# Reimagining diversity in post-apartheid Observatory, Cape Town: a Discourse Analysis

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor Philosophiae in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape.

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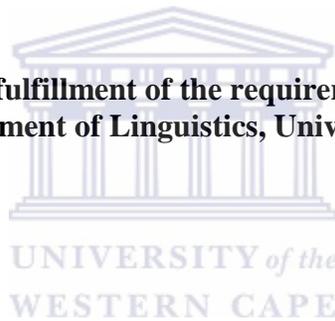
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ABSTRACT

Reimagining diversity in post-apartheid Observatory, Cape Town: a Discourse Analysis

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The focus of the thesis is conceptually-based and problematizes the notion of a transformed society while addressing and evaluating its meaning in the multicultural post-apartheid neighbourhood of Observatory, Cape Town. Confluent concepts such as 'multilingualism', 'hybridity' and 'community' are discussed within the historical and contemporary context of a newly established democratic South Africa.

Through a poststructuralist discourse analysis, the study endeavours to explore discourses of language and identity in the previously predominantly English-speaking community of Observatory. It is hoped that this research will build upon knowledge of *inter alia* social interaction, translocations and community membership, identity, language and integration in Observatory. Focus therefore rest on issues such as hybridity, identity options, translocal and transnational cultural flows, localization and globalization. All these issues fall under the broader theme of discourse of transformation and integration in multilingual spaces.

The study strictly works within the framework of a qualitative approach with the focus resting on a discourse analysis of generated narratives supplied by informants during interviews and temporal and spatial descriptions of research sites. Arising from this study it is hoped that a deeper understanding of migration, transnational and transcultural flows, hybridity and identity will be reached.

Critically, this study delves into two 'new' areas which subsume sociolinguistics, specifically semiotic landscape and place branding. Exploration into the appropriation of space by 'newcomers' and the subsequent reimaginings of space *into place* are of keen interest here. In this respect, this study aims at shedding light on recurrent, contesting and and new imaginings of diversity in post-apartheid living.

Date: May 2012

DECLARATION

I declare that *Reimagining diversity in post-apartheid Observatory, Cape Town: a Discourse Analysis* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full name: Amiena Peck

Signed: _____ Date: _____

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"Imagination is more important than knowledge."

-   Albert Einstein

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CHAPTER ONE

General Introduction

1.0 Introduction

A thesis on multilingualism, space and social integration initially became an area of study spawned after the highly publicized xenophobic attacks that shocked the South African nation in April/ May 2008. With nearly fourteen years after the first democratic election in South Africa, this event brought to the fore many misnomers, myths and fallacies of the 'rainbow nation' as an inclusive and harmonious nation. The multicultural and multilingual neighbourhoods in South Africa have for the most part been considered as a result of independence from the ancien regime. Nevertheless, very little is known of the manifestation, workings and imaginings of 'newcomers' in previously racialized areas. One such neighbourhood in Cape Town which has become home to a diverse group of people is that of the previously whites-only neighbourhood of Observatory.

This chapter seeks to foreground the suitability of Observatory as the research area due largely to its mix of transnational groups and self-proclaimed (and advertised) 'diverse' image or brand of the neighbourhood. Soon after the first democratic election, the annual festival (known as 'ObzFest') further established Observatory as an 'alternative' neighbourhood and 'cultural heart' of the city. It is within this diverse sociocultural and linguistic setting that social transformation and language are explored.

The main purpose of this chapter is to investigate social transformation in contemporary Observatory, with a desire to discover points of tension and unity as well as uncover the blurred spaces in between which make this neighbourhood such a fascinating place in which to study social transformation within diversity. In this study, social transformation is not viewed as a new or emerging happening; rather it is imagined as a continuously changing phenomenon with a distinct history and many possible futures. Observatory is therefore first contextualized within its previous colonial and apartheid past and thereafter the contemporary neighbourhood of Observatory is analyzed through the use of new theoretical and analytical advances.

Within this study, a poststructuralist approach is employed when analysing globalization, localization, space and identity construction in this diverse and intriguing setting.

1.1 Socio-cultural makeup of Observatory

Cape Town has been described as the melting pot of cultures and languages (cf. McCormick, 2002; Mesthrie, 2002). The changing linguistic landscape of the Cape can be tracked long before European colonizers arrived. As early as 700 AD the indigenous Khoisan people of the Cape first made contact with the 'dark skinned' Bantu people that were migrating from other areas in Africa. This meeting was then followed by a series of well documented acts of colonialisation of the Cape, with many people being brought in as slaves. A third of the captives during this time were Africans from Mozambique, another third were from Madagascar, with the last remaining third being Muslims from Java, Ceylon (Indonesia) and Bengal (India). Although there is not much documentation of early inhabitants of the land, it is believed that the pastoralist Khoikhoi were natives to the Cape. After the Dutch colonized the area the Khoikhoi were left with no land on which their cattle could graze and lost out to the free burgers (welcometocapetourism.co.za).

The Afrikaans language is a modern day active result of the process of transnational cultural flows which flowed into the Cape from the middle of the 17th to end of the 18th century. This period saw the Cape coming under control by the Dutch and it is then that both European settlers and slaves (from Asia and Africa) began melding Dutch with their own indigenous languages. "In the 19th Century, English speakers were politically dominant, but 'Cape Dutch' continued to grow as a home language" (Gardner-Chloros, 2002: 154).

Extensive documentation of Observatory starts from early 1900s with Dutch settlement in the Cape, thereafter followed by colonial occupation by the British. Evidence of Dutch colonialism is immortalised by the name 'Liesbeek' Parkway being indelibly etched on one of the main highways in Cape Town. The British later colonized the Cape as well and it is at this point that John Young (1998:63) recounts

the history of urban Observatory as commencing with massive in-migration from Britain:

> Most of the immigrants who came to Observatory were British lower middle-class, shop-keepers, artisans and clerks. They made Observatory into a colonial home–from-home, copying many of the conventions and mores of the English bourgeoisie

Enduring relics of British occupation in Observatory can still be seen today when looking at the structures of houses and street names. At this point, there were large numbers of immigrants residing in Observatory such as Lithuanians and Jews. During this time, the neighbourhood still allowed for some Indians and Coloured tradesman to operate in Observatory. Young states that "By 1910 applications for trading licences under the General Dealers' Act of 1906 from persons with Muslim names were routinely denied" (1998: 38). The non-Asiatic law seriously impacted on Indians and Muslim tradesmen and eventually led to them having to sell their shops and move out of the area. This oppressive law was consistent with other racially discriminate laws promulgated during apartheid.

With apartheid coming into effect in 1940, areas were divided into 'white', 'coloured', 'Indian' and 'black' areas. Observatory then became officially known as a designated white suburb under the Groups Areas Act (as amended in 1966). However, unlike other white areas, Observatory still remained largely English.

One can therefore go as far as to say that Cape Town has been in a constant state of transformation for as long as can be remembered and that transformation has occurred, and continues to occur primarily through translocalizations and transnational cultural flows. Mignolo argues that "the current process of globalization is not a new phenomenon, although the way in which it is taking place is without precedent" (2000: 236). Previously, translocal and transnational cultural flows were blatantly visible through the importation of slaves to the Cape during the era of colonialism. However, today we talk about the influx of these flows largely brought about through other means like technologies and migration.

Currently the socio cultural makeup of Observatory (in accordance with the latest census survey of 2001) shows that Whites make up half of the population with (57.42%), followed by Black/Africans (20.28%), Coloureds (19.87%) and Indian/Asians (3.5%). Half of the population are aged between 18 – 34 and a quarter of the population are between the ages of 35-54. This means that there is a very active young adult group with a smaller aging group that make up the negligible difference in Observatory. This representation is consistent with the 'young' vibe catered for by clubs/pubs and student hostels in Observatory. The languages recorded in the census survey reveal English as having the most speakers (71.9%), followed by Afrikaans (15.37%), Xhosa (6.65%), other African (4.12%) and other (2.75%). However, this census survey only represents those that partook in the study, namely South African citizens. The large number of immigrants that reside in Observatory is unknown, however the visibility of Cameroonian and Nigerian clubs speak of their existence in Observatory.

Overall, there have been three census surveys conducted in Observatory, specifically in 1985, 1996 and 2001 respectively and have been added as an annexure. The questions listed and particularly the respondents in the survey have changed drastically since 1985, with the focus previously only on whites. Although census surveys have been arguably oftentimes frustrating and inadequate for researchers, they do denote the larger socio-political climate of those times.

The South African Data Archive (SADA) shows that the 1985 census was recorded in Afrikaans at the time and was conducted by Statistics South Africa (who still conducts census surveys in South Africa today). In accordance with the state law of the time, only white citizens in designated white areas of South Africa were legitimate respondents in the survey. Specifically, they recorded the following information:

> Particulars of person - relationship within household, sex, age, marital status, population group, birthplace, country of citizenship, level of education, occupation, identity of employer and the nature of economic activity.

Observatory was included in the survey because of its status as a white area. The 1985 survey of whites in Observatory showed only very specific information such as employment, education and gender.

The 1996 census survey was conducted by the Urban Policy Unit supplied by Statistics South Africa. The inclusion of 'Indian', 'Coloured' and 'African/Black' ethnic groups in the survey is indicative of the end of apartheid and follows the first democratic election in 1994. In addition to education, gender and age, language was also added. In 1996 languages spoken in Observatory were reportedly lead by English (63%), Afrikaans (15%) and Xhosa (11%). However, a significant percentage (11%) of people surveyed marked 'other' as their language, with less than one percent occupying an unspecified language. It was at this time that Observatory initiated its first annual ObzFest and fast became an immigrant destination for Africans and Europeans alike. This was also a time when Observatory was largely associated with hippies, partygoers and immigrants.

1.2 Socio-political climate in Observatory

Although Observatory is often discussed as a previously white and English area during apartheid, the history of the area started before colonial rule as the land was first occupied by the native Xhosa pastoralists. Since its urban inception the socio-political climate in Observatory has been continuously influenced by the changing colonial and political rule over the area.

The tumultuous 1980s saw South Africa becoming extremely volatile with many uprising against discriminatory laws all over the country. There was much political stirring at this time and Observatory soon becoming associated with anti-government sentiment. This occurrence came about through the influx of a great number of liberal–minded foreign students. Observatory was known to harbour many anti-government liberal thinkers, who sided with the now national party of South Africa, namely the African National Congress (ANC).

Interviews with residents reveal that secret ANC meetings were conducted in Lower Main road. These anti-state activities bred much discomfit for white residents in Observatory and led to the outward migration of whites to other less-liberal neighbourhoods (cf. Montoya-Palaez, 1985).

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The political climate of Observatory thereafter took a revolutionary turn, with South Africa celebrating its first democratic election in 1994. However, although Observatory remained under ANC control for many years, it has recently fallen under the political domain of the Democratic Alliance (DA), which is the official opposition party of the ANC.

After 1994 the area remained an ANC neighbourhood up until 2002 when it became a DA neighbourhood. The change in political affiliation is significant as it proved that residents in that neighbourhood may have become disillusioned with the leading party (and what they stood for).

Researching social transformation in Observatory sets the stage for a multitude of different contexts to be indexed by the informants, landscape and space. For these reasons, units of analysis are always cushioned against their own contexts. Observatory is viewed as a social space wherein people, discourse and space are continuously cast against the background of social, historical and political context.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Current discourses on transformation and ideologies of South Africa have of late been dominated by what the media has dubbed 'xenophobic' attacks. These violent attacks were aimed primarily at foreign nationals of African descent (i.e. Somalis, Zimbabweans etc). As the tragic events unfolded South Africa appeared to be reeling in shock at this seemingly unprovoked violence. Reasoning behind the violent attacks was left at the door of foreigners, with local (Black) South Africans believing the foreigners to have stolen their land and jobs. Shockingly, some of the victims of xenophobic attacks had been living alongside their perpetrators in the same neighbourhood for nearly a decade.

The occurrence of these explosive and volatile altercations should not be seen in isolation from the space that it occurs and in order to investigate this phenomenon, an ethnographic analysis of the process or system in which these events occur is needed. In other words, issues concerning territoriality, belonging, normative codes and

negotiation of identities are considered elucidatory through the study of local contemporary discourse in the context of a multicultural community like Observatory.

South Africa is considered a shining beacon to the rest of Africa and after 1994, an enormous effort was made in the direction of nation-building, which resulted in the beginning of an era which speaks to the notions of 'ubuntu', being 'proudly South African' and being a part of 'a rainbow nation'. Efforts were aimed at bringing a disunited nation together under one banner or one identity, particularly a diverse rainbow South African identity. The 2010 Soccer World Cup showcased the height of national unity, with this event only increasingly South Africa's popularity as an immigrant destination and added to the complexity of social interaction and the construction of identity in South Africa. Nevertheless, immigrant life in South Africa has been less than perfect with numerous violent altercations (notably black-on-black violence) documented. For this reason, a multicultural and seemingly all-embracing neighbourhood of Observatory is investigated so as to uncover just how, in this newly imagined democratic South Africa, questions, discussions and investigation into notions of belonging, territoriality, racism and so forth, are engendered. In this regard, language is considered the most sensitive measure of social transformation.

The question as to how multilingual communities share and negotiate space is thus vital for the overall well-being of the country. Put another way, one could ask: what do present-day multilingual practices in a formerly English-dominated neighbourhood (such as Observatory) tell us about issues of territoriality, migratory trends, language development, change and growth and social transformation at large?

It is well known that with the end of apartheid also came the lifting of laws which restricted the movement of Blacks and Coloureds into previously white-only areas and today, all people regardless of linguistic background, ethnicity or creed, are now (in principle) able to live and work where they choose. One area that is now observed to house many diverse languages and cultures is that of Observatory. However, how the newcomers to the area are being received and how they impact on Observatory's linguistic and cultural landscape, is yet unknown.

Linguistic research into post-apartheid language, cultural and social contact at a local level, is thus of paramount importance and research of this nature has grown exponentially since 1994. Added to this, the impact of globalization or transnational cultural flows also needs to be considered. In this way, this study explores the localization of incoming and outgoing translocal and transnational cultural flows to gain insight into possible 'hybrid' or 'multilingual identities'. For this reason, the impact of globalization on traditional languages (including South African English) and cultures in Cape Town cannot be overlooked.

Questions pertaining to how Capetonians negotiate identities in the 'multilingual spaces' that they find themselves in has not been fully explored (cf. Salo, 2003; Deumeurt, 2005; Vigouroux, 2005). In fact, the notion of 'multilingual spaces' itself needs to be explored as to *what* and *who* belongs in that space. Also, the ideology behind the Observatory or 'Obs' culture would be helpful in ascertaining peoples' attitudes and discourses on different languages and identity negotiation in Observatory.

1.4 Purpose of Study

Presently, Cape Town is also known by its two other native names, specifically Kaapstad and Ikapa. Alongside English, these names are representative of the two other dominant languages found in the city, namely Afrikaans and Xhosa respectively. On the one hand, Afrikaans and English form part of the Germanic branch. Xhosa, a Bantu language on the other, forms part of the Nguni cluster alongside, Zulu, Swati and Ndebele (Mesthrie, 1995, 2002).

Today Xhosa, English and Afrikaans form part of the 11 official languages of the country with many different varieties of these languages being found across Cape Town. Under apartheid legislation the division of people in the Cape, as within the rest of the country, was done through the systematic implementation of barbarous laws. Amongst them were: *Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act* No 55 of 1949, *Immorality Amendment Act* No 21 of 1950, *Bantu Authorities Act* No 68 of 1951 and probably the most notorious of all, the *Group Areas Act* 41 of 1950.

The Group Areas Act No 41 enforced "…physical separation between races by creating different residential areas for different races." (http://africanhistory.about.com/library/bl/blsalaws.htm). This act presupposed that communities were homogenous and that one would typically find a singular dominant language being spoken in a specific community. For instance, in Cape Town one would find Afrikaans typically being spoken on the Cape Flats, which was deemed a 'Coloured' area under the apartheid regime. Conversely, Xhosa would be found to be spoken largely in areas like Gugulethu - a 'Black' area. Therefore, it is plausible to assert that the racial dichotomies of the South African population, imposed through the implementation of the Group Areas Act 41 of 1951, may have resulted in the linguistic growth of specific languages in clearly delineated neighbourhoods all over the country.

Under the apartheid law, one may argue that different communities were inherently homogenous both in language and culture. Leading on from this one would then expect a community such as Observatory to have been characterized by one specific language and with similar identities. Nevertheless, this train of thought does not make allowances for differences in individuals and groups. Instead, this study does not claim homogeneity as *a priori* and instead analyzes local discourse as a way to uncover potential new (transformative) identities in post-apartheid Observatory. It is hoped that this approach would then allow for hybridity (in representations of discourse and social interaction) to come to the fore in Observatory.

For this reason, I intend to use a sociolinguistic multiplex interpretive site approach (Appadurai, 1996; Heller, 2007) supplemented by the poststructuralist discourse analysis (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004; Heller, 2007) as the methodology employed to explore discourses of language and identity in the multilingual spaces of Observatory. Firstly, focus is initially placed on the kinds and quality of interactions that take place in these multilingual spaces while continuously considering the apartheid past and recent translocal and transnational cultural flows. In this regard, archetypical studies which looked at these themes in similar ethnically diverse neighbourhoods conducted by Blommaert *et al* (2005) "Polycentricity and interactional regimes in 'global neighborhoods'" and Modan (2007) "Turf wars: the politics of space", are used to inform the thesis.

Secondly, it would be interesting to uncover how translocal and transnational cultural flows into South Africa have impacted on issues of hybridity and transformation in Observatory's community and neighbourhood (cf. Appadurai, 1996; Modan, 2007; Vigouroux, 2005). In this regard, one of the ways the influence of globalization has been discussed in sociolinguistics is that of 'deterritorialized' or 'translocated' groups that migrate into new locations (Appadurai, 1996; Modan, 2007; Vigouroux, 2005; Boucher, 2008; Titley, 2008). Due to the transient nature of these groups, census statistics, which usually offer a heuristic idea of migratory trends in and out of Observatory, is somewhat ambiguous and do not indicate the kinds of interaction and integration in neighbourhoods (cf. Boucher, 2008; Titley, 2008). This argument and its subsequent ramifications are discussed further. Therefore, it would be interesting to explore the impact of transnational and translocal flows on multilingual spaces in Observatory. One way in which to uncover this information would be by looking at Observatory as a multiplex interpretive site in order to ascertain everyday discourses and interactional regimes from community members.

1.5 General aims and objectives

Overall, the aim of the study is to explore discourses of language and identity in the previously predominantly English-speaking community of Observatory, through a poststructuralist discourse analysis of the kinds of interactions or interactional regimes evident in different sites on the 'commercial corridor' or Lower Main Road (LMR). This would in turn allow for knowledge of language use and identity construction in different multilingual spaces in Observatory to come to the fore, as well as to establish a platform on which to understand critical issues dealing with social interaction, translocations and community membership, identity, language and integration in Observatory. Focus will therefore rest on issues such as hybridity, identity resources, translocations, translocal and transnational cultural flows, localization and globalization. All these issues fall under the broader theme of discourse of transformation and integration in multilingual spaces (Boucher, 2008; Titley, 2008).

In this way, meeting grounds for the diverse ethnic groups, such as bars, clubs and restaurants and even street corners are seen as rich grounds for gathering information on possible multilingual identities (see Modan, 2007; Blommaert, *et al* 2005 for similar arguments on the kinds of multilingual interactions).

1.6 Specific objectives

The following are the specific objectives, which I wish to achieve:

1. To ascertain how translocal and transnational flows have transformed this neighbourhood.
2. Uncover how multilingual identities are asserted and received in Observatory.
3. Determine whether there is an Observatory or 'Obs' brand and discover what this entails.
4. Ascertain how Observatory has changed on a cultural and linguistic level over the years.
5. Explore signs on the linguistic and semiotic landscape in place.
6. Establish whether English itself is being transformed in this community.

It is hoped that these objectives will enable the study to ascertain the following:

- The impact of globalization on this local community.
- Possible migratory trends in and out of Observatory.
- The impact of translocal and transnational flows on Observatory's multilingual spaces and identities.
- How discourse and multilingual identities fit into the overarching theme of transformation and multicultural integration.
- How work on 'space' can in fact be of use in this multilingual/ multicultural *African* perspective.
- Contesting landscapes in Observatory.

Considering the above objectives, the following questions become pertinent:

1. What identity resources are available to the differently imagined groups in Observatory?

2. What multilingual practices (if any) can be identified in the Observatory neighbourhood?

3. Considering that there are large numbers of transnational groups in Observatory, what are the discourses and opinions on xenophobia?

1.7 Rationale

A plethora of research focusing on issues such as 'discrimination', 'racism', 'integration' and 'segregation' has been undertaken primarily with the advent of democracy in 1994 (see Peck, 2007). One may argue that giving a voice to these topics is essential in understanding the transgressions of the past. This in turn allowed the many that suffered under the apartheid regime to be acknowledged and understood in the hope to pave the way to freedom and equality.

At present it would seem that there is a gap in research exploring present-day social interactions resulting from translocal and transnational translocations in South Africa. Salo corroborates this perspective when she says that "...many contemporary historical studies and museum exhibitions in post-apartheid South Africa have focused on the previously marginalized black population's memories of its communities prior to the forced removals experienced under apartheid (see Field, 2001; Rassool and Prosalendis, 2001). These works recoup the memories of these communities as the socially and economically vibrant places that apartheid obliterated. Furthermore, they do not indicate that, in the 40 years since the first removal, social webs have been painstakingly respun in the previously segregated spaces. In addition, few have reflected upon the manner in which these spaces have acquired multiple new meanings since resettlement" (Salo, 2003:348). Critically, very few studies have looked at the changing faces of South African neighbourhoods with different waves of translocal and transnational migrations.

This study is therefore aimed at moving past the simple description of historically racialized communities; rather it hopes to offer an in-depth method of understanding transformative interaction at grassroots level. In this vein, 'transformation' can be understood as a logical research niche area in which to rebuild the new South Africa. Currently this type of research is underdeveloped in the country (cf. Peck, 2007).

Thus, there is a need to analyze the kinds of interaction in multiracial and multilingual spaces in order to outline any emerging linguistic patterns and identity options occurring in communities today.

As a result, research on transformation can be justified on many levels and with great vigour and conviction. Gaining insight into transformation from a socio-linguistic perspective is a convincing point of departure from which to analyze social and neighbourhood integration (Boucher, 2008; Titley, 2008) social interactions (Blommaert *et al*, 2005) and language practices (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004; Heller, 2007) that are relevant in understanding South African society today.

1.8 Methodology

A qualitative approach has been adapted in the study with the bulk of the data collection stemming from one-on-one and focus group interviews. Discourse analysis is used as the primary analytical tool when analysing the interview data. Exploratory research in Observatory spanned a thirty-six month period commencing in August 2008 and ending in February 2011, with sporadic site visits ending January 2012. This time period allowed for the observation of four cycles of the annual Observatory Festival, specifically: 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011. The research sites were initially confined to various clubs on the busiest business stretch of Lower Main Road, but later grew organically to encompass the local library, recreational hall and primary school. Participants used in this study fell into Appadurai's (1996) collection of 'ethnoscape' with close attention paid to immigrants, residents, the homeless and students. Additionally, selected non-reactive data and texts were used to support online and print media. A more in-depth outline of the methodology is supplied in Chapter Three.

