonial theory and African theory, where it includes theorists in the continent's diaspora. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, who argues that decolonial theory is different from postcolonial and marxist theories, primarily identifies as a decolonial thinker and “a committed African scholar” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013b: xi). He has been seized with the question of Africa as

a subject of theory and Africans as history making subjects and not objects. He points out that there is a difference between a decolonial African and a Euro-American conceptualisation of the links between the empire, global coloniality and African subjectivity (2013b: x). He notes that the Empire, that has been central in shaping the history of Africa is “double-faced, hiding coloniality behind a rhetoric of spreading modernity, civilization, development, democracy and human rights” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013b: x). Africa, as a subject of history, emerges in colonial history characterised by cultural oppression such that Ahluwalia and Nursery-Bray notes that “nowhere else was the oppression so comprehensive, so savage. African history was denied or appropriated; African culture belittled; the status and standing of Africans as human beings was called into question” (1997: 2). Ndlovu-Gatsheni notes that, in the world willed into existence by colonialism and that is perpetuated by coloniality, African subjectivity is produced through “ideologies and epistemologies of alterity” and constituted “by a perennial lack: lacking souls, lacking civilization, lacking writing, lacking responsibility, lacking development, lacking human rights and lacking democracy” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013b: xi).

Ndlovu-Gatsheni sets out three layers of African subjectivity. First, is alienation, where the African was drawn away from their ‘original self’ and turned into an object and thingfied (Fanon, 1963; Mbembe 2002). Second, is the dispossession of Africans which, primarily, has left them landless in the countries they call home. Third, is the humiliation and debasement of Africans exiling all of them to a “zone of nonbeing and social death”, “denial of dignity, heavy damage, and the torment of exile” (Mbembe 2002: 241-242). In that the African subject emerges as constructed, named, mapped and represented by the western subject as its Other, it is important to understand the western subject to understand the African subject, especially the African postcolonial subject (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013b: 103). Ndlovu-Gatsheni notes that because the African subject emerges out of the colonial project any attempts to self-create by Africans have failed because they have followed the western colonial template (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013b: 103). This is the challenge of where to begin the project of rehabilitation in Africa if the intellectual resources to undertake such work are western. In absurd circumstances, relying on the western language, has reproduced “racism and xenophobia” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013b: 103).

## 1.5. The uneasy dialogues: Postcolonial, Marxist and decolonial theories

It has been noted that when Foucault declares the subject dead, postcolonial theorists demand to know which subject Foucault is referring to (Alessandrini, 2009). Particularly, in her classic essay, *Can the Subaltern Speak*, Spivak (1988) takes Foucault and other Western scholars on, arguing that in mourning the end of the subject they are referring to the western subject, and in fact, are mourning the western subject that they wish they could preserve. The western subject is the ethnoclass Man that has been under construction in the West since 1542 after the conquering of the Americas (Wynter, 2003). However, the postcolonial theory challenge to Western theory emerges partly out of poststructuralist thought as a way of extending the critique of European Enlightenment (Morton, 2007). Here, the work of the earliest postcolonial scholars, especially Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha and Edward Said, has been seen as anchored on poststructuralist thought which they consider to be “part of a broader questioning of the values of the European enlightenment, and its claims to universalism” (Morton, 2007: 161). However, Marxist critics like Benita Parry, Neil Lazarus, Aijaz Ahmad, Arif Dirlik and Pal Ahluwalia, point out that postcolonial studies’ reliance on poststructuralism depoliticises it. These Marxist critics, however, have some measure of faith in postcolonial studies that have “origins in left-oriented national liberation movements” (Morton, 2007: 161). Another strand of postcolonial studies has its roots in the materialist approach allowing for dialogue between Marxism and postcolonialism. Although not all materialists are Marxists, “their work is informed by Marx’s conceptual framework for the analysis of power relations within society” (Murphy, 2007: 181). Murphy notes that they have, however, “not uniformly rejected postcolonial studies; nor has postcolonial studies been as hostile to materialist criticism as has often been suggested” (2007: 181). Materialist approaches emphasise historicity and context (Murphy, 2007: 181). The criticism of materialist approaches has been that, when it is not complex, it tends to come across as deterministic (Murphy, 2007: 181).

McLeod (2007) notes that postcolonial studies are pre-occupied with issues of inequalities, hierarchies and contrasting experiences of people after colonialism has ended. The inequalities and contrasting experiences are a direct result of “colonialism: its irreversible impact beyond Europe on lived, and built, environments, population change and demographics” (McLeod, 2007: 1). Postcolonial studies also focus on the material and economic realities of colonialism where, as

described by Gramsci, “the colonized ‘native masses’ were often co-opted into a vast European capitalist machine which had begun to expand in the late sixteenth century” (McLeod, 2007: 2). In postcolonial studies, colonialism is linked to the Atlantic slave trade, the system of indentured labour that brought South and East Asian people to the Caribbean and Africa, and the genocidal annihilation of indigenous people in North and South America, the Caribbean and the South Pacific (McLeod, 2007: 2). Importantly, what is at the heart of postcolonial studies is the question of representation and the questions of the subject. For postcolonialism, the subject emerges as colonized and in danger of annihilation. Here, postcolonialism is in agreement with decolonial approaches. Drawing on Foucault, Said notes that imperialism and colonialism “are supported and perhaps even impelled by impressive ideological formations that include notions that certain territories and people require and beseech domination” (2003: 8). For Said, it is worth noting that the vocabulary of imperial culture includes words such as “‘inferior’ or ‘subject races’, ‘subordinate peoples’, ‘dependency’, ‘expansion’, and ‘authority’” (2003: 8). McLeod observes that “colonialism was a matter of representation [...] the act of representation itself is also securely hinged to the business of empire” (2007: 5).

Colonialism provoked migration, and by extension the creation of diaspora communities, that have become central to postcolonial studies. The concept of the diaspora emerges as a way of challenging “the supremacy of national paradigms” (Procter, 2007: 151). Here diaspora names “a geographical phenomenon – the traversal of physical terrain by an individual or a group – as well as a theoretical concept: a way of thinking, or of representing the world” (Procter, 2007: 151). For Brah, diaspora “invokes images of multiple journeys” (1996: 181). Significantly, the concept of the diaspora is important in anchoring 1492 as a year with “foundational significance in postcolonial studies as the year in which the Spanish explorer Christopher Columbus arrived in the Americas” (Procter, 2007: 151). This has been the claim in decolonial theory especially in the work of Sylvia Wynter. It is also significant to note here that Fanon, and especially Wynter, who are some of the writers that have been considered as foundational to decolonial theory at some point considered themselves as postcolonial thinkers. Due to the centrality of migration and the diaspora, for Gilroy, “the figure of the migrant must be made part of Europe’s history” (2004: xxi). From a decolonial politics, this is, however problematic in that such a move would still centre the history of Europe in the ‘colonial present’ of contemporary politics. As Tuck and Yang note, it

might ruin the possibility of decolonization, recentre, rehabilitate and resettle whiteness and Europe's theory and its subject (2012:3).

Bhambra locates decolonial theory in the work of the Modernity/Coloniality school that emerged from the work of, among others, the sociologists Anibal Quijano and María Lugones, and the philosopher and semiotician, Walter D Mignolo, in Latin America (2014: 115). She points out that, this school was strongly linked to at least three influences: the world-systems theory of Immanuel Wallerstein, the scholarly work in development and underdevelopment and the Frankfurt School of critical social theory (Bhambra, 2014: 115). Similar to postcolonial theory, decoloniality theory emerges in a forceful way from diasporic scholars, in this case from South America (Bhambra, 2014: 115). Mignolo and Walsh submit that decoloniality, as a critique of coloniality, is not a new set of theories and note that “without a doubt, the critique of coloniality and the possibilities of decolonial horizons of praxis, knowledge, and thought (though not always with this same use of terms) have a legacy” (2018: 8). They point out that it can be traced in the work of W. E. B. Dubois, Anna Julia Cooper, Aimé Césaire, and Frantz Fanon, characterising them as “only several examples of the decolonial thinkers visibly present in the early and mid-twentieth century” (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018: 8). They add that the list of Decolonial thinkers is long including Guaman Poma de Ayala, Ottobah Cugoano, Sojourner Truth, Mahatma Gandhi, Sun Yat-sen, Dolores Cacuango, Amilcar Lopes da Costa Cabral, Steve Biko, Audre Lorde, Gloria Anzaldúa, Sylvia Wynter “to the many other racialized, genderized, and borderized decolonial thinkers whose herstories, transtories, and ourstories of thought have been made invisible by the racism and heteropatriarchy of the modern/colonial order” (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018: 8).

The dialogue between Marxism and both postcolonial and decolonial approaches can be best appreciated in the work of Spivak. In her work around representation and the subaltern, Spivak, follows Marx (1963) and Gramsci (1971), to theorise subalternity as the condition where a social group is “removed from all lines of social mobility”, and lacks agency (2005: 477). She insists that the category of the subaltern does not simply equate to “the oppressed” but refers to those who have to grapple with the impossibility of representing themselves. In a larger sense, this has been seen as the situation of most subjects in the formerly colonized spaces now labouring under postcoloniality, as theorised by Hall (1996), and coloniality. The subaltern is almost always

represented. The black African subjectivity, as a historical figure, emerges as represented, first by the colonialist, and in the contemporary by the state, the nation and institutions of global capital. Spivak combines deconstruction with feminism and Marxist perspectives to “critique capital and the international division of labour, the critique of imperialism and colonial discourse” (Landry and Maclean, 1996: 3). Importantly, working from a feminist perspective, Spivak theorises “the links between racism and capitalism” (Landry and Maclean, 1996: 3). In talking about representation, Spivak insists on the two meanings of the concept, which she draws from Marx: *Vertretung*, where representation refers to political representation, and *Darstellung* where *Dar*, ‘there’, same cognate, and *Stellen*, is ‘to place’, so ‘placing there’ becomes representing as in ‘proxy’ and ‘portrait’. Spivak notes that, “the thing to remember is that in the act of representing politically, you actually represent yourself and your constituency in the portrait sense, as well” (1990: 108). She points out how representation silences those it ostensibly makes present, which effectively means that “the subaltern cannot speak” (Spivak, 1996: 292). The black African subject, throughout history, has been silenced and cannot speak. This means that even if the black African subject speaks, no one listens (Landry and Maclean, 1996).

## **1.6. The black African subject as ‘the human’**

Frantz Fanon and Sylvia Wynter, in their challenge to western theory, are pre-occupied with the question of retrieving ‘the human’ out of the debris of this theory. Biko makes reference to the ‘envisioned self’ in a sense arguing that the black African subject is a historical subject and is capable of self-creation. If Marx argued for the autonomy of man as an individual, the capability by man to determine his action as a historical figure, Biko is aware of the challenges that the black person faced in South Africa and endeavoured to uplift his spirit by pointing to the capability of the black African subject to achieve an ‘envisioned self’ (Biko, 2017; Mitias, 1972; Schall, 1970; Marx, 1956). For Fanon, just as in Biko, the biggest challenge is that of representation where the question is: “how should the black man speak for himself?” (Sardar, 2008: xiv). Fanon believes that to speak is to assume a culture. This raises complications for the black man because he speaks with a European language and becomes proportionately whiter in direct ratio to his mastery of his colonial conqueror’s language (Fanon, 2008). The biggest question is around representation, even self-representation, as “the black man is presented with a problem: how to posit a “black self” in a

language and discourse in which blackness itself is at best a figure of absence, or worse a total reversion?” (Sardar, 2008: xv). Fanon notes that as a result of this, the black subject is a fractured subject in that he has two dimensions and behaves differently when he is around a white man than when he is with a fellow black man. For Fanon the colonized subjects “in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality—finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country” (Fanon, 2008: 9).

Sylvia Wynter’s work has been effective in exposing the coloniality of the idea of the human. In sum, what has come to mean ‘the human’ has been under construction since 1542, with the colonisation of the Caribbean. Wynter’s work has been important in exposing the limits of the hegemonic liberal and neoliberal visions of human freedom and liberation in that their conception of subjectivity is rooted in coloniality. In this case, the idea of the human, as a universal subject figure, is riddled with and limited by coloniality. Maldonado-Torres notes that in Wynter, the human appears as a figure separated from the divine through a secular-line and through racialized constructs where an “onto-Manichean colonial line” separates the human and the barbarian (Maldonado-Torres, 2017: 117). Wynter notes that this struggle, over the meaning of the human, is central to a lot of struggles in the present (Wynter, 2003: 260). For Wynter, under modernity, the figure of the white male takes the definition of the human. She therefore insists that, a search for human freedom means challenging this “overrepresentation [...] on whose basis the world of modernity was brought into existence from the fifteenth/sixteenth centuries onwards” (Wynter, 2003: 260). The coloniality of being accounts for “our present struggles with respect to race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, struggles over the environment, global warming, severe climate change, the sharply unequal distribution of the earth resources” (Wynter, 2003: 260 – 261). The present struggle can be seen as the “ethnoclass Man vs. Human struggle” (Wynter, 2003: 261). For Wynter, the question of the human arises in the debate between Bartolomé de Las Casas, the missionary priest, and Ginés de Sepúlveda, the humanist royal historian and apologist for the Spanish settlers of then Santo Domingo. This debate is “a dispute [...] between two descriptive statements of the human” (Wynter, 2003: 268). Scott notes that the ideas of the human that Wynter grapples with emerge out of a specific time in European history, a time of humanism, where contrary to Fanon’s humanism, here “humanism marks a certain stage in Europe's consciousness

of itself - that stage at which it leaves behind it the cramped intolerances of the damp and enclosed Middle Ages and enters, finally, into the rational spaciousness and secular luminosity of the Modern (Scott, 2000: 119). Scott draws our attention to the often underplayed story of humanism which is “the connection between humanism and dehumanization [and that] its classical and Christian antecedents is simultaneously the moment of initiation of Europe's colonial project” (2000: 119 - 120). He therefore sums up the argument this way: “Humanism and colonialism inhabit the same cognitive-political universe in as much as Europe's discovery of its Self is simultaneous with its discovery of its Others” (Scott, 2000: 120).

Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui's work also focuses on representation and the possibility of overcoming the coloniality in Bolivia. Like Steve Biko, in her work, she affirms a strong faith, in an indigenous solution. Commenting on the nature of coloniality, Cusicanqui points out that “the colonial condition obscures a number of paradoxes. Throughout history, the modernizing efforts of the Europeanized elites in the Andean region resulted in successive waves of recolonization” (Cusicanqui, 2012: 95). However, Cusicanqui, unlike most scholars of the postcolonial or decolonial moment, posits and is emphatic that the colonial is also the space for resistance, arguing that “although it is true that modern history meant slavery for the indigenous peoples of America, it was simultaneously an arena of resistance and conflict [...] a space for the creation of new indigenous languages and projects of modernity” (Cusicanqui, 2012: 95). By language, she is referring to representation because ultimately it is representation that is at issue in this context. Her concept of decolonisation can be likened to Mignolo and Tlostanova's (2006) concept of border thinking, where it is not necessary to seek decolonisation in boycotting the structures that colonialism built, but to resist within them. Cusicanqui is convinced that “the condition of possibility for an indigenous hegemony is located in the territory of the modern nation —inserted into the contemporary world” (Cusicanqui, 2012: 95). Her argument here is that the designation of an indigenous category has become a representation that is meant to keep them trapped into a time long gone past and in rural spaces without access or contact with the rest of the world. As a result, the indigenous are not ‘present’ (as in here), but absent and continuously exiled to the past, “a past imagined as quiet, static, and archaic” (Cusicanqui, 2012: 95).

## **1.7. Black Consciousness and the black African subject as the “envisioned self”**

Biko, and the Black Consciousness movement, can best be appreciated in a context of refusal by Africans to be imitations of the West. That is why it is important to note that “many people of African descent, especially in colonial and semi colonial societies, did not take sides either with global Communism or with their imperialist masters” (Marable and Joseph, 2008: viii). These are people who imagined self-determination and freedom in another sense. The Black Consciousness movement “questioned whether Europeans or colonial whites, even those who espoused antiracist and socialistic views, could embrace the concept of black majority rule. They sometimes perceived the struggle for what Marxists termed “national-democratic revolution” in distinctly “racial” and ethnic terms, arguing that the generations of enslavement and suffering had produced among blacks a kind of consciousness of collective resistance that neither Marx nor Lenin had anticipated” (Marable and Joseph, 2008: viii). Mgxitama, Alexander and Gibson note that, “the Black Consciousness movement breathed life into a people who had been cowered into submission by the brutality of white oppression in apartheid South Africa” (2008: 1). Biko and other thinkers in the Black Consciousness movement located their struggle in the context of anti-colonial struggles from around the African continent and the Black power movement in the United States. The aim was to secure a “black-controlled, -defined, and -led project of liberation” (Mgxitama, Alexander and Gibson, 2008: 1). It is important to consider Biko and Black Consciousness’s idea of black African subjectivity. Mgxitama, Alexander and Gibson note that “Black Consciousness developed a new conception of blackness where “Black” is constructed — in reaction to the apartheid designation of “nonwhite” — as a positive, expansive concept including those designated as Coloured, Indian, and African” (2008: 2). These ideas were developed out of long debates and engaging with the reality on the ground in apartheid South Africa. To Biko, the South African struggle was a struggle for ‘the human’, a struggle to be the envisioned self (Biko, 2017: 13). In this, Biko was following in the footsteps of Fanon who spoke of national consciousness rather than nationalism. Outside this national consciousness, Biko was aware that nationalism will bring “black poverty and exclusion alongside white wealth, legitimized by a black presence in government” (Mgxitama, Alexander and Gibson, 2008: 4). Biko is worried about representations where white liberals speak on behalf of black people. In an interview with Gerhart, he points out that when the ANC and the PAC were banned in 1960 “effectively all black resistance was killed,

and the stage was left open to whites of liberal opinion to make representations for blacks, in a way that had not happened in the past, unaccompanied by black opinion” (Steve Biko in an interview with Gerhart, 2008: 21). He notes that this situation reduced black people “just to be there, and to allow whites to speak on their behalf. And all blacks were doing all this time was just to clap and say “amen”” (Steve Biko in an interview with Gerhart, 2008: 22). Biko emphasizes the importance of keeping the struggle connected to other struggles around the African continent. Intellectually, he notes that Black Consciousness was inspired by, among others, Fanon, Senghor and Diop. He notes that “they spoke to us, you know. These people obviously were very influential” (Steve Biko in an interview with Gerhart, 2008: 23). Biko and others read a lot of African literature, by these writers and others. It can be argued that they stood in a long list of decolonial thinkers and philosophers in South Africa and this can be seen in their active reading engaged in an “active search for that type of book, for the kind of thing that will say things to you, that was bound to evoke a response” (Steve Biko in an interview with Gerhart, 2008: 24).

Biko and the black consciousness movement operated in a wide context of black struggles. It was at the same time that Robert Sobukwe led his Pan African Congress (PAC). Sobukwe was regarded as the most dangerous intellectual of his generation leading to the Sobukwe Clause that “allowed his imprisonment to be renewed annually at the discretion of the Minister of Justice” (Lebakeng, 2018: 78). Lebakeng notes that “Consequently, he was interned on Robben Island for further six years. On face this statute seemed to grant broadly applicable powers, but in essence it was specifically intended to authorize the arbitrary extension of Sobukwe's imprisonment. Sobukwe was the only person imprisoned under this clause. Due to his sense of purpose and determination to achieve the liberation of Africans, Sobukwe was considered to be extremely dangerous by the colonial apartheid regime in South Africa” (2018: 78). Sobukwe’s thoughts contain “important observations for the study of identity, culture, history, and society” (Delpont, 2016: 35). Importantly, Sobukwe was seen as a prophet of black liberation in that his thoughts lie “in an attention to the role of the historical imagination, what we can tentatively name a historical form of consciousness” which is described or defined as “a form of consciousness that stands in opposition to and looks beyond what is confined and prescribed as the current and its possibilities” (Delpont, 2016: 35). It was in thinking against the apartheid logic that Sobukwe was an inspiration to black activists like Biko and a threat to the regime. Sobukwe emphasized pan-Africanism and

African nationalism (Delpont, 2016: 35). Sobukwe “mobilised history as a theatre of struggle that tied together the realms of the psychological and the political in the quest for African liberation” (Delpont, 2016: 35). He emphasized that ““As for the world, so for Afrika. The future of Africa will be what Africans make it” (Sobukwe, 1959/2013: 477). In breaking away from the ANC after the 1955 Freedom Charter, which the Africanists, like Sobukwe regarded as a compromise, their (Africanists) desire was to restore the African to history. In part of his speech at the first annual meeting of the PAC, Sobukwe said ““We aim, politically, at government of the Africans by the Africans, for the Africans, with everybody who owes his only loyalty to Afrika and who is prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority being regarded as African” (Sobukwe, 1959/2014: 480). This praxis for liberation was also aimed at issues of subjectivity as he further pointed out that “socially we aim at the full development of the human personality and a ruthless uprooting and outlawing of all forms or manifestations of the racial myth” (Sobukwe, 1959/2014: 480). The aim of the liberation struggle, therefore, was the death of the European subject and the reinstatement of the black African subject in history (Delpont, 2016: 39).

Sobukwe, as the torch bearer of Africanist thought was taking over from Anton Lembede and the young lions of the ANC YL. Qunta notes that “Sobukwe’s intellectual legacy should be understood from the ideological standpoint of Africanism. He was influenced greatly by the writings of Anton Lembede the first president of 2 the ANC Youth League” (2018: 1). In searching for a decolonial impulse in South Africa’s own history, decolonial impulse that looked out to Africa, it is important to consider the political thought and work of the ANC YL, especially Lembede, Mda and Mandela. This is to say that, we have to retrieve a radical Mandela before he embraced non-racialism. The youth league was formed because young people in the movement were concerned about stagnation within the congress, organizational weaknesses, lack of ideology and “its failure to properly analyse the nature of the problem faced by Africans and the resultant tendency to react only to actions by the colonial regime” (2018: 2). The league was formally established in 1944 after the mother body’s resolution at the December 1943 conference, which also set up the women’s league. The league’s first president was Lembede and in March 1944 the League’s Provisional Committee issued its manifesto. The manifesto substituted the ANC’s notion of trusteeship with that of self-determination and African nationalism became the new rallying cry (Qunta, 2018). It is Lembede, the ideological pioneer within the league who defined African nationalism even before the

manifesto. According to Qunta, “Lembede defined African nationalism as a scientific ideology which had a philosophical, economic, historical, democratic and ethical basis. He viewed it as a nation building philosophy which seeks to forge a united African nation from a number of nationalities based on his belief that African people are one people” (2018: 3). Qunta notes that in this conception of African nationalism, “the destiny of African people is national freedom and after national freedom there will be socialism. [...] the home of African people and has been such from time immemorial. A cardinal principle of African nationalism is that the leaders of African people must come from among themselves. Freedom is the indispensable precondition for all progress and development” (2018: 3). Lembede’s ideas on Africanism and African nationalism, which he used interchangeably, were to be adopted by Youth League, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the Black Consciousness Movement. Lembede and his close friend and intellectual sparring partner, A.P. Mda, read widely and kept abreast on events in other parts of Africa and the world (Qunta, 2018). For Mda, African nationalism is “the militant outlook of a dispossessed people, a people oppressed in their own country on the grounds of their being the rightful owners of the land, on the grounds of their belonging to a group with a particular colour. In short, a group that is nationally oppressed. It is a dynamic nation-building outlook” (Mda, 1948: np).

For a more rigorous excavation of a decolonial theory, it is important to consider the feminist challenge to black consciousness. Mangena notes that, through recognizing that women could be equal to men as public leaders, the black consciousness philosophy “inadvertently and tacitly endorsed the legitimacy of “gender” as an issue in the terrain of social and political power relations between men and women. In this sense the Black Consciousness philosophy was ahead of its time with regard to the problematic of “gender”” (2008: 254). She cites Ramphele who notes that, “gender as a political issue was not raised at all [...] There is no evidence to suggest that the BWF [Black Women’s Federation] was concerned with the special problems women experienced as a result of sexism both in the private and in the public sphere” (In Mangena, 2008: 254). Mangena insists that, although gender was not an organizing principle of the movement, “gender concerns were tacitly endorsed” (2008: 255).

## **1.8. The black radical intellectual legacy of South Africa**

Although marginalized, South Africa has in the years prior to 1994 developed a rich legacy of radical black scholarship. This section will consider the work of Archie Mafeje and Bernard Magubane. Sociologist and anthropologist, Bernard Magubane was never satisfied by work on Africa arguing that “recent books and articles are disappointing. Social change is studied in a way which makes Africa a poor carbon copy of western values and morals” (1968: 286). He was an advocate of an indigenous scholarship and was correct in pointing to colonialism as the main problem of Africa as “the motive behind imperialism or colonialism was not the ‘modernisation’ of the territories subjected to its rule” (Magubane, 1968: 286). In a review of two books, Magubane (1968) pays close attention to language and how it is used to downplay the horrors and atrocities of colonialism. This aspect of his work is important for media and cultural studies. He also gets involved in theoretical debates. He points out the weakness of the liberal school on Africa. The first weakness, Magubane argues is that liberal scholarship “takes white settler colonialism and capitalist development as a natural order of the universe” and focuses on how the rest of the world adjusts “to the benevolent, if sometimes rough, expansion of western civilization” (Magubane, 1983: 539). Second, liberal scholarship is seen as “ideologically committed to the justification and preservation of the status quo” (Magubane, 1983: 539). The problem with this commitment to serve the status quo is that when it comes to South Africa the tendency is to analyse history “in terms of the virtues and vices of the English and Afrikaners” (Magubane, 1983: 539). This is an important point, especially when one looks at the intellectual history of South Africa, in that many disciplines including journalism and media studies, were for a long time a debate between the English and Afrikaners. Magubane notes that, as a result “Africans intrude into their analysis as objects rather than as actors” (Magubane, 1983: 539). Third, liberal scholarship has been seen as depoliticizing through writing history “in such a way that the injustices committed against the indigenous peoples do not outrage” (Magubane, 1983: 539). Fourth, Magubane argues that in liberal scholarship “race and racism are taken as the natural ideological baggage about which very little can be done” (1983: 539). These observations are important in that, Magubane is then seen as radicalizing scholarship in South Africa. His work and that of Archie Mafeje, then lays the ground for a decolonial scholarship.

Reflecting on the obsession with using tribalism as an explanation for the challenges that Africa faces, Mafeje questions “could this be the distinguishing feature of the continent? or is it merely a reflection of the system of perceptions of those who write on Africa, and of their African converts” (1971: 253). Here Mafeje (1971) not only throws into crisis this scholarship but also makes an observation on how coloniality converts indigenous academics and researchers. Ndlovu-Gatsheni would later posit that “preachers, teachers and lecturers produced by colonially-constructed institutions exist as lost children of coloniality” (2013: 11). Even the media has for a long time pushed tribalism as an explanation for the civil wars of the first decades of African independence, the violence around hostels and townships and xenophobia. Some African journalists have also fallen for that explanation. Noting that “social sciences are hard to purify of all ideological connotations,” Mafeje questions “might not African history, written, not by Europeans, but by Africans themselves, have employed different concepts and told a different story? If so, what would have been the theoretical explanation?” (1971: 253). Here, Mafeje (1971) gestures to a decolonial perspective on African issues. Working within the Anthropological discipline, Mafeje notes that Magubane was part of a generation that represents “a leftist denunciation of colonial (not to say positivist) anthropology” (1976: 307). He is however critical of Magubane seeing him as falling into the trap of conflating intellectual ideologies without realising that “it is as hard to fit socialist clothes on an imperialist off-spring as it is to transform positivism by radicalizing it” (Mafeje, 1976: 308). However, together with Magubane, Mafeje was already doing what comes close to decolonial work.

## **1.9. Searching for a decolonial Marxist politics**

Here, I discuss the critical Marxist theory of Gramsci, Althusser and Foucault in relation to their formulation of questions of representation and the subject with the aim of putting them to dialogue with decolonial theory. The aim is to put this western critical theory into crisis by bringing it into a conversation with postcolonial and decolonial paradigms. Bartolovich notes that there are grounds for dialogue between Marxism and postcolonial studies availing an opportunity for productive theorising of the postcolonial moment (2002: 1). The urgency of closing the gap between postcolonial and Marxist approaches is due to the need for a “deeper theorisation of the specifics of postcolonial condition under global capitalism” (Samaddar, 2018: v). In the age of

hyper-globalisation, most of the continent remains haunted by what Samaddar calls “postcolonial capitalism” such that Marxist insights are important for an understanding of contemporary Africa (2018: vi). Samaddar defines ‘postcolonial capitalism’ as simply a phenomenon of “capitalism in the postcolonial world” (2018: vi). A creolised decolonial marxist theory – putting into conversation marxism, postcolonial and decolonial approaches - offers better theoretical resources to understand Africa’s ‘postcolonial capitalism’. A creolised theoretical framework that brings postcolonial studies, decolonial approaches and Marxism into dialogue is imperative because, to all these approaches “the theorization of modernity has been of central interest” (Bartolovich, 2002: 15). While postcolonial approaches have tended to focus on modernity as a ‘cultural dilemma’, both decolonisation and Marxism have focused on modernity as inextricably bound to capitalism (Bartolovich, 2002: 15).

It would seem like an opportunity for genuine dialogue between these theoretical approaches was squandered in the debate between the Subaltern Studies school in India and Vivek Chibber over postcolonialism and Marxism (Samaddar, 2018: v). Samaddar notes that, on one hand, many in the subaltern studies group found Chibber’s conception of postcolonial theory very narrow, refusing to acknowledge the role of postcolonial and decolonial thinkers who experimented with Marxism such as Mao Tsetung, Frantz Fanon, Ho Chi Minh and Amilcar Cabral (2018: v). On the other hand, those sympathetic to Marxism felt that the subaltern school had approached the debate with the express aim of refuting Chibber’s criticism without opening themselves up for dialogue (Samaddar, 2018: v). Bartolovich notes that there has been a huge neglect of Marxism in postcolonial studies and Marxists have tended to dismiss postcolonial studies insights, as well, leading to “oversimplification, caricature, and trivialization” on both sides (2002: 1). Postcolonial thinkers have dismissed Marxism as Eurocentric and complicity with the master-narratives of modernity, while Marxists dismiss postcolonial studies as complicit with imperialism in its dalliance with globalisation, and that it is dematerialising and unhistorical in its approach to texts (Bartolovich, 2002: 1).

The question that arises out of that postcolonial politics is that of the subject. Samaddar raises a question on the possibility of “a postcolonial subject? Can the postcolonial attain subjecthood?” (Samaddar, 2018: 40). His answer to the questions is that “the postcolonial is not a subject to itself,

but only in relation to global capital” (Samaddar, 2018: 40). In the case of Africa, and in light of its colonial history, two subjectivities dominate the postcolonial as black African subjectivities: migrants and labourers. In the postcolonial moment, global capital brings migration into view and makes question of the subject that of both difference and circularity between citizenship and migration. In the process “borders appear as a crucial stake in determining subjecthood” where the migrant becomes ‘the universal’ and the citizen becomes ‘the particular’ and “postcolonial subjectivity is determined through this tension” (Samaddar, 2018: 41). In the migrant, postcolonial capitalism has constructed its own subject that cannot exist outside of this postcolonial history of capital (Samaddar, 2018: 44). Postcolonial and decolonial thinkers would take that to mean the black African subject, a migrant all over the world, as a subject that is so visible in the ‘colonial present,’ cannot exist outside the history of slavery, colonialism and neoliberal postcolonialism. However, for Samaddar, there are slight changes in the Global South, the postcolonial situation is under a permanent condition of primitive accumulation compared to the most modern form of capital, in the West, that can be taken as virtual capital (2018: 45).

The importance of Gramsci’s work in postcolonial work cannot be over-emphasised. His work on hegemony and the subaltern has offered important thinking tools in postcolonial studies. Gramsci innovated Marxist theory pointing out how “complex, contradictory and discordant ensemble of the superstructures is the reflection of the ensemble of the social relations of production” (Gramsci, 2000: 192). It is his conceptualisation of the subaltern that appeals to anticolonial theoretical work. Gramsci’s concept of the subaltern is partly formulated in his discussion of the Southern Question. Here he is responding to a newspaper article that characterizes the communists in Turin, Italy’s capital city, as interested in saving and representing peasants in the mostly rural Southern part of the country. The newspaper article alleges that Turin communists thought they would, by a ‘magical formula’ save the peasants. However, Gramsci’s response is that rather than a magical formula, Turin communists were committed to a “political alliance between Northern workers and Southern peasants, to oust the bourgeoisie from State power” (Gramsci, 1978: 442). It would seem Gramsci is refuting the hegemonic idea of ‘representing’ the peasantry by the urbanized working class. However, his proposal of an ‘alliance’ is still not free from possible charges of being hegemonic because, as he further explains, this alliance will be under “the leadership of the industrial proletariat” (Gramsci, 1978: 443). As Spivak (2005: 477), following Marx (1963) and

Gramsci (1978), has noted, the subaltern is not a subaltern necessarily because it is oppressed, but because it cannot self-represent. Gramsci argues that the Turin communists had the ‘merit’ of “bringing the Southern question forcibly to the attention of the workers’ vanguard” making it a national issue (1978: 443). In a sense the peasants are represented by both the communists and the working class, in the city, who are seen as the vanguard of the revolution. He places emphasis on the “hegemony of the proletariat” arguing that they are the “social basis of the proletarian dictatorship and of the workers’ State” (Gramsci, 1978: 443). Here the proletariat refers to both the working class, industrial labourers, in the cities and the peasants, who work on the land in the rural areas. However, the working class are the vanguard and therefore become representative of the peasants. To Gramsci’s benefit of doubt, he takes the Southern Question and with it, the peasants, seriously. This is similar to the case discussed in the opening of this chapter contribution; that to his credit Gramsci takes the colonial question seriously. However, it is the violence of representation in theory that both the European peasants and the black labourers in Africa are under the European working class as the historical vanguard. Representation, in theory as well, silences (Lloyd, 2019; Alcoff, 1991). Gramsci notes that the challenge around peasants’ revolutionary agency is because they are tied to big landowners “through the mediation of the intellectual” (1978: 455). The implications of this are that peasants cannot be “autonomous, independent mass organizations [...] capable of selecting out peasant cadres, themselves of peasant origin” to lead them (Gramsci, 1978: 455). The end results of this representation by intellectuals is that the peasant always end up tied to the state apparatus – the communes, provinces, and chamber of deputies – where they are represented by parties made up of intellectuals who are controlled by landowners (Gramsci, 1978: 455). In a sense, the peasants are subalternised in that they cannot represent themselves.

Althusser offers an important challenge to decolonial theory. He notes that, in working out his revolutionary theory, Marx had to abandon his bourgeois and petty-bourgeois positions “and adopt the class positions of the proletariat” (Althusser, 1971: 8). Althusser raises this point so as to emphasise the need to theorise from the conditions and the level of the oppressed. He privileges the position of the proletariat as the site for theory, a position “to see and analyse the mechanisms of a class society and therefore to produce a scientific knowledge of it” (Althusser, 1971: 8). Althusser makes an important observation which is an opening, albeit small, for decolonial theory.

In that this observation ties with Cusicanqui (2012) emphasis on the need to centre the indigenous people in theory, it can be taken as a small opening that can be later prised open by decolonial scholars who centre peasants or indigeneous people in their work (Cusicanqui, 2012; Tuck and Yang, 2012). Importantly, Althusser points out that these “class conditions are not ‘given’ in advance” and Marx’s “work contributed to their elaboration” (Althusser, 1971: 8). Besides representation, Althusser, links theorising to praxis noting that “without the proletariat’s class struggle, Marx could not have adopted the point of view of class exploitation, or carried out his scientific work” (1971: 8). Decolonial theory has to be attentive to the broader questions of our time, to focus its intellectual and revolutionary gaze on those spaces where black African subjectivity is made as colonial subjectivity, and can possibly be unmade, for example, migration. The challenges around migration have panned out as an intersectional issue raising questions of sex, race, and gender, among other subjectivities. The global pain stirred by a picture such as that of the dead drowned bodies of Salvadoran migrant, Oscar Alberto Martinez Ramirez, and his daughter near the US border with Mexico locks people around the world in a shared sense of outrage such that, in Che Guevara’s words, they “tremble with indignation at [the] injustice” making them “comrades” (In Latner, 2005: 112). These ‘comrades’ are beyond narrow subjectivities of race, gender or class but occupy the master subjectivity of ‘the human’ (Wynter, 2003; Fanon, 1963). Migration, and the crisis of how the state across the world has handled it becomes, not a class, gender or race struggle, but a human struggle. To complete and qualify this point, I note that Althusser posits that, in that “the political class struggle resounds in the ideological and philosophical class struggle; it can therefore succeed in transforming class positions in theory” (Althusser, 1971: 8). He further argues that “it is only on the positions of the proletariat that it is possible to provide a radical critique of new forms of bourgeois ideology, to obtain thereby a clear view of the mechanisms of imperialism and to advance in the construction of socialism” (Althusser, 1971: 9). While Althusser (1971:8) notes that ‘class positions’ are not given in advance, following Wynter (2003) and Mignolo (2007), I note that ‘the human’ is not pre-given. By displacing Althusser’s limited class category, with the intersectional category of ‘the human’, one can articulate a decolonial theoretical politics to liberate “the proletariat and [...] the oppressed peoples of the world” (Althusser, 1971: 9 – 10). However, this is possible if, as Althusser rightly points out, one pays “maximum attention to the resources, new forms and inventions” of ‘the humans’ undermined as “disposable” (Bauman, 2014) by the state and the nation across the

world. In a roundabout way, Althusser's observation on the need to centre the proletariat subjects in theory is Marxist theory's challenge to decolonial theory.

In his work, Foucault is interested in practices and how phenomena historically becomes what it means to people, such as how the prison becomes a place of damnation. In a series of lectures that he offered on the hermeneutics of the subject, he points out that he is interested in studying subjectivity "not only in its theoretical formulations, but analyzing it in relation to a set of practices" (Foucault, 2005: 491). Rabinow notes that, in his work, Foucault "avoids the abstract question: Does human nature exist?, and asks instead: How has the concept of human nature functioned in our society?" (1984: 4). This proffers another possible opening for decolonial politics. Instead of searching for the essence of a black African subject, who is human, it could be helpful to trace ways in which the human has been conceptualized and exploring possibilities that subverting this Eurocentric human can open. Foucault focuses on historically analyzing discourses and practices around the subject, power and knowledge. In what he calls the "the genealogy of the modern subject," he notes that the Western culture has given a lot of importance to the problem of the subject in social, political, economic, legal, philosophical, and scientific realms (Foucault, 1972). Foucault posits that his interest is to ascertain when these practices cohered up and establish "the point at which a particular discourse emerged from these techniques and came to be seen as true" (Foucault, 1972). It is important to understand how, partly, black African subjectivity in the postcolonial moment in Africa, has come to be associated with poverty, protests and (black-on-black) violence. It is also important to understand if that is true at all, and whether it is all that there is about black African subjectivity. Foucault points out that "the goal of my work [...] has been to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects" (Foucault, 1972). History is central to the genealogy of ideas, in this case the idea of black subjectivity in the postapartheid moment. History should be important to any decolonial theoretical politics.

Foucault's work then allows us to look at colonialism, coloniality, postcoloniality and the colonial present as discourses; where we ask ourselves the question on how it is possible to speak of the human under these conditions. Following his teacher, Althusser's theorization of ideology, Foucault sees discourses as having a material effect in that they produce "practices that

systematically form the objects of which they speak” (1972: 135). Discourse, then, structures the constitution, and has an impact on how knowledge is organized such that knowledge becomes “true” and is a social fact (Foucault, 1972). Foucault (1972) locates the logic of the discourse in the wider structures of society, what he calls the episteme, of the historical period in which that discourse is located. Here he points to the role of power in making discourses true, and this is based on rules and specific categories that become the criteria for legitimating knowledge and truth (Foucault, 1972). He notes how the rule are pre-given, coming before the emergence of a discourse (Foucault, 1972). What is important to point out is that, according to Foucault (1972), discourses hide their construction and mask their capacity to produce knowledge by claiming a-historicity. This is where issues of power come up. In that Foucault seeks to “historicize grand abstractions” (Rabinow, 1984: 4) this provides us an opening to historicize and break down postcolonial Africa and how black African subjectivity emerges in various spaces and institutions. In a direct challenge to Eurocentrism, it also teaches us to avoid the temptation to universalize, and if we take on strategic universalism to do so in the context that there is “no universal understanding that is beyond history and society” (Rabinow, 1984: 4).

### **1.10. Conclusion**

Decolonisation could have been characterized as a mindless attack on western theory and jettisoning it out of the academy. However, that is not true. In the case of Africa, a continent that has always come last and as an afterthought, decolonisation is unashamedly restoring to theory and to history black African subjectivity. Decolonial work is the painstaking and textured reading, paying attention to the narrowness of western theory, where Eurocentrism override those moments when, in the case of marxism, it could offers openings towards recovering the human. In part, and in this case, the task of decolonising theory means deploying a creolised theoretical framework that reads the Marxist theories of Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser and Michel Foucault, alongside the postcolonial theory of Edward Said and Gayatri Spivak, and the decolonial archive of Frantz Fanon, Sylvia Wynter, Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness movement. In tracing and mapping debates on subjectivity, with a focus on black African subjectivity, the creolised theoretical framework that brings postcolonial studies, decolonial approaches and Marxism into dialogue is imperative because of the challenge

they all pose to modernity. In his intervention on the colonised populations, Gramsci opens space for a decolonial politics rightly pointing out how the colonised are subjugated to the interests of the European colonising nations. Where Eurocentrism limits his argument, Sylvia Wynter and Fanon proffer insights that allow us to recover 'the human' in the debris of western theory. Their work that makes links between race, colonialism and capitalism speak to both decolonial theories and Marxism. This is what Fanon (1963) would call stretching Marxism a bit within the context of the colonial situation. In observing how Marx had to attend the university of the barricades to forcefully theorise the class struggle, Althusser opens space for a decolonial politics. Displacing his limited class category, with an intersectional category of 'the human', as theorized by Wynter, it is possible to articulate a decolonial politics with liberatory potential. In challenging the universalisms of modernity and historicizing grand abstractions, Foucault lays foundation for anti-colonial theories to not only short circuit and sabotage western abstractions but also centre the black African subject in theory.

## Chapter 2

### The idea of postapartheid South Africa

“To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognise it ‘the way it really was.’ It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger” (Walter Benjamin, [1968]/2007: 255)

“We should remember that the struggle for South Africa has long been, and continues to be, a struggle to become South African” (Saul Dubow, 2007: 72).

“What is the post-apartheid nation? Who belongs or is excluded, and on what basis?” (Colin Bundy 2007: 79)

#### 2.1. Introduction

It is easy to take South Africa for granted overlooking that it appears in the crucible of colonialism as a site of struggle. The country called South Africa has been shaped by the history of pre-colonial black African communities that lived on its land way before 1652, and was carved into what it is today by colonialism, apartheid, the black consciousness and nationalist black politics. In that it emerges out of these histories and still bears the fingerprints of apartheid, postapartheid South Africa cannot be taken for granted. In an analysis of the representations of black African subjectivity, the idea of South Africa has to be interrogated because it shapes black African subjectivity in a way specific to its own image (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). Black African subjectivity, as a way of being, in the pre-1652 period was shaped by many factors including human relationships to the land, as a prime means of production and reproduction, their relationship to their rulers and to each other as families and fellow humans (Mellet, 2020; Laband, 2020; Ngcukaitobi, 2018). The growth of these indigenous communities, the shifting loyalties in terms of rulers, the wars amongst them were gradually changing and shaping the subjectivity of individuals. The arrival of Jan van Riebeeck and his troops in 1652 altered that way of being in many ways and the most prominent being that, first, it introduced race into the Southern tip of a continent to become Africa, and second, it altered the way that the indigenous people related to land.

This chapter provides a history of South Africa to contextualise the study of the constructions of black African subjectivity. Importantly, the chapter seeks to contextualise this research by revealing how migration, cities and the media are not only tied to the colonial project, but shape

black African subjectivity in significant ways. In other words, the chapter is a historicised engagement with questions of representation and black African subjectivity in South Africa. It provides an in-depth history of the media and that of media and cultural studies in South Africa. The chapter is organised in such a way that it starts with a short outline of the history of South Africa attempting to correct the notion that the history of South Africa starts in 1652, which has been part of historiography for a long time now. The chapter then discusses colonialism, with a special focus on colonial dispossessions, conquest, growth of mining and how this shaped black African subjectivity as that of a serf or slave and then a colonial labourer. However, in that indigenous people lost their land in wars, fighting back, the black subject was also fighters. In the section that discusses a brief history of Johannesburg, the emergence of cities, urbanisation and borders, the chapter considers the ways in which this marks the re-activation of resistance to colonial subjugation and yearnings for liberation. In the last sections, the chapter discusses both media history and history of media and cultural studies in South Africa.

## **2.2. A brief history of South Africa**

The idea of South Africa is a colonial idea linked to the twin ideas of Africa and that of Southern Africa. According to Mudimbe, although the scramble for Africa and the active period of colonization lasted less than a century – between the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries – the colonialism period was a crucial time in laying the foundation for the idea and the invention of Africa (1988: 14). Constructed, imagined and represented as different from Europe, Africa “has served as an exotic prism through which outsiders, mainly Europeans, refracted images of ‘the other’ and of themselves” (Parker and Rathbone, 2007: 5). Easton (2007) notes that Southern Africa, as a subcontinent or a sub region, has a specific colonial history shaped by the colonial migrant labour regime. In that history, South Africa occupies a specific place. With its three “white settler colonies of Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe,” the question of Southern Africa, posed from a decolonial and postcolonial standpoint, is from the onset haunted by “recurring themes of colonialism, apartheid, war, nationalism and independence” (Easton, 2007: 131).

What was to be South Africa in future is a space that has a long history of African kingdoms that include the Zulu nation, the Xhosa kingdoms, the Sotho kingdoms and the Venda kingdoms,

among others. Thompson posits that, in the hands of most “historians of the white South African establishment” the history of South Africa is always the history of European colonisation (2001: 1). This tends to emphasise the role of capitalism “as the moulder of modern Southern Africa” (Thompson, 2001: 1). However, the precolonial history of the Southern Africa region is important as it provides “essential link” in explaining the present (Thompson, 2001: 1). This precolonial history is important in contextualising any understanding of the constructions and shaping of black African subjectivity that emerges in the colonial period and is perpetuated into the postapartheid period. That is why Black pan-Africanists like Anton Lembede, A.P. Mda, Robert Sobukwe and Steve Biko, among others, preferred to search within indigenous knowledges and history in attempts to theorise black liberation in South Africa.

South Africa’s history before colonisation is usually told as the Bantu history. An emphasis on Mfecane and the Mfecane states focusing on King Shaka who ruled the Zulu nation from around 1810 also creates the impression that the country’s history does not start until colonisation that came in the 1652. Importantly, criticism has been that this writes the Khoi and San people out of the country’s history. For the Khoi and San communities, and the later communities of the Zulu, Xhosa and Venda chiefdoms, among others, no notion of South Africa existed (Ntsebeza and Saunders, 2014: iv). Until as recent as the 1960s, the people called the San or Khoisan have not appeared in any historical writings (Wright, 2014: 8). Their history even today still remains trapped in the assumptions that their culture and identity has not changed from the stone age (Wright, 2014: 8). In terms of the Bantu people, a history that has been centred in the history of black South Africa, the tendency is to centre the Zulu kingdom, under the leadership of King Shaka (Wright, 2014: 7). This history is always told as the history of the ‘wars of Shaka’ or umfecane where King Shaka is portrayed as “the archetype of despotic African king who ruled a highly militarised kingdom” (Wright, 2014: 7). This despotic African king that King Shaka was imagined to be prefigures the postcolonial African strongmen and dictator leaders like Robert Mugabe, Yoweri Museveni, and others. However, historical work has cast doubt on the idea of umfecane (Wright, 1989; Cobbing, 1988; Omer-Cooper, 1993). Its most prominent critic, Cobbing (1989) has argued that it is a colonial alibi to conceal wrongdoing by the colonisers especially over land expropriation. The Mfecane is seen as a series of wars in the 1820s that led to great suffering in the land. This led to some groups leaving the region leading to new nations such as the Ndebele under Mzilikazi, the

Swazi under Sobhuza, the Pedi under Sekwati, the Basotho under Moshoeshoe, the Bhaca under Madzikane, the Gaza under Soshangane, the Ngoni under Zwangendaba, and many others (Wright, 2014: 7). Wright notes that these new states “formed the bases of communities which have continued to play important roles in the history of southern Africa into the present” (Wright, 2014: 7 – 8).

Settler history in South Africa dates to 1652 when Jan van Riebeeck arrived with a group of Dutch settlers at the Cape of Good Hope. Riebeeck and his group had been sent by the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) to establish a base at the Cape of Good Hope that would be a station for the colonising company’s ships “to refresh themselves with vegetables, meat, water and other necessities *en route* to the East Indies” (Feinstein, 2005: 1). The DEIC was founded in 1602 and secured a monopoly on trade throughout Asia, especially in spices, cloves, cinnamon, and pepper (Lapierre, 2008: 5). Since the demand for the fresh produce was actually very high, the company was compelled to allow volunteers to settle in the Cape of Good Hope alongside the soldiers so as to produce wheat, other grains and breed cattle and sheep (Feinstein, 2005: 1). Lapierre emphasises that the DEIC was allowed by its government to open trading posts across the world, enter into deals with rulers across the world, and to deploy armed forces wherever it wished to establish itself (2008: 5). As a result of this blank cheque, the company was able to amass 150 merchant vessels and 40 warships effectively becoming “a state within the state that had absolute control over the greatest trading enterprise of its day” (Lapierre, 2008: 5). In the year following the setting up of a station in the Cape of Good Hope, in 1653 alone, the company traded the value of cargo that “exceeded the budget for Louis XIV’s France” (Lapierre, 2008:5). Lapierre argues that it was this commercial supremacy that made Holland “enrich itself through colonial conquest” and the many maps on the company’s walls in 1651 convinced them there was “no shortage of territory to colonize, whether in Africa, America, or even Asia” (2008: 5).

In the early years of the company’s settlement in the Cape of Good Hope, the settler economy was largely based on farming. Feinstein notes that before the discovery of mineral wealth, the country was a backward economy “almost entirely dependent on agriculture” (2005: 2). The challenges around agriculture were that not the entire country had good rains and other conditions for good farming. This applied to both indigenous and European settler farmers. The economy of the region,

to be latter called South Africa was transformed by the discovery of minerals – diamonds and then gold – in the late 1800s. Feinstein notes that as a result of this discovery South Africa’s history “becomes, in essence, a story of how this unique combination of the indigenous population, European settlers, and mineral resources was brought together in a process of conquest, dispossession, discrimination, and development to promote rapid economic progress” (2005: 3). However, the conquests and dispossession had begun earlier on before the discovery of gold and diamonds (Feinstein, 2005: 22). It was the Khoikhoi who suffered first at the hands of the first white men to land at the Cape of Good Hope such that by 1672, two Khoikhoi chiefs were compelled to sign treaties surrendering large tracts of land to the white settlers (Mellet, 2020; Ngcukaitobi, 2018). It is alleged that the colonialists paid the chiefs fractions of the promised compensation for the land (Feinstein, 2005: 22).

It would take 100 years after that before European expansion into the interior, eastwards, that the Europeans clashed with Xhosa people (Laband, 2020, Ngcukaitobi, 2018). Feinstein notes that “from that time forward the economic life of Africans and Europeans would be indissolubly bound together” (Feinstein, 2005: 22). The arrival of white settlers on the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 dispossessed black people of land on which they lived, farmed and reproduced their life, and invented them as colonial labourers. As a result of the discovery of diamonds and gold in Kimberly and what was to later become Johannesburg, the black African became a colonial labourer in the whole of the Southern Africa sub-continent. As Wynter (1995) has argued, land dispossessions were based on the fact that in the European imagination, indigenous people were simply not there and hence could not own the land.

### **2.3. Migrant labour system and the invention of black African subjectivity**

The migrant labour system in South Africa is deeply linked to colonialism and its capitalist project. The labour migration system and the inequalities it created between former colonies has in a way extended into the postapartheid period. Makiwane notes that, as a result of the inequalities countries in the African continent inherited from colonialists at independence, “there have been consistent movements on the continent from economically deprived areas to areas that are economically more stable or better off” (2018: v). In Southern Africa, South Africa with its better

infrastructure and economic activity, “has, by far, been a host to the largest recipients of the intercontinental movements” (Makiwane, 2018: v). The discovery of diamonds in the Transvaal area gradually led to the growth of the migrant labour system and development of South Africa as a regional metropolitan economy. The beginnings of this migration were humble. From the late 1870s a small group of skilled technicians and mechanics mostly recruited from Europe “operated and maintained the capital equipment, and supervised the manual labour of approximately 10 000 Africans” (Feinstein, 2005: 62). It was not difficult to recruit African labourers who had been dispossessed of their land and had been made to appreciate that a short stint at the mines would earn them “enough to buy guns or cattle” (Feinstein, 2005: 62). These mines were fast becoming specific spaces for the construction or interpellation of a black African subject as a labourer: disciplined, obedient and beholden to the colonial capitalist system. Feinstein notes that, the colonial authorities standardized the “closed compounds” system by the end of the 1880s (2005: 62). Besides ensuring that it became more difficult for Africans to steal diamonds for sale to illicit dealers, the system had been introduced to police black African subjects by giving mines greater control over their workforce (Feinstein, 2005: 62 – 63). The migrant labour system not only altered the organisation of society in Southern Africa (Delius, 2017; de Vletter, 1985) but also constructed new black African subjectivities.

In 1886 the development of the Witwatersrand gold mining fields soon dwarfed diamond mining in terms of demand for labour (MacKinnon, 2012). The discovery of gold attracted industrialists, financiers as well as politicians and “reshaped the entire region spatially” as “the mines became the geographic centre for a wider nexus of labour recruitment and for transportation routes that brought people and infrastructure to the Highveld in unprecedented volumes” (MacKinnon, 2012: 173). Agriculture still remained the biggest employer. In 1911 over 260 000 Africans were employed on gold and other mines compared to 360 000 on commercial, white-owned farms; and by 1960, 520 000 worked in mines compared to 770 000 in farms (Feinstein, 2005: 63). For most of Southern Africa, including Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique, this marked the beginning of migrant labour into South Africa. It was especially men who moved to South Africa to look for work in the mines. It was in crossing both internal and external borders that African men who found work in Johannesburg were represented as migrant labourers. South Africa became a Union and one country in 1910. Before that, African men moving from other regions of modern-

day South Africa were regarded as migrant labourers similar to men who moved from the then Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Malawi. This would continue even after 1910 especially when the apartheid government set up Bantustans. African men from the Bantustans needed a pass to work in Johannesburg. Similar to agriculture, more labour for the mines was secured through a raft of mostly callous mechanisms including taxation, pass laws, Masters and Servants Acts, credit schemes by traders, and rural poverty (Feinstein, 2005: 64). It can be argued that the introduction of the pass law, whose breach by Africans was heavily criminalised, marked the introduction of ‘some kind of’ passports in South Africa. The Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911 extended the pass law that had been operational in Transvaal only to the whole of the Union to effectively control labour across the country (Feinstein, 2005: 64). The pass laws were also meant to close Africans out of urban areas leaving mining and farming as the only alternative employment rather than manufacturing (Feinstein, 2005: 64). This was to create a black labour force at the fringes of the economy.

## **2.4. Johannesburg, urbanisation and black African subjectivity**

Urbanization in South Africa is inextricably linked to the concentration of colonial capital around mining settlements. The centrality of Johannesburg in the colonial economy and history as well as in the postapartheid economy and history can never be an exaggeration. In the postapartheid moment, Johannesburg “is where the evolving story of the new South Africa is most fully played out and where it is most carefully monitored” (Murray, 2011: 1). Kruger (2013) notes that it is a city built out of innovation and illegality. It has been praised by a former mayor as a “world class African city” (Masondo 2007). Murray (2011) sees it as a city of extremes. The city is blighted by inequality in terms of access and development (Beavon 2004). It is a city of big malls, gated communities and shanty towns (Kruger, 2013: 3). For Murray, it is a “sprawling metropolis in constant flux” (Murray, 2008: viii). It has been described as the “World’s Greatest Gold Producer,” the “New York of Africa,” the “City of Record Sunshine,” and the “Heartbeat of South Africa” (Sihlongonyane, 2005: 22). The landscape of postapartheid Johannesburg “continues to bear the marks of racial separation and class division” (Murray, 2008: viii). This makes Johannesburg a good space to study social forces such as the built environment, architecture, and social and racial inequalities, national identity, and citizenship that shape postapartheid South Africa (Murray,

2008: viii). Johannesburg is a panoptic space to make sense of black African subjectivity in postapartheid (Sub-Saharan) Africa. This is because “pulled by the illusive dream of steady income or pushed by despair and hopelessness” thousands of Africans arrive in Johannesburg every week “in search of a better life” (Murray, 2008: 15 – 16).

The link between migration and urbanisation has meant that the black subject appears in the city as a colonial labourer without political rights. This is because even those who qualified to be in the city “were still expected to look to the homelands for their ‘political rights’” (Smith, 1992: 2). The homelands are apartheid’s Bantustans. Urbanisation for the black subject emerges tied to questions of freedom and liberty (Smith, 2000: 2). While the apartheid government, the Nationalists, wanted to confine black people to the Bantustans, the black subject forcibly settled in the urban space. A large number of black Africans permanently settled in urban spaces compelling the government to “come to terms with reality” and rethink their urban policy as set out in the 1986 White Paper on Urbanization (Smith, 2000: 2). Smith notes that, however, the capitalist urban system, with the connivance of the government policies aimed at turning these newly resettled blacks into “a mass-consumption society” (2000: 2). Working in the new industries and service industries, the black African subject was expected to be simultaneously a labourer and a consumer. It is the emergency of the black urban subject, a subject who had settled themselves in the city as a claim to freedom and liberation that lays the foundation for the challenge to apartheid in that “labour, unlike other commodities, has a human embodiment that cannot for long be denied” (2000: 7).

Tied to the discovery of gold in 1886, the founding of Johannesburg, there was a need for labour in the emerging mines and industries. Townships, therefore, originated as spaces to house “inexpensive migratory labour” (Bond, 2008: 405). To show how the townships are deeply articulated to the colonial economic system, Bond notes that, “the first modern, formal townships were in Kimberley, where migrant workers came to work in the mines following the discovery of diamonds in 1867” (2008: 406). In Johannesburg, a city founded after the discovery of gold in 1886, townships are mostly located outside the city and most people commute between these townships and their workplaces in the city (Bond, 2008: 405). In that some of the townships were creatures of the Land Act of 1913 and the Group Areas Act of 1950, they encouraged segregation

in that the government ordered people to live separately according to their races stratified as “black” African, “coloured” (mixed-race), and “Indian” (Bond, 2008). Within black townships, apartheid promoted tribalism as “ethnic groups were often segregated into separate areas for Zulus, Xhosas, Sothos, and others” (Bond, 2008: 405). Bond (2008) notes that after black majority rule in 1994, even though the laws were abolished, there has been little desegregation of the formerly white, coloured and Indian areas. These early townships also developed as tied to the hostel systems which encouraged overcrowding among black migrant labourers housing “sixteen workers per sleeping room for eleven months of the year, with a one-month break to visit families in the Bantustan homelands” (Bond, 2008: 406). Hostels have been known to be centres of black-on-black violence. This black-on-black violence in the townships and hostels is seen as arising out of the racial violence of colonialism and apartheid in two ways. First, black people were forced, to be paddocked, in townships through dispossession of land, expropriation of livestock, a myriad of taxes including hut and livestock taxes (Bond, 2008: 406). These violent processes forced people to migrate to cities, where they were not wanted and kept in townships at the margins of the cities. Second, the townships were managed through a combination of “brutal policing systems” appropriated from the British municipal administrative traditions (Bond, 2008: 406). Under these conditions of racial state violence, black people in townships and hostels were psychologically forced to live out this violence, turning on each other.

## **2.5. Borders, anti-black violence and xenophobia**

Borders have become highly visible in the postapartheid moment as the postcolonial moment. The increase in migration between postapartheid South Africa and the rest of Africa has made borders so hyper-visible that they are appearing even within the country’s urban spaces (*See* chapters 7 and 8). Balibar notes that this has complicated the question of a border as “we cannot attribute to the border an essence which would be valid in all places and at all times” (2002: 75). In the case of South Africa, a brief history of Beitbridge border post is necessary. As the biggest and busiest land border post, Beitbridge Border Post is the template of all bordering in South Africa. It has a history that dates back to that of the ‘real’ colonisation of Southern Africa. Walia (2013) has argued on these links between borders and imperialism. It is a huge infrastructure sprawling either sides of the banks of Limpopo River and linked by a bridge built in 1929. The bridge was named after

Alfred Beit, founder of the De Beers Diamond Mining Company and Director of a number of companies such as British South Africa Company (BSAC) and Rhodesia Railways (Maredi, 2014). The BSAC is the company formed in South Africa with the express goal of colonising Zimbabwe. According to Olson and Shadle, the border was established by the Pretoria Convention of 1881 and later replaced by the London Convention of 1884 (1991: 367). The London Convention drew and set the boundaries of the South African Republic, at that time the Transvaal Republic (Moyo, 2016: 428). The history of the Beitbridge border, and how it has grown to be among the biggest in Africa, is tied to a long history of labour migration between South Africa and the rest of the continent as earlier discussed in this chapter.

The border is central to, and an organizing logic in, postapartheid's colonial presence. Sideways notes that the "empire is especially legible at frontiers and borders" (2019: 271). In that these borders extend into the interior of the country, the "empire is visible in imperial capitals too" (Sideways, 2019: 270). The coloniality of the borders is in their role in manufacturing difference in people signalling "who ought to matter versus who ought not; who is from a "great" place versus who is from a "shithole;" and who is human versus who is "animal" (Gahaman and Hjalmarson, 2019: 108). Borders not only 'sort' people into desirables (included) and undesirables (excluded), but also manufactures what Mignolo (2007) calls "colonial difference". This border imperialism draws our attention to "the networks and modes of governance that determine how bodies will be included within the nation-state, and how territory will be controlled within and in conjunction with the dictates of global empire and transnational capitalism" (Walia, 2013: 5). The coloniality of the border is not only in its ties with the historical event of European colonization of Africa but also the colonial work that these borders continue to perform. In that borders make the world, especially the (post)colonial world legible, albeit under the logics of racialised modernity, they (borders) play a representation role.

In South Africa's postapartheid moment, the migrant labour system, which continues as capital is still concentrated in South Africa, is now seen as the root of xenophobic outbreaks in the country. With unemployment at 40 percent, especially among young black people, the swelling numbers of unemployed is seen as restless and turning on black migrants. Some scholars have pointed out that xenophobia is some kind of anti-black racism encouraging black-on-black violence. However,

scholars are always reluctant to make a link between xenophobia, the economy and race. MacDonald and James note that in the debate on the role of capitalist development in “the officially mandated racism of South Africa [...] liberals either ignored, minimized, or denied an association, Marxists argued that capitalism and its dominant classes systematically promoted and actively underwrote apartheid in particular, and white domination in general” (1993: 387). We now turn to make the link between the border, migrant labour and xenophobia.

For Tafira, a spectre haunts postapartheid South Africa’s black communities and it is the spectre of xenophobia, which he describes as “intra-black-racism or black-on-black racism” (2018: vii). He points out that, “xenophobia is not a postapartheid aberration [but] has its roots deep in the colonial contact,” which produces a “black subject and black subjectivities” that are “colonised” and not “only self-hating, but hates another that looks like them” (Tafira, 2018: vii). In the postapartheid moment, xenophobia is seen as a continuation of the anti-black violence of the apartheid hostels, the mining compounds and the political violence in KwaZulu-Natal on the eve of South Africa’s independence in 1994. All this violence is underwritten by an anti-black racism linked to modernity, colonialism and the globalisation of capital. For Magubane, white settlers are a creation of the world capitalist economic system from the seventeenth century who “would safeguard colonial conquest and secure these countries as future outlets for excess population and for investment of capital from the metropolitan country” (1979: 3). The links between xenophobia, settler colonialism and global capital are that global capital in Africa manufactured colonial difference leading to people fighting over resources based on these differences. Bledsoe and Wright posit that globalized capitalism and anti-Blackness are articulated in that “prevailing forms of global capital accumulation—which take shape in numerous spatial and political practices around the world — coincide with acts of anti-blackness” (2018: 1; *See* Wynter, 1976; McKrittick, 2011). Arguing that settler colonialism encourages self-hate among black people, Tafira, notes that underwritten by violence “settler colonialism is established within the confines of white supremacy in which race and rabid racism are underlying factors [...] the justification is eminently religious, epistemological and scientific” (2018: 4). This coloniality of being is “the normalisation of the extraordinary events that take place in war [where] ‘killability’ and ‘rapeability’ are inscribed into the images of the colonial bodies. (Maldonado-Torres 2007: 255). From colonial, through

apartheid, to the postapartheid moment spaces that black subjects occupy are characterised by explicit and implicit violence as seen in xenophobia and crime.

## **2.6. The media and the absence/presence of black African subject**

Horwitz notes that the “structures, functions, institutions, and political forces” shaping and constituting South African media are linked to the “political history of modern South Africa” (2004: 26). This is because of the centrality of the press, broadcasting, and telecommunications to the evolution of both the South African state and the apartheid regime (Horwitz, 2004: 26). The press gave voice and mediated the conflict between English- and Afrikaans-speaking communities in the early colonial years, while broadcasting, which was a product of tense intra-white compromises embodied the terms of their hegemonic alliance and the ideological content of racial domination (Horwitz, 2004: 26). The state owned and operated telecommunications that were central to the coordination of the apartheid economy (Horwitz, 2004: 26). It is important to note the absence of black people – in every sense - in this history. The absence of black people in a larger part of the colonial media is significant because it parallels their participation in public life. As shall be discussed later, the absence of black people was also the case in the development of media studies in South Africa.

The first newspapers were published in what was to become South Africa on 16 August 1800. George Yonge, Alexander Walker and John Robertson, described as “renowned for being corrupt slave dealers” published the *Cape Town Gazette* and *African Advertiser* in Cape Town (Wigston, 2007: 28). From that time to today, the history of the media in South Africa is long and eventful, and dramatic in some instances. In the colonial era, it developed as tied to colonialism and the idea of the British Empire (Fhlathuin, 2007; Horwitz, 2004). Known as the ‘mercantile empire’ because of its overreliance on colonies for raw material and markets, Fhlathuin notes that the British Empire is the most known colonial empire (2007: 22). This empire had extensive territories in North America, the Caribbean and in Africa. This “triangular British Empire” was completed at the end of the seventeenth century by the Transatlantic Slave Trade involving the transportation of slaves from Africa to Europe and the Americas (Fhlathuin, 2007: 23). However, Britain was to establish itself fully in Africa after the Scramble for Africa in the 1880s and 1890s. As the continent was

partitioned into four pieces, Britain got Egypt, the Central African Federation that consisted of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Nigeria and British East Africa (Fhlathuin, 2007: 28). They were also able to defeat the Afrikaners in South Africa during the Second Boer War of 1899–1902 leading “to the establishment of the Union of South Africa, incorporating the old Cape Colony” (Fhlathuin, 2007: 28).

The development of communication in colonial South Africa took place in the context of intra-white quarrelling between the English and Afrikaners, on one hand, and white domination of black people, on the other hand (Horwitz, 2004: 26). The National Party seized power in 1948 and “began the process of realizing Afrikaner nationalism and constructing the institutions of apartheid. Afrikaner nationalism conceived itself as anticolonial and anti-capitalist” (Horwitz, 2004: 31). The Afrikaner felt colonised by the English who had arrived later than them at the Cape of Good Hope. Even more ironic, prior to the 1948 election the National Party had campaigned on a platform of nationalisation of the economy where the state pledged it would take hold of the levers of the economy and “nationalize the banks, the land companies, and the mines in order to create an economic democracy for Afrikaners” (Horwitz, 2004: 31 – 32). In the final analysis, this was all based on anti-black racism as apartheid was “constructed ostensibly on the recognition of inherent and immutable differences between races and nations” (Horwitz, 2004: 33). Communications and language issues were deeply ingrained in the apartheid agenda and its institutional structures (Horwitz, 2004: 35). In that apartheid was also a cultural programme the communications industry was central to it for cultural, ideological and economic reasons (Horwitz, 2004: 36). At this time, in the broadcasting sector, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), as a nationwide broadcaster, only broadcasted in English and Afrikaans, mediating only these white language’s cultural and linguistic identities, and only functioned as a mechanism of social control over black people (Horwitz, 2004). The government and the market muzzled the black press through a raft of mechanisms that included repression (Horwitz, 2014). The South African Posts and Telecommunications served white people through a sophisticated telephone network. The South African Communication Service effectively functioned in the service of the state’s apartheid policies (Horwitz, 2004: 36).

In that the media became a tool for economic battles, the history of the press provides a glimpse into the structure of the economy. The English press was profit oriented and tied to English mining capital that owned them, while the Afrikaner press was more ideological and pushed Afrikaner nationalist politics (2004: 36). The implications are that the Afrikaans newspapers became sites for the articulation of nationalist ideology while the black press, when it was not suppressed reflected both the “modernist, petitionary protest stance of the small African middle-class intelligentsia” and the “revolutionary visions of left-wing political organizations” (Horwitz, 2004: 36). In the decades following the beginning of apartheid in 1948, the English press grew stronger and became dominant. However, it was concentrated under two powerful groups, Argus Holdings Limited, that became Independent Newspapers Limited in 1994, and the South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN), that became Times Media Limited in 1987 (Horwitz, 2004: 36 – 37). Both groups had their origins in mining. The first Argus paper, the *Cape Argus*, was published in 1856 and was initially anti-British. It ran into financial difficulties, received the financial support from mining capitalists, who included Cecil John Rhodes, compelling it to change its editorial stance (Horwitz, 2004: 37). In 1888, the newspaper merged with a new Johannesburg afternoon daily, *The Star*, leading to the formation of the Argus Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd. The new company grew as it took in other companies under its roof. Through acquisition, the company bought the *Natal Daily News*, Transvaal Newspapers Ltd., *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, *The Pretoria News*, and the Friend Newspapers Ltd. Until 1931, the directors of the Argus Group were drawn from two mining houses, Central Mining and the Rand Mines Group and Johannesburg Consolidated Investments and editors and senior journalists were recruited directly from England (Horwitz, 2004: 37). As a result, the newspaper was criticized as “simply mouthpieces of foreign mining capital” (Horwitz, 2004: 37).

The South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN), formed in 1955 through the merger of Rand Daily Mail Limited and the Sunday Times Syndicate, was quickly taken over by the mining magnate Sir Abe Bailey (Horwitz, 2004: 38). The group comprised of a daily newspaper, the *Rand Daily Mail*, founded in 1902, and the *Sunday Times*, founded in 1906, (Horwitz, 2004: 38). SAAN was publicly listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) in 1962. In what can be described as an oligopolistic market, where two companies dominate, Argus and SAAN expanded their operations into all other South African cities “under a 1920 agreement not to compete directly”

(Horwitz, 2004: 38). According to Potter, in the 1960s, the Argus and SAAN groups had an oligopolistic control of the English language dailies and nearly all of the English Sunday newspapers accounting for 77 percent of the total circulation of all English dailies in 1968 (1975: 50). The two newspaper groups, together with the nominally independent but SAAN-linked *Cape Times* joined forces with the British news agency, Reuters, to form the Reuter South African Press Agency (Horwitz, 2004: 38). In 1932, Reuter South African Press Agency became the South African Press Agency (SAPA).

The black press has its roots in the missionary presses as early African mission press gave way to the independent protest press between the 1880s and 1930s (Horwitz, 2004: 48). The independent protest press articulated modernist views and nationalist aspirations of the small professional black middle-class intelligentsia and the African National Congress (ANC) policies of peaceful protest against the government's segregationist policies (Horwitz, 2004: 48 – 49). It has been noted that the influence of Christian humanism “on early South African liberation ideology was quite strong and was a key factor in the non-racialist cosmopolitanism of the African National Congress” (Fredrickson, 1995). However, most of the early publications, such as *Abantu-Batho* (in English, Zulu, Sotho, Xhosa, and Tswana), *Imvo Zabantsundu* (in Xhosa and English), *Ilanga Lase Natal* (in Zulu), and *Koranta ea Becoana* in (Tswana and English) did not survive the economic challenges that undermined the advertising base in the 1930s (Horwitz, 2004: 49). The radical protest stance that these papers took could not survive the oppressive politics of the Representation of Natives Act and the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 (Horwitz, 2004: 49). As a result of these challenges, most of the publications “were bought out, closed down or merged with a new black commercial press controlled by white entrepreneurs. Such mergers resulted in the depoliticization of the protest press” (Horwitz, 2004: 49). According to Les Switzer, the number of African newspapers registered with the government had reached a high of 19 in 1930, but there were only 7 by 1954 with all of them owned and controlled by whites (1997b: 2). Horwitz notes that the decline of the black protest press paved way for an early resistance press which embraced a popular, mostly non-racial, non-sectarian and militant left-wing alliance of the working and middle class politics (2004: 49 – 50). The other important gain brought by this black centred early press is that it brought together black South Africans who had previously been divided along ethnicity lines (Horwitz, 2004: 49). This was in part the paradoxical consequence of their dispossession

from the land and the decline of kinship-based relations attached to traditional land ownership. It was also in part the consequence of the extraordinary ideological sway exercised by the modernist African intelligentsia over African communities, an influence carried out through the African press (Horwitz, 2004: 49). These publications included *Inkululeko*, the newspaper of the Communist Party of South Africa, *Inkundla ya Bantu*, set up by the African National Congress, *Workers' Herald*, the mouthpiece of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, the largest and most influential black trade union before World War II, and the *Torch*, the publication of the Cape Non-European Unity Movement. There was also the *New Age*, under the editorial control of the South African Congress of Democrats, which was a small white left group allied to the ANC, *Contact*, which was closely allied to the Liberal Party, white anti-Communist supporters of the ANC, and the *Guardian*, linked to the Communist Party (Horwitz, 2004: 50). According to Lodge, in 1945, the *Guardian* and *Inkululeko* had a weekly circulation of 67 000 (1983: 28).

It is important to give a brief background of the ANC here. The party is a combination of the South African Native Congress (SANC) started in the Cape in 1898, the Natal Native Congress started in 1900, and the Transvaal Native Vigilance Association started in 1902 (Limb, 2000: 83). Once the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910, these regional pressure groups gave way to the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) which later became the ANC in 1912 (Limb, 2000: 83 – 84). The ANC's members were drawn from the "petty bourgeoisie" but also included the working class (Limb, 2000: 84). The inclusion of the working class in the ANC meant that, Thomas Zini, a migrant worker who represented the Cape Peninsula Native Association also took part in the SANNC's founding conference (Limb, 2000: 84). Limb emphasizes the point that "many early African newspapers helped nurture African nationalism" (Limb, 2000: 84).

Alongside the resistance press, there developed a white-owned commercial press oriented to black readers (Horwitz, 2004: 52). One of the two dominating media companies, the Argus Group, became involved in a venture known as the Bantu Press in the early 1930s. The Bantu Press operated several newspapers in the country that Africans edited and staffed "but whose copy was tightly supervised by white overseers and owners" (Horwitz, 2004: 52). The most famous of these publications was *Bantu World* "which articulated a modernist, often depoliticized vision of black South African life" (Horwitz, 2004: 52). The newspaper, *Bantu World* was founded in 1932 by a

white liberal segregationist (Horwitz, 2004: 52). According to Switzer (1997a), the newspaper became the leading newspaper for the literate middle-class Africans. It provided “a Western modernist model of what was considered permissible and relevant for Africans to buy and read” (Horwitz, 2004: 52). According to Tomaselli and Tomaselli, the World circulations figures increased to 90 000 in 1968 from 11 000 in 1959, and this was after it was transformed into a daily with a Sunday edition, and in 1976, circulation reached 145 000 (1987: 47). Lodge notes that its content bordered on the “prevalent intellectually lightweight tone of African journalism” which was primarily around crime, sport, and human-interest reportage (1983: 356). The newspaper was also banned in 1977 “after covering the Soweto uprising and moving toward a Black Consciousness viewpoint” (Horwitz, 2004: 53). In the 1950s, there are two other publications, *Drum*, a monthly publication, the *Golden City Post*, a tabloid newspaper, which appeared under the ownership of Jim Bailey, the son of SAAN’s Sir Abe Bailey. These publications “also reached large readerships by observing and recording the conditions of life and work in black South Africa” (Horwitz, 2004: 53). Horwitz notes that “*Drum* was probably the most important outlet for black creative writing in the 1950s, and, though far less political than the resistance press, [it] did occasionally run exposés on a number of contentious issues” (2004: 53). However, “after 1961 *Drum*’s editorial policy became increasingly subject to commercial considerations” (Horwitz, 2004: 53).

The Argus Group, starting in 1964, published the *Golden City Post*, which was based in Soweto. It became a daily newspaper and had a Sunday edition starting in the late 1960s opening it up “to some political dissent” (Horwitz, 2004: 53). According to Lodge, the newspaper even ran a “Release Mandela” petition form in its columns for several months in 1980 as well as editorials helping to popularize the Freedom Charter (1983: 341). The newspaper was banned after its journalists struck in 1980 (Horwitz, 2004: 53). The company, Argus Group, responded by launching the *Sowetan*, “which would become the largest circulation black daily in the country” (Horwitz, 2004: 53). The Argus Group’s black publication embraced the Black Consciousness ideological stance as opposed to the (Freedom) Charter stance of the ANC (Horwitz, 2005: 53). The Afrikaans press also made a move into the African market, and to counter *Drum* they set up *Bona* magazine that published in Zulu, Xhosa, and Sotho. Naspers bought *City Press*, *Drum*, and *True Love* in 1984 (Horwitz, 2004: 53).

Horwitz notes that the second phase of resistance press, referred to as the “alternative” press started in the 1970s with the Black Consciousness movement, specifically after the Soweto uprising (2004: 53). The alternative press was still aimed at “segregated black and/or white audiences” but also included academic journals and student publications from historically white universities, literary, musical, and performance texts generated mainly in segregated black settings (Horwitz, 2004: 53). What made the “alternative” press alternative was the adoption of an engaged stance in favour of the black liberation struggle and the destruction of apartheid (Horwitz, 2004: 53). The *Weekly Mail*, according to one of its journalists, Anton Harber, viewed itself as “a publication of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the key anti-apartheid political organization of the 1980s” (Horwitz, 2004: 53 – 54). However, some of the alternative publications were commercial and took advertising. This is despite that their primary orientation was in getting out the message rather than profits (Horwitz, 2004: 54). Most of the alternative presses were understaffed and under-resourced and had to rely on financial support from foreign anti-apartheid organizations and donor agencies in Holland, Sweden, Germany, and Canada (Horwitz, 2004: 54). According to Switzer and Switzer (1979), to show their power and influence, the government’s anti-press actions in the 1980s were mainly targeted at this alternative press. Berger notes that some newspapers of this era died during apartheid under the pressure from the police and capital challenges (2000: xii). However, “still more failed to adapt to the new times and changing audiences following the release of Nelson Mandela and the build-up to the country’s first democratic elections in 1994” (Berger, 2000: xii).

In the postapartheid era, Berger (2000) believes that the alternative press ideology of resisting racism is now in the mainstream. He argues that the voices of resistance have moved from “the margins to the mainstream” in that “where once antiracist representation was on the media fringes, it is now the major force in South African publications” (Berger, 2000: xi). The two surviving newspapers from the generation of the alternative press are *The Mail and Guardian* and the *East Cape News* that managed to survive through major changes in ownership. The former *Weekly Mail* newspaper, now *Mail and Guardian*, became foreign-owned and foreign-subsidized while the former *East Cape News* Agencies cooperative turned into a small commercial business (Berger, 2000: xi). Berger believes that the coming of freedom in 1994 led to huge changes in the media

environment, ownership, staffing, content and audiences of the media (2000: xii). In that freedom led to the death of some newspapers, Berger notes “the freeing of South Africa lost some heroic voices, but it also led to a mainstream media changed beyond recognition [...] The erstwhile “people’s” publications did not live to see these changes, but their role in ultimately realizing them was fundamental” (2000: xii). Berger notes that the alternative press journals were rooted in communities’ struggles and reflected the wider resistance movement and “served to further ‘manufacture dissent’—intensifying on a global scale ever-deepening action against apartheid” (Berger, 2000: xii). He argues that “nonracial and democratic discourse” was central to the success of the liberation movement and the alternative press played a role in their “professional challenge to both private establishment and state propagandistic mainstream media of the old South Africa” (Berger, 2000: xii). Switzer and Adhikari note that in focusing on marginalised black communities, the alternative press differed from the commercial press “owned and controlled by whites, aimed at or intended for whites, concerned mainly with the political, economic, and social life of the white population, and consumed mainly by whites for most of its two-hundred-year history (2000: xv).

In the 1980s, South Africa’s mainstream commercial press was controlled by four newspaper chains that accounted for “95 percent of daily newspaper readers and 92 percent of Sunday and weekly newspaper readers (in terms of circulation) in South Africa” (Switzer, 2000: 43). At this time, the two English-language chains were the Argus Printing and Publishing Company and Times Media, Ltd. (formerly the South African Associated Newspapers group), and the two Afrikaans-language big companies were Nasionale Pers and Perskor. Argus and Nasionale Pers towered over their rivals in each different language group, but the English language companies dominated the market with fourteen dailies, compared to five for Afrikaans and about 80 percent of an estimated 1.3 million readers in 1991 (Switzer, 2000: 44). At that time, Argus/Times Media owned four of the eight Sunday newspapers, Nasionale Pers/Perskor owned three and one was independent (Switzer, 2000). A number of these newspapers, Afrikaans and English newspapers included became critical of the apartheid regime in the 1980s (Switzer, 2000). Switzer notes, the *Sowetan*, a daily newspaper aimed at black audiences in Soweto and other urban townships around the country, overtook the *Star* in 1991 as the largest daily in terms of circulation (Switzer, 2000: 44). Both newspapers were owned by the Argus company.

The case of the *Sowetan* and its target shows that, just like in the West, in the colony, the newspaper emerges as an urban phenomenon. Limb notes that the rise of the black resistant press was because “African workers in South Africa had few mediators to communicate their grievances — given the oppressive social system, the silence of the white press, and the fragile nature of black trade unions” (2000: 79). Limb, therefore seeks to link the liberation movement, the ANC, and the workers’ plight arguing that “a study of how workers were represented in the African nationalist press reveals not only a general sympathy for their harsh conditions but also a level of engagement with worker struggles that suggests a more complex set of attitudes toward labor than hitherto acknowledged by historians” (2000: 79). This is important because “the ANC has been viewed by historians as essentially middle class, a nationalist elite with few organic links to workers” (Limb, 2000: 79). In this light, Limb argues that “nationalism rarely emerges without involvement of both elites and masses” (2000: 81). Limb (2000) points to how this is seen in the role of “ordinary Africans” in nationalism and how the “labouring poor” gave nationalists a firm ground to prosecute their politics. Anderson has conceptualised the nation as an “imagined” political community in which intellectuals, making use of tools such as the press, play a pivotal role in developing nationalism, notably in colonies (such as South Africa) with a stunted indigenous bourgeoisie (Limb, 2000: 81). However postcolonial critics ask whose imagined community is Anderson referring to.

## **2.7. A short history of media and cultural studies in South Africa**

Tomaselli (2002) has proffered a well thought out history of the media studies revealing how media and cultural studies are still positioned within a Western theoretical heritage where they are still captured by the values of colonial modernity and enlightenment. This continued entrapment in Western paradigms is despite the ferment in social theory offered mostly by the Black Consciousness movement of the 1970s. Tomaselli notes that media academic departments, and as a result, media theoretical journals began to be published towards “the end of the 1970s, and especially after the mid-1980s” (Tomaselli, 2002: 116). The first journal is *Communicatio*, which was published by the University of South Africa (UNISA) starting in 1974 and was dominated by contributions from the university’s communication department (Tomaselli, 2002: 116). The journal emphasised Western approaches of hermeneutics, reception theory, phenomenology,

existentialism and administrative research (Tomaselli, 2002: 116 – 117). The Black Consciousness debates that were at their strength in the 1970s, leading to the students uprising that were put down in Soweto on 16 June 1976 had no space in these intellectual debates. The answer could be in Tomaselli and Shepperson's observation that while, media studies have over the years come to embrace neo-Marxist approaches most scholars remained politically aloof (2002: 190). Citing Pieter Fourie's response to the NRF report on the state of the discipline, Tomaselli and Shepperson note that "South African communication scholars who, while alert to political issues, do not consider them primary" (2002: 191).

Media and cultural studies in South Africa emerged at a time when "critical discussion on South African communications scholarship was very sparse during the 1970s, and sometimes institutionally discouraged" (Tomaselli, 2002: 112). Tomaselli notes that the media's own practice ethos was the libertarian ethos introduced by Thomas Pringle in the Cape in 1824 and it "has continued to be influential, despite countervailing positions" (Tomaselli, 2002: 112). The libertarian ethos puts emphasis on individualism. Tomaselli notes that in the mid-1990s, the decade of South Africa's coming of freedom, the ideological battles in the media had shifted from the English versus Afrikaans debates to be between Black Nationalism and libertarianism (Tomaselli, 2002: 113; *see also* Berger, 1999; Tomaselli, 1997). Tomaselli argues that the base provided by the black press "provided the roots for the 'progressive' and alternative presses of the 1980s which confronted the Nationalist hegemony in particular, and monopoly capital in general" (2002: 113 – 114). The struggle between the libertarian and Black Nationalist press ethos seems to have been the struggle that has continued into the postapartheid era and can be seen in the struggle between the ANC and the media and recently the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) and the media. While the media are now decidedly liberal, including the indigenous media, operating within the ambit of the liberal pluralist normative expectations, it is political parties and other organisations that contest this from outside. The emergence of the social media, as a space for alternative media production, has allowed political parties like the EFF to contest the mainstream media. Tomaselli notes that the libertarian ethos of the mostly English press in South Africa was modified by social responsibility during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The social responsibility ethos had earlier come under the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC)'s British Reithian concept of public service broadcasting (Tomaselli, 2002: 113). The whiteness of media studies in South Africa is confirmed

by Les Switzer, as a historical fact. In response to Tomaselli's questionnaire on the state of media studies in South Africa, Switzer points to the fact that "virtually all popular as well as scholarly publications by and about the South African press before the 1970s were written by and for white audiences in South Africa and interested, influential lobby groups in Western Europe and North America" (in Tomaselli, 2002: 115). In a sense the black subject had no space in the media, either as subject or as a reader. The original sin, therefore, not only affects the media whose beginning is at the hands of corrupt slave dealers, but also extends to media studies itself that begins as a white hamlet for debates between the English and the Afrikaans intellectual positions.

De Beer and Tomaselli posit that "the history of South African journalism and mass communication (JMC) scholarship at university level stretches back to the 1960s" (2000: 9). They note that there were about five primary paradigms that informed communication studies and can be traced over history as, first, the German and Netherlands tradition that focused on media history, law, and ethics; second, positivism; third, functionalist; fourth, interpretative; and last, the Marxist approach (De Beer and Tomaselli, 2000: 9). De Beer and Tomaselli note that "the last four approaches corresponded broadly to three sociological paradigms, namely: the positivist, idealist and realist" (2000:9). For De Beer and Tomaselli the question is over "how do we write about journalism and mass communication scholarship in a society so seemingly complex, so distraught but also so filled with hope?" (2000: 9). As a result of the unravelling of time, and writing this at the end of the second decade of the millennium, one's response about postapartheid South Africa would be, complex, yes, filled with hope, not sure. In terms of the complexity of the country, they point to the irony of "jubilant blacks celebrating the 1995 Rugby World Cup victory of the 'white' team" (De Beer and Tomaselli, 2000: 9; *see also* Steenveld and Strelitz, 1998). However, this irony repeated itself again in 2019 when blacks were once more jubilant over the Springboks, a symbol of Afrikaner supremacy, victory at the Rugby World Cup.

De Beer and Tomaselli note the lack of vibrant scholarship on South African journalism, media and communication studies (2000: 10). However, in their paper they go on to problematically posit that "due to the international readership of Journalism Studies we restrict our references as far as possible to texts in English, thus leaving out a substantial amount of work published in Afrikaans and to some lesser degree in publications in other South African languages" (De Beer and

Tomaselli, 2000: 10). Languages of the majority South Africans are Othered due to the international audience of the journals that they are publishing in. This is significant for many reasons. It reaffirms the argument that black people have never been part of the conversations in the media and in the academy, from the start, they have been closed out. When they joined the conversations, language closes them outside. The most important debates, especially in the English liberal universities like Rhodes, UCT, Wits and the University of Natal were between “administrative vs. critical communication” research providing students with theoretical grounds to understand the alliance between the National Party government and sectors of academe and the media “to legitimate apartheid in its new “reformist” guise between 1979 and 1990” (De Beer and Tomaselli, 2000: 12). Over and above everything, theoretical influences at both English and Afrikaans universities were from European schools of thought. It was never a search for a South African theoretical idiom. In that blacks were closed out of the media and the academy, that search would have been futile and impossible.

## **2.8. The new South Africa: ‘Suspended revolution’ and xenophobia**

Bond notes that South Africa’s postapartheid period has been characterised by a “transition from a popular-nationalist anti-apartheid project to official neoliberalism [...] over a short period of time” (2000: 1) He defines neoliberalism as characterised by adherence to the free-market ideals and a narrow definition of democracy that is not the participatory project that took ANC to power in 1994 (Bond, 2000: 1). The solution, for Bond is to focus beyond the language of nationalist sell-outs and reflect on what is wrong with the rightist trajectory of the current politics (2000: 3). It cannot be an exaggeration that the coming of freedom in April 1994 marked an important milestone in the life of black South Africans. Although intellectuals would look back and try to think of that time in relation to what has transpired in the country in the years after that period for most black people attaining freedom meant a lot of possibilities. MacKinnon notes that for the black majority as far as Freedom Day in April 1994 is concerned “it is hard to capture the enormous sense of joy and dignity that they won through their creation of and participation in a democratic government. South Africa was an “African” country once again” (2012: 303). For MacKinnon, the independence moment was not a break from the past in that the new flag incorporated the African nationalist colours of green, black, and gold, and the new national anthem begins with the

ANC anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* (God bless Africa), but also contains verses from the old Afrikaners' anthem in both Afrikaans and English (2012: 303). This kind of independence was not a clean break with the painful past of colonialism and apartheid but incorporation and negotiation between cultures and sensibility that have been locked in bitter battles for 342 years since the arrival of Riebeeck in 1652. Here the protracted struggle against “the structural, economic, and social inequities caused by hundreds of years of white domination” was already showing (MacKinnon, 2012: 304). In the postcolonial and postapartheid period, black South Africans have had to put up with poverty, poor education, lack of proper housing and health care, and a culture of violence and crime. MacKinnon notes that the clear reminder of apartheid is that “whites still dominated most of the business world and particularly the best-paid upper levels of management and ownership [...] Although there were an increasing number of affluent blacks, the wealth gap followed primarily racial lines, with a small number of whites owning most of the wealth while the vast majority of Africans struggled” (MacKinnon, 2012: 304). It is these inequalities that have been cited as part of the reasons of the violence among blacks, including xenophobia. Hickel notes that in the years leading up to the democratic transition, and during the transition, the country was torn apart by internal conflict that “claimed the lives of some 20 000 people and left tens of thousands more internally displaced” (2015: 1 -2).

In most cases this violence degenerated into an ethnic conflict, especially in urban centres. Hickel points out that in Johannesburg the conflict pitted “Zulus against other African ethnic groups—Xhosas, Sothos, and so on—leading the media to cast the pogroms as motivated by tribalism” (2015: 2). However, Hickel notes that the epicentre of this conflict in KwaZulu-Natal, “gave the lie to that theory, for antagonists on both sides self-identified as Zulu” (2015: 2). There, the fault lines developed between the residents of planned urban townships, on the one hand, and migrant workers from rural Zululand who lived temporarily in adjacent settlements and labour hostels on the other. Township residents generally supported the African National Congress (ANC), which symbolized the vanguard of the popular struggle for democracy. However, most rural migrants generally identified with an organization known as Inkatha and formed vigilante militias to sabotage the revolution that was developing in the townships (Hickel, 2015: 2). Hickel notes that, for most of the black people in the KwaZulu-Natal area, there is a problem with the ANC's version of democracy, which talks about rights and equality of people, which they see as against their

values in that as much as they supported the ideals of racial equality and universal franchise “they questioned the underlying idea that all individuals are autonomous and ontologically equal — especially in relation to gender and kinship hierarchies” (2015: 2). In the urban centres those who migrated from rural areas to the city believe “ANC’s democracy, and the party’s platform of liberal rights, is “ruining” families and “killing” the country, causing misfortune on a massive scale that registers as declining marriage rates, rising unemployment, deepening poverty, and epidemic disease” (2015: 2).

As much as the persistence of the intra-black anti-black violence persists in the postcolonial and postapartheid era in South Africa is worrying, more troublesome are narratives in and out of South Africa that want to create the impression that xenophobia is a postapartheid phenomenon. Such narratives take the scourge of anti-black violence away from its colonial and apartheid roots and create the impression that because of the failures of corruption of the black governments, black South Africans have turned on fellow Africans who are migrants. MacKinnon, in an example of such a narrative argues that, “South Africans met the legacy of economic and social challenges of the recent past with both growing anxiety about domestic politics and the economy and by directing their frustrations at foreign immigrants” (2012: 344). This dehistoricised view is followed by another problematic statement that “people from across much of the southern part of the continent had long been attracted to South Africa” (MacKinnon, 2012: 344 – 345). This has the implications of hiding in plain sight the long history of migrant labour between the mines in Johannesburg and the colonial and apartheid system of getting this labour, in the process setting black person against another black person. In what seeks to alienate Black South African is the narrative that moralizes xenophobia arguing that Black Africans from other countries “made an essential contribution to the growth and development of South African society” (MacKinnon, 2012: 345).

To understand and contextualize xenophobia it is important to contextualize the life of black people in postapartheid South Africa, what others call the black living politics, and I call black African subjectivity. The inequalities and disparities in the quality of lives in the postcolony mean that the majority of black people live in poverty. The challenges in terms of accessing land, housing and employment means that a majority of these people are almost always criminalized.

Chance speaks about “the criminalization of shack dwellers” (2018: 2). These are people who have no shelter or space that they can live in peaceful, but are always chased (criminalized) by authorities as a nuisance. The ‘no one is illegal’ politics that is emerging in migration spaces are very relevant even in this context as these people are criminalized. Chance notes that South Africa’s shack- dwelling population of about 5, 2 million roughly equals the populations of America’s largest city or Chicago and Boston combined (2018: 4). However, even though “townships and shack settlements, while commemorated in liberation histories as heroic battlegrounds and shameful testaments to apartheid, have been recast in public discourse as “slums,” earmarked for clearance or economic development” (Chance, 2018: 4). For the people “living in so- called slums— largely poor, unemployed black urbanites— have been moved, often *en masse*, from visible public spaces in the city: they have been dispossessed of land, informal markets, and the streets” (Chance, 2018: 4). This is the “criminalization of popular forms of politics that were foundational to South Africa’s celebrated democratic transition” (Chance, 2018: 4). These forms of politics refer to “street protests as well as everyday practices of community building, such as occupying land, constructing shacks, and illicitly connecting to water and energy infrastructure” (Chance, 2018: 4).

Chance argues living politics is “premised upon a collective self-identification of “the poor” that cuts across historically “African,” “Indian,” and “Coloured” (or mixed- race) communities. As governance is increasingly managed by a globalized private sector, living politics borrows practices of the liberation struggle, as well as from the powers invested in new technologies and the recently desegregated courts” (2018: 4). He points out that “protests by “the poor,” as I demonstrate, have arisen not merely in reaction to the failure of the state and corporations to provide basic infrastructure, but also to the management of so- called slum populations by means of forced evictions and police violence” (Chance, 2018: 4). This has meant that the “lines between “the criminal” and “the political” have become blurred in public discourse and through these interactions, shack settlements and the state yet again have been set against each other” (Chance, 2018: 4). Historically, some townships such as Soweto are a result of what was criminalised as illegal occupation during the time of apartheid. For example, Alexandra, a township with a long history and once the home of Nelson Mandela, is known historically for its “famed history of struggle against the apartheid regime, its forced removals, labour extraction, and population influx

control” (Chance, 2018: 10). For Chance, there is a link between living politics and xenophobia in that while other communities or social movements like SMI and Abahlali BaseMjondolo were galvanising collective anger over the persistence of apartheid arrangements, some unscrupulous individuals were galvanising the same anger against mainly African migrants. In 2008 there was a xenophobic outbreak and violence swept across townships and shack settlements as “ethnic and national minorities deemed “foreign” were beaten, slashed, doused in petrol and set on fire — and untold thousands were displaced. President Thabo Mbeki eventually called in the army, causing dramatic shootouts in townships and shack settlements, again, called ‘reminiscent of the 1980s’” (Chance, 2018: 13). How this xenophobia panned out is such that “those besieged and those leading the pogroms often were neighbours and all were overwhelmingly poor. Migrants from other regions and asylum seeking refugees were certainly primary targets of the violence, but one third of the people killed— twenty- one out of sixty- two— were South African citizens. Comedian Chris Rock, who was touring South Africa at the time, quipped, “It’s not really black- on- black violence; it’s broke- on- broke violence.”” (Chance, 2018: 13 – 14).

During the xenophobic outbreaks, “those leading the pogroms subjected many South Africans to so called elbow tests in which a potential victim is asked to supply the obscure Zulu word for elbow. People married to foreigners, those who speak a different language from their neighbors, anyone with complexions deemed “too dark” were targeted, whether or not they were “foreign.” Rather than rooting out non- Zulus— for not all who administered the tests are themselves Zulu, or even *isiZulu* speakers— the tests are about inscribing certain bodies with the taint of a racial or ethnic outsider” (Chance, 2018: 14). What was interesting is that, “Abahlali and many poor people’s activist networks across the country rushed to protect foreign migrants, organizing community watch groups and anti-xenophobic street protests. “The poor,” along with churches and aid organizations such as the Red Cross, have been at the forefront of the refugee relief efforts in South Africa since 2005. Making life viable in townships and shack settlements always has required sharing resources such as energy, water, and land. Thus, Abahlali members posted online press statements asserting that living politics, premised upon sustaining communities, was the inverse of a “politics of death,” which was defined by divisions among the poor on the basis of race, birthplace, or ethnicity. They added discrimination on the basis of gender and sexuality to this list of divisions” (Chance, 2018: 14).

Chance (2018) notes that xenophobia goes beyond the hatred of foreigners, and beyond the scarcity of resources in settlements, but nothing about xenophobia in South Africa is, as a *Time* magazine headline claimed, “beyond racism.” Rather, xenophobia is racism, wrought from the messy apartheid past and postcolonial present. The “elbow tests” used in the 2008 pogroms are instructive. The South African police used them for years. On the basis of such “tests,” poor African migrants and refugees have been sent to the notorious Lindela repatriation centre, a place of well- documented neglect and abuse, where suspected “aliens” await an uncertain fate. In Kennedy Road, residents spoke of Lindela with hushed and fearful tones” (Chance, 2018: 14). The argument is that ““elbow tests” [...] recall colonial- era “pencil tests” that apartheid officials used to decide a person’s race— and hence his ability to vote, to live, and to work in certain places— in essence, his or her citizenship— by sticking a pencil in his hair. In its simplest form, if it stuck, he was black; if it did not, he was white. Under apartheid, black South Africans were treated as foreigners, down to the notorious passbooks and curfews in the cities” (Chance, 2018: 14). This is because “the election of Nelson Mandela in 1994 meant that claims to citizenship based on race, birthplace, and ethnicity were forever changed, but living politics captures how the struggle against a “politics of death” continues in historically race- based communities” (Chance, 2018: 14 – 15).

The geography of xenophobia in South Africa is mostly urban centres because most migrants move to urban centres in search of jobs and a better life. In the 2008 outbreak 62 people were killed, including South African citizens, and more than 700 were wounded, and many thousands were displaced from their homes (MacKinnon, 2012: 345). This has been a source of embarrassment as “Nelson Mandela condemned the attacks and shamed his compatriots into remembering how they had suffered from similar prejudices under apartheid” (MacKinnon, 2012: 345). There has always been speculation that there is always a third hand behind the attacks. MacKinnon points out that this is because of some local leaders’ role “some political opponents claimed that various factions, including the ANC Youth League, Zuma’s supporters, and the Inkatha Freedom Party might have been responsible” (MacKinnon, 2012: 346). However, the most salient point is that postapartheid xenophobic outbreaks were an indication of “mounting frustrations within the country and the region” though unwelcome (MacKinnon, 2012: 346). It has become a struggle to really understand xenophobia in the postapartheid. The leadership in South Africa has always spoken about

xenophobia as not afrophobia but crime. Postapartheid South Africa has been riddled with a lot of crime. Since the public feels that the government, through the police, have at times failed to deal with crime, they always have their own means of dealing with criminals. This has been called vigilantism. Smith defines vigilantism as marking that point when “citizens so often turned to solutions outside of the state to protect themselves. Although some of the means, like hiring private security companies, were legal, many were not” (2019: x). Citizens who attack foreigners, as shall be seen in analyzing stories on the anti-immigration march in Pretoria, argue that Black African Others in the country are here to take their jobs and commit crimes, selling drugs and building prostitution rings. Beyond Afrophobia, it is important to think about xenophobia, as some kind of illegal outside-state means of solving possible crime. Smith argues that vigilantism is located within the “larger processes of political, economic, and cultural circulation” and “it has deep historical roots” (2019: xi - xii). What is problematic, as Sitze reveals is the fact that, vigilantism is embedded in the popular consciousness in that in most townships if a criminal were caught in the community “it was more likely he would be beaten than turned over to police” (2013: 3 – 4). Ordinary citizens have come to accept it as normal to discriminate and to behave in an untoward manner towards foreign Africans because they are taken as criminals. In the first place, it is always suspected that they are in the country illegal, and secondly, they may be involved in crime. Vigilantism is “extrajudicial punishment” which means that people are tried by the public and they are almost always assumed guilty from the start. It has been argued that this is perplexing, coming after apartheid, considering that part of the liberation struggle in South Africa was for the administration of justice by a democratic state (Ellmann 1992; Abel 1995; Meierhenrich 2008). Smith argues that “most accounts of vigilantism focus on state failure or civic failure, arguing that vigilantes step in for states that cannot provide order or emerge from societies where social bonds are fractured” (2019: 4). The fracturing or breaking of the social contract between the government and the citizens is a serious issue. Smith argues that the “assumption that vigilantism provides protection is dubious [as] citizens violate the law, even as they claim to be upholding it when punishing others” (2019: 4).

## 2.9. Conclusion

Black African subjectivity, as an identity constructed at the intersection of race and geography, and not necessarily indigeneous people's subjectivity pre-colonisation, appears at the time of the arrival of white settlers on the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. The processes that set the construction of black African subjectivity bordered on the dispossession of indigeneous people of their land, the land they had lived on, farmed and reproduced their lives on, for many years. This is a process that was to invent black African subjects as black, serfs, slaves and colonial labourers. As the land dispossessions extended into the interior of the land and diamonds and gold were discovered in Kimberly and the Vaal area, the subjectivity of indigeneous people as black colonial labourers was to extend to the whole of Southern Africa through the migrant system. As Wynter (1995) notes, in all colonial expeditions of the West around the world, the assumption was that they were settling on unpeopled land. Colonialism emptied land of people through representation and through genocide. In the imagination of the colonialists, indigeneous people did not exist. That is why in Wynter (1995)'s observation the Pope could give the King of Castille land that belonged to indigeneous people without having ever set his foot there. When the colonialists then encountered indigeneous people, they eliminated them physically through genocide, or through inventing difference and then continuing as if they were not there. That is how the idea of South Africa has unravelled in history. It unravels as shaped by colonial history and the black African subjectivity shaped by colonial migrant labour. The labour migration system and the inequalities it created between former colonies has had the effect that the migrant labour system continues to today where the black African subjectivity is that of a labourer in a global capitalist system.

## Chapter 3

### The coloniality of representation and black African subjectivity

“What would journalism look like if it were grounded in poetry, if that metaphor were realized, rather than the metaphor of objectivity and science?” (Carey, 1993: 20 – 21)

“One thing in any case is certain: man is neither the oldest nor the most constant problem that has been posed for human knowledge [...] man is a recent invention” (Foucault, [1966]/2002: 421 – 422)

“The argument proposes that the struggle of our new millennium will be one between the ongoing imperative of securing the well-being of our present ethnoclass (i.e., Western bourgeois) conception of the human, Man, which overrepresents itself as if it were the human itself, and that of securing the well-being, and therefore the full cognitive and behavioural autonomy of the human species itself/ourselves” (Wynter, 2003: 260).

#### 3.1. Introduction

Under colonial conditions that have subsisted in South Africa since 1652, black African subjectivity is a subject position constructed through an interplay of absence and presence. From the position of what Memmi (1974) calls ‘the coloniser’, indigeneous people did not and do not exist. This is to say, the indigeneous people, as Memmi (1974)’s ‘the colonised’ could not have been legible in the imagination and representations of the coloniser. To the colonizer it was as if he was settling on empty lands. However, when Jan Van Riebeeck and his group landed at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 and encountered people on this land, the indigeneous ‘presence’ became a challenge to the colonial project. It became imperative that they should be represented as ‘different.’ Mignolo (1997) calls this ‘colonial difference.’ This representation made indigeneous people disposable and justified their elimination (Mellet, 2020; Laband, 2020; Ngcukaitobi, 2018). The idea of South Africa, as tied to the idea of Africa and Southern Africa, plays out in history as a series of representations and processes of constructing black African subjectivity as both absence and presence. This study aims to trace and make sense of the emergence of black African subjectivity in articulations of the media, specifically journalism, urbanity and migration in postapartheid South Africa. This chapter discusses the coloniality of both representation and black African subjectivity.

This chapter's starting point on representation is the constructivist approach as proffered by Stuart Hall (1997). Hall argues that in representing specific social players and issues, the media are not merely 'reflecting', but are actively engaged in the 'construction' work (Hall, 1997). Drawing on the work of Lloyd (2019), Foucault (1977) and Mignolo (2018), I argue that representation arise out of modernity as a repressive technology of speaking about and representing, that is, effectively constructing the "Other". I put these critical sets of theories on representation in conversation with work in journalism studies to argue that even the critical studies on journalism have at times taken the Eurocentrism of representation for granted and, as a result contributed to its reproduction. Following Wynter (2003) and Mignolo (1997), I argue that black African subjectivity, as a subject position that comes out of colonialism and now 'colonial presence,' is haunted by coloniality. This chapter is organised in such a way that I start by locating representation and subjectivity in cultural studies. I then discuss representation and the coloniality of representation. I conclude the chapter by considering debates on subjectivity and the coloniality of the human.

### **3.2. Positioning journalism and media studies in Cultural Studies**

Black African subjectivity in the postcolonial moment emerges in the intersection of the media, migration and the urban, among other such spaces. In Cultural Studies this link between the media, migration and the urban can be termed an articulation. According to Hall, articulation refers to "the form of the connection that can make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions. It is a linkage which is not necessary, determined, absolute and essential for all time" (1996: 115, *see* Baker, 2012: 496). It is under the conditions of the 'colonial presence' that the media, migration and the urban 'link' to construct black African subjectivity in the postapartheid moment. Hall further notes it is important that the "mechanisms" and conditions that make this articulation possible "be shown - since no 'necessary correspondence' or expressive homology can be assumed as given" (Hall, 1996: 115). It is the broader aim of this dissertation to unmask the conditions and mechanisms of coloniality that underlie the construction of black African subjectivity in the postapartheid moment. It is important to define and contextualise Cultural Studies. Barker notes that Cultural Studies "is, and has always been, a multi- or post-disciplinary field of enquiry which blurs the boundaries between itself and other 'subjects'" (2005: 5). Hall takes Cultural Studies to be a discursive formation "a cluster (or formation) of ideas, images and

practices, which provide ways of talking about, forms of knowledge and conduct associated with, a particular topic, social activity or institutional site in society” (1997a: 6). Both Barker and Hall insist that Cultural Studies is an open and ever-evolving intellectual project.

Zelizer has reflected on the “uneasy coexistence of journalism and cultural studies” and called for the need to re-think “ways in which journalism and its inquiry might be made a more integral part of cultural studies” (2004: 100). The challenge is seen as lying in journalism’s ordinary claims to “facts, truth, and reality” as “God-terms” and cultural studies’ ordinary premise of relativity and subjectivity (Zelizer, 2004: 100). Studying the work of the journalists through a Cultural Studies frame became a huge issue in Australia in the late 90s to the early 2000s, sucking in South African academics (Windschuttle, 1997; Windschuttle, 1998, Meadows, 1999, Strelitz and Steenveld, 1998; Tomaselli and Shepperson, 1998). It is precisely the observation by Zelizer (2004) that since journalism had a sense that it is a science, and journalists hold firm belief in Truth as attainable, while Cultural Studies scholar insist on the impossibility of Truth, the two had an uneasy relationship. Studying journalism from a Cultural Studies perspective means considering its “meanings, symbols and symbolic systems, ideologies, rituals, and conventions by which journalists maintain their cultural authority as spokespeople for events in the public domain” (Zelizer, 2004: 101). This means drawing on other disciplines such as work on the sociology of culture, debates around constructivism in philosophy, analysis of symbols and symbolic forms in anthropology and ethnography in linguistics (Zelizer, 2004: 101). Importantly, and specifically for this research, studying the media and journalism in Cultural Studies would provide space to locate it in debates in postcolonial and decolonial approaches.

Studying journalism in a postcolonial and decolonial approach is to take up Willems’ (2014: 416) imagined task of not only challenging Western epistemology in media studies by de-westernizing or globalising but going further to question the hegemony of Western theory in the field. For example, in critical media studies, there is a robust critique of the foundations of journalism as objective or professional. The limits of approaches such as ‘internationalisation’ and ‘de-westernisation’ is that these approaches focus on extending Eurocentric approaches to countries seen as excluded from the Western canon rather than “questioning the centrality of Western theory” (Willems, 2014: 416). Following Marx’s injunction in thesis eleven, the point is to change

this epistemic status quo by questioning and displacing Western theory from the centre. The first step is to shift from the media systems to a media cultures approach which Willems argues can “contribute to an approach that practises media and communication studies from the Global South, grounded in the everyday life experiences of ordinary people but always situated against the background of crucial processes such as neoliberalisation” (2014b: 7). It has been argued that practices around professional journalism and the ideology of objectivity have ensured the exclusion of ordinary citizens and hence should be the target of decolonisation (Chiumbu, 2016). Schudson has argued that, “the belief in objectivity is a faith in ‘facts,’ a distrust in ‘values,’ and a commitment to their segregation” (2001: 150). However, in the history of the professionalization of journalism, claiming objectivity has been journalism’s way of staking out an institutional role as a “Fourth Estate” and therefore separate from both the government and society’s other interests groups (Schudson, 1978). Objective journalism is seen as anchored on three pillars of truthfulness, neutrality, and detachment (Calcutt and Hammond, 2011). However, these critiques assume universality yet, in its blindness to race, Western critical theory is inadequate in addressing the exclusions of subjects of colour in colonised spaces. This study, therefore extends this debate by critiquing the Euro-American critique of objective journalism from both a postcolonial and decolonial frame. This is important because of the representation role that journalism plays in South Africa and the world.

Firmly locating representation in Cultural Studies, Hall conceptualises it as the production of meaning linking thoughts with language to refer to the ‘real’ or imagined world of objects, people or events (1997:3). He proffers three approaches to representation: the reflective, intentional and the constructionist. In the reflective approach meaning lies in the object, person, idea or event in the real world, and language functions like a mirror reflecting the true meaning that already exists in the world (Hall, 1997:10). In his discussion of the role of the media in society, McQuail (2005) proffers seven metaphors that include the gatekeeper, a window, a signpost, a forum, a disseminator, an interlocutor, and importantly a mirror. However, about the metaphor of the media as a mirror, he notes how the media ‘mirrors’ events in society, but is susceptible to distortions and that is, its angle and direction as a mirror, is “decided by others, and we are less free to see what we want” (2005: 83). In the intentional approach to representation, Hall argues that, it is the speaker or author who ascribes his or her meaning to the world through language (1997:10). Media,

as institutions, are spaces of power, and their products, especially journalism and advertising, are underwritten by power. Couldry defines media power as “the concentration of symbolic power in media institutions, particularly those of television, radio and the press (the common-sense definition of ‘the media’)” (2001: 155). There are two issues to highlight here. First, this power of the media is, however, contested as it is not all pervasive. Second, media are powerful as a result of combining this symbolic power with other forms of power, for example social or political power. It is Hall’s conceptualisation of representation from a constructivist approach that this thesis adopts. Here, Hall argues that neither the things themselves nor the author can fix meaning, but that “we construct meaning, using representational systems – concepts and signs” (Hall, 1997:11). He further posits that “the ‘machineries’ and regimes of representation in a culture do play a constitutive, and not merely a reflexive, after-the event, role” (Hall, 1996:443). The black African subjectivities that appear through the articulations of the media, migration and the urban – as “regimes of representation” in our modernity - are not *apriori* to these texts (such that they are just a reflection) but specific cultural constructs.

Taking Johannesburg as a diaspora city for most Africans, we can then tease out the links between “history, citizenship, politics, the global, local, and communication come together in complex ways” in the construction of black African subjectivity in the postapartheid moment (Shome and Hedge, 2002: 262). A historicised study of the trajectory of the black subject in a South African urban space where his labour has been central in building cities from which he is “forbidden” creating a situation of an absence-presence (Landau, 2005) ties the border, the urban space and the media as spaces for the representation (construction), and in Gqola (2001)’s word, “making” of Black African Subjectivity. In the post-apartheid era, this is mostly under neoliberal globalisation. Most migration is to the city making the city, as a space, central to the question of subjectivity under migration conditions. The idea of the city gives the illusion of citizenship such that, for a moment, we can think of the black African subject in relation to the questions of the citizen. The citizen is the subject that arose out of Western modernity although this Western modernity was to evolve through processes of negating the subject of colour including the black African subject, through slavery and colonisation (Mbembe, 2017, Wynter, 2003). Boatca and Roth point out that, “the institution of citizenship has developed in the West through the legal (and physical) exclusion of non-European, non-White and non-Western populations from civic, political, social and cultural

rights; these exclusions, and thus citizenship as such, have historically been (en)gendered” (2016: 191). Citizenship is regarded as an “‘institution’ mediating rights between the subjects of politics and the polity to which these subjects belong” (Isin and Nyers, 2014: 1). Magnette describes it as a “modern western idea” that grew out of the period between 1780 and 1830 paralleled by growth of “European orientalism” (2005: 105). Kamugisha has pointed to the “coloniality of citizenship” as a “complex amalgam of elite domination, neoliberalism and the legacy of colonial authoritarianism” (2007: 20). We now turn to discuss journalism and the ideologies of professionalism and objectivity before tying them to the concept of the public sphere. This chapter will, in the last sections discuss, representation and subjectivity in depth as articulated to journalism under conditions of coloniality in the postapartheid moment.

### **3.3. Journalism and the ideologies of professionalism and objectivity**

Tuchman (1972), in her pioneering and canonical work on journalism objectivity, has called it a strategic ritual. Here journalists are seen as staking the conditions of possibility of their work on these rituals hence the news people’s notion of objectivity is based on form, inter-organisational relationships and content (Tuchman, 1972: 660 – 661). Reese (1990) describes objectivity as an ideology. Even though journalists are moving away from claiming objectivity as their news value, the principles of this ideology are seen as still firmly entrenched in the profession. The concept of objectivity asserts that journalists can be neutral in executing their duties and revolves around the separation of facts from values and opinions (Reese, 1990: 394; Hackett, 1984). From a political economy approach, Murdock and Golding (1979) suggest that, for a long time, the study of media practice has been ideological in that it focused more on description and neglected to make the link between this practice and the larger social structures. For Becker, this is confronting an important question of how the dominant ideology is linked up to the norms and practices, or "occupational ideology," of media workers (1984: 73). Considering journalism objectivity as an ideology allows us space to put journalism studies into dialogue with decolonial theories.

To argue that journalism is professional or objective is not only to make a claim but to take a political position. The ideas about journalism objectivity and professionalism assumes “similarities and differences of journalistic work and cultures across regions” (Waisbord, 2013:

1). Waisbord notes that in Asia and Africa, or across the world, there are “resemblances in the bureaucratic organization of “newswork,” the “statist” orientation of the news, the power and appeal of official sources, and the difficult working conditions” (2013: 1). Importantly, in both Asia and Africa “news focused on local and national events but followed conventional values that are common in the West. The ethics used and justified to make decisions about information-gathering and reporting were remarkably different” (Waisbord, 2013: 1). He further notes that “news values, routines, complaints were no different than those common in the West yet production styles, ethics, working conditions, and visions of journalism were entirely different (Waisbord, 2013: 2). It is one of the contentions of this dissertation on the meaning of the globalisation of professional cultures of journalism and when it reached Africa. Waisbord (2013) notes that “journalists and scholars frequently refer to journalism as a “profession” in the sense of a job or occupation. Here, the journalists would be referring to “the practice of journalism without folding professionalism into particular normative or ethical aspects” (Waisbord, 2013: 3; see Chapman and Nuttall, 2011; Ward, 2010).

To the ethical approach to media professionalism, professionalism encompasses “a set of desirable virtues and principles – the model of quality reporting and the best journalism for democracy” (Waisbord, 2013: 4). In this case “as difficult and elusive as it may be, the model of “professional journalism” is viewed in positive, normative terms” (Waisbord, 2013: 4). Here, professionalism is a conceptual category, a normative ideal, a narrative that reveals how journalism intersects with economic, political, social, and cultural forces that shape media systems” (Waisbord, 2013: 4). However, there is a history to professional journalism. It arises at some specific point in history. According to Hallin (1996), professional journalism, like other professions, has developed an ethic of public service. Waisbord notes that “just like any profession, journalism purports to serve citizens as clients” (Waisbord, 2013: 8 – 9). As an ideology, professionalism in journalism is seen as fulfilling three functions. First, it is seen as serving to control labour and reproduce the ideological status quo; second, it functions or supplies ‘strategic rituals’ used by journalists to claim legitimacy and defend themselves from any suspicion of subjectivity and favouritism; and third, it is seen as reinforcing social inequalities in access to public expression by favouring established powers with significant access to the news (Waisbord, 2013: 100; Carpentier, 2005; Hardt, 2000; Ekecrantz, 1997: 397).

Objective journalism has been critiqued at three levels. First, the ideal of objectivity as the supreme ideal of professionalism is seen as imposing “a narrow view on reality and limits public debate to the views of powerful actors” (Waisbord, 2013: 100). This is because the practice of journalism is “embedded in political and economic structures dominated by narrow interests” (Waisbord, 2013: 100). Here the critiques observe that claims to impartiality and detachment are located in a false narrative that wants to create the impression that news is reported from a vacuum and that it is all produced to serve public interest (Waisbord, 2013: 100). The fact that “journalism is firmly planted in the structure of capitalist media companies, it has obvious biases which are particularly salient in the coverage of issues and actors that question fundamental principles of capitalism” (Waisbord, 2013: 100). This critique of “professional journalism” reflects the broad Marxist critique of professions. Second, the communitarian critique of professional journalism argues that it undermines the idea of nurturing civic life by turning the press’ back to the public. This can be easily seen in sourcing patterns, as professional journalists prioritise elites and experts over citizens, whom communitarians see as the protagonists of democratic life (Waisbord, 2013: 101). The building of journalism as a “fortress” (Nordenstreng 1998) separates expert from lay knowledge. This is profoundly antidemocratic for it doesn’t contribute to community dialogue and participation” (Waisbord, 2013: 103). Others see the professionalization of journalism as marking a shift from journalism as communication to information transmission (Waisbord, 2013: 103; Glasser and Gunther 2005). The third critique of professional journalism draws its theoretical power from the work of Michel Foucault’s analysis. This critique “views professional journalism as a tool of governmentality, a technology of power in the service of the regime of truth” (Waisbord, 2013: 104). For Waisbord, thought of from a Foucauldian analysis, “professionalism and its ideals (objectivity, fairness, public service) are discursive formations that serve to install a “regime of truth” by which certain ideas are “normalized” and others are considered “deviant.” Professionalism is not about the pursuit of truth but, rather, the affirmation of certain ideas as “accepted truths,” imposing normal practices” (2013: 104). Thompson (1990) has argued that ideology is meaning in the service of power. According to Bratich, professional journalism is driven by a “will to moderation” which is seen in its dismissal and marginalization of critical ideas as “conspiracies” (2004: 43). Waisbord notes that “such a discursive strategy illustrates how mainstream journalism regulates expression and cements social control” (Waisbord, 2013: 104).

### **3.4. Nationalism, citizenship and the coloniality of the public sphere**

Habermas' concept of the public sphere has been widely used to link the media to democracy. Dahlgren locates the idea of the public sphere, which he sees as a place where "information, ideas and debate can circulate in society", in the centre of democracy (Dahlgren, 1995: ix). Habermas (1974) has described the public sphere as that space out of state influence. It is that "realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens. A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body" (Habermas, Lennox and Lennox, 1974: 49). It must be made clear from the start that Habermas does not collapse the distinction between the public sphere and the media. He states that "Today newspapers and magazines, radio and television are the media of the public sphere" (Habermas, Lennox and Lennox, 1974: 49). The public sphere, therefore, can be taken as the civil society, a space where citizens gather. He posits that when citizens gather, they "behave neither like business or professional people transacting private affairs, nor like members of a constitutional order subject to the legal constraints of a state bureaucracy. Citizens behave as a public body when they confer in an unrestricted fashion--that is, with the guarantee of freedom of assembly and association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions-about matters of general interest" (Habermas, Lennox and Lennox, 1974: 49). In that this large body of people would need "specific means for transmitting information and influencing those who receive it" the media then become important (Habermas, Lennox and Lennox, 1974: 49). It can be argued that the public sphere is bigger than the media as it is the space where issues are circulated, debated by individuals and institutions, and re-circulated until some kind of consensus is reached.

For most modern societies, the media have become central to the public sphere as the place where we find out "about — 'the public' — millions of other people that we share a country with" (McKee, 2005:5-6). McKee sees the concept of the public sphere as a metaphor we can use to "think about the way that information and ideas circulate in large societies. It's a term in everyday use to describe information when it's made generally available to the public: we say that it's in 'the public sphere'" (2005: vii). In a sense, the public sphere is associated with the publicness of information.

In what makes him centre the media in this public sphere, Habermas argues that what is important or pivotal to the public sphere is deliberation. In deliberation, it is envisaged that people engage as equals. For Calhoun, Habermas traces the transformations in the public sphere, revealing the internal tensions and factors that led to the decline of the bourgeois public sphere and, then, showing the elements of truth and emancipatory potential that were contained at this public sphere despite its contradictions (1991:2).

Goode notes that there is a paradox in the reception of Habermas's ideas around the public sphere "on the one hand, it seems like well-trodden territory. In fact, it is now increasingly dismissed as idealistic, Eurocentric and unwittingly patriarchal" (Goode, 2005: 1). On the other hand, Goode insists the theoretical propositions of Habermas around the public sphere "continues to be routinely invoked in debates around democracy, citizenship and communication" (2005: 1). Within Euro-American critical theory, Habermas is seen as over-idealising the bourgeois public sphere and hence smoothing over its exclusions of large numbers of people as it was composed of only the educated and propertied men (Calhoun, 1991:3; Fraser, 1990:62). Calhoun sees these men as conducting their business in a way not "only exclusive of others but prejudicial to the interests of those excluded" (1991:3). Fraser argues that the bourgeois public sphere was constituted by exclusions along gender, class and ethnicity (1990:62). Mouffe (1999), whose intellectual project is to salvage Marxist thinking, not only criticises the deliberative democracy foundations of Habermas and his followers' but offers what she calls an agonistic model of discourse and politics as an alternative. The agonistic model, unlike the deliberative model, does not take out or smooth over conflict, but proceeds from the basis of difference. Mouffe's main criticism of Habermas' (1964/1974) deliberative model is that it emphasises rational dialogue and consensus which she sees as impossible because of differences in people. She argues that agreement in opinions is preceded by agreement on the language (Mouffe, 1999:749). Language is used in a broad sense to embrace all communicative acts. Consensus is, therefore, seen as limited in that some views are not only "subordinated" in a fair contest in the public terrain, but are from the start, excluded. Mouffe's agonistic model emerges out of the theoretical bases of her work with Ernesto Laclau (1985), which acknowledges the dimension of power and antagonism and their ineradicable character (1999:752). The agonistic model is built through paying attention to the differences between "the political" and "politics". "The political" refers to the dimension of antagonism that

is inherent in all human societies and “politics” refers to the “ensemble of practices, discourses and institutions” that seek to “establish order and organise human coexistence in conditions that are always potentially conflictual because they are affected by the dimension of ‘the political’” (Mouffe, 1999:754).

As a way of crossing over to the decolonial critiques of the concept of the public sphere, it is important to locate Habermas within the Frankfurt School. Habermas’ concept of the public sphere is regarded as the Frankfurt school’s most influential concept (Beebee, 2002: 187). The Frankfurt School is credited for initiating western critical theory. Habermas is the most famous of the second generation of the Frankfurt School. Habermas’s thesis in the public sphere matched with his mentors – Theodore Adorno and Max Horkheimer – the idea of the “totally administered” society but departed from it by installing discursive reason as central to society (Beebee, 2002: 187). However, the concept remains the intellectual progeny “of the critical theory of the Frankfurt School” (Beebee, 2002: 187; Kellner, 2002: 31; Bettig, 2002). However, the Frankfurt school and Habermas have been criticized for ignoring the realities of colonialism in their work. Challenging the blind universalism of Eurocentric theory, Allen (2016) focuses on the critical theory of the Frankfurt School and the later thinkers it inspired including Jurgen Habermas whose concept of the public sphere has become hegemonic in Eurocentric ideas of press freedom. What has been pointed out as the challenge to this brand of critical theory is its silence on colonialism and race and how these are co-constitutive with modernity (Allen, 2016; Ciccariello-Maher, 2016). Although Baum admits that, set against its lofty goals of human emancipation, critical theory fails to acknowledge the history of colonialism, he still believes that in its critique of antisemitism, the Frankfurt School Critical Theory offers analytical resources “with respect to confronting racism and colonialism” (2015: 420). In response, Ciccariello-Maher (2016) notes that the failures of the Frankfurt school are writ in its Eurocentrism that makes it blind to the fact that the holocaust was a colonial horror coming back home. Here Ciccariello-Maher, draws our attention to Aime Cesaire’s observation that, in the holocaust, European modernity faced the horror it created in colonisation as ‘colonial methods and concepts returned suddenly and unexpectedly to European soil’ (2016: 133). Allen (2016)’s tactic of decolonising theory involves the double play of refusal and inheriting. It is a refusal ‘to remain faithful to its core doctrines or central figures’ and inheriting it, that is, taking it up “while simultaneously radically transforming it” (Allen, 2016:

xiii). This is the tactic I propose for the building of decolonial Marxism: to refuse its limitations as far as colonialism is concerned while retaining its critical edge especially in exposing capitalism. Allen also notes that, contrary to its stated aims to pursue emancipation, critical theory fails to engage “substantively with one of the most influential branches of critical theory, in the broader sense of that term, to have emerged in recent decades— postcolonial studies and theory” (2016: xiv). According to Allen, the failure for critical theory to engage with post- and decolonial theories, is located in the way it grounds normativity (Allen, 2016: xiv). Normativity is seen as either lying in ideas of historical progress or centred on a foundationalist conception of practical reason (Allen, 2016: xiv). This becomes problematic “given the deep connections between ideas of historical progress and development and normative foundationalism and the theory and practice of Eurocentric imperialism” (Allen, 2016: xv). In the Global South academy, western critical theory, then appears as entangled in the colonial project. As has been argued above, to argue, in the liberal sense, that freedom to publish in the context of a free market allows for a diversity of viewpoints making the press a representative institution is to ignore colonial history and to ignore the ravages of the ‘market’ in the postcolony.

Specifically, on the public sphere, Santos (2012) suggests that the decolonial critique of the concept of the public sphere should build on the critique of the concept within the Euro-American critical theory tradition. It should also build on work on the racism of capitalism and the coloniality of gender. Santos notes that the “theoretical and cultural presuppositions” of the concept of the public sphere “are entirely European” (2012: 43). In that these presuppositions are “not necessarily universally valid” it is important then to decolonise the Eurocentric concept of the public sphere so as to account for “the epistemological diversity of the world” through developing other theories anchored in “other epistemologies – the epistemologies of the South that adequately account for the realities of the global South” (Santos, 2012: 43). Santos suggests “intercultural translation, understood as a procedure that allows for mutual intelligibility among the diverse experiences of the world. Such a procedure does not endow any set of experiences with the statute either of exclusive totality or homogenous part” (2012: 43). He argues that in the African context, there is a need for two moments in the implementation of this intercultural translation of theory. To Santos, the first task is to identify the Eurocentrism that lingers in theory inherited from the colonial heritage, some kind of an intellectual audit of the theoretical resources available to African scholars

(2012: 43). The second task is to engage in the “reconstitutive challenge” of building theory through “revitalising the historical and cultural possibilities of the African legacy, interrupted by colonialism and neo-colonialism” (Santos, 2012: 43). The Eurocentrism of the concept of the public sphere lies in that it centres Europe’s 18<sup>th</sup> century history while expressing the emergence of the European bourgeois political subject in the context of European “practices and institutions” such as coffee houses and clubs (Santos, 2012: 44). Santos notes that “its theoretical and cultural presuppositions are entirely European” (Santos, 2012: 44). For the Global South the question that arises is “assuming that the public sphere has become a hegemonic concept, is it possible to use it in a counter-hegemonic way?” (Santos, 2012: 45). We now turn to discuss representation, subjectivity and coloniality.

### **3.5. Representation, modernity and coloniality**

Webb (2009) posits that representation is central to everyday life. This is because “we live immersed in representation: it is how we understand our environments and each other. It is also how we both are, and how we understand ourselves; representation is implicated in the process of me becoming me” (2009: 2). This way she links representation with subjectivity. Representation is a political issue in that “central to all its uses, and domains of use, are three questions: who is performing the representation; what does it mean; and what effects does it have?” (Webb, 2009: 2). There has generally been a move from the reflective conceptualisation of representation to that which considers it as constitutive. Hall notes that, representation is located in culture and culture is “about ‘shared meanings.’ Now, language is the privileged medium in which we ‘make sense’ of things, in which meaning is produced and exchanged. Meanings can only be shared through our common access to language” (1997: 1). Representations are therefore located in language as “language is central to meaning and culture and has always been regarded as the key repository of cultural values and meanings” (Hall, 1997: 1). Hall notes that language is a “key repository of cultural values and meanings” because “it operates as a representational system” where we use signs and symbols making “representation through language [...] central to the processes by which meaning is produced” (Hall, 1997: 1).

Culture is a slippery concept defying definition. Hall notes that previously, culture has been defined as “the sum of the great ideas, as represented in the classic works of literature, painting, music and philosophy- the 'high culture' of an age” (1997: 2). In the modern age it has come to loosely refer to widely distributed forms of popular music, publishing, art, design and literature “what is called the ‘mass culture’ or the ‘popular culture’ of an age” (Hall, 1997: 2). As a result, there has been a huge debate between what is regarded as high culture and popular culture. High culture is the culture of those seen as occupying the high levels of society, like monarchs, the civilised and the polished. However, there has been an emergence of the anthropological definition of culture that sees it as referring to “whatever is distinctive about the ‘way of life’ of a people, community, nation or social group” (Hall, 1997: 2). The cultural turn, especially in cultural studies and the sociology of culture, has tended to emphasize the importance of meaning to the definition of culture (Hall: 1997:2). Here culture is taken as a process and a set of practices. Hall sums up this school this way; “primarily, culture is concerned with the production and the exchange of meanings – the ‘giving and taking of meaning’ - between the members of a society or group” (1997: 2). The importance of putting emphasis on meaning is that these “cultural meanings are not only ‘in the head’. They organize and regulate social practices, influence our conduct and consequently have real, practical effects” (Hall, 1997: 3). Emphasising that meaning is produced, Hall notes that “it is participants in a culture who give meaning to people, objects and events. Things ‘in themselves’ rarely if ever have any one, single, fixed and unchanging meaning” (1997: 3). Culture functions through language or as a language. Languages work through representation. Hall argues that languages are “‘systems of representation’ essentially, we can say that all these practices ‘work like languages’, *not* because they are all written or spoken (they are not), but because they all use some element to stand for or represent what we want to say” (Hall, 1997: 4). Webb posits that “much of the work of representation depends on first having established relationships of equivalence” (2009: 9). What that means is that before the work of representation, “we must make it possible for ‘a’ to mean, or substitute for, ‘b’. This involves establishing relationships of equivalence between a word or other sign, and the concept and thing that is observed – the referent” (Webb, 2009: 9). This is made the more difficult by the fact that “representation is a complex and slippery process because it is cultural and not natural, therefore not necessary or fixed” (Webb, 2009: 10). In representation, the sign is always empty of real content (Webb, 2009: 10).

Making a case for constructionist approaches to representation, Webb notes that “the processes of representation do not simply make connections, relationships and identities visible: they actually make those connections, relationships and identities” (2009: 10). What it means is that representation is not simply an act of “substitution and reiteration” but it is the act of ‘constitution’ as “it constitutes – makes real – both the world and our ways of being in the world and in communities” (Webb, 2009: 10). In media studies, for example, Bowles notes that representation is taken to refer to “simply the question of how the media portray events, people and ideas, and how that portrayal then influences the real world of events, people and ideas” (2002: 72). Webb notes that “what is missing in this depiction is the systematic nature of representation” where it is taken not just as a noun but as a verb “representation as the action involved, and the processes that must be gone through, in the work of making words or gestures” (2009: 10). Importantly, “representation is not just about rendering and delegating, but is also about organizing and arranging knowledge and ideas” (Webb, 2009: 10). In the constructionist approach to meaning and representation, language is tied to either the semiotic or the discourse approaches to representation. Semiotics is the study of signs “and their general role as vehicles of meaning in culture” (Hall, 1997: 6). Discourses are seen as “ways of referring to or constructing knowledge about a particular topic of practice: a cluster (or formation) of ideas, images and practices, which provide ways of talking about, forms of knowledge and conduct associated with, a particular topic, social activity or institutional site in society” (Hall, 1997: 6). This dissertation uses both approaches to representation.