1.9 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is divided into nine chapters. Chapter one introduces the problem of a severe lack of research on social transformation in previously racially defined 'whites-only neighbourhoods' in Cape Town. It further explains the reasons behind Observatory being selected as the research site. In particular, this neighbourhood was selected as it appeared (at face-value) to display extreme sociolinguistic interest, as it

has become a thoroughfare (and immigrant destination) for transcultural and transnational flows since the end of apartheid in 1994. Violent attacks against foreigners in May 2008 further highlighted the dearth of research on areas or neighbourhoods with mixed ethnic groupings in South Africa. The aims of this chapter were to explore just how people in a diversely populated neighbourhood live, work and play together. In this way, a central aim in this research was to contextualize these popular notions within the African context and also to serve as a form of critique into more recent theoretical advances.

The literature review is divided into two chapters. Chapter Two reviews literature pertaining to the theoretical and analytical frame used when investigating social transformation. Chapter Three focuses on the theoretical and analytical frameworks which contribute to literature pertaining to the semiotic landscape. Chapter Two foregrounds pertinent literature relevant to explorative research on social transformation in place. The conceptual framework was built around Ben Anderson's (1983) notion of 'imagined community'. The notion of 'imagined community' is of particular interest in the South African context where the majority of citizens had previously fallen outside of the apartheid imaginings held by the minority elite, the white populace. The country is now known globally as the 'rainbow nation' and has even held the first Soccer World Cup on African soil. It would then reasonably appear to outsiders looking in that the vision of a united nation had indeed been realized. However, news of xenophobic attacks against black foreign nationals persevered. For this reason, the complex notion of how community is *imagined* in post-apartheid Observatory could not be overstated enough. Appadurai's (1996) expanded notion of Anderson's 'imagined community' is picked up here as a framework in which to unpack different views concerning space and legitimacy in this diverse neighbourhood.

The concept of transformation speaks to notions of: place and space, community configuration, sociolinguistic practice, identity and language(s) on the landscape. In this regard a variety of literatures dealing with social transformation in a post-apartheid South Africa is consulted which assists in contextualising Observatory within in a larger colonial past. A model study by Modan (2007) looks at a similarly diverse neighbourhood in Washington and serves as a helpful guideline to an

ethnographic study on the transformation of that neighbourhood through the primary use of discourse analysis. Similar to Modan's (2007) study on a multicultural and gentrifying neighbourhood in Washington, thematic discussions such as: points of tensions, law-and-order and community of practice are also explored. The literature review argues that Observatory is also excellent sociolinguistic soil in which to analyze transnational and cultural flows. Appadurai (1996) fervently argues for the acceptance of people, ideas, technology and media as flows, with Pennycook (2010) adding language (linguascape) as an additional flow, to which branding (brandscape) is also added.

Chapter Three focuses on the relatively new research area of linguistic landscape analysis and semiotic landscape analysis. It offers a detailed account of the origin of linguistic landscape analysis and its evolution into semiotic landscape analysis. Herein, more permanent items on the semiotic landscape such as: street names, buildings and infrastructure are analyzed as well as more temporary signs, like: community notices, shop signs and handwritten notices. Land, space and landscape are explicated so as to better understand what is meant by public space and the signs found in those spaces. Pertinently, this chapter moves beyond 'language counting' on signs and instead aims to holistically draw in all aspects or modes of signs.

Chapter Four provides an in-depth account of the methodology undertaken in the study. Pertinently, the use of discourse and text analysis is used as the primary analytical tool in the ethnographic study of Observatory. The importance of undertaking an ethnographic approach is discussed here. The researcher found an ethnographic approach useful for everyday social interaction to be recorded so that the research reveals more about spatial, cultural, community and interaction. Discourse analysis was employed due to its ability to illuminate discourses on transformation, the 'other' and identity construction. Following Appadurai (1996) a multiplex interpretive site approach is used so as to allow for a range of research sites and actors to be included.

Chapter Five discusses social networks and identifies various participants, processes and structures within larger (more official) social networks such as the local civic association as well as largely invisible (more unofficial) social networks which

include subcultures. Within these social networks notions of participatory governance, inclusion and exclusion, power and agency emerge. All of these notions play out when tracking Observatory as an imagined community.

Chapter Six focuses on verbal and non-verbal modes on the semiotic landscape of Observatory. The analysis of handwritten notices, sign boards and graffiti has recently taken flight with many sociolinguists undertaking ethnographic fieldwork, finding it an integral part of the environment. This chapter shows how an analysis of the semiotic landscape can bear witness to the greater socio-political climate. Discussion around permanent features of the linguistic landscape such as roads, buildings and street names, are interweaved with new shop names and colourful shop windows to create a holistic image of the commercial trend of multilingualism in Observatory.

Chapter Seven serves as a more in-depth look at the construction of the Observatory neighbourhood through the analysis of two 'community' notice boards. These two notice boards are considered as dialogical in nature and offer insight into differences in power, different uses of English, contesting imaginings of 'legitimacy' in Observatory and pertinently reveals the dialogic and multivocal nature of signs.

In Chapter Eight the local primary school in Observatory is explored when discussing the importance of English and the construction of various identities. Other issues around common-sense arguments about race, ethnicity and language are also explored through a triangulation of interviews, with a textual analysis of a community newspaper article and an online post forum. This chapter uses discourse and text analysis to uncover the construction of black learners as the 'other', while simultaneously espousing voice and agency. Points of tension are discussed when looking at Shi-xu's (2007) notion of discourse as a struggle. This chapter crystallizes dominant ideologies of English, racial mixing (after apartheid) and the reception to this translocal flow into the neighbourhood.

In Chapter Nine the 'rebranding' of the neighbourhood is analyzed. This chapter delves into a relatively new area of study known as (place) branding or brandscape and goes about defining, describing and deconstructing Observatory as a brand. Similar studies on neighbourhoods, cities and nations discuss the importance of

branding in a 'citizen-cum-consumer' world (cf. van Ham, 2010). In this chapter, the notion of branding takes its cue from corporate branding and extends into branding within a specific geographical space known as place branding. Herein the function, values, identity and the power of branding is discussed. Observatory's annual festival is taken as a marker of the brand and with the dramatic changes to this brand marker, the rebranding of the neighbourhood is hypothesized.

Chapter Ten is the summation chapter of the thesis. This chapter draws together the various data findings from Chapters Five, Six, Seven, Eight and Nine in an attempt to create a (new) platform on which to understand social transformation in post-apartheid South Africa. This chapter also discusses the efficacy of recent theoretical advances within the African context and suggests implications of micro-sociolinguistic changes in relation to a larger national and international arena. Concluding thoughts on research questions arising from objectives set in Chapter one are provided. Finally, limitations, reflections and implications of the study are put forward as a facilitatory tool for future sociolinguistic research.
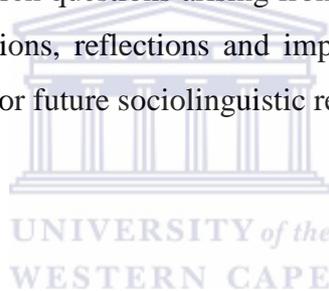
CHAPTER TWO

Literature review: Imagination, space, identity and power

2.0 Introduction

This chapter covers literature relevant to the multi-layered and expansive context within which social transformation in Observatory is researched. A holistic view of Observatory is undertaken through the incorporation of a gamut of current literature on space, language, identity and semiotics. Issues concerning transnational and translocal cultural flows, multilingualism, community composition, globalization, locality, mobility and identity negotiation in this 'newly imagined' neighbourhood, are set against Benedict Anderson's (1991) conceptual framework of 'imagined communities' and is further assisted by Appadurai's (1990) inclusive notion of scapes. Imagination as a feature of social practice is understood as having a destabilizing effect on social structures and for this reason the poststructuralist approach is employed when ascertaining how power is used to create and/or change particular imaginings of the neighbourhood.

2.1 Conceptual and theoretical framework

2.1.1 Imagined Communities

Although millions of people in South Africa suffered under apartheid, there remained one prevailing sentiment amongst the masses and that was one of hope for a new democratic society. This collective imaginings of a democratic nation ultimately materialized with the country's first democratic election in 1994.

Retrospection of the apartheid era revealed harsh realities promulgated through state laws in South Africa legislature. These laws dictated that people of colour were to be oppressed, residential areas to be racially divided, and interracial marriages to be forbidden. Arguably the one aspect of social life that the apartheid government could not rule was the capacity of people in South Africa to *imagine* a life unlike the one they were living. In this way the power of collective imagination cannot be underestimated.

Benedict Anderson's (1991) seminal work on nations as imagined communities forms the conceptual framework for interpreting how Observatory, as a previously-white neighbourhood in South Africa, has been imagined and reimagined over time. Anderson argues that imagined communities "[W]ill never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion…" (1991:6). The way in which nations imagine the masses of their constitution can similarly be tied to the way in which communities are inextricably linked to the imagining of their members. Speaking to the imagination of a collective and the power it has to change social conditions, Appadurai explains that "…it is the imagination, in its collective forms, that creates ideas of neighbourhood and nationhood, of moral economies and unjust rule, of higher wages and foreign labour prospects. The imagination is today a staging ground for action, and not only for escape" (1996:7).

The freedom that South Africans have now is unprecedented and the question therefore begs as to how people are living, loving and working together every day. Salo (2003:348) alludes to the salience of researching present social behaviour in newly imagined spaces when she says that "many contemporary historical studies…in post-apartheid South Africa have focused on the previously marginalized black population's memories of its communities prior to the forced removals experienced under apartheid (see Field, 2001; Rassool and Prosalendis, 2001)". Although the significance of documenting these forced removals of native communities from the areas which they called home is self-evident, Salo (2003) posits that there is a paucity of knowledge of just how those spaces have, over the years, gained new meanings.

One such place that may be described as 'diverse' and 'African' and which has gained novel meanings within the new democratic dispensation, is that of the neighbourhood of Observatory in Cape Town. Under apartheid law, Observatory's neighbourhood was largely a white area within close reach to a white-only university and sporting amenities. Currently, Observatory bears a 'cosmopolitan' vibe that appeals to tourists, immigrants and locals alike.

Mitchell similarly argues that imagined communities must pay attention to: "the *practices* and exercises of power through which these bonds are produced and reproduced. The questions this raises are ones about who defines the nation, how it is

defined, how that definition is reproduced and contested, and, crucially, how the nation has developed and changed over time…the question is not what common imagination *exists*, but what common imagination is *forged*" (2000:269; original emphasis). In Observatory in particular the production and contestation of what (and who) constitutes the neighbourhood is explored further. Similarly, the study does not only examine the type of community or communities which exist, but the type of community or communities which are moulded through the constant thrashing and rubbing and melding of a myriad of languages, cultures and people.

Appadurai (1996:8) speaks of imagination as "…a part of what the mass media make possible, because of the condition of collective reading, criticism and pleasure, [and] is what I have elsewhere called a 'community of sentiment' (Appadurai, 1990), a group that begins to imagine and feel this together." Likewise, Observatory is thought to play into the various media practices which are visible in the neighbourhood. Music, art, artefacts and design are thought to mirror the imaginings of the neighbourhood. This means that the image of the neighbourhood (as liberal and African) is thought to play into the vision of the new democratic South Africa.

Nevertheless, power struggles between different individuals, groups and ideologies reveal both the pliability and changeability of identities in newly imagined spaces in Observatory. Following Appadurai, performative identities in the global and local realm is seen as a product of "the imagination as social practice" (Appadurai, 2000: 328). In this way, the imagination is thought of as more than just an abstract notion, but is rather construed as an active component in the manifestations of performative (hybrid) identities in Observatory. Put another way, identities are performative and a function of social practice which is in turn is a product of the imagination as social practice. Understanding imagination as an active role in the fabric of social life unbalances readily accepted 'social structures' within the neighbourhood. Therefore, imagination is seen as rooted in everyday lives and experiences, and transcends commonly held ideas of social structures. In this vein, Pennycook's argument of the dynamism of translocal and transnational cultural flows as "...cultural forms [that] move, change, and are reused to fashion new identities in diverse contexts" (2007: 6) can also be said to engender new imaginings by its speakers. Modan discusses the relationship between people and places as dialectical in nature. She foregrounds

different identities as inextricably linked to the way people imagine these spaces. A deep-seated link between imagination, communities and place can be seen in the creation of specific identities. For Modan "...our notions of people's social identities are often influenced by what we think about the places we associate them with, just as our understandings of certain places are likewise shaped by what we think about the people who populate them" (2007: 328). Put another way, it is the imagination which ties individuals to a certain space, place or community in which new identities are then performed. These novel identities are seen as borne out of imagination as social practice.

In the multilingual and multicultural setting of Observatory, multiple stakeholders regularly meet, contest and negotiate new identities and it is the construction, contestation and negotiation of identity which reveal how Observatory is imagined. As mentioned elsewhere, with the shift in political power, the creation of new identities become possible through the process of imaginative production of identity (Hall, 1990). Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:17) argue. "…this process is often aided by new linguistics terms, by visual art, and by literary narratives, which together create new practices of self-representation and thus new 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1983; Hall, 1990)".

Following Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 19) this study views identity as "…social, discursive, and narrative options offered by a particular society in a specific time and place to which individuals and groups of individual appeal in an attempt to self-name, to self-characterize, and to claim social spaces and social prerogatives". And similar to Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) this study also finds identity as interesting when it is contested. For these reasons sites of contestation allow an opportunity for the different imaginings of identities to come to the fore as relevant and indexical of social transformation.

2.1.2 (Re) conceptualizing 'transformation' in Observatory

Explorative research on social integration puts into focus many of the aspects of daily life which go unnoticed. In contemporary South Africa, although research on apartheid legislature and its effects abound, research into the transformation of previously segregated areas is still a long way from sufficient. In South Africa the

term 'transformation' is most often equated with 'integration' and often alludes to moments in time wherein actors take huge steps towards the 'building of a better society'.

Although 'transformation' is most often used in conjunction with positive affirmations such as 'transformation and development' and 'transformation and leadership', the notion of transformation itself is not inherently good or bad. Transformation is defined in the Oxford dictionary as 'a marked change in form, nature, or appearance'. Conducting research on transformation in postcolonial/poststructuralist Cape Town has everything to do with change, and moves away from overwhelming optimism in order to yield the closest version of a veridical reality. Of particular interest here is that of social life and the space in which it occurs. In order to unpack the on goings in the neighbourhood, research into 'power play' between various groups in Observatory is undertaken.

The foundation of research on this scale begins with a representation of the neighbourhood over time which is partly made visible through census statistics. Although, there may be veritable holes in the census itself, it still acts as a heuristic form of the different imaginations of the neighbourhood. To date there have been four national statistics conducted in Observatory. Censuses were conducted in 1979, 1985, 1996 and 2001. Due to apartheid law, the census statistics of 1979 was unobtainable, while the 1985 statistics only provided results for whites in the area. What is clear from these two earlier censuses is that the neighbourhood of Observatory was imagined as a white's only community. Evidence of this imagining can be seen with the exclusion of all other racial groups from these two first censuses.

In the last two censuses, the later inclusion of the three other racial groupings in South Africa (specifically 'black', 'coloured' and 'Indian'), similarly indexes the democratic post-apartheid imaginings for the neighbourhood. In this case, other racial groups (which were once excluded) are systematically recorded and represented as bona fide and legitimate members of the neighbourhood, city or nationhood. Notwithstanding this progress, the census itself fails to account for much of the transnational migrants that live in Observatory. It may therefore be argued that transnational migrants have been largely excluded from the imaginings of a new democratic dispensation.

Nonetheless, censuses as well as other documented work on the area (arising from articles, books, theses and more recently blogs); help to create some understanding of the imaginings of the different communities and their settlement in Observatory over time. Pertinently, despite the more inclusive nature of the (post-1994) censuses, Observatory is still thought to be affected by contestation as some people may opt to draw on the previous apartheid imaginings of the neighbourhood, while others attempt to ride the wave of a 'rainbow nation'.

2.1.3 Globalization, glocalization and theory

Globalization is often seen as something that happens 'out there' and not anchored in the local. Under the umbrella of globalization, local and traditional cultures in developing countries are often viewed as static and essentialized and for this reason gobalization is seen as a homogenizing effect. Cultural homogenization or Americanization is believed to be guilty for much disintegration of local and traditional cultures and languages across the world. In other words it is believed that "… it is through the consumption of northern –produced goods that local difference is obliterated, creating cultural homogenization" (Ake in Salo, 2003: 347).Leading on from this Appadurai agrees that there is indeed a plethora of observable facts which bear heavily on the side of the argument of homogenization (cf. Hamelink, 1983; Mattelart, 1983; Schiller, 1976).

Nevertheless, even though the theory of cultural homogenization does carry some weight, it also has an adverse effect of disempowering the role of the local which in turn eschews or relegates the creativity and hybridity of the local. What most cultural homogenistic views forget is that the distinctions between the local and global are in fact not that dissimilar. Instead, globalizing is always situated in a given locality and therefore, globalization is created locally. For this reason it is argued that one cannot view globalization in isolation from the local space and that locality (local practice) indeed *transforms* global cultural flow. This sentiment is echoed by Appadurai in his counterargument to cultural homogenization when he says that "what these [homogenization] arguments fail to consider is that at least as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies, they tend to become indigenized in one or another way: this is true of music and housing styles as much as it is true of

science and terrorism, spectacles and constitutions" (1996: 32). These arguments have been taken up most recently by Pennycook (2010).

Although Pennycook (2010) credits work done by Blommaert (2008) on grassroots literacy, he takes a different tack when discussing locality. Whereas Blommaert (2008) views grassroots literacy as: "[W]riting performed by people who are not fully inserted into elite economies of information, langue and literacy" (2008: 7), Pennycook (2010) does not confine his work to 'non-elite' practices only and instead posits that all language practices are local. This approach sharply contrasts with popular notions of the center- periphery model which traditionally views globalization as a force originating from first world countries (considered the 'center') into remote (and therefore 'peripheral') countries. The tributary notion of polycentricity (cf. Blommaert *et al*, 2005) occurs almost as an afterthought to allow for the local to take precedence.

In this light, 'peripheral' countries are always described as departing from the (socially constructed) margin of the world. Within this approach, globalization is seen as something coming from 'out there' and not having any real interaction with the local (apart from a largely homogenising) affect. Notions of centre-periphery therefore serve as a tool in which to 'explain' how globalization tendencies (from the center) seemingly pervade the local (or 'periphery') of the world. In other words it is the developing countries which are attributed as the 'local' and situated in the periphery of the world. In fact the center-periphery model has become a favourite for researchers from the periphery and is often employed without little or no self-reflection or critique. South Africa is often described and researched as a part of those countries that constitute the 'periphery' of the center-periphery model (cf. Blommaert, 2007) and the proliferation of researchers foregrounding their work in relation to the centre is on the increase. Center-periphery arguments can thus be seen as self-prophesying as the periphery is constructed as dormant and dependent on the centre. This argument is taken up later when discussing 'grassroots writing' and 'elite writing'. Pennycook's view of globalization is radically different as he views locality as *engendering* globalization and not simply *submitting* to it. Pennycook is thus critical of the fact that the 'local' is often "…juxtaposed with concepts such as 'global', [or] as the opposite of whatever the global is taken to mean" (2010: 4). He is

also critical of the homogenizing view of globalization and posits that locality itself is not passive and therefore always shapes the global.

Leading on from this, globalization is therefore not deemed a simple case of homogenization from the West. In fact the simplicity of this view of globalization has been remarked on by other theorists as having been highly overemphasized in the past (cf. Pennycook, 2010; Canagarajah, 2007; Appadurai, 1996). For Appadurai "the new global cultural economy has to be seen as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order that cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing center–periphery models (even those that might account for multiple centres and peripheries). …" (1996:32). The main problem with the center-periphery model is that it supports socially constructed views favouring the economically empowered, but more distressing than this, it immediately situates research stemming from Africa (and Asia) as inherently limited with an emphasis placed on distance (from the 'centre') as a salient point of departure when embarking on sociolinguistic research.

The negative association of globalization and homogenization has been taken up by Shi-xu (2007) who warns of the danger of the universalization tendencies propagated by the West. And following this thought, Banda and Oketch (2009) further investigate the motivations for people's interactions, focusing on sociocultural factors as opposed to the 'popular' socioeconomic explications. Furthermore Pennycook succinctly states that "The local is too often equated with the 'micro' rather than the 'macro', with smallness, with embeddedness" (2010: 6). Pennycook therefore picks up on the miniscule emphasis placed on the local and the disparity that this causes.

Similarly, Helvacioglu discusses the shortcomings of a binary approach between micro and macro as "Works cited on the spatial configuration of globalization raise the importance of concrete localities as both production sites and imaginary spaces in which globalizing forces move freely with certain goals. These macro-level analyses fall short in addressing particular tensions, contradictions, ambiguities and irregular flows which are the characterizing features of 'practical glocalizations'"(2000: 331). In Observatory, it is the tensions and contestation which this study focuses upon and which leads to an improved understanding of the interrelationship between globalization and locality. Pertinent to this study, globalization, locality and space

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combine to form one of the recurring themes which surface in the geographically bounded neighbourhood of Observatory.

One manner in which to address these conflicting perspectives on the positioning of South Africa to the rest of the world is through the broadening of understanding of movement (both locally and nationally) and its effect on 'belonging' in a given territory. For Helvacioglu (2000) the contradictions and diverseness of local and global trends, (particularly in spatial terms) is better articulated at the level of neighbourhood as opposed to that of a city.

With respect to language and globalization, English is frequently collocated with globalizations, with many studies in developing countries considered 'New Englishes' (cf. Kachru, 1985). When discussing the proliferation and use of English, Kachru (1985) put forth the well known notion of Three Concentric Circles of English. The three circles consist of the 'inner', 'outer' and 'expanding' circle. The 'inner circle' consists of countries which are developed (such as UK, US) and are considered 'norm-providing'. This means that 'inner circle' nations are considered to be the birthplace of English and the places where in English language norms are developed. Most importantly, it is purported by Kachru (1985) that English began there and moves its way outward. It is then said to move into the outer circle (mainly consisting of New Commonwealth countries). These 'outer circle' nations are considered as contributing 'norm-developing' tendencies in English. The 'expanding circle' (much of the rest of the developing world, including South Africa) is considered as 'norm-dependent'. This means that developing nations rely on the 'inner circle' nations for 'proper' English norms and standards. Mesthrie finds the Kachruvian approach as having had positive effects in highlighting the multiple varieties of English in other, more remote places in the world. In Mesthrie's words "...the argument for the legitimation of the varieties and for recognition of their cultural value has made its mark in applied linguistics" (2006: 273).

However, Mesthrie does point out that 'inner circle English' is itself not 'pure' by any means as he finds Modern British English as "... a sort of metalanguage [which] should not imply that this is the relevant superstrate for New English study" and adds "For historical veracity, we need to keep in mind (1) that standard English of the

period of exploration, trade, and colonization was slightly different from English in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries; and (2) that such English was not the only input in the formation of New Englishes" (2006: 277). For Mesthrie (2006) it was important to remember that 'Inner circle' English was often contributed to by individuals or groups which were (at some time or other) in contact with remote countries and therefore exemplifies the argument for 'center' English (as 'pure' form) as a moot point.

In this regard, language in this study is not only viewed with a poststructuralist lens, but everything we have previously thought to be correct needs to undergo intense postructuralist interrogation. Following Pennycook (2010) and embracing the poststructuralist approach it is therefore important to eschew the notion of the global spread of English arising from the 'centre' and instead start understanding English as being "...multiple, co-present, [with] global origins" (2010:71). Pennycook makes the distinction that "...English as a local language should [not] be understood in terms of local adaptations made to English – new lexical items, locally influenced pronunciation, grammatical structures that differ from the centre norms – but rather as a practice embedded in the local" (2010:71).

Mesthrie (2006), Pennycook (2003,2007) and Canagarajah (1999) are all, in their own ways, critical of Kachru's (1985) work on Concentric Circles with Canagarajah clearly pointing to a very real danger of the framework as the "'Center'... at least in part, sustain their material dominance by keeping less developed communities in the periphery status" (1999:4). What Canagarajah (1999) is stating here is that 'center' or 'inner' English is simply an ideological construct which is ensuring the continued suppression of developing nations.

It may be arguable then that the Three Concentric Circles have laden ideological implications for so-called 'New Englishes'. Firstly, it is tenable that those in the 'outer circle' would interminably face linguistic marginalization due to their limited access or knowledge of 'Center English'. In this way the reconstitution of colonial power over 'outer circle' nations will persist. In addition, the creativity and hybridity of English in 'outer circle' nations could (very quickly) be sidelined as inferior when compared to the norms provided by the 'inner circle'. To this end, each multilingual

'outer circle' nation, by its very nature, would appear ideologically inferior to inner circle or developed countries.

To this end, Canagarajah (2007) enquires and in fact calls for diversity, multilingualism and the flexibility and pliability of human capability to be considered as the norm in these nations. The implications of this ideological shift in English are vast and largely untapped. A tributary notion confluent with the center-periphery model and concentric circles is that of the concept of 'peripheral normativity' (Blommaert, Muyllaert, Huysmans and Dyers, 2005) which suggests that in multilingual settings, speakers' 'errors' are seen as having a 'normalizing' effect on the dominant language which they aspire to speak. In Blommaert *et al* (2005: abstract) "Learners' writing in English…displays many features of "grassroots literacy"--sub-elite literacy characterised by orthographic, syntactic, lexical and pragmatic peculiarities. These peculiarities--"errors" when seen from a punitive and homogeneist viewpoint--appear to be shared by learners and teachers alike, both groups being inserted in a particular, peripheral economy of English. "Errors," thus, are "systemic," "normal" and hence "normative," they do not preclude effective and differentiating assessments of learners' performance but are a productive, positive mechanism that allows teachers to reach a degree of effectiveness with their marginalized and heterogeneous groups of learners."

For Blommaert *et al* (2005) 'peripheral normativity' was a way of looking at linguistic 'errors' which was believed to later disempower its users as they move into other domains. The notion of peripheral normativity appears to have clear links with broader work by Kachru (1985, 1992) particularly with regards to the inner circle countries which have a 'norm-providing' role for third world countries. And leading on from this it is clear that the issue of peripheral normativity fulfils a 'norm-dependant' role. These notions however do not take into account the possibility that other people and countries do indeed create their own norms of language and this oversight is perhaps better understood in the overarching pressurized framework of center-periphery.

Peripheral normativity postulates that the 'localized' forms (of English) would obstruct or halt mobility in other areas of their lives. This presumption is largely tied

to the commonly-held and socially constructed view of the standard variety of a language as being the most prestigious and offering the most socio-economic mobility. However it is often forgotten that the standard variety of a language is the anomaly as it is has undergone a codification process and usually only has access by an elite few. By using the standard variety of a language as a grid to examine other varieties of the same language, it becomes clear that non-standard varieties will often be considered as illegitimate or limiting. In fact, what is portrayed as 'errors' in one variety is a product of a subjective and (largely) puritanical approach to language. In this study terminology such as center-periphery and 'peripheral normativity' is thought of as creating barriers in multilingual settings, instead of lessening or removing them. For the most flexibility in the sociolinguistic analysis of data, this study does not adapt a center-periphery approach as *a priori* when analyzing data obtained in Observatory and alternative perspectives on what has previously been discounted as 'errors' in non-standard varieties of language. Pennycook stands in accord that "… the terms in which the arguments are framed reinforce and reproduce, rather than dismantle or depart from, those notions that are themselves indelibly tied to the problems we need to overcome" (2010:11).

In other words, the predicament of conducting research in 'so-called' periphery countries, cities or neighbourhoods takes us further away from understanding and exploring sociolinguistic practices in multilingual settings as the terminology itself creates barriers. In addition, the insistences on the use of these notions also ensure that socially constructed structures continue to reinforce and sustain the marginalization of masses of people. However, it is the circumvention and pliability of space that reveals interactants as the drivers of social change.

2.1.4 Space, migration and territoriality

Space is another contentious issue explored in the thesis. Divergent views on researching space in neighbourhoods and cities have emerged as two broad categories: (a) contextual and relational and (b) stratified and scalar.

With the legacy of apartheid in South Africa space was clearly a commodity regulated and controlled by the minority of Whites. The trajectory from township to city centre was barred with many obstacles, such as the omnipresent state law, a deliberate lack

of transportation in and out of the centre as well as areas being grouped racially. A cornerstone in the architectural design of apartheid emerged with the virulent establishment of the Pass Laws Act of 1952. This law required all blacks older than 16 years to carry a work passport in order to work in white areas. This passport was commonly referred to as a 'dompas' or 'dump pass' and was a vital component of every black worker. A dompas consisted of personal details including fingerprints, photograph and government permission to be in a particular part of the country as well as government allowances for the individual to work or seek work in the area. Added to this, white employers were also given the extensive power over the holder of the dompas as negative comments would result in them being expelled or "endorsed out" of an area. The fragility of a worker's employment was therefore inextricably tied to the comments inscribed in the passport by their white employer.

"Forgetting to carry the dompas, misplacing it, or having it stolen rendered one liable to arrest and imprisonment. As a result, the dompas became the most despised symbol of apartheid." http://home.snu.edu/~dwilliam/f97projects/apartheid/Laws.htm , accessed March 16, 2009. The introduction of the dompas was a clear indicator of the regulation of special configurations and movement. It spoke to the 'moral order' (Mills, 1993) of the time which constructed the social identity of blacks as inferior, unwanted and controlled. Mills (1993) posits that all societies have their own moral order to which they conform and space of residence reveals the map of one's place in society. During apartheid, the dompas was an unequivocal reminder of the disbelonging (and subsequent regulation) of blacks in so-called white areas.

Following Mills (1993) the introduction of the dompas into South African society clearly dictated racial prejudices and discrimination of the time. Blacks were reminded everyday of the fragility of their employment and the disbelonging to the area where they traversed every day. The contestation of the pass laws became a turning point in the moral order of the time. Resistance to the dompas meant that there was a conscious resistance to the social identity attributed to blacks and the wholly unfair delimitations of their movements in 'white' space.

Spatial regulation, restriction and domination were therefore a common experience of everyday lives for blacks in South Africa. While other non-white groups also suffered

discrimination, it is clear that blacks were more spatially confined than any other group during apartheid. Evidently, space with its barred transportation and racially divided areas, was imagined as a controllable (and racialized) commodity of the elite few.

For the apartheid government, the Pass Law Act of 1952 and Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950 ensured the regulation of space and may have appeared a permanent (and effective) manner of controlling non-whites. Nevertheless, the very roads, laws and structures that appeared to be impenetrable and permanent could also be viewed as a complex nexus of movements and possibilities. It is Lefebvre (1991) who succinctly discusses the fallacy of immobility (or permanency) of space in the short excerpt below:

> Consider a house, and a street, for example. The house has six storeys and an air of stability about it. One might almost see it as the epitome of immobility, with its concrete and its stark, cold and rigid outlines . . . Now, a critical analysis would doubtless destroy the appearance of solidity of this house, stripping it, as it were, of its concrete slabs and its thin non-load-bearing walls, which are really glorified screens, and uncovering a very different picture. In the light of this imaginary analysis, our house would emerge as permeated from every direction by streams of energy which run in and out of it by every imaginable route: water, gas, electricity, telephone lines, radio and television signals, and so on. Its image of immobility would then be replaced by an image of a complex of mobilities, a nexus of in and out conduits. (pp. 92–93)

Relating Lefebvre's (1991) notion of space as pliable can also be seen in contemporary Observatory, wherein roads and structures are just as mobile and changeable as the people who use them. In other words, with the transition into a democratic South Africa, people who frequent Observatory also change its use. Space is therefore contested and territorialized.

Land (and space) as a contested commodity can be discussed when drawing on Vigouroux's (2005) work on migration, multilingualism and territoriality in South Africa. Her study on francophone black migrants in Cape Town highlighted the issue of space as imbued with social practices and therefore always in a state of flux. As pointed out by Vigouroux (2005), South Africa is still very much divided according to racial and socioeconomic divisions, resulting in geographical space still very much

being inhabited by apartheid-designated ethnic groups. This means that exploring the newly appropriated and recontextualized spaces are invaluable when uncovering new (hybrid) linguistic and social practices in Observatory. Vigouroux (2005) follows Deleuze and Guattari's (1980) view of space as always belonging to someone and hence uses space interchangeably with territory. This means that for Vigouroux no space is neutral and goes on to describe territory as "… a space where social practices are at play" (2005: 238).

Space (or territory) is thus viewed as both physical and symbolic. However, in this study, the concept of space is not used interchangeably with territory; instead space is only regarded as a 'territory' when it is claimed. Notwithstanding this distinction, this study follows Vigouroux's work (2005) in two ways, firstly 'space' when considered as a claimed space or territory "… is also thought of more broadly, as a spatially delimited environment, lived practices, and a systems of relations, all bearing symbolic meaning... Secondly attention is paid to the speaker and his/her attempts to maintain, organize, transform and ratify the spaces he/she lives in" (2005:242). For Vigouroux "Space is defined, by both insiders and outsiders, by a set of factors, including language, which can set up or eliminate barriers between geographical areas or groups of people" (2005: 246). Territoriality would in turn then refer to the exercising of power or legitimacy over *claimed* space or territory.

This is similar to Sack who believes that "Territoriality in humans supposes a control over an area or space that must be conceived of and communicated, one can argue that territoriality in that sense is quite unlikely in most if not all animals. Territoriality in humans is best understood as a spatial strategy to affect influence, or control resources and people by controlling area; and as a strategy, territoriality can be turned on and off. In geographical terms it is a form of spatial behaviour. The issue then is to find out under what conditions and why territoriality is or is not employed" (1986:1). For Sack territoriality is a "…human strategy to affect, influence and control. Territoriality in humans is best thought of not as biologically motivated, but rather as socially and geographically rooted" (1986: 2).

Territoriality is seen in this study as the exercise of claiming territory through the employment of distinct markers of group identity which may or may not be contested

by another group at any given time. These markers habitually emerge through language, artefacts or sociocultural practices. Notions of reterritorialization (the entry into a new territory and deterritorialization (leaving a distinct territory), are only feasible when considered on Deleuze and Guittari's (1980) continuum of territory. This binary approach between reterritorialization and deterritorialization limits and denies that spaces do not have to be owned and can in fact remain neutral, pliable, changeable and even unimportant.

Arising out of the historical division of land is the current perception of South African 'diasporic' groups becoming 'deterritorialized' within their own country. Deterritorialized and transient populations that now form part of ethnoscapes are continuously involved in the creation of locality. In this way, ideas of what constitute 'locals' is tricky to define and this is why Appadurai's (1990) notion of ethnoscape is employed to include all different groups. The notion of 'scapes and the specific use of 'ethnoscape' are discussed further under the theoretical framework.

Vigouroux (2005) views territory as a space where social practices are at play and considers space and territory as having both physical and symbolic value. For Vigouroux migration is "…a physical motion from one location to another, which entails a change of both the physical and the geographical space. We are mindful that migration usually presupposes crossing national borders as it is defined by international laws" (2005:243).

Vigouroux's (2005) study on francophone African migration into Cape Town yields much about these issues. In her extensive study conducted on francophone immigrants living and working in Cape Town she uncovered that Francophone Black immigrants initially felt a sense of entitlement and belonging in South Africa due to their African heritage. However, over time these immigrants became disillusioned by the ill treatment they received from Black South Africans.

However it is worthy to note here that people migrating from other provinces within South Africa are often themselves considered as migrants on entry into the city. Different frameworks have been put forth in order to conduct research on socially

transformative neighbourhoods all over the world and it is to these different frameworks that we now turn.

Blommaert *et al* (2005) and Vigouroux (2005) suggest an analysis of social interaction in terms of scale and space. Blommaert *et al* (2005) conducted an ethnographic study on Brugse Poort, an immigrant neighbourhood in the city of Ghent in Belgium. The neighbourhood is described as having polycentric spaces, with each center being "… characterized by the presence of at least one interactional regime" (2005: 212). By interactional regime, Blommaert *et al* (2005) refers to behavioural expectations with regards to language and physical conduct. In their analysis of the mixed immigrant neighbourhood, Blommaert *et al* (2005) endeavour to "…present the historical, spatial, and linguistic density of Brugse Poort without slighting the metropolitan, national, and international dimensions that inform this 'local neighbourhood', the 'history of the production of locality' in Appadurai's terminology" (2005: 221). Blommaert *et al* (2005) focus heavily on translocalities as well as transnational cultural flows of a local neighbourhood analysed through scalar and spatial dimension. For them, space is a constraining element which is further compounded by the view that linguistic repertoires can be 'truncated' (cf. Blommaert, Slembrouck and Collins, 2005). Following their line of thought, space is seen as influencing (and oftentimes limiting) the uses of one's linguistic repertoire. The speaker is therefore believed to be influenced by space to such a degree that they are unable to fully utilize their linguistic repertoire as they would prefer.

However, for Appadurai (1996), locality in neighbourhoods cannot be viewed through a scalar or spatial lens, but rather as a phenomenon that it is viewed as principally relational and contextual. In this way he explains locality to be "…a complex phenomenological quality, constituted by a series of links between the sense of social immediacy, the technologies of interactivity, and the relativity of context. This phenomenological quality, which expresses itself in certain kinds of agency, sociality, and reproducibility, is the main predicate of locality as a category (or subject) ..." (1996: 178). For this reason, he also argues that center-periphery models, including those with multiple centres, are not sufficient in order to deconstruct the new global cultural economy.

Critiques of the two divergent approaches to researching diverse neighbourhoods (whether relational or scalar) was reviewed in order to select the most appropriate approach as they may plausibly marginalize masses of people in a multilingual setting. In this study a contextual approach (exemplified by Appadurai's 1996 work) is undertaken so as to allow for utmost flexibility and opportunity for interactants to showcase multiple identities. This means that the focus will rest on how individuals or groups appropriate space, the identities they assert in that space and the act of territoriality over said space. In this study when contestation over claimed space (or territory) emerges, differences in power was explored not only through hierarchical stratification (citizenship, profession, income), but also through what the study calls 'horizontal differentiation' (linguistic resources, identity options, creative social medias, and the like). This study adopts a contextual approach in which horizontal differentiation in the multicultural setting of Observatory allowed translocal and transnational flows to be viewed as a part of the social fabric of the neighbourhood and not as an anomaly within the social scene. Banda and Oketch (2009) similarly propose that power differentiation and social stratification should not always be seen in terms of vertical scale, but also in complementary relations (Banda and Oketch, 2009).
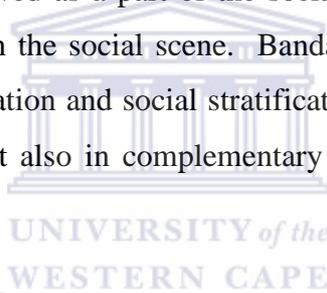
2.2 Analytical Framework

The analytical framework adopted has been influenced by Appadurai (1996, 2000) and Pennycook's (2003, 2007) notion of cultural flows rather than a world of limiting structures which is complemented by the poststructuralist approach. One of the key indicators of the temporality and changeability of social structures is highlighted by Appadurai who finds borders and structures as socially constructed and the imaginings of one or other collective:

> It has become something of a truism that we are functioning in a world fundamentally characterized by objects in motion…This is a world of flows…It is also a world of structures, organizations and other stable social forms. But the apparent stabilities that we see, under close examination, are usually our devices for handling objects characterized by motion.

> (Appadurai, 2001: 5)

Appadurai (1996) posits a theoretical framework which focuses on five aspects of global cultural flows, namely: *ethnoscapes*, *mediascapes*, *technoscapes*, *financescapes*, and *ideoscapes*. For the thesis on transformation at a local level, the focus will be placed mainly on ethnoscapes, mediascapes and ideoscapes. He points out that the suffix – *scape* "…indicate[s] that these are not objectively given relationships that look the same from every angle of vision but; rather, that they are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the historical linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors: nation–states, multinationals, diasporic communities,…sub national groupings and movements, even intimate face-to-face groups, such as villages, neighbourhoods, and families" (1996: 33). In addition, Pennycook adds that another dimension which may be useful is that of a *linguascape*. This dimension is described by Pennycook as "…the relationship between the ways in which some languages are no longer tied to locality or community, but rather operate globally in conjunction with these other scapes" (2003: 523). Also, added to this is the notion of *brandscape* which investigates brands apart from the conventional understanding of commercial brand to neighbourhood branding.

The term *ethnoscape* is useful as it allows for a wide range of people and places to be included within one overarching theme. For Appadurai, an ethnoscape can consist of, amongst others: tourists, immigrants, residents, workers, and other groups and individuals that impact the nation and politics as a whole. In this way all constituencies of Observatory are accounted for in their capacity to affect the workings of the neighbourhood.

Mediascapes refers to all types of media, such as magazines, television stations, newspapers and so forth. South African media has changed drastically since the advent of democracy, with many shows and soapies in particular, now portraying images and stories of people of all races living together amicably. However, these imagined liberal characters which showcase a new society altogether are criticized by Dodge (1996) as 'mass deception'. However, in response to the critique of cultural production in-studio by Dodge, Barnard conversely argues that "… current popular culture in South Africa is working alongside political and social institutions to both chronicle the transformation of the country into a multicultural democracy and imaginatively/materially create a New South Africa" (2006: 39).

Appadurai argues that the imagination "…expressed in dreams, songs, fantasies, myth, and stories – has always been part of the repertoire of every society, in some culturally organized way" (1996:53) and has indeed provided a gateway for people to imagine lives contrary to the ones that they have. The expression of imagination in Observatory can more often be heard than seen. It is not uncommon to find new and upcoming local bands being showcased at various cafés, clubs and bars in Observatory, most particularly those located on Lower Main Road.

Appadurai describes ideoscapes as images that mainly deal with the "ideologies of states and the counter ideologies of movements explicitly oriented to capturing state power…" (1996:36). Understandably, ideoscapes in South Africa will deal mainly with the conceptualization or reconceptualization of democracy. And with the dawn of the new South Africa new kinds of discourses of racial democracy is to be expected. "This creates ever new terminological kaleidoscopes, as states (and the groups that seek to capture them) seek to pacify populations whose own ethnoscapes are in motion and whose mediascapes may create severe problems for the ideoscapes with which they are presented" (1996: 37). Simply speaking, a neighbourhood or community which both fall under ethnoscape can be influenced by what they read in newspapers and websites and which may indeed be a mirror for a dominant ideology of the neighbourhood. Whether this is true is yet to be discovered.

Contrasting Appadurai's notion of global cultural flow is Lowenhaupt Tsing's notion of 'friction' which is "the metaphor of friction suggested itself because of the popularity of stories of a new era of global motion in the 1990s. The flow of goods, ideas, money, and people would henceforth be pervasive and unimpeded. In this imagined global era, motion would proceed entirely without friction" (2005:5). In contextualizing contemporary South Africa and reflecting on the evident flows in and around the country after 1994, the issue of friction becomes as salient as that of flows with many (if not all) of the participants in the study coming up against seemingly rigid structures and friction. For the Zimbabwean migrants in the study the abolishment of apartheid laws in South Africa set into motion their journey out of Zimbabwe and into the rainbow nation. However, soon after their move into South Africa, many Zimbabweans faced harsh realities (friction) in the form of insufficient

employment, political ignorance/indifference and most notably, xenophobia and intolerance. In this regard, the freedom and limitations of transnational movements are provided to create a steady middle ground between hopeless idealist and relentless pessimist.

Although I will be using the term ethnoscape in the study, a differentiation between the terms neighbourhood and community may be useful in specifying who belongs to, and what constitutes, the vibrant 'Obs' culture. A neighbourhood is generally perceived within a specific geographical outline, whilst a community is connected via social networks. Modan elucidates this point when she says that a "…community is defined through social networks; it is possible to be a member of a geographical community without actually living in the geographical terrain. Likewise, it is possible to live in a neighbourhood without being part of the community" (2007: 326). This is an important distinction as research may indicate that a resident living in Observatory may not necessary identify or feel a part of the 'Obs' culture. On the other hand, someone that may not necessarily reside in Observatory may have many social networks which tie them to Observatory and in this way they may be more a part of 'Obs' culture. In this way, it would be interesting to uncover whether any migratory trends both into and out of Observatory are observable.

The reasons for migration into an area such as Observatory is credited to the area having "… been better resourced in the past, [they] have become sought after spaces to occupy, work or reside in among South Africans of all races. These spaces have taken on new meaning as the national cosmopolitan spaces of cultural, racial and ethnic diversity, as an increasing number of South Africans from diverse backgrounds occupy them (Salo, 2003 : 355).

As mentioned earlier Observatory is imbued with many diverse languages and cultures and for this reason it is salient to uncover the linguistic choices opted for in what has been discussed as 'spaces of multilingualism' or 'multilingual spaces' (Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck, 2005). Given the multilingual setting of Observatory, in cases where one particular language or variety is used in preference to others, the concept of entitlement and exclusivity and territory may come to the fore. To this end Vigouroux remarks that the linguistic code chosen in "…multilingual

interaction where interactants share more than one linguistic resource can be analyzed as a claim of symbolic territory" (2005: 249). What is also interesting here are the processes of borrowing, blending, construction and reconstruction, as well as the production of alternative discourse practices and cultural forms. The tension that newly appropriated territories may inspire as well as the contestation or territoriality over specific claimed spaces is also explored.

Vigouroux (2005) and Blommaert *et al's* (2005) notions of space and territoriality are discussed in the context of translocations of translocal and transnational cultural flows. From these discussions emerge a complex and powerful theoretical framework which looks at multiplex interpretive sites (Appadurai, 1996, 2000) as informed by patterns of interaction (Modan, 2007); interactional regimes and territoriality in multilingual spaces (Blommaert *et al*, 2005; Vigouroux, 2005) and by Pavlenko and Blackledge's (2004) poststructuralist approach on the negotiation of multilingual and hybrid identities in multilingual spaces.

Appadurai (1996: 192) gives the example of translocalities as being "…provided by the leisure industries, which create tourist sites and locations around the world." Observatory in particular is one such location as it appeals very much to tourists and foreign students staying in Cape Town with many guesthouses and student communes indicative of that. The impact of tourists (as well as the local practices that they bring with them) would also thus be of interest to the study in its capacity to affect and transform the creation of locality in Observatory. Following Appadurai (1996) and Pennycook (2007: 6) my interest is in the kinds of interaction and "hybrid co-productions of language and cultures" which may emerge in multilingual spaces. This approach therefore views locality, tradition and place not simply as *a priori*, but rather a function of negotiation and construction of identity (cf. Pennycook, 2007; Peck, 2007; Heller, 2007; Banda, 2005; Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). The unpacking of all these sociolinguistic constructs is achieved through a poststructuralist discourse analysis and is discussed next.