Even after so much theorisation and making sense of representation, it remains a complex and slippery concept. Following Spivak, Webb turns to German language to offer a nuanced discussion of “what it can mean, where it can mean” and the limits of these meanings noting that “the German language allows more carefully delineated senses of the word: *Darstellung* (making present), *Vertretung* (speaking for and standing in for), *Wortvorstellung* (representations of words), and *Sach- or Dingvorstellung* (representations of things) (2009: 7). However, the English language has one word to talk about representation. Prendergast proffers some definitions of representation, and the first one is “the sense of represent as re-present, to make present again, in two interrelated ways, spatial and temporal” (2000: 4). Webb notes that, in gesturing at something not there as present, this first definition “is representation as *Darstellung*, the notion of making or rendering

presence” (2009: 8). Here to “re-present [is] to make present again” (Webb, 2009: 63). In this case or mode “a particular representation can have the capacity to make visible, in the here and now, something that was (or might have been) present in a different here and now – it accommodates both space (it *is* present) and time (it *is in* the present)” (2009: 8). For Prendergast (2004), the second sense of representation is where presence is delegated or where something substitutes for something. This appears both in language and politics. In language, Webb notes, “a word makes a concrete thing, or an idea, present in conversation or writing. I say ‘elephant’, and though there is no elephant in the room, the concept of elephant is rendered, or brought into consciousness – allowed to stand in for the animal” (2009: 8). These examples are illustrated in politics where certain people represent, that is, stand in for, other people. Representation, therefore means that “in both language and politics, this sense of representation allows a term, image or agent to substitute for an absent object, idea or person.” (Webb, 2009: 8).

Prendergast notes that representation is an “essentially modern invention, one of the master concepts of modernity” (2002: 2). Foucault posits that before representation there was resemblance, which went up to the period of the Enlightenment, before representation became the more dominant mode of understanding the media (1970: 51). Alves describes the Enlightenment as “the beginning of the modern age; it was characterized by a massive outpouring of philosophical thought and political actions, all grounded on a belief in what is ‘rational, secular, democratic, and universal” (2000: 488). This is the time when the beginning of the idea of the modern man as the Subject are located. It is argued that, at this time, man became, “therefore, the subject and mastermind of history” (Alves, 2000: 488). Colebrook (2000) argues that modernity ushered in representation to counter the old approach that saw knowledge as something grounded and validated by a link to ‘the thing itself’. Lloyd questions “the seemingly unyielding racism of the so-called liberal institutions” asking “how could institutions whose missions promised democratic inclusivity and enlightened inquiry remain in practice so resistant to the project of racial desegregation?” (2019: vii). He notes that this question was located in the “context of the intellectual left’s then-pressing concern with ideology and institutions, to inquire into the political formation of subjects that educational institutions were charged with producing” (Lloyd, 2019: vii). This was to engage in the critique of the role of culture in the shaping of political subjects. Today, these questions seem urgent because “the language of rights and representation that [are]

still the idiom necessary to any defensive agenda” (Lloyd, 2019: viii). Smith opens his book on decolonising research by referring to how ‘research’ is a dirty word. In other words, she is arguing that representation is a dirty word. Lloyd notes that “the constitutive relation between the concepts of universality, freedom, and humanity and the racial order of the modern world is grounded in the founding texts of the disciplines that articulated them and that we now term the humanities” (2019: 2). He posits a concept of a racial “regime of representation” built on Cedric Robinson’s concept of “racial regimes” and Patrick Wolfe’s idea of “regimes of race”. According to Robinson (2007), “racial regimes” refer to “constructed social systems in which race is proposed as a justification for the relations of power”. According to Wolfe (2016), the “regimes of race” marks “regimes of difference with which colonisers have sought to manage subject populations”. Lloyd argues that “though I seek to maintain their mutual focus on how such regimes articulate relations of power and domination, my aim is to elaborate the ways in which the aesthetic structures those relations, even in the name of universality, through a complex conceptual matrix of representation” (Lloyd, 2019: 7). We now turn to the colonality of ‘human’ as the subject.

### **3.6. Subjectivity and the colonality of ‘the human’**

The idea of the subject comes into human history at the dawn of Enlightenment and modernity. Webb notes that “the idea of the subject ... is to say people: me, you, and everyone else in the world” (2009: 63). Corner notes that subjectivity has “only more recently gained general usage in media research [following] recognition of the complexity and importance of questions about identity and the ‘self’ in any attempt to engage with how the media operate within contemporary society” (Corner, 2011: 2). Webb argues that the idea of the subject “drags the question of reality and presence back into the equation” in that “Surely [...] we don’t have to be represented: we simply are present in a time and place, each one of us a discrete, particular individual in a world of other particular individuals” (Webb, 2009: 63). However, that is not as simple as that because “whether digital or material [...] human subjects become within, and inhabit, a world that is simultaneously real and representational” (2009: 64). The concept of subjectivity collects “together an agenda of issues about the formation of selfhood, the construction of identity and the dynamics of consciousness that places new emphases and poses new questions” (Corner, 2011: 2).

While modernity came with the idea of a unified and centred subject, there have been moves towards a “‘decentred subjects’ because we lack a centre – we have no fixed sense or locus of self” (Webb, 2009: 64). Butler notes that the role of representation is to give us ‘this lack’ and then fill it to stabilise our identities (1990: 43). This provides us “with a sense of presence and hence security” (Webb, 2009: 70). In a sense, representation “gives us the tools to name and frame ourselves as concrete and coherent identities, and to find a position from which to represent ourselves; thus to move from being objects (that which is spoken about) to being subjects (that which speaks)” (2009: 70). As a result, we “develop a fiction of an integrated self by becoming part of the social world – people able to vote and enter into commercial contracts” (Webb, 2009: 70).

The idea of subjectivity refers to the space of the self, the self and the factors contributing to the constitution of the self and its agency in the world (Corner, 2011: 86). Corner posits that there are many complex intersecting vectors in the construction of subjectivity and, as a result, there are complexities around its modes of operation around different types of social action and interaction (Corner, 2011: 86). In that they have always been a formative factor in consciousness and what people are and what they think they are, the media become central to issues of subjectivity (Corner, 2011: 87). The tendency has been to “assume less and investigate more, to place the relations between ‘media’ and ‘selfhood’ within a denser sense of plurality, of the interactive, of the contradictory and of movement (subjectivity as, essentially, *process*)” (Corner, 2011: 86 – 87). However, it is important to note that “the subjective” is always at the centre of any “production and circulation of knowledge” as the “site of imagination, of desire and of fear as well as of practical rationality. It is part of the grounding of political and social order” (Corner, 2011: 87).

Subjectivity is “the space where the dominant structural coordinates of class, ethnic identity and gender produce differences in self-perception and perception of others, often in the process reproducing inequalities” (Corner, 2011: 87). This dissertation is interested in focusing on the “general positioning of the media in relation to questions of subjectivity ...” (Corner, 2011: 87). Corner proposes numerous ways of looking at the relationship between the media and subjectivity, first he suggests a focus on “‘cultural taste’ as a long-standing issue in discussion of how the media

work to reflect and construct ‘sensibility’, the individualized as well as socialized forms of relationship with the expressive and aesthetic world, in ways that carry both cognitive and affective implications” and second he refers to “the idea of the ‘political self’ or the ‘civic self’ as this has become recognized as a highly media-dependent aspect of consciousness and action” (2011: 87).

Importantly, Corner notes that “one prominent form in which questions of subjectivity are raised in social studies, including studies of the media, is as questions of ‘identity’” arguing that this is “in relation to the formation of class, gender, race, political affiliation, region, nationality and a number of other differentiations and groupings, questions about how identities are produced, both as a positioning by others and as self-awareness and self-definition, are central” (Corner, 2011: 88). Calhoun argues that “the discourse of the self is distinctively modern, and modernity distinctively linked to the discourse of self, not just because of the cognitive and moral weight attached to selves and self-identity. Modern concerns with identity stem also from the ways in which modernity has made identity distinctively problematic. It is not simply – or even clearly – the case, that it matters more to us than to our forebears to be who we are. Rather, it is much harder for us to establish who we are and maintain this own identity satisfactorily in our lives and in the recognition of others” (1994: 10). Calhoun further notes that “however, the formation, and re-formation, of ‘who we are’, both in relation to our own perceptions, the perceptions of others and to the larger structures within which we live, clearly provides the basis for all engagement with the ‘realities’ of the world and judgement upon them” (2011: 89). The media is seen as playing a major role in this process “producing not only continuities of the self, sometimes fragile in their unity, but also changing and composite ‘selves’ in which the play of contradictory elements occurs” (Calhoun, 2011: 89).

Fensham notes that theories of subjectivity have been central to Cultural Studies from Raymond Williams’ work on lived experiences, Stuart Hall’s work on identities, Elspeth Probyn’s work on sexed self and Homi Bhabha’s work on mimicry of the colonial (2000: v). As much as Cultural Studies, as a discipline, has tried to come up with its own theories of the subject, “it has also been confronted by the ‘death of the subject’ (Foucault); the rejection of the ‘subject of feminism’ (Butler) or faced with the ‘oriental other’ (Said) who is never the subject of the West” (Fensham,

2000: v). In *Cultural Studies*, Fensham sees subjects as emerging out of or exiting through theory, “indeed, it could be argued that Cultural Studies, even at its most political and deconstructive, is the intellectual field that has remained most concerned with theorising the subject” (Fensham, 2000: v). The threat to the subject, then means that, “the very idea of theorising the subject, of asking how the idea of a self has been thought and represented [...], can only be productive where an idea of the cultural remains of value for mediating experience” (Fensham, 2000: v – vi). Fensham argues that “subjectivity is cultural theory in process. Whether the subject is political, or personal, our ideas and our experience of being a particular someone at a particular time and place in history have been shaped by theory” (Fensham, 2000: vi).

The study of the subject in the West has a long history and includes “division of theories into those which foreground the subject as fixed structures of meaning—the subject who knows and who speaks—including psychoanalysis, and to some extent, feminist arguments around sexual difference; and those which are anti-subjectivist, from Nietzsche to Foucault to Donna Haraway, where the subject is an effect of power, science or technologies. It also defers to Deleuze and Guattari whose theory radicalises the subject as a potential ‘rhizomatics’” (Fensham, 2000: vi). There is also “the subject—the self-mediated through discourse—as cultural” (Fensham, 2000: vi). Derrida refers to the “question of the subject and the living ‘who’ is at the heart of the most pressing concerns of modern societies” (1991: 115). Mansfield refers to subjectivity as “my sense of self .... How is it conditioned by the media I consume, the society I inhabit, the politics I suffer and the desires that inspire me?” (Mansfield, 2000: 1).

Mansfield further points out that the subject “the ‘I’ is [...] a meeting-point between the most formal and highly abstract concepts and the most immediate and intense emotions. This focus on the self as the centre both of lived experience and of discernible meaning has become one of the — if not the — defining issues of modern and postmodern cultures” (2000: 1). This obsession with the subject is seen in that, we now live in a time where “we must consistently confess our feelings: we answer magazine questionnaires about what we want, surveys about which politicians we like, focus groups about how we react to advertising campaigns; televised sport, war, accident and crime are all designed to trigger emotion” (Mansfield, 2000: 1 – 2). Mansfield notes that, “a world where we once knew ourselves in terms of values and identities has given way to the uninterrupted

intensities of elation and grief, triumph and trauma, loss and achievement; birth, death, survival, crime, consumption, career are all now pretexts for emotion. Even economics is driven by its painstaking graphs of consumer sentiment” (Mansfield, 2000: 1 – 2).

In the West, that has always appeared in theory and in practise as a society of individuals, “selfhood is now seen to be in a state of perpetual crisis in the modern West. Alienated intellectuals and suicidal youth; culture wars and volatile markets; endless addictions to food, work, alcohol and narcotics; sexual inadequacy and thrill killers—all feed into education and entertainment industries that keep the intensity of our selfhood perpetually on the boil, nagging and unsettling, but also inspiring and thrilling us with mystery, fear and pleasure” (Mansfield, 2000: 2). Mansfield argues that “it is this ambivalence and ambiguity—the intensification of the self as the key site of human experience and its increasing sense of internal fragmentation and chaos—that the twentieth century’s theorists of subjectivity have tried to deal with” (2000: 2). Mansfield notes that, in the West, “the self—more than family, locality, ethnicity and nationality—has become the key way in which we now understand our lives” (Mansfield, 2000: 2).

He warns that “although the two are sometimes used interchangeably, the word ‘self’ does not capture the sense of social and cultural entanglement that is implicit in the word ‘subject’: the way our immediate daily life is always already caught up in complex political, social and philosophical—that is, shared—concerns” (Mansfield, 2000: 2 -3). In terms of subjectivity, Descombes points out that when philosopher René Descartes (1596–1650) wrote ‘I think, therefore I am’, the ‘I’ he described was not limited to René Descartes (1991: 126 – 127). Mansfield adds that “although it does not simply leave his own selfhood behind, this philosophical formulation claims to describe a faculty of reflection that links human interiority together everywhere” (Manfield, 2000: 2 – 3). Subjectivity is defined as “an abstract or general principle that defies our separation into distinct selves and that encourages us to imagine that, or simply helps us to understand why, our interior lives inevitably seem to involve other people, either as objects of need, desire and interest or as necessary sharers of common experience” (2000: 3). He further notes that “the subject is always linked to something outside of it—an idea or principle or the society of other subjects. It is this linkage that the word ‘subject’ insists upon” (Mansfield, 2000: 3). In terms of language, and how it is built “to be subject means to be ‘placed (or even thrown)

under'. One is always subject to or of something. The word subject, therefore, proposes that the self is not a separate and isolated entity, but one that operates at the intersection of general truths and shared principles" (Mansfield, 2000: 3).

Mansfield proffers four types of subjects. The first one is "the subject of grammar, the initiating or driving principle of the sentence. We know and use the word 'I' first and foremost in this sense, as the origin of the actions, feelings and experiences that we collect together and report as our live" (Mansfield, 2000: 3). The second type of subjectivity, that Mansfield (2000) discusses, is the politico-legal subject. Mansfield notes that "the laws and constitutions that define the limits of our social interaction, and ostensibly embody our most respectable values, understand us as recipients of, and actors within, fixed codes and powers: we are subject of and to the monarch, the State and the law" (2000: 4). He further notes that, theoretical, "in liberal democratic societies at least, this sort of subjectivity demands our honest citizenship and respects our individual rights" (Mansfield, 2000: 4). The third subject, that Mansfield (2000) discusses is the philosophical subject where, "the 'I' is both an object of analysis and the ground of truth and knowledge" (Mansfield, 2000: 4). Here Mansfield is referring to Western philosophy and notes that; "in a defining contribution to Western philosophy ..., Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) outlined the issues that defined the problem of the subject of philosophy: How can I know the world? How can I know how I should act in the world? And how can I judge the world? Here the subject is located at the centre of truth, morality and meaning" (Mansfield, 2000: 4). The fourth subject, that Mansfield (2000) discusses, is that of the subject as a human person. He notes that "no matter how exhaustive our analyses of our selfhood in terms of language, politics and philosophy, we remain an intense focus of rich and immediate experience that defies system, logic and order and that goes out into the world in a complex, inconsistent and highly charged way" (Mansfield, 2000:4). Mansfield notes that the way we present our subjectivity, in this case, is not consistent in that at times we seem simple and unremarkable holding ourselves as normal, ordinary and straight forward and other times as charismatic (2000: 4).

Representation's domain is in facilitating how we enter subjectivity, what Lacan calls the symbolic order (1977b: 65), a set of "cultural rules organized by discourses of what is right and proper, and of how things should be" (Webb, 2009: 70). How that actually happens is an issue of debate among

theorists. In his study of governmentality, Foucault posits that what appears as simple acts of recording information about us on public documents such as birth certificates and marriage certificates by the government, is how we are made into subjects. This is seen as announcing and authorising our identity (Webb, 2009: 70). Althusser sees humans turned into subjects through ideological interpellation ([1964]/2014). Webb notes that, here, ideology “names us within a system, or order (‘inter’ – within; ‘appellation’ – naming)” (2009: 70). Webb gives a compelling example of conceptualising subjectivity in Africa that is centred on the concept of Ubuntu. Mzamane argues that “the true measure of our humanity is whether we can relate to and honour other humans” (2001). The principle of Ubuntu is “a humanistic ideal that can be loosely translated as, ‘a human being is only human in relation to other humans’” (Webb, 2009: 72). Webb notes that this way of thinking about “‘being’ in community, is in sharp contrast to the contemporary Western representation of humanity, directed as it is at the quest for individual self-fulfilment and individual lack” (2009: 72). Webb further posits that “While the Western tradition struggles to find meaning in the personal pronoun, other cultures find at least the first person plural, ‘we’, packed with content” (2009: 73). She argues that in these cultures such as in Africa and the Pacific, it doesn’t mean that there is no notion of individual subjectivity but that “under the traditional way of being and knowing, a person becomes a person because they have a network of connections, and they are not made in isolation by the chilly hand of representation” (Webb, 2009: 73).

As has been argued in the last sections, this dissertation follows Hall’s conceptualisation of representation as the production of meaning linking thoughts with language to refer to the ‘real’ or imagined world of objects, people or events (1997:3). Cultural signifying institutions like the media are seen as constituting and constructing subjectivities and identities that are then products of representation. Lloyd (2019) advances a critique of representation, as violent, and argues that this is because it (representation) is located in liberal institutions that emerge as part of the racist modernity project. He notes that these institutions, where we can as well include the media industries, promise “democratic inclusivity and enlightened inquiry” yet remain “resistant to the project of racial desegregation” (2019: vii). To link Lloyd’s observations to Hall’s constructionist approach, it can be argued that in postcolonial environments, subjectivities and identities are “multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices, and positions” and “within, not outside representation” (Hall, 1992: 4; see Richardson, 2007:11).

These subjectivities and identities are socially significant and context specific ideological constructs that become markers for history, social location, and positionality (Moya, 2006, Alcoff, et al., 2006:6).

Lloyd (2019) contextualises the coloniality, and therefore violence, of representation by historically locating it in Enlightenment, the beginning of modernity and through its trajectory in slavery and colonialism up to the neoliberal moment. He argues that, today, the violence of the category of representation is especially tied to the emptiness of the claims to “universality” of the human category “in the face of the increasing relegation of so many to disposability under the neoliberal dispensation” (Lloyd, 2019: viii). In modern societies, the different media have become sites for the production, reproduction and transformation of ideologies which are the “representations of the social world, images, descriptions, explanations and frames for understanding how the world is and why it works as it is said and shown to work” (Hall, 1981:90). It is the prominence of the media, and other cultural industries that makes them central to the project of deconstructing the violence of representation. This is because these institutions emerge as spaces where “the notion of the subject of freedom” has always been thought of in contrast to “the subordination of unfree subjects” (Lloyd, 2019: viii). In modernity’s racialized and sexist conceptualisation, the ultimate subject of freedom has always been white and male, and the ultimate unfree subject has always been black and female. The history of the media in South Africa exemplifies this in many ways.

Lloyd’s intervention on representation locates it firmly in modernity’s colonial project. Following Hall, he sees a “constitutive relation between the concepts of universality, freedom, and humanity and the racial order of the modern world” (Lloyd, 2019: 2 – 3). In a sense the violence of representation is in that in constituting subjects, especially in (post)colonial societies like South Africa, it is underwritten by a racial “regime of representation” (Lloyd, 2019: 7). In this racial regime of representation, the ‘unfree subject’ emerges on the margins of modernity as: Black, Savage and a Subaltern. Lloyd notes that the black as slave “is the extreme instance of a social condition of material or corporeal unfreedom, economically, juridically, physically” (Lloyd, 2019: 8). The subaltern differs from the Black and the Savage “in that it is not defined in relation to freedom as such but in direct relation to representation [...] the negation of representation” (Lloyd,

2019: 8). Following Marx (1963) and Gramsci (1971), Spivak (2005:477) theorises subalternity as the condition where a social group is “removed from all lines of social mobility”, and lacks agency. Spivak (2005) insists that subaltern does not simply equate to “the oppressed” but refers to those who have to grapple with the impossibility of representing themselves. They are almost always represented by society. Black subjectivity has always been represented.

### **3.7. Decolonizing African media studies**

After arguing for the colonality of media studies and representation, it is important to consider work that discusses the decolonization of media studies, with a specific focus on African media studies. Mohammed notes that decolonial media studies have always left out the African perspective focusing mainly on “marginalized scholars in the Black/African diaspora, Asian scholars, Middle Eastern scholars and Latinx scholars” (2021: 123 – 124). The implications are that African media studies have been neglected and marginalized by sections of the academy that purport to foreground the colonial and decolonial experiences in knowledge production. This marginalization is clear in the lack of representation of African scholars and scholarship in major communication conferences that include the International Communication Association (ICA) and the National Communication Association, both in the USA. She posits that “there is no division or interest group at either of these conferences specifically dedicated to African Media Studies and the little representation of African scholarship at these conferences are from white scholars and a handful of northern based indigenous African scholars like me” (Mohammed, 2021: 124). Paradoxically, for Langmia, the starting question for the decolonization of media studies is the almost universalized question; “do Black lives matter in communications studies?” (2022: x). The question of black lives in the world has played out in such a way that it centres experiences of black people in the West while excluding black people in Africa. Asante has noted that the “mere ‘inclusion’ and ‘tolerance’ of difference with regard to race, class, gender, ability, sexuality and nationality cannot address the violence of White capitalist heteropatriarchy in academia” (2019: 485). This is the dilemma that decolonial African media studies has to contend with.

For African media studies, decolonization means unshackling “the cocoon of epistemologically imposed social and cultural norms that people outside the periphery of Europe and America have

been subjected to in Africa since the Berlin Conference of 1884/1885” (Langmia, 2022: xi). This can be achieved by infleuncing the trajectory of media and communication studies compelling the disciplines to “harvest socio-cultural, political, and economic foundational resources from non-western countries” (Langmia, 2022: xi). For Asante and Hanchey, African knowledge systems are pregnant with the potential to teach the world, regardless of whether the West is listening or not (2021: 271). This is despite the absence/presence of the African sensibilities in communication and media studies, globally. They note that “African knowledge systems are easily denied because of the ways that neocolonialism, coloniality, and global anti-Blackness structure Western ontologies and epistemologies” (Asante and Hanchey, 2021: 271). Daniels (2022) argues for a specifically South African approach to decolonizing media studies. Thinking in the context of the Fees Must Fall movement and its challenge to knowledge production, Daniels (2022) argues for an approach that combines Frantz Fanon, Steve Biko and Achille Mbembe’s theories of subjection, racism, the postcolony and decoloniality, as well as Judith Butler’s concept of “passionate attachment”, and Slavoj Zizek’s idea of the ideological signifier as a “rigid designator”. Similar to a posture taken in this research, this is combining African and western critical theoretical resources. She posits that “the questions that inform the theoretical framework include: Is decolonization some sort of absolute, a transcendental signifier that anchors the students’ discourse? Is it a conceptual lynchpin, to which students are passionately attached?” (Daniels, 2022: 2 – 3).

However, Daniels (2022) and this dissertation’s proposed approach are different from, for example, Mohammed’s approach which argues that “although canonical theories can be useful in theorizing African media systems, decolonizing research must first look to Indigenous African epistemologies and knowledge systems to support knowledge production in communication studies and media studies” (2022: 7). She further argues that decolonization in African media studies is important not only because “marginalized ways of knowing have been demonized by the academy, but also because of its potential to shift normative attitudes and behaviors toward knowledge in various academic settings such as classrooms, journals, and conferences” (Mohammed, 2022: 8). This dissertation takes heed to the realization that decolonization is very important for indigenous media because of their location in the linguistic hierarchy of media studies and in media practice (Mohammed, 2022: 8). The dissertation combines the study of English media with that of media produced in the indigenous isiZulu language.

### **3.8. Conclusion**

It is under the conditions of the ‘colonial presence’ that the media, migration and the urban ‘link’ to construct black African subjectivity in the postapartheid moment. It is the broader aim of this dissertation to unmask the conditions and mechanisms of coloniality that underlie the construction of black African subjectivity in the postapartheid moment. Under the presence of colonialism and coloniality that have subsisted in South Africa since 1652, black African subjectivity is a subject position constructed through an interplay of absence and presence. Representation, as tied to journalism and the media, has been central to the construction of black African subjectivity in the postapartheid period. Even though journalists have been moving away from claiming objectivity, - a strategic ritual seen as the condition of possibility for journalism – it remains hegemonic, entrenched and with a huge influence in their profession. This concept of objectivity suggests that journalists can be neutral in executing their duties and revolves around the separation of facts from values and opinions (Reese, 1990: 394; Hackett, 1984). In a sense, in objectivity journalism as a profession tries to deny its entanglements in the wider political and social contexts in which it operates. This means that linking the values that journalism espouses with the ideologies of the ruling elite is important in revealing this ideological nature of journalism (Murdock and Golding, 1979: 35). Journalism has become central to representation in modern societies. The idea of South Africa, as tied to the idea of Africa and Southern Africa, plays out in history as a series of representations and processes of constructing black African subjectivity as both absence and presence that haunts colonial modernity. This study aims to trace and make sense of the emergence of black African subjectivity in articulations of the media, specifically journalism, urbanity and migration in postapartheid South Africa. Central to the discussions on subjectivity and journalism in postapartheid South Africa, is issue of the coloniality of representation and black African subjectivity. Journalism and representation arise out of modernity, and for the colonised, they are partly repressive technologies of speaking and representing, effectively constructing the “Other” (Lloyd, 2019; Mignolo, 2018; Foucault, 1977).

## Chapter 4

### Decolonising methodology

“In decoloniality research methods and research methodologies are never accepted as neutral [...] Research methodologies are tools of gate-keeping” (**Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013: 11**)

“Inquiry is always political and moral [...] Objectivity and evidence are political and ethical terms” (**Denzin, 2013: 355**).

“The politics of evidence cannot be separated from the ethics of evidence” (**Denzin and Gardina, 2008: 12**).

#### 4.1. Introduction

The main goal of this research is to decolonise media and communication research through shifting theoretical and methodological resources, and adopting an interdisciplinary design for the study of the representation of black African subjectivity in post-apartheid South Africa. Decolonising media and cultural studies partly mean decolonising theory and method. Decolonising theory is discussed in Chapter 1. This chapter discusses decolonising method through a triangulated, interdisciplinary, and interpretivist research that adopts research ethics that are alive to studying the crisis of representation of black subjects in postapartheid South Africa. Building on debates already circulating in humanities and qualitative research and taking media studies into decoloniality studies, this crisis of representation is characterised as the coloniality of representation. The thesis focuses on how black subjectivity emerges in media reports around xenophobia in South Africa.

Located broadly in Cultural Studies, the research deals mostly with texts that include news stories, photojournalism pictures, graffiti, and other images as collected during the ethnographic fieldwork. The analysis of these texts is based on discourse, ideology and semiotics analysis. The focus is on how texts are “positioned or positioning” and whose interests do they serve (Janks, 1997: 329). The combination of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), semiotic analysis and ideology analysis needs to be explained. First, CDA is combined with ideology because of their related emphasis on language, what it does, how it represents, and how it distributes social power. Language, within its terms and delimitations, makes material objects and social practices visible

and intelligible (Barker, 2004: 107). The research takes a constructivist approach to representation and hence focuses on the ideological work of language and discourses (Hall, 1997; Webb, 2009). In this study, discourses are both language and practise as “regulated ways of speaking about a topic which delimit the sayable and unsayable” (Barker and Galasinski, 2001: 2). Second, CDA and ideology analysis are combined with semiotic analysis because of the multimodality of media messages ever since the growth of the internet as a new media platform. We live in the internet age, where most people consume content online (Wei, 2012; Kress, 2003). There has been a huge digital migration by newspapers such that a lot of journalism content is multimodal (Friedrichsen and Kamalipour, 2017).

This chapter is organised in such a way that I first discuss the politics of qualitative research. The formative debates of qualitative research are important for thinking about decolonising research. I then discuss the interpretivist approach to research and the importance of its emphasis on the challenges of accessing ‘reality’ through research. The interpretivist approach is central to qualitative research. The data collection methods that are discussed in this chapter include the sampling for journalism texts from two English news organisations and one isiZulu newspaper. These are *Independent on Line*, *News24* and *Ilanga* newspaper. The research also uses an ethnographic design with emphasis on keeping a diary, the visual method of photography, and in-depth interviews. The chapter later discusses the data analysis methods of CDA, ideology analysis and semiotics. I round up the chapter by discussing the research ethics and how thinking seriously about the ethical issues is central to decolonising research.

## **4.2. The politics of qualitative research**

This research adopts a qualitative research methodology seeking to provide “a detailed description and analysis of the quality, or the substance, of the human experience” (Marvasti, 2004: 7). According to Denzin and Lincoln, qualitative research locates the observer in the world consisting of “a set of interpretive, material practices that makes the world visible” (2005: 3; Maxwell, 2008; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: 14). It puts emphasis on meaning-making (Merriam, 2009: 9). Guest, Namey and Mitchell note that researchers use qualitative research to “address questions about people’s ways of organizing, relating to, and interacting with the world” (2013: 1). This thesis

focuses on ways that black African subjectivity is “produced and enacted in historically specific situations” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:14). The historically specific situation here is the post-apartheid moment in South Africa. While it is old, qualitative research staked its claim in the academy in the 1960s as a result of the paradigm wars of that time (Alasuutari, 2009; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Lincoln and Denzin, 2003; Bryman, 2001; Bailey, 2016). From an epistemological perspective, qualitative research puts emphasis on methods such as participant observation and case studies that result in rich textual data in the form of narratives, descriptive accounts of settings or practice (Parkinson and Drislane, 2011; Nkwi, Nyamongo, and Ryan, 2001: 1; Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013: 3). It is opposed to positivism and embraces interpretivism. Qualitative data mainly comes in three forms: text, images and sounds (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013: 3; Ryan and Bernard, 2000). Qualitative research is contextualized, iterative and through its methods turns the world into representations that include field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, and recordings (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013: 4; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005: 3). Guest, Namey and Mitchell note that “the epistemological landscape in qualitative research is as diverse and complex as the various disciplines that employ qualitative methods” (2013: 5). Media and cultural studies, as young disciplines have also come to be reliant on qualitative studies approaches (Bloor, 2001). Qualitative research faces challenges in the contemporary research landscape where people are still conditioned by the idea of ‘evidence.’ However, it has held its own representing “a broad and pervasive set of challenges to more fixed ways of perceiving and understanding that world” (Mason, 2002: vii). Denzin and Giardina call this “the politics and ethics of evidence” (2008: 11).

#### **4.2.1. Interpretivism**

The interpretivist approach to qualitative research is based on the constructionist approach to social sciences and humanities. The interpretive field is diverse and includes perspectives such as poststructuralism and critical theory (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013: 6). Walsham posits that interpretive methods to research are located in the “position that our knowledge of reality, including the domain of human action, is a social construction by human actors” (1993: 5). Holding that there is no objective reality, interpretivism rejects the assumptions of positivist science (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013: 5). For Geertz, the interpretivist approach, opens the Euro-American approaches to decolonisation and a creolised dialogue with its Other (1973: 29).

The interpretivist approach centres the revelation of “multiple realities as opposed to searching for one objective reality” (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013: 6). This comes out of the realisation that ‘objective reality’ is illusive. It allows for an in-depth understanding, exploration for multiple validities and is rooted in a commitment to dialogue (Denzin, 2010: 271).

### **4.3. Data collection methods**

The study involves an ethnography and a text analysis aspect. The first chapters in data analysis involve a close reading of English journalism pieces (Chapter 5) and isiZulu news stories (Chapter 6). Chapter 7 discusses material gathered on the field through an ethnographic research. The last chapter of this section seeks to bring together issues and themes emerging from the three data chapters and discuss it against mostly decolonial theory. This section discusses the methods of gathering material analysed in these chapters.

#### **4.3.1. Sampling for journalism texts**

The research focuses on the period from 1994 to 2017. This is the period taken as the post-apartheid era, where 1994 marked the beginning of black majority rule. This is a long period and considering that with the rise of the internet journalism content is produced even hourly, it represents a large amount of material to analyse. I therefore focus on what can be called critical discourse moments. Bruistein and Roberts describes critical discourse moments as, “key events that directed attention to a specific issue [...] and that were covered by contemporary media” (2015:43). Such moments “represent times at which opinion on a subject of interest becomes particularly visible” (Bruistein and Roberts, 2015:43). Such moments are “determining in the construction of an issue and therefore call for an integral analysis” (Carvalho, 2008: 166). In this thesis, I initially use quota sampling in selecting 12 English stories from *IOL* and *News24* and six isiZulu stories from *Ilanga* newspaper for analysis. Samples were divided into the three news outlets. Within those three newspapers I made an effort not to get stories from one year, that means the quota was according to different newspapers and then different years. What I realised is that, in what Bauman (2000) has characterised as the ‘liquid modernity’, the majority of people might never get to see, handle and read a hard copy of a newspaper but access news online and through sharing facilities on social

media. I got some of the content on online archives of these news outlets. Accessing journalism content this way cuts out the need to focus on individual texts in over ten different newspapers per stable. The quota in terms of newspapers had to include an isiZulu newspaper, in line with the decolonial imperatives of this research. IsiZulu is the most widely spoken indigenous language in South Africa. I find it important to take the Zulu newspaper seriously because, first, of their proximity to the Zulu king and Zulu nationalism. Second, informed by decolonial theory, I argue that their publishing in an indigenous language might not necessarily mean they are free from the coloniality of liberal journalism. In these news outlets, I focus on three critical discourse moments, as follows:

1. The May 2008 xenophobic outbreak, specifically the burning and subsequent murder of Mozambican national, Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuave and the public stabbing and murder of Mozambican national, Emmanuel Sithole in 2015.
2. Zulu King, Godwill Zwelithini's comments and the subsequent xenophobic outbreak in 2015.
3. The two marches: The march against xenophobia through Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville in 2015 and the anti-immigrants and anti-immigration march in 2017.

Although there have been cases of xenophobic violence reported against African Others in almost over ten different years since 1994, I focus on these three years because they represent critical discourse moments. The 2008 xenophobia outbreak, in general, and the burning of Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuave, specifically, awakened the world to the problem of this anti-immigrant violence in South Africa. The Zulu king's comments in 2015 brought numerous dimensions to the issue of xenophobia, with the single most important being that it was the first time that someone occupying a position of power passed comments around migration issues such that it merited investigation by the human rights body in the country. The march against immigration and migrants in 2017, with the blessing of the South African government, stands out as a rich space to make sense of black African subjectivity at many levels. It allows us to evaluate claims not only to African renaissance, as a political slogan by the South African government, but also ethical issues such as claims to Ubuntu.

#### **4.3.2. Observation, diary, photography, and qualitative and in-depth interviews**

The study of journalism texts is combined with an ethnographic methodology. Ethnography is aimed at studying shared meanings and practices, which in a nutshell, can be described as culture and privileges the viewpoints of the people studied (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013: 8 - 9). It almost always uses the phenomenological approach which focuses on individual experiences, beliefs and perceptions where text is “used as a proxy for human experience” (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013: 8). Questions are used to draw out individual experiences and perceptions, and for this reason “in-depth interviews and focus groups are ideal methods for collecting phenomenological data” (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013: 8.) Phenomenology has been described as the study of conscious experience (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013: 10). Smith, Flowers, and Larkin define phenomenology as “a philosophical approach to the study of experience” (2009: 11). Before briefly discussing the specific methods used in this research, it is important to explain why ethnography was combined with text-based methods. Philo has noted that “textual analysis of media accounts requires the study of social structures from which competing ideological explanations develop” (2007: 175). This is because discourse analysis which remains text based has challenges in showing, first, the origins, relations and entanglement of competing discourses to different social interests; second, showing us the breadth and diversity of social accounts beyond what is present and absent in a specific text; third, the full context of the texts and the journalism practices around their production; and fourth, what the text means to different people in its audiences (Philo, 2008: 175). Recently, ethnography and critical discourse analysis have been combined in “problem-oriented and context sensitive research on language, discourse and society” opening up CDA to fieldwork and ethnography (Krzyzanowski, 2011: 231). Guest, Namey and Mitchell point out that ethnography “literally means ‘to write about a group of people’” (2013: 11).

I was a participant observer in spaces where South Africans and African immigrants live together from January to May 2019. I had to undertake ethnographic fieldwork so as to reach the African immigrants and ordinary South African citizens in spaces where they live together. This would allow me to access narratives that are alternative to the mainstream media ones. Since my fieldwork involved participant observation, I kept a notebook. Participant observation involves

observing and describing a community and its culture (Norman Jr., 1991: 195). The point here is to understand the community from its point of view. I undertook this description in a note book. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) emphasise the centrality of the notebook, diary or field notes in ethnographic research. They posit that “fieldnotes are the traditional means in ethnography for recording observational and interview data. Originally, these were handwritten, but now they can sometimes be inputted directly into a handheld or laptop” (1995: 141).

In my ethnographic field work I also used photography as a way of collecting data, which I later analysed in Chapter 7. Sidaway posits that photography has a long history in fieldwork (2002: 95). I took a number of pictures around Yeoville, Berea and Hillbrow. These are pictures of streets, buildings and building walls. I also took several pictures of public art that stands out and speaks to the themes of my research. These are pictures of a mural of the heroes of the Cuban revolution alongside South Africa’s struggle heroes. I took pictures of African struggle icons on the main street of Yeoville. Caldarola notes that the photograph can be used as a research tool by “foregrounding the photographic process . . . as a system of communication” (1988: 1). For Norman Jr., “moving beyond the ‘mirror of life’ aspect of photography into its ability to create ‘explanatory models’” emphasise its “usefulness as a research tool” (1991: 194)

Interviews are taken as conversations between a researcher and people they believe can give them information they can use in their work. The interview has been described as “an inter change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest” (Kvale, 1996: 2). It is “a conversation that has a structure and a purpose” (Kvale, 1996: 6). However, the research interview is haunted by issues of power as it is not a conversation between equals since “the researcher defines and controls the situation” (Kvale, 1996: 6). The qualitative and indepth interview is a “construction site of knowledge” (Kvale, 1996: 2). The researcher interviewed both African immigrants and South African citizens who were sampled in the Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville inner city suburbs of Joahhnesburg. The African immigrants and South African citizens wrre interviewed in order to give a voice beyond the newspaper and other media narratives on the relationship between migrants and local citizens. The interviewed individuals were selected through an initial quota sampling that divided the population between locals and foreign Africans in the Johannesburg area. The interviewees in all the three areas of Johannesburg were selected

through a combination of theoretical or purposive sampling and snowball sampling. For the African other interviewees, the first five or so interviewees were selected with the aim of, first, achieving diversity in terms of countries of origin, and second, with the aim to get interviewees who will yield relevant data (Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock, 2010). Subsequent interviewees were approached mostly after recommendations by the initial interviewees. The broader aim has not necessarily been to build a representative sampling frame but to put together a sample frame that is “illustrative of broader social and cultural processes” (Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock, 2010: 45) around representations and constructions of black African subjectivity in post-apartheid South Africa.

#### **4.4. Data analysis**

The data collected through the harvesting of textual material and ethnographic research is subjected to a combination, triangulation, of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), ideological analysis and semiotic analysis. To analyse both news articles and transcripts of in-depth interviews and ethnographic observations, the research adopts a CDA (Baker, Gabrielatos, Khosravini, Anowski, Mcenery, and Wodak, 2008: 273) combining Fairclough’s (1992, 1995) three levels frame, Wodak’s (1996a, 2001b) model that puts emphasis on the historicity of discourses and Richardson’s (1997) model that anchors CDA in linguistics. The stories that are taken from both English and isiZulu newspapers are subjected to a close reading. This is done in the context of postcolonial and decolonial theory.

McDonald (2003) notes that the concept of a discourse is complex and confusing. She defines it as “a system of communicative practices that are integrally related to wider social and cultural practices, and that help to construct specific frameworks of thinking” (McDonald, 2003: 1). McDonald, however, points out that discourses are contested, therefore not forever, as they are provisional making them more of “a process of making meaning” (2003: 1). Approaching the media from a discourse perspective allows the researcher to recognise the limits of the power of the media. The importance of discourse studies is that beyond the focus on communicative practice, it also “explores what these reveal about power relations” (McDonald, 2003: 3). Discourse analysis is therefore “language or image with its socio-cultural roots exposed and its socio-cultural

effects revealed” (McDonald, 2003: 10). It has been argued that as much as events and relations exist outside discourse, they only come to mean “within the discursive, and subject to its specific conditions, limits, and modalities” (Hall, 1996: 165). In combining critical discourse analysis and ethnography, under an anti-colonial (postcolonial and decolonial) theoretical framework, I aim to better understand “the relationship between subjects and their histories as complex and shifting” (Visweswaran, 1994: 11). There is a debate on discourse and ideology as most cultural critics have abandoned ideological analysis as they see it as “being too abstract and rigid to cope with the rapidly changing formations of social thinking in turn-of-the-century western societies” (McDonald, 2003: 27). However, in this thesis aspect of ideology analysis is maintained because if it is totally abandoned “several aspects of media power become more difficult to explain” (McDonald, 2003: 27).

#### **4.4.1. News discourse and critical discourse analysis**

In linguistics, discourse is considered as language in use; but a Foucauldian approach focuses on discourses as “ways of looking at the world, of constructing objects and concepts in certain ways” (Baker and McEnery, 2015: 4–5). For Bednarek and Caple, as much as discourses are language in use, they are also multimodal, combine two or more modalities such as visual and aural, and also multi- semiotic, that is combine two or more semiotic, that is meaning-making, systems such as image or language (2017: 7). As a result, news discourse in the contemporary era is multimodal and multisemiotic (Bednarek and Caple, 2012: 2). Bednarek and Caple define news discourse as “the discourse that audiences encounter in news bulletins, news programmes, on news websites, or in the newspaper – discourse that reports on newsworthy events, happenings and issues” (Bednarek and Caple, 2012: 2). In discourse studies, the focus is on text and structures within discourse used as objects of analysis, and it is a linguistically focused method that often use existing documents as data (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013: 9). Texts that can be studied range from conversations between two people, or conversations in group interviews or focus groups. The analysis of the news stories from the English and IsiZulu newspaper is based mainly on the analysis of naming and transitivity and other descriptions as way of constructing subjectivity. In conducting a verbal analysis in CDA, according to Halliday (1985), one has systematically to examine lexicalisation, patterns of transitivity, the use of active and passive voice, the use of nominalisation,

choices of mood, choices of modality or polarity, the thematic structure of the text, the information focus, and the cohesion devices. In the close reading of the news stories, I focus on the “existing discourses at work in society” and how, in the news texts, they are contested by “the struggle of alternative discourses to emerge” (Janks, 1997: 335). On lexicalization, I look for “patterns that emerge across these linguistic functions which confirm or contradict one another” (Janks, 1997: 335). Transitivity is defined by Halliday as consisting of “‘goings-on’: of doing, happening, feeling, being” (1985: 101). Janks notes that Halliday offers the following systems of transitivity:

|  |
|--|
| <p><i>Types of doing</i> <b>Material processes: actor + goal</b></p> <p>Doing—e.g. Parents sometimes hit children, (active voice)<br/> doing to—e.g. Small babies should not be hit. (passive voice)<br/> Creating—e.g. The investigator does not have to make inferences.</p> <p><i>Saying</i> <b>Verbal processes: sayer + what is said + (receiver)</b><br/> e.g. One of the workers suggested that I try some shebeen brew.</p> <p><i>Sensing</i> <b>Mental processes: Senser + phenomenon</b><br/> Feeling—e.g. I like that one. The children feel angry.<br/> Thinking—think, know, understand, interpret etc.<br/> Perceiving—saw, noticed, stared at etc.</p> <p><i>Types of being</i> <b>Relational processes</b><br/> Being—x <b>is</b> y—e.g. Child abuse is terrible (or a terrible thing).<br/> Having—x <b>has</b> y—e.g. This child has a dog.</p> <p><i>Types of behaving</i>—<b>Behavioural processes</b><br/> Physiological—breathe, dream, sleep.<br/> Psychological—smile, laugh.</p> <p><i>Things that exist or happen</i> <b>Existential processes</b><br/> e.g.. The world is round. There was a man at the door.</p> |
|--|

**Table 4.1. Systems of transitivity (Janks, 1997: 336; taken from Halliday, 1985).**

The transitivity aspect is a rich space for analysing how subjects are represented and therefore constructed. Naming is also important in discourse analysis and points our attention to whether subjects are constructed as passive or active (Janks, 1997: 338). This reading of the texts is against the background and contextual as set out in background and theoretical chapters. Fairclough (1982) argues that situational and intertextual contexts are central to the process of text interpretation.

#### 4.4.2. Thompson (1990)'s ideological analysis

Ideology has had a troubled and a contested history that can be traced back to Marx whose writings on it do not offer a single, coherent view (Thompson, 1990: 28 - 29). Thompson offers two conceptions of ideology, that is, the neutral and the critical.

| <i>General modes</i> | <i>Some typical strategies of symbolic construction</i>                      |
|----------------------|--|
| Legitimation         | Rationalisation<br>Universalisation<br>Narrativisation                       |
| Dissimulation        | Displacement<br>Euphemisation<br>Trope (e.g. synecdoche, metonymy, metaphor) |
| Unification          | Standardisation<br>Symbolisation of unity                                    |
| Fragmentation        | Differentiation<br>Expurgation of the other                                  |
| Reification          | Naturalisation<br>Ertenalisation<br>Nominalization/passivisation             |

**Table 4.2. Modes of ideology (Taken from Thompson, 1990: 60)**

The neutral conceptions of ideology characterize phenomena as ideology or ideological without suggesting they are misleading or illusory (Thompson, 1990: 53). In the critical conception, ideology is viewed as implicated in the ways that meaning is mobilized in the social world to serve power (Thompson, 1990: 56). Similar to studying discourse, the socio-historical context is important in studying ideology in symbolic forms that include images and texts produced by subjects recognized by them and others as meaningful constructs (Thompson, 1990: 59).

Thompson (1990) proffers modes of operation of ideology as illustrated in Fig 4.2 above. Thompson, however, warns that the five modes are not the only ways ideology operates and do not operate individually but reinforce each other and so may overlap (1990: 60).

#### **4.4.3. Semiotics and visual analysis**

This thesis also involves the analysis of visual material where I study photojournalism pictures and photographs taken around Yeoville, Berea and Hillbrow suburbs. This is the ethnographic site in Johannesburg, South Africa. These are pictures of painting and photographs on buildings walls and a park. Visual semiotics in Cultural Studies is based on the “idea of layered meaning, of images consisting first of all of a layer of representational or denotative meaning” (Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2004: 2). The first layer concerns who and what is represented, which is denotative and is followed by the connotative or symbolic meaning layer where focus is on what it means (Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2004: 2 – 3). Lister and Wells note that Cultural Studies centres not only on texts and artefacts, but the holistic “study of the forms and practices of culture” (2004: 61). In the late twentieth century there has been an explosion in the visual culture especially with the explosion in “imaging and visualizing technologies” (Lister and Wells, 2004: 62; Mirzoeff, 1998: 3).

The study of visual culture means paying attention to contexts of viewing, production, form, meaning and identity (Lister and Wells, 2004: 63) as illustrated by the questions in *Fig 4.3* in the previous page. Any visual text must be analysed within the context of its viewing. Here the questions revolve around the location of the image and where it is viewed from (Lister and Wells, 2004: 65). The important question here is why the viewer is looking at the photograph in the first instance and what they seek to get out of this viewing. The second level of analysis looks at the context of the production of the photograph or image and how the image got where it is.

1. We are interested in an image's social life and its history.
2. We look at images within the cycle of production, circulation and consumption through which their meanings are accumulated and transformed.
3. We pay attention to an image's specific material properties (its 'artificialness'), and to the 'medium' and the technologies through which it is realized (here, as photographs).
4. While recognizing the material properties of images, we see these as intertwined with the active social process of 'looking' and the historically specific forms of 'visuality' in which this takes place.
5. We understand images as representations, the outcomes of the process of attaching ideas to and giving meaning to our experience of the world. With care and qualification, much can be gained by thinking of this process as a language-like activity – conventional systems which, in the manner of codes, convey meaning within a sign using community.
6. We temper point 5 with the recognition that our interest in images and other visual experiences (and, indeed, lived and material cultural forms) cannot be reduced to the question of 'meaning' and the intellectual processes involved in coding and decoding. As human beings, and as the members of a culture, we also have a sensuous, pleasure-seeking interest in looking at and feeling 'the world' including the media that we have put in it.
7. We recognize that 'looking' is always embodied and undertaken by someone with an identity. In this sense, there is no neutral looking. An image's or thing's significance is finally its significance for some-body and some-one. However, as points 1 to 6 indicate, this cannot be any old significance, a matter of complete relativism.

***Table 4.3. A Cultural Studies visual analysis approach (From Lister and Wells, 2004: 64 – 65).***

## **4.5. Ethical issues**

Qualitative research has the original sin linked to its emergence from quantitative, empiricist and scientific oriented research. As a result, it has inherited some of its ethical concerns. This is despite the fact that for qualitative researchers, research itself is an ethical and moral issue (de laune, 2000). Hammersley and Traianou note that beyond the concerns about how researchers treat their research subjects, research ethics in qualitative research revolve around questions of validity such that “other ethical considerations [...] must be evaluated against this background” (Hammersley and Traianou, 2012: 1 – 2). It has been noted that instead of internal/external validity, reliability, and objectivity, qualitative research, which is mostly constructivist, tests trustworthiness via credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirm-ability (Jackson II, Drummond, and Camara, 2007:26; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:13; Flick, 2002: 227).

This researcher paid attention to the ethical demands such as emanating from the quantitative methodology. The researcher sought the informed consent of the people that were part of the research in Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville, and did not undertake any covert gathering of data. The

researcher took steps to ensure that the research subjects are well informed about the nature of the research (Christians, 2005: 144). The researcher ensured that there is no deception or duping the people into the research (Christians, 2005: 144). The researcher promised the participants privacy and confidentiality. This means that the reporter will not use names of those participants who want to remain anonymous and that in the course of the research, the researcher avoided trading information from one interview with another interviewer. Christians notes that “confidentiality must be assured as the primary safeguard against unwanted exposure” (Christians, 2005: 145). The researcher tried by all means to be accurate in capturing data on the field, although there was always going to be challenges because, accuracy is an ideal. Accuracy means that there is no fraudulent materials, omissions, and contrivances as these are regarded as “both non-scientific and unethical” (Christians, 2005: 145).

As has been argued in the opening paragraph to this section, ethics in qualitative research are more complicated. Locating this research in the qualitative research tradition and ensuring that it is decolonial, the main goal was to ensure that the research is trustworthy. This was done by locating the research within research traditions and making it legitimate and authoritative on a specific subject (Lindlof, 2002:7). I, therefore sought trustworthiness from the beginning of the research, from goals of the research, the selection of the research questions, and methods (Maxwell, 2008:216). As a measure of trustworthiness, this research uses triangulation and creolisation combining theoretical traditions from the critical theory heritage and combining methods (Denzin, 1978:291). The point is to secure an “in-depth understanding” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:5) of the constructions of black African subjectivity in postapartheid South Africa.

#### **4.6. Conclusion**

To decolonise the research methodology of this research means focusing on individual methods of collecting and analysing data. More importantly it means decolonising the ethical approach to this research. The debates that have been going on in research with the emergence of qualitative research proffers an important opportunity to decolonise research. Since the main goal of this research is to decolonise media and communication research through shifting theoretical and methodological resources, and adopting an interdisciplinary design, the qualitative research and

interpretivist methodology proffers a good starting point. This becomes more relevant when combined with the ethnography approach to collecting some of the data. The study focuses on how black subjectivity emerges in media reports around xenophobia in South Africa, and as part of a decolonial posture, the research design seeks to take representation beyond the twin colonial ideas of standing in for and speaking for, and focus on its constructionist meaning. In interrogating the representation of black subjectivity, the goal is to look at how texts are “positioned or positioning” and whose interests do they serve (Janks, 1997: 329). As qualitative research the idea is to provide “a detailed description and analysis of the quality, or the substance, of the human experience” (Marvasti, 2004: 7) focusing on black African subjectivity as “produced and enacted in historically specific situations” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:14). From an epistemological perspective that puts emphasis on rich data, this design is meant to yield in thick descriptions, pages of interview transcripts and news stories and other content that is analysed in line with thee research questions and objectives of the study. Located in the critical theory of Western Marxism and postcolonial, decolonial and indigenous approaches, this study aims at making sense of the construction of the black subject in postapartheid South Africa, something which can be a challenge because of the arduous task of accessing reality.

## Chapter 5

### Criminals, illegals, dirt and dogs

“‘They say they don't know. I asked them if they know about a person who died burning,’ said Jose after making inquiries” – (Beauregard Tromp, *The birth mark on Ernesto's toe*, IOL, May 27, 2008).

“They also criticised authorities for ‘failing’ to clamp down on those without proper licences and papers. ‘We are driven into slavery both black and white South Africans,’ they stated” – (News24 Reporters, *WRAP: Pretoria brought to a standstill during anti-immigrant march*, News24, 24 February 2017).

“‘This is my country. We can't go,’ Olanyika Ogunjimi told *News24* standing with some of his countrymen. ‘Why are they fighting us? Are we white?’” – (News24 Reporters, *WRAP: Pretoria brought to a standstill during anti-immigrant march*, News24, 24 February 2017).

#### 5.1. Introduction

Language is a social practice linked to how we act, how we build our communities and maintain social structures that play a central role in life (Machin and Mayr, 2012: 2-3). For Cultural Studies, language is both the site for the formation and communication of cultural meaning and the tool through which we make sense of the world and our (subject) position in it (Barker, 2004: 106-107). In our role as speaking subjects, we foreground and background people, events, places and actions linking language to ideology and the distribution of power in society (Machin and Mayr, 2012: 3). Language is not transparent as it does not only reflect society but represents it. In a constructivist sense to say language represents society is to say it ‘constitutes’ what we consider to be reality (Hall, 1997). In this chapter, and the next one, I focus on studying the language of journalism content in order to trace and make sense of the media's discursive practices in the construction of black African subjectivity in post-apartheid South Africa. Language here broadly refers to any signifying system that symbolically produces meaning (Barker, 2004: 107). I deploy a combination of critical discourse analysis (CDA), ideology and semiotic analysis to closely read the language of the journalism content that include news stories, feature stories and photojournalism content.

The chapter is organised in such a way that in analysing twelve stories and four photojournalism pictures taken from *Media24* and *Independent Newspapers*, the country's two biggest print and online media content producers, I divide the content into three sections. In each section, I analyse four stories. The first section looks at death, the zone of non-being and the biopolitics of death where I analyse four stories and a photojournalism picture. The stories concern the death of three people, one South African citizen and two Mozambican nationals. Even if they are silenced by death, their bodies assume a life and speak to articulations of black subjectivity, xenophobia, migration and violence. In the second subsection, I analyse stories that focus on leaders' culpability in xenophobia violence. The stories focus on traditional leadership, political leadership, business leadership and cultural leadership, in this case a musician. The last subsection analyses stories and photojournalism pictures that focus on an anti-xenophobia march held in Johannesburg in 2015, an anti-immigrant march held in Pretoria in 2016, and the emerging discourses around migration, hospitality and black African subjectivity in post-apartheid South Africa.

## **5.2. Death and the biopolitics of xenophobia**

The 2008 xenophobic outbreak raised the global awareness of the anti-African-migrants violence in post-apartheid South Africa. The 2008 outbreak is described as the most severe since 1994 (Vahed and Desai, 2013). This section considers four stories and a photojournalism picture covering specific deaths in the 2008 and 2015 outbreaks. In the 2008 attacks, 62 people died and between 80 000 to 200 000 people were displaced (Neocosmos, 2010: 117 – 118). Among those killed was Mozambican national Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuave, who was burnt alive. His pictures engulfed in that inferno became emblematic of the horrors of xenophobia in postapartheid South Africa. He became known as 'the flaming man'. In 2015, South Africa experienced two outbreaks of xenophobic waves in April and in October, and the most intense attacks of that year occurred in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal provinces in April (Naicker, 2016: 46). Shops were looted, people displaced and seven others killed. Two of the stories in this section focus on the murder of Sithole in April 2015. The last story is on the murder of a South African citizen, Siphiso Madondo, also in Alexandra murdered for refusing to participate in xenophobic attacks around the township.

### 5.2.1. *The birth mark on Ernesto's toe, by Beauregard Tromp, IOL, 27 May 2008*

This is a feature story where journalist Beauregard Tromp follows two Mozambican brothers – Jose and Severiano – from the time they claim the body of their brother Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuave, who was publicly burnt to death. According to the narrative sequence of the story, the journalist joins Jose and Severiano from the time they arrive one evening to sleep in the open so that they can be at the mortuary early the next morning. He follows them as they negotiate the bureaucracy of identifying the body of Ernesto, claiming it and putting together arrangements to take the body to Mozambique for burial. The journalist even goes to Mozambique with the brothers for the burial. This is a feature story that is multiple sourced and offers more information than ordinary news (Ricketson, 2004: 1; *see also* Pape and Featherstone, 2006; Ricketson, 2004: 4). This story gives a lot more detail about Ernesto, the bureaucracy that migrants go through in their interaction with both the South African and their national government offices.

The headline of the story, “the birth mark on Ernesto’s toe” has the effect of reducing the dead man to a part of his body. This has the unintended effect of *thing-fying* the dead Ernesto. Césaire equates thing-fication to colonisation (1972/1955: 42–3, 51–2). Headlines are a window to the story and are meant to “‘tempt’ people to read the full report” (Rafferty, 2008: 212). As the window into this story, the first image of Ernesto that we have is the birth mark on his toe. The headline immediately draws us to, and reduces Ernesto, into his body. It also ironically juxtaposes life and death in that it references the “birth mark” on the toe of his lifeless body. From the headline, Ernesto is both present (alive) and absent (dead). His representation throughout this story straddles this dialectic of absence/presence. This dialectic is also linked to the representation of migrants staged as both absence and presence. In representation, presence and absence are issues of power where not only the question of who performs the *presence-ing* and *absence-ing* is what is at stake but also who and what is present and what is absent (Meier, Frers and Sigvardsson, 2013; Giannachi, Kaye and Shanks, 2012). In journalism, the headline is supported by the lead, which is the beginning of the story or the ‘intro’ written as a standalone paragraph (Rich, 2010; McKane, 2006). The lead is a teaser and foreshadows what is to come in the story such that all the paragraphs that follow support it (Rich, 2010: 132). As a feature, this story uses a delayed lead where the name

of Ernesto is withheld and he is referred to as a “brother” [1]<sup>1</sup> to “two nondescript Mozambican men” [1]. The delayed identification lead is used when the people whose names are supposed to be in the lead are not well-known or not considered to be important people (Rich, 2010: 137). Even though the story is about migrants this lead constructs them as unimportant. In a sense, the lead makes them present and absent.

The two brothers who identify and claim Ernesto’s body are represented in various ways including how they are described, named and what they are said to have done (agency). They are introduced as Mozambican national subjects who “bedded down among their compatriots” [1] and are “nondescript” [1]. Nondescript means uninteresting and not easily classified. Even though precisely described as Mozambican they are also regarded as not easily classified. From the journalist’s point of view, which I shall argue in this chapter is South African (national) journalism, the two brothers become legible as foreign national subjects and therefore not clearly visible. This is well captured in the ambivalence of the lead around their naming. In not using their names but calling them Mozambican, the reporter creates the impression that even though he knows them since he has already interviewed them, as readers we must be convinced that there is a distance between him and them. Like all news stories, when read from the headline and lead, this feature story creates the impression that the reporter is meeting the two brothers for the first time. As a narrative, the story conceals the news reporting discourses and processes that went on behind it. This is an ideological strategy of objective journalism where the reporter is kept out of the story.

Describing them as “Mozambican men” [1] and “compatriots” [1] also locates them in the nationalist or nationalism discourse that is at the heart of the scourge of xenophobia in postapartheid South Africa. In xenophobia, people are constructed as out of the South African nation. Constructing African others as foreign nationals makes them not only undesirable but disposable as shown in the case of Ernesto. Calling them “Mozambican men” sounds better than calling them ‘*amakalanga*,’ “*osbare*” or other names such as “*amakwerekwere*”, but it equally serves the purpose of placing them out of the nation. According to the story, the names of the two brothers are Jose and Severiano, just Jose and Severiano without surnames. Representing them in first-name-only basis creates a sense of familiarity. They are made familiar to the reader through

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<sup>1</sup> The numbers in brackets refer to paragraph in the story.

naming on the first name basis. Feature stories, through the focus structure, have a way of humanising people. Jose and Severiano are to an extent humanised compared to the rest of their “compatriots” [1] who are described as a statistic numbering “hundreds” [1], who are inactive or lack agency as they are “forced from their homes” [1]. Jose who is given more agency and a voice as a speaking subject is also described as “a miner” [6]. This not only puts him in a relationship to Johannesburg described as “the City of Gold” [5], but also positions him in relation to the capitalist economy. This description locates him in the long history of migrant labour from Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

Ernesto and Francisco Kanze, although one of them is dead, are also represented as both active and passive. However, as the victims of the xenophobic attacks, they are mostly passive. Francisco is described in relation to Ernesto as his “brother-in-law” [9]. He is said to have been “stabbed” [9] and “beaten” [9]. This was at the time when he was attacked together with Ernesto who was burnt to death. The first time Ernesto is introduced we are given his full name as Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuave who “lay” [2] in the mortuary. In the mortuary, Ernesto is dead and at that place not out of choice. Talking of a dead person as someone who “lay” in a mortuary is an ideological euphemism that conceals the horrors of xenophobia. Ernesto “lay” [2] in a mortuary referred to as a “fridge” [18]. This is another euphemism, this time for the mortuary further downplaying the fact that Ernesto was killed. Ernesto is described in relational terms as a “brother” [4] to Jose and Severiano, and as also a “father ... and husband” [4]. Alternatively, he is described as “the body” [19], “body number 1247” [9] and as entry “number seven” [22] in the list behind the Mozambican official’s ledger book. Referring to him as “the body” and as statistics is the continuation of *thing-fying* linked to the headline.

The description of Ernesto as “the security guard in Maputo” [7] already positions him in a city (Maputo) and therefore in the global capitalist economy. This should be read in relation to the exploitation and alienation, the precarity “where money just wasn’t enough” [7] and he has to struggle through. What, however comes out strongly here is that the cities are not the same. Johannesburg and South Africa are constructed as associated with “a better life,” [4] and “the city of Gold” [5]. In this case Johannesburg becomes indexical and stands for the idea of South Africa as a place of a better life. Ernesto came from a village, some few kilometres from the Inhambane

tourism spot, 550 kilometres from Maputo in Mozambique and had not been in Johannesburg for more than four months before he was killed. This narrative fits well into the long history of colonial labour migration where Africans from Mozambique, Malawi, Zimbabwe and other African countries moved to Johannesburg to work in the mines. Even in the present, the idea of migration between Johannesburg and other African countries persists as rooted in the history of migrant labour.

Johannesburg or South Africa is juxtaposed with other African countries. Mozambique is a village while South Africa is a “City of Gold” [5]. This is further discussed in two paragraphs below where Maputo is characterised by “struggling” [7], “[where] money is never enough” [7] and exploitation is rife. Exploitation is captured in a running joke in Maputo that “people would rather employ a security guard than install an alarm system because it is cheaper” [8]. These are metaphors of the neoliberal reality that young people confront in Africa. However, the feature story under discussion here and this joke hide the fact that this is the reality that they confront even in South Africa where Johannesburg is a diaspora for many young Africans who are exploited. This is actually part of some of the causes of xenophobia (Harris, Findley, Nielson and Noyes, 2018; Ukwandu, 2017; Chaskalson, 2017). One of the complaints that local citizens level against foreign nationals is that they allow themselves to be overworked and underpaid leading to employers preferring to employ them over local labour.

***5.2.2. These are the four Sithole suspects, by Karishma Dipa and Gertrude Makhafola, IOL, 21 May 2015***

This is a court story on the appearance of four young men at the Alexandra court on allegations of killing a foreign national, Emmanuel Sithole. Sithole sold cigarettes, among other stuff, on the streets of the township. The young men allegedly took cigarettes from Sithole, a Mozambican national, who confronted them and protested. In retaliation to his protests, they killed him. One of them stabbed him. It is believed that it is the stab wounds that killed him. The title of the story uses the word “suspects,” which is part of police and court language. Court reporting tends to use words like “suspects” or “allegedly” to avoid making judgements before the court pronounces one. The lead is linked to the headline as it echoes and expands the story captured by the headline. The men at the dock are said to have been arrested for “bludgeoning and stabbing to death Mozambican

man Emmanuel Sithole in Alexandra” [1]. They are described as very active “attacking” [2] Sithole, who is represented as a “helpless” [2] 35-year-old street vendor.

| The four suspects   | Emmanuel Sithole   |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Murder of (<b>Material process – active</b>)</li> <li>- Appeared (<b>Material – active</b>)</li> <li>- “are the men” (<b>Relational process</b>)</li> <li>- Arrested (<b>Material process – passive</b>)</li> <li>- Bludgeoning (<b>Material process – active</b>)</li> <li>- Stabbing to death (<b>Material processes – active</b>)</li> <li>- [showing them] picture</li> <li>- Attacking (<b>Material process – active</b>)</li> <li>- Made their brief appearance in court (<b>Material process – active</b>)</li> <li>- Facing charges of murder ... theft (<b>Material process – active</b>)</li> <li>- Wielding a knife (<b>Material process – active</b>)</li> <li>- Approached him (<b>Material process – active</b>)</li> <li>- Took goods without paying (<b>Material process – active</b>)</li> <li>- Tried to hide their faces (<b>Material process – active</b>)</li> <li>- Arrested (<b>Material process – passive</b>)</li> <li>- Knife wielding (<b>Material process – active</b>)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Stabbed (<b>material process – passive</b>)</li> <li>- Died (<b>Material process – active</b>)</li> <li>- Helpless (<b>Mental process – feeling</b>)</li> <li>- Street vendor (<b>material process – active</b>)</li> <li>- Left for dead (<b>material process – passive</b>)</li> <li>- near a pile of dirt (<b>Existential process</b>)</li> <li>- ambush(ed) (<b>Material process – passive</b>)</li> <li>- died (<b>Material process</b>)</li> <li>- was a street vendor (<b>Material process – active</b>)</li> <li>- confronted by one of the suspects (<b>Material process – passive</b>)</li> </ul> |

*Table 5.1.: Transitivity representation of the four suspects and the murdered Sithole*

From table (5.1) above, it is clear that the story is set up as the suspects against Emmanuel Sithole. Our attention is drawn to naming. The suspects are named variously as “the men” [1], “fourth man” [14] and “knife-wielding man” [15]. They are also named in terms of their birth names: Sizwe Mgomozulu, Ayanda Sibiyi, Siphundi Mzimela, and Mthinto Bhengu [3]. It is important to note that they are named as men contrasting them with Emmanuel Sithole who is just a “Mozambican national” [1], “street vendor” [2] and the “35-year-old” [2]. Although, as revealed in the next story, the four suspects are all in their 20s and therefore younger than their victim, referencing them as “men” [1] infantilises Sithole. Except for being “arrested” [15], which is where they are passive, the four suspects seem to be hyper-active. They “appeared” [5], “made their brief appearance in court” [5], and are “facing charges of murder [and] theft” [5]. The idea of “appearance” carries with it a sense of representation and gestures to how the court ‘represents’,

that is, effectively constructs them as criminals. The criminalisation of black people is part of the enduring images of the black subject in the townships and other spaces of abjection. The discourse or image of a criminal works either way for local black South Africans or foreign nationals. Emmanuel Sithole is only active when he is represented as a vendor, involved in selling goods, including cigarettes. The most important piece of information about him in this story is that he “died” [18]. The circumstances under which he died, are of murder, which means he was killed. Most of the actions associated with him are passive as he was “stabbed” [1], “left for dead” [12], “ambushed” [12] and “confronted by one of the suspects” [22]. The implications are that, compared to the four suspects, Sithole lacks agency. Where he is represented as engaged in any mental process, he is represented as “helpless” [2] further infantilising him. He exists “near a pile of dirt” [12] where his assailants leave his stabbed body.