2.2.1 Discourse analysis

Within poststructuralism, theorists such as Derrida (1987) and Bakhtin (1981) have revealed that context is an important part of sociolinguistic inquiry and for this reason; the different dimensions which make up the various contexts explored in later chapters are espoused here. In this way, this study views context as a critical step in understanding the multi-layered and unequal relations of power and interaction between individuals, groups and communities in Observatory. "For post-structuralists, social transformations are not other-driven, totalizing missions, but particular, contextualized, localized and perspectival *actions* (e.g. the protest of a particular interest group, community or public campaign). PDA [poststructuralist discourse analysis] has an interest in the free play of multiple voices within a discursive context, which means that the voices of silenced, minority or oppressed groups *need* to be heard" (Baxter, 2002: 831).

The poststructuralist paradigm is used in the study as it debunks any claim to a universalization of discourse, ideology, or identity emerging from a specific 'truth'. Within this approach, context is of utmost importance and for this reason Observatory's current social interaction and linguistic choices are regularly situated within its broader colonial and post-apartheid setting. This means that the poststructuralist approach "…recognizes the sociohistorically shaped partiality, contestability, instability, and mutability of ways in which language ideologies and identities are linked to relations of power and political arrangements in communities and societies" (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004:10).

In other words, researching social transformation in Observatory sets the stage for a multitude of different contexts to be indexed by the informants, landscape and space. For these reasons, units of analysis are always cushioned against their own contexts. Observatory is viewed as a social space wherein people, discourse and space are continuously cast against the background of social, historical and political context. The poststructuralist approach directs its focus to "the ways in which shifting power relations between speakers are constantly negotiated through the medium of competing discourses" (Baxter, 2002: 829). For poststructuralist thinkers, uncovering the 'truth' of lived experiences is a moot endeavour as the issue of the truth is always

relative to the subject. In South Africa, a commonly-held 'truth' during the years of apartheid was that blacks were inferior to whites. The architectural design of apartheid structures relegated blacks to menial labour or disregarded them completely from the vision of South African society – which was unsustainable. The fact that a democratic country exists does not mean that people no longer believe this 'truth', however it is the change in power which reveals new social structures. In order to move pass identification of any specific 'truths', poststructuralism focuses on the effects that power plays on discourse, identities and interaction.

The saliency of including the past political history in order to understand possible patterns of transformation are highlighted by Heller as she views language as: "… a set of resources which circulate in unequal ways in social networks and discursive spaces, and whose meaning and value are socially constructed within the constraints of social organizational processes, under specific historical conditions" (2007: 2). In this way, understanding social behaviour cannot be viewed in isolation of past inequalities and entrenched ideologies. She goes on to argue that "hierarchies are not inherently linguistic but rather social and political" (2007: 2). In South Africa, traces of apartheid's oppressive legacy still affect Blacks, Coloureds and Indians in the country today. A lack of housing, inferior education and criminal activity are some of the offshoots of apartheid which are reflective of the inequalities promulgated by the ancien regime. Foucault (1980:98) succinctly talks about these ineluctable shifts in power as:

> Never localized here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as commodity or a piece of wealth. Power is exercised through a net-like organization. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert or consenting target; they are always also the elements of its articulation.

Similarly, the apartheid government did not 'hold' power, but were rather elements of power articulated during a specific time period. This means that as political relations of power shifted, this government become less powerful and discourses of the other changed with those subjectified now finding themselves in power. Distinctive of poststructuralist inquiry, participants in this study are not seen as static and "…the self is not fixed in a set of socialized, transferable roles, but is constantly positioned and

repositioned through discourse. Individuals both negotiate and are shaped by their subject positions within a range of different and often conflicting discourses which vary according to historical, cultural or social context" (Baxter, 2002: 829).

For this reason, the poststructuralist approach is adopted within the thesis in order to explore discourses arising from this amalgamation of cultures in Observatory, such as: identity, positioning, hegemony, language crossing and territoriality. Primary focus will be placed on discourse in "the way[s] that people represent the social world through discourse and the ways that those representations rely on or construct certain ideologies" (Modan, 2007:274). Discourse analysis focuses on language 'above the sentence' and is associated with talk and interaction. For others, discourse can be viewed as language use or 'text grammar'. Modan (2007) refers to the former perspective of discourse as big *D* while the little *d* looks at discourse in a narrower and technical sense. For Modan (2007) the little d places more focus on the smaller units of a language (e.g. phonemes, morphemes) which combine to form words. For this research both the big *D* as well as the little *d* is employed. "The term discourse refers precisely to the capacity of meaning-making resources to constitute social reality, forms of knowledge and identity within specific social context and power relations" (Hall, 1997: 220).

Taking discourse analysis a step further, poststructuralist discourse analysis (henceforth PDA) "expresses a loss of certainty about the existence of absolutes, or the benevolence or truth of any single paradigm or knowledge". PDA therefore espouses social 'realities' within the discourse it produces. This means that the identities and positions of participants in the study are viewed as continuously reshaped through discourse (Baxter, 2002). Social transformation in Observatory is not seen as determined by the prevalence of the 'other' but rather "…contextualized, localized and perspectival actions (e.g the protest of a particular interest group, community or public campaign)" (Baxter, 2002: 831). In particular, voices of the marginalized (silenced) groups in Observatory are of fundamental interest in PDA and it is through the discursive deconstruction of power and the multiple voices at play that this analytical tool wishes to conduct in this study.

As stated previously, the analytical frame is informed by a multiplex interpretive approach of the neighbourhood (Appadurai, 1996; Vigouroux, 2005; Blommaert *et al*, 2005; Pennycook, 2007). Appadurai puts forth that "…a neighbourhood is a context, or a set of contexts, within which meaningful social action can be both generated and interpreted" (1996: 184). In this way a neighbourhood is seen as being context-generative (Appadurai, 1996) and this provides a theoretical angle from which to understand local and global realities in the neighbourhood. Therefore, the Observatory neighbourhood is seen as not only providing the context for social interaction, but in itself also constituting the context**.** Therefore the neighbourhood of Observatory is viewed as a geographical site which is both multiplex and interpretive (Hevacioglu, 2000). For Appadurai "…local subjects engage in the social activities of production, representation and reproduction…they contribute, generally unwittingly, to the creation of contexts that might exceed the existing material and conceptual boundaries of the neighborhood" (1996: 185).

Therefore, the advantage of researching Observatory as a multiplex interpretive neighbourhood lies in the fact that the context is produced by those affected by it. In other words, participants may feel that they can speak a different language, or assert a different identity once in a new context. This possibility opens the door to new (multilingual) identities with possible hybrid languages originating from that.

One way in which to understand how people in Observatory signal identities in different spaces comes about through the negotiation or positioning of identities. In this way, Davies and Harré (1990) discuss 'positioning theory' with regard to the construction and change of identities. This theory distinguishes between three types of identities: imposed identities (which are not negotiable in a particular time and place), assumed identities (which are accepted and not negotiated), and negotiable identities (which are contested by groups and individuals) (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004:21). This form of analysis is extremely useful in uncovering (new) values revealed when looking at 'hybrid' and negotiable identities in a multilingual setting (see Peck, 2007).

2.2.2 Turf wars: a model study

In addition to the above studies, Modan's (2007) ethnographic study was used to inform the thesis. Modan conducted an extensive ethnographic study in Mt. Pleasant in Washington, an urban neighbourhood undergoing rapid gentrification (upscaling). This neighbourhood and research site alike is described as a "multiethnic, multiclass community". In her book entitled *Turf Wars: Discourse, Diversity and the Politics of Place*, Modan focuses on "how community members in Mt. Pleasant create and contest visions of their neighbourhood through discourses of identity, both sociogeographic and personal" (2007: 6). For Modan (2007) the connectedness of people and territories and acts of contestation and territoriality emerges as 'turf wars'.

It is no wonder that Modan also relies primarily on discourse analysis as an analytical tool when analyzing casual conversation of community members. Modan's study is particularly useful as a model as it takes a sociolinguistic look at human interaction and language use and uses discourse analysis as a primary tool to understand just how local happenings influence greater socio-political activity.

Modan (2007: 290) admits that "…a common critique that people levy against discourse research on identity is that enquiry is sometimes limited to questions about the *mechanics* of identity construction - what discourse strategies people use in creating identities – and does not investigate the real-world *consequences* of identity construction." This sentiment is also echoed by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) and leading on from this we see that resultant outcomes of discourse will also be researched in its capacity to reveal current ideologies of integration and transformation.

2.3 Summary

This chapter has outlined the conceptual, theoretical and analytical framework for the analysis of social transformation in Observatory. Literature covered here is applied in later analysis chapters. Pertinently, the analysis of space, language and identity are employed when exploring the different imaginings of globalization and locality in Observatory.Within the framework of glocalization (and remaining cognizant of the

very popular and conflicting views taken on this matter) present-day linguistic and cultural interaction is brought into focus here. In addition, the commonly held view of globalization is seen as part of the context in which all neighbourhoods, cities and nations are a part of, and within which locality is reviewed. Herein, the poststructuralist approach is adapted as it identifies 'power' as the dominant tool in sociolinguistic research as opposed to representing and reifying dominant ideologies.

It is hoped that the combination of this assortment of theoretical and analytical tools will thrust silenced and marginalized discourses, practices and people into the sphere of sociolinguistic research which will allow for extensive documentation of social interaction in motion. In sum, it seems fitting that nearly seventeen years after the first democratic election and over thirty years after the first academic enquiry into Observatory, the neighbourhood is once again of great sociolinguistic inquiry. It seems a logical progression and expansion of research on the workings of this diverse community in order to follow transformation in a newly imagined South Africa and hopefully build on the corpus of literature on neighbourhood transformation.
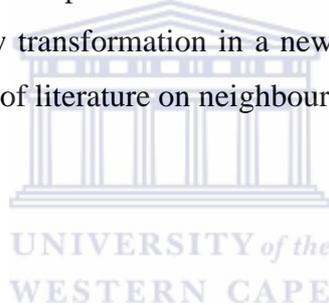
CHAPTER THREE

Literature review: social life on semiotic landscapes

3.0 Introduction

The field of landscape analysis is still very much a new and growing one and for a long time this area of research has largely been considered the territory of the urban geographer or city planner with very little interest shown from the field of linguistics. The interest in the visual materials or aesthetics of landscapes has grown in the field of (socio) linguistics and has come to the fore within the 'spatial turn'. Visual materials (signs) are important as they create the aesthetics of an environment and tell people about the social life of that space while constructing an image of what people can do in that space (Rose, 2007). In the past, racialized text and visual images on the landscape was used to identify, regulate and (on occasion) remove people from a specific space. The transition from apartheid to democracy has also made its way to the visual construction of the landscapes in neighbourhoods and cities in South Africa. Images, art and text on the landscape are discussed by Rose (2007) as offering an interpretation of the world rather than acting as a window into a world. This perspective is also consistent with the poststructuralists' approach wherein the focus does not rest on the 'truth' of the landscape, but rather the role of power in the discursive construction of the landscape. And as Blommaert points out "public space itself is an area (and instrument) of regulation and control, of surveillance and power" (2012:48). For this reason, no sign is interpreted as neutral, but rather as an intentional marker by some (usually unknown) entity with the objective of communicating something.

The success of the sign, its meaning and even its intended audience cannot always be clearly identified. However, the effects of power on the sign can be deduced and for this reason the poststructuralist approach will be effective in interpreting the multiple effects and affects of any given sign. In order to best do so ethnography of the area needs to be undertaken. It was Scollon and Scollon (2003) who foregrounded the necessity of contextualizing signs in the material world or making meaning of signs in the place where it is found. The placement or geosemiotics of signs as well as a firm belief in the necessity of an ethnographic grounding has formed the foundation of

many studies relating to landscape analysis. Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) grammar of multimodality offers a structured approach to analyzing multimodal signage. The need for ethnographic material analysis of signs has also been posited by Stroud and Mpendukana (2009). Important to the different visuals on the landscape is the role that intertexuality, placement and modality play in the analysis of signs in space.

Whereas some studies have focused largely on languages or verbal texts on signage (Backhaus, 2007; Shohamy and Gorter, 2009; Ben-Rafael *et al*, 2006); others have moved beyond the linguistic landscape (LL) to include other modes (including non-verbal texts and images) on signs in what they have called semiotic landscapes (cf. Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010). The relationship between linguistic landscape and the semiotic landscape is discussed further. To begin, a clearer delineation of what is meant by concrete environment (land), unlimited expanse (space) and the built up visual aesthetics of space in land (landscape), is provided as all these form part of the semiotic landscape Pertinently, while LL studies have primarily focused on multilingual and the use of different languages, this study looks at the multi-semiotic factors which constitute the landscape.

3.1 Land and space

Urry (1995, 2005, 2007) points out, there is a difference between space (land) and its visual aesthetic or landscape. Urry (2007) views land in much the same way as it has been referred to in the previous chapter – as a commodity which was used, sold and contested. However, his view of the landscape is metavisual and is considered an affectionate representation by people living or passing through an area. Drawing on Urry (2007), Jaworski and Thurlow define landscapes as "… a place of affect, contemplative looking, gazing, and connoisseurship...marked by the increase in people's mobility, especially the rise of 'scenic tourism' in the eighteenth century" (2010: 4). More simply put, the landscape is "a way of seeing the world" (Berger, 1984: 46).

This chapter extends research into the analyses of text and signs in Observatory's public spaces in an attempt to *interpret* the diverse and multilingual world of

Observatory. In particular, visual aesthetics (such as architecture, texts and signs) are thought of as dialogical in nature, an assertion that forms the basis of Scollon and Scollon's (2003) work on geosemiotics and 'discourse in place'. Added to this Shohamy and Gorter speak to the importance of analyzing landscapes as they are considered "…a most important indicator capable of providing relevant information about societies, vitality and the inter-relationship of groups, especially in linguistic contested regions" (2009:4). Observatory, with its diverse immigrant populations, steadfast locals and daily flux of tourists, workers, vagrants and students, creates the foundation for a colourful, layered and interesting landscape which is consistently changed and contested over time.

Time itself is thought to have an enduring (with often, but not always) an endearing affect on the landscape. Signs of yesteryear are seen as 'fingerprints' of a time long gone and yet still indelibly printed on the landscape. For Ingold the "landscape is constituted as an enduring record of – and testimony to - the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in so doing, have left there something of themselves" (1993:152). However, with time the landscape has changed to reflect the newer generations, individuals and communities that now call the area home. For the Diaspora in Observatory, home may be created through the production of signs, use of languages and carrying out of cultural practices. The 'sense of home' and place making can therefore be seen by the visual imagery of the environment or landscape. Garrett, Coupland and Bishop (2005:532) point out that "diasporic social groups…imagery of 'home' has the potential to bridge across the physical space that separates 'new communities' from their 'roots of origin', linking past with present in the compression of time and space". However, this does not mean that all diasporas may wish to make their presence visible and it is these attempts at invisibility that the research also explores. In sum, it is the new layers of signs which complement, contest and/or efface dominant historical 'fingerprints' which then reveal a 'new' society with new social practices and interests which speaks to a new society For this reason the analyses of urban spaces are particularly useful in their ability to index social interaction and change in Observatory.

3.2 Semiotic signs (or visual materials) in space

Rose (2007) states that there is a paucity of literature pertaining to just how visual materials (and technologies) are interpreted. The study of signs or semiotics is known as semiology and has recently come into focus as a key area of study in sociolinguistics. Seminal work on signage originated from Saussure (1974) who considered a sign a central concept of semiotics. For Saussure (1974:16) semiotics is "[A] science that studies the life of signs within society is conceivable … I shall call it semiology (from Greek *semeion*, 'sign')". Saussure divided signs into two parts: (a) 'signifier' was related to the *representation* of a sign and (b) 'signified', referring to the meaning of the sign. Bakhtin (1991) challenged Saussure by positing that signs may have multiple meanings which are dependent on its users or settings. Soanes and Stevenson (2003: 1645) describe a sign in two ways, specifically as either a semiotic or public sign:
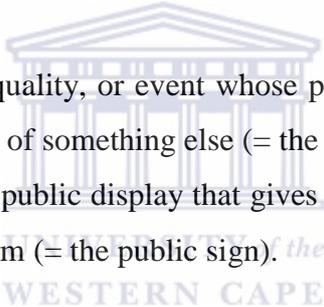
> (a) Sign is an object, quality, or event whose presence indicates the probable presence or occurrence of something else (= the semiotic sign).
> (b) Sign is a notice on public display that gives information or instruction in a written or symbolic form (= the public sign).

The aforementioned distinction is important as numerous signs bear semblance to semiotic signs as they co-occur and have meaning due to relations to other signs. Similarly, van Leeuwen (2005) defines sign as a 'semiotic resource', and elaborates by saying that semiotic resources (or signs) are "…the actions and the artefacts we use to communicate" (2005: 3). Lou posits that "this functional perspective grew out of the poststructuralist conception of the sign" (2007:173) which views both linguistic and semiotic resources as a result of continuous meaning making. Salient to the interpretation of signs is Foucault's (1977) notion of 'discursive formation' wherein all meanings (no matter how seemingly unrelated), are considered as connected to a particular discourse. Hall (1997) adds that as each sign has no essential truth about how the sign should be read; a justification of each interpretation should be made explicit. For this reason, this study refers to signs as semiotic signs as opposed to public signs.

Assumptions of the multiple meaning making of signs also emerge when looking at Higgins' (2009) notion of 'multivocality' of signs. Drawing on Bakhtin, Higgins views texts on signs as 'multivocal' or as "…a set of interlinked concepts detailed in Bakhtin's writings on voice as well as the multiple perspective, or speaking positions, articulated through language" (2009: 6). The concept of multivocality is useful in multilingual contexts, wherein a single interpretation (usually tied to one variety of the dominant language) simply does not suffice in adequately understanding a word, an utterance of text. Similarly, Bakhtin's notion of 'dialogicality' is also salient in that it allows the researcher to draw links from other semiotic (re)sources which assist in the understanding of a single sign within a specific space. Scollon and Scollon (2003) also place indexicality at the core of understanding the meaning of any given signs in the world. "Indexicality is the product of the context-dependency of signs, especially language; hence the study of those aspects of meaning which depend of the placement of the sign in the material world" (2003:3). It becomes clear that van Leeuwen (2005) places emphasis on languages on signs and attribute them to having meaning-making properties, whilst Scollon and Scollon (2003) place emphasis on space as binding the properties attributed to signs within a 'semiotic system'.

Semiotic signs are viewed as made up of different modes which together produce the sign. The multiplicities of modes on signs are referred to by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) as multimodality. Iedema (2003: 48) lists the characteristics of multimodality as it:

1. is concerned to include in its analyses of representations and give proper recognition to semiotics other than language;

2. focuses on the relationships between these different semiotics, and on the 'division of labour' between them in particular representations;

3. aims to understand and describe in 'phylogenetic' terms the displacement of some semiotics by others (e.g. the displacement of the linguistic by the visual);

4. links the potential of the different semiotics deployed to how they affect (enable and constrain) interaction and the formation of subjectivity.

An analysis of Observatory's landscape therefore establishes more than mere hierarchisation (through position and visibility of signs), but rather offers an identification of 'semiotic resources' which speak to issues involving power, preference, inclusion/exclusion and integration through signage. Similar to other researchers (cf. Scollon and Scollon, 2003; Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; Iedema, 2003; Lou, 2007), this study seeks to build upon the analysis of landscape by delving into the greater political and economic factors which influence the production and reception of texts and signs or semiotic resources in Observatory. In this way an analysis of the landscape is vital in providing a more in-depth understanding of the visual representation of signs and signage, including language in the construction of the neighbourhood. While what constitutes the landscape of Observatory (imagery, semiotics, text, architecture and the like) is still being explored, defining the landscape as either 'linguistic' or 'semiotic' has also undergone another growth spurt as this growth has been in tandem with developments in what is becoming a new field of study, specifically multimodal discourse analysis or multimodality. What follows is an outline of the more recent theoretical advances in multimodality and multi-semiotic landscape (SL) analysis.

3.2.1 Linguistic landscape (LL) analysis

Most studies refer to Landry and Bourhis' (1997) seminal definition of 'linguistic landscape' when discussing the visual aesthetic of a given area. The linguistic landscape is said to reflect society's language practices and values and below is the oft-cited definition of LL which has become a cornerstone to many LL studies:

> The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street
> names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs of
> government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a
> given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.
> Landry and Bourhis (1997:25)

For Landry and Bourhis it is believed that language ideology is depicted by "…the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region" (1997:23). In this regard, focus is placed on languages that feature

prominently, occasionally and those that are completely absent from the LL. In this way, linguistic appropriation of space is thought to be important in its capacity to highlight issues surrounding cultural and symbolic value.

Similarly, Jaworski and Thurlow add that "the meaning and power of language/s is/are thus dependent on, and derived from, space" (2010: 10). This would imply that space is considered to be a powerful influencing agent in the manifestation or dissemination of languages. However, an example of how language is fluid and independent of space can be seen with the racially biased regulation of space during apartheid which thrust Afrikaans and English into a prominent position for four decades. During apartheid these two colonial-derived languages held more power than any African language in South Africa. Differences in power after the transition to democracy were made clear from the immediate incorporation of African languages on official signage and the removal of racist 'whites only' signage. The change in government also indexed a change in ideological sentiment which was rapidly reflected on the landscape in all parts of South Africa. In fact, it has become quite commonplace in contemporary South Africa to come across a sign with at least three of the country's eleven official languages, one of which is nearly always English.

These changes show that although space may stay the same (buildings, streets and neighbourhoods), the proliferation and visibility of languages are dependent on the people that use it. In Observatory in particular, much attention has been placed on the maintenance of architecture and image of the neighbourhood, however the space has dramatically changed. In most multilingual settings of Observatory, it becomes clear that there are a number of languages visible on signage. These languages have been argued by some to index language vitality on the ground. Backhaus' was one such study and revealed one way in which to interpret languages on signs in multilingual settings. Backhaus states that "[T]he city is a place of language contact, (…) the signs in public space are the most visible reminder of this. LL not only tells you in an instant where on earth you are and what languages you are supposed to know, but it (…) provides a unique perspective on the coexistence and competition of different languages and their scripts, and how they interact and interfere with each other in a given place" (2007: 145.)

In relation to multilingualism and visibility on signage, Backhaus (2007) differentiates between two diametric linguistic positions. The first position relates to cases where multilingualism is officially supported and/or generally acknowledged, but the LL still indexes a single language as having more status or prestige, citing cities such as Brussels and Jerusalem as emblematic of this linguistic condition. The second position refers to cases where a monolingual society is envisioned (and officially supported), yet signs of bilingualism and multilingualism are nevertheless still visible on signs. Here Backhaus points to cities such as Tokyo and Rome as emblematic of this linguistic position. Backhaus discovered that top-down language policies did not necessarily reflect the actual linguistic reality on the ground. Herein the distinction between 'language of the state' (those officially endorsed by the state) and 'language in the state' (those languages which are not officially recognized, but which nevertheless exist), emerged as a salient disparity in most settings.

Furthermore, in order to 'read' multilingual signage, Backhaus (2007) introduced terms from musicology, specifically notions of 'monophonic', 'homophonic' and 'polyphonic' to language on signs. A summary of Backhaus' terms are supplied as follows:

1. Signs that display texts constituting a complete translation (or transliteration) of each other are *homophonic* signs;
2. In a *mixed* part writing style only content elements of a sign are available in two or more languages;
3. Signs with several languages that do not constitute mutual translations are *polyphonic* in style;
4. Signs with only one language are *monophonic* signs.

Research like Backhaus' reveals that the visibility of languages on signs did not necessarily depict the language vitality of those languages and inversely the vitality of languages did not necessarily emerge through visibility on signs. In this way language vitality, social interactions as well as the socio-cultural composition of constituencies in a specific area, were not necessarily visible on the LL. The importance of words on the urban landscape can be cushioned by larger socio-political and economic factors. Leeman and Modan elucidate this point when they declare "[B]ecause words on the

street are part and parcel of the texture of urban landscapes, a full understanding of any urban linguistic landscape must be undergirded by in-depth knowledge of the ways in which cities themselves are shaped" (2010:182). However, the focus on language only is not preferred over the all-inclusive study of languages *in combination with other modes* on a sign. In fact, Blommaert (2012) found Backhaus (2007) to be excessively quantitative and pointed to the lack of ethnographic research as an oversight in linguistic landscape analysis.

For Blommaert "....a better comprehension of the socio-cultural meaning of language material requires ethnographic understanding rather than numbers, and that signs are necessarily addressed as *multimodal* objects rather than as linguistic ones. Backhaus' study was focusing on numbers and on general linguistic description around the numbers – concretely, counting the languages we can identify on public signs" (2012: 49). Weber and Horner (2012) proposed that much of the research into languages on the landscapes is limited in two ways – both linked to language counting. Firstly studies are considered too quantitative, with very little emphasis placed on the interpretive process. In these cases, Weber and Horner (2012) believe that an ethnographic approach is needed in order to provide a deeper understanding of the context of signage, particularly with regards to the production and reception of signs. Their second concern is linked to the first, with the emphasis on language counting in multilingual settings considered by Weber and Horner as 'highly problematic'.

Weber and Horner (2012) also assert that a common aspect of landscape analysis which is often overlooked at the time of fieldwork data collection is that of the 'context of reception' - of how passers-by perceive or construe the sign. One way to address this issue is through ethnographic interviews with people that come into connection with the sign. Work done by Collins and Slembrouck (2004) in an immigrant neighbourhood in Belgium highlights the saliency of how just interviews can add (and improve) understanding of a sign. In this way the subjective interpretation of the researcher can be checked against the (more objective) views of people 'in the know' that have lived in the area and perhaps have a more thorough understanding of the area and cultural practices. Research in Observatory takes into consideration not only the production of signs, but also where it is found and what it

is but also the way 'locals' view and interact with the sign and 'discourses in place' (Scollon and Scollon, 2009).

Scollon and Scollon in their groundbreaking work entitled *Discourse in Place: language in the material world* offer the researcher a grounded approach to a landscape analysis. Scollon and Scollon's notion of 'geosemiotics' refers to "the study of social meaning of the material placement of signs and discourses and of our actions in the material world" (2003:2). For Scollon and Scollon, signs could not be removed from their surroundings and studied in isolation. "All of the signs and symbols take a major part of their meaning from how and where they are placed - at that street corner, at that time in the history of the world. Each of them indexes a larger discourse whether of public transport regulation or underground drug trafficking" (Scollon and Scollon, 2003: 2). This means that signs are by their very nature construed as interlocking and interdependent on other signs and tied inextricably to the place where it is found.

Scollon and Scollon also place indexicality at the core of understanding the meaning of any given signs in the world. "Indexicality is the product of the context-dependency of signs, especially language; hence the study of those aspects of meaning which depend on the placement of the sign in the material world" (2003:3). Of the three main systems of geosemiotics, namely: 'interaction order', 'visual semiotics, and 'place' semiotics, it is the last that is expanded here. Scollon and Scollon's "grammar of place semiotics" (2003:9) consists of three components namely: code preference, inscription and emplacement. Place semiotics and its three components contribute to the understanding of what is meant by 'place' and is related to the built-in meaning of that place.

1. **Code preference**

"The code preference system applies to all multilingual signs, such that there is always a preferred code and at least one marginalized code" (Weber and Horner, 2012: 188). This code preference is therefore useful in its ability to identify or index larger socio-political and sociocultural factors influencing the position of a language on signage. For Scollon and Scollon the preferred code is often found at the top of a sign, on the left of a sign or in the center. Less preferred or marginalized codes can be

found at the bottom, to the right or on the margins of a sign. Notwithstanding these positions on signs, Scollon and Scollon also add that languages can be used for indexical or symbolic reasons and that analysis of signs "cannot be 'read off' simply from seeing the code choice which has been made but must be subjected to historical and ethnographic analysis" (2003:124). As mentioned previously, Afrikaans had for nearly four decades flourished on the streets, posters and media in South Africa directly due to the Afrikaner –led state government of the time. This means in the case of Afrikaans, its position as a preferred code was symbolic of state oppression and indexed a period of inequity in South Africa. Contrastingly, text written in an African language would then have been symbolic of civic resistance to the *status quo*.

2. **Inscription**

The second component is called inscription and deals with the visual texture of the sign or how it appears (font, colour and materials) and which constitutes the appearance of the sign. Scollon and Scollon refer to the inscription as the "physical materiality of language" (2003:128). In particular they refer to four components which make up the inscription or presentation of language on signage:

(a) Fonts (or letterform) – any way in which letters or other written symbols are produced from handwriting and calligraphy through to world processing fonts and professional typefaces including size and shape or colour

(b) Material - the physical substances on which the inscription is made, from granite monuments to sand writing at the beach

(c) Layering-add-ons/extensions of an inscription on another usually more permanent inscription such as 'on sale today' or 'limited time only'

(d) State changes - current meaning given through flashing neon lights to a lighted 'open' sign

(Scollon and Scollon, 2003:130)

3. **Emplacement**

The third and final component is that of 'emplacement' of signs which refers to the location of the signs and the meaning that that location brings to the sign. For Scollon

and Scollon (2003), the emplacement of signs can be broken down into three broad semiotic practices, specifically: transgressive, situated and decontextualized semiotics.

(a) Transgressive semiotics

These types of signs are those which would be considered as found in the 'wrong place'. Scollon and Scollon give the example of "the inverted 'R' of a well-known toy store which symbolizes a child's writing just because it is out of its expected upright orientation" (2003:146). They also discuss a transgressive sign as one that is in some way unauthorized and cite graffiti and trash as common examples of these types of signs. Notwithstanding these conventional examples of transgressive signs Scollon and Scollon also provide two less obvious examples of transgressive signs. The first example comes from school students in the village of Umaca in the Peruvian Andes who were tasked to inscribe inspirational slogans on rock faces in the community as part of a literacy drive. Examples of the learners' slogans were 'papa dame tiempo para escribir mi tarea' [Papa, give me time to write my homework] and 'Papa aydame a leer y escribir' [Papa, help me read and write]. They also collected Buddhist sayings written on the rocks in Ma On Shan Park in Hong Kong. These sayings were spiritual and consisted of phrases such as 'Xin zhon you Fo' [Buddha is in the hear/mind] and 'wu shin' [No mind/heart] (2003:147). Clearly in the spaces where these statements were found they were not considered transgressive.

However, when photographs of these statements were shown to American university students, they were considered as graffiti, largely due to it written on stones or walls in public places. Scollon and Scollon explain that signs on walls were deemed as transgressive by the American students as they went "…*against the expectation* or [were] *in violation* of a public expectation that such surfaces would be kept clean and 'unpolluted' (2003:148). It is therefore apparent that what constitutes a transgressive sign is inextricably linked to the community in which it is found and the perspective of the viewer (i.e. what is considered normal in 'my' home, neighbourhood or country). Scollon and Scollon also show that it is not simply the profane, erotic, mundane or violent signs which can be transgressive, but also inspirational and spiritual ones.

(a) Situated semiotics

These types of signs gain their meaning from the places where they are found, such as shop names which indicate the type of shop or who owns the shop. Instructional, informative and regulatory signs all form part of situated signs. Scollon and Scollon also differentiate between exophoric and situated indexicality of signs. The word 'exophoric' means 'indexing something outside of the text'. Scollon and Scollon gives the example of an 'exit' sign as the sign itself points to or indexes the direction of the sign (i.e. to the outside world). This is called exophoric indexing and Scollon and Scollon posit that "…explicitly exophoric signs are the ubiquitous signs along roadways indicating turns, road names, and regulated action within those geosemiotic spaces" (2003:153).

Scollon and Scollon's situated indexicality refers to the "situatedness of visual semiotics" (2003:153) and they give the example of Chinese reading vectors as prime examples of these types of signs. They explain that as Chinese can be written both left to right and right to left, the text vectors themselves become strategically used to suit the place (or geosemiotic world) where it is found. For Scollon and Scollon, "the base of the text vector, that is the point form where the reading starts, is located at the most salient point" (2003:153). Examples of these 'salient points' are 'doorways', 'center of the road', 'front of busses' and basically any place which will be easily seen by a passer-by or consumer. Scollon and Scollon state that it is possible to encounter both situated and exophoric references in signs.

(b) Decontextualized semiotics

These include all types of pictures, logos or signs which may appear in many different contexts, but are always in the same form. Scollon and Scollon give the example of the well-known Nike 'swoosh' sign and the golden arches of the McDonald's emblem. Brands and logos are therefore typical of these types of semiotics. "The goal of branding is to produce universal and decontextualized recognition of their names and products, so that their symbols become as instantly recognized as the Christian cross, the red cross, the Islamic crescent, or national flags" (Scollon and Scollon, 2003:145). Weber and Horner (2012) understand decontextualized signs as having

essentially the same meaning wherever they are found. In the formulation and subsequent analysis of these signs, the importance of taking an ethnographic approach is emphasized by Scollon and Scollon, a summary of which is provided below:

(a)   There needs to be an understanding of what words mean within the specific community of practice.

(b)   Visual semiotic systems work as interactions among small or sub-systems which work independently of each other in a dialectical and negotiated way. Attention needs to be given to the particular 'geosemiotic sphere' of social practices, which means that meaning systems are not just bounded by text or placement of text.

(c) Researchers should take cognizance that there is a steady increase of decontextualized semiotics found in the landscape and that these have a hierarchical tendency which may dominate situated semiotics. Bearing this development in mind, Scollon and Scollon propose that researchers keep track of what the meaning of signs-in-place index in the world.

(Scollon and Scollon, 2003:160)

One way in which signs can be seen to have multiple meanings is attributed to the different modes used to create a sign or the multimodal nature of signs. Multimodality entails "going beyond linguistics into social semiotics and taking into account as many modalities of communication as we can systematically describe (Martin and Rose, 2003:255).

Decontextualized signs constitute much of the signage on the neighbourhood's image or brand. In this way, branding is understood as a vital move in which a product or service is strategically marketed to a specific consumer. Brand name and identity is made visible through the packaging and promotion of a particular service or product (Randall, 1997). Van Ham states that "[I]t is well known that the corporate brand has become an essential part of the business identity that helps audiences to identify with a company and encourages them to buy its products and services. In a similar way, branding has become essential to create value in the relationship between territorial entities and individuals" (2010: 128). Here we see that the conventional understanding of 'branding' is no longer restricted to the domain of corporates and instead has a

recognized relationship between space and individuals. These individuals are construed as brand 'consumers' of the lifestyles that they come to expect from a specific city or neighbourhood. As Forrest explains: "…neighbourhoods are now marketed as offering particular attributes for particular subgroups" (2004: 21).

Fournier adds to this discussion when introducing 'brand personality' which she describes as "…a framework which recognizes reciprocal exchange between active and independent partners…[and] can be thought of as a set of trait inferences constructed by the consumer based on repeated observation of behaviours enacted by the brand…" (1998: 368). In this way consumers are believed to construct a personality of a brand and then perform their identities in line with the brand.

At present the number of neighbourhood branding studies is in short supply (cf. Hackworth and Rekers, 2005; Ford *et al*, 2008). For Johansson and Cornebise "[M]ost places are characterized by diversity and complexity and cannot therefore be easily represented as a brand. This is especially a problem if one aspect of a branded object exists in diametrical opposition to the main brand identity. In such instances, the minority product/group can be negatively affected and suffer from a crowding out effect" (2010: 190). Johansson and Cornebise emphasize that for place branding to take maximum effect there would need to be a sense of homogeneity in the neighbourhood as multiple stakeholders would make place branding exceedingly difficult. For them exclusion of the 'minority' (resident) would be an inevitable negative effect within a diverse setting. For Johansson and Cornebise "…place branding should, under ideal circumstances, align the identity of the resident/citizen with the perception of outsiders. Branding can do so through the formation of durable stakeholder alliances (Hankinson, 2001), using consistency of message, and delivering what it promises as the observable reality should not be fundamentally different than the message" (2010: 189).

This sentiment of course therefore detracts from multilingual nations, cities or neighbourhoods' ability to construct a strong brand based on diversity as a key driving force. It also focuses attention on individual languages or communities as opposed to the idea that a brand can be the sum of many different and multi-functional parts. In this regard, this study shows that place-branding is possible in

diverse settings even though different languages and cultural artefacts are used together when branding. Ultimately, it is believed that it is not individual (things, people or languages) that make up a brand, but the sum of all parts. This is important as this study looks at just how place branding was achieved in the diverse and multicultural neighbourhood of Observatory.

3.3 Semiotic landscape (SL) analysis

As stated in the beginning of this chapter, a new approach to landscape analysis was posited by Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) wherein the term 'semiotic landscape' was employed so as to capture other semiotic resources *besides language* which form the basis of communication and can be found on the landscape. For Kress and van Leeuwen semiotic modes have come to the fore as salient contributors to communication as we know it, contending that these multimodal semiotic codes have even resulted in language now being viewed as an adjunct aspect of communication. In their words "In the era of multimodality semiotic modes other than language are treated as fully capable of serving as representation and communication. Indeed, language, whether as speech or as writing, may now often be seen as ancillary (sic) to other semiotic modes: to the visual for instance. Language may now be 'extravisual'. The very facts of the new communicational landscape have made that inescapably the issue" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001: 46).

Similarly, Jaworski and Thurlow's move away from the conceptualization of LL in favour of semiotic landscapes as they view the landscape as "…written discourse [which] interacts with other discursive modalities: visual images, nonverbal communication, architecture and the built environment" (2010: 2). Although Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) agree that language is salient for an analysis of the landscape, they also draw on work by Scollon and Scollon (2003) to justify the incorporation of other semiotic resources along with language when seeking a holistic interpretation of the landscape. For Jaworski and Thurlow a semiotic landscape is "… any (public) space with visible inscription made through deliberate human intervention and meaning making" (2010:2).

In light of this expansive view of the landscape, the issue of space also emerges with Kress and van Leeuwen challenging the fixity of national borders and highlighting the explosion of languages, cultures and people as reason for the blurring of commonly held notions of borders, nation-state and space in general. For Kress and Van Leeuwen, the idea of a semiotic landscape highlights "...social and cultural factors: the intensification of linguistic and cultural diversity within the boundaries of nation-states, and … the weakening of these boundaries, due to multiculturalism, electronic media of communication, technologies of transport and global economic developments. Global flows of capital dissolve not only cultural and political boundaries but also semiotic boundaries" (1996: 34). Kress and van Leeuwen's final point concerning global flows is important as it then further hollows out the homogenizing theory of globalization (an argument which has been discussed in the previous chapter).

Viewing the landscape in terms of semiotics, also places graffiti (and its place on the landscape) into focus. In fact, in the artistic and trendy neighbourhood of Observatory, one oft-seen (controversial) way of place-making is achieved through the distinctive markers of graffiti on the landscape. While the commonly held belief about graffiti is that it is related to anti-social behaviour emerging from unwanted characters, Pennycook views it as "part of the urban landscape, as one of the ways in which cities are brought to life and space is narrated" (2010:137).

For Harvey "Places are constructed and experienced as material ecological artefacts and intricate networks of social relations. They are the focus of the imaginary, of beliefs, longings, and desires (most particularly with respect to the psychological pull and push of the idea of 'home'). They are an intense focus of discursive activity, filled with symbolic and representational meanings, and they are a distinctive product of institutionalized social and economic power. The dialectical interplay across these different moments of the social process . . . is intricate and confusing. But it is precisely the way in which all these moments are caught up in the common flow of the social process that in the end determines the conflictual (and oftentimes internally contradictory) process of place construction, sustenance, and deconstruction" (Harvey, 1996: 316).

Jaworski and Thurlow claim that the significance of Pennycook's graffscape is signalled by the performative quality it creates in space. More specifically, "The social significance of graffscapes lies in their performative transformations of middle-class, public spaces into contact and contest zones, the aesthetics of class identity and struggle, sense-making and control over space, local and global identities, and local and global styles of giving voice" (Jaworski, 2009:26). Graffiti is viewed as a semiotic code, with its appearances (as well as its removal) believed to send out a message about the neighbourhood while indexing greater issues of authority, exclusion, transgression and creativity. In order to better understand graffiti, Pennycook provides an explanation of the more common terminology in graffscape, specifically "*tag* (the most common form of graffiti, a writers's logo or stylized signature with marker or spray paint), *buff* (the removal or covering up of graffiti), *blockbuster* (big, square letters, often tilted back and forth, usually in two colours), *throwup* (variously used to mean a quickly painted piece with one layer of spray paint and an outline, or also bubble letters of any sort, not necessarily filled), *bomb* (to cover an area with tags, throwups, etc.)" (2010: 138). The controversial nature of graffiti has been given much scholarly attention of late and Lynn and Lea (2005) suggest that this is a result of this semiotic code pushing other codes into the background through 'automatization' (Halliday, 1982). Iedema posits that the "[T]he foregrounding of one [semiotic] is often accompanied (or achieved by the backgrounding or 'automatization' of other semiotics, to the point where they appear so normal and natural as to become 'invisible' (Iedema, 2003:40).

3.4 Authorship of signs

Although the theoretical advances reviewed thus far concern the analysis of codes on signs, Malinowski (2009) focuses on the degree of authorship which influences the codes and its arrangement on signs. Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara and Trumper-Hecht talk about 'linguistic actors' who influence the landscape through distinct actions "…by ordering from others or building by themselves LL elements according to preferential tendencies, deliberate choices or policies" (2006: 9). Although it is evident that signs are always produced by some or other author(s), this domain of LL research has remained largely untapped. However, Ben-Rafael *et al* (2006) delve into this domain by introducing the notions of 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' processes when

categorizing authorship. Top-down flows are characterized as those which "originate from public bodies of different levels - governmental, municipal, public organization or associative - that produce signs and LL text to designate agencies or diffuse information directly depending on those bodies... they start off from foci of public authority to reach 'common citizens'" (2009: 49). Examples of top-down signs would be notices of upcoming city developments, civic meetings and municipal ordinances. Bottom-up flows consist of signs which are "[P]roduced and presented by countless actors who - as individuals or corporate bodies - generally sprout from public..." (2009:49). Examples of bottom-up signage would be job-seeker adverts, job offers and party announcements. Added to this, Banda and Oketch (2009) have added the notion of 'horizontal complementality' in order to take a less hierarchical or binary approach and instead view and analyze differences in signs and codes *within* their own domain of language use. This theoretical addition brings to the fore the possible limitation of the 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' approach within multilingual settings.

In his study, Malinowski employed an assortment of methodological devices so that he could capture the intent of the author for a particular sign. Malinowski used interviews, participant observations, photography and media analysis as well as interpretive walking/driving tours to collect data on authors of signage. Malinowski's (2009) data analysis yielded much in the way of authorship and production of signage. His field site of a predominantly Korean commercial area of Oakley in California allowed Malinowski entry into a sphere of Korean and English signage. After having concluded that many of the shop owners had simply accepted the signs they had bought from previous owners, Malinowski began to delve into why the signs had remained the same (and were therefore deemed acceptable) by the business owners. With regards to the presence of English on signs, shop owners felt it enough to echo the umbrella response of 'This is America'. However, the inclusion of Korean on signage was articulated as evolving out of two factors, firstly (a) to assist Korean readers to identify the shop as Korean and (b) to conjure a sense of kinship through the use of Korean (Malinowski, 2009).

Malinowski (2009) draws on Austin's (1962, 1979) work on the performative aspect of language as 'speech acts' in and of themselves. "In the LL work, we might view the design and emplacement of a bilingual sign with a specific linguistic and visual message in the manner of a speech act - subject to success or failure to elicit a

response (rather than the 'truth' of the message delivered in multiple codes) based on the fulfillment of a number of 'felicity conditions' that might include the legibility of the sign's text, the congruity between the sign's content and the type of goods or services offered by the business, emplacement in an environment with similar signs, the proximity of an audience familiar with the linguistic and visual conventions employed on the sign…" (Malinowski, 2009:115). Following this philosophical direction, Malinowski concedes that the use of Korean in signage may reflect the intent by the author, specifically the desire to engender an endearing reaction from Koreans viewing the sign. Notwithstanding the perspective, Malinowski also considers Bourdieu's (1991) antithetical views of language as dominated and acquiescing of larger social powers. This use of Korean would then be a result of social convention and not a result of any direct intent by the author. In the end, Malinowski posits that his LL may well be the combination of both social convention and intent. Nevertheless, the perspective of either social or linguistic impetus is not shared by another theorist, Butler who states that: "[T]he simultaneity of the production and delivery of the expression communicates not merely what is said, but the bearing of the body as the rhetorical instrument of expression. This makes plain the incongruous interrelatedness of body and speech…the excess in speech that must be read along with, and often against, the propositional content of what is said" (1997:152).

Malinowski sums up Butler's view as accepting of neither Austen or Bourdieu as "…meanings emerging from any speech situation *both* exceed the intent of the speaker *and* do more than mechanically reproduce social structures" (Original emphasis, 2009:119). However, it is not simply the code on signage which can foreground one language or group above another. As Huebner (2006) points out different modes (colour, image, font and so forth) on signage can also raise the prominence of a seemingly marginalized code. For Malinowski this assertion "…suggests that linguistic, visual, spatial, and other communicative modes present in the linguistic landscape might interact in complex ways to produce multiple meanings" (2009:120). In relation to the assertion of multiple modes sending multiple meanings, Jewitt and Kress speak to the (often) uneven distribution of communication which can materialize:

> If, as these chapters show, there are always many modes involved in an event of communication (say, speech, gesture, posture, maybe images) then all of these modes together will be representing significant meanings of the overall message. The meaning of the message is distributed across all of these, not necessarily evenly. In short, different aspects of meaning are carried in different ways by each mode
>
> (Jewitt and Kress, 2003:3).

Similar to Malinowski (2009), Huebner (2006) and Jewitt and Kress (2003), the authorship of signs in this study was also considered an important factor of interpreting multimodal signs in conjunction with the role or effect which different codes have on multilingual signage.

Although the multimodal nature of a sign is addressed by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), it is the changes to the sign or resemiotization of signs which are equally important. Iedema (2003) talks about resemiotization of signage as "…the social unfolding of the processes and logics of representing…It is from this socially situated vantage point that the resemiotization problematic gains its significance" (2003: 50). Changes to the external aesthetics are understood as the resemiotization (or recontextualization) of the multimodal appearance over time. Iedema's *resemiotization* of signage and space concerns: "…how meaning making shifts from context to context, from practice to practice, or from one stage of a practice to the next" (2003:40). In this way, resemiotization is not seen as divorced of multimodality, but rather as a complementing factor which expands on changes in multimodality over time.

Similarly, Iedema (2003: 42) discusses the saliency of capturing discourse about space as"…the process [which] develops from situated and quite 'local' kinds of talk, via more formal and ritualized forms of interaction involving different and perhaps more people, towards increasingly durable – because written, multiplied and filed – forms of language use." The multiplicity of meaning can most readily be captured when looking at the social construction of identity, space and community as opposed to the analysis of textual representation. "In sum, if we regard meaning making as constituting the social construction of reality, then resemiotization thinks not so much in textual representation as in *social construction*" (Original emphasis, 2003:50).