The media embeds itself stating that the spokesperson of the police, Lieutenant-colonel Lungelo Dlamini has said they were able to make the final arrest “thanks to the community tip-offs and widespread media coverage” [14]. As an ideological state apparatus, the media appears to have a relationship with both the people and the police. This is paradoxically both populist and elitist. The story further reveals how the media are embedded in society as “journalists that were on the scene took him to hospital, where he later died” [18]. This representation needs explication here. First, there are instances where the media is seen as promoting xenophobia by not censoring the views of some political leaders. These are moments when the media positions itself in the objective ideology seeing itself as a mirror that cannot censure or judge sources. However, the situation described in the quote under analysis portrays a case where the media is seen as working with the community. Second, the media’s conduct around this incident also raises the question of ethics. There arises the question of whether they first satisfied themselves getting good pictures and good information before helping Emmanuel Sithole. The question of what journalists can do in such cases, whether they can intervene or not has always been debatable. Geurts (2015) notes that when South African photographer, Kevin Carter’s picture of a vulture approaching a starving Sudanese child was published in the *New York Times* on 26 March 1993, the magazine reader’s response was not what was intended. Instead of responding with sympathy, the readers focused on the photographer asking ““did the photographer stop and help this suffering child?”” (Geurts, 2015: 2). This reveals “the nexus of the dilemma pitting professional duty against moral obligation” on

the part of a photojournalist (Kim and Kelly, 2013: 206). In this story, the media portrays itself as playing a positive role in that beyond the professional duties of reporting where the media actively assists in that “those arrested were the same men whose pictures were published in the *Sunday Times*” [15].

In official circles, xenophobia is denied and down played. The police spokesperson refuses to name the killing of Emmanuel Sithole as xenophobia arguing that “at this stage it is not clear whether the attack may be linked to the threats against foreign nationals or it was a criminal act to rob the victim” [20]. The struggle over the naming of this violence also plays out where the crowd demonstrating outside the court uses the word “xenophobia” in their “No to xenophobia” [8] placards, but the reporter make use of “xenophobic violence” [8]. The crowd is prepared to name what happened to Emmanuel Sithole for what it is. The media would like to walk the middle path between the crowd’s point and that of the officials who are in denial that what is happening is xenophobia. The picture that accompanies the story illuminates numerous issues especially issues of subjectivity of the four suspects.



*Fig 5.1. These are the four Sithole suspects*

The picture stages a representation of the four young men suspected to have killed Sithole. It is viewed from the web page. The picture appears at the top of the story, that is, at the top of the page. According to the headline of the story they are suspects. The picture is a full length shot of

the four young men in the dock. It also shows part of the prosecutor or a lawyer and part of the crowd. The people on the dock look young and two of them look stunned. They are probably shocked by appearing in court. The two others proffer facial expressions that are hard to pin down. They can be interpreted as looks of defiance or opaque looks that suggest nothing. Their hands are folded, another gesture hard to interpret. It is hard to tell if they fold their hands in reverence of the court and the judge, just as people fold their hands in church in reverence of God or it is a gesture of defiance where they take a bystander posture. However, their eyes look up to the judge as if they are literally looking up to the law or the state. In court, they are literally up against the state and by extension, they are up against society. This way the viewer of the picture is subtly mobilised against them.

In the picture, the four young men have mics in front of them creating the impression that they have a voice. However, in that these mics belong to reporters, media houses and courts, it can be argued that they (the mics) represent an illusion of a voice. The imposing court room environment around them shows that they can never have a voice, or that the script of their fate here is already written somewhere. The suspects are standing in the witness or accused box. The brown, thick, wooden furniture the court room, which is typical of the furniture in government buildings is imposing and makes them look small and voiceless. On the far end of the picture, there appears an audience or a gallery. This is a group of people, part of whom had been demonstrating against them. Society is just mobilised against them because they are believed to be criminals. There is an army of journalists who stand side by side with the law enforcers such as the police. Standing on the side of the law, it becomes clear that the media have always operated as a pseudo part of the state. Criminalisation also works with the way that the media operates. An example is given of the carnage in Marikana on 16 August 2012 where the earlier media images created the impression that the miners confronted the police armed. This is because the media was positioned behind the police. Media positioning and the resultant images have a way of criminalising their subjects. In stories there is evidence of how the media sees itself as in a mutual relationship with the state through the police. This is discussed in depth in Chapter 8. Besides the media, there are two men in police or any of the Repressive State Apparatus (RSAs) gear. The overall impression of the picture is that the representation of the four young men seems to be in the context of being sanctioned by the state at many levels.

The performance of representation by the media as captured in the picture is interesting. Some of the reporters are video recording. It seems they are avoiding filming the four suspects at a straight level but the camera is placed beneath them. This creates an exaggerated size of the young men as opposed to one that is filmed from the top, the bird's eye view that would make them small. As a result of the camera angles, the four suspects seem to be big. This could be part of the hypervisibility that works in tandem with symbolic annihilation. In the imposing court room environment – big room and old cold government furniture, a crowd and an army of journalists and police – the four suspects have to stand out, and be hyper-visible to the extent of invisibility. Their dressing firmly locates them in the township. They put on cheap imitations of brands such as UZZI. This is common in the townships. The four suspects are an exemplar of how This points to how the township and people in it – mostly young people - are commodified and drawn into the global economy albeit its margins. What these young people are putting on points to the township as a site of consumption of international brands even through their imitations. Reading this picture together with the story one gets the sense of how young people in townships, and other abject spaces of cities, are enveloped by the capitalist system that reduces them into poor consumers of international brands.

### ***5.2.3. Emmanuel Sithole was his real name – Sister, by Naledi Shange, News24, 04 May 2015***

This story is based on an interview with the slain Emmanuel Sithole's sister, Thando. Thando is reacting to claims by the President, Jacob Zuma that the murdered Sithole lived in South Africa illegally. At a Freedom Day celebration, President Zuma had claimed that Emmanuel Sithole used a fake name. Thando Sithole's point is that the president should have engaged the family and got clarification about that before making such an announcement at a public function. The newspaper wants to know from Thando if at all the president's claims are true or untrue. The following analysis looks at the language, how these differences are expressed and what could be the larger discourses behind the president's remarks at a national event, and the newspaper's probing which positions it on the side of President Zuma against Thando Sithole.

The headline of the story signals a struggle over the identity of the late Emmanuel Sithole who died as a result of stabbing by a group of four young men. The sister is the source contesting the assertions that ‘Emmanuel Sithole’ was not his late brother’s real name. The lead is a denial or rebuttal of a claim apparently made by President Zuma that the murdered Mozambican national, Emmanuel Sithole used a fake name. Using the words “fake name” [1] draws our attention to how African migrants live “illegalised lives”. Some of the illegalised migrants adopt fake names to avoid arrests and deportation. From the North American migration debates, journalist David Bacon notes that activists have argued against the use of the word “illegal” encouraging that people use “undocumented” as it “describes more accurately” the predicament of people without proper papers (2008: v). The words “fake” [3] and the word “alias” [3] suggest that these people live false, fabricated lives like actors on a make-believe world of the theatre or film.

The lead uses a nominalisation as it describes Emmanuel Sithole as a Mozambican national “who was murdered in Alexandra” [1] and therefore elides the naming of his killers. The reporter or the story seem intent on not drawing attention to the crime of xenophobia and murder but overplays the struggle around Emmanuel Sithole’s identity. At the heart of the story is the struggle over the murder of Emmanuel Sithole and the question of his legality. On the part of the newspaper and President Zuma it is as if once it can be proven that indeed Emmanuel Sithole was not his real name then he can be criminalised and his death dismissed as inconsequential. In taking on President Zuma, Thando Sithole embraces the struggle of fighting these ideological strategies of trying to criminalise Emmanuel Sithole instead of his killers. When she says, “the thing is my brother was killed” [4], it is as if she is responding to the nominalisation in the first and second sentences. She is not only responding to President Zuma but to the public discursive strategies around how migrants are spoken about in South Africa including media discourses. The possible illegalisation of Sithole is here pushed by the newspaper. The representations of Sithole as illegal stem from President Jacob Zuma’s allegations and the newspaper’s line of questioning. As a result, the story sets Thando and the family parallel to President Jacob Zuma, the state and the media.

In insisting on proving that Emmanuel Sithole was an illegal immigrant, the newspaper seems intent on revoking the ‘passport,’ the document used to illegalise a lot of migration around the world including in South Africa. The passport has worked as a symbol of being accepted in another

country, it is permission and clearance. Robertson notes that the passport has a history “distinct from immigration, travel, and state formation” (Robertson, 2010: 2). He points out that, in the beginning the passport was seen as a document associated with “identification practices” around “marginal and suspect populations—the criminal, the insane, the poor, and, to a lesser extent, immigrants” (Robertson, 2010: 2). Migration appeared as a problem associated with the poor. For the rich, it was travel, which today is associated with tourism. The point that Robertson (2010) emphasises is that the passport constructs identity and does not simply reflect it. For Thando Sithole to argue that they used her brother’s passport to claim his body is taking it for granted that it reflects his brother’s identity in an unproblematic way.

***5.2.4. Farewell to SA man who refused to hate, by Sithembiso Hlongwane, News24, 01 June 2008***

The last story in this section focuses on the ultimate tragedy of xenophobia when a man otherwise characterised as a citizen is killed for refusing to participate in xenophobic attacks. According to Pretty Ndobomvu, the murdered Sipho Madondo’s widow, her husband had gone out to investigate after they heard noise and commotion in the neighbourhood. They lived in a shack in Alexandra Township. The group causing the commotion and making noise outside was out on a hunt for foreign African nationals. They invited Sipho to join them. He refused and the crowd murdered him. They shot him three times. When Pretty Ndobomvu went outside to investigate the gun shots she saw her husband lying down, dying. She says she called out for help from neighbours who did not come out. At the end, she says, her husband died in her hands shunned by the neighbours.

The headline of the story mourns a “national”, a “citizen” described as “South African man” “who refused to hate”. The headline and the false headline are linked to the lead, which contrasts Sipho Madondo, “a South African” [1] with “an angry mob” [1]. In newspaper design, a false headline is the sentence that comes below the headline and is also not long enough to be a lead. It is usually in a font type and size different to both that of the headline and the rest of the story. Its function is to arouse more interest in the reader. By affirming Madondo’s nationality and citizenship, the story disenfranchises “the angry mob” [1] of that same nationality. In the discourse or discourses around xenophobia putting emphasis on his nationality is important for several reasons. Ordinarily xenophobia should be targeted at the foreign other, such that when it claims a South African

national, it becomes an abnormal abnormality. This exposes the barbarity of xenophobia. However, Madondo, “the South African” is caught up in the same geography with “the angry mob” [1] which is Alexandra, North of Johannesburg, a poor township. As it comes out in most of the stories, this township is part of the geography of xenophobia. In a strong metaphor, his wife, Pretty Ndimbovu, likens Madondo’s death to that of “a dog, a helpless dog” [8]. This is a puzzling story in that the reader is left with the question on whether the killing of Siphon was impulsive or it was premediated. The angry mob could have known Siphon’s stand on xenophobia and had long planned to harm him for it.

Siphon’s widow, Pretty Ndimbovu, is described as 39 and a domestic worker. She is active and has agency in that she “ekes out a living as a domestic worker” [5]. She is a speaking subject who “said” [5], “she said heard noise outside our small shack” [6] and that she “heard three gunshots” [6]. She is portrayed as “mature” [6]. There are mental processes attached to her as she is able to tell that they “heard noise outside our small shack” [6] and that she “heard three gunshots” [6]. It is not clear if she was born in Johannesburg or also migrated to the country’s commercial capital from say Limpopo province. However, what stands out is that she earns a living as a domestic worker like hundreds of female foreign African migrants in Johannesburg. The work that most black women from impoverished communities like Alexandra play as domestic workers in South Africa has a long history dating back to colonialism.

The story also brings up anger, in that in as much as the crowd in the lead is angry, “Madondo’s older brother Thabani is angry” [9] as well. Thabani Madondo, Siphon’s elder brother, is an angry man who wants justice. He is described as “angry” [9]. He is also a speaking subject who “said” [10] and asserts himself as the “I” [10] in “I want” [10] law and order to prevail in Alexandra and other places. Thabani pleads poverty as they (the family) could not afford “to transport” [11] Madondo back to Newcastle and therefore “opted” [11] to “bury” [11] him in Johannesburg. In another sense, Siphon’s fate mirrors that of Foreign African nationals who have to struggle with the costs of transporting their dead ones back home. It is not apparently clear who Thabani is angry against. He argues that he “wants justice done. I want law and order to prevail in Alexandra and other affected areas” [10]. Here it is clear that he is angry about the general climate of xenophobia around South Africa. In his quote, he equates law and order to justice. It is a very valid question

why for example he feels that law and order would give him justice or closure, say, over revenge. What we get here are competing visions of justice. When a foreign African national shop owner shoots and kill a child citizens believe they have to take matters into their hands and punish the migrant foreign shop owner by looting his shop. However, in this case Thabani has faith in law as a way to justice. In the stories discussed in this section, Thabani is not alone in this belief. Thando, Emmanuel Sithole's sister in the previous story, also believes that the president should just help them ensure that justice is served through the courts for her brother's death.

Alexandra is constructed as a space of death. It is a township "north of Johannesburg" [1] and according to Siphos brother a lawless space that is characterised by the injustice of crime. Thabani, Siphos brother, says "I want law to prevail in Alexandra" [10]. Townships and other spaces of abject poverty like Alexandra, have become space of bitter contestation between local South African nationals and foreign African nationals. Xenophobia also comes up as that wave that has claimed 62 people and left thousands of people destitute. In a sense, xenophobia exacerbates poverty and destitution in these already poor spaces. In narrating how her husband died, Pretty Ndimbovhu, constructs their location or positioning when she says "it was about 11 pm when we heard noises outside our small shack on Third Avenue in Alex" [6]. This constructs the impoverished township as the site of xenophobia.

### **5.3. The crisis of leadership and the tragedy of xenophobia**

This section discusses the crisis of leadership around xenophobia in postapartheid South Africa. Reflecting on the Rwandese genocide, Mamdani (2001) is worried by how ordinary people are mobilised to kill each other. While the first and last sections focus on "the 'popularity'" of the pogroms, which is xenophobia's "uniquely troubling aspect" (Mamdani, 2001: 8), this section seeks to make sense of its manifestation within elite circles. The section begins by examining stories around the case of King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulu people alleged to have incited 2015 violence against foreign African nationals. The section also discusses a story on the crisis around business leadership and the leadership around business. The story is about the competitions committee investigating the death of small businesses in the townships in light of competition from big supermarkets and from foreign nationals who own small shops. The third story is based on an

interview with Johannesburg university academic, Professor Friedman, who bemoans the death of leadership and believes that leaders have to change the way they speak about migration and migrants in order to stem the xenophobic violence. The last story in this section focuses on a Maskandi musician, as a cultural leader in society, who is accused of penning and recording a song described as “hate speech”.

### ***5.3.1. King shut out of probe on xenophobia, By Marianne Merten, IOL, 06 July 2015***

This story is about a parliamentary portfolio committee visiting the KwaZulu Natal province to investigate circumstances around xenophobic outbreaks in April/May 2015. It is reported that one of the issues they would like to investigate is the probability of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini’s utterances at a moral regeneration event sparking the xenophobic attacks in townships around Durban. The violence later spread to Gauteng province. According to the story, the parliamentary committee will meet all the stakeholders except the king. The king is the subject of the headline sentence although constructed as passive as he is “shut out of probe.” Whoever shuts the king out of the probe is concealed in the headline. It only comes out clear in the story that it is the parliament’s special committee probing xenophobic attacks that decided not to engage the king as part of its probe. In the lead of the story, this committee is portrayed as both active and passive. It is “probing the recent spate of violence” [1] and is also “to be briefed” [1]. However, the story somehow contrasts the King and the parliamentarians. The power that the parliamentary committee seem to enjoy over the king could be because South Africa is a parliamentary democracy. This is the contrast that Professor Friedman makes clear in the next story where he differentiates between a democracy and a monarchy. The headline of the story creates the impression that the king is powerless and at the mercy of the committee. There is no clear link between the headline and the lead of the story. The headline is clear that the violence targeting black African foreign nationals is xenophobia, the lead is non-committal on labelling the attacks as xenophobia. It even uses a quote that is not attributed to anyone “where foreign owned shops were looted” [1]. The use of a quote is to say these are not the newspaper’s views (Tuchman, 1972). However, the reference to “foreign-owned shops” [1] establishes the economy as the turf of the xenophobic struggle.

This story best illustrates ‘absence-presence’ in representation. The king is not in the story per se because the story quotes the commission the source on the king. The commission is directly present in the story. However, the king is present as part of journalistic devices that include sourcing, the headline and the background. There are a number of lexical strategies through which the king is represented. Goodwill Zwelithini is described as “king” [2] or “the king” [4]. Even absent, he is a speaking subject as “Zwelithini’s comments at a moral regeneration meeting” [3] reportedly sparked the xenophobia and he also “claimed the media distorted his words” [4]. There is a struggle over meaning here. It is not clear how the king links what he said, how his subjects heard him, what the media reported and the violence that ensued. The king turns the gaze from himself to the media when he suggests that the media distorted his words. This can be taken as a flimsy excuse but it is important to bring the media into focus. There is a way in which the media holds itself as just a medium, as transparent and also as a mirror, and this links to the liberal-pluralist conceptual tools of understanding the media. The king is also represented as passive in that he is “shut out of probe on xenophobia” by the parliament portfolio committee, and as such the “meeting would not include King Goodwill Zwelithini” [2]. In that his contentious speech will be part of the meeting’s agenda then the king will be absent-present. It is important to note that absence-presence is an issue of power. Some people are absent-present because they are weak and powerless. Some actors displace them and represent them to make them present. For example, a United Nations meeting that discusses poverty in Africa makes the ‘poor people of Africa’ present in talks where they are represented. In media discourse, an example would be a minister or MP who speaks to a journalist about the plight of weak people in her constituency. In privileging official sources, the newsmaking process makes certain groups of people present even when they are absent. However, in this case, the king will be present even though absent because he is powerful.

### ***5.3.2. Xenophobia: ‘leaders can stop attacks’, by Babington Maravanyika, IOL, 24 August 2015***

In this news story based on an interview, an academic and political commentator, Professor Steven Friedman talks about the power of leadership to represent. In constructing the immigrants as a problem, leaders are seen as perpetuating xenophobic attacks against African foreign nationals. Professor Friedman also emphasises that leaders have the power to change their narratives and write another script for the relationships between citizens and foreign African nationals in

postapartheid South Africa. Basically, the headline captures the whole story on this power of words and the power of representations. It also carries the impression that leadership is the panacea to the challenge of xenophobia. The single sourced story is based on an interview with Friedman described as a “professor” [2], “leading academic” [2], “respected political commentator” [2]. It is clear that Professor Friedman has a platform from which he speaks. He is a speaking subject as “he said” [3] and “he warned” [13]. He is also a perceptive individual as he “believes” [2] and holds “an opinion” [9] that is “backed by research” [9] on the matter of xenophobia. Elite sources like the professor always speak from a platform.

Professor Friedman points out that “xenophobic attacks will come to a complete halt only when politicians and others in key positions of authority stop portraying foreigners as a problem” [1]. He alludes to the power of representation, especially by those in power and positions of influence. This is because those who have power can manufacture truth: power can manufacture truth in that an assertion by the powerful is taken as truth and any truth is powerful (Foucault, 1978). The lead reifies a certain kind of leadership and creates the impression that it is a magic wand that would bring xenophobia “to a complete halt” [1]. This is the kind of leadership that take its representative role seriously and stops “portraying foreigners as a problem” [1]. The idea of constructing “foreigners as a problem” [1, 3] is part of rationalising xenophobia. In this rationalisation people are attacked because they are foreigners and because they are foreigners, they are a problem and can be attacked. The leaders are described as “politicians” [3] “others in positions of authority” [4] and “people in positions of authority” [3]. However, this leaves out journalists, artists and others in positions of influence like Professor Friedman, an academic. This is a pointer to how the academy, like the media, in playing its watchdog role, it has failed to be reflexive and acknowledge its own power. According to Professor Friedman, the leaders can be active agents in fighting xenophobia as they “can stop attacks”, can “stop portraying foreigners” [1] as a problem, and stop “making inflammatory statements” [8]. It is clear that to him, xenophobia is a crisis of representation.

Prof. Friedman describes South Africa as a “republic” [5] and therefore a democracy led by a president. Jacob Zuma is “the president” [4] but Prof. Friedman has a problem with him. He is seen as one of those leaders who “paint migrants as a problem” [4] and “gave the public the

impression that foreigners were giving locals unfair competitions” [11]. The president’s comments on the government assisting local spaza owners to “compete with foreigners” [11] is seen as irresponsible giving guts to xenophobes to rampage in townships. In speaking about South Africa as a republic, Professor Friedman contrasts it to the Zulu monarchy and by extension Zulu nationalism. In his own words, as captured in the story, “South Africa is a republic and that the Zulu monarch was not above the law” [5]. What happens here is displacement and dissimulation where republic becomes a sign that stands in for South Africa. The Professor juxtapositions the concept of a ‘republic’ with that of the ‘monarchy’. The king, Goodwill Zwelithini, is described as “the king” [5] and “Zulu monarch” [5]. The king, as an active subject, is said to “paint migrants as a problem” [4], makes “inflammatory statements” [8] and “his inflammatory remarks on foreigners sparked a deadly wave of attacks” [14]. The king is “in a position of authority” [4] to legitimate the construction of migrants as a problem.

Professor Friedman also blames the media for contributing to the ‘myth’ that foreigners are a problem and perpetuating xenophobia. He claims that there are media houses that “send reporters to the Department of Home Affairs to go and find out what the department is doing about foreigners in the country” [7, 8]. The professor makes two claims here. First, that the media uses its discursive power to incite authorities in the pretext of gathering news. Second, that the media is part of society’s dominant and powerful forces.

### ***5.3.3. Grocery retail under scrutiny, By Dewald van Rensburg, News24, 14 June 2015***

The story is that the competitions commission is set to investigate the role of big supermarkets and foreign owned shops in the disappearance of the small business sector in townships. Effectively, the story represents local small business owners as victims of both big supermarket chains and foreign owned shops. This is a business news story. Economics, business and financial journalism are “closely related forms of journalistic endeavour” covering financial markets, businesses and economic issues (Kariithi, 2003: 153; Mare and Brand, 2010: 407 – 408). The headline points out that the probe on the conflict in the grocery retail sector will be extended beyond unnamed Big Four supermarkets. The reporter uses “the” to suggest that the Big Four are known. In the lead it becomes clear that the probe is being extended to foreign traders as it tries to “address the supposed

root of recurring xenophobic violence – the alleged competitive secrets of foreign shopkeepers” [1]. Ideologically the blame is shifted to the victims of xenophobia here. The mythical “alleged competitive secrets of foreign shopkeepers” [1] also promotes stereotypes.

The competitions commission is central to the story and is named as “the enquiry” [3] or “the enquiry into grocery retail” [1]. It is portrayed as very active as it is to “delve beyond the Big Four supermarkets” [1], “to address supposed root of recurring xenophobic violence” [1], “to scrutinise the entire retail sector from street traders to supermalls” [2], “in 2009, launched an investigation into the four” [5], and “received power to conduct investigations in 2013” [23]. Looking at what the commission is expected to do it is clear that the idea of addressing the causes of xenophobia ties to the economy. The committee has voice as it is a speaking subject as it is reported that “according to commission’s background statement” [3]. In this story, the commission represents both the local small business operators, the Big Four and the foreign shop owners. It is powerful such that its enquiry will be sweeping, scrutinising “the entire retail sector, from street traders to supermalls” [2]. This could be deflecting. When the behaviour of the big four retailers is what is affecting the lives of ordinary South Africans, expanding the work of the commission to include street vendors is strictly to search and target the powerless foreigners. Local black South Africans have always complained that the mushrooming of spaza shops by foreign Africans has decimated local small businesses especially in townships. The recent emergence of shopping malls in townships has also been seen as threatening small businesses with the big Four now controlling 90 percent of the market in the townships.

The story seems to favour or be biased towards big business. In part, it says “the enquiry is premised on the problem of a disappearing small and informal retail sector in the face of the rise of shopping centres in townships...” [3]. This sentence is structured in such a way that it is a euphemism that conceals the idea that the Big Four are killing informal traders in townships. Even though the story points out that, according to the government, “the four major supermarket chains as now controlling 90% of the market” [4] the supermarkets are never mentioned by name or blamed for the demise of small local businesses. It all remains an allegation. The bias towards supermarket also comes out clear when the report points out that “investigation was abandoned last year due to a lack of evidence” [6] suggesting that the supermarkets are not doing anything

wrong. The story uses heavy technical business language to refer to the Big Four as “supermarket chains franchising agreements” [7], “franchisees” [7], “branches of franchisor” [7], and “brands” [7]. This language creates a myth around the supermarkets. This is likely to influence an average reader in the township to think these supermarkets are what they need.

In the story “much of the new inquiry’s scope is, however, in the contentious terrain of small retailers – formal and informal – who claim they are being displaced by competitors from abroad as much as malls” [8]. It is not clear what “abroad” means here. It could be in reference to all foreigners, including foreign black Africans who will not ordinarily consider themselves as from abroad or it refers to those who come from out of Africa like the Pakistanis. This ambiguity, as part of journalism, may be a result of the fact that the story does not want to refer to black Africans as foreigners. However, later the story is clear that the proposed inquiry seeks to “examine the dynamics of competition between local and foreign-owned small and independent retailers” [9]. According to the terms of reference, there seems to be the idea that “foreign shopkeepers’ conduct is to be investigated” [10]. The foreign-owned shops are said to have “the alleged competitive secrets” [1], they may be “small retailers (formal or informal)” [8], “competitors from abroad” [8], “competitors from abroad” [8], “foreign-owned” [9], “foreigners” [17] or “foreign-born shopkeepers” [18]. According to the story, the foreign-born traders “have been perceived” [11] to be “more successful than others” [11] and are seen as having some “supposed superiority” [12]. This superiority is “often invoked as one of the major contributors to tension” [12]. The foreign traders also are seen as undercutting “their local competitors through bulk buying stocks as groups” [15] and also “sold substandard goods” [18]. They are however portrayed as passive when they are at the mercy of xenophobia as the story refers to “the looting of foreign shops” [12] and “widespread violence” [13]. It is through the discourses of xenophobia and violence that they are constructed as victims. However, before they are victims, they are constructed as villains and warned by the minister of Small Enterprises, Lindiwe Zulu, that they “cannot barricade themselves in” [13] and “not share their practices with local business owners” [13]. On the other hand, the small local retailers are described as “local business owners” [13], “spaza owners” [20] who are members of the “National African Federation Chamber of Commerce and Industry (NAFCOC)” [20]. They are said to have “long standing gripes” [20] in relation to the foreign traders and the big Four. The gripe is the competition.

**5.3.4. Maskandi singer taken to HRC for xenophobic lyrics, By Mdu Mvubu and Jabulani Langa, News24, 17 September 2015**

This story is an entertainment news story written in a light style consistent with tabloids. It is alleged that Maskandi musician, Zanefa Mngidi, has been reported to the Human Rights Commission (HRC) over the lyrics of a song considered as hate speech because it incites xenophobia. The song is reportedly gaining a lot of airplay on radio stations around the KwaZulu Natal province. If true, then Mngidi's hate speech has a platform. However, when an HRC official is interviewed he denies that the commission received any such complaint or listened to such a song. This is despite the fact that the headline creates the impression that the musician is being charged by the HRC. This raises the question why the story was published after all.

The lead is a single sentence: "Maskandi singer Zanefa Ngidi is in hot water" [1]. The news article taken from a tabloid, *The Daily Sun*, is written in a different style where the language is loose. It uses a lot of metaphors. Hence the introduction uses a strong metaphor of someone in hot water, that is, one in trouble over what they have done. The lead also sounds like some kind of delayed lead as if it is a feature story. What is delayed here is not the name but the reason why the singer is in hot water. The story even uses Mzansi, the street name of South Africa. According to the story "he's apparently been reported to the Human Rights Commission for his latest single. The title of the song is "*abahambe osbari*" which the newspaper translates to "Foreigners must go" [2]. The translation of the title here is aimed at capturing the broader message. However, this misses the nuances that are captured by a literal translation. In isiZulu *usbari* is a man married to one's sister. If that title is translated to mean "our brothers in law, should leave" there is a change in meaning in that the song not only becomes xenophobic but also sexist. Second, the use of *osbari* is a euphemism for foreigners and plays an ideological role. Let us discuss the xenophobia before turning to the sexism. In describing what the song is all about the reporter says, "in the song he asks foreign nationals to leave Mzansi which has led to him being accused of hate speech" [3]. To say '*abahambe*' (they must go) is not to ask but to order. The idea that he "asks" [3] conceals the idea that as a citizen he has assumed the role of policing foreigners ordering them out of 'his' country. To turn to the sexism, as has already been pointed out there is an issue of gender in the title of his song. *Usibali* is a man who has married one's sister. The idea is that no matter what this

man does he remains a foreigner. This is gendered in that married off to a foreigner the sister becomes part of his family and therefore a foreigner. This invisibilises women. South African women are partially visible. Foreign women nationals do not even appear at all.

Zanefa Ngidi, a “Maskandi singer” [1] is also described as a “singer” [6] and “creative” [9]. He is portrayed as very active and a speaking subject. The musician “is in hot water” [1] because he has been “taken to the HRC” [2] for xenophobic lyrics. In the song “he asks foreign nationals” to go [3] which has “led him” [3] “being accused of hate speech” [3]. Zanefa “sings” [5] in IsiZulu. The musician has a voice and access to the media as he speaks to the *Daily Sun* [6], “claimed” [6] and “he said” [8]. Zanefa claims that he is “only expressing the views of the common people” [6] and claims that, as a result of piracy “we die poor” [9] and when “we stand up” [9] or “try by all means to shout” [9] we “get arrested” [9]. In his own words, and in the song, Zanefa, says “our music is being pirated by foreigners. Our government is silent as if it has been shot” [5]. Several issues arise here. First, Zanefa sings in isiZulu, so the question is do foreigners appreciate Zulu music more than the Zulu people, such that it is them that pirate the music more than locals. Second, his use of metaphors that suggest violence such as ‘silent as if it has been shot’ draw our attention to the violence of xenophobia and that he could be aware that his words and music is violent and likely to incite people to kill others. Third, is the claim that foreigners are dividing people. The sentence has the effect of devaluing the peoplehood of the foreigners. It depends in what language he spoke, probably in isiZulu, he had used a word that would definitely refer to foreigners in a demeaning manner such as “abokuza” or “izizwe” which is contrasts with ‘people.’ Zanefa claims freedom as freedom to “stand up for ourselves” [6], Standing up for ourselves is ambiguous here and makes xenophobia looks like vigilantism. The artist also appeals to tropes of populism arguing that “I don’t back down and I know deep down that many artists, fans and people all over Mzansi will support me in this” [10]. This populism normalises xenophobia.

The foreigners are represented as “osbari” [2], “foreign nationals” [8], “especially foreigners” [9], and “other people” [13]. They are mostly represented by the musician and the Human Rights Commission (HRC). From a human rights discourse, they are put in the same category with others such as “gays” [13], “lesbians” [13], “whites” [13] and “blacks” [13]. The HRC spokesperson, in likening them to these other categories of discriminated groups, he constructs foreigners as

discriminated. The foreigners “must go” [2] have “to leave Mzansi” [3] and “must stop piracy” [9]. They must go because “they are copying our music” [8] and “selling it at low prices” [8]. The musician claims that “our music is being pirated by foreigners” [5]. This has the implication of representing the foreigners as criminals and thieves. Some of these claims are made in the song, which the story describes as “hate speech” [3] and he calls it “our music” [5]. The use of “our” has the implication of othering some other people. The song is said to have “worried the foreigners” [4] and is “getting increasingly popular in KZN, especially Durban” [11]. To claim that it is getting popular is to suggest that the xenophobia message is has found fertile ground and is getting popular in the KZN region.

#### **5.4. The Marches**

Marches in the history of mankind have been associated with revolutions and the human search for freedom. From China’s Long March to marches in South Africa’s long liberation history, the march has always been a rallying point for human freedom. In South Africa, two marches that come to mind are the 9 August 1956 women’s march to the Union Building in Pretoria and the 16 June 1976 tragic march by young people in Soweto. I mention these marches to contextualise the two marches in post-apartheid South Africa that I am to discuss in this section. One is an anti-xenophobia march and the other one an anti-immigrant march. Both marches pretend to be about human freedom and liberation. In this section, the first story under discussion is on the preparations for the anti-xenophobia march in Johannesburg. The second story is on the march itself and how the marchers appropriated South Africa’s liberation struggle songs and the North American no border movement’s message that “No one is illegal.” This way the march as a symbolic space became intertextual in appropriating texts from different geographic spaces and historical epochs. The third story is on the preparations for the anti-migrant march to be held in Pretoria. The last story that is discussed in this section is on the march in Pretoria and how it became violent and confrontation between South African citizens and foreign African nationals.

#### *5.4.1. Anti-xenophobia march in Johannesburg, By Thomas Hartleb, 23 April 2015*

This story is about a march organised by a coalition of civil society organisations (CSOs) and trade unions to raise awareness on the scourge of xenophobia. The message that they intend to drive home is that “No one is illegal”. The lead of the story foregrounds Gauteng premier, David Makhura, and Johannesburg mayor, Parks Tau, as participating at the march. The appearance of Gauteng premier, David Makhura, and Johannesburg mayor, Parks Tau, in this story is similar to their appearance in court at the first appearance of the men who killed Emmanuel Sithole discussed in the first section. This story says they are “expected to join the march in the city against xenophobic violence” [1]. By referencing and foregrounding the two, the story effectively replaces whoever the mayor and the premier will join in the march. Effectively, the migrants are exiled from the narrative. In the tyranny of representation, when what “represents” stands in for whatever it represents, the implications are that what is represented is absented.

The organisers of the march are said to be “several civil society organisations and trade unions” [2] and the source of the story is partly these organisers’ statement. The organisers describe xenophobia as “heinous acts” [2] and their march as an “overwhelming rejection” [2] of it. The march is legitimated as a move to “demonstrate ‘the overwhelming rejection of these heinous acts’” [2]. The use of strong language in describing xenophobia as “heinous acts” [2] serves to create a situation where a large number of people is mobilised around marching against it. The main organisation that convened the march, the African Diaspora Foundation (ADF) is represented as active as it “produced messages” [2] and says “we endorse” [2] and “call upon all people” [2] and “they said” [2]. The planned march is said to be similar to one held in Durban and is intended to demonstrate “the overwhelming rejection of these heinous acts” [2]. In the march in Durban, police are said to have “clashed with a group of people trying to disrupt the event” [3]. Several issues come up here. First, it is important to note that Durban as an urban centre, is also a centre-space for xenophobia like Johannesburg and Cape Town. The articulation of urban spaces as a geography of xenophobia has already been emphasised in previous stories. Second, the people who oppose the anti-xenophobia march seem to be the kind of people who want to normalise it (xenophobia). The normalisation of xenophobia includes the vigilante tendencies of killing of people because they are regarded as illegal migrants or are seen as a stumbling block to

xenophobia. For example, in this story, an Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) supporter is shot as the party leaders visit a hostel in Alexandra.

In the story, xenophobia is characterised as “xenophobic violence” [1], “heinous acts” [2], “violence against foreigners” [3] and “the violence” [5]. It is said to have “begun in the townships around Durban” [4], “spread to Johannesburg” [4] and “seven people dead” [4] and “thousands displaced” [4]. In the last two, the idea is to conceal the horrors of xenophobia by using nominalisation. The issue of xenophobia and the urban space as the geography of xenophobia comes up when it is claimed that “the violence began in townships around Durban” [4]. Townships, as some of the impoverished spaces in the city, are always spaces where xenophobia breaks out. The story is careful not to say townships ‘in’ Durban, but ‘around’ so that even though associated with Durban, these townships are out of Durban. This brings us to the point that by their nature townships in South Africa have always been built outside of cities. As the location of black African subjects their location on the outside and the margins means that the black subject appears as marginal to the city and as a result to the economy.

The story, like other stories continues to hide the perpetrators of xenophobia in plain sight when it refers to police clashing “with a group of people trying to disrupt” a similar event in Durban the previous week. This is continued in the same paragraph through passivisation where “an Economic Freedom Fighters member was shot in the leg in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on Monday when party leader Julius Malema arrived to call for an end to violence against foreigners” [3]. Here the identity of the shooter is hidden through a passive construction of the sentence and towards the end the violence against foreigners is nominalised such that there is no need to reveal the identity of the perpetrators. The violence is also said to have “began in townships around Durban [...] and spread to Johannesburg” [4]. The violence is given the qualities of a human being. This passivation continues throughout the story, including in the background, where “Mozambican Emmanuel Sithole was stabbed to death on a street on Saturday morning” [6]. The killer is hidden.

In this story migration is militarised. This has the consequence of militarising black spaces, that is, townships. The defence minister, Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula says “the army would be sent to hotspots around the country, including Alexandra” [5]. This is no mere militarisation of the border,

but this is also the bringing in of the border from where it is physically located into the city. The borders in the city appear already militarised. In 2019, during the election campaigns, Nqakula, who was still the minister of defence, and was appointed back to the same ministry after the elections, spoke about the full militarisation of the border between South Africa and the rest of Africa when she said the ruling party will deploy drones at the borders to keep them safe (Deklerk, 2019). In Europe, collapsing the boundary between migration and terrorism, has seen the super-rich countries of the West militarising borders (Cross, 2011; Pugliese, 2013: 571). Pugliese notes that these “technologies of extraterritorialisation” produce both symbolic and physical forms of violence for migrants (2013: 571).

The story is accompanied by a picture of a half-shot figure of a man holding a placard with the words “STOP XENOPHOBIA” written in red against a white background. Curiously, the man is putting on half a smile. He is probably performing for the camera.



*Fig 5.2. Man holding a placard at the anti-xenophobia march*

The red colour of the words matches his t-shirt. The colour red is symbolic of blood (and death). The words “STOP XENOPHOBIA” are in red colour symbolic of the blood that is always shed in the violence of xenophobia. In most African flags, this red colour stands for the blood shed as these countries fought liberation wars to overthrow colonial rule. The words are against a white background that symbolises innocence and purity. Africa always wants to represent itself as a pure, pristine space, especially before colonialism. This is despite the fact that there was no Africa before colonialism. In the background, there are a lot of people, a crowd and what looks like groups of journalists behind the man. They are visible through the cameras that they are carrying and some of them photographing. One can also see the kind of tape used by police officers to condone off a crime and accident scenes. Here, it could be used to control the crowd that is ready to protest. There are a lot of shadows behind the man and behind crowds and hordes of journalists. These are shadows of people and trees. There is also an unclear billboard advertisement. It has been purposely blurred through camerawork. The urban space is always commercialised, especially Johannesburg with its many billboards selling various goods. In terms of who the message is directed at, the words “STOP XENOPHOBIA” hail a certain subject. It must be the black South African living in townships or other abject spaces. The words both hail the xenophobic subject into being and orders the subject to stop spilling blood and killing fellow Africans.

#### ***5.4.2. Crowd gathers for anti-xenophobia march, by Mpiletso Motumi, IOL, 23 April 2015***

This is a story written earlier on the day of the anti-xenophobia march and mostly describes the early stages of the march. The marchers are arriving and the mood is electric as they sing and dance to liberation struggle songs. The online story carried some pictures of the ‘colourful’ march. According to the headline of the story, the people who gather to demonstrate against xenophobia are taken as a “crowd.” Populist ideas always mobilise ideas of crowds. In all the stories that follow there is a strong idea of the people and the crowds. In the lead, the idea of the people comes up strongly as the march is christened “the people’s march against xenophobia” [1]. This uses unification to create the idea of one people. The first part of the lead legitimates the idea that all the people are endorsing this march and taking a stand against xenophobia. It does that by hiding the source of this information. However, when one reads the story, it becomes clear that the source

is the African Diaspora Forum (ADF), which says the march was organised to “confront the horrors of xenophobia in South Africa” [1]. The march is also aimed at taking “a stand to denounce the violence and embrace unity” [1].

The strategy of unification is continued in the second paragraph where the African Diaspora Forum (ADF) says “We endorse the message that ‘no-one is illegal’ and call on all people living in South Africa to unite against unemployment, inadequate housing, rising crime and bad schools” [2]. There are several issues that arise out of this quote. First, we discuss the issue of unity pursued in the second part of the quote where people are mobilised to unite around fighting the challenges that have been seen as being at the heart of poverty and inequalities. As a result, these have kept many black people on the edges of the country’s socio-economic life. There is also a sense of fragmentation in this part of the quote where unemployment, bad schools and rising crime are represented as the enemies. Second, we go back to the first issue brought up in the quote of “no one is illegal” [2], which is the issue of border imperialism. The idea of border imperialism is all about “rearticulating the immigrant rights movement as a struggle against settler colonialism” (Smith, 2013: ix). The ADF is quoted as a collective endorsing the message that “no one is ‘illegal’” [2]. The message sounds radical with the “no one is illegal” slogan that has emerged from the no borders politics mostly in North America. This way the message is very intertextual. It links what is happening in South Africa to what is happening in the world. The message, as a text, makes the struggle for migrant rights in South Africa a part of the global migrants’ struggles.

The marchers are described as very active. They are said to “have been gathering at the park” [4], “singing struggle songs” [4], “dancing” [4] and “setting the mood” [4]. In singing the liberation struggle songs they tap into the liberation history discourses and locate themselves in the long history of the liberation struggle. They also evoke the spirit of black unity and black struggle. Here the discourse of South Africa’s liberation struggle is appropriated. The anticipated march is described as “colourful” [4] which could be a reference to the colour of the rainbow nation. This is also in contrast to the colour of xenophobia which is black. They are described as both a crowd and as a people. Once more, there is an image of the people where the people are said to be “living in South Africa” [2]. This ties in with the message that “no one is illegal” and echoes the Freedom Charter, which says South Africa belongs to all who live in it. The people are called on to “unite

against unemployment, lack of housing, rising crime and bad schools” [2]. This is an ideological sleight of hand. However, it would look like these people are not one or united at all as in some stage, the organisers calls for unity “instead of turning against people seeking refuge” [2]. The people are therefore “seeking refuge” [2]. The marchers are said to be “singing struggle songs, dancing and setting the mood for an energetic and colourful march” [4]. The struggle songs are tied to the theme of unity and also serve the ideological role of unification.



*Fig 5.3. Man in chains protesting xenophobia.*

This is an image full of symbolism. It is a picture of a man in chains evoking the history of slavery. The steel chains fetter his hands and hang on his neck and waist. The image makes the point that xenophobia takes the African continent back to the dark days of slavery. Behind the man is a banner with the statement: “Make South Africa an Afrophobia and xenophobia free-country”. These words are in red ink and in quotation marks. The red colour extends the symbolism of blood and violence. The use of Afrophobia and xenophobia in one phrase is curious. Then there are words in black that say: “We stand for human dignity” evoking the idea of humanism. The colour black is consistent with black dignity. Curiously, the picture does not show the man’s head or feet. In a sense, it makes him anonymous and can be any African. He becomes a symbol himself, a symbol of black indignity as a result of abuse in xenophobia and hunger for dignity.

#### ***5.4.3. Pretoria gears for anti-migrant march, By Sakhile Ndlazi, News24, 24 February 2017***

This story is more of a preview story on the anti-immigrant march that was to take place in Pretoria in 2017. The story is mostly based on an interview with the organisers, Mamelodi Concerned Residents spokesperson, Makgonka Lekganye, Tshwane Metro Police spokesperson, Senior Superintendent, Isaac Mahamba and South African Police Services (SAPS) spokesperson, Senior Superintendent, Lungelo Dlamini. The organisers claim that they are receiving a lot of support from the entire country to press ahead with the march. Lekganye emphasises that the march is not xenophobic at all. The Tshwane police spokesperson points out that there are rumours there will be violence. The SAPS spokesperson assures people that there will be no violence as security clusters are working hard in securing the peace.

The headline uses the word “anti-migrant” where the person (migrant) becomes the object of hatred or opposition. That the march is in Pretoria is significant because this is South Africa’s capital city. As the seat of power, it stands in for the government of South Africa as when reports say “Pretoria said” in reference to the government of South Africa. Schartz notes that historically capital cities emerged as the symbol of the state (2004: 114). The story uses journalese in both the headline and the lead to mislead by claiming that “Pretoria gears for anti-migrant march” and that “today’s Pretoria march” is “against foreigners” [1]. It is as if, first, the South African government is anti-migrant, second, the whole of Pretoria is against migrants. This is an ideological sleight of hand where through unification, the story implies that the whole of Pretoria is against migrants. The lead links with the headline claiming that “there is massive support for today’s Pretoria march against foreigner...” [1]. The foreigner is constructed as the enemy, the other. The introduction also tries to make this a national call adding that “with people from KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, the Western Cape and other areas urging organisers to go ahead with the protest.” To manufacture national consensus against the foreigner it is said that the provinces of South Africa are united against “the foreigner” [1]. What is happening here is fragmentation of South Africa into local citizens against foreigners, almost always African Others. Constructing the foreigner as an enemy expurgates and banishes them from the Rainbow Nation.

This double-play of unification/fragmentation and expurgation of the foreigner continues in the next paragraphs of the story as the source of the unattributed assertion that makes up the lead is revealed as the “organiser Makgonka Lekganye” [2]. He further claims that support for the march is “overwhelming” [2, 3]. He expurgates the foreign nationals again when he says “this problem of illegal immigrants is not exclusive to Pretoria; it’s a countrywide problem and needs to be thoroughly addressed” [3]. Lekganye effectively criminalises immigrants and casts them as a “problem” [3]. In that Lekganye has no way of effectively ascertaining the legality of any migrants, the implication of his words is that he effectively discursively renders all migration illegal such that all immigrants are already illegal. In the same words he tries to unite the country against this problem. The expurgation of foreign nationals continues with the claim that “we, the Mamelodi Concerned Residents, are doing this for our people” [6]. The idea of “our people” [6] universalises the march and its anti-immigrant theme and legitimates the march. Self-identifying as residents, which rhymes with the idea of citizens, further legitimates the march and its stated aim of expelling the foreigner from society.

Lekganyane speaks about migration as a problem. He seeks to universalize the challenge of migration as a problem arguing that: “this problem of illegal immigrants is not exclusive to Pretoria; it’s a countrywide problem...” [4]. The first implication is that migration is characterised as a problem. The second point is that Lekganyane does not realise that in describing it as a problem, he is illegalising migration and then refers to ‘illegal immigrants.’ The response would be that “no one is illegal” and that people are illegalised. Third, Lekganyane describes migration as a South African problem missing the point that it is a global phenomenon. This national chauvinism limits him to the extent of constructing South Africa in what can be regarded as Fortress South Africa. His use of the word “countrywide” [4] is revealing. The idea of Fortress South Africa is taken from the idea of Fortress Europe to mean how the country is building these high walls around itself such that a large number of migrants are left stranded on its borders. As argued in Chapter 7, these borders could not necessarily be the fence between South Africa and other African countries, and can be inside the country or in the home countries of the immigrants.

The march would reportedly begin at Marabastad. Marabastad is the place where most foreigners who are ‘semi-legal’ in Gauteng get refuge documents from the government through the home

affairs. This is significant. It becomes clear that this march seeks to ‘illegalise’ not only people but also the government process of giving them refugee documents. To some extent the march is a move to symbolically “occupy Marabastad” and displace the refugees. The march will end at the department of home affairs offices in the city centre. This is a march from the margins into the centre by a people who feel themselves as driven to the edges of the economy and their country by foreigners. The march is said to have followed protests that have been taking place in the city of Pretoria the previous week. The protests reportedly “began last Saturday when community members torched two houses in Pretoria West over allegations of drug peddling and prostitution. Protestors said their targets were brothels and drug dens run by migrants from elsewhere in Africa” [13]. This last sentence is problematic in several ways. First, it raises the question on what about brothels and drug dens run by locals. Second, the specification of foreigners from elsewhere in Africa is problematic in that, it leaves the question on what about foreigners from outside Africa (Tafira, 2018).

In the story, the foreigners are represented as victims, criminals and cowards. Their shops are the target of the attacks and will “remain closed” [15] the whole day. It becomes clear that even when they engage in legitimate business, the foreigners are still criminalised: “the organisers of the march said the majority of people in South Africa had an issue with foreigners occupying economic space which could be taken up by locals” [16]. They appear where they are not wanted. The story silences the foreigners in two ways. First, when an opportunity for them to speak and be quoted arise, they are not quoted, but the reporter summarises what they say. Second, they are spoken about and never given a chance to say anything. According to the organisers of the march, foreigners are a problem that “needs to be thoroughly addressed” [4], they are criminals who “run brothels and drug dens” [13]. In these few strokes foreigners are constructed as both a problem and criminals. In their location in Atteridgeville, Lotus Gardens and Mamelodi East, foreigners are said to be “occupying economic spaces which could be taken by locals” [16]. This is the same contentious space in terms of Yeoville, Berea and Hillbrow, Rossetenville, among other inner-city spaces in Johannesburg. However, that sentence [16] conceals how some of these foreigners literally create these economic opportunities, a point that comes up in the interviews on the field.

The perpetrators of xenophobia are represented as “community members” [13] or “residents” [14] while the victims are criminalised as “drug dealers” [13] and pimps who run brothels. One foreign African criminal is made to stand in for all others and in the process all foreign Africans become victims. The impression that is created is that people are criminals because they are foreigners, and because they are foreigners then they are criminals who do not care about the damage they do to society. The background of the story is a series of dissimulations, legitimations and expurgations of the foreigner. Community members reportedly burnt down houses in Pretoria and in Rossetenville in Johannesburg in retaliation saying “their targets were brothels and drug dens run by migrants from elsewhere in Africa” [13]. It is stated as a fact that foreigners are involved in running brothels and selling drugs. The criminality of the community members is legitimated through the expurgation of foreigners as criminals involved in drugs and brothels. This legitimation is further achieved by denying xenophobia while engaging in it where Lekganye “emphasised no xenophobia was intended” [17]. The newspaper decided to use a file photo of a vigilante mob attacking a Nigerian man outside a church in Pretoria:



*Fig 5.4. A mob attacks a Nigerian man in Pretoria*

The picture only shows the feet of the man who is down and under attack. A group of men is ganging up against him, kicking him hard. The camera mostly shows the attackers with one man in a sports t-shirt and blue jeans seemingly engrossed in kicking the man who is down. Behind the attacking men, there is a group that is watching. One of them is smiling as if enjoying the spectacle. Someone is carrying a phone and filming without worrying to intervene. The picture is pregnant with the idea of a vigilante group policing the migrants. The church, that seems to be part of the row of shops, and other shops are already closed. It could be that they closed once the vigilante group attacked. For the church to be on the same row with shops sums up the level of commercialisation in a city like Pretoria. The door of the church which can be a shop is a big metal one which evokes the idea of a prison and security. This is meant to secure the goods inside that are always looted when there are such marches or such violence. The picture is not necessarily a close up but show emotions on the faces of the people. Someone carrying a satchel seems to be caught unaware, and is checking his balance and preparing to escape.

***5.4.4. WRAP: Pretoria brought to a standstill during anti-immigrant march, News24 Reporters, 24 February 2017***

This is the report of the anti-migrant march, which, contrary to what the organisers and police had promised, turned out violent. According to the story, when the march finally took place, it became chaotic. The organisers and the police, who had assured the people that it will be peaceful, soon discovered that they could not control the people. The headline of the story confirms the chaos brought by the march as the capital city comes into a standstill. The headline of the story and the lead both use the word “standstill” as a euphemism for chaos and violence that characterised the march. The lead says “certain parts of Pretoria came to a standstill on Friday...” [1]. The geography of this “standstill”, that is what areas were shutdown, is most likely those areas where local citizens co-exist with foreign African nationals. According to the story, there was a lot of chaos that “about 136” [2] people are arrested in a period of over 24 hours. At the time of the appearance of the story, the police claimed that “everything is under control” [3]. This is a ritual by the police to assure the people even when things are bad. There are numerous strategies that the police deploy to justify arresting 136 people in a march they had said will be peaceful. First, the police spokesperson, Phahlane assures the media that “the situation in Pretoria was ‘under control’” [3].

Second, he gives a narrative of what happened to explain why the earlier claim that the march will not be violent proved false. He says “although people from Mamelodi marched peacefully, a group from Atteridgeville threw stones and bricks. Confrontation with non-South Africans ensued” [4]. It is interesting to note that he talks of “people” and “a group from Atteridgeville”. The “people” refers to the residents who marched and the “group from Atteridgeville” are the foreigners. The quote also uses a euphemism for foreigners describing them as “non-South Africans” [4].

President Jacob Zuma uses his position to legitimate the march. According to the story, he allegedly “said the march in Pretoria was evidence that citizens were fed up with crime” [6]. He uses the issue of crime as the justification of the march. This is despite the fact that the march has been described as an “anti-migrant” march and not anti-crime march. He says “the march in Pretoria was evidence that citizens were fed up with crime” [6]. This supports the claim that crime is linked or related to foreigners. The implication is that the category of the citizen is constructed as good, while that of a foreigner as a criminal. The president is again engaged in downplaying the question of xenophobia in the violence that has riddled the country. In a unification ideological sleight of hand, the president “said the march included foreign nationals, was well organised, and was not xenophobic” [8]. He wants to create the impression that it is the people who live in South Africa who are fighting crime. President Zuma is mostly paraphrased and not quoted verbatim. The president is summarised as saying that ‘the march included foreign nationals, was well organised, and was not xenophobic’ [8]. There are several issues that arise here. First, President Zuma allows himself to be reduced into the spokesperson of the march. Second, the presence of foreigners cannot mean the march was not xenophobic at all. It is possible to have foreigners with self-hate who can easily identify with the idea of citizenship as the status quo. In a hegemonic sense, the organisers of the march who called it an anti-migrant march had a goal that they wanted to achieve, it could have been crime; and could have mobilised foreigners, hegemonic around the issues of crime.

The police and the marchers assume the same side against foreign nationals with “stun grenades [...] fired near the Home Affairs building” [11]. In terms of language, the reporter describes the marchers as “the people marching against immigrants” [11]. The criminalisation or construction of the immigrants as unwanted and opposed raises interesting questions as to whether people or

citizens are against migrants as well as migration. If not then whose migration is acceptable to them. As shall be discussed later, this raises issues of race. The marchers hand over a memorandum to the department of home affairs “which strongly criticised how they perceived foreign nationals to be conducting themselves in South Africa” [13]. It becomes clear that the citizens have arrogated themselves the platform to ‘police’ foreigners. In this role that they give to themselves, the citizens have also decided that they will also ‘police’ the state. They criticise “authorities for ‘failing’ to clamp down on those without proper licences and papers” [15]. The newspaper report says the memorandum in part said “government should not allow African immigrants in the area to operate businesses freely and without regulation” [15]. This is a fair enough demand as everyone who operates a business is always under some form of regulation. It is shocking that the marchers would claim that “we are driven into slavery, both black and white South Africans” [16]. First, the use of the metaphor of slavery could or is shocking in that, slavery is an anti-black piece of history. Second, it is the clamping together of blacks and whites against the foreigner. Considering the constructed-ness of race, this could be an issue of race, attempts to construct foreigners as some kind of race.

When the marchers and the foreigners from inner city Pretoria face in the streets, “some foreign nationals faced the group, shouting at them” [20]. The foreign nationals are not timid, as the impression created that they are at the mercy of xenophobia. This sentence captures their agency in that they not only face the group but also shout at them. A foreign national, Olanyika Ogunjini is quoted as saying “This is my country. We can’t go” [22]. His name that sounds Nigerian makes him a stock character of journalism on foreign migrants in South Africa. While all Africans are regarded as foreigners in South Africa, Nigerians have become hypervisible as the ultimate criminal foreigner in postapartheid South Africa. The shift from the singular ‘my’ country to the plural “we” could be the slip of the tongue, or reflect how they think of themselves as part of a community and as individuals at the same time. He continues to pose an equally shocking rhetorical question “why are they fighting us? Are we white?” [23]. This comes out as if Ogunjini is saying whites are what should be fought. However at a certain level, this is contrasted with the speaker of the organisers of the march who says something to the effect that “we are driven into slavery, both black and white South Africans” [16]. This raises issues of race and how it works in questions around xenophobia. Importantly, it shows how the idea of a black subject is constructed

in contrast to whiteness. In a sense, whiteness conditions the emergency of blackness. Ogunjini also seems not to know “what would happen to them if they were forced to leave” [24]. The foreigners are described as “non-South Africans” [4] or “foreign nationals” [8]. To describe people as non-South Africans is not to describe their essence, what they are, but to describe what they are not. According to the sources in the story, foreigners “have real guns” [19], “they are selling drugs and prostitution” [19], “municipality is helping them” [19] and “they must leave” [19]. These claims construct them as criminals. According to further claims, foreigners are armed and are “selling drugs and prostitution” [19] and “they must leave” [19]. In representation, foreigners are ultimately expelled from South Africa.



*Fig 5.5. A group of foreign African nationals face off a group of locals during the march.*

The picture shows a group of foreign nationals and according to the caption, they are "standing in a line facing the South African group and shouting inaudible slurs." Certain issues stand out. First,

the group can be seen to be foreigners from their dressing and look. They look like Somalis running a lot of small shops around urban centres across South Africa. Second, they appear to be confrontational with some of them holding sticks and ready to fight. However, one of the men appears as if talking to his compatriots to stop with the confrontation. Third, the caption tries to fix the meaning of the photograph in that it tells us what is being said. This is a still photograph and no one can hear anything. The journalist could have been on the scene and heard the foreigner's shout. It is not clear why he describes what the foreign nationals shouted as slurs. It could be the confrontational and menacing looks. The picture is a full-length picture and it takes as many people as possible into its frame. While the man in what looks like a dress seems to be confrontational, the other guy seems to be pleading for peace. The caption ignores that such that the other guy is absent present in the picture.

## **5.5. Conclusion**

Representations are located and emerge in language. This is because language is a social practice that is linked to how we act, how we build our communities and maintain social structures occupying a central role in life. Studying the language of journalism content helps trace and make sense of the media's discursive practices in the construction of black African subjectivity in post-apartheid South Africa. Since the 2008 xenophobic outbreak, there has been a global awareness of the anti-African-migrants violence in postapartheid South Africa. In postapartheid South Africa, while there has been violence against migrants in the years subsequent to 2008, the outbreak in that year has been seen as the most severe since 1994 (Vahed and Desai, 2013; Neocosmos, 2010: 117). Xenophobia has become a space that is fruitful in understanding black African subjectivity in the postapartheid moment. This is because before people are attacked, harmed or killed, they are first constructed in specific ways. As the above analysis shows, in some cases they are first constructed as foreigners, illegal, criminal and therefore deserving to be 'dealt' with. This xenophobia has been said to be underwritten by a crisis of leadership where leaders seem reluctant to deal with it. Since the emergence of the phenomenon of xenophobia, there have been accusations that leaders are not doing enough to stem the tide, and therefore complicit, or that the leaders, especially at grassroots level, actively participate in mobilising young people to attack foreign African nationals. At times, even what the leaders say has been seen as responsible for xenophobic

outbreaks. These leaders include traditional leaders like King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulu people, political leaders like Jacob Zuma and cultural leaders like the musician, Zanele. However, reflecting on the Rwandese genocide, for Mamdani, the question is on how ordinary people so mobilised to kill each other, and if at all the violence is by a third force, that is the elites using the powerless to kill each other. Mamdani notes that while the violence from the top is easy to understand because it involved a tiny minority “the response and initiative from below involved multitudes and presents the true moral dilemma of the Rwandan genocide” (2001: 7). Xenophobia has become a space for political mobilisation. People on either side of the matter have mobilised around marches meant to project different aspects of the scourge.

## Chapter 6

### Zulu nationalism and the enduring elitism of the public sphere

“Basitshele ukuthi asiphume siphela kuleli lizwe ngoba sibathathela imisebenzi ngale kwalokho sizakufa nokufa” (*They told us to get out of this country because we take away their jobs, otherwise we will die*) – (Nonhlanhla Jele, **Yisibhedl esidala uCele (Cele is an old fool), Ilanga, 22 May 2008**).

“Uhluleke wukuzibamba uShenge waze wakhala naye, wakhipha iduku lakhe wesula lona wesifazane izinyembezi” (*Shenge (Mangosuthu Buthelezi) failed to control himself and cried as well, he took out his handkerchief and wiped this woman’s tears off her face*) – (Nonhlanhla Jele, **UShenge ukhale izinyembezi ngezifiki (Buthelezi sheds tears over immigrants, Ilanga, 26 May 2008)**).

“Lokhu kudalulwe nguSihlalo walumkhandlu, uMnu Baruti Amisi, othi baningi othisha nonjiniyela abaphuma kulawa mazwe, asebephenduke imiphuphe yonogada bebe beyikazela ngamajazi emfundo” (*This was revealed by the chairperson of this organisation, Mr. Baruti Amisi, who said there are a lot of teachers and engineers from these countries who are now security guards yet strutting their gowns around*) – (Nonhlanhle Jele, **Bakhalela amathuba abokufika (Migrants plead for opportunities), Ilanga, 15 September 2011**).

#### 6.1. Introduction

The decolonial reading of isiZulu journalism, as cultural representations, inevitably involves translation. However, in as much as decolonisation involves translation, it is prudent to keep in mind that it (translation) can be ‘colonising’ and ‘decolonising’ (Wang, 2002: 283). For Zanotti and Palomino-Schalscha, translation provides “multiple pathways of taking Indigenous knowledges seriously while working in “Western” academic settings” (2016: 139). This is important for this research; whose main aim is to decolonise the study of media and cultural studies in postapartheid South Africa. The imperative to pay serious attention to translation in the decolonisation of media and cultural studies is as a result of the dominance of the English media in a multilingual and multicultural postapartheid South African society.

There are three reasons to think seriously about translation in this dissertation. First, the point that South Africa is multicultural and multilingual means that the English media content in mainstream journalism almost always appears as a translation. When sourcing in a variety of languages and cultural contexts, journalists and other media producers have to translate at both linguistic and cultural levels. Second, this chapter considers journalism content published in isiZulu language

and mostly sourced within an isiZulu cultural milieu. Operating in an environment where journalism is conducted within a specific news culture whose borders are inscribed by the hegemonic English and western journalistic cultures, it is obvious that journalists at the *Ilanga* newspaper undertake numerous ‘translation’ processes in the conduct of their work. Put in other words, in that the stories studied in this chapter are written in the specific objective and professional journalism, it becomes clear that the newspaper’s journalists have to translate the objective journalism practices into the IsiZulu vernacular context. In gathering stories in some anglicised spaces, such as the government, the NGO sector and among foreign African nationals who are likely to speak in some version of English rather than in isiZulu, ultimately when the content appears in the newspaper, it would have gone through various forms of translations. Third, I am writing this at a university regarded as the fourth biggest in South Africa, and which is immersed in a certain culture of what constitutes a university. Ndlovu-Gatsheni has argued that “we so far do not have African universities. We have universities in Africa” (2013: 11). His argument is predicated on the point that these universities are western in orientation. Translation makes me aware of the unbearable whiteness of the university in Africa. I may consider myself as a black African, fluent in isiZulu and knowledgeable on the culture, but the point is that as an academic researching and writing within a specific intellectual history and tradition at the University of KwaZulu Natal, I am “working at the interface of Indigenous and non-Indigenous knowledges” and therefore have to pay attention to what “working across different ways of knowing entails” (Zanotti and Palomino-Schalscha, 2016: 139).

This chapter is organised in such a way that, in the next section I discuss the specific type of translation that I used in my analysis of the five isiZulu news stories. I specifically use a translation method where I pay attention to cultural nuances and seek to capture them for purposes of analysing the differences between English and isiZulu journalism. I also discuss the relevance of translation in cultural studies and in postcolonial studies to make the links between what I am doing in this chapter and the aims of this study. In the second section, I analyse five stories that I closely read in isiZulu, within the context of that language and its cultural context. In the last section of the chapter, I bring together the emerging perspectives from the analysis.

## 6.2. Translation as colonising and decolonising

In this chapter, as I read the news stories, moving between English and isiZulu, I pay serious attention to translation. While others may consider translation as finding a linguistic equivalence between English and isiZulu, I pay more attention to cultural nuances. As a result, I prefer literary translation, where for example, the story makes a description of the violence against foreign African nationals rather than use a single word like xenophobia, I prefer to capture that in an equally long translation. This is because that long description carries nuances with it. Wang posits that the translation of any “work rich in cultural connotation requires an interpretation of the subtle and rich cultural content and aesthetic spirit of the work in the source language” (2002: 283). The kind of translation that aims at achieving linguistic equivalences and neglects cultural nuances, as discussed in the analysis of the stories, conceals a lot. This speaks to “challenges and ethical dilemmas [...] with regards to issues of representation” in research (Zanotti and Palomino-Schalscha, 2016: 139). Wang emphasises that it is important to pay this particular attention to translation because “despite the widespread use of English today, English is unlikely ever to become the first language spoken by all peoples in the world” (Wang, 2002: 286). This is an important point for South Africa as we mark the beginning of the third decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The growth of online media spaces means that English has been contested compelling us to think of alternative media in terms of language and culture. This comes clear in Black Twitter where people are using IsiZulu, Suthu and other indigenous languages. Journalists are heavily sourcing from these online spaces and there has been an emergence of many stories that are based on tweets even by ordinary citizens.

The emergence of alternative media as marked by a contesting indigenous language and culture is important because of the stubborn fact that even though people may use English, opposing indigenous cultural identities remain “unchallenged, based on common histories, ethnic backgrounds” (Wang, 2002: 286). It must be emphasised that “the language of any culture will be important, indeed crucial to national identity” (Wang, 2002; 286). Any decolonial politics in Africa must take seriously issues of translation without forgetting that in as much as it is decolonising it can be colonising. The struggle “between colonisation and anti-colonisation or decolonisation has never ceased” (2002: 289). In postcolonial studies, the starting point is the observation by Octavio

Paz (1992) that translation is involved in every aspect of making sense of the world such that it is the principal means of understanding it (the world). As a power game, translation is therefore seen as crucial to the colonial project (Bassnet and Trivedi, 1999; Cheyfitz, 1991). For the colonialists “translation was always a matter of reducing the native language and culture to accessible objects for and subjects of divine and imperial intervention” (Rafael 1988: 213). This continues in many ways under the neoliberal colonial present.