Therefore, considering the literature review, the study adopts multimodality and multi-semiotics as an important aspect of the landscape as it moves beyond languages to include all semiotics on the semiotic landscape. For this reason what has traditionally been considered as LL will be addressed as semiotic landscape in this study.

3.5 Summary

In summary, this literature review shows the evolution of landscape analysis starting with the initial move towards studying languages on signage, specifically in public spaces such as city centres. Analyzing languages on signs have largely fallen into what has become known as Linguistic Landscape (LL) analysis. Landry and Bourhis' (1997) definition of the LL has often been drawn on as the foundation for understanding the units of analysis within this field. This study finds LL analysis as a subset of multi-semiotic landscape analysis. Due to the underdeveloped nature of landscape analysis, it is clear that methodological and theoretical advances are still on the increase. One important methodological advance was ushered in by Scollon and Scollon (2003) who first emphasized the importance of ethnography to the analysis of the LL and hence the semiotic landscape alike. Scollon and Scollon's place semiotics delves into the theoretical framework of 'geosemiotics' and offer insightful ways of looking at signs, their production materials, texture and placement.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) also contributed significantly to the field with insistence on the importance of other semiotic sources on signage. It was Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) who opened the door to the saliency of analyzing signs in their totality, specifically with the inclusion of other semiotic resources such as colours, images and architecture. Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) then suggested the use of semiotic landscape analysis so as to capture not only language, but all other semiotic resources as well.

This literature review thus covered seminal work by leading theorists in the field of linguistic landscape analysis as well as more recent advances into semiotic landscape analysis. It is clear that an ethnographic approach is promoted by both of those having entered this dynamic and multilayered field. The challenges which arise from analyzing signage in multilingual settings are manifold and there are new theoretical

and analytical proposals being created to suit the various studies, theoretical perspectives and research objectives. It is therein the aim of this study to contribute to this growing interdisciplinary field through positing new theoretical and methodological advances and the critique of its predecessors.

Research design and methodology

4.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed outline of the research methodology adopted in the study. It provides an explication of the research paradigm, sample design and sample size, instruments of data collection, the data collection process, semiotic analysis and the limitations of the study. The rationale behind the selection of participants and research sites are also provided here. As mentioned in the preceding chapters, Observatory is considered a multifaceted and diverse neighbourhood and this chapter aims to explicate the manner in which social transformation occurs in different spaces around the neighbourhood. This study acknowledges the expansive range of units of analysis and for this reason the researcher is cognizant of the fact that it would be short-sighted to imagine that just one analytical tool would have been sufficient when exploring the multicultural setting.

Remaining cognizant of the challenge that research within a neighbourhood can offer, a host of different analytical tools dealing with confluent theoretical underpinnings were employed. With the different groups or communities, emphasis was placed on inequalities in power and difference in voice and agency of these groups. What follows is an explication of the varied methods used within the qualitative approach.

Denzin and Lincoln describe qualitative research as: "…a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible" (1994: 3). It is important to note that during apartheid qualitative research was limited with often only a racially-biased view of the nation's constituencies and their social life documented. With the dramatic shift in socio-political consciousness a newly imagined democratic South Africa emerged in the world arena. Nelson *et al* note succinctly that "...choice of research practices depends upon the question that are asked, and the questions depend on their context" (1992:2). The resulting correlation between research questions and socio-political context of the tumultuous 1980's was seen with studies in Observatory effectively 'muzzled' during apartheid (cf. Montoya-Palaez, 1987). Within this new (democratic) context, inquiry

is made into the changes in quotidian life in the previously whites-only suburb of Observatory. Pertinent issues raised relate to transnational cultural flows, racial discrimination, xenophobia and the marginalization of smaller (less powerful) groups. For this reason the poststructuralists' approach was employed as the cornerstone of the interpretive framework for the thesis. Poststructuralism was utilized as it focused on inequalities in power and not the search for a 'truth' about social transformation.

4.1 Context of the study

Informants in the study come from a wide variety of ethnic groups and social classes with all informants having ties to Observatory. All informants interviewed in the study were obtained through snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is a subset of purposeful sampling and occurs when participants recommend other potential candidates with useful insights for the study. This type of sampling is useful as it allows the researcher to select participants that have a clear relation to the research topic and will therefore provide insight into the research questions. In this study, a wide range of participants were interviewed so as to shed light on different spaces and social practices in the neighbourhood.

Signage on the linguistic landscape was analysed using Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) multi-modal discourse analysis approach and Scollon and Scollon's (2003) notion of 'place semiotics' was employed. The units of analysis were made up of shop names and windows, billboards and two 'community' notice boards. Texts were categorized into different genres of text which was initially analysed separately and then combined with other signs in its proximity to create a holistic perspective of Observatory. Texts as units of analysis include: pamphlets, newspaper articles, and handwritten notices and online blogs.

The comprehensive notes taken during fieldwork were analysed and made provision for a detailed ethnography of the participants and research areas. Field notes also gave insight into my own changes as a researcher and evolving social networks in Observatory.

Similar to Modan (2007), this study employed an ethnographic approach wherein the participant-observer model was used. Modan espoused the use of this model described as when "…researchers actively partake in a wide spectrum of community activities, at the same time as they make detailed observation of the patterns of interaction in various activities, and how such patterns relate to community values and norms" (2007: 9). In Observatory, a range of activities including attendance at civic meetings, meeting with underground artists, chatting to pensioners and socializing with partygoers were partaken.

The ethnographic analysis is cushioned against the poststructuralist approach. Within this approach, ethnographic research in Observatory is conducted without pre-conceived patterns or categories in which to understand social practices. This means that social practices of Observatory are seen as pliable and fluid and not adhering to wider 'universal' rules of engagement applicable elsewhere (Shi-xu, 2007; Banda and Oketch, 2009).

For Hammersley and Atkinson the most vital tenet of ethnographic research involved " … the ethnographer participating, overtly and covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research" (1995:1). In order to stay true to this tenet of ethnographic research, I often found myself attending meetings, parties, and shows and engaging on a regular basis with a host of diverse people.

In addition, Titscher *et al* (2000) put forth the role of reflexivity as an essential part of ethnography. They declare that "…the core of ethnographic methodology is its 'fundamental reflexivity'. All social research is based upon the human capacity for participant observation and the capability for reflecting upon it. To this end, Hammersley and Atkinson point out that "[W]e act in the social world and yet are able to reflect upon ourselves and our actions as objects in that world" (1995: 21). In addition, a spatial analysis in which these identities are constructed is used to engage in conversation with public and private spaces. In particular, Lefebvre (1991) talks of notion of spaces as being divided into representations of space (ROS) and spaces of representation (SOR). Representations of different spatial areas including clubs, street

corners and the local school were investigated. A reflection on this study is further detailed through field notes and participant observations.

4.2 Sample design and sample size

The sample design was undertaken in two parts. The fieldwork spanned a total period of twenty-four months, with the primary source of investigation for the first eighteen months reliant on one-on-on and focus group interviews. The initial number of interviews obtained in the first eighteen months totalled thirty-five one-on-one interviews and ten focus groups interviews. A total of sixty-five participants were involved in these interviews. Semi-structured interviews were used to guide the researcher to talk about Observatory, whilst also allowing participants leeway to talk freely about related topics that they felt were of relevance as well. These interviews allowed the researcher an opportunity to gain entry into the various communities that exist in the neighbourhood as well as to grow necessary social networks. Rough transcriptions and detailed field notes also further documented the overall atmosphere of the interviews.

The second part of the data collection focused on interviews stemming from those from the 'blanket' or initial interviews used. The additional interviews in the second half of the data collection totalled thirteen one-on-one and five focus group discussions, with participants numbering a total of twenty-nine participants. Out of these interviews, five one-on-one follow-up interviews with key participants were conducted for their ability to respond, clarify or contest earlier assumptions about the neighbourhood data. A total of ninety-four participants were interviewed, with ages of informants ranging from nineteen to sixty-five. Interviews ranged from thirty minutes to three hours, with an average of ninety minutes per interview.

Fieldwork also included non-reactive data, such as: virtual participants on online blogs and websites, material signage on the semiotic landscape, textual analysis of handwritten notices and a spatial analysis of translocal and transnational flows in and out of Observatory. Throughout my fieldwork the participant-observer model was used. "This model occurs when researchers actively partake in a wide spectrum of community activities, at the same time as they make detailed observations of the

patterns of interaction in various activities, and how such patterns relate to community values and norms" (Modan, 2007: 9). This model allowed me to become a familiar face in the neighbourhood and subsequently made my entry and presence in the various social groupings reasonably easy.

4.3 Participants and research sites

The selection procedure involved interviewing everyone that fell into the broad category of Appadurai's ethnoscape, which includes transient groups such as: tourists, immigrants, nannies from the township, as well as residents alike. It was envisioned that such a diverse group of people would speak to community configuration with permanent groups (home owners), semi-permanent groups (migrants) and temporal groups (tourists). In this way, a holistic view of the transnational cultural flows as well as the construction of the 'obs' culture was investigated. Along these lines, I undertook a sociolinguistic ethnographic study which allowed me to follow the lives of the participants at work, at home and at play, this time with an emphasis on four key groups arising from the four new research sites stated above.

4.3.1 Rationale for selection of participants

This diverse grouping of people allowed for insight into issues surrounding *inter alia* community construction and membership, hybridity and translocal and transnatonal migration and the construction of 'the other'. These different groups, when situated within broader issues of macro-economic and political issues, give insight into just how transnational cultural flows and structures are being reified in Observatory.

4.3.2 Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)

Key informants were selected through purposeful sampling and were liaised with for nearly the entire duration of the fieldwork period. In total there were six key informants. These informants provided access into specific groups and communities and were a part of follow-up meetings.

4.3.3 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Marshal posits that the advantages of conducting groups interviews lies in them being 'socially oriented' which allows the researcher an opportunity to study "…participants in an atmosphere more natural than artificial experimental circumstances and more relaxed than a one-to-one interview" (2006: 116). Within the qualitative approach the focus group theory is considered particularly useful as it generates subsequent data.

4.3.4 Participant observation

A key technique within the ethnographic approach is that of participant observation. Over the two-year fieldwork period, each day would involve observing the interactants, their activities and discourse. After each day, I would record the observations for the day and reflect on the participants' behaviour whilst performing the various activities.

Participant observations refer to "spending long periods watching people, coupled with talking to them about what they are doing, thinking and saying, designed to see how they understand their world" (Delamont, 2004: 218). In the course of fieldwork, the researcher observed and participated in a host of activities, such as: attending local civic meetings, attending poetry sessions, library readings, school events and so forth. These types of diverse activities allowed the researcher to record the manner in which people asserted their identity within the activity and also the manner in which they were received by others. Important issues which arose in these spaces were aspects such as: peoples' beliefs, attitudes, their interpretation of events and their sense of belonging to the neighbourhood. As a data collection tool, participant observation allowed the researcher to:

i) Catalogue the different activities and contexts
ii) Ascertain latent differences in power between the various groups
iii) Adopt a deductive approach
iv) Gain insight into the different spaces in the neighbourhood
v) Gain an 'insider' perspective of what was happening and why through interviews with interactants on completion of activities

The participant observation tool was used throughout the fieldwork period and was helpful as the researcher was able to listen and record interactants' discourse and watch their non-verbal behaviour and expressions.

In particular, two Civic Association Annual General Meetings and one general meeting, two library readings, three art and poetry exhibitions and one school event were keenly attended. In these particular settings, I was able to: take photos, ask questions (before and after the event), and meet new and diverse people related to the neighbourhood and record events on an mp3 Dictaphone. It was in these settings that differences in power, discourse and social practices came to the fore.

4.4 Rationale for selection of research sites

The first part of the fieldwork data collection focused on three clubs on the commercial corridor of Observatory, known as Lower Main road (henceforth LMR). I did this so as to determine the possible convergence or divergence of identities and linguistic options. However, in the second half of my data collection it became clear that my interests centred on other (less convivial) spaces in Observatory. For this reason I drew my attention to the civic association, the only local primary school in the area, the local library, the semiotic landscape as well as one specific club on LMR. This change allowed my data to speak to wider issues concerning social networks, ideologies of community membership and multilingual identities, voice and agency.

Outwardly, the sites seem markedly different from one another and one way in which this distinction is made is by the services that are offered, however it became clear that all of these research areas were influenced by the other. The primary school was of extreme socio-linguistic interest as it was occupied by a largely black contingent of learners. Therefore translocal migration was of keen sociocultural interest as well as emergent views and attitudes towards English. At this site community agency and voice manifested themselves strongly resulting in clear demarcations between notions of insider and outsiderness.

The local library was of interest as it was a regular thoroughfare for 'permanent' locals, working locals from other areas (nannies), neighbouring learners (Salt River)

and temporary residents (tourists). The local library offered a place for pensioners to touch base with one another and also to act out the needs of the civic association, through the distribution of homeless vouchers and the sale of 'doggie park' keys to locals. The local library corresponded with the civic association which occupied the recreational hall monthly and to which all the subsidiaries were subsumed. As businesses on LMR are a large part of the agenda for the Observatory Civic Association, a general overview of the clubs also emerged. One of the clubs which remained of particular interest for research was Ezithebeni Braai Lounge, which had, over the course of fieldwork, undergone a complete sociolinguistic transformation. At the commencement of my research it was described as a Congolese restaurant that played a variety of different music and catered to a diverse patronage, however over time this image had reportedly changed to that of a space that was 'too African' and dangerous. It was this space which revealed the emergence of an 'African corner'.

4.5 Semiotic landscape analysis

An in-depth view of the landscape is conducted through a geosemiotic and multimodal analysis of shop signs and notices. Observations and interviews with business owners, partygoers and on occasion designers of signs, were included in order to provide a holistic view of the landscape. Additional units of analysis included: building structures, graffiti, newspapers and websites.

4.6 Data collection and document analysis

Modelled on Modan's (2007) technique in conducting linguistic data for analysis concerning neighbourhoods and discourse, spoken data was collected from impromptu on-street meetings with locals, planned meetings with the local civic association and the local school, solicited interviews with business owners and informal chats with partygoers and vagrants alike.

Textual data was obtained from the local newspaper 'Obslife' and the community pamphlet 'Obz news'. Online blogs and the local Observatory website were included in the study and offered a virtual peek into the neighbourhood.

Where applicable, interview sessions were audio-recorded. Data obtained from the interviews was translated (where necessary) and transcribed and treated as one of the

sources of analysis. Through discourse analysis of participants' speech, particular reference was paid not only to what they said, but also how it was being said and also what was *not* said. After reading through transcriptions and highlighting specific facts which relate to the topic of transformation, I listened to the audio recording for emphasis and intonation and made further notes of this. Wherever possible I met up with previous informants and checked the analysis of their transcribed data against their own thoughts.

Where interviews could not be recorded on audio, field notes were made in order to record non-verbal gestures to supplement any data analysis at a later stage. A digital camera was used to capture elements such as décor, social interaction and graffiti on the linguistic landscape.

Permission was requested before the audio recording of interviews. A digital mp3 recorder allowed interviews and group discussions to flow uninterrupted and was small and portable, thus allowing for interviews to be conducted in restaurants and on the street. It was useful for its ability to store information in its most natural form, and it also facilitated transcriptions while guaranteeing accuracy at the same time. In addition, a digital camera was used to capture images (i.e. graffiti and research site décor) and cultural pieces (i.e. dress code).

4.7 Triangulation

Within the qualitative approach it is not uncommon to use triangulation of data so as to draw in as many facets of data collection and analysis. By utilizing an ethnographic approach, it soon became clear that there was an abundance of diverse data which spoke to various areas of interest in the neighbourhood. In one single day it was not uncommon to conduct interviews, read newspapers, observe interaction and participate in an activity which evidently led to a multitude of data being collected. This practice is not an uncommon result in qualitative research. Denzin explains the benefit of triangulating data as "[N]o single method ever adequately solves the problem of rival causal factors...Because each method reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods must be employed. I now offer as a final methodological rule the principle that multiple methods should be used in every investigation" (1978: 28). Leading on from Denzin, this study adopts a multi-method

approach to collecting and analyzing data so as to offer a holistic view of the neighbourhood.

4.8 Data analysis

For Guba the interpretive framework adopted by the researcher is important as it "… contains the researcher's epistemological, ontological, and methodological premises [which] may be termed a paradigm, or an interpretive framework, a basic set of beliefs that guides action" (1990:17). In this study a poststructuralist interpretive orientation is employed. Derrida and Foucault are seen as the forerunners of poststructural thinking, with poststructuralism standing in stark contrast to structuralism and its nomothetic tendencies. "Poststructuralist accepts- per more traditional accounts- that Western societies and individual experiences are structured by a variety of pervasive distinctions, such as mind/body, rational/irrational, and male/female. Rather than viewing these distinctions as reflecting inherent characteristics of reality, poststructuralists view them as social constructions situated in a field of interpersonal relationships, cultural institutions, economic interests, class divisions, and other ordering principles of social life (Bourdieu, 1984)" (Thompson and Hirschman, 1995:139).

A poststructuralist discourse analysis was useful in analyzing informants' responses and text articles. The greater historical context of participants and Observatory was always considered as important components of understanding discourse. Furthermore, discourse analysis allowed for discursive elements to come to the fore, such as inter alia: evasive speech, common sense argument, multivocality and dialogicality. A combination of discourse analysis, multimodal analysis and geosemiotics was used to examine signs on the linguistic landscape. Observatory's linguistic landscape revealed the intertwining of colonial relics (buildings) with new and creative (African) stores which added a layer of 'new' meaning to the landscape which indexed the changing community configuration. Criticism of poststructuralism emphasizes the over-emphasis of difference as "…the plurality of discourses, on the perpetual slippage of meaning, on the endless sliding of the signifier – is now pushed beyond the point where it is capable of theorizing the necessary unevenness of a complex unity, or even the 'unity in difference' of a complex structure" (Hall, 1985: 92). A poststructuralist

discourse analysis of interview data was employed in its capacity to construct understanding of deictic perspectives on social practices and culture and the construction of identity in Observatory. Within the poststructuralist framework, identity was understood as socially constructed and not pre-determined by hereditary, genetic or structural factors (cf. Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004).

The positioning theory was used to analyze identity construction and negotiation of the informants involved in the study. As mentioned previously, Davies and Harré (1990) distinguished between three types of identities: imposed identities (which are not negotiable in a particular time and place), assumed identities (which are accepted and not negotiated), and negotiable identities (which are contested by groups and individuals) (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004:21). Denzin and Lincoln point out that "Poststructuralists…have contributed to the understanding that there is no clear window into the inner life of an individual. Any gaze is always filtered through the lenses of language, gender, social class, race and ethnicity. There are no objective observations, only observations situated in the world of- and between- the observer and the observed" (1994: 21). Further elucidation of the constructed nature of identity was made visible through an ethnographic study of Observatory.

4.9 Transcription conventions

In order to simplify understanding of the transcription data, I used largely the same transcription key as Eggins and Slade (1997), as seen below:

(_)   Researcher guess/ explanations
= =   Interruption / simultaneity
…   Speech drifts off
[ ]   Inaudible/ irrelevant utterance
-    False start/ restart
CAPS Emphasis
/italics/ Translations
Arial code was additionally used to identify words or sentences intentionally emphasized by the researcher.

4.10 Limitations of Study

Although every effort was made to offer as much of the diverse aspects which make up the neighbourhood of Observatory, the researcher concedes that there may have been groups, interactions and events which may not have been captured in the eighteen month fieldwork. This section offers up some of the challenges and (wherever possible) solutions to the study. As I am not a resident of Observatory myself, I could not go into Observatory every day. This meant that I conducted my research during the day from Monday to Thursday, withFridays and Saturdays mainly visited for night research. Very few Sundays were included.

Also, it took a while to 'set up' as a researcher in Observatory as the research area was immense and took some getting used to on my part. Previously, all work that I had done previously was achieved through working within a team. This first half of the fieldwork data collection was gained through impromptu conversations with business owners, students and tourists. The informants met through these people were found through word-of-mouth. However, with the commencement of the second half of data collection, I was able to revise new and more diverse research sites. In addition, my lack of proficiency to 'carry' a conversation in Afrikaans or Xhosa also impacted on my interviews which were all conducted in English. I therefore acknowledge that participants may have felt restricted or hampered by my need for them to converse in English.

Night research was extremely limited largely due to my being female and having to take many precautions with regards to safety. In hindsight, my religious beliefs seriously impacted my choice of night research sites as my Islamic beliefs strictly prohibited any consumption of alcohol and socializing with intoxicated individuals.

4.11 Reflections on fieldwork

Ethnographic research in Observatory was very unsystematic at first and extremely difficult to centralize. However, it soon became clear that the main source of action and contestation and general sociolinguistic interest arose from Observatory's main thoroughfare known as Lower Main Road (LMR). However, as LMR is an extremely long stretch of road, I focused my research on the main business hive located from

Trill until Station road. The graphic below shows the geographical location of the research area in wider Cape Town:
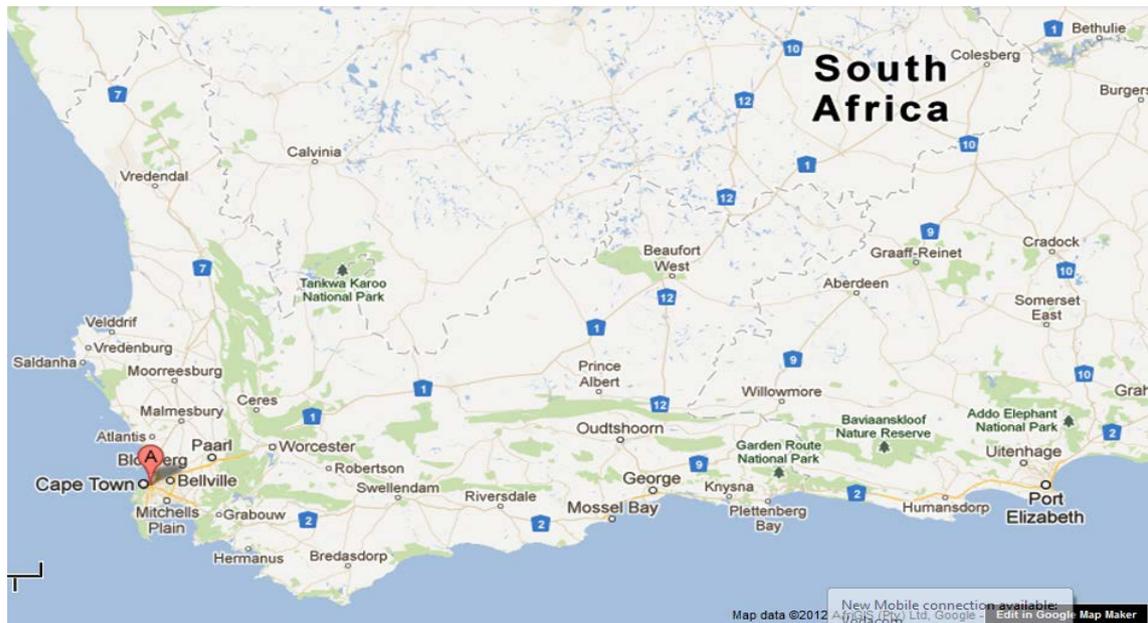
Narrowing the research site further, I focused on the street corner at Trill and LMR which became known as the 'African corner', Observatory Junior School, the public library, the civic association, and on the 'commercial corridor' street more generally. A spaces fall within the circled area below:
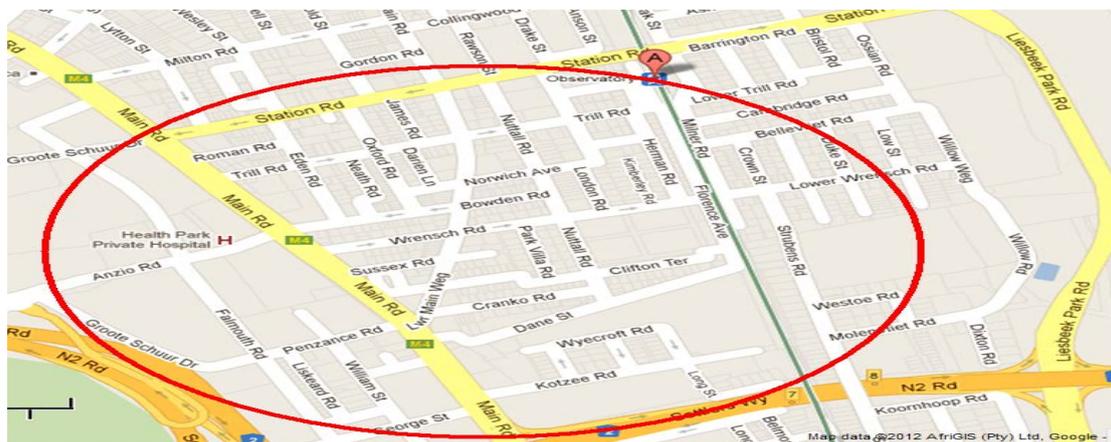
The spaces described above were the ones which expressed the most sociolinguistic diversity. Of particular interest (and what fast became a theme running through nearly all the discourses), was the manner in which identity and belonging was realized through social practice. Different ways in which to understand social practice, with particular reference to transformation and public participation, was conducted through

an analysis of communicative strategies, community norms, identity constructions and analysis of the .linguistic landscape. Data on social practice were expressed through interviews, informal chats, civic meetings and so forth.