### **6.3. Critical discourse and ideological analysis of stories**

This section is a critical discourse analysis of six stories. Three of the stories that are discussed are from the 2008 editions of *Ilanga* newspaper after the infamous 2008 xenophobic outbreak and one story is from 2011. The last story discussed is from 2015. Four of the stories are written by one journalist, Nonhlanhla Jele, who seems to have been covering the beat over the years. One story is by Nobuhle Mkhize and the last story is by an unidentified journalist, Intatheli YeLanga (*Ilanga* Reporter). The dominance of Nonhlanhla Jele’s name in stories around xenophobia could mark the emergence of a beat around the violence in isiZulu journalism. The first story is on a political tussle between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the ANC Thekwini Region chairperson, Bheki Cele, after the breakout of the xenophobia violence in Johannesburg and KwaZulu-Natal in 2008. Cele was blaming IFP supporters for the violence, while the IFP dismissed Cele as an old fool. The second story follows the IFP leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as he toured police stations in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal where he makes donations to the people displaced by the xenophobic outbreak. However, the story mainly focuses on a touching moment when the IFP leader had to shed tears. The third story is a business story on how township tourism is at risk after the xenophobic outbreaks in the townships in Durban. This is the story written by Nobuhle Mkhize, who could be a business reporter at *Ilanga*. All the first three stories are on the 2008 xenophobic outbreak. The fourth story written in 2011, focuses on graduate migrants who express their frustration at the failure to get permanent jobs in South Africa. The last story written in 2015, is a court story that seeks to deny that the murder of Emmanuel Josias Sithole is an act of xenophobic violence but a crime. We now turn to analyse the first story.

### 6.3.1. ‘Yisibhedi esidala uCele’ by Nonhlanhla Jele published on 22 May 2008

This is a story about the war of words between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the then KwaZulu Natal’s African National Congress (ANC) provincial chairperson, Mr. Bheki Cele over the outbreak of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. According to the story Mr. Cele had allegedly, in a radio interview on *Ukhozi FM*, said the IFP should reign in on its supporters as they are the ones who had started the beating and killing of foreign African nationals. *Ukhozi FM* is an isiZulu radio station. That allegations are made on radio and the response is published on *Ilanga* newspaper shows the intertextuality of news gathering. In response to Mr. Cele’s allegations, the IFP KwaZulu Natal chairperson, Mr. Mntomuhle Khawula, dismisses the ANC leader as an old fool and a liar. He makes it clear that the IFP does not believe that what Mr. Cele said on radio is the view of the ANC but his own views. The headline is a quote from what Mr. Khawula said about Mr. Cele describing him as an old fool. The lead sets this conflict between the IFP and Mr. Cele. However, it is important to note that, there is nowhere in the story where Mr. Cele is quoted or where the exact words he used are captured. It is only the response by the IFP that is fully proffered in this story.

The story also presents a certain representation of xenophobia that is different from the English stories. It describes xenophobia as “udlame lokubulawa kwezifiki zase Africa kuleli” [1] which translates to “violence and the killing of foreign African nationals”. In normal language this could be translated as xenophobia, however this elaborate description is fittingly translated as Afrophobia. In other cases, this xenophobia is simply described as “udlame” [2], that is, “violence”. This violence or xenophobia or Afrophobia is seen as starting off in Gauteng and then “extending to the province of KwaZulu Natal” [2]. Xenophobia has a life in journalism, it moves from one region to another. The IFP chairperson describes this Afrophobia as a critical and serious issue, that is “udaba olubucayi” [4] (*a critical issue*) which must not be politicked about. In a sense Mr. Cele is seen as politicking about something very serious. The story develops in such a way that it sets the IFP, on one hand against Mr. Cele, on the other hand as set out in Table 6.1 in the next page.

According to the story, and according to Mr. Bheki Cele’s allegations, IFP supporters are portrayed as the instigators of the violence against foreigners of African origin. As the story develops, it become clear that the story collapses IFP supporters with Zulu ethnic group and hostel dwellers, specifically. According to a man from the DRC, Mr. Ngenge Mandebvu, that their attackers who said “umuntu wobuzwe bamaZulu makaphumele ngaphandle kusale abantu bokufika kuphela ngaphakathi ezindlini” [8] (*everyone who is Zulu must come out, and only foreign migrants must remain inside the building*). In the context of South African nationalism, Zulu is an ethnic group.

| <b>IFP</b>  | <b>Mr. Cele</b>   |
|---|---|
| <p><b><i>Naming:</i></b></p> <p>Mnu. Muntomuhle Khawula (<i>Mr. Muntomuhle Khawula</i>) [3]<br/>           Usihlalo weIFP KwaZulu Natal (<i>IFP KwaZulu Natal provincial Chairperson</i>) [3]</p> <p><b><i>Transitivity:</i></b></p> <p>Mayikhuze abalandeli bayo (<i>must reign in on its supporters</i>) [1]<br/>           Okuyibona abaphehla udlame lokubulawa kwezifiki zaseAfrika kuleli (<i>who are instigating violence and the killing of foreign African nationals</i>) [1]<br/>           Kusho (<i>says</i>) [3]</p> | <p><b><i>Naming:</i></b></p> <p>Mbudane (<i>Hallucinatory</i>) [1]<br/>           Isibhedi<br/>           Mnu. Bheki Cele (<i>Mr. Bheki Cele</i>) [1]<br/>           Sihlalo we ANC Thekwini Region (<i>ANC Thekwini region chairperson</i>) [1]</p> <p><b><i>Transitivity:</i></b></p> <p>Ukulibeka kwakhe (<i>his expression</i>) [1]<br/>           Ukubhoka kukaCele (...) [1]<br/>           Emsakazweni ukhozi FM (<i>on Ukhozi FM</i>) [2]<br/>           Ekhombe ngqo iIFP (<i>singled out IFP</i>) [2]<br/>           Uyaziwa (<i>is known for</i>) [3]<br/>           Ulomlando wokuba yinhlakanhlaka yomuntu (<i>has a history of being a scatter brains</i>) [3]<br/>           Kuyihlazo (<i>it’s an embarrassment</i>) [4]<br/>           Apathe budlapha (<i>handle badly</i>) [4]</p> |

**Table 6.1. How the IFP is set against Mr. Cele in the story.**

What emerges here is how people in KwaZulu-Natal think of themselves as Zulu before they are South African or African. This kind of ethnic chauvinism means that, Xhosa, Suthu, Ndebele and Venda people who will never consider themselves as Zulu, also become “abantu bokufika” (*foreigners*) at that moment. This situation brings elements of ethnocentrism to Afrophobia, over and above the racism, in that it targets black Africans and leaves white migrants untouched. This Zulu nationalism is discussed in the next story on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of the

IFP. If the first part of the story sets the IFP against Mr. Cele, the second part, in describing xenophobic attacks in Durban, sets the citizens against the foreign African nationals. The citizens are mostly portrayed as aggressive attackers and the foreign nationals are victims.

It becomes clear that even though the foreign African nationals are portrayed as victims, they have some sense of agency. The foreign African professionals promise that “Zizoziphindisela (*will revenge*) [5] if they continue to be attacked. These efforts at revenge could account for some South African victims and these are not usually reported because local citizens have been cast as aggressors and attackers. The story brings up the usual accusations that local citizens make against foreign African nationals which include that “bayimbangela yobugebengu obukhungethe leli (*they are the cause of crime in this country*) [11]. The other old complaints are that they take away job and economic opportunities meant for the locals.

Xenophobia in postapartheid South Africa is entangled in a sexist and patriarchal environment. As the foreign African nationals are packing their belongings and preparing to leave the flat where they have been under attack, one of the men is heard shouting that “hambani nodwa nisishiyele abafazi benu” (*go alone and leave behind your women for us*) [11]. This treats women as objects that can be exchanged including at the face of threats of violence. This sexism is layered in that it is articulated to the long history of the patriarchal hostel system. The hostels have been spaces of violence during the apartheid years and in the years towards its end. Most of this violence revolved around tribalism and ethnocentrism. However, this violence could be due to the fact that the hostel has emerged as a gendered space. According to Elder, the hostel violence of the early 1990s, as South Africa edged towards freedom evinced “male hostel-dwellers’ resistance to a perceived erosion of heteropatriarchal family power structures inside hostels and in far-flung rural homes” (2003: 921). This heteropatriarchal claims were directly located in apartheid (Elder, 2003: 921).

Table 6.2. in the next page maps the vocabulary setting out the conflict between local citizens referred to as abahlaseli (attackers) and the foreign African nationals. Tied to the issue of the migrant labour hostel patriarchy and sexism is the idea that migration has long been gendered. However, in this story, we see the emergence of not only males and females migrating or as migrants but the idea of migrant families. One of the sources, Mrs. Chilemb Mayonde, from the

DRC, claims that “sengibe kuleli ilizwe isikhathi esingangonyaka kanti nginabantwana abayi-8 abafunda esikoleni, i-Addington Primary School” [13] (I have been in this country for a year, and I have 8 children who are learning at Addington Primary School). It is clear that she migrated the previous year with some of her children. In terms of the interviews in Chapter 7, some children were born to migrants in this country and have never been to their parent’s original countries. The issue of the family in migration is one such issue that should draw the attention of any serious scholars of migration. It speaks to the gendered nature of migration.

| <b>Abahlaseli (Attackers)</b>  | <b>Izifiki (foreign nationals)</b>  |
|--|---|
| <p><b>Naming:</b></p> <p>Kubahlaseli bazo (<i>their attackers</i>) [5]<br/> Yiqulu lamadoda (<i>a group of men</i>) [6]<br/> abahlali basehostela (<i>hostel dwellers</i>) [8]<br/> Abahlali abayingcosana basehositela laseDalton (<i>a few Dalton hostel dwellers</i>) [10]</p> <p><b>Transitivity:</b></p> <p>Aphihliza amawindi (<i>they smashed windows</i>) [6]<br/> Ifeni yabheka phezulu (<i>they overturned the fan</i>) [6]<br/> Abuye eba okuphakathi (<i>they also stole stuff inside</i>) [6]<br/> Belihlome ngezikhali zendabuko (<i>carrying traditional weapons</i>) [7]<br/> Ebelihlome shi (<i>fully armed</i>) [8]<br/> Lathi (<i>said</i>) [8]<br/> Bebelunguze ngamawindi (<i>peeping through the windows</i>) [10]<br/> Beqhulula inhlamba engabizeki (<i>shouting obscenities that cannot be repeated</i>) [10]<br/> Omunye uzwakale (<i>one of them was overhead</i>) [11]</p> | <p><b>Naming:</b></p> <p>Izifiki zase Afrika (<i>African foreign nationals</i>) [1]<br/> Izifiki (<i>those who arrive</i>) [1]<br/> Ngomunye wezifiki odabuka ezweni laseNigeria (<i>one of the foreign nationals from Nigeria</i>) [6]<br/> Ongowokudabuka ezweni laseDR Congo (<i>who is from DRC</i>) [8]</p> <p><b>Transitivity:</b></p> <p>Bulawa (<i>killed</i>) [1]<br/> Ezizinze eThekwini (<i>settled in Durban</i>) [5]<br/> Sezisonge (<i>have vowed</i>) [5]<br/> Zizoziphindisela (<i>will revenge</i>) [5]<br/> Zikhala ngamaphoyisa (<i>complain about the police</i>) [5]<br/> Utshela leliphephandaba (<i>told this paper</i>) [8]<br/> Bahlaselwa liqulu labahlali bsehostela (<i>attacked by a group of hostel dwellers</i>) [8]<br/> Siphume siphele kuleli (<i>we must leave this country</i>) [9]<br/> Sibathathela imisebenzi (<i>we take their jobs</i>) [9]<br/> Sizofa nokufa (<i>we will die</i>) [9]<br/> Bethiutha impahla yabo (<i>when they were moving their belongings</i>) [10]<br/> Akazi lokuthi uzolifihlaphi ikhanda (<i>He doesn't know where he will sleep</i>) [12]<br/> Hambani nodwa nisishiyele abafazi benu (<i>go alone and leave behind your wives for us</i>) [11]<br/> Bayimbangela yobugebengu obukhungethe leli (<i>they are the cause of crime in this country</i>) [11]<br/> Ebalekela izimpi kwelakubo (<i>fleeing wars in his country</i>) [12]<br/> Sengibe kuleli ilizwe isikhathi esingangonyaka (<i>I have been here for almost a year</i>) [13]<br/> Nginabantwana abayi-8 abafunda esikoleni (<i>I have 8 children at school</i>) [13]</p> |

**Table 6.2 Representation of the local citizens as aggressors against the foreign African nationals.**

### **6.3.2. *UShenge ukhale izinyembezi ngezifiki* by Nonhlanhla Jele on 26 May 2008**

This is a story about the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader's tour of police camps in Durban and Johannesburg where foreign African nationals displaced by xenophobia were housed. According to the story, the leader was overcome by emotions when one of the displaced women narrated her story. Prince Buthelezi was overcome by emotions and cried as well. He took out his handkerchief and wiped the woman's tears off. The leader also made donations of food and blankets to the displaced foreign nationals. The headline of the story reminds one of the passages in the Bible where Jesus wept. It casts the IFP leader as a messianic figure. This will be discussed in later paragraphs. The headline and the lead are poignant in that they use clan names to refer to the IFP leader calling him "UShenge" [headline] and "umntwana waKwaPhindangene" [1] (the prince). This firmly locates this journalism within isiZulu culture where clan names play an important role. Importantly, it firmly locates Prince Buthelezi in the royal lineage of the Zulu people.

This story is also clear in naming xenophobia as "udlame olubhekiswe kwabokufika abamnyama base-Afrika" (violence directed at black foreign African nationals) [6]. The direct or literary translation makes it clear that this is Afrophobia and the newspaper is consistent in pointing out how race plays a role in xenophobia in postapartheid South Africa. Tafira describes xenophobia as "intra-black-racism/black-on-black-racism which has haunted postapartheid black communities" in South Africa (Tafira, 2018: vii). He argues that it is not a postapartheid aberration but located in the colonial and apartheid project (Tafira, 2018: vii). Tafira turns to Andile Mgxitama, who describes xenophobia as the "fear and hatred of black people [called] Negrophobia/Afrophobia" (2018: viii). The afrophobia violence is seen as a "perpetuation of colonial and apartheid violence against black people which they have systematically internalised" (Tafira, 2018: viii). The story says, according to reports, about 10 000 people have been displaced and 15 000 Mozambicans had returned to their country since the outbreak of the Afrophobic violence. Forty-three people have been killed across the country. Besides the debate on whether the violence against foreign African nationals is xenophobia or criminality, there is a more textured debate on the nature of this discriminatory violence. There is a general debate on the nature of the racism of xenophobia that makes it afrophobia. For some people calling this Afrophobia some kind of racism is to imply that South African citizens are racist, something they cannot countenance.

However, the textured argument is that both the South African citizen and the foreign black African are locked in the lingering effects of coloniality or the colonial present such that they have never been able to meet outside the mediation of capital and encounter each other as humans. Local South African citizens and foreign black Africans meet each other in workplaces, in schools, at universities and other such institutions where they all serve at the pleasure of capital and are competing for the little opportunities available. This, partly, is the racism of xenophobia.

The immigration officials are represented in a way that reveals the government attitude towards this Afrophobia outbreak. The officials are there to assist those who want to return to their countries rather than finding a way of resettling them so that they continue with the new lives that they had started in this country. This is important when one follows what the interviewed sources' narratives are. In the previous story, Mrs Chilemba Mayonde says she is in South Africa “ngoba ebalekele izimpi kwelakubo” [12] (*because she is fleeing wars in her country*). In a sense, facilitating her return to the DRC is facilitating her return to the war zone. Further, Mrs Mayonde says she has 8 children who are at school here and he does not know what to do with them. This means she had started a new life in South Africa. The home affairs department must have sent in the department not concerned with migration but with ensuring that it resettles these people. What comes out clear here is that Afrophobia is reduced into a migration issue where migration is taken as a problem. As a result, “inengi labo likhala ngokunganakwa nguhulumeni” (most of them are complaining of neglect by the government) [17]. They have to be taken care of by humanitarian organisations that construct them as humanitarian subjects.

In that this story is a continuation of the first one discussed above; one can see party politics at play here. While the ANC wants to blame the IFP for the violence, the IFP could have decided to take the matter into its hand and prove that, it is the government that is to blame for failing to protect the foreign nationals. This could explain one of the last lines where “iningi labo likahala ngokunganakwa nguhulumeni wakuleli kungakho besizwa yinhlango yesiphambano esibomvu” [17] (most of them complained about the neglect by the government leaving them to be assisted by the Red Cross). This could have been in purpose. On the part of the IFP, the story puts the IFP leader on one side and the foreign nationals on the other side, however this is not an adversarial set up. Going through the story and looking at the way the IFP leader is juxtaposed the people at

the camps, he emerges as a messianic figure. Table 6.3. on the next page shows how the IFP leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi is constructed as a messianic figure in relation to the migrants. On one hand the African migrants are constructed as weak and vulnerable in that they are displaced by local citizens from here they stay such that “babhaciswe kanye nabanye esiteshini samaphoyisa akulendawo” [2] (*are given refugee at Alexandra police station*).

The migrants are also represented as surviving on charity as “baphila ngokudla izinkwa nejusi okulethwa ngabanhliziyi zimmene” [12] (*they survive by eating bread and juice donated by well-wishers*), “bayeraba ukuphindela ezindlini zabo hleze babulawe” [10] (*afraid to be ambushed and killed if they go back to their houses*). These are people whose lives have been altered by Afrophobic violence and live on the goodwill of kind hearted well-wishers. They are even left at the mercy of the state, which seeks to assist them to go back to their countries if they are interested. On the other hand, the IFP leader, Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi is constructed as a messiah, who is out feeling pain with the displaced people and is one of the kind hearted well-wishers who donates blankets and food for them. What stands out here are the emotional moments when “ufikelwe yisibibithwane nomunyu” [1] (*overcame by pity and bitterness*), “zehla izinyembezi” [1] (*shed tears*). However, the most important description is when “uhluleke ukuzibamba” [4] (*failed to control himself*), “waze wakhala naye” [4] (*he cried as well*), “wakhapha iduku lakhe” [4] (*took out his handkerchief*), “wesula lona wesifazane izinyembezi” [4] (*wiped the woman's tears*). The bible passage that lead to what has been termed the shortest verse in the English bible “Jesus wept” (John 11 vs 35) is preceded by verses that describe how Jesus was moved by the pain of the people who were mourning Lazarus. One of the earlier verses in that passage reads “When Jesus saw her weeping, and the Jews who had come with her also weeping, He was deeply moved in spirit and troubled” (John 11 vs 33).

Reading this news story, with the biblical story in mind, one cannot miss how Dr. Buthelezi is being endowed with messianic qualities. Located in the Jewish and Judeo-Christian heritage, the idea of the messiah or the messianic is a promise for the coming of redemption (Khatib, 2013: 1 - 2; see also Derrida 1999, Benjamin, 1999). Jesus appears as the promised Messiah in the Bible to deliver future redemption.

| Umntwana Mangosuthu Buthelezi  | Izifiki  |
|--|--|
| <p><b>Naming:</b></p> <p>UShenge [4]<br/> Umntwana waKwaPhindangene (<i>Prince</i>) [1]<br/> UDkt Mangosuthu Buthelezi (<i>Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi</i>) [1]<br/> Umengameli weIFP (<i>IFP president</i>) [3]</p> <p><b>Transitivity:</b></p> <p>Ufikelwe yisibibithwane nomunyu (<i>overcame by pity and bitterness</i>) [1]<br/> Zehla izinyembezi (<i>shed tears</i>) [1]<br/> Obehambele kulendawo ngoMgqibelo (<i>who had visited the area on Saturday</i>) [3]<br/> Ephelekezelwa nguSihlalo weqembu leIFP kuzwelonke uNkk Zanele Magwaza-Msibi (<i>accompanied by the IFP national chairperson Mrs Zanele Magwaza-Msibi</i>) [3]<br/> Ngenhloso yokuzibonela umonakalo (<i>with the aim of witnessing the damage</i>) [3]<br/> Uhluleke ukuzibamba (<i>failed to control himself</i>) [4]<br/> Waze wakhala naye (<i>he cried as well</i>) [4]<br/> Wakhipha iduku lake (<i>took out his handkerchief</i>) [4]<br/> Wesula lona wesifazane izinyembezi (<i>wiped the woman's tears</i>) [4]<br/> Unikele ngamaphasela okudla kanye nezingubo zikanukusho zokulala (<i>donated food parcels and blankets</i>) [5]<br/> Wabe esedlulela egermiston (<i>he proceeded to Germiston</i>) [5]<br/> Ngaphambi kokuba adlulele eGoli [...] uvakashele izindawo ezehlukene eThekwini (<i>before going to Johannesburg [...] he visited several areas in Durban</i>) [6]<br/> Wethule inkulamo yokududza lababantu (<i>he comforted these people</i>) [6]<br/> Wathi bayizihlobo zegazi zabantu bakulesi sifundazwe (<i>he said they are blood relatives to the people of this province</i>) [6]<br/> Ubuze ukuthi ngabe abakuleli sebekhohliwe (<i>asked if South Africans have forgotten</i>) [7]<br/> Ngokubambisana nabe-Adventist Development Relief Agency (ADRA) (<i>working with the Adventist Development Relief Agency (ADRA)</i>) [8]<br/> Banikele ngamaphasela okudla (<i>they donated food parcels</i>) [8]</p> | <p><b>Naming:</b></p> <p>Omunye wezifiki (<i>one of the foreign nationals</i>) [1]<br/> Lona wesifazane (<i>the woman</i>) [2]<br/> Lomphakathi (<i>this group</i>) [12]<br/> UNkz Candida Madalena (<i>Mrs. Candida Madalena</i>) [13]<br/> Abokudabuka eMozambique (<i>from Mozambique</i>) [16]<br/> Iningi labo (<i>the majority of them</i>) [17]</p> <p><b>Transitivity:</b></p> <p>Embalisela ngosizi ababhekane nalo (<i>narrating the tragedy they encountered</i>) [1]<br/> Lokugxoshwa ngabantu bakuleli (<i>of displacing by the local citizens</i>) [1]<br/> Obekhala mi izinyembezi (<i>who was weeping</i>) [2]<br/> Ongowokudabuka ezweni laseMozambique (<i>who is from Mozambique</i>) [2]<br/> Obengumhlali waselokishini lase-Alexandra eGoli (<i>who was staying in Alexandra township in Johannesburg</i>) [2]<br/> Ubebhaciswe kanye nabanye esiteshini samaphoyisa akulendawo (<i>was given refugee at Alexandra police station</i>) [2]<br/> Utshela (<i>she told</i>) [3]<br/> Abebehlala emijondolo yaseCator Manor kanye naseDalton (<i>who stayed at Cator Manor shacks and Dalton</i>) [6]<br/> Ububelu obenziwa ngabantu bakulawa mazwe (<i>the hospitality of the people from these countries</i>) [7]<br/> Kunyamfuka abantu/imithwalo zindodla (<i>filled with people/luggage everywhere</i>) [9]<br/> Besekuphele izinsuku ezintathu bekulisei sitetshi (<i>spent three days at this police station</i>) [9]<br/> Batshela leliphaphandaba (<i>told this newspaper</i>) [10]<br/> Sekunensuku bengagezi (<i>they have gone for days without bathing</i>) [10]<br/> Bayesaba ukuphindela ezindlini zabo hleze babulawe (<i>afraid to be ambushed and killed if they go back to their houses</i>) [10]<br/> Iningi labo likhale ngokuthi (<i>most of them complained about...</i>) [11]<br/> Belikujabulela ukuba kuleli lizwe ngenxa yokunotha kwalo ngamathuba emisebenzi (<i>they liked being in this country because of its many job opportunities</i>) [11]<br/> Kungcono babuyele ekhaya besadla ahlamvana (<i>it is better they return home when they are still alive</i>) [11]<br/> Baphila ngokudla izinkwa nejesi okulethwa ngabanhliziyozimnene (<i>they survive by eating bread and juice donated by well wishers</i>) [12]<br/> Usebenzisa izindlu zangasese ezine ukuzikhulula (<i>they use four toilets to relieve themselves</i>) [12]<br/> Odabuka eMalawi (<i>from Malawi</i>) [13]</p> |

**Table 6.3. Buthelezi, the messiah and the pitiable immigrants.**

In this story, Dr. Bhuthelezi holds hope for the future for the migrants, that their situation can be better. Just as Jesus healed people, Prince Buthelezi takes out something as personal as his handkerchief to wipe their tears off. When Prince Buthelezi seeks to locate a reading of the xenophobic tragedy in the history of Africa and South Africa's liberation struggle, he holds out promise for the redemption of Africa: a united Africa that outgrows colonial borders.

In trying to articulate a politics that might calm the ordinary citizens from attacking foreign African migrants, Prince Buthelezi falls for the cliché that the rest of Africa housed South Africans when the country was fighting the apartheid regime. According to the story, Buthelezi said Africans in South Africa “bayizihlobo zegazi zabantu bakulesi sifundazwe” [6] (*they are blood relatives to the people of this province*), “ubuze ukuthi ngabe abakuleli sebekhohliwe yini wububele obenziwe ngabantu bakulawa mazwe, ngesikhathi bebhacise abakuleli ngezikhathi zobandlululo?” [7] (*asked if South Africans have forgotten the compassion shown by people from these countries, at the time when they accommodated South Africans at the time of apartheid*). The most important issue that arises here is that when he calls African people blood relatives of South African citizens, he is referring to the blood of the liberation struggle. It is, however, interesting that he says “the people of this province” and not South Africans.

### **6.3.3. Zithi azifune kukhoseliswa izifiki by Nobuhle Mkhize on 26 May 2008**

This is a news story that concerns pleas by foreign African migrants in Durban displaced by xenophobic attacks that they be repatriated to their countries rather than be kept in ‘protection’ at the police station. The journalist and the newspaper specifically use the word ‘kukhoseliswa’, in the headline of the story, which means to be protected. It could be that the migrants do not regard this as protection but as some kind of imprisonment that the ‘camp’ has been equated to. According to the lead of the story the foreign African migrants have dismissed efforts by the government to bring them tents and mattresses and food so that they can be comfortable as they are protected at the camp. They argue that all they want is to go home, that is, their countries of origin. The story points out that the migrants do not want “ukubonelelwa ngezinto zokukhoselisa amakhanda ngoba lokhu kuzolula isikhathi zihleli kuleli” [2] (*to be provided with what will make them comfortable*

*because this will extend their time in this country*). This story also describes xenophobia in direct terms as “udlame lokucwasa ngokubuzwe” [1] (*violence associated with discrimination on the basis of nationality or ethnicity*).

It is ironic that the KwaZulu Natal provincial minister for Public Development, Meshack Radebe, visited the displaced immigrants on Africa Day, a day recognised as commemorating the unity of Africans across the continent. The irony arises out of the fact that xenophobia, as it pans out in South Africa, has been characterised as Afrophobia, that is, targeting only foreigners from the rest of Africa. It has been argued that it is mostly black people who are stopped and questioned by both the police and the citizens on suspicion that they are illegal immigrants. Asians, from Pakistan and other countries, have also had to suffer, and it is clearly due to their pigmentation. In a sense, xenophobia is biopolitical. It is hard to understand the political implications of the MEC’s timing of the visit and how he thought the immigrants will receive it.

#### **6.3.4. *Abavakashi abasalubhadi emalokishini kwesatshelwa ixenophobia* by Nonhlanhla Jele on 29 May 2019**

This is a business story on how xenophobic attacks on foreigners from Africa is likely to affect township tourism in and around the Durban area. The source of the story is the organisation, Tourism KwaZulu-Natali. The head of the organisation, Ndabo Khoza, points out that there are reports that a number of tourists are cancelling their bookings in hotels around the city. He notes that, however, the full implications of the recent xenophobic outbreak will be felt in six months’ time. Rather than constructing an image or representation of “izifiki” (*migrants*), this story constructs an image of “izivakatshi” (*visitors or tourists*) [5]. There is however a latent comparison of migrants to tourists in the story.

In this story, there is the use of the English word xenophobia as captured in the heading of the story where it is said “abavakatshi abasalubhadi emalokitshini kwesatshelwa ixenophobia” (*tourists shun townships over xenophobia fears*). This is important to note because in other stories, the newspaper, and the same reporter, has worked hard to describe this kind of violence as Afrophobia. The violence is described as “ukubheduka kodlame lokucwasa nokushaywa

kwezihambi kuleli” (*violence, discrimination and beating of travellers in this country*) [1]. The migrants are not referred to as “izifiki” (literally ‘arrivals’) as in other stories but “izihambi” (*travellers*). The use of travellers does not differentiate between a migrant and a tourist. In its description of xenophobia, the story therefore collapses the migrant and the tourist into travellers. Xenophobia is an active agent in this narrative and is expected to have detrimental effects on tourism. The story says “yize awukabonakali umphumela omubi odalwe” (*the negative effects are yet to be seen*) [5] and “emuva kwenyanga eziyisithupha leli ilizwe lizozisola” (*after six months, this country will regret*) [5]. The effects of xenophobia on tourism are expected to be visible after six months when the figures and the money brought in by tourism starts going down.

Besides xenophobia, township tourism is also constructed as an active agent that plays an important role in the economy of the province and the country. According to the lead the programmes have been suspended and “izindawo ezithintekayo i-Valley of Thousand Hills, ohlange eNanda, eMkhumbane, nasemalokishini okwaMashu naseMlazi” (*places that are affected is the Valley of a Thousand Hills, Nanda, Mkhumbane and KwaMashu and Mlazi townships*) [3]. In business reporting, in particular, and in media discourses, in general, there is a tendency to speak about business and the market as if they are humans. This nominalisation of the market is part of the ideology of the capitalist market economy.

The Tourism KwaZulu-Natali organisation is represented by two of its officials “yisikhulu esiphezulu, uMnu. Ndabo Khoza” (*top official, Mr. Ndabo Khoza*) [2] and “ngusihlalo webhodi, uDkt. Seshi Chonco” (*board chairperson, Dr. Seshi Chonco*) [9]. They both express disappointment on the way the government handled the xenophobia issue. Mr. Khoza “wezakalise ukukhathazeka ngendlela uHulumeni wakuleli ilizwe aluphethe ngayo udaba lokucwasa kwezihambi kuleli lizwe” (*expressed worry over the way the government of this country handled the discrimination of travellers in this country*) [8]. He still uses the word “izihambi” (*travellers*) as opposed to “izifiki” (*migrants*). The people who have been beaten, displaced and killed are migrants and not tourists. These officials ideologically collapse the distinction to feed the narrative that it is tourism that is under attack. There is a statement that is not clear when Dr. Seshi Chonco “wanxusa uHulumeni ukuthi abeke imithetho enqala yokulawula ukungena nokuphuma kwabantu bamanye amazwe kulelei” (*he challenged the government to lay down clear laws on how people*

*from other countries enter and leave this country*) [9]. It is not clear if at all this is a call for more controls on migration.

The tourists or visitors are constructed in various ways. They are, however constructed mostly around the xenophobic violence around the country. They are also constructed in relation to the world and the media spectacle around the xenophobic outbreaks. According to the officials the other problem is that “*ukuhlukunyezwa kwabantu abayizihambi kuleli bekwenzeka emehlweni omhlaba, izivakashi zizoba madolonzima ekutheni zivakashela kuleli*” (*since the violence against migrants in this country happened in full view of the whole world, visitors will be reluctant to visit South Africa*) [11]. What we get here is the power of the media in constructing certain views of people and places around the world. Table 6.5 in the next page illustrates the ambivalent construction of the tourists and the migrant in the story.

It is important to discuss the ambivalence between tourists and migrants as captured in the word *izihambi* (travellers). Bauman notes that we are all travellers as “*nowadays we are all on the move*” (1998: 77). However, Bauman (1998) points to the differences in the travelling subjects or subjects on the move: the tourist and the vagabond. The tourists are the privileged travellers, to whom borders are open and are welcomed wherever they go, while the vagabonds are the unwanted and illegalised migrants. The two travelling subjects are articulated by the consumption of globalisation. However, as much as “*both the tourist and the vagabond have been made into consumers, but the vagabond is a flawed consumer*” (Bauman, 1998: 96). Bauman further notes that these vagabonds suffer lack of resources to be able to afford the “*kind of sophisticated choices in which the consumers are expected to excel*” (1998: 96).

To Kristensen, “*the tourist is the winner in globalization, effortlessly surfing around the world, changing location at his or her leisure. [...] The vagabond is not, however, moving out of desire, but necessity. Fences, boundaries, and rules limit his or her movement*” (2008: 250 – 251). This story uses the hardships suffered by the ‘*vagabonds*’ to bemoan the fact that this will affect tourism. This has the ideological implication of hiding the fact that the tourist has always been regarded as white and from the West.

| Naming   | Transitivity   |
|--|--|
| <p>Izivakatshi (<i>visitors</i>) [4]<br/> Izivakatshi ezingamaphesenti angama 67 (<i>67 percent of the visitors</i>) [5]<br/> Abathengi abasuka emingceleni yakuleli (<i>traders from neighbouring countries</i>) [12]</p> | <p>Zihoxisa amaholide azo emahhotela akuleli (<i>cancelling hotel bookings in this country</i>) [4]<br/> Ziluqhamukisa ezwenikazi laseAfrica (<i>are from the continent of Africa</i>) [5]<br/> ngoOkthoba zitheleka ngezinkani (<i>in October the tourists come in numbers</i>) [7]<br/> eziluqhamukisa ezwenikazi lase-Afrika zifaka imali eyizigidigidi ezine ngonyaka (<i>tourists from Africa spend ZAR4 billion a year</i>) [10]<br/> sibheka ukuthi siphephile yini (<i>they consider their safety</i>) [10]<br/> Abathengi abasuka emingceleni yakuleli abathenga kuleli nsuku zonke (<i>traders from neighbouring countries who buy in this country daily</i>) [12]</p> |

**Table 6.4. Vagabonds and tourists**

**6.3.5. Bakhalela amathuba abokufika by Nonhlanhla Jele on 15 September 2011**

This is a short story of 11 paragraphs focusing on the foreign African nationals struggle to get jobs in South Africa. The story is sourced at an event where the foreign African nationals are participating at a dinner event graced by the KwaZulu-Natal premier, Dr. Zweli Mkhize. At the event, the reporter manages to get an interview with the leader of the Refugee Council, Mr. Baruti Amisi who points to the challenge of getting a permanent job in South Africa because of their status. Mr. Amisi points out how they have had to resort to menial jobs, part time jobs and studying with the hope of improving their chances of securing full time jobs.

Sourced from civil society spaces, the story seems to be located in the human rights (of the migrants) discourse. In discussing migrants and human rights, Ventura (2018) notes that the changing dynamics of migration means that it is difficult to cite or put emphasis on specific rights. Ventura notes that, although the United Nations’ Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951 attempts to safeguard “the human rights of those who are forced to migrate and to establish the states’ duties in terms of human solidarity [...] the convention has proven insufficient to respond to the increasingly complex dynamics” (2018: 1). The UN and UN-inspired migration rights focus on security and related rights for migrants and refugees, the source in this story is referring to rights that in normal instances are rights expected by citizens from their government.

According to the headline of the story “bakhalela amathuba abokufika” (*foreigners are pleading for opportunities*). This sounds like a demand to the government and to the job market by citizens. It raises questions on whether migrants can demand rights such as work, especially on the government in an environment where the citizens are rioting and killing some of them over the same jobs.

The refugee council and the migrants are constructed in certain ways. They are represented as “Otisha” [2] (*teachers*) and “Nonjiniyela” [2] (*engineers*) by training and profession but find that to live in the diaspora they have to take up menial jobs such as “onogada” [2] (*security guards*). From the tenor of the source’s voice and the story these are jobs that they consider to be beneath them. They are constructed as highly educated as “bebe beyikazela ngamajazi emfundo” [2] (*strutting their gowns around*), “waze waqoma ukuyoyenza iziqu zeMasters kulomkhakha nazo aseziphothulile” [5], and (*he decided to do a Master’s degree in crop science which he has completed*), and “uthi usenza ezobudokotela e-University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN)” [6] (*he is now pursuing a PhD at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN)*). However, they have a challenge in that “kodwa umsebenzi do ngaphandle kokwenza imisebenzi yesikhatshana engasho lutho” [6] (*he can’t find a job except for meaningless part time jobs*). This makes them precariats. Standing (2014) has been in the forefront of theorising the precariat. He argues that the middle class – which has always been characterised by assured employment - has splintered into two groups: the salariat, who are the employed, waged with non-wage forms of remuneration, and the proficians, who include small business people and entrepreneurs (2014: 10).

Standing further notes that there is an emerging class that he calls the precariat, who work “flexible” hours, mostly in temporary jobs, are “casuals,” or part timers (2014:10). This seems to be the jobs that migrants in South Africa are able to secure considering their conditions of noncitizenship. However, Munck strongly disagrees, arguing that the so-called precariat is genealogically located in the history of marginality, informality, and social exclusion, and, especially in the Global South, it is not anything new (2013: 748).

| Naming  | Transitivity  |
|---|---|
| <p>Umkhandlu olwela inhlalakahle namalungelo abokufika kuleli (<i>organisation that fights for the rights and wellbeing of foreigners in this country</i>) [1]<br/> USihlalo walumkhandlu (<i>chairperson of the organisation</i>) [2]<br/> Mnu. Baruti Amisi (<i>Mr. Baruti Amisi</i>) [2]<br/> Otisha (<i>teachers</i>) [2]<br/> Nonjiniyela (<i>and engineers</i>) [2]<br/> Imiphuphe onogada (<i>security guards</i>) [2]</p> | <p>Likhathazekile ngokungaqathswa lokunganakwa kwezifundiswa ezivela kwamanye amazwe ikakhulu eAfrika (<i>worried over the unemployment and neglect of graduates from other countries, especially in Africa</i>) [1]<br/> Udalule (<i>revealed</i>) [2]<br/> Abaphuma kulawa mazwe (<i>from these countries</i>) [2]<br/> Sebephenduke (<i>have become</i>) [2]<br/> Bebe beyikazela ngamajazi emfundo (<i>strutting their gowns around</i>) [2]<br/> Zibalelwa ema-23 izizwe ezingamalunga alomkhandlu ezizinze kuleli (<i>estimated 23 nations are members of this organisation here in South Africa</i>) [3]<br/> Odabuka eDR. Congo (<i>hails from the DRC</i>) [4]<br/> Useneminyaka eyi-15 ehlala kuleli (<i>he has been living in this country for 15 years now</i>) [4]<br/> Ushiye izwe lakhe ngenxa yezinxushunxushu zezombangazwe (<i>he left his country because of the political crisis</i>) [4]<br/> Ubengunonjiniyela ogxile emkhakheni wezolimo enspiliyoni seminyaka eyisi-9 (<i>he was a crop agriculture engineer with over 9 years experience</i>) [5]<br/> Ngokusho kwakhe (<i>according to him</i>) [5]<br/> Useyehluleke wancama ukutjholisa umsebenzi (<i>he has given up on finding a job</i>) [5]<br/> Waze waqoma ukuyoyenza iziqu zeMasters kulomkhakha nazo aseziphothulile (<i>he decided to do a Master's degree in crop science which he has completed</i>) [5]<br/> Uthi usenza ezobudokotela e-University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) (<i>he is now pursuing a PhD at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN)</i>) [6]<br/> Kodwa umsebenzi do ngaphandle kokwenza imisebenzi yesikhatshana engasho lutho (<i>he can't find a job except for meaningless part time jobs</i>) [6]<br/> Inhlangano yakhe iqale umkhankaso (<i>his organisation has started a campaign</i>) [7]<br/> Wokuya emalokishini abamnyama (<i>to visit black townships</i>) [7]<br/> Yakha ubudlelwane obuhle nabokufika (<i>building relationships with foreigners</i>) [7]<br/> Ubeyingxenywe yesidlo sakusihlwa phakathi kukaNdunankulu wakulsi sifundazwe (<i>he was part of a dinner event with the premier of this province</i>) [8]</p> |

**Table 6.5. Migrants and precarisation**

For Munck, the modern concept of precariat “misunderstands the complexity of class making and remaking and [. . .] acts as a colonising concept in the South in classic Eurocentric mode” (2013: 748). Migrants across the world have been seen to be part of this emerging precariat class. Table 6.5. in the previous page illustrates how this precarisation is constructed through language.

The premier, Dr Mkhize constructs the migrants in a specific way as well. He appeals to indigeneous knowledge arguing that “ukupha isihambi ukuzibekela” [11] (*to give something to a traveller (migrant) is to store it for ones’ future need*). This rings with the isiZulu proverb that “isisu somhambi singangesenyoni” (*a traveller’s stomach is as small as that of a bird*). It also rings with Dr. Buthelezi’s words in the second story analysed in this chapter where he reminds South Africans of what the rest of the continent did for them when they were fighting apartheid. Considering that some of these people here are saying they are running away from civil wars in their countries, both Dr. Mkhize and Dr. Buthelezi, seem to be suggesting that the rest of Africa had kept this hospitality for themselves when they hosted them back then. Dr. Mkhize goes further to point out that South Africans and the foreign African nationals to come together and discuss solutions to the challenges that all nations face in the continent.

#### **6.3.6. *Ukubulawa kowokufika wubugebengu hhayi i-xenophobia* by Intatheli Yelanga on 2 – 4 July 2015**

This is a story that, like most English stories, seeks to deny xenophobia and Afrophobia by casting it as criminal acts. This seems to suggest that there is a difference between criminality and xenophobia, as if xenophobia is not criminal. In a sense, it is a story that seeks to depoliticise the crime of killing people because they are from outside South Africa. The main source of the story is Mr. Fabian Gomez, a witness in the criminal case of the four young men accused of killing Emmanuel Sithole in May 2015. In his testimony, Mr. Gomez retells what happened and describes it as a routine crime. However, this leaves several issues unexplained. First, if at all, all the vendors at the sight where Emmanuel died are foreigners and if there are South African vendors, why Emmanuel Sithole was specifically the target. The witness and the newspaper, like the officials in the English stories, could be purposely occluding the fact that Emmanuel Sithole was targeted because he is a foreign national. The second point that is ignored is what kind of routine crime will

lead to the murder and stabbing of someone in public, so chilling that witnesses were afraid to intervene. This is always not explained by those who want to downplay the xenophobic, and therefore political nature of those killings.

The headline of the story “Ukubulawa kowokufika wubugebengu hhayi i-xenophobia” (The killing of the foreigner is criminal and not xenophobia) sets the denial mood of the article. The introduction extends this denial stating that “ukugwaza kubulawe uMnu. Emmanuel Josias Sithole [...] bekungahlangene nakancane nokuhlaselwa kwabantu bokufika kuleli” (*The stabbing and killing of Mr. Emmanuel Josias Sithole [...] was entirely not related to the xenophobic violence in this country*) [1]. The lead goes on to state that “kodwa bekuyisenzo sobugebengu” (*However, it was a criminal act*) [1]. Using the ideological strategy of narrativisation the story seeks to start from the beginning reporting “indaba isuke ngokuthathwa kwephakethe likagwayi” (*It all started when the accused took a packet of cigarettes without paying*) [3].

The cultural importance of the narrative is storytelling and in this it is seen as widely spread among the human race (Altman, 2008: 1). Altman notes that “Not only are stories universally told, stored, and analysed, but also they regularly occupy a place of honour in society. Stories constitute the bulk of sacred texts; they are the major vehicle of personal memory; and they are a mainstay of law, entertainment, and history” (2008:1). For Josselson the idea of narrative is premised on the idea that “people live and/or understand their lives in storied forms, connecting events in the manner of a plot that has beginning, middle, and end points” (2011: 224). In that sense, the world and the life that people live is seen as a series of narratives and the “stories that people tell about their lives represent their meaning making” (Josselson, 2011: 224). Court events are always a series of narratives and offer newspapers an opportunity for good copy. This story is a narrative that helps South Africans and Africans at large make sense of the scourge of xenophobia in the postapartheid moment. The story creates parallel between Emmanuel Sithole, Fabian Gomez and the accused.

In the English stories, there emerged numerous ways of denying xenophobia while talking about it. The elites, that is, journalists and the politicians, consistently denied xenophobia deploying a number of strategies. The first strategy is around naming where the English newspapers used

language in a way that downplayed xenophobia. Examples would be when the stories referred to xenophobia as “xenophobic violence”, “the murder”, “threats against foreign nationals”, “attacks against foreign nationals” or loosely as “grim attacks” or “criminal act”. The last one where it is referred to as criminal acts was consistent with downplaying this scourge as simple criminality. This seems to be the strategy taken by *Ilanga* newspaper here. The newspaper uses a witness who narrates a huge story on how the death of Emmanuel Sithole was simple criminality. While narratives are usually used in cases where a narrative that tells the story of the nation is cobbled up, here the narrative serves the same goals of pushing the elitist goals of denying xenophobia as it happens. The witness unwittingly serves the state from blame on its failure to deal with the xenophobic scourge. In the English stories, the court story, where the four men appear for the initial appearance in court, the police deny that what happened is xenophobia because they are apparently still investigating the matter. The NPA says it has evidence to get them convicted, yet the police say they have no evidence.

This story sums up the violence that young people in the multicultural townships are caught up in. The story describes the violence of a minor “oleminyaka eli-17 elingavezwanga igama lakhe ngenxa yeminyaka” [4] (*the accused aged 17 whose name was not revealed because of his age*) as being very violent. At a young age, he is seen in the morning “ephethe ibhodlela elinobhiya” [4] (*carrying a beer bottle*) and getting involved in scuffles where he “umvuvuzele ngawo emzimbeni” [4] (*he poured the beer on his body*), and as if that was not rude enough “umsolwa umshaye ngalo ekhanda” [4] (*the accused hit him with the bottle on his head*). In a sense violence constructs the subjectivity of these young black Africans in the townships in a significant way. They appear either as violent and criminal or as victims of violence.

Das and Kleinman note that it is “necessary to consider how subjectivity - the felt interior experience of the person that includes his or her positions in a field of relational power - is produced through the experience of violence and the manner in which global flows involving images, capital, and people become entangled with local logics in identity formation” (2000: 1). Whether this violence is xenophobic or plain criminality, it constructs the subjectivity of young people – especially males – in postapartheid South Africa in a significant way.

| Emmanuel Sithole   | Fabian Gomez   | Abasolwa (the accused)  |
|--|--|---|
| <p><b>Naming:</b></p> <p>Mnu. Emmanuel Josias Sithole (Mr. Emmanuel Josias Sithole) [1]<br/>Umufi (deceased) [3]</p> <p><b>Transitivity:</b></p> <p>waseMozambique (from Mozambique) [1]<br/>Wabulawa (was killed) [1]<br/>Ubenetafula adayisa kulo ugwayi nemifino (had a table where he was selling cigarettes and vegetables) [3]<br/>Umufi wabalandela (he followed them) [3]<br/>Efuno inkokhelo yakhe (to demand payment) [3]<br/>Wayetha umufi (the deceased was shocked) [4]<br/>Esathithibebe ebheke phansi umufi (when he was shocked looking down) [4]<br/>Esefulathele ebaleka umufi (when he was running away) [5]<br/>Ushaywe ngesipanela (he was hit with a spanner) [5]<br/>Wahlaselwa ngabasolwa sekukhona ophethe ummense (he was attacked by the accused and one of them bearing a knife) [5]<br/>Umufi ucoshe itshe watshaya koyedwa (he picked a stone and hit one of them) [7]<br/>Wasezama ukubaleka kodwa wawa base bemgwaza (he tried to flee but fell down and they stabbed him) [7]<br/>Uvukile umufi wagijima eqonde ngakuye (he rose and ran towards him) [8]<br/>Waya ngasekusithekeni (dragged to a hidden space) [11]<br/>Bobabili babalekele etendeni; lonebhizimisi yokugunda (they both fled to a tent where one man runs a barber shop) [8]<br/>Besathe bakhosele kulo (when they thought they were safe in the tent) [8]<br/>Kodwa kwaqhamuka omunye phambi kwakhe (someone else appeared in front of him) [10]</p> | <p><b>Naming:</b></p> <p>Ufakazi (witness) [2]</p> <p><b>Transitivity:</b></p> <p>Kushiwo (he said) [2]<br/>Ozibonele ukusuka lokuhlala kokuholele ekufeni kukaMnu. Sithole (who witnessed the beginning and end of what led to the death of Mr. Sithole) [2]<br/>Enkantoiilo yemantshi eGoli (at the magistrate's court in Johannesburg) [3]<br/>Utshela inkantolo (told the court) [3]<br/>Uthi abebekukela basebekhuza bememeza bebona ophethe ummense (those watching were shouting after seeing a knife) [6]<br/>Uthi naye uzamile ukulamula (he said he also tried to stop the fight) [6]<br/>Bobabili babalekele etendeni lonebhizimisi yokugunda (they both fled to a tent where one man runs a barber shop) [8]<br/>Besathe bakhosele kulo (when they thought they were safe in the tent) [8]<br/>Utshela umufi ukuthi abaleke (he told the deceased to flee) [10]<br/>Ngasekusithekeni kwamehlo ache akabe esbaona ukuthi kwenzekeni (they shielded him from seeing what happened thereafter) [11]</p> | <p><b>Naming:</b></p> <p>USizwe Mngomezulu [3]<br/>Umsolwa [...] elingavezwanga igama lakhe ngenxa yeminyaka (the accused whose name was not revealed because of his age) [4]<br/>uMthintu Bhengu [9]<br/>abasolwa (the accused) [10]<br/>Sifundi Mzimela [12]</p> <p><b>Transitivity:</b></p> <p>Iphakethe likagwayi lithathwe (the cigarette pack was taken by Sizwe) [3]<br/>Oleminyaka eli-17 elingavezwanga igama lakhe ngenxa yeminyaka (the accused aged 17 whose name was not revealed because of his age) [4]<br/>Ephethe ibhodlela elinobhiya (carrying a beer bottle) [4]<br/>Umvuvuzele ngawo emzimbeni (he poured the beer on his body) [4]<br/>Umsolwa umshaye ngalo ekhanda (he hit him with the bottle on his head) [4]<br/>Kuqhamuke ngemuva kwetende umsolwa, uMthintu Bhengu (The accused Mthintu Bhengu, appeared from behind the tent) [9]<br/>Bamhumbile umufi (they dragged the deceased) [11]<br/>Omunye umsolwa kulelicala nguSifundi Mzimela (another accused person in this trial is Sifundi Mzimela) [12]</p> |

**Table 6.6. The deceased, the witness and the accused.**

## 6.4. Conclusion

The elitist roots of isiZulu journalism raise challenges around its potential to enlarge the public sphere and allow as much people into a dialogic conversation of development issues that might affect them. While isiZulu print journalism and Zulu nationalism, which underpins it, might not be traced to similar sources, they both share a history of elitism. *Ilanga* newspaper, the oldest newspaper, emerged from the circles of *amakholwa*, mostly educated Zulu people who could read and write meaning that it was an exclusive circle that closed out a large number of people. Zulu nationalism has its roots in the elite Zulu people, around the Inkatha movement of the 1920s. The implications of this have been that, both Zulu nationalism and the isiZulu newspapers, and the public sphere it constituted appear as trapped in coloniality raising the need for decolonisation through radical translation. The imperative to pay serious attention to translation in the decolonisation of media and cultural studies is not only the dominance of the English media but the English forms of thinking; thinking about journalism and thinking about life. This means that the kind of translation needed to decolonise both English and isiZulu journalism should be a radical one that pays attention to cultural nuances. This is because the kind of translation that aims at achieving linguistic equivalences, and neglects cultural nuances, as discussed in the analysis of the stories, conceals a lot. The growth of online media spaces mean that English has been contested. This has become apparent in the way Black Twitter not only engages mainstream media outlets using indigenous languages but also use indigenous forms of thought processes to challenge media's settled opinions about itself. For example, a newspaper casts a headline online and refers to former president Jacob Zuma as 'ubaba' and a random twitterati calls them out for appropriation and tells them curtly that "You can't call him that. You are not part of us." This is when translation is seen as colonising. Historically, it has played a significant role in colonisation (Cheyfitz, 1991: 104). It has therefore become accepted that "colonialism and translation went hand in hand" (Bassnet and Trivedi, 1999: 3). The relationship between translation and colonialism is mutual such that translation takes place "within the asymmetrical relations of power that operate under colonialism" (Niranjana, 1992: 2).

## Chapter 7

# Afrophobia, neoliberal capitalism and memories of the African struggle

“This is the Johannesburg that we call *e’skhiweni* (white place). It is not only because we will be reefing to the large number of white people compared to where we come from. Actual, there are very few white people around Yeoville. But we call this place white, the streets here bear white names, names we struggle to pronounce, and even the buildings that we sleep in bear white names” – (Mr. Neube, Interview)

“Home is home. You can walk around [here] but you feel the difference. [When you walk around] here in South Africa, they take you as someone less, you don’t belong here. But at home, even if there is a war, you feel that it is home” – (Ms. Bibesho, Interview).

“Not only can my sister prepare some Nigerian dishes, including *kwasakwasa*, jollof rice, I wouldn’t know the difference, but she does. Her children straddle her Ndebele culture and her husband’s Igbo culture. Growing up in Johannesburg, they speak and learn isiZulu at school, they dance to South African music... While the children have been to Zimbabwe several times, all they know about their father’s heritage is through food” (Nokuthula, Interview).

### 7.1. Introduction

There are parts of Johannesburg that are multicultural spaces where people from across Africa and parts of Asia live together. These are colourful spaces of cultural creolisation. This chapter presents data from fieldwork and seeks to challenge the hegemonic narrative of black-of-black violence as the single narrative of postapartheid townships and impoverished spaces of Johannesburg. It reflects on how people in townships and other impoverished spaces of the city negotiate and understand their subjectivity and subjectivation in a postcolonial and postapartheid Johannesburg. The chapter is located in the urban cultural studies turn combining ethnographic research, observation, interviews and visual culture material. Urban cultural studies integrate urban studies and cultural studies in an “interdisciplinary way of approaching the culture(s) of cities” with an emphasis on the “textual dimensions” of the city (Fraser, 2015: 1, 15; Hoelscher, 2006; Barthes, 1987). The city itself is considered a text.

The chapter is organised in such a way that it starts by introducing ten of the interviewees, briefly telling their stories and how they came to Johannesburg. Five of the interviewees are from outside South Africa and five from inside South Africa. The next section discusses Johannesburg and the

coloniality of the architecture and the appearance of the city. Focusing on the suburbs of Berea, Hillbrow and Yeoville, the chapter discusses this coloniality in terms of the naming of streets and buildings, and the xenophobic violence in the streets. This coloniality is further explored in the section that follows where most of the people, especially immigrants, living in Johannesburg feel caught up at the borders even as they are within the city. The chapter also discusses how the media is deployed by immigrants to keep in touch with friends and family. After South Africa's independence in 1994, there has been a steady rise in the number of women participating in this regional migration. The chapter also discusses this changing female subjectivity. The relationship between African immigrants in Johannesburg and the local citizens is not always characterised by animosity and violence. This chapter also discusses how food and heritage are central to creolisation in the city that regards itself as the African City. What can be considered as xenophilia, rather than xenophobia, is in the context of how both African migrants and South Africans share fond memories of the African struggle.

## **7.2. Coming to Johannesburg**

People from across Africa and from provinces outside Gauteng within South Africa arrive in Johannesburg under different circumstances. Some people are in Johannesburg because they are running away from real threats to their lives like war. Others are in the city, famed as the city of Gold, to advance their careers. Most of the interviewees featured here emphasise that they came to South Africa's commercial capital to look for work. The old migrant labourer created by the colonial and apartheid governments persists albeit under the neoliberal colonial presence. This section discusses and analyses various ways in which various people came to Johannesburg. This information is gleaned from the interviews conducted with a sample of both African migrants and local black South Africans in Yeoville, Hillbrow and Berea. What is contained here is an attempt to provide individual narratives of how they came into Johannesburg to settle in South Africa's commercial capital.

### *7.2.1. Nkosinathi, (not his real name), 43, male, married, Zimbabwean*

According to this interviewee, he grew up in Beitbridge, an area that is at the border of Zimbabwe and South Africa. He notes that when he got to Johannesburg, it was his first time to experience

city life. For some Africans, coming to Johannesburg is coming to the city and migration to Johannesburg can be thought of as being in the same category as 'rural-urban' migration. The difference is that there is a border between the rural home and the city of Johannesburg. Nkosinathi cannot recall specifically when he came to Johannesburg and gives 1995/1996 as the period of his arrival in South Africa's commercial capital. He says, "it was tight because it was as if the strict apartheid police were still heavily on the streets. On the road soldiers and police would still arrest people". This was a year or two after South Africa attained freedom in 1994. This interviewee notes how when he arrived in Johannesburg, he was not interested in relatives: "I wanted to live on my own. As a young man, I wanted to live my life." He says in those early years, he stayed at Park Station (a big bus station in Johannesburg), sleeping outside, and was homeless for a while, bathing at a hostel in Westgate. Nkosinathi says after struggling in South Africa, he briefly left the country in 2010 and went back to Zimbabwe, where "I started a small business, which is a bottle store." He says, "I came back to South Africa in 2015 and did some marketing jobs."

#### *7.2.2. Mr. Abenge, (Not his real name), 46, from Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)*

For some time, Mr. Abenge worked with the migrant community through the African Diaspora Foundation (ADF), which is an organisation that brings together African migrants in South Africa. In that he lives legally in South Africa, he can be counted among the elites among the migrants. He describes himself as "an academic, activist, and service provider." Mr. Abenge says he came to South Africa in 2002 from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

"Life back home was a big life, I come from an influential family," he says. "My grandfather was a revolutionary, one of the few Congolese who started the liberation struggles in 1944. He was the first indigenous military officer to organise mutiny against colonisers. I'm not happy to be in a foreign country because back home I have a big legacy."

Mr. Abenge ties home with the idea of fighting for human liberation during colonial rule and in the postcolony. He puts emphasis on the family and paradoxically notes that, under dictatorship conditions that pushed him out of his home country, the DRC, if you want "to survive [...], you should disassociate yourself from your family."

Even when he arrived in South Africa, he had to rely on “a cousin who has since gone back to the DRC. I stayed with this cousin for six months, from about March to September 2002. I then found a job and moved out.”

Mr. Abenge says he longs to be back in the DRC and cannot regard South Africa as home because of the xenophobia phenomena that he dealt with more closely in his work with the ADF.

### *7.2.3. Mr. Chris Okonkwo, (Not his real name), 40, Male, Delta State in Nigeria*

Chris Okonkwo says he arrived in Johannesburg, South Africa on Christmas Day in 2006 after a gruelling road trip from the DRC.

“I came here for a better life,” he says. “From Nigeria, I flew to the DRC and then came by road to Johannesburg. I always wanted to move overseas. This is because of what we saw in the media and saw on social media, Facebook pages, of Nigerians who had moved overseas. Because of social media, in the mind of Nigerians or other West Africans, you can make it in life quickly in the West than in Nigeria. That partly made me long to leave the happiness at home behind.”

Mr. Okonkwo said, while he was in Nigeria, he kept in touch with relatives and friends who are overseas and in South Africa. As a result, when he arrived in South Africa, he moved in with a Nigerian friend in Rossetenville, Johannesburg. He is one of the few migrants who highlight the fact that they were never chased by any challenges from home, but the dreams for a better life as seen in the media, including social media.

### *7.2.4. Ms. Esperance Bibesbo (pseudonym), 31, Female, from Bujumbura in Burundi*

Ms. Esperance Bibesho is a single woman who has lived in South Africa since 2007. She says she left her country because of a civil war.

“I felt I wasn’t safe because of the abductions, killings and disappearances,” she says. “My brothers and relatives were killed at that time. I came to South Africa all by myself. When I left my country, I didn’t know where I was going. I didn’t come straight to South Africa. I used the bus from Bujumbura and went to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and then went to Mozambique. I stayed for one week in Tanzania, then took a bus to Mozambique and stayed another one week there. During that time, I was making inquiries about South Africa.”

Ms. Bibesho says when she arrived in Johannesburg, she had no relatives to turn to and, on advice from some people she met in her ‘border jumping,’ she went to the home affairs at Marabastand in Pretoria, where she was given asylum documents allowing her three months’ stay. She says she always renews her asylum documents after six months or one year. Ms. Bibesho worked for nine years as a domestic servant for a Congolese family in Sandton, South Africa’s richest suburb.

*7.2.5. Ngqabutho Mabhena (real name), 43, Male, from Matabeleland in Zimbabwe*

Mr. Mabhena is the chairperson of the Zimbabwe Community in South Africa (ZCSA). His organisations share offices with the African Diaspora Forum (ADF) and in previous years they used to operate from offices in Yeoville. However, they have now moved to the city centre and operate from a building opposite to ANC’s Luthuli House. After making an appointment for the interview with Mr. Mabhena and he had given me an address in the city centre, I recall telling a brother how I hate going to the city centre as it exposes one to random crime. I have been robbed in the city centre of Johannesburg before and always afraid to prance in the city. I needed the interview for my research and had to be brave.

We sat down at the new offices of the ADF for the interview and I asked Mr. Mabhena to tell me when and how he came to Johannesburg. He spoke in a strong baritone voice.

“I settled in South Africa in 1997” he said. “When I came here it was quiet, I had no problems of being harassed. I could speak isiNdebele, close to isiZulu and the community I lived in took it that I spoke a South African language. Probably, it was not easy for them to dictate that I am a foreign national.”

Mr. Mabhena said when he first arrived in South Africa he settled in Orlando East in Soweto before he moved to central Johannesburg. By Central Johannesburg he refers to spaces such as Hillbrow, Yeoville and Berea that are now home to many foreign nationals.

“At the time, the majority of the people who lived there (Central Johannesburg) were South Africans” he says.

Asked on what made him leave Zimbabwe, Mr. Mabhena said he was in South Africa country for better job opportunities.

“Although Zimbabwe was not all that bad,” he said. “We felt it was better to work here in Johannesburg”.

*7.2.6. James (not real name), 56, Male, from KwaZulu-Natal province, South Africa*

James comes from KwaZulu-Natal where for most of the time his life was lived in between Durban and rural KwaZulu-Natal. He lives in Johannesburg with his immediate family, which is wife and children, especially during school holidays. However, during school terms the children attend school in the townships in Durban. James, however claims his origin in KwaZulu-Natal where his parents and the rest of the extended family live.

“It is jobs that have taken me to urban areas like eThekweni, I have been to urban Eastern Cape when I used to work for some company, driving deliveries between Durban and KZN,” he says. “However, I have ended up here eGoli (Johannesburg)”.

James still works as a driver. He drives delivery trucks for a chain of supermarkets. Asked on how he came to Johannesburg, he says it was about ten years back when the company he was working for transferred him to one of Africa’s busiest cities.

“Previously, I had only been here, in this city, passing to other parts of the country,” he says. “My job as a driver has taken me across the country. I, however came to live and work in this big city about ten years ago. That is how I settled here in Yeoville, and got to live with a lot of people from across Africa.”

James said, in the early years, it was difficult to relate to people who speak many different languages, but over the years he has adapted and believes what he sees in Johannesburg is a completely different culture and community.

“I don’t know what to call it, but what I know is that it is not there back where I come from,” he says. “I also know that it is not there where each and every one of us comes from. It is only possible here in Johannesburg”.

*7.2.7. Johannes, (not his real name), 43, Eastern Cape, South Africa*

Johannes works for a legal foundation that assists mostly people who cannot afford to pay for a lawyer. He was born in the Eastern Cape, *ezilalini* (rural areas), like he will put it. Johannes says he came to Johannesburg some twenty years ago as a young man.

“After my matric, I took up some studies in accounting and economics at a college back home in the Eastern Cape,” he says. “I then worked for some companies back there in King Williams’ Town in the Eastern Cape.”

He says he moved to Johannesburg and his first job in the big city was as a security officer.

“It was tough, but I knew someday I would get my break.”

He says he used to live in the city centre in those days.

“I was staying with some people from home,” he says. “We stayed as amaXhosa back then. We have, however split and now each live on their own. I stay with my wife and children here.”

Johannes says when he moved to Berea that is when he got exposed to people from across the continent in a huge way.

“I may not speak their languages but we relate very well,” he says.

Johannes says, as a member of the African National Congress (ANC), he had heard a lot of stories about Africa from seniors who had been to exile.

#### *7.2.8. Nothando, (not her real name), 27, female, from the Eastern Cape*

“All I can say is that I was born here in Johannesburg, and I go to the Eastern Cape to visit my grandparents at least once in a year,” Nothando says. She said it is her mother who has a strong connection to their rural home in the Eastern Cape, otherwise for her, her life is around Johannesburg.

She says, as a family they have never owned a house in Johannesburg and have been renting from townships to Central Johannesburg.

“For now, we have lived a long time here in Yeoville and at that specific flat where we stay,” she says. “We started living there when I was still a teenager. I finished my schooling here in Yeoville after moving from schools in Soweto and Alexandra, as my family moved from place to place. We even lived in Hillbrow at some time, but we have settled for a long time here”.

Nothando said she has friends from all over Africa.

“I have friends from Zimbabwe, Swaziland and other countries including Mozambique,” she said.

“I have friends from across the country, from Mpumalanga and from KwaZulu Natal and Limpopo. I have dated men from across this continent and this country. To me, people are people, and they are all motivated by similar emotions; love, anger, sadness.”

7.2.9. *Mary, (not her real name), 32, female, from Mpumalanga province, South Africa*

Mary says she has been living in Johannesburg for the past 11 years as she came to the city of Gold immediately after her 21<sup>st</sup> birthday.

“After I completed my Grade 12, I could not proceed with my education due to a combination of issues that include poor marks and lack of finance,” she says. “I also could not get a job. I had a baby when I was 19 and life was becoming tough”.

Mary says she left her daughter with the grandmother, her mother and went to Johannesburg with the hope of a better chance to be employed.

“However, it is dry here as well,” she says. “Mostly what one can get are part time jobs *emakhishini* (maid). In restaurants, the salaries and working conditions are hectic. Imagine one has to catch a taxi about two times in some cases.”

Mary says when he first got to Johannesburg he lived in townships with relatives as well but with time they parted and she has been on her own “for many years now”.

“I started living here in Hillbrow about four years ago,” she says. “The advantage of Hillbrow is that, it is central, almost central because I can reach Sandton and other suburbs that offer job opportunities easily.”

7.2.10. *Zandile, (not her real name), 26, female, from KwaZulu Natal, South Africa*

Zandile did not complete her Grade 12. She fell pregnant and gave birth to a baby boy in her tenth year at school. She says when her son was 2 years old, she left him with her grandparents and had to trek to Pietermaritzburg and then onward to Johannesburg to look for a job to fend for her child. “It has been a struggle,” she says. “I am struggling to look after myself here, and have to struggle to send anything home. In some months, I can’t afford accommodation.”

Asked if she would rather choose to struggle here in Johannesburg than to go back home, or Pietermaritzburg at least, Zandile has no regrets.

“Johannesburg is a bigger city and there are better opportunities, or there are chances of getting something here, even part time than in Pietermaritzburg. Off course there are struggle, but it is a kind of life where you can at least get something and send home.”

Zandile said at times she has to rely on what she can get from her ‘boyfriends’ to send home.

“I need to be with a man many times so that they can assist me to supplement the little I can raise myself,” she says. “The jobs that we women can do here are paying very little compared to the jobs that men do. Women like me, who did not complete their education, can only work as maids or cleaners at construction sites; but men can do serious jobs in the construction site and earn far more than we do.”

Zandile says she has never stayed anywhere in Johannesburg except in Yeoville.

“When I arrived here, I was very beautiful, and it was easy to have men around me,” she says. “I am getting old, and I ask myself how I will manage in future.”

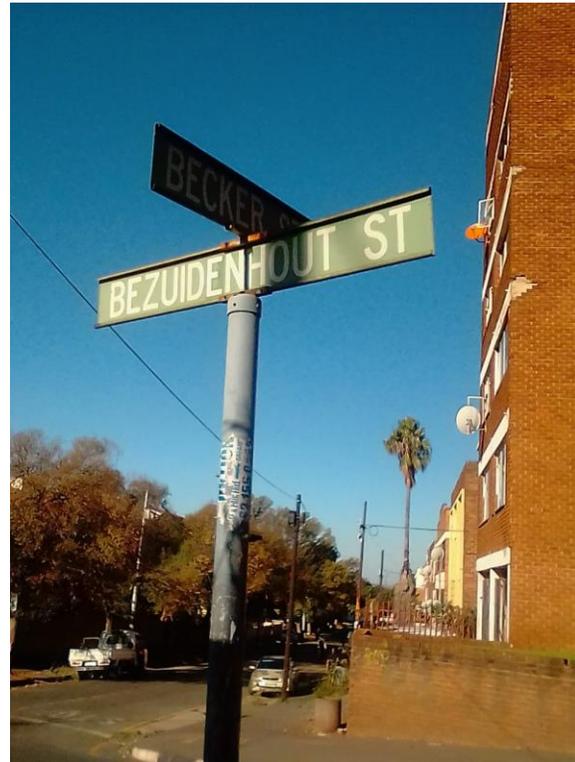
### **7.3. Johannesburg: Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville**

Johannesburg is central to the history of urbanization in South Africa, sub-Saharan Africa and the world as its emergence, inextricably linked to the concentration of colonial capital around mining settlements, made it a global metropolis and nodal point of global capital. Beyond the economy, the city is central to the culture of the country (and the continent) such that it “is where the evolving story of the new South Africa is most fully played out and where it is most carefully monitored and vigorously appraised” (Murray, 2011: 1). For most Africans who migrate to the city, what stands out is that Johannesburg is a concrete jungle with tall imposing buildings like New York. The place aspires to be a global city (Acuto and Steele, 2013; Sassen, 1991). This is a Johannesburg still caught up in both the coloniality of apartheid and neoliberalism. The fingerprints of apartheid still stand out in the streets and buildings. The spatial arrangements under apartheid still persist. The difference is that suburbs like Hillbrow, Yeoville and Berea, which are in central Johannesburg, and have previously been occupied by white migrants from Europe, are now mostly occupied by black migrants from the rest of the African continent. In this section, I attempt an analysis of coloniality in two cases that include migrant African communities in Johannesburg South Africa. The first case is the politics of naming around streets and buildings, and how the built environment alienates black African migrants, who feel as if they live in a place that they cannot fully inhabit. The second case is the persistence of xenophobia as anti-black violence. Here, I argue that xenophobia as it plays out in Johannesburg is not solely a South African problem but an African predicament.

### ***7.3.1. The politics of naming and the coloniality of the city***

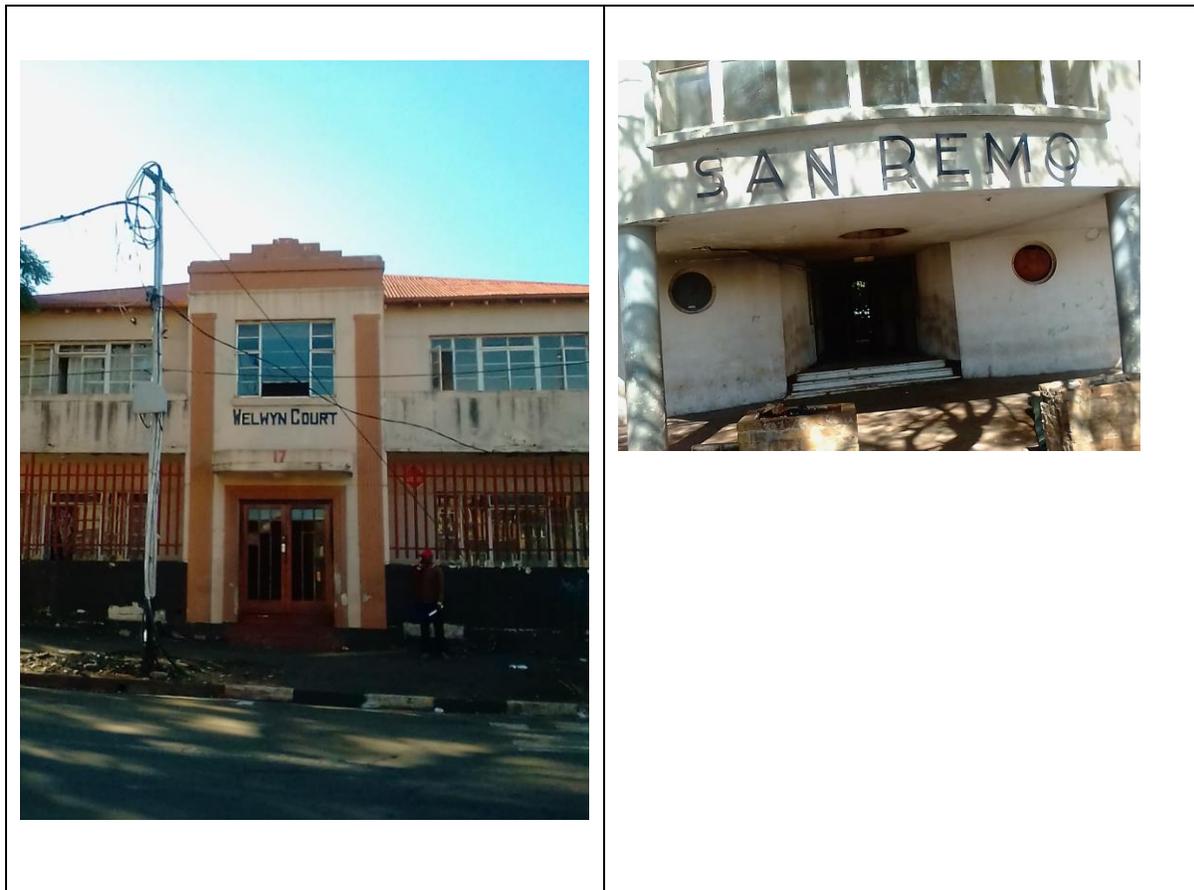
African migrants in Johannesburg stay in specific places. Some stay in townships, while others stay in Johannesburg Central in such places as Yeoville, Berea and Hillbrow, among others. There are spaces in Johannesburg that are known for a huge African immigrant's population. This means that they have to interact with the built environment around them. Streets and buildings hail the migrants in certain ways.

South African authorities have over the years grappled with the politics of naming in terms of streets and buildings. In the city centre in Johannesburg, nearly all the streets and major buildings have been renamed after the African liberation heroes including Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Reginald Luthuli, just to mention a few. This is a deliberate effort to 'decolonise' the city. However, Yeoville streets and buildings still bear apartheid names. In terms of naming, the streets that these many African migrants walk daily and the buildings they live in are still in the apartheid era. The buildings are now worn-out and their occupants have changed in terms of racial demographics. In a sense, in the architecture of Yeoville, Berea and Hillbrow, black African migrants live surrounded by coloniality and their lives are structured by "the colonial presence" of apartheid names. Colonial presence refers to "the performative force of colonial modernity" (Gregory 2004: 4). If the city's architecture, the street names and the buildings names, gives city dwellers specific subject positions, migrants in Yeoville are hailed by coloniality every day.



*Fig 7.1.: Street signs bearing street names in Yeoville.*

The four images (Fig. 7.1. and 7.2.) in this section illustrate the spatial composition of Johannesburg where the migrants live alongside South African citizens. In terms of naming the streets and buildings still carry the apartheid or colonial names that they carried in the years before 1994. In a sense, every migrant - be it from the former Bantustans or from the rest of Africa - when they enter South Africa and settle in Hillbrow, Yeoville or Berea - and other such inner-city suburbs - they still enter apartheid South Africa in terms of naming. The Afrikaans named streets and European named buildings still hail them as apartheid subjects. The buildings are mostly aged and neglected and some of them outrightly vandalised. Under normal circumstances no one would live in them. However, the situation is so bad that some people live in vandalised buildings without basic amenities like water and electricity. They prefer to live in such buildings because they don't pay rent. Some live in what are called hijacked buildings with water and electricity but the thugs who would have hijacked the buildings do not pay the municipality for the provisions of these services.



**Fig 7.2: Worn out buildings in Yeoville that are occupied by migrants.**

The fact that the buildings, most of them worn out, that the migrants live in still bear the names they were given by their private owners under the apartheid regime, has a huge bearing in the way that these migrants come to imagine their self-identity. For most of the people who migrate into Johannesburg, the streets and the buildings, in the spaces that they occupy in this city, still mirrors the image of a white South Africa that they have carried with them from their home countries. Ncube, an almost 65 years old man from Zimbabwe, says this is the Johannesburg that they have always called “*e’skhiweni*” (a white place). “This is what we mean,” he says. “It is not only because we will be referring to the large number of white people, compared to where we come from, but the city is white, the streets bear white names and even the buildings that we sleep in”. Ncube came to Johannesburg before South Africa’s independence in 1994.

“I arrived here just after Mandela was released from prison in 1990,” he says. “I lived in the townships at that time. It was an important time, a miraculous time as South Africa’s impending

liberation was unfolding. Important, we were given the Zimbabwe-South Africa IDs at around that time. That is the document that I use to stay in this country until now. Mandela recognised us as part of the country he took over in 1994". This is a Johannesburg that Ncube and others cannot fully inhabit but will constantly remind them, in its naming and architecture that they are travellers.

The pictures (Fig 7.1. and 7.2.) taken towards sunset show neat and clearly labelled streets crisscrossing each other against buildings of all kinds. These buildings range from high rising six-storey buildings and flat buildings. The poles that carry the street names also work as media or a medium of advertising from rooms to rent, space to rent, penis enlargement and abortions offers. This is how the people in this environment try and alter it to their liking or on their own image. The mobile phone number is always huge so that the prospective clients can easily capture it. The tall buildings were built by migrant black labour but the rentals are not affordable to a large army of these workers. The buildings are dilapidated as landlords collect rent and invest little in maintaining the buildings. In high rentals and the high cost of living, we can say we can see Karl Marx's concept of alienation at work. We can see alienation in terms of class, economics and cultural. In street names and the building names, the whitening of the environment, we can see the racial or cultural alienation. The place is white. They may try and impose their fingerprints here and there, but the truth is that the environment is white. They can only meet as black Africans in a white environment.

### ***7.3.2. The spectre of xenophobia haunts postcolonial Africa***

Xenophobic violence that continually breaks out in townships might appear like a phenomenon localised to South Africa. However, as this section shall illustrate, the spectre of xenophobia and violence haunts postcolonial Africa. Xenophobia is linked to migration and the border and the geography of it is the urban space. It does happen in farms or peri-urban spaces where capital gathers people together, but most of the time it is in urban. While in the stories in both chapters 5 and 6, we discussed xenophobia or Afrophobia that manifests itself as local citizens against black African migrants, in this case, we explore a complex form of this hatred of the other. As it manifests itself in Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville, there are many ways in which xenophobia plays out as entangled to ethnocentrism, tribalism and genocide.



*Fig 7.3.: Graffiti, which can be regarded as hate speech, on the walls of a building on the corner of De La Ray and Cavendish streets in Yeoville, Johannesburg, in February 2019.*

The graffiti on the first picture with the words “NDEBELE MUST BE KILLED” appeared on the wall of a big flat on the corner of De La Ray and Cavendish streets in Yeoville, Johannesburg sometime in February 2019. This is a building where hundreds of people stay. When it first appeared, for a moment, I asked myself if Ndebele referred to a person as in Mr. Ndebele or an ethnic group as in Ndebele people of Southern Zimbabwe or Mpumalanga province. The walls and the surroundings of the building are dirty. People urinate against this wall once drunk. There are papers, beer bottles and cigarette stubs are thrown around in the of many urine pools. The flat is not painted in one single colour. on one place it is red. On yuet another side it is a dull greyish colour. The words "NDEBELE MUST BE KILLED" are written in yellow against a dull greyish background. I, however, had a strong feeling that the word Ndebele referred to an ethnic group. Then I asked myself who could have produced it. I wondered if it could be South African citizens. South African citizens in general would not pick on the Ndebele ethnic group but refer to Zimbabweans. However, it is a long-held belief that there is a long standing ‘brotherly’ grudge between the Zulu people of South Africa and the Ndebele people of Zimbabwe over cattle raided

from King Moshoeshoe in what is today Lesotho and the founding king of the Ndebele people, Mzilikazi Khumalo, refused to hand over to King Shaka of the Zulu nation (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009). I also wondered if it was a Shona person, that is, a case of Zimbabwean tribalism playing out in the diaspora. The story of Zimbabwean tribalism and its dynamics is well rehearsed (Sithole, 1957). However, of late the Ndebele and the Kalanga people have been fighting a lot especially on Facebook. I wondered if it could be Kalanga people.

In April, when I returned to the same location, there was another message, something that appeared like a response. As the second picture (Fig 7.3.) shows, the words "SHONA GO BACK TO ZIM" were written on blue against a red background. 'Zim' is short for Zimbabwe. This time I did not wonder if Shona refers to a person or an ethnic group. The first message seemed to stabilise the meaning of the second message for me. I was also convinced that it is a Ndebele person who had authored this in response to the earlier message. This second message convinced me that this had nothing to do with South African citizens. I doubt South Africans know Zimbabweans that much to differentiate between Ndebele or Shona. I took it this is Zimbabwean ethnic politics playing out in Johannesburg. It is important to explain how Zimbabwean ethnic politics, or any other ethnic politics from across Africa, sheds into xenophobia in Johannesburg, South Africa. It has become common to have these ethnic animosities in other African countries spilling into South Africa. The case under discussion here reveals how Zimbabwean ethnocentrism and tribalism spills in to the Zimbabwean diaspora, including South Africa. There have been reports of tremors from the Rwandese genocide playing out in South Africa where some military personnel are said to be prowling the streets of Johannesburg hunting for the enemies of the current president. Igbo nationalists from Nigeria are organising within South Africa with the hope that someday they will have their own country. English speaking Cameroon nationalists are also organising within their country's diaspora community in South Africa with the hope of sovereignty one day. These ethno-nationalist developments always take the form of tribal and ethnocentrism factionalism. The spectre of xenophobia and genocide haunts Africa.

#### **7.4. At the border in the city centre**

This section discusses how borders move from the margins into the city. The daily survival strategies of excluded African Others in Johannesburg is part of resisting the colonality of the border. It can be regarded as decolonial politics. According to one interviewee, Nkosinathi from Zimbabwe, who grew up in Beitbridge, an area that is at the border of Zimbabwe and South Africa, he has always physically lived at the border. This was even when he was in a country he calls home. He points to issues like how in his village, they have always felt that Beitbridge is abandoned by the central government such that “we have never really felt as part of Zimbabwe, as Zimbabweans.” Nkosinathi says even back home they felt they lived at the border both geographically and mentally. He says although they referred to themselves as Zimbabwean Venda people, they looked up to South Africa for survival including jobs. Their siblings who went to work in Johannesburg sent back home groceries, which was the food they used to supplement what they grew in their fields. In Johannesburg, Nkosinathi feels he has lived most of his life at the border as well. He emphasises how the ‘border’ always structures the life of migrants.

Mr. Okonkwo, whose main goal was to follow other young people like him to Europe or Australia, has lived a life of ‘in-betweenness’ in Johannesburg. He says he arrived in Johannesburg, South Africa on Christmas Day in 2006 after a gruelling road trip from the Democratic Republic of Congo. In how he came to South Africa with the objective of going overseas, Mr. Okonkwo draws our attention to another sense of a border in South Africa. For migrants like Mr. Okonkwo, who move not because they are pushed by any conditions at home, but are pulled by a beautiful life they see mostly on media platforms, South Africa is a stop gap measure. Their target is to get to the West, to Europe, Australia or the US. The many years that they spend in South Africa are more like many years spent ‘at the border’ where someone has left their home, is yet to reach their destination (their target) and is in that in-between space we call a border. For Ms. Bibesho, who has worked for nine years as a domestic servant for a Congolese family in Sandton, Johannesburg is a classic diaspora space, where the diaspora is a place of pain that you live in because of fear of returning home. She says, “I manage by keeping in touch with people back home through Facebook and WhatsApp.”

It is clear that there are many ways in which the people in Johannesburg live their lives at the border even though they are geographically within South Africa. The rejection and lack of acceptance that comes with xenophobia and Afrophobia is one of the main psychological border that they have to contend with. To be at the border is to be alienated. According to Giddens and Sutton (2014) alienation refers to the separation or estrangement of human beings from some essential aspect of their nature or from society. In this case, to be at the border is to be alienated from the nation and as a result from one's identity. Alienation is seen as resulting in feelings of powerlessness or helplessness (2014: 46). It is clear from the interviews that belonging is a key emotion that migrants in Johannesburg grapple with. Living in Johannesburg without being accepted, as is clear in xenophobia, deepens the crisis of belonging among the migrants. In a Johannesburg that is alienating, the body, therefore remains at the border. Ms. Bibesho, speaks to this point, in the context of rampant xenophobia in South Africa:

Home is home. You can walk around but you feel the difference. (When you walk around) here in South Africa, they take you as someone less, you don't belong here. But at home even if there is a war, you feel it is home. However, here they can chase you, kill you, treat you any way they want because you don't belong to South Africa.

Xenophobia alienates migrants from South Africa – as a nation - and stops them from embracing the country as a home. Even though there may be challenges where these migrants come from, they still feel attached to those areas because, to them, home bestows freedom, dignity, and human liberation. In encountering xenophobia, they grapple with the struggle to be human and to belong. For most migrants, choosing to remain 'at the border' even though inside South Africa, is a survival strategy. In that the perpetrators of xenophobia, on their own, are wrestling with issues of dehumanisation (in poor service delivery in the ghettos) and somehow feel that 'migrants or foreigners' are part of the problem, it can be argued that xenophobia represents a space where issues of home and diaspora collide.

Struggling to access government services such as health services is another border that they have to put up with. As much as the border could be a space where the government sorts out migrants, into desirables and undesirables, in a sense to 'see' them, migrants may also be using the border to see the government. For some, it is how close they can come to the government. Most of the interviewees speak about such neglect in many spaces, including clinics and other public offices.

Mr. Abenge says an increasing number of migrants have complained about the neglect and treatment by government officials, including the police, who make them pay bribes. As much as it would seem like migrant communities use the social media to connect, by sharing their experiences on line, and in that way feel like they belong to a big family of migrants, they also use these social media to watch and see the government in South Africa.

There are also ways in which the migrants themselves refuse to leave their countries and be fully immersed in the affairs and goings on in South Africa. The diaspora is a space of ambivalence as migrants use their culture to simultaneously close themselves from South Africa and also as cultural capital to negotiate engagement. In this paragraph, I discuss how they use culture to create their own border. Elsewhere in this chapter, I discuss how they use culture as cultural capital to negotiate their engagement in South African communities. Africans who migrate from other African countries to South Africa bring with them specific cultural practices around music, dance and food. These are part of their cultural heritages. It is important to point out that these cultures are different and do not form one cultural heritage, but in their differences, it would be best to refer to them as cultural heritages that are tied to ethnic differences across different countries and the entire African continent. When these migrants reach Johannesburg in South Africa, they want to preserve these cultural heritages for many reasons. In as much as South African society may keep migrants at the border through xenophobia and challenges at government institutions; these migrants also revoke their agency by actively keeping themselves at the border.

However, Johannesburg as a black diaspora is not only riddled with xenophobic violence, but is also a space for black agency in terms of creating new cultural sensibilities, and with them a cultural legacy. Attempts to create borders, even within the city of Johannesburg, either by the 'citizens' when they rampage in xenophobic attacks on non-citizens who are mostly African Others or by the state through its many arms such as the police and clinics, have been met with resistance strategies by the targets of these borders. African Others are using the strategy of bordering to resist the violence of the nation and the state's violence on them. Through, for example, bringing their own cultures to Johannesburg, especially around food, Africans keep themselves in imposed borders. Black people in Johannesburg, mixing and mingling across national boundaries and other boundaries, around traditional dishes from different parts of the continent, are involved in what can be regarded as a decolonial praxis project. Through simultaneously creating and transgressing

borders, these postapartheid South African subjects are involved in a project of creating something new, maybe something that is only possible in Johannesburg, as a specific geographic site.

## **7.5. Emotions, belonging and the media**

In ethnographic interviews with African migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa, I observed that most of them expressed nostalgia and emotional longing for home, family and what these institutions stand for. This longing is sometimes mixed with strong feelings of repulsion or resentment against some people and aspects of home. However, online spaces such as family groups on the social media of Facebook and WhatsApp play a role of bridging the gap and bringing people together. There is a way in which social media groups are imagined as ‘home’ or ‘family’. True to the idea that you cannot choose family, even on social media groups, my interviewees said, even when they have to interact with members of the family they resented, they still had to ‘pretend’ and play ‘happy families’. For African migrants in South Africa, the actual and offline family dynamics and its emotional investments play out on online groups enabled by the digital media across borders and transnationally. Although migration, world over, has always been an emotional investment underwritten by emotions of separation and loneliness between spouses, siblings and children and parents, issues of emotions in migration have recently garnered attention (Boccagni and Baldassar, 2017; Gomez-Estern and de la Mata Benitez, 2013). In the Global South regional migration, exemplified by the migration between South Africa and other African countries, issues of emotions and affect have largely been neglected.

The conditions under which migrants in South Africa live are overdetermined by xenophobia, which plays a huge role in the migrants’ sense of belonging. Nkosinathi points to ways in which ‘family’ in Johannesburg is different from ‘family’ back home in the country of origin. Family relationships back in the country of origin are based purely on blood and social kinship. However, in Johannesburg families are commodified: “Life is expensive in Johannesburg. People care about what you are bringing onto the table. Blood is not enough.” Ahmed, Castaneda, Fortier and Sheller note that “home and migration cannot be adequately theorised outside of these spatialized relations of power” (2003: 6). In this case, the interviewee points to commercialisation of relationships, under migration conditions, which can be taken as an issue of power. The power of claims to blood

and kinship is, under conditions of migration and capital, replaced by the power of commercialisation as the glue that brings and holds families together. In the context of Johannesburg, a blood relative does not matter unless they are economically independent.

Mr. Abenge, who at the time of the interview worked with the migrant community, through the African Diaspora Foundation (ADF), which is an organisation that brings together African migrants in South Africa says the organisation mobilises and uses social media to build membership structures. Beyond that he says social media, especially WhatsApp and Facebook, plays an important role in mobilising and keeping the group together. The social media is therefore used to keep an illusion of a family among the membership as they get to discuss serious issues related to their diaspora conditions, but also to share stories of a birth, a death, a birthday, a graduation and such other emotional milestones in life. The interviewee puts emphasis on the family and paradoxically notes that, under dictatorship conditions that pushed him out of his home country, the DRC, if you want “to survive in the DRC, you should disassociate yourself with your family.” Even when he arrived in South Africa, unlike the first interviewee, he had to rely on “a cousin who has since gone back to the DRC. I stayed with this cousin for six months, from about March to September 2002. Then I found a job and moved out.” The interviewee points out that, when he was still in the DRC, he had always kept in touch with this cousin on social media. He said he still keeps in touch with the cousins who are back in the DRC: “we chat mostly on Facebook and update each other about marriages and deaths back home, or deaths here in South Africa. Our family is all over the world. Some of our cousins live in France and others in Belgium. We also have a family group on WhatsApp.”

Ms Bibesho, who points out that when she arrived in Johannesburg, she did not have a Facebook account but was introduced to it by the daughter of the Sandton family that she worked for, says “on Facebook, I managed to pick friends from home and through connecting with people back home I managed to finally link with my relatives.” Ms. Bibesho said she has now managed to take some of the contacts from Facebook to WhatsApp, “which, for me, is easier to use.” She said what she liked about WhatsApp is that even people with little education, like herself, can use it: “we always record voice messages. It is very easy that way.” Ms Bibesho’s points out that, she has

relatives still living in Burundi, and other relatives in South Africa, whom she has managed to connect with, over the years, through deploying a combination of Facebook and WhatsApp media.

All the interviewees have alluded to having family in their countries of origin and in South Africa, and in some cases, overseas. In the cases of those driven away by challenges at home, the relatives that remain home, are like the Jews who remained to worship at the wailing temple at the time of the dispersion. It would seem like relatives that still remain in countries of origin are relevant in maintain home as that place where one expects to be buried at the end of life. This is the idea of home as a material space, where one's body is one with the soil.

Belonging is a key emotion that migrants in Johannesburg grapple with. From the interviews, it would seem like the new media technologies are deployed to create connections within South Africa. The hope is that through these connections, as migrants, they can build their own networks to which they can feel that they belong. New media technologies are therefore deployed to fulfil the emotional need to belong. It would seem xenophobia alienates migrants from South Africa and embracing the country as a second home and, even though there may be challenges where these migrants come from, they still feel attached to those areas because, to them, home bestows freedom, dignity, and liberation. In encountering xenophobia, they grapple with the struggle to be human and to belong. In that the perpetrators of xenophobia, on their own, are wrestling with issues of dehumanisation (in poor service delivery in the ghettos) and somehow feel that 'migrants or foreigners' are part of the problem, it can be argued that xenophobia represents a space where issues of home and diaspora collide.

Migrant communities use the social media to connect, by sharing their experiences on line, and in that way feel like they belong to a big family of migrants. They are also using the social media to reverse surveillance. With the ubiquity of social media technologies, and their capacity to 'encode' and 'distribute' messages, it is possible for ordinary people, like migrants, to produce content that can compel authorities at the highest level to act. In a sense, migrants are able to shift surveillance from themselves to junior officials that they encounter daily in Johannesburg.

## 7.6. Migration and the changing female subjectivity

Contemporary migration patterns between the rest of Africa and South Africa are mapped on a path or trajectory left behind by colonial administrators. In the postapartheid moment this migration has persisted as articulated in coloniality at the margins of the nation-state. The postcolonial nation-state took over the colonial border apparatus that created and sustained this form of migration as *illegalised*. It is also colonial in that, for many years, it has been a gendered form of migration, where the husband had to go to South Africa to work for the family while the wife remained home, as a home maker. This coloniality is changing in two important ways. First, the challenge for the nation-state is that most of this migration is the illegalised type of migration which is far from the control of both the sending (rest of African states) and receiving state (South Africa). Most of the remittances come through the ‘black market’ and hardly become part of the mainstream economy. Second, women are breaking gender barriers in that not only are they going to South Africa to find work, like their male counterparts; but they are also looking after families, playing the head of the family role. This migration between the rest of Africa Zimbabwe and South Africa has been used to construct certain gender relations.

From the colonial history of migrant labour between South Africa and the rest of the continent, we can see that in its origin labour migration has always been gendered in that it has always been a male dominated space. However, some years before South Africa’s independence in 1994, women started migrating to South Africa as well to work mostly in the kitchens. Today there is a huge number of women working in kitchens, but have also expanded into the growing hotel and tourism, and restaurants part of South Africa’s diverse economy. What must be stressed here is that not only this has overturned or sort of challenged the coloniality of migration in terms of gender, but it has had an effect in the emergence of a new female subject. We now have women working in South Africa, who are now more like heads of their families providing for their parents, their siblings and their children back home. One interviewee says, “I have failed in marriage. Men gave me children and left me. I have to look after them and have to look after my parents back home. I have come to accept that this is my life. I am the breadwinner.”

The coming in of women into migration, playing important roles including taking up family bread winners roles, brings the family into view. The family plays an important role in all this. While it is ideal to work hard and amass as much resources as possible in South Africa, migrants depend on a strong family structure to invest these resources well back home. There are stories of people who have sent money home to buy a house only to come back and find no house; some relative had squandered the money. However, there are those who work with their families and have invested well in building beautiful houses (shelter) and even investing in farming and all that back home. Most migrants are investing in what can be said to be disparate areas of the economy. They are putting their money and resources in what can be described as *heritage* investments and in *modern/contemporary* investments. While some are building grocery shops and even bars in rural areas, most invest in cattle and other livestock rearing.

There have been changes in technology, including in transportation and the mode of travel, between Africa and the rest of the continent. This has also altered migration patterns and might also account for the increase in migrating women and families. While in the past, men would travel on foot from as far as Zambia, in what has been called *dabulap*, they now use cars. That meant in the past, people will go to Johannesburg and will only be able to come back home once a year, especially on Christmas holidays, or even after some years. That means they were mostly absent from home. However, this culture has changed and people now visit home, some as frequent as monthly. If we can count *omalayitsha* as part of the migrant labour force, we can then say that these visits are in some cases as frequent as weekly. Omalayitsha are an interesting group of people to study in this in that, some get frustrated by travelling between their destinations in Africa and South Africa and look for jobs in South Africa, as Uber or taxi drivers, but something will frustrate them there again and they will be back to travelling between Africa and South Africa. They seem to be people building their lives on both sides of the border. What this means is that these migrant workers, they are workers in South Africa and citizens where they come from, are altering migration and subjectivity in a significant way.

When migrants in Johannesburg use nonconventional means of sending their remittances home, first, they cut out the state. Second, this is expensive even for them because they pay about 10 percent for these services, which is huge compared to the mainstream banking system. Third, using

the black market may be expensive in the real time calculations, but in the long term it is cheaper in that the migrant workers in South Africa are assured that their stuff gets home. One interviewee said, “there are too much processes with the official route, and one’s property can end up in the big hanger at Beit Bridge border post, for example”. This is in reference to material goods. Most of material goods are smuggled across the border where officials are bribed to let in what otherwise is expected to pay duty to the government. In the process the government is losing money that ideally should be invested in development projects, but due to corruption and maladministration ends up diverted to non-essential areas.

### **7.7. Food, heritage, xenophobia/xenophilia and cultural creolisation**

Emphasis on the xenophobia narrative in migration between the rest of Africa and South Africa neglects the role of cultures that immigrants embody as intangible heritage (Logan, 2007). This section focuses on food, especially the Nigerian dish called *kwasakwa*, as an entry point in making sense of the possibilities afforded by intangible heritage in the formation and sustenance of multicultural communities in Johannesburg, South Africa. Yeoville, Berea and the famous Hillbrow are some of the inner-city suburbs in Johannesburg, where African foreign nationals live together with South African citizens. In spite of the dominance of xenophobia as the hegemonic narrative of the relationship between South African citizens and African foreign nationals in postapartheid South Africa, diverse cultures co-exist in these suburbs. This cultural diversity can be observed in churches, dances, language, hair salons, beauty parlours, tailor shops, and in eating places like restaurants around food practices. This cultural hybridity leans towards creolisation, where Africans from across the continent and South Africa enjoy the Nigerian dish of *kwasa-kwasa* (a dish where cattle hoofs are served in a rich thick, hot and spicy soup) alongside dishes from other countries such as the Ndebele *isitshwala sonyawuthi* (thick porridge made out of millet) from Zimbabwe. In Johannesburg, where conversations are held mostly in English, what emerges is not only a new culture but new subjectivities, as well.

However, the dominant narrative of relationships between African foreign nationals and South African citizens in Johannesburg has been that of xenophobic black-on-black violence (Matsinhe, 2011; Smith, 2011; Mkhize, 2017). This emphasis on xenophobia overlooks the cultural

creolisation in these spaces that borders on xenophilia. Xenophilia is ordinarily defined as the love of the other (Owen, 2016). Owen (2016) locates xenophilia in relationships between foreigners and South African women. She argues that intimate relationships between South African women and African foreign nationals in South Africa illustrate this “love of the other (xenophilia)” (Owen, 2016: 366). The experience and expression of this love in the “micro, lived realities” of these men and women is neglected in research although it has potential to point to a broader engagement of transcending xenophobia’s “socially constructed categories and boundaries” (Owen, 2016: 366 – 367). The concept of xenophilia is, in this dissertation, extended beyond intimate love and relationships between South African women and African foreign national men to include the brotherhood and sisterhood of people that constructs and maintains all as human. By focusing on the role of food and practices around restaurants in the three suburbs, as a form of an intangible cultural heritage, this section seeks to understand how African Others in Johannesburg (re)create and maintain intangible heritage and legacies from their homes, and also forge relationships with South African nationals. This is taken as a creolisation practice.

The traditional food outlet observed during this research is built around a Nigerian dish called *kwasakwa*. *Kwasakwa* is mostly cooked *amangqina* (cow feet) in a thick soup whose ingredients include strong spices that make it very hot. Most of the interviewees are male, and most claim that they like *kwasakwa* because it heals their hangover. For the mostly patriarchal migrant and local community, it could be understandable why males patronise the traditional food outlet. In the patriarchal migrant and diaspora communities around Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville, women are still stereotyped for ‘drinking alcohol’. It would take another battle for them to be seen patronising spaces regarded as spaces ‘for healing the hangover’. It is as if society has an unwritten agreement that women can drink, but not to the levels of suffering a hangover (Mafa, *et al*, 2019). In this dissertation, this and other traditional food eating places are considered as ‘symbolic spaces’, and together with the dishes they produce, they are therefore taken as texts. The people who patronise these eating spaces and others attached to the *kwasakwa*, and other traditional African dishes, are regarded as a ‘textual community’ in that they collaboratively make meaning out of the eating places, the food and the practices around it. A textual community is a group of people organised around certain specific texts (Brockmeier, 2001: 224). The eating place is located in Berea, a small suburb, sandwiched between Yeoville and Hillbrow. There are many such eating

places in this suburb such that one of the owners of a big 16 storey building rents out spaces in his garage turning it into one huge restaurant. Over 50 individuals, most of them African foreign nationals, run what they describe as “small kitchens” in this space serving a variety of African dishes. Young people, working in Johannesburg’s many construction sites, are the main customers at this block of mini-kitchens.

The most popular eating place is a kwasakwa food outlet a few streets from this block of mini-kitchens. It is equally not visible from the road as it is inside some white bland building along a street that takes one into Yeoville. One has to walk into the passage that serves as the entrance into this bland white building. On the first left door is a *spazza* shop, a mini shop that sells groceries. On the right door is the restaurant. It is a small hall with a pool table where a group of young people challenge each other to rounds of knockout games. There are six dining tables arranged to leave a passage to the counter where food is ordered and paid for. Christopher, (*not his real name*), a Nigerian national, says he has been running the shop for nearly a decade now. He says, “I was surprised that it became such a hit. I always knew a lot of people appreciated Nigerian food, I would see them buy it off the streets. I thought of setting up something where people can sit and eat or order and take home their food”. The eating place run by a Nigerian national sells a variety of dishes from his culture where *kwasakwa* is the main dish. In recent years, the place has added a variety of dishes including the Western breakfast menu. In terms of the levels of activity around the restaurant, it has become a pivotal space in the cultural life of African migrants in Johannesburg.

Some of the people have said there are a number of reasons they patronise this eating place ranging from the mundane such as dealing with a hangover to more nuanced ones where the ritual of visiting this place is linked to subjectivity and the meaning of belonging to the African diasporic community. On how patronising the place is not solely about ‘healing the hangover’ but to build a sense of community as well, an interviewee from Zimbabwe, Tinashe, alludes to inter-marriages between Zimbabweans and Nigerians. Tinashe has been living in Johannesburg since 2010 and has changed residencies many times. He says “however, I have always lived in this area around Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville. This is among other migrants. This has allowed me to have access and support from other migrants. We try to live as communities”. Tinashe points out that the

intermarriages amongst migrants are central not only to the emergence of new subjectivities, but new communities in the context of Johannesburg as a diaspora space for many Africans. Tinashe points out that “for us this is more than food. It is about the relationships and strengthening the families borne out of the inter-marriages. In my home language, ChiShona, we say *ukama igasva unozadziswa nekudya*, which means food is part of our culture and it brings people together. It (food) strengthens relationships.” Other interviewees also pointed to how eating *kwasakwa* is beyond the love of some food from a culture different from their own but a way of embracing that culture and making it one’s own.

A migrant from the Matabeleland part of Zimbabwe, Nokuthula, speaks about how her sister married to a Nigerian man, has become central to preserving two cultures, in that “not only can my sister prepare some Nigerian dishes, including *kwasakwa*, but her children straddle her (Zimbabwean) Ndebele culture and the husband’s Nigerian culture. Growing up in Johannesburg, they speak and learn isiZulu at school; they dance to South African music, and are growing up within a South African culture context. While they (the children) have been to Zimbabwe, all they know about their father’s heritage is through food.” Nokuthula raises a number of issues. First, in terms of context, her sister’s children are growing up in a creolised culture, which is a combination of the mother’s (Zimbabwean) Ndebele culture, the father’s (Nigerian) Igbo culture and the South African culture, especially in terms of schooling where they learn isiZulu and popular culture where they dance to South African contemporary music. This diaspora community is, therefore, constructed as a creolised community of people who would normally regard themselves as Zimbabweans, Nigerians, Malawians, (black) South Africans or Congolese. Far from the geographic home, be it Zululand, the Eastern Cape, Zimbabwe, Malawi or the Democratic Republic of Congo, these individuals all bear a sense of loss, even if it is attachment to the home soil.

Second, Nokuthula points us to the emergence of new subjectivities. The first subjectivity is that of women who get into intra-African marriages and have to learn customs and cultures, mostly ethnic based, from other parts of the continent. In this case, it is preparing Nigerian cultural dishes such as *kwasakwa*. Embracing other cultures alters their sense of self especially in an environment like Johannesburg, a multicultural city. The second new subjectivity that emerges is

that of their children, who unlike most people in the generation of their parents who have had to negotiate one or two cultures, they have to deal with at least three cultures in their subjectivation. They deal with their mother, their father and the broader South African culture. Food plays a big role in this process. Besides their parents' traditional dishes, they also have to make sense of local South African food such as *ikota*. *Ikota* is a fast food made out of a combination of fresh chips (French fries), sausages, fried egg and cheese served on a quarter of a loaf of bread. This is a typical South African townships meal. There are various ways in which the articulations between global migration and food have been discussed. Some scholars have focused on the relationship between migration and food security (Gibson, McKenzie and Stillman, 2011), the impact of migration on food security and child health (Zezza, Carletto, Davis and Winters, 2011; Crush, 2013), linking migration and food consumption patterns to poverty (Karamba, Esteban and Winters, 2011).

Food, and practices around it, is used as a point of reference by migrants and as a means of staying in touch with home. One interviewee, an Igbo young man, Okechukwu, said he patronises the *kwasakwa* shop as a way "of staying in touch with home". Okechukwu arrived in Johannesburg in 2013 and as a result did not experience one of the worst waves of xenophobic violence in 2008. He, however, was caught up in the 2015 pogroms that were nearly as callous as the ones that came seven years earlier. He stays in Jules, a suburb in Central Johannesburg, with a large population of Nigerians who deal mostly in second hand cars and car parts. Jules has been a target for xenophobic attacks mainly by young men who live at the hostels in the area. While there are some Nigerian businesses that sell *kwasakwa* and other Nigerian dishes, such as *Jollof* rice in Jules, Okechukwu prefers to go to Beria, about four kilometres away, for his weekly Nigerian traditional food fix. He says; "this is because the food served in Beria is original *kwasakwa*".

However, Okechukwu is among a few Nigerian Igbo men who patronise these traditional Nigerian food outlets because most of them prepare the food in their private spaces of home. A female interviewee, Ngozie, who lives in Yeoville suburb, said, as a family, they cook traditional Nigerian dishes at their home in Johannesburg as a way of preserving their Igbo culture: "We do it all the time, actual, it is as if we are still living in Nigeria". At length, she says, "just as the Congolese communities have tried to preserve their cultural practices around fish, we also prepare our dishes

to preserve our Igbo culture and to stay in touch with home. We are also trying to bring home here, to build new homes here in the diaspora.” Ngozie is in her early 40s and is married to an Igbo man from her hometown in Nigeria. She regards herself as a stay-at-home wife. Unlike some other migrant women who work as domestic workers, or in hair saloons and restaurants, Ngozie stays at home and tends her two daughters and husband. Ngozie refers to Congolese culture and Igbo culture within one discourse. Congo refers to a country or nation and Igbo refers to an ethnic group. It might not be that all the Congolese have a special relationship with fish but a specific ethnic group does. What plays out here, as in most spaces in Johannesburg, is the enduring coloniality of postcolonial Africa where Africans continue to identify each other through colonial identities. Referring to each other as Nigerians, South Africans or Zimbabweans is to rehearse and maintain colonial boundaries imposed on the continent after the 1884 – 1885 Berlin conference that created subjectivities that have continued into the postcolonial epoch (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015; Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Mhlanga, 2013). It is these colonial boundaries and the national subjectivities that they construct that are at the heart of the construction of black African subjectivities as foreigners and targets of xenophobic violence (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015; Tafira, 2018). However, eating places, as has become clear in preceding discussions, provide space for black Africans to challenge and destabilise colonial identities in the postapartheid moment.

Food in private spaces like home, even in the diaspora, remains a women’s speciality such that some feminists regard it a space of gender oppression (D’Sylva and Beagan, 2011: 279). According to Ngozie, she remains in charge of preparing food in her home. She says “being in Johannesburg does not change anything. I am still in charge of feeding my family, my children and my husband, and ensure that they eat healthy. My husband expects me to be in charge of the kitchen, and my children too expect the same”. Contrary to feminist opinions, Ngozie seems to embrace the responsibility of deciding, not only the menu, but the eating habits of her family, with pride. Importing one’s food practices as a way of preserving one’s culture also entails importing one’s cultural values around gender.

Beyond simultaneously staying connected to one’s cultural roots and also reaching out at other people across ethnic and national boundaries, what is at stake in the cultural creolisation around food in the diaspora, is to reclaim the dignity of being human. In South Africa, black African

subjectivity, as a way of being and occupying the world, has been shaped by many factors including human relationships to the land as a prime means of production and reproduction, relationships to traditional rulers and to each other as families and fellow humans (Easton, 2007; Ntsebeza and Saunders, 2014). Some of the interviewees allude to the idea of being human, although they may use different words. Reflecting on xenophobia and how it devalues one's sense of self, Tinashe notes that, ironically, what forced him to relocate to South Africa was the dehumanisation in his home country of Zimbabwe. He points out that, "in 2009, my salary was just not enough and I felt as if the company was exploiting me. I could not take care of my wife and our two children. I did not feel like a man. I gave up on my country in 2010. I have been working here in Johannesburg and at least I can make ends meet." Tinashe's idea of being human is linked to a dignified life within the context of a capitalist system, an inherited economic system for most postcolonial African countries. To Tinashe, work under this system must give one a job and enough salary to take care of one's needs. However, for other people, such as Nokuthula, the question of being human is firmly anchored on subjectivity as a political project.

More important and urgent than staying in touch with their home cultures, those that patronise the eating places seek to satisfy the human need of hunger. Which means the ritual of patronising these eating places has a utilitarian value. This observation becomes more textured in light of the owner of the traditional food shop in Berea's observation that, at a basic level, "the shop is a business. It is how I earn money to look after my family here in Johannesburg". Preserving his Igbo culture are sentimental reasons that come up later in our conversation. It becomes imperative to think of ways in which these traditional food eating places are articulated within the neoliberal economy of postapartheid South Africa. First, these shops are spaces that provide lunch for many young people that labour in Johannesburg's neoliberal economy. Second, and importantly, unlike Chicken Licken and McDonalds, for example, chains of restaurants that are conceptualised to be the same, to subsume and interpellate their clients into the neoliberal economy as consumers, the traditional food eating places provide a space for a conscious resistance to coloniality. Most of the people interviewed, who patronise these outlets, said they consciously choose to eat at these places rather than at the famous mainstream economy restaurants.

## 7.8. The African diaspora community and the memory of the African struggle



*Fig 7.4: The black world's assistance in the South African liberation struggle is more defined by the intervention of Cuba who supported MK to fight the South African defence forces on Angolan soil. This piece of art at the border of Berea and Yeoville in Johannesburg is a tribute to that war.*

On the wall of a building at the edge of Yeoville, Che Guevara and the internationalist star on his beret stand out on a mural titled "Havana Art Corner". The iconic painting is an artist's impression of both the South African and the Cuban heroes in black colour. The mural is on one hand the colours of the Cuban flag and on the other the South African flag. It has a lot of green that symbolises life and the red colour that symbolises the blood of the liberation martyrs. There are also blue and white colours that symbolises the Argentinian flag colours, which is Che's native country.

Although falling apart it still captures the spirit of South Africa's liberation struggle, more importantly, the Cuban assistance to South Africa when it fought the South African army in Angola. Maybe even ahead of the fights in Zimbabwe, the Hwange/Spolilo wars, the Angola battle was the bitterest that the Mkhonto Wesizwe (MK) ever fought against the apartheid army. That the battle was fought on Angolan soil in Africa points to the central role that Cuba played in uniting

Africans. The friendship between Nelson Mandela and Fidel Castro attest to that. Africans from across the continent carry memories of the liberation struggles against white rule. This is such that every time there is a xenophobic outbreak in South Africa, and in efforts to reduce the tensions, South African political leaders and other opinion leaders (including celebrities) always raise the moral argument that Africa stood with South Africa during its own liberation struggle. This comes across as an ideological sleight of hand that ignores the complexities involved in xenophobia. It is an attempt to remind South Africans of the liberation struggle, their liberation struggle, casting it as an African liberation struggle. It is true, the South African liberation struggle was fought across Africa. People were killed in Harare, in Zambia and in Angola in the apartheid wars. In the process, South Africans embraced other African leaders like Kenneth Kaunda, Julius Nyerere, Robert Mugabe, Joshua Nkomo as their heroes. The rest of Africa came to celebrate Chris Hani, Steve Biko, Nelson Mandela, Winnie Mandela, as the icons of African liberation. We will pick up on this point soon enough.

However, the insistence on how the rest of Africa housed South Africans at the time of their liberation struggle ignores and obscures the pain that the majority of people who struggled within the borders of the country went through and understand as the South African liberation struggle. As a result of the fact that the South African liberation struggle was fought at home and in the rest of Africa, in the postapartheid moment, townships and other marginalised spaces of South Africa's cities, towns and peri-urban spaces, have emerged as epicentres of both xenophobic violence, targeted at the black subject; and xenophilia which seeks to construct a sense of community between African migrants and black South Africans. This community across nationalities can be said to be engaged in the decolonial project of searching for African liberation. This African liberation project is a search for what what Biko calls the "envisioned self" (2017: 23). Public art in Johannesburg, which seems to appear at the border of local government control and the autonomy of the people in this city, relives African liberation struggles through celebrating African liberation icons. Here, the black liberation project can be said to be located in memory and decolonisation. Central to this observation about the decolonising work of both South Africans and foreign African nationals in Johannesburg is the idea that, decolonisation, as a verb, is partly a work of memory. Conceptualising decolonisation as a doing word means embracing the idea that

it is not “a metaphor for other things we want to do to improve our societies” (Tuck and Yang, 2012).

As earlier alluded to, to most South Africans, especially those who are close to the history of the liberation struggle, Kenneth Kaunda, the first president of Zambia, Augusto Neto, the first president of Angola, Julius Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania, Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana, and Fidel Castro, the revolutionary leader of Cuba among others, became heroes. Neo, born in a family of what he calls ANC royalty, has fond memories of growing up in Zambia.

“Recently, I went back to Zambia and they were so happy to see me at church there, the church we went to when we were in exile,” he says. “It was sad to be back there without my father. It was good to see how some young man of my age were now fathers like me.”

Nero remembers how when growing up Kaunda was a hero among Zambians and among the ANC circles.

“We all shared mutual respect and fondness for him and the other leaders of the liberation struggle in Zambia,” he says. “We all respected their sacrifice. It, however all comes up to make sense to me as I grow up. Each day I grow to understand what it means. Because of growing up far from a place one can call home, I have come to understand all the people around here. I know they each have a story to tell.”

It is because of this mutual respect and fondness that, in the main street of Yeoville, Rocky street, there is a building, a night spot that celebrates the leaders of the African struggle together with the leaders of the South African struggle.



*Fig 7.5.: Photographs of leading African liberation icons in front of an entertainment centre along Rocky Street in Yeoville.*

In the picture above, and on what stands out as a roll call of African heroes and heroines, I see Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Thabo Mbeki, Robert Mugabe, and Winnie Mandela, among others. The iconic photographs are literally the celebration of the liberation struggle. While people like Lumumba and Winnie are in traditional attire, traditional hats, Robert Mugabe and Thabo Mbeki are putting on western style suits making them western subjects who love western education and western literature. These are the leaders who have used western education to confront the west, while others resorted to indigenous modes of knowledge to confront western colonialism. The appropriation of the last supper points to the creolisation where Christianity is mixed with traditional African cultures. In the picture of the last supper, Jesus and his disciples are portrayed as Rastafarian. The colours of Jesus's clothes are the colours of the Rastafarian colours that also dominate the African flags. Jesus and the disciples are dreadlocked. Jesus could be Haile Selassie, the Rastafarian god. The food is more than the humble bread and wine of the Biblical supper. Importantly there is a way of counting 12 disciples if what looks like a shadow on the right hand side of Jesus is counted. This would mean there is no Judas Iscariot, no sell outs on the African table of the last supper. This symbolic annihilation of a sell out could mirror the actual struggle against *impimpi* in the townships. It could be as violent as the actual way of dealing with *impimpi*.

Among the few women on that roll of icons is Winnie Mandela alongside Queen Nzinga of Angola. The mostly male leaders on the series of photographs include Patrice Lumumba of DRC, Chris Hani, the slain South African Communist Party (SACP) leader, Julius Nyerere, Thomas Sankara of Guinea, Thabo Mbeki, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Idi Amin of Uganda, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Walter Rodney, among others.



*Fig 7.6.: An appropriation of the last supper featuring a Black Jesus and black disciples. It is part of the pictures that celebrate African liberation icons at the front of a shop in Yeoville.*

The series of pictures include an appropriation of the last supper where Jesus Christ and his disciples appear as Rastafarians. The black struggle is about the search for the black subject such that even a religious figure like Jesus Christ, always represented as white, is appropriated and represented as black. It is the black subject that Steve Biko calls the “envisioned self” (1978: 49). These photographs and artworks occupy the diaspora space as memory with a role in constructing the idea of Africa, the African struggle and black subjectivity in postapartheid South Africa. In that there is mutual embracing of the African liberation heroes from both South Africans and African nationals, this self-construction is within the context of the interplay of xenophobia and xenophilia. Biko notes that “liberation is of paramount importance in the concept of Black Consciousness, for we cannot be conscious of ourselves and yet remain in bondage. We want to attain the envisioned self which is a free self” (1978: 49). In a sense, there can be no black subject

outside liberation. This liberation must first be at a cultural level because the weapon that oppressors use mostly is the mind of the oppressed (Biko, 1978). In that the spaces in which the African migrants live with South African citizens are spaces that still bear the imprints of apartheid, in a nutshell, colonial spaces, the search for the envisioned self is a decolonial practice. As a work of memory, it seeks to appropriate these icons in a specific way.



*Fig 7.7.: Roll call of icons of African liberation.*

The mutuality around the memory of the African liberation struggle is in that, while South Africans embraced black African leaders from the rest of the continent, Africans in turn embraced Nelson Mandela, as their leader and icon. This is visible in artwork at one City of Johannesburg park in Yeoville. The series of artwork narrate an emerging narrative of post-1994 South Africa which is anchored by Nelson Mandela. Mandela is widely celebrated among Africans and has come to represent long suffering and a selfless struggle for black freedom. In that he has become embraced by many people across cultures in the world, Mandela has come to represent the struggle for the human.



*Fig 7.8.: A mural at a Johannesburg City Council park in Yeoville. It is part of a series of pictures at the park that centre migrants' daily lives. The mural anchors Nelson Mandela in the midst of migrant's daily lives.*

Thinking about the struggle of Mandela, through Fanon's struggle for the human presents challenges around issues of radicalism. The most important question is if at all the Nelson Mandela that Africans embraced as a collective is the same Nelson Mandela that came out of prison to be embraced by the people who kept him in terrorists' lists. Lewis Gordon has spoken about reclaiming a radical Nelson Mandela and a radical Martin Luther King. Mandela is always compared to Steve Biko and King compared to Malcom X and then dismissed as not radical. To arrive at such conclusion is to be selective in terms of remembering who Mandela is or was. For most Africans, it is the Mandela who characterized the ANC struggle as a "national one. It is a struggle of the African people, inspired by their own suffering and their own experience. It is a struggle for the right to live [...] I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities" (Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, at the opening of his trial on charges of sabotage, Supreme court of South Africa, Pretoria, April 20 1964). This is the Mandela that the people of South Africa and the rest of Africa waited for 27 years.



*Fig 7.9.: Madiba balancing the idea of Africa and the idea of South Africa.*

In terms of the artwork at the park in Yeoville, the radical Mandela is the Mandela who would balance the idea of South Africa, on one hand, with the idea of Africa, on the other hand. This is the Mandela, whose last memory they have is of that speech on the stand in the Rivonia Trial. The speech that cast the South African liberation struggle as the African liberation struggle. Here, Mandela had articulated what Steve Biko was to later call the “the envisioned self,” a liberation project. In the dreams and hopes of many African people, this is the work of memory. Public art and photography, although there is the influence of authorities, e.g. the local authority (city council) in the park in Yeoville, is largely a space where ordinary citizens seek to exercise their agency by appropriating African liberation icons to articulate their own liberation narratives. However, as it plays out in Yeoville, Hillbrow and Berea, among the spaces with a huge mix of South African and African migrant populations, this memory work raises its own problems in that it is gendered. African liberation icons are mostly male.

In between and beyond the two pictures are numerous other pictures that capture the life of migrants in the spaces that they occupy in Yeoville, Hillbrow and Berea. Nelson Mandela was famous for his shirts and his dances. Image 7 captures one such celebration with children and adults. The adults are mostly drumming, one woman sings, while Mandela and the children join in the festivities. However, in this picture Mandela is captured in a white suit like an angel which is the colour of innocence and sainthood. Two of the children are also in white. The singer is a woman and this way there is a way in which the picture captures patriarchy, Mandela as the saintly patriarchy. The man holding the drum is next to Mandela as the main show. The drumming women are also dancing and backing vocalists. This is what happens in many bands. They could be backing the man and the women.

In Fig 7.9, the last picture, Mandela is holding the map of Africa on his right hand and the map of South Africa on the left. Both maps are green in colour, symbolic of life and renewal. Mandela is in an English suit and a red tie (American culture of white shirts and red tie). He is a western subject. There is graffiti on the wall. On the right shoulder of Nelson Mandela are the words "MORE FIRE". It is not clear if it is a message linked to Mandela or a separate message. Mandela's hair is white symbolising wisdom and his face is brown. Behind the wall is a flat about three floors.

## **7.9. Conclusion**

Beyond xenophobia, a closer observation of Johannesburg reveals that there are pockets of Johannesburg that are multicultural spaces where one finds people from across Africa, parts of Asia, and South Africans living together. These are rich spaces of culture. The people in these spaces seem to be involved in creolisation and creating new cultures within their communities. In that Johannesburg is central to the history of urbanization in South Africa, sub-Saharan Africa and the world, a closer observation of such spaces opens the observer to a whole new world that exists under the sadness of xenophobia. This is the world of xenophilia. People from across Africa and from provinces outside Gauteng within South Africa arrive in Johannesburg under different circumstances. Some people are in Johannesburg because they are running away from real threats to their lives like war while others are in the city, famed as the city of Gold, to advance their careers. These people soon learn human skills on surviving on the rough terrain of the diaspora. The phenomena of xenophobia that continually break out in townships in South Africa is another

face of coloniality or an example of the ‘colonial presence’ in the postcolonial or postapartheid moment. This xenophobia, as black on black violence, manifests itself in many complex ways. Ordinarily, when people talk about xenophobia in South Africa they would be referring to the fear and hatred of foreign African others by native South Africans, or as the newspapers put it the attacks on foreign nationals by citizens. However, as it manifests itself in Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville, there are many ways in which it plays out entangling itself in ethnocentrism, tribalism and genocide, where all these forms of hatred of the ‘Other’ are articulated by coloniality. The pain of the diaspora, as reflected in xenophobia, for example, makes migration an emotional investment for some migrants. Migrants, working with local South African citizens, have used their intangible cultural heritage, especially around food, to construct and sustain multicultural communities in Johannesburg. In a sense, despite the dominance of xenophobia as the hegemonic narrative of the relationship between South African citizens and African foreign nationals in postapartheid South Africa, diverse cultures co-exist in these suburbs. This cultural diversity can be observed in churches, dances, language, hair salons, beauty parlours, tailor shops, and in eating places like restaurants around food practices. This cultural hybridity leans towards creolisation.

## **Chapter 8**

# **Discursive constructions of black African subjectivity in postapartheid South Africa: A decolonial analysis**

### **8.1. Introduction**

The black African subject emerges out of a history of dispossession and colonial labour in both farms and mines set up by the coloniser. In the case of South Africa, the black African subject emerges out of colonial history as a colonial migrant labourer to work at the Witwatersrand mines in Johannesburg. As a racialised construct, the black African subject is located in the colonial difference and emerges as the other of Man. This subject persists under neoliberal globalisation. The migration to South Africa from the rest of sub-Saharan Africa is still the migration promoted by the mining companies in South Africa. In this chapter, I bring together the emerging themes and discourses from the data presented in the last three chapters. I focus on emerging themes and discourses in the 12 English stories, six isiZulu stories and the ethnographic data presented in Chapter 7. I also look at ways in which the media is spoken about, how it speaks and represents itself and how it seeks to represent dead bodies, the family, xenophobia itself, violence, emotions such as anger and pain, gender and patriarchy, and the economy. The aim here is to bring together discourses and ideologies, how they match and contrast in the texts that have been studied, and how they contribute to the constructions of black African subjectivity.

The themes or discourses are divided into five major categories that are further divided into sub-categories. As laid out in this chapter, the five major categories are: the spectre of xenophobia haunts the black subject; the coloniality of media and representation; articulations of migration, citizenship and nationalism; ethno-nationalism, South African nationalism and Pan-Africanism; black African subjectivity; and the border, coloniality, de/bordering and decolonising. The first section is subdivided into xenophobia and violence; the political economy of xenophobia; and xenophobia and genocide. The section on media and representation is further divided into the indignity of representation; language, the public sphere and inequality; the problems of objective and professional journalism; the politics of sourcing; and the discursive strategies of denying and downplaying xenophobia. The third section on migration, citizenship and nationalism is divided

into the ideas of home, the nation and belonging; ethno-nationalism, South African nationalism and Pan-Africanism; good citizens and bad citizens, good migrants and bad migrants; and the limits of thinking about migration as a human right. The section on black African subjectivity is divided into the gendered migrant labourer subject; the non-being; the collective and the people; the illegal and the illegalised; and the human. The last section focusing on the border, coloniality, de/bordering and decolonising is divided into four subsections that include: the border, diaspora, xenophobia and alienation; the border, accessing services in government spaces and neglect; border thinking: culture, heritage and choosing to remain outside while inside; and decolonising and resistance practices.

## **8.2. The spectre of xenophobia haunts the black subject**

The idea that xenophobia is a postapartheid aberration is ahistorical. Foreign African nationals have been discriminated and excluded in South Africa before 1994. Neocosmos (2010) notes that what has changed is the intensity of the attacks on foreign African nationals. According to available statistics, between 2000 and March 2008, at least 67 people died in what were identified as xenophobic attacks. However, in the 2008 xenophobic violence alone, 62 people died, between 80 000 and 200 000 were displaced (Neocosmos, 2010: 117 – 118). The 2008 xenophobic violence marked a watershed moment in South Africa's postapartheid history. It brought the reality of an anti-foreigners' sentiment in South Africa to the world. The endurance of xenophobia in South Africa could be due to the fact that, according to the World Migration Report of 2020, South Africa is the largest recipient of immigrants on the African continent. This section looks at how the news stories construct xenophobia as violence and as a space for subjectivation in postapartheid South Africa.

### *8.2.1. Xenophobia and violence*

Studying xenophobia as a space for the emergence of black African subjectivity in the postapartheid moment has been characterised by the emphasis on the violence, especially the physical violence. This has occluded ways in which xenophobia is productive in the Foucauldian sense where power is not necessarily negative but productive as well (Foucault, 1980). The

violence of xenophobia reveals how the perpetrators of this violence regard the life of a fellow black person, once constructed as a foreigner, as cheap and disposable. However, the emotions that the media spectacles of this violence arouse have a way of linking the human race and humanise the victims. This story, *The birthmark on Ernesto's toe* by Beauregard Tromp, the journalists names the violence as “xenophobic horror” [10] and points out how the image of Ernesto burning brought the world’s attention to the South African problem of xenophobia. It is the empathy and sympathy that unites the people around the world where they not only recognise the humanity of Ernesto but their own humanity as well. The story says the entire world is a witness to the xenophobia in South Africa as “the image of Ernesto burning to death would bring the reality of the xenophobic, horror home to the people around world” [10]. As the spectacle of xenophobia unfolds in postapartheid South Africa, the whole world is positioned as a spectator to the spectacle of xenophobia playing out on media platforms, be it on television or the internet. It is at this point that the story constructs Ernesto as human through linking the whole world in this fervour of sympathy for him. This media witnessing seems to be involved in constructing victims of crimes and evil such as xenophobia as human (Frosh and Pinchevski, 2009). The reality of xenophobia, like any violence that targets people on the basis of their identity, is that what is on trial is ‘the human’. Fanon’s reaction to antisemitism was to evoke his teacher from the Antilles, Aime Cesaire, who told him “when you hear someone insulting the Jews, pay attention; he is talking about you” (2008: 101). Ciccariello-Maher notes that what unites antisemitism to antiblack racism is that the two are “a denigration of the human” (2016: 134). Later in the same story, Jose further reclaims the humanity of Ernesto when he speaks about him in the present tense as if he is still alive, “I knew it was Ernesto because of his toes. He has a birth defect on his middle toe” [20]. Jose, in a sense, resurrects Ernesto, pulls him from the world of the dead and makes him human and alive. In other stories, there are efforts to construct xenophobia as empowering. In the story, *Maskandi singer taken to HRC for xenophobic lyrics* by Mdu Mvubu and Jabulani Lunga, musician Zaneffa claims that it is shocking that when foreign African nationals commit crime including piracy, “our government” [8] is “silent as if it is shot” [5]. However, the same government “went all out to stop xenophobia” [8] but “did nothing about foreign nationals copying our music” [8]. This has the implication of legitimating xenophobia especially as it manifests itself among the poor and weak who feel the government is not doing anything for them.

Xenophobia is productive in that it produces subjectivities. At a basic level, xenophobia is located in illegalising certain people. Illegalisation of certain people as epistemic injustice produces subjects that are disposable and undesirable. In the story, *Pretoria gears for anti-migrant march* by Sakhile Ndlazi, it becomes clear that xenophobia is an epistemic violence in that it involves the question of how a migrant can be known and represented. Spivak has argued that epistemic violence is the silencing of marginalised groups (1998: 282 – 283; See Dotson, 2011: 236; Fricker, 2007: 1). In this case it would be the silencing of the migrants as the “lowest strata of the urban subproletariat” (Spivak 1998, 283). In “anti-migrant,” migrants are already represented as undesirable and grounds laid for their elimination including through physical violence. It is this thesis’s contention that the primary violence here lies in how the migrant can be known and becomes a legible subject who emerges already an enemy and framed to be ‘removed’. In the story, *Anti-xenophobia march in Johannesburg* by Thomas Hartleb, there emerges discourses of ‘no one is illegal’ from CSO, Doctors Without Borders. The name of the CSO, Doctors Without Borders, seems to be located in the radical politics of “no border politics.” However, the illegalisation of people comes out clearly in the story, *Emmanuel Sithole was his real name – Sister* by Naledi Shange, where Thando, sister to the slain Emmanuel Sithole, engages the president of the country, Jacob Zuma, who seeks to illegalise her dead brother. In the story, *Crowd gathers for anti-xenophobia march* by Mpiletso Motumi, it becomes clear that that xenophobia is tied to the illegalisation of people that comes with border imperialism. Smith notes that, for immigration to be a problem, people must live in a propertied relationship to land where it (land) is a commodity owned and controlled by a few people (2013: ix). This is at the heart of border imperialism which produced the subject of an ‘immigrant’ where people are presumed as “bound to one place, and if they travel, then they are where they do not belong” (Smith, 2013: ix). This illegalising of the movement by people overlooks the fact that capitalism and imperialism have “undermined the stability of communities, and compelled people to move in search of work and survival” (Walia, 2013: 5).

In terms of the political economy of xenophobia, the story, *These are the four Sithole suspects* by Karishma Dipa and Gertrude Makhafola, sets the streets of the townships as an economic space for those who are in the margins of the economy. The four young man encounter Emmanuel Sithole in the streets selling cigarettes and other small stuff like sweets. They take some of his cigarettes

and intend not to pay and that is where the disagreement arises leading to his stabbing and death. There are complaints that migrants are taking over economic opportunities available in townships streets from young people and old women in South Africa. This is also the narrative in *Grocery retail under scrutiny* by Dewald van Rensburg.

Similar to migration, xenophobia is gendered and produces gendered subjectivities. Young men appear hypervisible in committing hate crimes related to xenophobia (Gqola, 2016). The two Mozambican nationals Ernesto and Emmanuel Sithole both died at the hands of young men in the townships. In the story, *Farewell to SA man who refused to hate* by Sithembiso Hlongwane, the slain Sipho Madondo's killers are partly described as a "group of angry youths" [6]. There could be explanation for this hypervisibility of young men as xenophobic killers. Young black people are the demographic group mostly affected by unemployment and inequality in South Africa. They link their situation with the presence of foreign African nationals in the country (van der Westhuizen and Marichen, 2015; Seeking and Natrass, 2005; Hamilton, Huntley, Alexander, Guimaraes, Alfredo and James, 2001).

### 8.2.2. *The political economy of xenophobia*

The economic space, be it on the streets or spaza shops, has emerged as a terrain for xenophobic violence. The story, *Grocery retail under scrutiny* by Dewald van Rensburg makes this clear describing the violence as "the dynamics of competition between local and foreign-owned small and independent retailers" [9]. The story makes it clear that from the commission's terms of reference documents "foreign shopkeepers' conduct is to be investigated" [10]. There is a reification of the so-called advantage of foreign traders over locals where the story says "foreign-owned shops 'have been perceived to be more successful than the other and reasons therefore are unclear'" [11]. The commission's spokesperson, Mava Scott, is quoted as saying "the small [retail] sector has come to us to say these guys [foreigners] are anti-competitive" [17]. The use of "these guys" by the spokesperson is very loose. While a story such as this one ascribes xenophobia to the realm of the economic, a story such as *Anti-xenophobia march in Johannesburg* by Thomas Hartleb, suggests that the challenge of xenophobia stems from the challenge that ordinary South Africans face such as "unemployment, inadequate housing, rising crime and bad schools" [2]. Migrants are constructed as simultaneously economic and political refugees in South Africa.