Indubitably, the main problem that I faced arose through the belief that as I was a Cape Town born researcher, I would more easily understand and 'fit in' with the population under study. However, as true testament to methodological naiveté, I worked under this misconception and encountered a myriad of communicative blunders with the many culturally and linguistically diverse populaces.

As LMR had several restaurants, shops, clubs and pubs, as well as churches, factories, crèches, a recreational hall and street corners to interview consultants, I encountered a myriad of different social settings and oftentimes this experience required the subtle change of role as a researcher to student, tourist, resident, immigrant and so forth. The different social settings also meant that the context in which my questions were interpreted varied significantly. This resulted in heightened negative and positive representations of Observatory. Early interviews began with the very loaded question: "everyone says Observatory is so diverse and has such a great village-like appeal, what do you think?" Having asked this question of business owners, civic association members, street guards, and homeless people, I was unsurprisingly left with a veritable fascinating exegesis by which to explore this often contradictory neighbourhood.

To commence fieldwork, I started with the most obvious point of entry which was through the civic association as they were responsible for the 'official' image of Observatory (as portrayed on the website and community newspaper) and had the most positive and historically informed responses. Many of their responses were tied to the colonial heritage of the neighbourhood, the architectural design of the buildings and the village-like appeal of the neighbourhood. These respondents were subtle in their notions of insiders and outsiders. For instance, although transient groups such as Zimbabweans (which appeared to be the largest black population living in Observatory), it was hardly mentioned by the civic association. It was the conspicuous abstention of the mention of diasporas in Observatory (in favour of much celebrated European contingents in the area), which pointed to some notion of insider and

outsiderness. Restaurants catering for largely European tastes were also quite telling of the often overlooked ethnic populations which resided, worked or moved through the neighbourhood. For instance, there were several global (largely European and Asian) restaurants; however, there was only one African restaurant. Chinese, Mexican, British, Thai, Brazilian, French and Italian tastes were well-catered for on the commercial strip of LMR, with West African tastes occupying only one restaurant right at the darkened end of the street. Observations were continuously indicative of the space becoming less attractive and more dangerous as one walks towards the end of LMR.

On enquiry, a civic association member said that the street lights had been broken by troublesome revellers and had not been repaired. This simple maintenance oversight had however, led to the distinct feeling of impending peril. Here we see space on LMR becoming shorter as traversing towards the darkened Trill road seemed dangerous with most partygoers preferring to stick to better-lit and thus perceptively 'safer' parts of LMR.

'Where are you from?'

Interestingly, this question was often posed to me on meeting and chatting with people in Observatory. At first, this question caused an immense amount of embarrassment on my part as I felt that my being a native Capetonian would be self-evident and therefore a non-issue. However, over time I realized that this misconception also led to many of the respondents in the study having difficulty in identifying with me as I contradicted some or all of their stereotypes. Firstly, many Zimbabweans had difficulty in identifying me as 'coloured' as I did not speak Afrikaans, although locals did not find this strange in the least. Secondly, many locals on the other hand, mistook my religious background as Hindu or Indian mainly due to my conducting interviews in pubs and not wearing a traditional head-scarf like conventional Muslims. Thirdly, some would often take me as just another simple holiday maker, partly, (I imagine), due to my phenotype and my nifty tourist accessory – my digital camera.

4.12 Ethical considerations

Interviewing a diverse range of people in Observatory meant having to consider the context of each interview with some interviews happening spontaneously in pubs, clubs, street corners and so forth. When interviewing migrants, I was made painfully aware of the tough life that some of the interviewees had. Some requested that I switch off the recorder or delete sections of the interview as they had no legal right to be in the country. Also, after much consideration, I decided not to interview a known drug dealer in the area due to issues surrounding my own safety.

All participants were informed about their right to withdraw at any stage of the study. This project observed the standards of the American Sociological Research Association namely: (a) confidentiality, (b) anonymity, (c) provided a report at end of the study and (d) observation of research protocol by explaining the purpose of the research and rights of the participants.
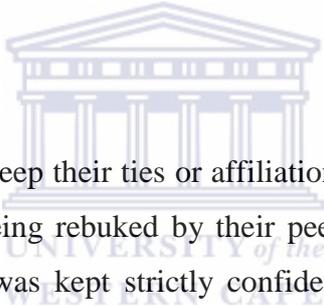
(a) Confidentiality

Some participants wished to keep their ties or affiliations to organizations and groups confidential as they feared being rebuked by their peers or superiors, and for these participants, all information was kept strictly confidential, with only vague ties to specific spaces and happenings in Observatory used.

(b) Anonymity

Following the participants' right to confidentiality, all names of participants have been omitted and where necessary only minimal information (regarding age, gender and race), was provided.

(c) Provision of a report at the end of the study

Follow-up sessions with nearly all parties were conducted so as to allow for maximum 'fact checking' by the researcher. This report back emerged informally (during conversations with vagrants) as well as formally (through presentation of findings) in more formal settings.

(d) Observation of research protocol by explaining the purpose of the research and the rights of the participants.

All participants were briefed about their role as participants in the research study. They were advised that they were able to withdraw at any stage. Data was never collected without the participants' prior knowledge.

4.13 Summary

In this chapter I have explained the reason for the qualitative ethnographic approach adopted in the study. The research design, technique and procedure have also been presented so as to clearly delineate the methodological process. I have also discussed the limitations or challenges that arose when researching the neighbourhood. It is hoped that this chapter offers an adequate backdrop to the subsequent five data analysis chapters.

CHAPTER FIVE

Observatory: imagined and contested

5. 0 Introduction

Exploring Observatory's heterogeneous neighbourhood as a multi-faceted and complex imagined community is premised conceptually on Benedict Anderson's (1983, 1991) seminal work on imagined nations. He posits that "Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (1983: 49). This is an important distinction as the veracity of an inclusive 'rainbow nation' in South Africa or Observatory is a frequent point of departure for sociocultural research with little emphasis placed on the potential plurality of imaginings in any given geographical space. Research in Observatory stands opposed to one clear distinct 'truth' of social transformation or community configuration. In this way a heterogeneous population is not presumed to foreground social transformation as an inclusive practice. In Observatory, the manner in which a variety of groups form imagined communities and enacts their vision for the neighbourhood (through territoriality and contestation), is of chief sociocultural importance and forms the impetus for this chapter.

From a poststructuralist standpoint the greater historical South African background does not stand in isolation from current imaginings of Observatory, rather historical contextualization is foregrounded as a vital component by which to analyse and interpret varied imaginings of Observatory. This approach will allow *inter alia* colonial and emancipatory influences of Observatory to be seen as shaping current imaginings and tensions of and between Observatory's communities. In this way, construal plurality of imaginings which exist co-terminously with one another and are made visible through collective sentiment (Appadurai, 1990) and contestation are engendered. The different (albeit interlocking) imaginings of the community are conjoined here to reveal the constantly shifting and shoving interplay of language, identities and cultural practices in Observatory's diverse setting. Importantly, a community is differentiated from a neighbourhood in that the former is held together by social networks while the latter is said to be geographically defined (Modan, 2007). This is where Modan's (2007) distinction between neighbourhood and

community most vividly manifests Observatory as a contested space as those who live, work or play in Observatory may not be thought of as part of the community. For Modan "Places are not neutral, and their meanings are not fixed. Rather, place identities are contested, and they serve the interest and agendas of those who create them" (2007: 321).

Investigation into the agendas and interests of four distinct groups in Observatory are undertaken. These groups consist of the homeless populace, the African immigrant group, the Observatory Civic Association and The Movement. These groups are found in different places in Observatory and it is their appropriation of space (or territory) and their expression of legitimacy in those spaces (territoriality) as well as contestation between the groups that this chapter investigates. By following Appadurai's (1996) inclusive notion of ethnoscape these four groups are each juxtaposed as tenable stakeholders in Observatory. This juxtaposition does not discount the reality of disparity across the various groups, but rather accepts it as an explicit contributing factor to the varying construction of self and other by the aforementioned groups.
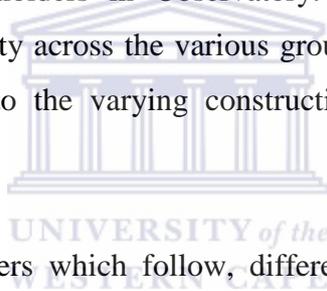
In the analyses of the chapters which follow, different aspirational imaginings of Observatory are examined through an analysis of articulations of power, language and culture-in-place. Different imaginings of the neighbourhood reveal the permeability and fluidity of socio-cultural practices which translocal and transnational boundaries as well as the resemiotization and mobility of semiotics and texts over time. Pertinently, space in the study is considered as neutral and only as a distinct territory when a particular space has been claimed. Also, the act of territoriality is used in this study as the exercise of claiming territory through use of distinct markers. As explained elsewhere it is social actors (through language, signs and practices) which transform a space into a place that is claimable and therefore into a territory over which territoriality may occur. When territoriality is practised by different groups over one territory, then 'contestation' is in play. This means that it may be possible for different communities to practice territoriality over different territories and therefore not suffer any contestation. However, it is the contested territories that this chapter details. Specifically, it is these claimed spaces or territory and the act of

territoriality and contestation by the four aforementioned groups, that this study takes up further.

5.1 Contesting groups in Observatory

Following Anderson (1983) an analysis of the four groups in Observatory is undertaken through in depth research of these very different, but equally relevant imagined communities. The first imagined community can be described as the 'official' voice of the neighbourhood and is expressed by the local civic association known as the Observatory Civic Association (OCA). The second imagined community can be described as the 'unofficial' artistic voice of the neighbourhood which is known as The Movement. Thirdly there is the largely silenced homeless populace and fourthly, the immigrant group in Observatory. In this way, colligate issues surrounding public participation, legitimacy and exclusion/inclusion are investigated in an attempt to understand the social fabric of this complex and layered imagined community. These differently imagined communities, although very dissimilar in their operation and membership, nevertheless intertwine, meet and conflict often. For these reasons, I focus on the agendas of these groups as well as their perceived territory and the manner of claiming territory (territoriality). I also identify and examine contestations of groups through discursive construction of the perceived 'other'.

5.1.1 Observatory Civic Association

The Observatory Civic Association (henceforth OCA) can best be described as an example of participatory governance. Dawson citing Dewar (1992), points out that participatory governance "hinges on models of small-scale, self-generated transformation facilitated by local and central government intervention" (2006:130). Of the four groups listed in this chapter, this group is the most visibly wealthy. In fact it is the higher than normal contributions which assist in the Observatory Improvement District (henceforth OBSID). This subcommittee is discussed in more detail in the next chapter. The importance of participatory governance for the OCA can be seen through this group emerging (claiming itself) as an 'official' voice of the neighbourhood which allows for subsequent power to take action with regards to decisions in Observatory.

The Observatory Civic Association members largely consist of residents living in the geographically defined area of Observatory. The agenda of the OCA can be said to create a civic voice for the neighbourhood and one which has the interests of Observatory. These interests are characterized by – dealing with perceived civil nuisances (bergies, theft and the like), organizing civic issues and liaising with government. Issues on the OCA's agenda are dealt with in monthly meetings which provide an open forum for members to voice their concern. This is also a platform wherein people can speak their mind about new (upcoming) events and businesses in Observatory. Membership into this group is contingent on the individual being a homeowner in the geographically defined space of Observatory and members have to pay a small annual fee to become a member of the OCA. This group has a wealth of resources at their disposal ranging from an online website, community newspaper and governmental resources. For this group a legitimate stake in Observatory is implicit in the owning of property in the neighbourhood. Pertinently, individuals that rent in Observatory may become a member of the association, but are not permitted to become an executive member and can therefore not influence major decisions facing the association or the neighbourhood. This group is a close-knit social network with just under fifteen regular members who attend a meeting every month. These members have often known one another for many years and share a common vision for the neighbourhood.

Accessing public information about the OCA was quite easy in that much of the information was supplied on the internet. Dates and times for meetings were scheduled on a monthly planner which could be downloaded from Google. Contactable telephone numbers and email addresses were also readily supplied. It was also on this site that ubiquitous references to Observatory branding is observed, most notably that of the 'I love obs' logo (which was also displayed in most shop windows on LMR). Discussion around 'obs' slogans and its place in Observatory are taken up further in the branding chapter.

Outsiders to this group were discursively constructed and discussed under the label of 'unruly partygoers', 'graffiti artist', 'dangerous immigrants' as well as 'unhelpful local residents'. These outsiders were often declared as unwelcome because of their

unwanted behaviour which included *inter alia* acts such as painting graffiti on street walls, the selling and consuming of drugs, the disregard to public property and the like. Other common nuisances for the OCA were the bergies that were (by their very nature) resistant to obeying state (and particularly) OCA rules of comportment. Immigrants were often constructed as dangerous and not to be trusted. Specific businesses in the African Corner were often discussed as disturbers of the peace and in violation of their liquor licences. The construction of outsiders for this group helps to understand their vision of the neighbourhood as consisting of a specific (homogenous) group of people with similar social practices.

5.1.2 The Movement

The Movement is an informal organization which is made up of a large number of autonomous artists which use one another as a collective group in which to showcase their talents. The order of business of this group is to establish themselves as serious artists who possess unique and interesting talents which set them apart from other artists. Unlike the OCA, this group consists of largely young people with outlandish mannerisms and who live alternative lifestyles. It was not unusual to find members of this group hailing from a diverse artistic background (i.e. acting, painting, rapping and so forth). This group also welcomed individuals of different colour, creed or sexual orientation. This community also used the internet as a resource, but chose to situate themselves in the social media scene as opposed to the OCA's more structured website. Critically this group claimed legitimacy to Observatory as tied to their own creative contributions and felt that their presence *made* Observatory with their unusual life histories making them even more important to the flavour of Observatory.

Accessing the social network of the Movement came about through conversations with Morris, a night guard on LMR that I had befriended over time. Through him I met up with Hajila, the main member of the Movement in Cape Town. Hajila, a soft-spoken Rasta from Zimbabwe, was quite friendly and candid about his views on Obs culture. For him, The Movement was an integral part of the artistic culture in Observatory and an important part of the neighbourhood's cosmopolitan appeal. The Movement communicated to its members via bulk smses and Facebook updates. Outsiders to this group were constructed as the 'old C A', a pun played on the OCA mentioned above.

5.1.3 Homeless populace (silenced community)

The homeless populace of Observatory are visible by their tattered clothes, habitual begging and proclivity for loitering. It was not unusual to find a few vagrants (or bergies as they are more commonly called in Cape Town), loitering or begging outside the local liquor store on LMR. Unlike the two groups mentioned earlier, this group did not have access to print or online resources, however they were nevertheless resourceful in their procurement of money, alcohol and food. Many of the vagrants would offer their informal services (removing trash or doing a spot of gardening) in order to obtain their required sustenance. Many of the vagrants were also former patients at the Valkenburg hospital, but were discharged when the hospital had been selected for closure in 1998. Although the hospital is still open, it has changed drastically and had to release many of its patients. "Valkenberg Hospital was founded in 1891. The name derives from the farmer Cornelius Valk who purchased the land in 1720. In 1881 the Colonial Government bought the land to build a reformatory. This never took place but a lunatic asylum, as it was then called, was established to accommodate patients transferred from Robben Island. Robben Island had initially accepted patients to relieve pressure on Somerset and other hospitals, but reports of unhealthy conditions, overcrowding, and high suicide rates resulted in the decision to transfer care of patients to the Valkenberg site." http://www.westerncape.gov.za/eng/pubs/news/2006/may/133552

The homeless group's tie to legitimacy was visible through their strong interpersonal connections which they had fostered with the locals in Observatory. It was observed that many of the vagrants and locals were on a first name basis. Greetings and pleasantries were often shared by residents and workers and vagrants. Even new security soon became acquainted with the amusing and (sometimes disturbing) behaviour of the vagrants. Intriguingly, this group felt that local residents, workers or partygoers who had befriended them, were also part of their group. Conversely, outsiders to this group would constitute 'unfriendly' residents as well as 'new' vagrants (or bergies as they are more commonly called) wandering into their territory. These unwanted newcomers were often chased away by the 'legitimate' bergies in Observatory. The word 'bergie' is derived from the Afrikaans word 'berg' meaning 'mountain'. A bergie therefore refers to one that lives on the mountain, but is now also synonymously interchanged with vagrant or homeless.

5.1.4 Immigrant group

With the arrival of many black foreign nationals into South Africa, the apartheid-led pedagogy of homogeneity across all black people emerged as a fallacy with some African groups choosing to celebrate their cultural traditions and differences. The overt celebration of Africanness is visible in Observatory through the proliferation of African artefacts, food and cultural practices. In Observatory, the overt celebration of Africanness has manifested in an area known as the African corner by African immigrants. The appropriation of the African corner in Observatory is discussed further and details contestation in domains of business and play.

In Observatory (and South Africa at large), black foreigners are often further grouped into three broad (country of origin) categories: specifically, 'Somalis', 'Zimbabweans' and 'Nigerians'. Each of these categories carries with them connotations about the respective ethnic groups and attitudes towards them. Somalis are often described as Muslim business owners that have strong social ties with other Somalis, but especially weak social ties with the heterogeneous community at large. Somalis are often seen as a 'weak' social group with media reports of xenophobic attacks often citing Somalis as victims of racial violence. Somalis differ from South African blacks through physical appearance, dress code and accent. Observations of Somalis in Observatory attest to these assumptions.

Zimbabweans in South Africa have been made visible through ongoing media reports about the political conflict in that country. Zimbabweans are often discussed by interviewees as having a genteel nature and occupying a range of different jobs. Although this group could physically pass as Xhosa, they differ by their level of proficiency in English and varying cultural practices.

The Nigerian group has gained the most negative reputation as 'pimps' and 'drug dealers'. The Transparency International Corruption Perception Index of 2004 ranked Nigeria as the third most corrupt country after Bangladesh (second) and Haiti (first). In Observatory, Nigerians are often attributed a masculine profile and discussed as 'big black men' operating underhanded businesses. They are rarely discussed as

academics or students and they are almost exclusively discussed as 'problems' in Observatory.

5.2 Public space as contested territory

The contestation of territory in Observatory is observed in a variety of different spaces including the most innocuous of spaces, such as street corners and house pavements. Over time these spaces have become claimed as territory by vagrants and it is the contestation of vagrant territory in Observatory that this section explores. Vagrants in Observatory (like everywhere else in Cape Town) are commonplace. However, over the three year field work period it became clear that the streets of Observatory, the removal of refuse and the interaction between vagrants and tourists were increasingly becoming unwanted by one other specific group – the OCA. Other groups such as The Movement and the immigrant group tended to pay little attention to this homeless populace except for relating the occasional amusing or nostalgic stories.

However, interviews with vagrants, business owners and residents revealed that space used or inhabited by vagrants was not always a problem. Towards the end of the study it became clear that (neutral) space had become a bone of contention between vagrants and the OCA. Territoriality (the practice of claiming territory) was practised differently by the vagrants and OCA. For the homeless population territoriality was often practised through their performing ad hoc jobs for the local residents which they felt endeared them to the residents and made them a part of the community. Vagrants would accept impromptu jobs such as *inter alia* cleaning gardens, removing refuse and other miscellaneous odd jobs. For the OCA contestation over public space (and therefore territoriality) was exercised through strategic initiatives involving the cleaning up of the neighbourhood and the reliance on private companies to carry out the jobs needed in Observatory, thereby effectively neutralizing the need for the vagrants.

At the beginning of the study vagrants in Observatory appeared to have a much more jovial, friendly and polite manner in approaching passers-by. Unique to Observatory, vagrants were on first name basis with patrons and owners in LMR and had in fact become part of the daily on goings in LMR. Towards the end of my research in

Observatory a large number of the vagrants had disappeared and it would appear that the OCA's initiative to clean up the streets had materialized. Residents' viewpoint on the homeless has also changed and a deictic perspective on their earlier welcomed receptions is provided by a local LMR businessman below:

> Brendon: The people who live on the streets of all the different colours are generally a nuisance, because they had been indulged as local colour, but it's insulting to both sides I think and apart from that it's an exceptionally friendly and informal kind of neighbourhood and probably the last one people walk up and down on the main road, ya….Yah, that's the problem and then, then there's the whole professional bergie rip-off- type you know, there's some, some bergies are totally capable because they crave their brands and that's our affairs and problems but they generally tolerated because its trendy and also people feel sorry for them.
> [Emphasis added]

Brendan's comment about the homeless being 'indulged as local colour' may have a lot to do with the all-embracing image that Observatory cultivated just after 1994. The image then epitomized acceptance, tolerance and non-discrimination towards any colour or class. Ways in which the homeless have been indulged or interweaved into the fabric of the community and thus made part of the 'local colour', is hinted at by some of the residents, who describe their relationships with the homeless as having become close to kin over the years.

> Pat: "Willem my boy, helpful, trustworthy, never asks for money"

Brendan's explanation as to why the homeless still have a place in Observatory is linked to them being considered 'trendy' with residents generally feeling sorry for them. Neighbourhoods tend to have a certain percentage of homeless people; however the practice or norm of finding them 'trendy' or fashionable is rather unique to Observatory.

In an opening address to new students recently moving into Observatory, the local Observatory pamphlet (Feb, 2010) describes the on-goings of the homeless as:

"Our resident homeless will also spot the newcomer. Give them a hand up not a handout! There are vouchers for sale at the Spar that can be exchanged for food and shelter. So rather help those who want to help themselves. Donation of cash, no matter how well intentioned only become drugs and alcohol! …Please check on your rubbish day. The Council does not remove black bagged refuse that is not in a wheelie bin. You will receive offers to remove your unwanted refuse from "private collectors". They will take it around the corner and dump it there. I will find it. I will trace it. I will fine you for dumping.