In the story, *Xenophobia 'leaders can stop attacks'* by Babbington Maravanyika, the main source, Professor Friedman also locates xenophobia in the economy. He alludes to the president's suggestion that foreigners were giving locals "unfair competition" in the spaza businesses as mythical and untrue. To Professor Friedman, it is the economy and the relationship to the economy that is at the heart of xenophobia. Prof. Friedman points out that "many of them [migrants] were making a contribution to the economy" [9]. The economy is at the heart of xenophobia for several reasons. First, most ordinary people access the economy or a slice of it through employment. As a result, local citizens on the margins of the economy fight with migrants over precarious job opportunities. Second, due to high unemployment levels, most ordinary people on the margins of the economy resort to selling on the streets or running small businesses like spaza shops to survive. Here again, locals and migrants fight over the few opportunities available. In the story, Prof. Friedman ideologically dissimulates or conceals and downplays the claim by local South Africans that foreigners are taking their jobs. Whether true or false this claim is important in that it draws our attention to the crisis of unemployment in South Africa that is rife among black young people. Second, the observation conceals the struggle and contest around spaza shops and other opportunities that young people – both local citizens and foreign nationals – create for themselves on the peripheries of the economy. There is intense competition around spaza shops businesses.

In that the genocides against the Xhosa and San people, forcing them off their land was economic, the links between business or the economic and violence have a long history in South Africa. In the stories the images of violence include the violence of neoliberalism and the violence of xenophobia. In the story, *The birthmark on Ernesto's toe* by Beauregard Tromp, the description of Maputo captures a kind of violence that drives people out of their countries. Ernesto had migrated from his rural home to work in Maputo as a security guard but "the money just wasn't enough to provide for his family of five" [7]. Springer notes that in most countries of the Global South neoliberalism has led to "a profound and unmistakable encounter with violence" (2015: 1). Neoliberalization in these instances "exacerbated poverty and inequality" (Springer, 2015: 2). It is this poverty and inequality that "(re)produce" violence (Escobar, 2004; Springer, 2008). The urban space as an economic space seems to be bound by violence because the township that Ernesto and his brother-in-law, Francisco Kanze, settle in in Johannesburg is also haunted by violence. The

violence is linked to earning a living and economic opportunities Ernesto was set alight to death [3], burnt alive to death [10]. Francisco Kanze, who was with Ernesto, was “stabbed, beaten and with a cement block thrown on his head ...” [9].

### *8.2.3. Xenophobia and genocide*

Pockets of Johannesburg are multicultural spaces where one finds people from across Africa and parts of Asia living together. These are colourful spaces where different cultures exist side by side or are fused into new cultures through creolisation. However, these are spaces also haunted by violence and death. The same space where a new postapartheid black subjectivity is emerging is also the space where it emerges as dead. It is mostly the violence of crime and xenophobia as articulated to genocide that haunts these new spaces. Observation in these black spaces revealed that xenophobia is textured. Ordinarily when people talk about xenophobia in South Africa, they refer to the fear and hatred of foreign nationals by citizens, that is local black South Africans. However, as xenophobia, as the fear and hatred of the person different from you is entangled in ethnocentrism, tribalism and genocide. Here, all these forms of hatred are articulated by coloniality.

The case of a graffiti at a building in Yeoville at the corner of De La Ray and Cavendish streets in Johannesburg is testimony of how the xenophobic violence is not a South African issue but an African issue. The message “Ndebele must be killed” set against the message “Shona go back home” is a case of Zimbabwean tribalism and ethnocentric politics playing out in South Africa. The story of Zimbabwean tribalism as Shona versus Ndebele people is well rehearsed (Sithole, 1957). It has become common to have this ethnic politics from any other African country playing out in South Africa. There have been reports of tremors from the Rwandese genocide playing out in South Africa where some military personnel are said to be prowling the streets of Johannesburg hunting for the enemies of the current president. Igbo nationalists from Nigeria are organising within South Africa with the hope that someday they will have their own country. English speaking Cameroon nationalists are also organising within their country’s diaspora community in South Africa with the hope of sovereignty. These ethno-nationalist developments always take the form of ethnocentric factionalism. In almost all cases, they carry behind them the shadow of genocides

in the motherland. When African nationals come to South Africa, they are running from one space of death to another. It is as if they carry this space of death within themselves. It has been said that, the spectre of xenophobia haunts postapartheid South Africa (Tafira 2018).

However, involving largely the poor subaltern; that is, the poor South Africans excluded from the economy in many ways including joblessness who resultantly turn on African migrants who leave their countries because of poverty, wars, strife, localized xenophobia and exclusion, it can be said the spectre of xenophobia haunts Africa. Xenophobia in South Africa is linked to acts of localised xenophobia and genocide across the African continent chiefly through epistemic violence. In that xenophobia in South Africa and the rest of Africa stands in a long history of anti-black violence, in the postcolonial and postapartheid moment its manifestation as genocide is under the same conditions that gave birth to modernity, capitalism, slavery, colonialism and anti-black racism (Zegeye, 2012; Madley, 2005). What is at stake under the genocidal conditions of xenophobia is the life of the black African subject. The black subject is itself a colonial construct through representation and/or negation by slavery, colonialism and capital (Tafira, 2018; Fanon, 1963). It is the contention of this thesis that xenophobic violence in postapartheid South Africa is a window to the genocidal conditions that obtain across the African continent in what passes as the ‘colonial present’ (Gregory, 2004).

### **8.3. The coloniality of the media and representation**

As alluded to in the previous section, the violence of xenophobia emerges as first tied to representation. Most of the times, how people are represented is tied to how they are treated. From a constructivist perspective, the link between representation, subjectivities and how people are treated becomes more insidious in that representations are not random. The critical approaches to representation, adopted by this thesis, historically trace the emergency of representation as violent. Alcoff (1991) building on Deleuze and Foucault (1977) calls this crisis of representation, the problem of speaking for others. Deleuze and Foucault (1977) called it the indignity of speaking for others. The stories discussed in this thesis reveal this crisis in many ways.

### 8.3.1. *The indignity of representation*

To start with, the indignity of representation is seen in that it constructs, especially migrants, in ways that prepare them as disposable. Before their bodies are burnt and clobbered to death, the victims of xenophobia first die in the imagination, in representation. Ernesto and Emmanuel were constructed as foreigners and therefore as both familiar and distant. Sipho Madondo, the South African killed for refusing to take part in hunting and hounding foreign nationals in Alexandra Township, was killed through being constructed as a sellout. A sellout, an *impimpi* has a long history in South Africa dating back to the days of the liberation struggle. Sipho Madondo's case reveals the hardships of articulating any black solidarity, and therefore the emergence of a black subject, in the history of South Africa from apartheid to the postapartheid era. It is the division sown by colonialism, especially through the borders, that make this solidarity, and this subject, near impossible.

The crisis of representation is also located in the paradox of representation in that whoever or whatever is represented is at the same time rendered absent. In the story, *These are the four Sithole suspects* by Karishna Dipa and Gertrude Makhafola, the four young men in court for killing Emmanuel Sithole are in this story represented through their lawyers. In court, lawyers "appear" for their clients, meaning they represent them. In this story, they also speak to the media on behalf of their clients. Speaking to the media, the lawyers become speaking subjects that speak on behalf of others. However, their speaking to the media on behalf of their clients effectively silences them (clients). For Prendergast (2004), representation also refers to situations where presence is delegated or where something substitutes for something. This appears both in language and politics. In language "a word makes a concrete thing, or an idea, present in conversation or writing" (Webb, 2009: 8). For Alcoff, speaking for others is a "type of discursive practice" (1991: 6). This is problematic because; first, the speaker's location has epistemic significance; and second, for privileged people to speak on behalf of the lesser privileged reinforces the oppression (silencing) of those spoken for (Alcoff, 1991: 7). Reading these stories, it is a struggle to retrieve the voice of the four accused young men as they are mostly spoken for. This substitution leads to the dialectic of absence/presence in representation. The headline of the story, *The birthmark on Ernesto's toe* by Beauregard Tromp, makes him present yet he is dead. He is simultaneously here and not here.

This is because the headline juxtaposes life and death referencing “a birth mark” on a lifeless body in the fridge. Generally, that is how migrants are represented. The representation of migrants is that of symbolic annihilation, where something or someone is there and similarly not there. The story, *King shut out of probe on xenophobia* by Marianne Merten best illustrates absence/presence in representation. It is important to note how absence/presence, as an issue of power, works differently in this story. The king is not in the story per se, but the source makes him present by referring to him. Importantly, the king becomes present through journalistic devices that include the heading and the background.

The story, *Anti-xenophobia march in Johannesburg* by Thomas Hartleb also reflects the both the crisis and tyranny of representation. The lead of the story foregrounds Gauteng Premier David Makhura and Johannesburg mayor, Parks Tau, who absent the migrants from the narrative. The migrants become absent/present in that Makhura and Tau stand in for them, making them simultaneously absent and present. The issue of leaders standing in for ordinary people has always been problematic. In the isiZulu story, *Ushenge ukhale izinyembezi ngezifiki* by Nonhlanhla Jele depicts a messianic figure who displaces the people he represents (migrants). Buthelezi is not only everywhere, in Johannesburg and Durban, but also there for migrants to the extent of displacing them. What stands out here are the emotional moments when “ufikelwe yisibibithwane nomunyu” [1] (*overcame by pity and bitterness*), “zehla izinyembezi” [1] (*shed tears*). However, the most important description is when “uhluleke ukuzibamba” [4] (*failed to control himself*), “waze wakhala naye” [4] (*he cried as well*), “wakhapha iduku lakhe” [4]. This largely reads like a passage in the Bible. The bible passage that lead to what has been termed the shortest verse in the English bible “Jesus wept” (John 11 vs 35) is preceded by verses that describe how Jesus was moved by the pain of the people who were mourning Lazarus. Reading this news story, with the biblical story in mind, one cannot miss how Dr. Buthelezi is being endowed with messianic qualities. Located in the Jewish and Judeo-Christian heritage, the idea of the messiah or the messianic is a promise for the coming of redemption (Khatib, 2013: 1 -2; see also Derrida 1999, Benjamin, 1999).

In the story, *These are the four Sithole suspects* by Karishma Dipa and Gertrude Makhafola shows us that the media performs representation in collaboration with some state apparatus such as courts. The headline of the story stages a representation, as in re-presentation of the four young man as

suspects and (potential) criminals. The idea of “appearance” also comes with the sense of representation. In the same story, the media embeds itself within the Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs) when it states that the spokesperson of the police, Lieutenant-Colonel Lungelo Dlamini has said they were able to make the final arrests “thanks to the community tip-offs and widespread media coverage” [14]. As an ideological state apparatus (ISA), the media seems to have a relationship with both the public and the RSAs. This can also be seen in the picture that the news organisation uses to illustrate this story where the media personnel are seen as standing next to the police. Ordinary citizens are in most cases represented by the state and its apparatuses.

### 8.3.2. *Language, the public sphere and inequality*

The concept of a public sphere is an ambivalent one. While it holds promise of ensuring that communicative resources are distributed to everyone in society, it is riddled by inequality built on the unfairness of society. In this thesis how isiZulu journalism embraces objective and professional journalism while keeping itself rooted in Zulu nationalism illustrates this ambivalence. The elitism of Zulu nationalism is tempered by the fact that the newspaper publishes in isiZulu a language that millions of people, especially in KwaZulu-Natal where it is located, speak, read and write. The newspaper is also a tabloid meaning that as a form of popular journalism, it puts people at the centre of its reportage. Publishing in isiZulu makes *Ilanga* part of what has been termed indigenous media. Kupe emphasises the decolonial role of indigenous media when he bemoans that this role has been largely neglected in media studies in Africa” 2016: viii). This neglect has been because of the emphasis on the English’s privately owned print media and privately owned FM radio stations that emerged at a time regarded as the ‘democratization era’ of the late 1980s and 1990s (Kupe, 2016: viii; *see* Golding and Murdock 1991; Gurevitch 2000; McChesney 2000; Bagdikian 2014). The democracy that, in media studies has emerged tied to or thought of as the public sphere, has failed in Africa, partly because it closes out indigenous languages. Considering indigenous languages media is decolonizing media democracy. Kupe notes that, at this time of obsession with liberal democracy yoked. Analysis of language was ignored and by default the language(s) of mediation were assumed to be English or European languages like French. In a sense, although language is linked to democratization in the media indigenous language media remains largely undermined and overlooked (Chibita and Salawu, 2016: 1). The background to the

story, *Xenophobia: 'leaders can stop attacks'* by Babington Maravanyika reveals the elitism and coloniality of the newsmaking in how it conveniently excludes the ordinary citizens. The *Sunday Times* is alleged to have broken the story that nothing will happen to the king as the “Human Rights Commission, which had initiated a probe into charges of hate speech against him (the Zulu king) appeared to have hit a dead end” [14]. The paper relies on ‘highly placed sources’ for its story and claim. The other source is within the commission. Tracing the sources here, one sees how the process of newsmaking is inherently colonial.

The media are also represented as in an alliance with elites. They are named as “media houses” [8], “Sunday Times” [14], “the newspaper” [15] and “newspaper sources in the commission” [17]. The media are also seen as “contributing to the myth that foreigners were a problem” [7]. In this sense the media are seen as working with the elites and leaders to create the impression that foreigners are a problem. It is important to look at how the media is said to work. First, Prof. Friedman alleges that there are media houses “who send reporters to home affairs” [8] “to go and find out what the department is doing about foreigners in the country” [8]. Here, the media are seen as abusing its position to incite. The media would most likely ‘manufacture’ stories out of this. The media are also “reported as saying” [17] which makes them speaking subjects. This is important to discuss here. First, the media are no longer comforters of the weak but protectors of the comfortable (Richardson, 2007). Second, it would seem quite an obvious thing that the media are a speaking subject. However, coming from the concept that in the liberal notion that the media are objective, then they have a platform for speaking subjects.

### 8.3.3. *The problems of objective and professional journalism*

Objective and professional journalism as the hegemonic idea of journalism carries traces of coloniality. That the isiZulu *Ilanga* newspaper operates within this hegemonic objective or professional journalism ideology is clear. This could be because it operates within an objective journalism ecosystem, which is undergoing renewal through fact check journalism (Luengo and Garcia-Marin, 2020; Graves, 2016aaa; Graves, 2016b). In a sense, its journalism is a translation of coloniality from English to isiZulu. Objective journalism is rooted in the originary claims of “facts, truth, and reality” as “God-terms” (Zelizer, 2004: 100). Even though journalists claim to be

moving away from claiming objectivity as their news value, the principles of this ideology are seen as still firmly entrenched in the profession. It is apparent in the form of stories that they write. The concept of objectivity asserts that journalists can be neutral in executing their duties and revolves around the separation of facts from values and opinions (Reese, 1990: 394; Hackett, 1984; Tuchman, 1972). The story, *Ukubulawa kowokufika wubugebengu hhayi i-xenophobia* by Intatheli Yelanga on 2- 4 July 2015, strategically puts the reporter and the newspaper out of the story while relying on sources to deny that the murder of Ernesto Sithole was part of xenophobia but criminal operations. This is part of the strategic rituals of objective journalism (Tuchman, 1972). Objective and professional journalism developed as linked to normative expectations of the media and the concept of the public sphere. The normative expectation approach to the media focuses on what the media ought to do in relation to the claims about the good society (Benson, 2008:2591-92, Christian, et al., 2009:65). This liberal pluralist normative role of the media rests “upon shared journalistic claims about journalism’s obligation to represent the interests of the democratic community” (Elderidge II and Steel, 2016: 817). *Ilanga* newspaper is said to provide a dialogic, consultative and educational space among citizens on identity and social issues affecting their lives (Buthelezi, 2016: 60). Here the newspaper plays the facilitative role of making its readers citizens who engage in rational deliberations on issues to do with the political life of their community. It is a subtle departure from the liberal emphasis on “individualism” and “consensus” as it foregrounds “community” and “deliberation” (Christians, et al., 2009:166).

In that the isiZulu story, *Yisibhedi esidala uCele* by Nonhlanhla Jele, Cele is described in all unfair terms but he is never quoted verbatim on what he allegedly said or given the right of response, we see another kind of objective journalism coming up. It could be that what we see is objective journalism, still privileging the powerful, in this case privileging the royalty over the commoner Cele. Cele is also powerful in that he is the provincial Premier but this pales significantly once put up against royalty in the *Ilanga* politics. Cottle (2000) notes that a scrutiny of news sourcing patterns expose the location of social power. Sigal (1986) argues that patterned source-journalist interactions expose the socio-cultural issues of who speaks and who does not. Professor Friedman, as an academic with multiple platforms from which to speak and represent, is part of the elites. That he is a source in this story speaking on behalf of the migrants is not a coincidence but part of

how journalism works. Gitlin has argued that “simply by doing their jobs, journalists tend to serve the political and economic elite definitions of society” (1980: 12).

#### 8.3.4. *The politics of sourcing*

Franklin and Carlson note that it is impossible to imagine contemporary news stories without news sources since most information is linked to individuals and institutions who provide it (2011: 1). Statement and claims that are not attributed in news stories are suspicious for both journalists and readers (Franklin and Carlson, 2011). Tuchman argues that news stories “intermesh fact and source” (1978: 90). This is often done through direct quotations, through putting emphasis on the source such that the journalist’s role is pushed to the background (McNair, 1998: 6). However analysing sources is very important, especially where claims of a public sphere are made in that they reveal who speaks through the news, what voices are heard through the stories (Franklin and Carlson, 2011: 1).

A closer analysis of two stories, *The birthmark on Ernesto’s toe* by Beauregard and *Farewell to SA man who refused to hate* by Sithembiso Hlongwane reveal an interesting aspect of what can be called the politics of sourcing. In Hlongwane’s story, the source, his wife, Mbomvu tells us what the husband said as he died. She provides us a detailed account of her husband’s last minutes. This gives the husband life until the end. While in Tromp’s story, and in some aspects it portrays an active Ernesto who comes back to life as he “grew up” [11] together with Jose and Severiano, “sent” stuff home, and “had heard” [5], what comes out strongly is how beyond death representation silences. The brothers cannot say or report anything he used to say or anything he said as he died, burning in that inferno. In Hlongwane’s story, the wife repeats some of the words of her husband and the strong metaphor of refusing to have “blood on his hands”. In Tromp’s story, no one recalls what Ernesto said as he was burning. This could be because Kanze who was with him is not interviewed or if interviewed, he is not quoted in the story. This reveals the links between sourcing patterns and voice in journalism. Sourcing is a form of authorising who can speak and who cannot speak and this is a power that journalism exercises while claiming to be objective. Authorising who can speak is discursive because it also controls what can be said, what is possible in journalism as a discourse.

Over the years, there has emerged the use of unnamed and anonymous sources. In some cases, this has been as a strategy by newspapers to push their own opinions and cover up with unidentified people. It is seen so much in the story, *King shut out of probe on xenophobia* by Marianne Merten. The use of anonymous sources has been quite an issue in journalism for some time now. As much as it is strategy for journalists to present and to get protected information and leaks from sources, especially among government officials, Stenvall (2008) sees it as a stylistic issue and falling under nominalisation. According to Halliday, nominalisation is when processes, usually verbs and their properties (adjectives) are transformed into nouns (1994: 352). As a noun derived from an adjective, anonymity becomes a nominalization (Sinclair, 1995: 61). When this nominalisation happens and a “‘property’ denoted by an adjective becomes a “‘state’”, the relation between the nominalized word and, for instance, the person who was supposed to have that ‘property’ can be blurred” (Stenvall, 2008: 231). Stenvall gives an example that when a newspaper says ‘X speaks on condition of anonymity’ this is “linked to the speaker only loosely” (Stenvall, 2008: 231). The use of anonymous sources is a contradiction against the prevailing norms in journalism where journalists are expected to attribute identified sources who are critical to the understanding of the message (Boeyink, 1990: 233).

#### 8.3.5. *The discursive strategies of denying or downplaying xenophobia*

There are several ways in which xenophobia is denied, downplayed or normalised in the stories. In the story, *These are the four Sithole suspects* by Karishna Dipa and Gertrude Makhafola, the most important piece of information about Emmanuel Sithole is that he “died” [18]. This stands out because the circumstances under which he died are of murder, which means he was killed. It is therefore ideological that the story uses “died” [18] as if he naturally ceased to live. That choice of word conceals the perpetrators of violence that led to his death. In this story, the police spokesperson refuses to name the killing of Sithole as xenophobia saying “at this stage it is not clear whether the attack may be linked to the threats against foreign nationals or it was a criminal act to rob the victim” [20]. The crowds demonstrating outside the court is clear: “No to xenophobia on their placards” [8]. In the story, *Emmanuel Sithole was his real name - Sister* by Naledi Shange, the lead uses a nominalisation to describe Sithole as a Mozambican national “who was murdered

in Alexandra” [1] and therefore avoids naming his killers. In the story, *King shut out of probe on xenophobia* by Marianne Merten, the lead uses a quote that is not attributed to anyone “where foreign owned shops were looted” [1]. It is not clear who looted the shops. Similar to the lead, foreigners are said to have been attacked. When “attack” as a verb is turned into a noun, the implications are that the subjects, that is those who attack foreigners, are hidden in plain sight.

In the story, *Grocery retailers under scrutiny* by Dewald van Rensburg, the probe is said to be extended to the foreign traders to “address the supposed root of recurring xenophobic violence – the alleged competitive secrets of foreign shopkeepers” [1]. This ideologically shifts the blame for xenophobia on victims. The story, *Anti-xenophobia march in Johannesburg* by Thomas Hartleb refers to police clashing “with a group of people trying to disrupt” [2] a similar event in Durban in the previous weeks. This is continued in the next paragraph where “an Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) member was shot in the leg” [3]. The identity of the shooter is hidden through a passive construction of the sentence. Towards the end of the sentence the violence against foreigners is nominalised as it is said to have “began in townships around Durban [...] and spread to Johannesburg” [4]. Here the violence is given the qualities of a human being and as a result there is no need to identify the perpetrators. In the story, *WRAP: Pretoria brought to a standstill during anti-migrant march* by News24 Reporters, President Zuma, in a unification ideological sleight of hand “said the march included foreign nationals, was well organised and not xenophobic” [8]. The president wants to create the impression that it is ‘people who live in South Africa’ who are fighting crime. Two issues arise here. First, the presence of foreigners does not mean that the march cannot be xenophobic. Second, the president could be pointing us to the reality that foreign nationals are also affected by crime. Through these narrative strategies and sentence constructions, those who commit xenophobia are invisible in public. They are hidden amongst the crowds. They are also hidden in language in the media.

The isiZulu story, *Ukubulawa kowokufika wubugebengu hhayi i-xenophobia* by Intatheli yeLanga is wholly built on denying or downplaying xenophobia. The story sounds and feels like an isiZulu translation of an English story. This is because generally isiZulu stories not only name xenophobia as xenophobia but Afrophobia. The headline of this story “Ukubulawa kowokufika wubugebengu hhayi i-xenophobia” (The killing of the foreigner is criminal and not xenophobia) denies or

downplays xenophobia. The introduction extends this denial stating that “ukugwaza kubulawe uMnu. Emmanuel Josias Sithole [...] bekungahlangene nakancane nokuhlaselwa kwabantu bokufika kuleli” (*The stabbing and killing of Mr. Emmanuel Josias Sithole [...] was entirely not related to the xenophobic violence in this country*) [1]. The lead goes on to state that “kodwa bekuyisenzo sobugebengu” (*However, it was a criminal act*) [1]. Using the ideological strategy of narrativization the story seeks to start from the beginning reporting “indaba isuke ngokuthathwa kwephakethe likagwayi” (*It all started when the accused took a packet of cigarettes without paying*) [3]. Narratives have a cultural importance globally. Altman notes that “stories constitute the bulk of sacred texts; they are the major vehicle of personal memory; and they are a mainstay of law, entertainment, and history” (2008:1). In that sense, the world and the life that people live is seen as a series of narratives and the “stories that people tell about their lives represent their meaning making” (Josselson, 2011: 224).

In most of the stories, there emerges several ways of ideologically denying, downplaying and normalising xenophobia. First, it is either the media and the officials outrightly avoid calling it xenophobia or give it other names. This can also be seen in the nominalisation where sentences lack a subject or the subject is inactive, lacks agency. Such sentence structures eliminate and conceal the killers. Xenophobia is called “criminal act” rather than the political act around citizenship and nationalism that it is. Second, while officials and state institutions are involved in denying or downplaying xenophobia, ordinary citizens and their grassroots leaders seem to be involved in normalising it. In the story, *Anti-xenophobia march in Johannesburg* by Thomas Hartleb, an EFF supporter is shot as the party leaders visit a hostel in Alexandra to “call for an end to the violence against foreigners” [3]. In the story, *Farewell to South African man who refused to hate*, the killing of Sipho Madondo is an example of how people not necessarily illegalised but seen as stumbling blocks are removed from the way to normalise xenophobia. In the story, *WRAP: Pretoria brought to a standstill during anti-migrant march* by News24 Reporters, the marchers confront the department of home affairs and hand over a memorandum, “which strongly criticised how they perceived foreign nationals to be conducting themselves in South Africa” [13]. The citizens arrogate themselves the platform to “police” not only foreigners but the government and state, as well. This way they seek to legitimate xenophobia. They criticise “authorities for failing” to clamp down on those without proper papers or licences. The efforts to normalise xenophobia

includes vigilante tendencies of killing people because they are regarded as illegal immigrants or are seen as a stumbling block to xenophobia.

In the story, *Farewell to South African man who refused to hate* by Sithembiso Hlongwane, there is the reification of the xenophobic violence through nominalisation where the reporter makes it a subject and writes “the xenophobic attacks left 62 people dead and thousands destitute” [3]. Here xenophobic attacks, and not people, are blamed for killing and displacing other people. Xenophobic attacks become this gigantic force that is able to kill people without being specifically traced to some people. The isiZulu story, *Yisibhedi esidala uCele* by Nonhlanhla Jele offers a representation of xenophobia that is different from the English stories. The story describes xenophobia as “udlame lokubulawa kwezifiki zaseAfrica kuleli” which translates to “*violence and the killing of foreign African nationals in this country*” [1]. In normal language this could be translated as just xenophobia. However, the elaborate description fittingly translates to Afrophobia. The story, *UShenge ukhale izinyembezi ngezifiki* by Nonhlanhla Jele clearly names xenophobia as “udlame olubhekiswe kwabokufika abamnyama base-Africa” (*violence directed at black foreign nationals*) [6]. The direct or literary translation makes it clear that this is Afrophobia and the newspaper is consistent in pointing out how race plays a role in xenophobia in postapartheid South Africa. Tafira describes xenophobia as “intra-black-racism/black-on-black-racism which has haunted postapartheid black communities” in South Africa (Tafira, 2018: vii). He argues that it is not a postapartheid aberration but located in the colonial and apartheid project (Tafira, 2018: vii). Besides this effort to describe xenophobia for what it is, isiZulu stories present migrants as fully rounded people. In this story, *Yisibhedi esidala uCele*, even though migrants are portrayed as victims they are also rendered as active and given agency that makes them human. For example, the foreign African nationals promise that “sizophindisela” (*we will revenge*) [5] if the attacks by local citizens persist. These efforts at revenge could account for some South African victims and these are not usually reported because local citizens have been cast as aggressors and attackers. The story brings up the usual accusations that local citizens make against foreign African nationals which include that “bayimbangela yobugebengu obukhungethe leli (*they are the cause of crime in this country*) [11]. The other old complaints are that they take away job and economic opportunities meant for the locals.

Besides the debate on whether the violence against foreign African nationals is xenophobia or criminality, there is a more textured debate on the nature of this discriminatory violence. There is a general debate on the nature of the racism of xenophobia that makes it afrophobia. For some people calling this Afrophobia racists is to imply that South African citizens are racist, something they cannot countenance. However, the textured argument is that both the South African citizen and the foreign black African are locked in the lingering effects of coloniality or the colonial present such that they have never been able to meet outside the mediation of capital, such that they encounter each other as humans. Local South African citizens and foreign black Africans meet each other in workplaces, in schools, at universities and other such institutions where they all serve at the pleasure of capital and are competing for the little opportunities available. This is the racism of xenophobia.

#### **8.4. Articulations of migration, citizenship and nationalism**

Xenophobia emerges as tied to issues of nationalism and citizenship. In the stories and interviews, there are specific ways in which ideas of citizenship and nationalism are constructed around migration. The victims of xenophobia, before they are killed or harmed, they are first constructed as out of the nation. The nation is taken as a birth right and something that cannot be bought. This has led to a popular brand of border imperialism. Smith notes that the challenge with immigrant rights movement, as they are constituted, do not question the illegalisation of immigration which is at the heart of the logics of capitalism and settler colonialism (Smith, 2013: ix). According to Walia (2013), the idea of border imperialism disrupts the myth of Western benevolence toward migrants and opens our eyes to the violence of the border and the nation state. Focusing on border imperialism reveals how displacement and migration are structurally created and maintained under capitalism (Walia, 2013: 5). In xenophobia these ideas of nation and the border are embraced by ordinary citizens in a populist fervour that leads to murder.

##### *8.4.1. The ideas of home, the nation and belonging*

In the clash between the citizens and foreign African nationals, two images of the idea of South Africa emerge. To the locals it is “their home” and to the foreign nationals it is “my country”. In

the story, *WRAP: Pretoria brought to a standstill during anti-migrant march* by News24 Reporters, the Nigerian national quoted calls South Africa “my country” and even suggests that he can make this claim because he is black. This is seen in his questioning why they are being beaten when they are not white. This way he makes the claim that South Africa is a country for all black people. Achille Mbembe argues that no African is a foreigner in South Africa. This is another version of no one is illegal. The enduring point is that whether it is a nation or a home, South Africa is blighted by violence related to issues of belonging. It would seem like the idea of home and the idea of country here is one and the same thing. Ahmed, Castaneda, Fortier and Sheller argue that migration and home have a symbiotic relationship in that “migration is experienced in relation to home and belonging” and “home and belonging are formed in relationship to individual and collective migration” (2003: 1). However, it is important to rethink “home and migration in ways that open out the discussion beyond oppositions such as stasis versus transformation, or presence versus absence” (Ahmed, Castaneda, Fortier and Sheller, 2003: 1). The home as the nation in these stories further breaks down to (Zulu) ethnonationalism, South African nationalism and African nationalism. This is discussed in the next section.

#### *8.4.2. Ethno-nationalism, South African nationalism and Pan-Africanism*

In English stories there is latent reference to the South African nation while in isiZulu stories, there is a strong image of the Zulu nation. Mahoney notes that “within South Africa, no African ethnic group has been as large or as assertive of its own ethnic self-identification as the Zulus” (2012: 2). He then traces this in the events of 2009, when Jacob Zuma assumed presidency of the country arguing that “Zuma has used his Zulu ethnicity and his traditionalism to develop a particularly enthusiastic following among other Zulus, but his support extends far beyond that ethnic group” (Mahoney, 2012: 2). In isiZulu stories, the IFP brand of Zulu nationalism, as an ideology, relied on “Zulu ethnicity and the Zulu king” as its linchpins (Mahoney, 2012: 3). The story, *UShenge ukhale izinyembezi ngezifiki* by Nonhlanhla Jele, that seeks to portray the IFP leader, Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as a messianic figure is clearly conceptualised in a combination of the Christian messiah discourse and the Zulu nationalist ideology and discourses.

In the story, *The birthmark on Ernesto's toe* by Beauregard Tromp, the two brothers – Jose and Severiano – are described as Mozambican, which locates them in the nationalist discourses. Nationalism as subjectivity is at the heart of the xenophobia in postapartheid South Africa. Under xenophobia, nationalism is articulated to citizenship to create insiders and outsiders (Nyamnjoh, 2006). In the story, *These are the four Sithole suspects* by Karishma Dipa and Gertrude Makhafola, the dead man Emmanuel Sithole is referred to as a “Mozambican national” [1]. In the story, *Farewell to South African man who refused to hate* by Sithembiso Hlongwane, the headline mourns a “national,” a “citizen” described as a “South African man.” Siphso Madondo is further described in the false lead as “a South African” contrasted with his compatriots who kill him who are called “an angry mob.” By affirming Madondo’s nationality and citizenship, the story disenfranchises “the angry mob” of that same nationality. The idea of South Africa as a nation comes up in the story, *Pretoria gears for anti-immigrant march* by Sakhile Ndlazi where the capital city Pretoria is set as standing in for the nation. Both the headline and the lead claim that “Pretoria gears for anti-migrant march” and that “today’s Pretoria march” is “against foreigners” [1].

Beyond Zulu ethnonationalism and South African nationalism, what emerges in ethnographic data is a desire for African nationalism, that is pan-Africanism. From public art we see the narrative where South African black people embrace African liberation heroes and black Africans embraced South Africa’s own liberation heroes, including Steve Biko and Nelson Mandela. In the story of the anti-xenophobia marches, the mostly African crowd sings liberation struggle songs as an ideological gesture in the service of black unity. In theorising and making sense of the liberation struggle, it is important to focus on alternative liberation movements such as the Black Consciousness movement of Steve Biko, the pan-Africanist movement of Robert Sobukwe and the black liberation struggle in general.

#### 8.4.3. *Good citizens and bad citizens, good migrants and bad migrants*

The implications of the discourses of illegalisation is that just as there are good citizens like Siphso Madondo in the story, *Farewell to SA man who refused to hate* by Sithembiso Hlongwane, there are also good migrants and bad migrants. In the story, *Xenophobia 'leaders can stop attacks'* by Babbington Maravanyika, Prof. Friedman falls into this trap of dividing migrants into good and bad migrants. Those with papers are the good and those without papers are the bad migrants.

Across the world, debate around migration has sometimes been seen as predicated on the “notion that the majority of asylum seekers are ‘bogus’ and therefore undeserving” to be accepted in the countries that they migrate to (Sales, 2002: 456). This is when they are seen as straining the host nation’s resources without bringing any benefit to their host country. In such cases, this has fuelled “public perceptions of them as a ‘burden’” (Sales, 2002: 457). Anguiano and Najera note that this idea of deservingness/underserving-ness “imposes distinctions between ‘good’ versus ‘bad’ immigrants” (2015: 45). Second, the question then becomes, what happens to those that are deemed illegal, that is those that are illegalised.

The IsiZulu story, *Abavakatshi abasalubhadi emalokishini kwesathselwa ixenophobia* by Nonhlanhla Jele lays bare the distinction between the migrant, the refugee, the tourist and the citizen subjectivities. Rather than constructing an image of representation of “izifiki” (migrants) this story constructs an image of “izivakatshi” (visitors or tourists) [[5]. There is however a latent comparison of migrants to tourists. The tourists or visitors are constructed in various ways. They are, however constructed mostly around the xenophobic violence around the country. They are also constructed in relation to the world and the media spectacle around the xenophobic outbreaks. According to the officials the other problem is that “ukuhlukunyezwa kwabantu abayizihambi kuleli bekwenzeka emehlweni omhlaba, izivakashi zizoba madolonzima ekutheni zivakashele kuleli” (since the violence against migrants in this country happened in full view of the whole world, visitors will be reluctant to visit South Africa) [11]. What we get here is the power of the media in constructing certain views of people and places around the world. In the story, *Bakhalela amathuba abokufika* by Nonhlanhla Jele, the subjectivity of the migrant as precarious emerges. The refugee council and the migrants are constructed in a certain way. They are represented as “Otisha” [2] (*teachers*) and “Nonjiniyela” [2] (*and engineers*) by training and profession but find that to live in the diaspora they have to take up menial jobs such as “onogada” [2] (*security guards*). From the tenor of the source’s voice and the story these are jobs that they consider to be beneath them. They are constructed as highly educated as “bebe beyikazela ngamajazi emfundo” [2] (*strutting their gowns around*), “waze waqoma ukuyoyenza iziqu zeMasters kulomkhakha nazo aseziphothulile” [5], and (*he decided to do a Master’s degree in crop science which he has completed*), and “uthi usenza ezobudokotela e-University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN)” [6] (*he is now pursuing a PhD at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN)*). However, they have a

challenge in that “kodwa umsebenzi do ngaphandle kokwenza imisebenzi yesikhatshana engasho lutho” [6] (*he can't find a job except for meaningless part time jobs*).

#### 8.4.4. *The limits of thinking about migration within a human right discourse*

There are instances where migration is couched as a human right. In the story, Maskandi singer taken to HRC for xenophobic lyrics by Mdu Mvubu and Jabulani Langa, the HRC spokesperson Isaac Mangena warns: “we encourage leaders, including musicians, not to use language that fuels hatred against other people, be it foreigners, gays, lesbians, whites or blacks” [13]. Anderson, Sharma and Wright (2009) have discussed the limits of a human rights approach to migration, borders and xenophobia issues. The problem starts with assuming “explicitly or implicitly, [that] national citizenship” is the “ground on which political mobilizations, claims, and rights ought to be organized” (Anderson, Sharma and Wright, 2009: 8). The challenge here is that “none of the current citizenship-rights-based frameworks are ultimately prepared to challenge frontally the right of states to control their borders and territories, or the rights of states to exclude and deport” (Anderson, Sharma and Wright, 2009: 8). A rights-based approach also disempowers the people in that it privileges a “a rather passive politics in which, as has been argued, claims are made through judicial processes and NGO approaches that can take organizing and political contestation —politics, in short—out of the hands of people” (Anderson, Sharma and Wright, 2009:8).

The limits of a human rights approach come clearly in the story, *Zithi azifune kukhoseliswa izifiki* by Nobuhle Mkhize. It could be that the migrants do not regard this as protection but some kind of imprisonment that “the camp” has been equated to. According to the lead of the story the foreign African migrants have dismissed efforts by the government to bring them tents and mattresses and food so that they can be comfortable as they are protected at the camp. They argue that all they want is to go home, that is, their countries of origin. The story points out that the migrants do not want “ukubonelelwa ngezinto zokukhoselisa amakhanda ngoba lokhu kuzolula isikhathi zihleli kuleli” [2] (*to be provided with what will make them comfortable because this will extend their time in this country*). This story also describes xenophobia in direct terms as “udlame lokucwasa ngokubuzwe” [1] (*violence associated with discrimination on the basis of nationality or ethnicity*). The story, *Bakhalela amathuba abokufika* by Nonhlanhla Jele is located in the human rights (of

the migrants) discourse. Sourced from civil society spaces, the story seems to be located in the human rights (of the migrants) discourse. In discussing migrants and human rights, Ventura (2018) notes that the changing dynamics of migration means that it is difficult to cite or put emphasis on specific rights. Ventura notes that, although the United Nations' Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951 attempts to safeguard "the human rights of those who are forced to migrate and to establish the states' duties in terms of human solidarity [...] the convention has proven insufficient to respond to the increasingly complex dynamics" (2018: 1). The UN and UN-inspired migration rights focus on security and related rights for migrants and refugees, the source in this story is referring to rights that in normal instances are rights expected by citizens from their government. According to the headline of the story "bakhalela amathuba abokufika" (foreigners are crying for opportunities) sounds like a demand to the government and to the job market by citizens. It raises questions on whether migrants can demand rights such as work, especially on the government in an environment where the citizens are rioting and killing some of them over the same jobs.

## **8.5. Black African subjectivity**

Black African subjectivity emerges in various ways in the stories and the ethnographic data analysed in this thesis. The idea of the subject comes into human history at the dawn of Enlightenment and modernity. Black African subjectivity emerges under colonial conditions after 1652. Webb notes that "the idea of the subject ... is to say people: me, you, and everyone else in the world" (2009: 63). While modernity came with the idea of a unified and centred subject, postcolonial and decolonial approaches have thrown this subject into crisis. It, however started with the critical theory of Foucault and the moves towards a decentred subject (Baker, 2012; Webb, 2009: 64). Butler notes that the role of representation is to give us 'this lack' and then fill it to stabilise our identities (1990: 43). In a sense, representation produces subjects. We start with the subject position of a migrant labourer.

### 8.5.1. *The gendered migrant labourer subject*

Migration and xenophobia are gendered and are productive of gendered subjects. The story, *Maskandi singer taken to HRC for xenophobic lyrics* by Mdu Mvubu and Jabulani Langa is a tabloid story written in loose language. At this linguistic level, the story ties with isiZulu stories in Ilanga. It illustrates the reality and challenges of translation. According to the story the musician has been reported for the title of his song “abahambe osibari” which the newspaper translates to “foreigners must go” [[2]. The translation misses the nuances captured by the direct translation and their implication for the gender question. The migration between South Africa and the rest of mostly sub-Saharan Africa has historically been gendered.

As the stories attest, women mostly migrated to do domestic work in Johannesburg. In the story, *Farewell to a South African man who refused to hate* by Sithembiso Hlongwane, Ndimbovhu, a South African national is reported to work as a domestic worker. This ties her to many women who migrate from sub-Saharan Africa and others from provinces previously regarded as Bantustans. Domestic work in migration is a continuation of the separation of the private and public spheres in society that separate the world of work from that of the home and it is marginalised, invisibilized, and gendered (Momsen, 1999: 1, Le Roux, 1999: 179). It also points us to the “asymmetrical, intersecting relations pertaining to gender, race, culture, class and citizenship status are structured and negotiated” (Momsen, 1999: 1). Coming from a decolonial perspective, Gutierrez-Rodriguez argues that looking closely at this domestic work brings into view how, under migration, even though one woman is employed to serve another woman and her household, both women are affected by the exploitative gender relations in society (2010: 2). However, what is important is that this story, gives Ndimbovhu some agency. She is represented as a speaking subject as she retells the story of what happened to her husband, narrating the events that led to his death. She describes the conditions of poverty as they “heard noise outside our small shack on Third Avenue in Alex” [6].

In historicising gender, Mendez (2015) argues that gender was introduced as a “colonial concept and mode of organization of relations of production, property relations, of cosmologies and ways of knowing” (2015: 41; see Lugones, 2010). It made white women visible, even though

discriminated against, but completely made black women invisible because chattel slavery had already “reduced Africans to the legal status of objects that could be bought and sold as opposed to beings that could be understood as either ‘Men’ or ‘Women’” (Mendez, 2015: 42). Xenophobia, especially cultural xenophobia as symbolic violence, in postapartheid South Africa emerges as patriarchal and ranking people such that while it makes others hypervisible, for example the male black African foreigner, it completely symbolically annihilates others, for example the female black African foreigner. Even when citizens complain about these male Nigerians feeding drugs to our children, they make the womanhood of South African women invisible. The poor foreign black African body labouring in the brothels around urban spaces in South Africa is completely silenced and ignored.

Migration and xenophobia in South Africa is entangled in a sexist and patriarchal environment. In the story, *Yisibhedi esidala uCele* by Nonhlanhla Jele, as the foreign African nationals are packing their belongings and preparing to leave the flat where they are under attack, one of the men reportedly says “hambani nodwa nisishiyele abafazi benu” (*go alone and leave behind your women for us*) [11]. This treats women as objects that can be exchanged including at the face of threats of violence. This sexism is layered in that it is articulated to the long history of the patriarchal hostel system. The hostels have been spaces of violence during the apartheid years and in the years towards its end. Most of this violence revolved around tribalism and ethnocentrism. However, this violence could be due to the fact that the hostel has emerged as a gendered space. According to Elder, the hostel violence of the early 1990s, as South Africa edged towards freedom evinced “male hostel-dwellers’ resistance to a perceived erosion of heteropatriarchal family power structures inside hostels and in far-flung rural homes” (2003: 921). This heteropatriarchal claims were directly located in apartheid (Elder, 2003: 921).

Tied to the issue of the migrant labour hostel patriarchy and sexism is the idea that migration has long been gendered. However, in this story, we see the emergence of not only males and females migrating or as migrants but the idea of migrant families. One of the sources in the story, *Yisibhedi esidala uCele*, Mrs. Chilemb Mayonde, from the DRC, claims that “sengibe kuleli ilizwe isikhathi esingangonyaka kanti nginabantwana abayi-8 abafunda esikoleni, i-Addington Primary School” [13] (I have been in this country for a year, and I have 8 children who are learning at Addington

Primary School). It is clear that she migrated the previous year with some of her children. In terms of the interviews in Chapter 7, some children were born to migrants in this country and have never been to their parent's original countries. The issue of the family in migration is one such issue that should draw the attention of any serious scholars of migration. It speaks to the gendered nature of migration.

### *8.5.2. The non-being*

In the stories in mostly the first section of Chapter 5, the black subject appears as dead. It does not matter if they are foreign African nationals or citizens. In a sense, the black subject is a non-being, the living dead (Cesaire, [1955]/1972). The black subject is either expressly referenced as dead for example in the case of Ernesto, Emmanuel Josias Sithole or Siphso Madondo, or they are mentioned as part of statistics as in the 62 who died under the 2008 xenophobic outbreak. There are several ways that dead bodies are spoken about. The first is that they are spoken about as part of the statistics. Second, they are spoken about by the authorities, the courts and those who survived (witnesses). Third, even when they are spoken about by the authorities, they assume a subjectivity. For example, in the case of Emmanuel Sithole, he is illegalised by the state, authorities and the media even in death.

Townships as the geography of violence comes out in the descriptions of townships around Durban, in Alexandra in Johannesburg, and Mamelodi in Pretoria. The diaspora, especially in the townships, is therefore a zone of nonbeing for the black subject. This is the zone of the living dead, where the living are tied to the dead. First, this comes through in that, according to the stories, whether in Ramaphosa or Alexandra township, these black subjects live under punitive poverty. Importantly, be it Ramaphosa or Soweto, these townships are mostly places that people built on their own without the support of the government (Mbembe, Dlamini and Khunu, 2004; Wafer, 2012; Lewis, 1966). Second, it is through how they are constructed or emerge as black subjects, disposable, that these people are the living dead. They appear in these urban spaces as cheap labour to serve capital or to labour on the margins for the crumbs from capital.

### 8.5.3. *The collective and the people*

The black subject also appears as part of a collective. There are numerous populist images of the black subject as ‘the people’ in several stories. In the story, *Crowd gathers for anti-xenophobia march* by Mpiletso Motumi, the people who gather for a march are described as a crowd. Populist ideas always mobilise ideas of crowds in support of their cause. In the lead of the story, the populist idea of “the people” comes up in the march named as “the people’s march against xenophobia” [1]. In “the people” black subjectivity is constructed as a collective subjectivity. The name of the march ideologically uses unification to create the idea of the people. In the story the marchers are said to be “singing struggle songs, dancing and setting the mood for an energetic and colourful march” [4]. In that the struggle was imagined from the perspective that put Africa at the centre of the struggle for freedom, the struggle songs bring together black people. If colonialism dehumanised the black subject, it is in the struggle songs and the struggle for freedom that ‘the human’ as the ‘envisioned self’ emerges as decolonial. In the story, *Anti-xenophobia march in Johannesburg* by Thomas Hartleb, the march is organised by “several civil society organisations and trade unions” [2] creating the impression of unity and standing as a collective. In using the word ‘crowd’ the headline of the story, *Crowd gathers for anti-xenophobia march*, by Mpiletso Motumi, brings up the idea of the people as a collective. This idea of the people is carried forward in the lead as the march is christened “the people’s march against xenophobia” [1]. This uses unification to create the idea of one people who are a collective. The first part of the lead legitimates the idea that all the people are endorsing this march and taking a stand against xenophobia. This unification is further developed where the African Diaspora Forum (ADF) says “We endorse the message that ‘no-one is illegal’ and call on all people living in South Africa to unite against unemployment, inadequate housing, rising crime and bad schools” [2]. This has the effect of bringing up the Freedom Charter, a landmark historical event in South Africa.

### 8.5.4. *The illegal and the illegalised*

The black African subject also appears as illegalised and therefore illegal in the stories and from inference from the ethnographic data. In the story, *Emmanuel Sithole was his real name – Sister* by Naledi Shange, the newspaper insists on the question of legality and wants to understand if

Emmanuel Sithole was legally in South Africa. This story illustrates illegalisation by the state and the media. Thando Sithole is made to answer if her brother was in South Africa legally or not, to which her answer is that she does not know. Under the circumstances where the family is mourning a dead brother, it is absurd to insist on the legality of Emmanuel Sithole. On the section on the crisis of leadership and xenophobia in the story, *Xenophobia: 'leaders can stop attacks'* by Babbington Maravanyika, Professor Steven Friedman, makes reference to media discourses as practices that sanction xenophobia. It would seem here in these practices the strategy is to criminalise migrants like Emmanuel Sithole, make them disposable and intentionally or unintentionally justify their killing. The issue of the passport as the guarantor of legality comes up in the story, *Emmanuel Sithole was his real name – Sister* when Thando argues that “his passport was used to obtain his death certificate” [5]. In terms of passports and death certificates, the tools of governmentality, it is the government that guarantees and gives legality. The passport is central to migrant’s identities and their relationship to the state. Issues of subjectivity and identity emerge strongly in this story in that Jacob Zuma refers to “fake names” [1]. Fake names is an issue of legality and illegality. The same documents like passports and visas that bestow legality also manufacture illegality. In a sense, illegality is specifically “produced, embodied, operates across scales, and links to neoliberalism” (Hiemstra, 2010: 77; see Hiemstra, 2010: 77; Chavez 2007, Willen, 2007:11, De Genova, 2002: 419). In interviews during field research, I sensed a trend of migrants using fake names and fake documents. The illegalised immigrants adopt fake names and papers to avoid arrests and deportations and detention at Lindela. Bacon (2008) encourages that people be referred to as “undocumented” rather than illegal.

In the story, *WRAP: Pretoria brought to a standstill* by News24 Reporters, migrants are constructed as a problem. First, occupying Atteridgeville and other such impoverished spaces of the inner city, they are constructed as provocative and violent. Their presence is sealed as problematic when President Zuma uses his position to legitimate the march when he is allegedly to say “the march in Pretoria was evidence that citizens were fed up with crime.” [6]. This separates citizens, who are inherently good and cannot engage in crime, from the foreign national who are associated with crime and are therefore criminals. In the story, the reporters describe the marchers as “the people marching against immigrants” [1]. The criminalisation or construction of

immigrants as unwanted and opposed raised an interesting question as to whether people or citizens are against migrants as well as migration.

There are examples of the illegalisation of local citizens as black subjects. The idea of “appearance” in the story, *These are the four Sithole suspects* by Karishna Dipa and Gertrude Makhafola, carries with it a sense of representation and gestures to how the court represents, effectively constructing the four young men as criminals. The criminality or criminalisation of young black people, especially men, is part of the enduring images of black subjects in the townships and other spaces of abjection. As has been seen, the images of a criminal works either way for local black South Africans or foreign African nationals. The discourses of illegalisation are also evident in the story, *Anti-xenophobia march in Johannesburg* by Thomas Hartleb, where there is the militarisation of migration and by extension black spaces when the defence minister, Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula says “the army would be sent to hotspots around the country, including Alexandra” [5]. This no mere militarisation of the border but the bringing in of the border from where it is physically located into the city. The borders in the city appear here already militarised. In the story, *Crowd gathers for anti-xenophobia march* by Mpiletso Motumi, the quote of “no one is illegal” seems to be a decolonial strategy to resist this border imperialism. However, in this context as noted in the discussion of the story, *Anti-xenophobia march in Johannesburg*, the “no one is illegal” rallying point which has the implications of linking the migrant struggles in South Africa to global migrant struggles especially in North America is imagined within the neoliberal concept of open borders.

#### 8.5.5. *The human*

In decolonial politics, the highest goal is to attain the human subject as an embodiment of true liberation. Che Guevara calls this the new man. The issues of subjectivity as related to questions of the human and the new man also take centre stage in most stories and in interviews. The discourse of ‘the human’ comes out strongly in the story, *The birthmark on Ernesto’s toe* by Beauregard Tromp, when Jose is allowed to come through and speak about the slain Ernesto. Jose says when he enquired about Ernesto’s body he had asked “if they [authorities at the mortuary] know about a person who died burning” [14]. The use of “a person” to refer to Ernesto who has

up to this point in the story been directly or indirectly called a Mozambican, making him a national subject or a body, among other descriptions, is significant. It is significant in that by the choice of his words Jose restores humanity to Ernesto who was not only dehumanised but killed as well. In the context of black subjectivity, the ultimate goal of freedom is to reclaim the human (Wynter, 2003; Fanon, 1963). For Fanon, the reclaiming of the human in black subjectivity is the ultimate decolonisation “the veritable creation of new men [where] the ‘thing’ which has been colonized becomes man during the same process by which it frees itself” (1963: 36 – 37). Where Fanon ends is where Wynter (2003) starts as she points to the need for a new science of man and a new understanding of the human.

This is important to raise here because of the way that representation seems to work to undermine the human. In the story, *The birthmark on Ernesto’s toe*, the two brothers, Jose and Severiano are not recognised as ‘human’ but national subjects. Under xenophobic conditions, nationalism is articulated to citizenship to create insiders and outsiders (Nyamnjoh, 2006). In the history of modernity, citizenship emerges as tied to the nation (Munch, 2001: 1). In Africa, at independence and the return of the nation, the extension of citizenship to the previously disenfranchised black subject, made it “both identity and entitlement” (Gray, 1998: 391 – 392). So, under the xenophobic conditions obtaining in the story, once constructed as national subjects, Jose and Severiano, are expelled from the realm of the human. Locked in the cycle of xenophobic hatred, black people in postapartheid South Africa fail to recognise each other’s humanity, and in the process make each other unrecognisable as humans. Xenophobia dismembers the black African subject leaving it distorted and unrecognisable, even to itself (wa Thiong’o, 2009). The death of a black person at the hands of another black person in the townships under xenophobic conditions is almost always an anonymous death. While we know Ernesto, we do not know his killers, they are anonymous. This contrasts xenophobia with the pernicious violence around gender where the assailant is almost always known to the victim (Jewkes, Dunde, Nduna and Shai, 2010).

The stories on the marches also carry an underlying theme of the human, human freedom and human liberation as articulated to subjectivity. The two marches remind us of several marches in South African history, very noble and about the triumph of the African (as in the subject) spirit. The women’s march in 1956, the 1976 students protest in Soweto and the PAC pass book march.

What was at stake in these marches is the triumph of the human spirit and a search for the “envisioned self” (Biko, 2017). The tragedy of the two marches discussed in this thesis is that the image of the black subject is refracted through the white subject. The headline of the story, *Pretoria gears for anti-migrant march* by Sakhile Ndlazi uses the word “anti-migrant” where the person (migrant) becomes the object of hatred or opposition. The lead further claims that today’s march is “against foreigners” [1]... Migrants as subjects are constructed as foreigners and a target for hatred. In the story, *WRAP: Pretoria brought to a standstill during anti-immigrant march* by News24 Reporters, the foreigners are described as “non-South Africans” [4] or “foreign nationals” [8]. To describe someone as “non-South African” is not to describe their essence, what they are, but to describe what they are not. Importantly, it is to describe them as non-human.

There is also dehumanisation where issues of race, ethnicity and gender are concerned. In the story, *WRAP: Pretoria brought to a standstill during anti-migrant march* by News24 black and white South Africans” [16]. The use of the metaphor of slavery is shocking as this is a very anti-black piece of history. The clamping together of blacks and whites against foreigners is also shocking. Considering that race is a social construct, this could be an attempt to create foreigners as some kind of race, the third race. a foreign national Olanyika Ogunjini quoted in the story also makes a startling statement when he says “why are they fighting us? Are we white?” [23]. This comes out as if he is saying whites are what should be fought. In the isiZulu story, *Yisibhedi esidala uCele* by Nonhlanhla Jele, beyond race, the issue of ethnicity comes to the fore. The story collapses IFP supporters with the Zulu ethnic group and hostel dwellers. According to a man from the DRC, Mr. Ngenge Mandebvu, their attackers said “umuntu wobuzwe bamaZulu makaphumele ngaphandle kusale abantu bokufika kuphela ngaphakathi ezindlini” (*Everyone who is of Zulu nationality must come out and only foreign migrants must remain inside the building*) [8]. Here Zulu subjectivity assumes the level of nationality. In the story, *UShenge ukhale izinyembezi ngezifiki* by Nonhlanhla Jele, he evokes the African struggle for liberation to try and calm citizens. In trying to articulate a politics that might calm the ordinary citizens from attacking foreign African migrants, Dr. Buthelezi falls for the cliché that the rest of Africa housed South Africans when the country was fighting the apartheid regime.

## **8.6. The border, coloniality, de/bordering and decolonising**

What also comes out of the stories and the ethnographic data is that, linked to the townships and other spaces of abjection like Yeoville, Hillbrow and other inner-city spaces, the black subject, especially migrants, lives on the border within the city. These are spaces of death and non-being. Through the illegalisation discussed in this chapter, mostly undocumented African migrants in Johannesburg live their lives 'at the border' even though they might be geographically within Gauteng, the country's richest and most metropolitan province (Ngai, 2003; Nyers, 2010; Wright, 2013). Borders are no longer fixed at the physical boundaries between nations but are in a state of flux extending into the interior of nations (Balibar, 2002).

### *8.6.1. The border, diaspora, xenophobia and alienation*

To be at the border is to be alienated. According to Giddens and Sutton (2014) alienation refers to the separation or estrangement of human beings from some essential aspect of their nature or from society. In this case, to be at the border is to be alienated from the nation and as a result from an identity. Alienation is seen as resulting in feelings of powerlessness or helplessness (Giddens and Sutton, 2014: 46). It is clear from the interviews that belonging is a key emotion that migrants in Johannesburg grapple with. Living in Johannesburg without being accepted, as is clear in xenophobia, deepens the crisis of belonging among the migrants. These are people who still have a strong sense of home with them. Ms Bibesho's points out that, she has relatives still living in Burundi, and other relatives in South Africa, whom she has managed to connect with, over the years. All the interviewees have alluded to having family in their countries of origin and in South Africa, and in some cases, overseas. These migrants have tried to balance the idea of home, back in countries of origin and home in South Africa, and therefore as sense of belonging, through the deployment of social media, to keep in touch.

Xenophobia alienates migrants from South Africa – as a nation - and stops them from embracing the country as a home. Even though there may be challenges where these migrants come from, they still feel attached to those areas because, to them, home bestows freedom, dignity, and human liberation. In encountering xenophobia, they grapple with the struggle to be human and to belong.

For most migrants, choosing to remain ‘at the border’ even though inside South Africa, is a survival strategy. In that the perpetrators of xenophobia, on their own, are wrestling with issues of dehumanisation (in poor service delivery in the ghettos) and somehow feel that ‘migrants or foreigners’ are part of the problem, it can be argued that xenophobia represents a space where issues of home and diaspora collide.

#### *8.6.2. The border, accessing services in government spaces and neglect*

As much as the border could be a space where the government sorts out migrants, into desirables and undesirables, in a sense to ‘see’ them, migrants may also be using the border to see the government. For some, it is how close they can come to the government. In early 2018, a video clip circulated among migrants’ social media groups until it leaked to the mainstream media and the department of home affairs stepped in. It was a brief video clip of a home affairs official, allegedly in Beitbridge border post, busy on her smart phone attending to her WhatsApp messages while attending to travellers. In the clip, the official would take a travellers’ passport, check her WhatsApp, flip through the passport, read a message on WhatsApp, giggle, respond, attend to the passport, go back to WhatsApp and then stamp the passport. The clip was circulated among migrants and citizens in South Africa. For most migrants, it marked the height of neglect by the border authorities, to make one feel as if they are not wanted in South Africa. Most of the interviewees speak about such neglect in many spaces, including clinics and other public offices. Mr. Abenge says an increasing number of migrants have complained about the neglect and treatment by government officials, including the police, who make them pay bribes. Migrants also use these social media to watch and see the government in South Africa. They are sort of using the social media to reverse surveillance; sort of standing ‘at the border’ to peer inside and see what the South African government is doing about their issues.

#### *8.6.3. Border thinking: Culture, heritage and choosing to remain outside while inside*

Africans who migrate from other African countries to South Africa bring with them specific cultural practices around music, dance and food. These are part of their cultural heritages. It is important to point out that these cultures are different and do not form one cultural heritage, but in

their differences, it would be best to refer to them as cultural heritages that are tied to ethnic differences across different countries and the entire African continent. When these migrants reach Johannesburg in South Africa, they want to preserve these cultural heritages for many reasons. One interviewee, an Igbo young man, said he patronises the *kwasakwasa* shop as a way “of staying in touch with home”. In a sense, preserving these cultural heritage keeps them ‘at the border’ in that they do not enter South Africa completely. So in a sense, as much as South African society may keep migrants at the border through xenophobia and challenges at government institutions; these migrants also revoke their agency by actively keeping themselves at the border. Over and above running such shops or restaurants that sell indigenous African food from their homes, most of these Africans also make this food at home. Johannesburg, is the enduring coloniality of postcolonial Africa where Africans continue to identify each other through colonial tags and identities. Even in their talk, speech, Africans other and keep each other at the borders. In this case, it is the border of speech. However, spaces such as the traditional foods outlets provide room to outgrow this othering and this coloniality as people meet across cultures to appreciate, and appropriate, food in creating a new culture.

#### *8.6.4. Decolonising and resistance practices*

The major coloniality is the coloniality of the border, that of migration and then that of the city. These forms of coloniality, all rooted to the actual colonialism and the reality of neoliberal coloniality, are all articulated to the coloniality of representation. They all seek to construct or produce a certain black African subject in the postapartheid and postcolonial moment. However, especially in the ethnography chapter, there emerges a sense in which people are engaged in decolonising practices. Contemporary migration patterns between the rest of Africa and South Africa are mapped on a path or trajectory left behind by colonial administrators. In the postapartheid moment this migration has persisted as articulated in coloniality at the margins of the nation-state. The postcolonial nation-state took over the colonial border apparatus that created and sustained this form of migration as *illegalised*. It is also colonial in that, for many years, it has been a gendered form of migration, where the husband had to go to South Africa to work for the family while the wife remained home, as a home maker. This coloniality is changing in two important ways. First, the challenge for the nation-state is that most of this migration is the

illegalised type of migration which is far from the control of both the sending (rest of African states) and receiving state (South Africa). Most of the remittances come through the 'black market' and hardly become part of the mainstream economy. When migrants in Johannesburg use nonconventional means of sending their remittances home, first, they cut out the state. Second, women are breaking gender barriers in that not only are they going to South Africa to find work, like their male counterparts, but they are also looking after families, playing the head of the family role. From the colonial history of migrant labour between South Africa and the rest of the continent, we can see that in its origin labour migration has always been gendered in that it has always been a male dominated space. However, some years before South Africa's independence in 1994, women started migrating to South Africa as well to work mostly in the kitchens. Today there is a huge number of women working in kitchens, but have also expanded into the growing hotel and tourism, and restaurants part of South Africa's diverse economy. What must be stressed here is that not only this has overturned or sort of challenged the coloniality of migration in terms of gender, but it has had an effect in the emergence of a new female subject. We now have women working in South Africa, who are now more like heads of their families providing for their parents, their siblings and their children back home. The coming in of women into migration, playing important roles including taking up family bread winners' roles, brings the family into view. The family plays an important role in all this. While it is ideal to work hard and amass as much resources as possible in South Africa, migrants depend on a strong family structure to invest these resources well back home.

## **8.7. Conclusion**

Black African subjectivity emerges in various ways in the stories and the ethnographic data analysed in this thesis. The black African subject emerges out of a history of dispossession and colonial labour in both farms and mines set up by the coloniser. In the case of South Africa, the black African subject emerges out of colonial history as a colonial migrant labourer to work at the Witwatersrand mines in Johannesburg. As a racialised construct, the black African subject is located in the colonial difference and emerges as the other of Man. This subject persists under neoliberal globalisation. Studying xenophobia as a space for the emergence of black African subjectivity in the postapartheid moment has been characterised by the emphasis on the violence,

especially the physical violence, occluding ways in which xenophobia is productive in the Foucauldian sense (Foucault, 1980). Xenophobia is productive in that it produces subjectivities. At a basic level, xenophobia is located in illegalising certain people. Illegalisation of certain people as epistemic injustice produces subjects that are disposable and undesirable. This negatively productive violence of xenophobia emerges as tied to representation. From a constructivist perspective, the link between representation, subjectivities and how people are treated becomes more insidious in that representations are not random (Alcoff, 1991; Deleuze and Foucault, 1977). What also comes out of the stories and the ethnographic data is that, linked to the townships and other spaces of abjection like Yeoville, Hillbrow and other inner-city spaces, the black subject, especially migrants, lives on the border within the city. Through the illegalisation, most undocumented African migrants in Johannesburg live their lives 'at the border' even though they might be geographically within Gauteng, the country's richest and most metropolitan province. However, this could also be a strategy of resistance by the migrants.

## Chapter 9

### Conclusion: The point is to decolonise it!

“‘Science’ (knowledge and wisdom) cannot be detached from language; languages are not just ‘cultural’ phenomena in which people find their ‘identity’; they are also the location where knowledge is inscribed. And, since languages are not something human beings have but rather something of what human beings are, coloniality of power and of knowledge engendered the coloniality of being” - (Mignolo, 2003: 669).

“We live in a depressing historical moment, violent spaces, unending wars against persons of colour, repression, the falsification of evidence, the collapse of critical, democratic discourse, repressive neoliberalism disguised as dispassionate objectivity prevails” – (Denzin, 2013: 355)

“From a decolonial perspective there is no outside of coloniality from where coloniality can be observed” (Mignolo, 2014: 21)

### 9.1. Introduction

The emergence of migration, the cities and the media in imperialistic violence, and their implication in the construction of the black African subject has a long history that reaches back to the arrival of John van Riebeeck and his colonializing group in 1652, and persists in the postapartheid present under conditions of coloniality and the ‘colonial present’. The migration patterns between South Africa, especially the city of Johannesburg, have a long history dating into the 1800s at the time of the migrant labour system. The migrant labour system built around the mines in Johannesburg led to the emergence of a black African subject as a migrant labourer. This violence of capitalism was built on the violence of earlier bloody land dispossessions that first made a black person a wage labourer on white farms and tangled him to capital as a wage labourer to today.

As the cities developed around mines and mining compounds, and the growing manufacturing industries, it was the violence of exclusions that ensured that the black African subject is kept at the peripheries of the city. Although in the city at the service of capital, the black subject was not wanted in the city. This marks the absence/presence of the black African subject in the city. In that the city represents the highest stage of capitalist mode of production, the black subject is present there as a labourer, and absent as a human being. This absence presence has been negotiated

through the emergence of the townships at the peripheries of the city as the Mecca of capital in any national economy. Townships have developed either out of the city in geographic terms, or geographically inside the city, but as epistemically out of the economy and as patches of poverty and want in a sea of riches that the city is.

The first appearance of the newspaper on 16 August 1800 means that for the black African subject, the media have been about representation, and the black African subject to date has had an absence/presence relationship with the media. In the colonial era, newspapers served a colonial agenda, reporting on the activities of the colonialists to the Metropolitan countries such that the black person, regarded as a thing, was completely absent. This is the violence of representation. This racism of the media has persisted in South Africa up to today.

This chapter wraps up the research. In the next section, as a way of summarising the dissertation, I discuss what each chapter does in this study. I then discuss some of the primary findings of the research. In the last section of the chapter, I point to what further areas of media, representation and black subjectivity in postapartheid South Africa can be explored.

## **9.2. Summary**

The introduction part of the research discusses the research problem, which is the crisis of representation around the black African subject in postapartheid South Africa focusing on the articulations of the media, urbanisation and migration. The chapter discusses the research problems and questions and then goes on to articulate the theoretical and conceptual issues around the research. It further discusses the research methodology before justifying the significance of the research. In a nutshell, the introduction part primarily justifies the research and the choices made in terms of theories and conceptual tools, and the research methodology and methods.

In that this research, partly aims at decolonizing media and cultural studies, especially through shifting theoretical and methodological resources in the study of the representation of black African subjectivity in post-apartheid South Africa, *Chapter 1* focuses on articulating a decolonised theoretical and conceptual framework for the study. The imperative to decolonise is

due to the fact that, media studies, and many other disciplines in the humanities and social sciences category, are seen as historically tainted with coloniality. Following Lionnet and Shih (2011), Gordon (2014), and Gordon and Roberts (2015), the theoretical and conceptual framework for this dissertation is a creolisation of critical Western theory, specifically the Marxism of Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser and Michel Foucault, and postcolonial and decolonial work. The postcolonial and decolonial work that is brought into conversation with Western Marxist work is that of Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, Frantz Fanon, Sylvia Wynter, Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Steve Biko, among others.

*Chapter 2* offers a historical background to the idea of South Africa focussing on the articulations of the media, the urban and the border in the colonial project, in general, and the construction of the black African subject as a colonial subject, in particular. The chapter proffers a short outline of the history of South Africa, colonial land dispossessions and conquest, the discovery of diamond and gold, emergence of cities and industrialisation, the migrant labour system, the emergence of the media, the emergence of the ANC, the postapartheid moment, Habib (2013)'s "South Africa's suspended revolution" and xenophobia.

*Chapter 3* starts off with an emphasis on the constructivist nature of representation as proffered by Stuart Hall (1997). Drawing on the work of Lloyd (2019), Foucault (1977) and Mignolo (2018), in this chapter, I argue that representation arise out of modernity as a repressive technology of speaking and representing, effectively constructing the "Other," and that as a result black African subjectivity, as a subject position that comes out of colonialism and now 'colonial presence', is haunted by coloniality (Wynter, 2003; Mignolo, 1997).

*Chapter 4* discusses the research design in terms of methodology. Located broadly in Cultural Studies, this research deals mostly with texts – whether they are news stories or graffiti or images as collected during the ethnographic research – and therefore is based on discourse, ideology and semiotics analysis. The data collection methods that are discussed in this chapter include the sampling for journalism texts from two English newspapers and one isiZulu newspaper, the ethnographic design with emphasis on qualitative and in-depth interviews. The chapter also

discusses the research ethics and how thinking seriously about the ethical issues is central to decolonising research.

**Chapter 5** focuses on studying twelve news stories taken from from *Media24* and *Independent Newspapers*, the country's two biggest print and online media content producers. The focus here is on the language of the journalism content, tracing and making sense of the media's discursive practices in the construction of black African subjectivity in post-apartheid South Africa. This study of languages deploys a combination of critical discourse analysis (CDA), ideology and semiotic analysis to read content that includes news stories, feature stories, editorials and photojournalism.

**Chapter 6** deals with the analysis of six isiZulu stories taken from one of the oldest indigenous language newspapers in South Africa, *Ilanga* newspaper. The chapter grapples with the idea that while Zulu nationalism and isiZulu newspapers seem to emerge from different spaces, their history is both defined by elitism. *Ilanga* newspaper, the oldest newspaper, emerged from the circles of *amakholwa*, mostly educated Zulu people who could read and write. Zulu nationalism has its roots in the elite Zulu people, around the Inkatha movement of the 1920s. The chapter specifically uses a translation method that pays attention to cultural nuances and seek to capture them for purposes of analysing the differences between English and isiZulu journalism.

**Chapter 7** discusses ethnographic data collected during field research in February and May 2019 in Johannesburg, a city with pockets of multicultural spaces where one finds people from across Africa and parts of Asia living together. This chapter addresses mainly the last aim of this dissertation, which is to challenge the hegemonic narrative of black-on-black violence as the single narrative of postapartheid townships and impoverished spaces of Johannesburg. After introducing ten of the interviewees, briefly telling their stories and how they came to Johannesburg, the chapters then discusses the coloniality of the architecture and the appearance of the city, the feeling of alienation for most foreign African nationals who feel like they are caught up at the borders even within the city, crime and the black-on-black violence of xenophobia, among other emerging themes.

*Chapter 8* brings together the themes and discourses that emerge from the data presented and analysed in chapters 5 – 7. This data is analysed with the express goal of drawing together the threads that link it and link it to the decolonial literature discussed in the literature and conceptual chapters. The themes or discourses are divided into five major categories sub-divided into various sub-categories. The five major categories are: the spectre of xenophobia haunts the black subject; the coloniality of media and representation; articulations of migration, citizenship and nationalism; ethno-nationalism, South African nationalism and Pan-Africanism; black African subjectivity; and the border, coloniality, de/bordering and decolonising.

### **9.3. Primary findings**

Some of the findings in the research include:

*The paradoxes of xenophobic violence:* This research aimed for a textured studying of xenophobia. This meant going beyond the emphasis on the naked violence to focus even on its epistemic violence and how at times the violence had had unintended positive implications. Here xenophobia was taken as productive, in the Foucauldian sense where power is not necessarily negative but productive as well. While, on one hand, the violence of xenophobia reveals how the perpetrators of violence regard the life of a fellow black person, once constructed as a foreigner, as cheap and disposable; for the human race linked by media platforms, this violence has a way of humanising its victims. How human beings across the world get united by the sight of a burning Mozambican national, Ernesto, is here contrasted with the popularity of xenophobia to emphasise its complex texture. Reflecting on the Rwandese genocide, Mamdani points out that “it is the “popularity” of the genocide that is its uniquely troubling aspect” (2001: 8). When one considers the emerging images of xenophobia, it is being portrayed as a criminal activity of the poor mostly in the townships. This subaltern and “popular” character of xenophobia is worrying (Mamdani, 2001: 8). Yet reducing it to criminality is equally worrying.

*The dead and the zone of non-being:* Because of the naked violence of xenophobia, dead bodies have a strong presence in the stories discussed in this research. It is either they are expressly referenced as in the case of Ernesto, Emmanuel Josias Sithole or Siphso Madondo, or they are

mentioned as part of statistics as in the 62 who died under the 2008 xenophobic outbreak. There are several ways that dead bodies are spoken about. The first is that they are spoken about as part of the statistics. Second, they are spoken about by the authorities, the courts and those who survived (witnesses). Third, even when they are spoken about by the authorities, they assume a subjectivity. For example, in the case of Emmanuel Sithole, he is illegalised by the state, authorities and the media even in death. Townships and other impoverished spaces emerge as the geography of violence. This comes out in descriptions of townships around Durban, in Alexandra in Johannesburg, and in Mamelodi in Pretoria. The diaspora, especially in the townships and spaces like Yeoville, Berea and Hillbrow, are therefore a zone of nonbeing for the black subject. This is the zone of the living dead, where the living are tied to the dead. First, this comes through in that, according to the stories, whether in Ramaphosa or Alexandra township, these black subjects live under punitive poverty.

*Discourses of illegality:* Xenophobia and illegalisation are intertwined in that those that are marked as out of the nation are first illegalised before xenophobic violence can be meted on their bodies. In the third story discussed in Chapter 6, Thando Sithole is made to answer if her brother was in South Africa legally or not, to which her answer is that she does not know. Under the circumstances where the family is mourning a dead brother, it is absurd to insist on the legality of Emmanuel Sithole. On the section on the crisis of leadership and xenophobia, Professor Steven Friedman, makes reference to media discourses as practices that sanction xenophobia. This shows how illegality is specifically “produced, embodied, operates across scales, and links to neoliberalism” (Hiemstra, 2010: 77). For De Genova, migrant illegality has risen to unprecedented prominence as a ““problem” in policy debates and as an object of border policing strategies for states around the world” (De Genova, 2002: 419). De Genova argues for the denaturalisation of the reification of concepts such as “illegality” or where “legal” or “illegal” seek to modify migration (De Genova, 2002: 420).

*The colonial trap of objective journalism:* In terms of journalism in isiZulu language, what emerges is the enduring coloniality of objective or professional journalism. The *Ilanga* newspaper operates within the hegemonic objective or professional journalism ideology. This is a journalism rooted in the ordinary claims of “facts, truth, and reality” as “God-terms” (Zelizer, 2004: 100).

Even though journalists claim to be moving away from claiming objectivity as their news value, the principles of this ideology are seen as still firmly entrenched in the profession. It is apparent in the form of stories that they write (Tuchman, 1972). This becomes obvious in the story on the court case around the murder of Emmanuel Sithole. The story deploys objective journalism strategies to deny that the murder of Emmanuel Sithole was part of xenophobia through placing the newspaper and reporter out of the story. This is done through a heavy reliance on the source, which is one of the strategic rituals of objective journalism (Tuchman, 1972). Objective and professional journalism, as it developed it became linked to normative expectations of the media and the concept of the public sphere.

*Language, public sphere, elitism:* What also became clear is that, embracing objective and professional journalism and its location in Zulu nationalism has made *Ilanga* newspaper's brand of journalism appear ambivalent. This is because this elitism is tempered by the fact that the newspaper publishes in isiZulu a language that millions of people, especially in KwaZulu-Natal where it is located, speak and can read and write. The newspaper is also a tabloid meaning that as a form of popular journalism, it puts people at the centre of its reportage. Considering that a large portion of media in South Africa are English, one would reason that a large portion of people in the country already stand out of the media, and the imagined public sphere. In a sense, the public sphere, therefore, already appears exclusionary. This is because language is central to the discussion of the "media's role in inclusion and exclusion and in the overall democratisation project in Africa" (Chibita and Salawu, 2016: 1). One would therefore imagine that *Ilanga* publishing in isiZulu enlarges the public sphere. However, that is complicated in that reading and writing remains the preserve of educated people. The fact that the newspaper appears as an elitist medium means it is also exclusionary in its own way. This can be seen if one compares the audience for *UKhozi FM* and the readership of the newspaper.

#### **9.4. Further research**

As a way of concluding this conclusion, I proffer some of the ways in which this research can be extended as a form of urban cultural studies meant to understand and make sense on the cultural life of the black African subject in postapartheid South Africa. In their conceptualisation of the

circuit of culture, du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay and Negus (2003) offer five moments - that is regulation, production, consumption, representation and identity - as processes that work in concert “to provide a shared cultural space in which meaning is created, shaped, modified, and recreated” (Curtin and Gaither, 2006: 37 – 38). This research focused mainly on the moment of representation and identity (subjectivity). As a way of further research, the decolonial approach can be extended to other moments such as regulation, production and consumption. In the ethnographic section, the research touches on consumption and the absence/presence of the mainstream media in spaces such as Yeoville, Berea and Hillbrow in Johannesburg. There is a need for a research that focuses on the kind of media that the black African subject in these spaces consumes and what are its implications in the construction of this subject. In terms of production, it is important to focus on the journalists and the newsroom processes, and even conduct interviews with journalists to find out what they understand about black African subjectivity in the postapartheid moment. Here, questions can also be directed on the young journalists and what sense they make out of their work and representations of blackness. While it remains important to focus on direct regulation of the media, it would be worthwhile to focus on how the relationship between different aspects of the media has an impact on the journalism content around the majority of people in South Africa. It would be advisable to focus on how advertising and the representations that emerge out of advertising might have a ‘regulatory’ effect on journalists and the media content they produce in journalism. The other aspect of regulation would be to look at how social media has become a space of regulation for the mainstream media, how the representations produced in the mainstream media are challenged on social media and how is the mainstream media made to account by the social media brigades.

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# **ANNEXURRES**

## Observation protocol

### What I was interested in in the field:

- ✓ **The physical setting:** This includes the physical setting, the architecture and the naming of streets and buildings, among other things.
- ✓ **Activities that are occurring:** I describe what happens in each site.
- ✓ **Social interactions and conversations between people:** It became important to capture conversations and how people interact.
- ✓ **Non-verbal communication:** I observed non-verbal communication, body language and interactions between individuals. I also observed the kind of media that people interact with or use, and also how they regard such spaces as the border and the urban environment in which they live.
- ✓ **Behaviours:** Beyond communication, I also observed how people behave and conduct themselves within the spaces that I was observing. In observing how people regard such spaces as the city in which they live, I was interested in how behaviours contributes to the constructions of subjectivity and reproduction of space.
- ✓ **Absence of what I would have expected to see:** I also was interested in observing what I encountered in literature but was somehow missing in the spaces I was observing.

### What I did on the field:

- ✓ Take field notes and compile them in a diary.
- ✓ I took pictures of some of the spaces in the field.
- ✓ I also sought clarification on some of the observations I made through interviews.

## **Interview Questions**

### **For South African locals**

1. May you please talk about yourself, your background, and who you think you are (as an individual and in terms of political/nationality issues)?
2. How long have you been living in Johannesburg?
3. How has your life been like back home (if born or lived in another province)?
4. What made you leave your home and settle here in Johannesburg?
5. What was your journey like coming to Johannesburg?
6. What was it like trying to settle here?
7. What were the challenges or what made it easy?
8. If you came here before 1994, can you speak at length about your experiences under apartheid South Africa? How was it like to be a black person in the city under apartheid South Africa? What have been the differences over the years since 1994?
9. Each time there was a xenophobic outbreak, where were you? What has been your attitude towards the whole thing?
10. What steps did you take so that you are safe? Or why did you always feel safe and not threatened?
11. Tell me about your family? Are they in Johannesburg as well? And what has been the implication of their location on your relationship as a family?
12. If the family is in Johannesburg, what is the difference between living here as a family and back home?
13. And how do you think xenophobic outbreaks have affected your family? Or how has your family negotiated its safety around the violence (physical and psychological)?
14. Now let's talk directly about your relationship with the state and state institutions. How do you view the police, the municipality and other government institutions' attitudes towards you? Why do you feel that way?
15. Can you speak about your experiences at (i) the police, (ii) the clinic, (iii) or any other government institution?

16. Do you use the media on matters concerning migration, xenophobia, government policies?  
Describe the kind of media you use? And what is your overall view of the image painted of the “citizens” in the media?
17. What is your attitude towards foreign Africans? Why do you feel that way about them?

## Interview Questions

### For foreign African nationals

1. May you please talk about yourself, your background, and who you think you are (as an individual and in terms of political/nationality issues)?
2. How long have you been living in Johannesburg?
3. How has your life been like back home?
4. What made you leave your home and settle here in Johannesburg?
5. What was your journey like coming to Johannesburg?
6. What was it like trying to settle here?
7. What were the challenges or what made it easy?
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11. Tell me about your family? Are they in Johannesburg as well? And what has been the implication of their location on your relationship as a family?
12. If the family is in Johannesburg, what is the difference between living here as a family and back home?
13. And how do you think xenophobic outbreaks have affected your family? Or how has your family negotiated its safety around the violence (physical and psychological)?
14. Now let's talk directly about your relationship with the state and state institutions. How do you view the police, the municipality and other government institutions' attitudes towards you? Why do you feel that way?
15. Can you speak about your experiences at (i) the police, (ii) the clinic, (iii) or any other government institution?

16. Do you use the media on matters concerning migration, xenophobia, government policies? Describe the kind of media you use? And what is your overall view of the image painted of the “foreigners” in the media?
17. What is your attitude towards local South African citizens? Why do you feel that way about them?

# **English stories analysed**

## **The birth mark on Ernesto's toe**

**SOUTH AFRICA / 27 MAY 2008, 07:04AM / BEAUREGARD TROMP**

At the Germiston City Hall, two nondescript Mozambican men bedded down among their compatriots. Unlike the hundreds of weary bodies forced from their homes in Ramaphosa and Meyerton, the two brothers were there on Monday night to be close to their brother.

Fifty metres down the road, in a cold, steel, refrigerated hole, lay Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuave. For almost a week, the public knew him only as the flaming man. In Ramaphosa township, he was known simply as Mugza.

For Jose and Severiano he was a brother, a husband and a father who sought a better life in South Africa less than three months ago.

Ernesto had heard the stories related by those in their village who had been to the City of Gold. Jose, a miner at South Deep Mine for 11 years, returned home regularly with money and gifts for the family. Severiano joined him four months ago.

Ernesto was struggling to make ends meet. As a security guard in Maputo, the money just wasn't enough to provide for his family of five.

A running joke in Maputo is that people would rather employ a security guard than install an alarm system because it's cheaper.

On Thursday, Jose and Severiano got a call from their brother-in-law, Francisco Kanze.

Stabbed, beaten and with a cement block thrown on his head, Kanze would survive the attack on him and Ernesto in Ramaphosa on May 18.

The image of Ernesto burning to death would bring the reality of the xenophobic horror home to people around the world.

Although Jose and Severiano are strictly speaking cousins of Ernesto, the three grew up metres from each other near Inhambane, the tourism area 550km north of Maputo where hundreds of South Africans flock annually on holiday.

Early on Monday morning, the pair were at Genniston mortuary to identify Ernesto's body.

Jose held no hope that it was all a mistake. All he wanted now was to take his brother home.

"They say they don't know. I asked them if they know about a person who died burning, " said Jose after making inquiries.

The two returned to Tambo Memorial Hospital. The body was sent to Gamiston mortuary, hospital officials assured.

Funeral undertakers offered to bury the body in SA for R900. Taking the body to Mozambique for burial would cost R4 000.

Finally, a benevolent undertaker took pity on the brothers. Undertaker Nandipha Nobaza would go with them to the mortuary to navigate the bureaucracy.

Taken through the melamine maze that is the government mortuary, the two lined up beside a fridge door. A body was pulled out. Burnt, the man's face was still recognisable. It was not Ernesto.

The small group moved to another fridge. Body number 1247 was pulled out. This time the entire body was burnt. The face was unrecognisable. Only part of a leg and a foot had escaped relatively unharmed.

"I knew it was Ernesto because of his toes. He has a birth defect on his middle toe," said Jose. At the Germiston Community Hall, Mozambican official Edmundo Matenja has a ledger that is nearly full. Most of the names recorded in them are people looking for family members lost when they fled. At the back of the ledger is a list of six names, their fate known.

Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuave would be number seven.

**Source:** <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/the-birth-mark-on-ernestos-toe-402021>

## These are the four Sithole suspects

NEWS / 21 APRIL 2015, 11:01AM KARISHMA DIPA AND GERTRUDE MAKHAFOLA



*21.04.15. The four suspects in connection with the murder of Mozambican national Emmanuel Sithole appeared today at the Alexandra Magistrates Court. The 35-year-old Sithole was stabbed in Alexandra on Saturday morning and later died in hospital. Picture: Dumisani Sibeko*

Johannesburg - These are the men arrested for bludgeoning and stabbing to death Mozambican man Emmanuel Sithole in Alexandra at the weekend. Their pictures were splashed in the media showing them attacking the helpless 35-year-old street vendor with knives, a pipe wrench and a spade.

On Tuesday morning at the Alexandra Magistrate's Court, Sizwe Mngomezulu, Ayanda Sibiya, Siphundi Mzimela and Mthinto Bhengu tried to hide their faces with their hoodies. Worked-up residents tried to push their way into the packed court before the case started, screaming that they wanted to "see the killers".

The police had their hands full but managed to stop the crowd from entering as the four suspects made their brief appearance in court where they are facing charges of murder with aggravating circumstances and theft.

Those who filled the courtroom, waited with bated breath to see the accused. They included Gauteng Premier David Makhura and Gauteng Community Safety MEC Sizakele NkosiMalobane

There was also a strong police presence inside the courtroom with armed officers standing on the aisles.

Many others also stood guard outside the court and controlled the group of residents who came to support Sithole and his family. Many of them, dressed in ANC colours, carried placards which read: "stop xenophobia". They stood behind the cordoned off area, singing and dancing in protest against xenophobic violence that swept the country in the past week.

It took magistrate Gideon Schnetler a few minutes to postpone the case to May 4 for a formal bail application.

If convicted, the murder charge carries a maximum sentence of life in prison because a weapon was used to carry out the deadly act.

The National Prosecuting Authority said on Tuesday it was confident of a conviction. "We are here to assure the public that we are treating this matter in a very serious light. We are confident with evidence we have that there is enough to have them convicted," National Directorate of Public Prosecutions head Mxolisi Nxasana told journalists in Alexandra following the appearance of the four men.

Police have been praised for the swift arrests in the murder.

On Tuesday morning Lieutenant-Colonel Lungelo Dlamini said the fourth man was arrested on Monday night a day after the three others were arrested thanks to community tip-offs and widespread media coverage.

Dlamini confirmed that those arrested were the same men whose pictures were published in the Sunday Times, including the knife-wielding man.

The pictures, which brought the grim attack to the public's attention, also show the murder taking place in full view of onlookers who were too afraid to get involved.

Following the ambush, Sithole was left for dead in Second Avenue, near a pile of dirt.

Journalists that were on the scene took him to hospital, where he later died.

Despite elements of Sithole's murder pointing towards a xenophobia, Dlamini was unable to immediately confirm the motive.

He told the Star on Monday: "At this stage it is not clear whether the attack may be linked to the threats against foreign nationals or it was a criminal act to rob the victim," he said.

"Our investigation will determine the motive of the attack."

He said that according to witnesses, Sithole was a street vendor and an argument ensued after the suspects approached him and took his goods without paying.

"He was then confronted by one of the suspects who were wielding a knife." "In the process he was stabbed."

Since attacks against foreign nationals flared up about two weeks ago in KwaZulu-Natal, seven people, including Sithole, are believed to have been killed in xenophobic violence.

karishma.dipa@inl.co.za

The Star and ANA

Source: <https://www.iol.co.za/news/these-are-the-four-sithole-suspects-1848086>

## **Emmanuel Sithole was his real name - sister**

**2015-05-04 12:44**

**By Naledi Shange, News24**

Johannesburg - Mozambican national Emmanuel Sithole, who was murdered in Alexandra, was not using a fake name, his family said on Monday.

His name was Emmanuel Josias Sithole, his sister Thando told News24 outside the Alexandra Magistrate's Court, where four men appeared for her brother's murder.

Speaking at a Freedom Day celebration last week, President Jacob Zuma said Sithole had used an alias while he lived in South Africa.

Thando Sithole said: "The thing is my brother was killed. Jacob Zuma was supposed to focus on those people to get into jail. Surnames and what, he was supposed to ask the family before telling the public. "

She said she did not know if her brother was in South Africa legally, but his passport was used to obtain his death certificate.

### **Bail application abandoned**

Earlier, Ayanda Sibiyi, Bhengu Mthinta, Sizwe Mngomezulu, and Sifundi Mzimela appeared in the dock on charges of murder and robbery. They abandoned their bail applications.

Vinesh Ramlakan, for Mthinta and Sibiyi, said they might enter into a plea bargain with the State.

Vhonani Matshidza, for Mngomezulu and Mizemala, said his clients might plead not guilty.

The four would remain in custody until their next appearance on May 13.

The accused, all in their 20s, allegedly stole cigarettes from Sithole, a vendor, and attacked him when he confronted them on Saturday, April 18.

Josias's death occurred during a wave of xenophobic attacks in April. It started in townships around Durban and spread to Gauteng.

At least seven people, including three South Africans and Josias, were killed. Scores were injured and displaced.

**Source:** <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfricaNews/Emmanuel-Sithole-was-his-real-namesister-20150504>

Source: CITY PRESS

Date: 01-Jun-2008

Topic: 15

Ref No: 11539



1

ID: 03616952-01 Source Page: 7

# Farewell to SA man who refused to hate

*Madondo attacked by mob for not joining xenophobic war*

## S'THEMBISO HLONGWANE

SIPHO Madondo, a South African who was attacked and killed by an angry mob in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, was buried in Midrand this week.

The short, sombre ceremony was attended by only 12 people, including his wife, Pretty Ndimbovu, two siblings and close relatives.

The xenophobia attacks left 62 people dead and thousands destitute.

Among those killed was Madondo (41), originally from Newcastle in KwaZulu-Natal.

Ndimbovu (39) who ekes out a living as a domestic worker, said they were woken up by a commotion on Sunday, May 11.

"It was about 11pm when we heard noises outside our small shack on Third Avenue in Alex. A group of angry youths were shouting 'Khipha amakalanga!' - meaning kick out the foreigners. Siphon went outside to investigate. Moments later I heard three gunshots," she said.

She added: "The crowd insisted that he join them but he refused, saying he did not want to get his hands dirty.

"They shot him in the stomach and chest. They left him for dead. In anguish I ran to my nearest neighbour asking for help but no one came to assist us. Siphon died

in my arms. He died like a dog, a helpless dog," she said.

Madondo's older brother Thabani is angry.

"I want justice done. I want law and order to prevail in Alexandra and other affected areas," he said.

Thabani said they opted to bury Madondo in Johannesburg as

they could not afford to transport him back to Newcastle.

Madondo's funeral was arranged and financed by the City of Johannesburg.

"We provided Madondo and others who lost loved ones with all the necessary help, including free burial at our cemetery," said city spokesperson Gabu Tugwana.

Tesneem Bhamjee, a lawyer at the Wits Law Clinic, said they visited refugee centres across the province in a bid to help victims of xenophobia seek recourse.

"It seems the affected foreign nationals have not initiated any legal challenges against the perpetrators of violence. They are more worried about basic needs like shelter, food and clothing," Bhamjee said.

She stressed that those affected could lay criminal charges against those who violated them.

"But the biggest challenge is how to identify the perpetrators as they were part of a mob."

Police have arrested more than 500 suspects throughout the province.

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# King shut out of probe on xenophobia

PARLIAMENT'S special committee probing the recent spate of xenophobic violence is in Durban this week to be briefed by local and provincial officials, the SAPS and NGOs, and to go for walkabouts "where foreign-owned shops were looted".

The parliamentarians will meet the KwaZulu-Natal House of Traditional Leaders tomorrow, according to its programme, but the meeting would not include King Goodwill Zwelithini after the committee last week decided it would not seek a meeting with Zwelithini or invite him to meet them.

During April's attacks on foreign nationals, the spotlight fell on Zwelithini's comments at an earlier moral regeneration meeting that foreigners should pack their bags and leave the country.

The king subsequently claimed the media had distorted his words.

Established at the beginning of last month, the 20-strong multi-party joint ad hoc committee on probing violence against foreign nationals brings together the National Assembly and National Council of Provinces (NCOP).

It is chaired jointly by ANC MP Ruth

Bhengu and ANC NCOP delegate Tekoetile Motlashing, and must probe the root causes of the violence, which killed seven and displaced thousands.

A similar committee was established in the wake of the 2008 xenophobic violence, when 62 people were killed.

The visit to Durban comes as the last of the camps for displaced foreign nationals was closed.

Following its three days in Durban, the committee plans oversight visits to Gauteng later this month, and to the Western Cape in August. - Marianne Merrien

# Xenophobia: Leaders can stop attacks'

## They can set example, says prof

WASHINGTON, MAY 17 (UPI) —

**X**ENOPHOBIC attacks will come to a complete halt only if political leaders and citizens put citizens and citizens in positions of authority as a problem, says a professor at the University of Pennsylvania.

This is the belief of leading academic and respected political commentator Professor Steven Friedman, of the University of Johannesburg.

He said violence against foreigners was a consequence of the transfer of the public eye from people in positions of authority and some media that portray foreigners as being a problem.

"The violence on the ground is indicative of irresponsible statements by those in positions of authority like King Goodwill Zwelithini and politicians, including President Jacob Zuma, who paint foreigners as a problem," Friedman said.

He said the media were also contributing to the myth that foreigners were a problem. "The kind and politicians aren't the only people making inflammatory statements against foreigners. There are some media houses who send reporters to the Department of Home Affairs to go and find out what the department is doing about foreigners in the country," he said.

He said the media were also contributing to the myth that foreigners were a problem. "The kind and politicians aren't the only people making inflammatory statements against foreigners. There are some media houses who send reporters to the Department of Home Affairs to go and find out what the department is doing about foreigners in the country," he said.

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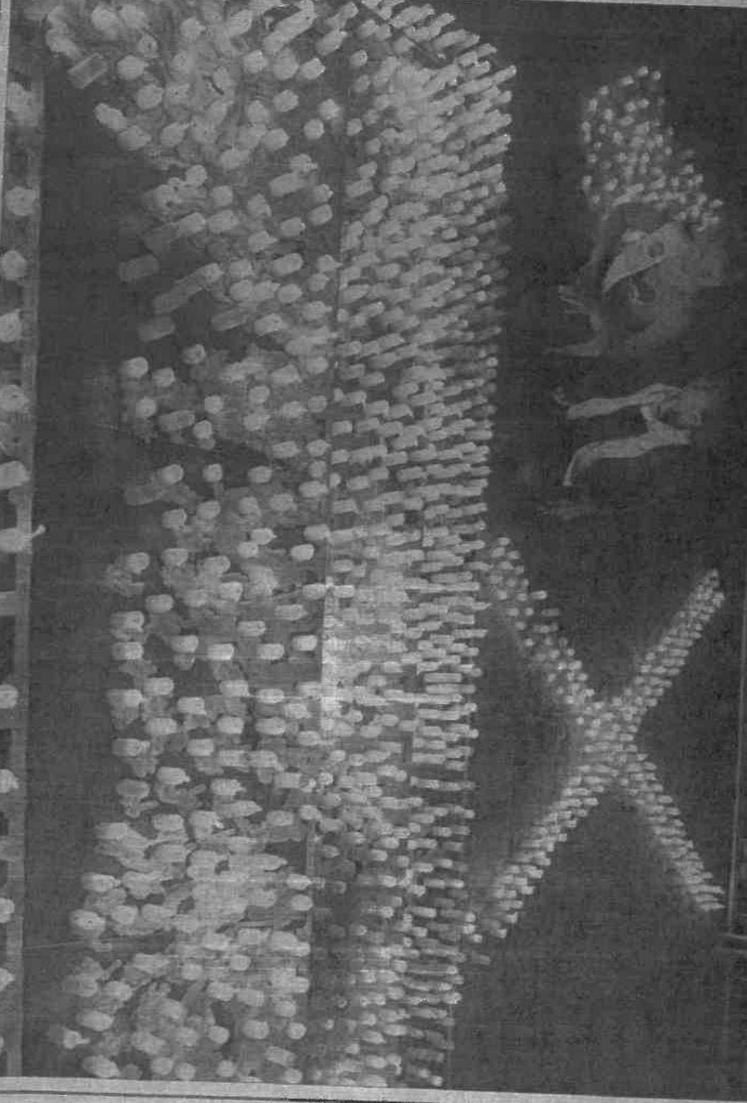
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**LIVES LOST:** Candles are lit during a vigil in memory of those who perished in xenophobic attacks against foreigners across the country earlier this year. An academic says leaders in powerful political positions, including the Zulu monarch, need to change their prevailing perceptions.

The newspaper's source is not a name, but is reported as being a source in the newspaper's office. The source is reported as being a source in the newspaper's office. The source is reported as being a source in the newspaper's office.



**CHANGE DIRECTION:** Professor Steven Friedman (left) and Secretary-General Bar Kiwonkwe (right) at a high-level symposium on racism, xenophobia and related incidents.

**RESPONSIBLE STATEMENTS:** Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini.



TOP TO BOTTOM The Competition Commission plans to scrutinise the entire retail sector, from street traders to supermalls

PHOTOS: GETTY IMAGES / ALEKH SANTI

# Grocery retail under scrutiny

## Competition Commission is ready to take another stab at major supermarket chains – and buying practices of foreign shopkeepers

DEWALD VAN RENSBURG

dewald@businessday.co.za

**T**he Competition Commission's inquiry into grocery retail will delve beyond the Big Four supermarkets and try to address the supposed root of recurring xenophobic violence – the alleged competitive secrets of foreign shopkeepers.

The terms of reference for the commission's second whack at the grocery retail sector was gazetted on Friday morning, revealing an ambitious attempt to scrutinise the entire retail sector, from street traders to supermalls.

The inquiry is premised on the problem of a disappearing small and informal retail sector in the face of the rise and rise of shopping centres in townships, according to the commission's background statement in the terms of reference.

In the terms published in the Government Gazette, the commission cites the four major supermarket chains as now controlling 90% of the market.

Back in 2009, the commission launched an investigation into the four major supermarket groups, which was eventually pared down to an investigation into the exclusive lease agreements that turn one supermarket into the master of any particular shopping mall.

That investigation was abandoned last year due to a lack of evidence, but now the lease issue is back on the table as part of a far more expansive probe.

The commission also seems interested in supermarket chains' franchising agreements as franchisees are in effect branches of the franchisor with no discretion in terms of pricing or sourcing stock. The implication is that even though the stores are owned by small companies, they still contribute to the dominance of the company under whose brand they operate.

Much of the new inquiry's scope is, however, in the contentious terrain of small retailers – formal and informal – who claim they are being displaced by

### WHAT THE COMMISSION WILL LOOK AT

1. Supermarket expansion into townships
2. Exclusive leases in malls
3. Foreign traders' competition with locals
4. Regulations and bylaws affecting traders
5. "Buyer groups" in the informal economy
6. The effect of "certain identified value chains"

competitors from abroad as much as by malls.

The proposed inquiry seeks to "examine the dynamics of competition between local and foreign-owned small and independent retailers".

The point is "to understand whether this may contribute to the decline in small and independent retailers in townships, peri-urban areas, rural areas and the informal economy", seeming to mean that foreign shopkeepers' conflict is to be investigated.

Foreign-owned shops "have been perceived to be more successful than the others and the reasons therefore are unclear", read the terms of reference.

The supposed superiority of foreign-born traders is often invoked as one of the major contributors to tensions that have resulted in the looting of foreign shops and mob attacks on foreigners.

The minister of small business development, Lindiwe Zulu, this year drew criticism for saying that foreign shop owners "cannot barricade themselves in and not share their practices with local business owners" in the midst of widespread violence.

The terms of reference specifically mention the

"impact of buyer groups" on small retailers.

According to commission spokesperson Mavra Scott, this is a reference to the popular belief that foreign shop owners undercut their local competitors through bulk buying stock as groups.

The inquiry seems to be aimed at, in part, interrogating the myths and common accusations that are thrown around when xenophobia rears its head.

"The small [retail] sector has come to us to say these guys [foreigners] are anti-competitive," said Scott.

Another common complaint was that foreign-born shopkeepers sold substandard goods, he said.

The inquiry will try to establish if there is anything in these complaints that actually constitutes an offence in terms of competition law.

The concern about malls and foreign competition echoes the long-standing gripes of organised spaza owners in, among other institutions, the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Nafccoc).

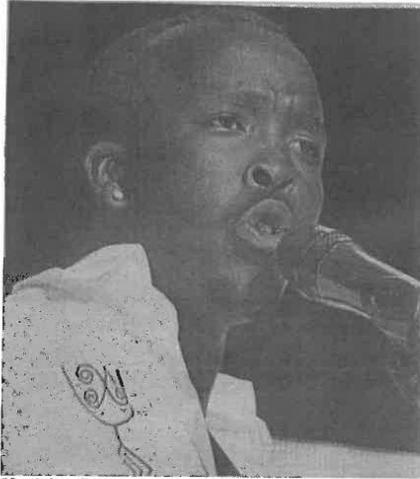
Another leg of the inquiry being proposed is the effect of regulations, including bylaws, on traders.

This recalls the disastrous attempts by, among other cities, Johannesburg to "clean" out traders in its central business district through heavy-handed and often illegal means.

The retail inquiry will be the third concurrent market inquiry after the commission received the power to conduct these large-scale investigations in 2013.

The sweeping healthcare inquiry is ongoing with its own office in Pretoria while the inquiry into the liquid petroleum gas sector is also taking shape.

## **Maskandi singer taken to HRC for xenophobic lyrics**



**Musician Zanefa Ngidi says people should listen to his new song, *Abahambe Osbari*, before they comment.**  
*Photo by Jabulani Langa*

**By MDU MYUBU and JABULANI LANGA**

**MASKANDI** singer Zanefa Ngidi is in hot water.

He's apparently been reported to the Human Rights Commission for his latest single, *Abahambe Osbari*, which translates to: "Foreigners must go!"

In the song he asks foreign nationals to leave Mzansi, which has led to him being accused of hate speech. The song has worried the foreigners in Durban, where xenophobic attacks broke out a few months ago.

In the song, Zanefa sings in Zulu: "Our music is being pirated by foreigners. Our government is silent as if it has been shot. That's why people are divided. Some are saying the foreigners must leave, while others say we must obey the law."

Speaking to *Daily Sun*, the singer claimed he was only expressing the views of the common people.

"People should listen to the song properly before talking or taking action.

"Our government went all out to stop xenophobia but did nothing about foreign nationals copying our music and selling it at low prices," he said.

"If we stand up for ourselves we get arrested. We die poor. I'm creative in a democratic country trying by all means to shout that people, especially foreigners, must stop piracy.

"I don't back down and I know deep down that many artists, fans and people all over Mzansi will support me on this one."

His song has been getting increasingly popular in KZN, especially in Durban.

Human Rights Commission spokesman, Isaac Mangena, said: "We are not aware of this case or the song yet. We haven't listened to any song of this nature.

"We encourage leaders, including musicians, not to use language that fuels hatred against other people, be it foreigners, gays, lesbians, whites or blacks.

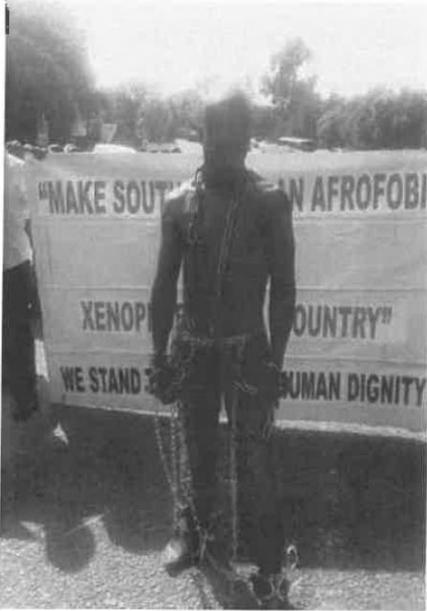
"We will comment further when we receive more information."



Daily Sun

## Crowd gathers for anti-xenophobia march

GAUTENG / 23 APRIL 2015, 2: 14PM MPILETSO MOTUMI



*Thousands of demonstrators readied to march through central Joburg to protest against a spate of xenophobic attacks. Photo: IOL Mojo*

Johannesburg - The People's March Against Xenophobia is an emergency coalition convened to confront the horrors of xenophobia in South Africa, taking a stand to denounce the violence and embrace unity. This is the message by the African Diaspora forum.

"We endorse the message that no-one is 'illegal' and call on all people living in South Africa to unite against unemployment, inadequate housing, rising crime and bad schools, instead of turning against people seeking refuge in the country for political and economic reasons, " they said.

The march will start at the Pieter Roos in Parktown and will move through the parts of the Joburg CBD and end at Mary Fitzgerald Square in Newtown.

Marchers have been gathering at the park singing struggle songs, dancing and setting the mood for an energetic and colourful march.

Several organisations including the African Diaspora Forum (ADF), CoRMSA, faith-based organisations, major social movements such as the Treatment Action Campaign, Equal Education and Awethu!, trade unions, SECTION27, Corruption Watch, SAHRC and Doctors Without Borders have come to support the march.

The march comes after the recent xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals that have been occurring across the country.

A number of people have died since the attacks began in March.

Gauteng Premier David Makhura also came to support the march.

**Source:** <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-affca/gauteng/crowd-gathers-for-anti-xenophobiamarch-1849552>

## Anti-xenophobia march in Joburg

2015-04-23 05:36, Thomas Hartleb, News24



(File, Thomas Hartleb, News24)

Johannesburg - Gauteng premier David Makhura and Johannesburg mayor Parks Tau are on Thursday expected to join a march in the city against xenophobic violence.

It is intended to demonstrate "the overwhelming rejection of these heinous acts", the organisers, who include several civil society organisations and trade unions, said in a statement.

During a similar march held in Durban last Thursday, police clashed with a group of people trying to disrupt the event. An Economic Freedom Fighters member was shot in the leg in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on Monday when party leader Julius Malema arrived to call for an end to the violence against foreigners.

The violence began in townships around Durban about three weeks ago and spread to Johannesburg. At least seven people have been killed and thousands displaced.

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini has been blamed by some for starting the violence when he told supporters in Pongola, KwaZulu-Natal, in March that foreigners should pack their bags and leave. He has denied saying this. Speaking in Durban on Monday he blamed a third force and the media for contributing to the violence.

On Tuesday, Defence Minister Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula said the army would be sent to hotspots around the country, including Alexandra, where Mozambican Emmanuel Sithole was stabbed to death on a street on Saturday morning.

Doctors Without Borders said in a statement on Wednesday that about 5000 displaced foreigners were being accommodated in the Durban area in three camps, in Isipingo, Chatsworth and Phoenix.

**Source:** <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfricaJNews/Anti-xenophobia-march-in-Joburg-20150423>

## Pretoria gears for anti-migrant march

POLITICS 24 FEBRUARY 2017, 06:03AM / SAKHILE NDLAZI



*A vigilante mob attacks a Nigerian man outside a church in Pretoria. File picture: James Oatway/AP*

Pretoria - There is massive support for today's Pretoria march against foreigners, with people from KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, the Western Cape and other areas urging organisers to go ahead with the protest.

On Thursday, organiser Makgoka Lekganyane said: "Support for the march is overwhelming and we are forging right ahead with it, come rain or sunshine."

Lekganyane said he had been inundated with calls from people in different provinces supporting the march.

"This problem of illegal immigrants is not exclusive to Pretoria; it's a countrywide problem and needs to be thoroughly addressed," said Lekganyane.

He said he was pleased with the attention the march was receiving.

"It's all systems go from I lam and we, the Mamelodi Concerned Residents, are doing this for our people," he said.

Participants are expected to start convening at Marabastad early this morning and march to the Department of Home Affairs head offices in the city centre at 11 am. Tshwane Metro Police spokesperson Senior Superintendent Isaac Mahamba advised people not to panic and appealed for calm.

He was referring to the rumours that the march would turn violent. "The department has deployed members accordingly. We are hoping for a peaceful march and that the organisers will follow the restrictions we have given them," Mahamba said.

He said traffic would be affected from 10am from Struben Street, down to Thabo Sehume and Johannes Ramokhoase streets. "We won't completely close down the streets, but instead move with the marchers as they pass," he said.

SAPS spokesperson Lieutenant-Colonel Lungelo Dlamini said they and other law enforcement agencies would increase deployments to deal with any situation including threats of violence.

The march takes place on the back of protests that hit the city in the last week.

They began last Saturday when community members torched two houses in Pretoria West over allegations of drug peddling and prostitution. Protesters said their targets were brothels and drug dens run by migrants from elsewhere in Africa.

On Monday night, 20 foreign-owned shops were looted in Atteridgeville, Lotus Gardens and Mamelodi East, while residents in Rosettenville, south of Joburg, burnt down 12 houses.

The march has raised fears of violence in the city, with some saying foreigners will be attacked. Some foreign national shopowners said they would remain closed today.

The organisers of the march said the majority of people in South Africa had an issue with foreigners occupying economic space which could be taken up by locals.

"We as Mamelodi Concerned Residents have taken it upon ourselves to act,"

Lekganyane said. But he emphasised no xenophobia was intended. The march was simply a platform to voice their concerns.

Pretoria News

**Source:** <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/pretoria-gears-for-anti-migrant-march-7907195>

## WRAP: Pretoria brought to a standstill during anti-immigrant march

2017-02-24 17:40, News24 reporters



*Foreign nationals standing in a line facing the SA group and shouting inaudible slurs. (Mpho Raborife, News24)*

Pretoria — Certain parts of Pretoria came to a standstill on Friday during an anti-immigrant march.

About 136 people were arrested in Pretoria West over the past 24 hours, including during the march on Friday morning, acting national police commissioner Lieutenant General Kgomotso Phahlane said.

However, Phahlane said the situation in Pretoria was "under control".

"Although people from Mamelodi marched peacefully, a group from Atteridgeville threw stones and bricks. Confrontation with non-South Africans ensued," he told reporters.

The police said they would update the figure of the arrested individuals on Saturday.

President Jacob Zuma said the march in Pretoria was evidence that citizens were fed up with crime.

Zuma was speaking after the launch of Operation Phakisa, which is aimed at boosting various sectors of the South African economy.

He said the march included foreign nationals, was well organised, and was not xenophobic. "We do have a big problem. This time around this has been provoked by crime. "

He said the media should be careful about labelling the protests as xenophobic and that political leaders should also be cautious with their messages.

On Friday morning, police and people marching against immigrants were locked in a tense stand-off in the Pretoria CBD, with stun grenades being fired near the Department of Home Affairs building.

The march against immigrants was led by a group calling itself the Mamelodi Concerned Residents.

They handed over a memorandum to the Department of Home Affairs, which strongly criticised how they perceived foreign nationals to be conducting themselves in SA. The memorandum, with a "Concern community for service delivery in Mamelodi" stamp, said government should not allow African immigrants in the area to operate businesses freely and without regulation.

They also criticised authorities for "failing" to clamp down on those without the proper licences and papers.

"We are driven into slavery, both black and white South Africans," they stated.

A police helicopter hovered overhead and public order police officers weaved through the large crowd.

At one point, the group tried to push past the police. Many in the crowd carried sticks, rods and other items.

"Why are they fighting us? Are we white?"

One man told a News24 reporter on the ground: "The foreigners have real guns. They are selling drugs and prostitution, and the municipality is helping them. They must leave. "

Some foreign nationals faced the group, shouting at them.

Foreign nationals involved in a tense stand-off with marchers said South Africa was their home.

"This is my country. We can't go," Olayinka Ogunjimi told News24, standing with some of his countrymen.

"Why are they fighting us? Are we white?"

He asked what would happen to them if they were forced to leave.

Protesters blocked several streets in Atteridgeville, preventing residents from going to work and school.

Rocks were thrown and tyres were burnt. Officials later cleared the debris so that traffic could flow freely.

The police were also investigating reports of a newspaper truck being looted.

A small clash between foreign shop owners and South African marchers also broke out in Christoffel Street. The police were quick to react and the fight was stopped.

Call for churches to provide sanctuary

On Thursday, organisations opposing xenophobic attacks asked churches in Pretoria to provide safety to victims of recent violence.

"There are fears around the planned march on Friday and our request to the church is to provide a sanctuary to victims of xenophobia," Trevor Ngwane of the United Front told News24.

The African Diaspora Forum organised a prayer session in Pretoria on Thursday evening, in response to the recent xenophobic outbreaks.

Organisers were, however, left disappointed when residents failed to attend.

"It is possible that people were scared to attend the prayer session. We condemn the recent outbreak and we are opposed to it," Ngwane said.

On Saturday, residents of Pretoria West raided homes they alleged were being used as brothels and drug dens. They called for "pimps" to release prostitutes. Two houses were set alight.

On February 11, at least 10 houses allegedly being used for drug dealing and prostitution were set alight in Rosettenville, Johannesburg.

Locals claimed Nigerians were behind the criminal activity.

**Source:** <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/wrap-pretoria-brought-to-a-standstill-during-anti-immigrant-march-2017>

# **IsiZulu Stories**

23/05/2008

# 'Yisibhedi esidala uCele'

## NONHLANHLA JELE

I-IPP ishibize ngembundane nesibhedi esidala ushialo we-ANC eThekwini Region, umnu Bhedi Cele kutlandela ukuthi bheka kwaze ngemibha efofuthi i-IPP mayuze abandeni bayo, okuyibona iphela udlame lokubhala kwezizase-Afrika kuteli.

oDnu kutlandela ukuthi bheka kuti Cele emsakazweni ukhosi FM, la-9 ekhombi ngqo i-IPP ngalolu dia-osekugale ukukapakeka nasesifun-eweni saseKwaZulu-Natal.

Kasibhala ukuthi kungumqondo Chongolose lokhu okukhulunywa iBheki. UBheki uzaziwa ukuthi onlando wokuba yihlakanhla ka-umnu, kusho umnu Mntomhle awula onguShialo we-IPP Kwazi-Natal.

Uphubeke umnu Khawula uthe: uyhlazo ukuthi ubheka ahi engu-ponqosho, kodwa apuathu bucia-1 udaba olubucayi ngalolu hlobo, ho wonke amazwe omhlaba ebheke ngizimu Afrika ukuthi izoluphatha jani.

Zihli ezinzwe eThekwini sezisonge kuthi zizoziphindiselela kubahla-1 bazo, ngegoba zikhala ngama-nyisa akuteli ahudatha izinyawo eku- amuleleni kubahlaseli.

awa mazwi ashwo ngomunye wezi- odabuka ezweni laseNigeria, ozi- kuleli ngemva kokuba indawo ya- yokucima ukoma ihlaselwe yigula- ladoda aphihlaza amawandi. Iremi- i yabheka phezu, abuye eba oku- kaani.

Igokusho komnikazi wendawo yoku- la ukoma, i-Ultimate Fast Food & i-eku-Mbilo Road, umnu Ben Eho- odabuka ezweni laseNigeria uhi- laselwe leli qu lamadoda ebeli- me ngezidhali zendabuko ngezithu- zehora le-si-9:30 ebusuku laphihlaza

nefulethi elihlala abantu bokufika kuteli.

Omunye wabahlali bakuleli ahlethi, umnu Ngeenge Mandevu ongowakada- buta ezweni lase-DR Congo, utshale- leli phepanhadaba ukuthi bahlaselwe- yigula labahlali basehositela laseDal- ton eMelihome shi ngobusuku bang- o-lwesiphili, lathi umuntu owubuzwe ba- mazulu makaphumele ngaphandle ka- sale abantu bokufika kuphela ngapha- ka kuthi ezindlini.

"Pastishele ukuthi kasiphume si- phele kuteli lizwe ngoba sibathabela imisebenzi, ngale kwalokho sizofa no- kufa," kusho umnu Mandevu ongeze ngokuthi akazi ukuthi usezowagoba kuphi amadlangala.

### Bebelunguze emawindini ehosiela

Ngesikhathi abantu bokufika k- bekhutha impahla yabo, abahlali yingcosana basehositela laseDaltoni- belunguze ngamawandi beqhululi- hamba engabizeki.

Omunye izwakale ethi: "Hani- nodwa misishiyele abafazi benu." bodwa akade bekhuluma amag- oktwasa ebhekiswe kuteli zihli- sho nokuthi bayimangela yobug- ngu obukungephe leli.

Ngokusho kuti Nk Chilemb M- nde ongewo/kudabuka ezweni las- Congo, okuleli ngoba ebahekele iz- kweleakubo, akazi ukuthi uzothlali- ikhanda kwanamhlanje.

"Sengibe kuteli lizwe isikhathi- ngangonyaka kanti nginabantw- abayi-18 abahunda esikoleni, i-Add- ton Primary engingazi ukuthi n- phuma ngibeke kuphi nabo," i- kanje. UShialo wekomiti laschos- laseDalton, umnu Mthembeni T- uziphikile izinsolo zokuthi ukuthi- zwa kwe-tavern kuthlangene noku- "

# UShenge ukhale izinyembezi ngezifiki

26/05/2008

## NONHLANHLA JELE

**U** PUKELWE yisibithwane nomnyu umntwana wakwaphindangene, uDkt Mangosuthu Buthelezi zehla izinyembezi ngesikhathi omunye wezifiki embalisela ngosizi ababhekene nalo lokugxoshwa ngabantu bakufiki.

Lona wesilazane obekhala nli izinyembezi, angowokudabuka ezweni lasemfazambiqe, obengimhlathi wascolitshini lase Alexandra eGoli, thebhractiswe kanye nabanye estoshini samaphoyisa akhile ndawo.

Ushenge ukhale ngameli we-FPP, uDkt Buthelezi obekhale kule ndawo ngokugqibele ephelkezelwa ngusihlalo weqembu le-FPP kuzwelonke uNkz Zanelle Magwaza-Msibi ngenhloso yokuziphonela umonakalo osuwendakile kutya ndawo.

Uhlekelele wukuzibamba ushenge waze wakhalala naye, wakhipha iduku lakhe wesula lona wesilazane izinyembezi.

Ushenge unikele ngamaphasela okudla kanye nezingubo zikanokusho zokulala wabe esedlulela egeriniston lapho kucasho khona abantu bokufika, nakhona wenza okutanayo.

Ngaphambi kokuba adluzele eGoli umntwana wakwaphindangene uvakashele izindawo ezahlukene ethrekwini lapho abantu bokufika begqoke khona amadlangala ngenyaya kokuba kithbeduke udlane olubhekiswe kwabokufika abamnyama base-Afrika abebekhala emjondolo yaseCator Manor kanye nasedaton. Ngesikhathi ehambele estoshini samaphoyisa kule ndawo lapho abantu bokufika bebhaciswe khona, welhule inkuluno yokududuzela laba bantu, wathi bayizihlobo zegazi zabantu bakulesi sifundazwe.

Ubuze ukuthi ngabe abakuleli sebhokhwe yini wububele obenziwe ngabantu bakulawa mazwe ngesikhathi bebhacise abakuleli ngezikhathi zobandlululo?

Lapha ushenge, ngokumbambisana nabe-Adventist Development Relief Agency(ADRA) banikele ngamaphasela okudla kanye nezingubo zokulala, zikanokusho, konke okubalwa kwisamba sezi R50000.

ILANGA Hfike kutseti silesi samaphoyisa kunyabuka abantu, imithwalo yizindodla. Laba bantu bathi besekuphele izinsuku ezintathu bekulesi silesi.

Abanye batshole leli phephandaba ukuthi sekunehrisukhu bengengezi ngoba bayesaba ukuphindela ezindlini zabo hize babhalewe.

Imngci labo Hkhalo ngokuthi yize belikujabulela ukuba kuleli hize ngenxa yokunotha kwalo ngama-thuba emisebenzi, kodwa lotho kankusabazisi ngalutho, kungcono babuyele emakhaya besada amlamvane.

Labo bantu baphele ngokuthi babuyele okulethwa nga-  
usebenzisa izimithwalo ezintathu.  
Umkz Candide Mademba ubheke ngokuthi ngeke atulibale ngokuthi babuyele okulethwa ngokuthi babuyele okulethwa nga-  
usebenzisa izimithwalo ezintathu.

Umkz Candide Mademba ubheke ngokuthi ngeke atulibale ngokuthi babuyele okulethwa ngokuthi babuyele okulethwa nga-  
usebenzisa izimithwalo ezintathu.

Ngiphumele ngingazi nokuthi lendle, kwabanentliziyo indolozephimisa kahle "ingololwane" lisa uNkz Madate Abophiko lwabonakala kule imu labo abafisa Imibiko ikhorabantu bokufika zabo zokuhlala.

Ka emozambiqu luqubuke emas seludlule nemi ezweni lonke.

Imngci labo li wakuleli kunalo mbano esiBommane, ukuthiba

# Zithi azifune kukhoseliswa izifiki

## NOBUHLE MKHIZE

**B**AGHETHA eyokulethelwa amelede nezipontshi kanye nokudla apokufika kuleli okumamle bakhosela esile shini samaphoyisa Cote d'Ivoire eThekwini kulandela ukhulasselwa kwabo kulothi dlamе lokucwaswa ngokhuzwe.

Lezi zifiki okuhlangene kuzo eza seZimbabwe, Iwozambique kanye nenngosana yaseCongo, zithi kazisafuni ngisho ukandonelelwa ngezinto zokuthoselisa amakhanda agoba jobe khu kuzolula isikhathi zihleli kuleli.

Iobhu zikawezе ngesikhathi ukhondosise wophayiso wezo maphoyisa kumabakathi mabini eMgashade kudobe eNambele kule vinteni kuzе kude ebande basazo

ndawo, ngosuku lomgqibho wqandu ngata ukumlangana kwamazwe ase-Africa, izolo ngeSonto.

Iafiki zishelwe lo Ngegongqoshe uquthi yinge into eziyinduzayo oku ngamabhosi azozithutela emazwe ni azo ziphume ziphele kuleli.

Ziphinde zavezе ukuthi kazisaphephile neze nengoba kunaba ntu bakuleli ababuyiwe paboshiya ngesenzo sabo sokubhalasela, kodwa kumanje sebeyacananasa ngaphandle.

"Bekungamele laba bantu bakhi-siwe ejele-sisekuleli Bekunike ku-Indwe size sikhole indalala yoku-buyela emakhaya ngaphambi kokuba badedelewe. Bhaka nje ngoba kubuyela emakhaya hinyalezo esiphelile ngokufika kwabo emakhaya. Baphinde yazi yize bekhona ukubuyela emakhaya manje, kodwa

stholi," kuchaza ozibize ngokuthi ungu-Abraham Arhija.

Ngesikhathi egogo inkulimno ya khe abeyithula kulaba bantu uNgegongqoshe Radebe ubadembise ukuthi nengokhulimnени baphezulu kohlolo lokuba palethelwe amale inde ukuzе kwandiswe indawo yokuthi amaakhanda.

Nzalokhu kubе sengathi ubanyathale amakhona laba bokuthi, bahlahlamile, banti ngumbhedo lowo, bona abakufunayo wukugoduka.

Omunye walezi zifiki uze wame-nza, ephi balokhu bezazinwax ngezinkwa kuthiwa kabazenzeni, futhi yena akasididi nakusidala leso shikwa. Baphinde yazi yize bekhona ukubuyela emakhaya manje, kodwa

bazimisela ngokuthi bazophinde babuye hleze. Bayobe sebekwazi ukwemakhelela.

UNgegongqoshe uphethe ngokutha athembise laba bantu ukuthi uHl-jungeni, uzokwenza konke okusemandleni ukuba babuyiswe emakhaya ngaphandle kokuba baphinde babhekane nenkinga yokubhaselewa.

ILANGA HRKisane namaveni amaphoyisa akulesi sisheshi abethwele enyinyithaka imithwalo elandwa ezindlini zalaba bokufika abalingqosela ukufikahlela leli.

Lebhe dlamе seiwenabehle ezin-ndaweni ezinyisi 8 selokhu kusukela ngaphandle emsonotweni amabili edolweni.

29/05/2008

# Abavakashi abasalubhadi emalokishini kwesatshelwa i-xenopobia

## NONHLANHLA JELE

**Z**IMISIWE izinhlelo zokuhambela kwezivakashi emalokishini akulesi sifundazwe kulandela ukubheduka kodlame lokucwaswa nokushaywa kwezihambi kuleli.

Lo mbiko udalulwe yisikhulu esiphezulu se-Tourism KwaZulu-Natali, uMnu Ndabo Khoza esithangamini sabezindaba ngoLwesibili.

Phakathi kwezindawo ezithintekayo kulokhu kuphazamiseka kubalwa indawo ethandwa kakhulu yizivakashi i-Valley of Thousands Hill, Ohlange eNanda, eMkhumbane Kanye nasemalokishini afana naKwaMashu naseMlazi.

UMnu Khoza uthe yize kukhona imibiko ethi izivakashi zihoxisa amaholide azo emahhotela akuleli, kodwa ngeke akuqinisekise lokhu okushiwoyo.

Uqhube wathi yize ungakabonakali umphumela omubi odalwe wucucwaswa kwezihambi kuleli, kodwa emuva kwezinyanga ezizisithupha leli lizwe lizozisola kakhulu ngokwenzekile njengoba izivakashi ezingamaphesenti angama 67 ziluhamakisa ezwenikazi lase-Afrika.

“Sizosiqapha ngeso lokhozi isimo kulandela lezi zigameko. Lokhu sikwenza nokuxhumana ngqo nezinhlangano zokuvakasha umhlaba wonke jikelele. Silindele nokho ukuthi izinga lezivakashi lehle njengoba kuyisizini engekho matasa kwezivakasha.

“Silindele ukuthi isimo sibuyele kwesejwayelekile ngenyanga ka-Okthoba njengenjwayelo lapho izivakashi zitheleka khona ngezinkani.” usho kanje.

Le mboni yezokuvakasha kulesi sifundazwe seyiphinde yezwakalisa ukukhathazeka ngendlela uHulumeni wakuleli lizwe aluphethe ngayo udaba lokucwaswa kwezihambi kuleli lizwe.

Lokhu kudalulwe nguSihlalo webhodi le-Tourism KwaZulu-Natali, uDkt Seshi Chonco. Ukugxeke kakhulu ukushaywa nokubulawa kwabantu bokufika kuleli, wanxusa uHulumeni ukuthi abeke imithetho enqala yokulawula ukungena nokuphuma kwabantu bakwamanye amazwe kuleli.

Udalule ukuthi izivakashi eziluhamakisa ezwenikazi lase-Africa zifaka imali eyizigidigidi ezine ngonyaka. Uthi ucwaningo olwenziwe yinhlangano yakhe luveza ukuthi umthengi noma isivakashi siqoka indawo esizochitha kuyona iholide, siye sibheke ukuthi siphephile yini, nokuthi sivikeleleke kangakanani.

“Njengoba ukhulunyezwa kwabantu abayizihambi kuleli bekwenzeka emehlweni omhlaba, izivakashi zizoba madolonzima ekutheni zivakashale kuleli.

“Ngingasayiphathi-ke eyabathengi abasuka emingceleni yakuleli lizwe abathenga kuleli nsuku zonke, abafaka umnotho, okuyimanje usengcupheni yokuwa ngenxa yalokhu kucwasa.” usho kanje.

Uqhube wathi ukungalethwa kwezidingongqangi ngosopolitiki bakuleli kubantu, kwenza amaphaphu ezakhamizi zakuleli ahlale ephezulu.

Uthe kufanele kubhekisise inqubomgomo yezomnotho kuleli njengoba abaqashi begcina beqasha abantu bokufika kunabantu bakuleli ngoba bebaholela imali engaphansi kweyamukelele, kuthi izakhamizi zakuleli zisale zincipha.

# Bakhalalela amathuba abokufika

## EZOMPIKAKATHI: Baningi asebenzi

### NONHLANHLA JELE

UMKHANDLU olwela

imhlalakahle hamalungele abokufika kuleli, iBefungee Council ezinze Kwazulu-Natal ithi khathezekile ngokuthi ngagashwa nokunganakwa kwezifundiswa ezivele kwamanye amazwe ikakhulukazi e-Afrika.

Zibalelwa ema-23 izizwe ezinamalinga alo mkhandlu ezizinze kuleli. UManu Amisi odabuka e-Democratic Republic of Congo othi usegenjwayeka eyi-15 ehlala kuleli, ushiye izwe lakhe ngenxa yezinxu-shunxushu zezombangazwe. Uthi ubenguminywele oqxile emkhakheni wezolimo enesigijiyoni seantinyaka eyisi-9. Ngokusiso kwakhe, usehluke wancama ukuthola umsebenzi waze wagoma ukhoyokwenza iziqu zeMasters kulo mkhakha nazo aseziphohthulle.

Uthi usenza ezobuhloko e-U-University of Kwazulu-Natal kodwa umsebenzi do ngaphandle kokwenza imisebenzi yesikhashana engasho lutho. Muva nje imhlangano yakhe enamalokishini abanyama yakha ubudlelwano obuhle nabobufika.

UManu Amisi ubeyinxenye yesidlo sakushiswa phakathi kukaYdunakulu wakulesi sifundazwe uDkt Zwerli Mkhize nezinye izimhlaka ezimete abokufika kuleli okubalwa kazo iSouth African Neighbouring Countries Development Aid (SANDA) ngolwesi-bhili.

Inhloso bekuwukudingida ngezindlela okungaliwa ngazo nokutwasa kwaabokufika kuleli. Ngwezi-2008 kubheduke udame olubhekiswe kwaabokufika kuleli kwala ingqaba. UDKt uMkhize, uthe: "Ukupha isihambi ukuzibekela, nakuba sinezinkinga zethu kuleli kodwa kufanele sibamukela abalawelhu nodadewethu abavela kwamanye amazwe, sibheke lapho singathuthukisana khona sicobelane ngolwazi oluzothuthukisa izwe lethu kwezomnoho nakweminye imikhakha."

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# Izindaba

## UKUBULAWA KOWOKUFIKA WUBUGEBENGU HHAYI I-XENOPHOBIA

### INTATHILI YELANGA

1. UKUGWAZWA kubulawe uMnu Emmanuel Josias Sithole waseMozambique ezinyangeni ezimbili ezedlule bekungahlangene nakancane nokuhlaselwa kwabantu bokufika kuleli kodwa bekuyisenzo sobugebengu.
2. Lokhu kushiwo nguMnu Fabian Gomez ongufakazi ozibonele ukusuka nokuhlala kokuholele ekufeni kukaMnu Sithole ngoLwesibili enkantolo yemantshi eGoli.
3. Utshela inkantolo ukuthi indaba isuke ngokuthathwa kwephakethe likagwayi obudayiswa ngumufi njengoba ubenetafula adayisa kulo ugwayi nemifino. Iphakethe likagwayi lithathwe ngumsolwa uSizwe Mngomezulu, umufi wabalandela efuna inkokhelo yakhe.
4. Umsolwa, oneminyaka eli-17 elingavezwanga igama lakhe ngenxa yeminyaka yakhe, ephethe ibhodlela elinobhaya, umvuzele ngawo emzimbeni, wayetha umufi. Esathithibele ebheke phansi umufi, umsolwa umshaye ngalo ekhanda.
5. Esefulathele ebaleka umufi, ushaywe ngesipanela wahlaselwa ngabasolwa sekukhona ophethe ummese.
6. Uthi abebebukela besebekhuzwa bemeneza bebona ophethe ummese. Uthi naye (uGomez) uzamile ukulamula.
7. Umufi ucoshe itshe washaya koyedwa wabahlasele bakhe wase ezama ukubaleka kodwa wawa base bengwaza.
8. Uvukile umufi wagijima eqonde ngakuye (uGomez), bobabili babalekela etendeni lonebhizinisi lokugunda.
9. Besathi bakhosele kulo, kuqhamuke ngemuva kwetende umsolwa, uMthintse Bhengu.
10. UMnu Gomez utshela umufi ukuthi abaleke kodwa kwaqhamuka omunye phambi kwakhe.
11. Abasolwa bamhubhile umufi waya ngasekusithekeni kwamehlo akhe akabe esabona ukuthi kwenzeneni.
12. Omunye umsolwa kuleli cala nguSifundi Mzimela. Liyaqhubeka icala.
13. Khona manjalo, kwesinye isigameko esehlukile kulesi kubikwa ukuthi ukwebiwa kwezintambo zikagesi nokulinyazwa kwezigubhu ezihambisa ugesi zikamasipala sekuholele ekutheni kushode amanzi ezindaweni ezakhele uThongathi enyakatho yeTheku.
14. Ngokwesitatimende esithunyelwe nguMasipala weTheku, izindawo ezinale nkinga yokushoda kwamanzi ngenxa yokwebiwa kwezintambo zikagesi yise-Falbreese naseBurbreeze khona oThongathi. Kuthiwa isigubhu esiphakela ugesi kulezi zindawo sicekelwe phansi nokuholele ekutheni injini yamanzi ingabe isasebenza.
15. UMasipala weTheku usukhiphe isexwayiso kubantu bakule ndawo ukuba bagweme ukwenza lokhu njengoba ukusebenza kwenjini yamanzi kusebenza ngogesi.
16. Isitatimende siveza ukuthi uma ugesi uke waphazamiseka lokho kungaba nomthelela omubi kuholele ekuphazamisekeni kokuhamba kwamanzi kuleyo ndawo enenkinga ngogesi.
17. Unjinyela kamasipala kule ndawo, u-Ashan Nandlal, uthi kunesigaba esithize okumele amanzi afike kusona uma esezindaweni ezigcina amanzi ukuzoqhamba kahle ukuya lapho okumele ayekhona.
18. Njengoba kunalo monakalo nje, kuzothatha isikhathi ukuba amanzi agewale aphinde ahambe ngendlela

efanel ezinye ezinye Isita izindaba zibhek