The adjective 'resident' when placed before 'homeless' imputes at once both a degree of displacement as well as permanency. The word 'resident' when juxtaposed with homeless, conveys a strong sense of legitimacy (even acceptance) of this normally sidelined social group. Moreover, a sense of belonging to the neighbourhood is signalled by the possessive pronoun 'our' in 'our resident homeless'. In this way, a distinction is made between the regular or accepted homeless (known to the neighbourhood) and another possibly temporary and unwanted homeless population.

In the same extract, the homeless are referred to as 'private collectors' that can potentially cause trouble for the foreign students residing in Observatory. The words 'private collectors' when placed in inverted commas, sarcastically indicate the falsification of this labour. In other words, readers (largely foreign students) are thus forewarned intertextually with regard to any involvement with such activities.

A letter received from a local in Observatory describes the effects of the homeless on aesthetic vegetation life. What is interesting is the extreme parallel drawn between the life of an "injured" riverside tree and that of the anonymous vagrants which use them.

"Opposite the entrance to the River Club-about three or four trees deep in, on the railway-line-side of the river, stands a now severely injured tree. It appears that vagrants have burnt it to try to warm themselves, as well as to cook (…because a burnt tin with stale food inside was also found at the foot of the tree). It's a matter of time before the tree dies and then, very likely, they will begin to destroy the next riverside tree… Is there a By-law against this sort of activity? Can anything be done to preserve the trees at the river?"

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The author here shows a deep concern for the said tree and describes it as being 'severely injured' with it having very little time before it dies. The author is also quite concerned that this activity will be repeated in future. The author then poses two questions; the first enquires as to whether there is a by-law which can protect trees and the second is a broader question as to how trees in that specific area can be preserved. There is no question about a by-law on social security and poverty alleviation for vagrants.

Different aspects of the relationship between the author, vagrants and the tree are played out in this short extract. Initially the tree is geographically defined as belonging to the area (this can be seen by the explicit mention of it being located close to the River Club, a popular landmark close to LMR). This distinction is important as the tree is later labelled as the riverside tree. The vagrants used the tree for warmth and food, which are indubitably two fundamental necessities needed for life. However, the effect of this now 'severely injured' tree takes precedence over the ostensibly poverty stricken and anonymous vagrants who play the antagonists in the extract. The author's enquiry into the existence of any by-law indicates that a law-and-order approach is sought after, as opposed to a social one. The trees are at once seen as a helpless yet significant part of the neighbourhood. The paradox herein lies with the necessity to safeguard the survival of a plant on the one hand, whilst summarily disregarding the plight of the human beings that use them in order to survive on the other.

Although the irony described above is clear, the inclusion of this extract in the OBZNEWS pamphlet correlates well with the overall holistic and organic lifestyle or image created of Observatory as a loving and hippy neighbourhood. Another affirmation of the eccentric and intriguing facet of Observatory can be seen with an OCA member tattooing 'I love obs' on her arm. This particular executive committee OCA member is a self-proclaimed 'observatorian' and had the following to say about the homeless populace:

"There are a few things that annoy me like crime, and the drunken vagrants who defile our streets. If we work together we can make a difference."

Her article was published in the Observatory pamphlet (Feb, 2010) and the description of 'the drunken vagrants who defile our streets' is interesting as it also enlists the pronoun 'our' in 'our streets' to highlight that the neighbourhood belongs to the residents and not the drunken vagrants. However, Swart pointedly remarks that it is the drunken vagrants that defile the area. In this way a distinction can be made between those vagrants that comport themselves in a socially acceptable manner and those that do not. The successive statement: "If we work together we can make a difference" appears to be directed towards Observatory residents as a request for them to change this community norm. Swart then describes the various security and improvement district's initiatives ending off with a request for people to join the local civic association stating "this way you too can also make a difference". This play on social responsibility is closely tied to an affiliation with the OCA and OBF and highlights public involvement and accountability.

The civic association focuses its attention on helping the homeless in a responsible way and uses their notice board to display two initiatives of the OCA. They also take great pain in explaining *why* handouts are so destructive. Of the various portfolios that the OCA focuses on, the portfolio concentrating on 'social issues' deals specifically with the homeless populace in Observatory. The two initiatives made possible through the OCA are that of the R5 food voucher (Kwikspar) and R10 shelter passport (Observatory library). Signs such as 'Fish and Loaves' constructs Observatory vagrants as a problem which needs to be addressed through specific means outlined on the notice board. The sign cautions the reader: 'don't give them food/money'. The reader is given instruction as to how to deal with this problem. It is clear that talking 'about' the problem occurs through the textual representation of the vagrants as a distinct 'other'. Fish and Loaves is a shelter situated outside of Observatory in an area known as Woodstock. Here vagrants pay R15 for shelter for the night.

In 2009, one vagrant named Veronica explained that she and her friends would often 'help' residents in order to get some money, either by removing dirt or cleaning gardens. She described Observatory residents as friendly and kind-hearted people that would allow them to work for their pay. At the time this consensus was shared by a

large number of bergies that were more than happy to extol the virtues of the unusually generous residents. Many of the vagrants interviewed had been living in Observatory for nearly two decades and had found many other neighbourhoods to be dangerous or stingy and therefore opted to live in Observatory.

However, towards the middle of 2010, this practice of allowing vagrants to work had become heavily discouraged by the OCA. Instead residents were prompted to buy food and shelter vouchers for vagrants at the local Kwikspar. This practice has been met with mixed reactions by the homeless populace. In fact a discussion around substitution of a food voucher over money was remarked by one vagrant as unfriendly. This individual remarked: "sometimes the fish is off and the bread is old…I don't want to sound ungrateful, but we don't always just want fish and bread!" The shelter voucher was more welcomed by the vagrants, however they were unhappy with the strict rules (of no couples to share a bed) at the shelter and the uncomfortable lodgings. Others remarked that they would lose their belongings if they were to sleep at the shelter and for this reason chose to live under the Observatory train station where they could keep a close eye on their belongings.

The 'Fish and Loaves' name also has its roots in religious soil as it is reminiscent of the doctrine of Christianity. This play on religious ground also implies that these vagrants are further distanced from the 'insider Christian locals' as their identity is often infused with associations of 'lack of faith', 'drunk' and 'lawless' individuals. This means that by dutifully following the instructions provided on this notice board, the 'legitimate' community could work toward the ultimate goal of a neighbourhood in which 'correct' and 'dignified' social practices are at play. Of course, the Observatory neighbourhood is often constructed as a partying destination with many of the residents having chosen the area particularly for its off-beat and alternative feel. This means that the notice board may not be indicative of the community in its entirety, but rather a select few. The aging population of the neighbourhood may suggest that this notice board is partial to a select (and very particular) powerful group of people. The many churches (and absence of mosques) may indicate the still-present pride in the prevailing Christian faith.
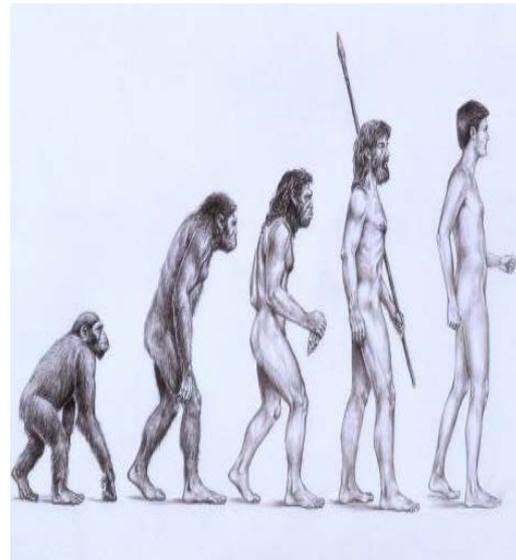
The image depicting the evolution of man is used to illustrate the desired change in vagrants which would see them move from unproductive and bothersome to productive and law-abiding citizens. Over time, and most likely due to these initiatives, the OCA has managed to drastically decrease the number of homeless or 'bergies' on the streets, as noted by many in the knitting circle (also known as 'beanies for babies').

Notwithstanding the heeding of OCA, residents and business owners have remarked that they nevertheless still choose to allow vagrants to remove their refuse, conduct light work and even sleep on their pavement at night. By ignoring the OCA signs the local residents are contesting the vision constructed by the OCA and simultaneously enacting their right to freedom in their home environment. This means that the vision of the OCA is not necessarily a reflection of the sum of the residents that live in Observatory.

Talk about correct comportment desired by the OCA means that these vagrants have been measured (by the OCA) and found to bear qualities that are unaccepted in this imagined community. By constructing their image of 'correct' behaviour, the OCA may have subscribed behaviour which is foreign or 'unnatural' even unto their own constituencies. It is plausible that a large number of residents may have actually

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chosen to live in Observatory due to its proximity to entertainment holes (pubs and restaurants) and the constant convivial ambience.

5.3 Contesting artistic territories

Importantly, the OCA also exercises territoriality in other ways in LMR, evidently seen through the removal or cleansing of street walls of graffiti and tagging. However, there are those that value graffiti as an artistic skill and consider the removal of graffiti as an attempt to remove the character of Observatory as an alternative and hip young place. One group which has found creative ways to contest the OCA's cleansing of Observatory has been The Movement. This group prides itself on being able to create atmosphere and mood through their creative (and unique) commercial strategies. One way in which a neutral space is created into a commercial space (and hence becomes the territory of the Movement) is through the Mobile Gallery, an enterprising business gambit.

The Mobile Gallery is a collective event wherein a motley assortment of artists (including singers, rappers, graffiti artists, poets, designers, chefs and others) combine their artistic crafts to create an expansive variety of crafts to choose from. The word 'mobile' in Mobile Gallery alludes to the travelling nature of this event as it is not fixed to any specific space and is showcased in different clubs, with a notable number in the African corner. Artists participating in the Mobile Gallery would habitually modify and modernize traditional African artefacts (such as garments, paintings, musical instruments) to create a new and interesting African product. Their artistic products also materialized as comic books, recycled key rings, ornaments and ciphers. These products were packaged as African commodities for consumption. Below is a graphic of a Mobile Gallery event which took place at ObZone, a club located on the African corner.

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In the graphic illustration above the top-left graphic shows a picture of the bands, fashion and other contributing artists involved in the Mobile Gallery. The top-right graphic shows a young lady reciting open mic. The bottom-left graphic shows paintings of African people with the bottom-left graphic capturing a graffiti designer creating his own personal picture with spray cans.

In general functions of The Movement range from the delivery of ciphers, open mic / poetry sessions, art galleries and 'organized graffiti'. The latter describes graffiti artists which are pitted against one another in a timed session and given the space to show their skill. Interestingly, the places in which The Movement can be found are largely in spaces which the OCA generally avoid altogether, such as Ezithebeni Braai Longitima, Quilombo Brazil and Obz Zone which are all located in the 'African corner'. Nevertheless, The Movement would also hold functions in spaces outside of the African Corner such as Electric Soup and the LMR building balcony. Stylistic nuances (such as colourful clothes, dreads, conscious print tops, gestures, and linguistic in-group expressions), further endear members to this social group. In-group members are recognized by their artistic talent and appreciation of graffiti, tags, paintings, clothes and music.

This group had been exposed to the OCA or the 'Old C A' as they called them (because they felt that only old and decrepit people were members of that group. In fact The Movement had actually received stern communication from Noise Action Group (NAG) concerning their late and rowdy parties. NAG was a sub organization of the OCA for a few months before choosing to close down. Further contestation between these two groups is discussed in a later chapter, when investigating the ownership of the Observatory brand.

5.4 Immigrant territory and territoriality

As stated elsewhere, African migrants are often construed as having come to South Africa out of sheer desperation and the image of poor Africans 'feeding off' South African land is one that only further reinforces the stereotypical view of suffering black Africans in the area. This phenomena can be linked to Louwenhaupt-Tsing's (2005) notion of friction, which brings to reality that free movement now available in South Africa, reveals other obstacles or friction with regards to larger (older) socio-historically ideologically fed constructs. Below is an excerpt from a visiting Ugandan student attending a prestigious Ivy League university in Cape Town. He describes the different reactions that his status as 'student' as opposed to 'refugee' has produced:

> Tony: there is the stereotype that all Africans that come into South Africa are desperate, so they kind of running to=
>
> Guy: Where do you come from sir?
>
> Tony: Uganda, er that thinking alone does a lot of damage 'cause there's so many people that have come here for different things and and they've been funded by NON-South Africans

This imagination of a refuge is similar to the plight of many Zimbabweans that now reside in Observatory. The influx of Zimbabweans into South Africa has been highly motivated by the political unrest and increasing food insecurity in the country. Ugandans also make their way into South Africa due to the political turmoil caused by religious fanaticism in that country. The inward migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa saw the Zimbabwe Documentation Process (ZDP). "International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimates that 1-1.5 million Zimbabwean migrants are living in South Africa, but only 275,000 Zimbabweans had applied to be regularized through the ZDP by the 31 December 2010 deadline and the department has so far only issued

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permits to just over half of them." http://www.trust.org/alertnet/news/south-africa-deportations-of-zimbabwean-migrants-set-to-resume/ , accessed 19 October 2011. Other migrants have been successful in establishing businesses and homes in Observatory which have materialized into the African Corner on LMR becoming a contested space.

Black groups and African-catering restaurants and clubs are often sidelined (both spatially and socially) and treated (through media and community participatory governance of the OCA), as a resource with very little symbolic and cultural capital. When ostensibly black clubs face these types of obstacles, it is the ideologically constructed 'otherness' which places them at the margin of society. Discourse illuminating points of 'friction' are discussed further when analysing social fears and boundaries. Modan points out that: "…the identities of places and the people who inhabit them are ideologically linked..." (2007: 98). These black clubs are largely criticized by members of the OCA who cluster these clubs with drug dealing and crime. In fact, most of the business owners, patrons and tenants working, partying or living at the lower end of LMR (towards Trill road) tend to operate under a shroud of ideological speculation as to the legality of their business dealings.

In the excerpt one specific club on the African corner has become ideologically linked to underhanded criminal activities. Below is an explication by an OCA member as to why such fears exist:

> "Apparently they were good supporters of Congolese music, but apparently at the same time there were instances related to drugs which just got them on the wrong side of the border between what are the community or the surrounding community and the Congolese community, in which case instead of the community recognizing that they have value-added in terms of their own backgrounds and their culture there's been scenario where they could be stigmatized by elements of people that go to the place and therefore been seen as a venue which may not be contributing to the value added in that area."
> [Emphasis added]

This member of the OCA highlights the perception of drugs as the cause of conflict or border between the community (locals) and the transient group (Congolese). The speaker talks about the venue as a space which has become closed to the community and open to 'elements' which stigmatize the entire space. Modan's work discusses order and disorder through an understanding of danger and safety. A short excerpt from a shop owner (whose name has been changed) in LMR brings forth the ideological associations (and subsequent concerns) made between 'Nigerians' and underhanded black market:

Ted: Like this [shop] behind here across the road it's Nigerian, we don't know how they make money, their rents like ten thousand rand a month
Amina: what's the name of that shop?
Ted: they haven't even got a name
Amina: oh just next to=
Ted: just next to that internet shop so erm they had to pay a bill from another- they brought a fridge or something they said 'can't I give you diamonds for the fridge?' so it's like…

The shop owner makes two assertions in the excerpt: (1) the shop is run by 'Nigerians' and (2) the shop owners' deal in diamonds. The stereotype that all Nigerians deal in illicit trade is one that has been expressed by many of the interviewees in the study. In the excerpt above we see that there is the ideological association between Nigerians' money and the black market. The same shop owner, when sharing an anecdote about the murder of a bartender by a crazed customer in LMR, goes on to talk about the 'unbalance' occurring in contemporary Observatory. The story relates to a white bartender (seeking payment for an unpaid bill) and an educated Zimbabwean (who later murders the bartender):

Ted: This guy came in there erm Zimbabwean trained in Cambridge I think it's – it could be America but its probably England ( ) trained in there as a teacher, teaching in Cape Town High or something like that, he came in here [Obviously Armchair] wanted a tab, he spent one thousand two hundred rand on booze and food the Saturday afternoon and he tried to walk out, the barman said 'Sorry you got [to pay]- and he's given his ID and drivers licence as security to the barman, the barman said 'no no we need money, you can't leave here' so they walked with him to the ATM, the barman and this guy, educated twenty-nine year old they got his photo everything, and of course there was no money in the machine and then, I don't understand it completely but they got into one of these Nigerian taxis

and went to the ATM in Salt River, at the Shell [garage] the guy stabbed him eleven times dead, this is a…

Amina: Zimbabwean

Ted: Guy got twenty years for that, so I'm starting to get worried that there is some definite unbalance in our society that makes it very hard to stay in South Africa.

[Emphasis added]

Ted draws on a range of different discourses such as: ethnicity, educational qualifications, morality, locality and spatiality in order to discuss 'the unbalance' in society. The murderous Zimbabwean is clearly the antagonist in the story, with the protagonist being the bartender. The Zimbabwean's nationality and prestigious qualifications, seen in the statement 'trained in Cambridge' are foregrounded as fundamental information in the story. These attributes are contrasted with the honest (law-abiding and lower-level) white bartender.

On closer inspection, there appears to be a transplantation of violence committed in Observatory and yet constructed as a problem brought about by outsiders. The bartender is constructed as one who leaves a place of relative safety (obviously Armchair) and travels in an 'ill-reputed' mode of transport (Nigerian taxi) to a place of danger and ultimately death (Salt River garage). A subtle shift of blame from the 'educated' Zimbabwean is transferred onto the Nigerian (taxi), which acts as a conduit for other negative attributes habitually associated with this group, specifically, being 'uncouth' , 'dangerous' and 'uneducated'.

The Observatory club is seen as a space of safety in which the (law-abiding) bartender seeks fair dealing when stating to the customer: 'Sorry you got [to pay]' by the end of the evening. Ted juxtaposes the morality of the bartender with the qualifications of the customer who is described as an 'educated twenty-nine year old'. Ted's consternation when mentioning this 'unbalance' may be attributed to the fact that a highly qualified black man may still be as dangerous as a regular uneducated black man. Obviously Armchair, a more ideologically reputed club in Observatory (situated close to Station road), although having suffered the murder of their bartender, persisted in placing the blame on speculations of drug dealing at the end of Lower Main. The article as written in the Argus is attached as an appendix.

Once again we see that in the face of marked violence, the 'African corner' is still ideologically blamed for atrocities which happen elsewhere. What we see in particular is the vilification of the stereotypical bad African, the Nigerian, who becomes the antagonist of most anecdotes. Clearly, ideology and place strongly affect the identities of those that occupy these places. While Modan (2007) posits that Mt Pleasantites attribute fearlessness to masculinity, in Observatory 'violence', 'silence' and 'darkness' is attributed to masculinity. There is a sense in which Observatory is constructed as a peaceful place, but being spoiled by 'outsiders'. There is also a false sense of security as crime is described as occurring outside Observatory.

5.5 Discursive marginalization and friction in the African corner

According to Modan (2007), there are two geographic marginalization tactics that speakers employ: (1) speakers compare places to each other *without talking explicitly* about the people who inhabit those places. Instead, attitudes about inhabitants are often subtly conveyed through an implicit connection between the place and the people who live there, and (2) speakers explicitly critiquing people in their talk about places. In her work, Modan picks up on a trend whereby talking about geography is a common way to set up a moral and deictic centre and then distance other people from that centre. "The prevalence of the phenomenon can even be seen in the spatial metaphors that analysts themselves use to describe it – a moral centre, the periphery, marginalization, distancing" (2007: 319). The discursive construction of marginalization is discussed in relation to the geography of the African corner, religion and sexual orientations.

Conversing with a regular patron at a club in the African corner highlights other embedded social problems which arise through the movement of 'newcomers' (especially wealthy Black men) into the area. Discourses around race, space and gender come under scrutiny. Below is an extract explaining the perspective of Troy (a Coloured man working in the LMR) concerning the changing social scene in Observatory.

> Interviewee: hmm it's the difference in population. It's the difference in the
> type of businesses which the landlords are setting in, you know a guy
> walks in here, he's got on a- he's a Congolese guy he looks dressed
> up WELL he wants to open a pub here well they think well 'this

place has just been standing empty for three months - I can get some money', that's what it's about now

Amina: ja

Interviewee: That's what it's about they not caring about what it's gonna do to the environment- to the neighbourhood, or to the vicinity, the effect it's gonna have you know, the type of clientele it's gonna draw, the type of clientele it's going to repel=

Amina : Ja=

Interviewee:= You know what I'm saying? I mean we have our draw as coloured people go to a jol we sit we have a lekker time=

Amina: Yes

Interviewee: and there is one or two three people outside having a cigarette whatever, or WHATEVER going to the car gooing 'n doppie [having a drink) in the car or roeking 'n pyp [smoking a pipe] in the car that's it, but these guys you have a club and you find there is a lot of drug peddlars standing outside=

Amina : =Ja=

Interviewee:= you know it's all that sorta thing.

Amina : Ja that sorta gives the whole place er=

Interviewee: =JA and now the DECENT oke, like I don't wanna bring one of my chicks to a place like that. You know because I'm thinking I'm gonna lose my chick here amongst these fucking bastards, you know what I'm saying.

Amina : mmm

Interviewee: one of these okes, because I've got a black girl with me, I might- she might slip away from me.

Amina: Mmm

Interviewee: you know because they have this deep rooted understanding amongst each other and that type of kak [shit] you know, and I mean you look around here and you find all these nice African girls which I have no prejudice towards, I quite fancy them you know and I've BEDDED quite a few of them to be honest with you, but they look up to the type of language of their kind. Even if you fancied someone there and his walking around with a massive - WHATEVER. But they not gonna stick to you who has decent NORMAL tick tok way of life. They don't want that. They want their guy 'yo yo' [places hand over mouth] and smokes this=

In the excerpt above, Troy disparagingly discusses black women as pliable and 'easy', drawn to 'black guys' by an innate appeal and gravitating to 'the language of their kind'. Black women are seen as fulfilling an adjunct role for both Troy and these 'nameless big black men'. It is clear that Troy sees this particular club on LMR as the territory of nameless black men with the visual imagining of these men 'standing outside of clubs' and 'smoking this and that' which can be seen as them practicing territoriality over their space.

Troy's description of the women in these black men's territory is that they are silent knights roaming clubs in search of drugs and a good time. Pertinently, Troy feels his

territory, specifically the coloured territory, has been invaded. The pubs on LMR used to be owned by whites and coloureds and now the blacks are taking them over, including their women! He is scared "because I'm thinking I'm gonna lose my [coloured] chick here amongst these fucking bastards". His attempt to woo black women does not work either, as he is not socio-economically or physically powerful enough to keep them away from the clutches of these black men. Troy's frustration at his emasculation is palpably evident throughout his rant. Troy's assertion that these women are not looking for 'a good man' insinuates that these nameless black men are not good for these women; they are drug-dealers with the women being helpless drug users.

5.6 Contesting legitimacy and social fears

In the extract below, Troy details his issues with religion and differences in a multicultural setting. Through an analysis of the excerpt, it becomes clear that Troy (who is Christian) has a broad cultural knowledge of history, neighbourhoods, religious practices and drug problems in Cape Town. These factors coupled with his knowledge of local slang and colloquial speech, reinforces his assertion of being an 'authentic' Capetonian.

> Troy: People are rebelling then they go sit in fuckin' church every Sunday and go sit in a fuckin' mosque every Friday…With his fez on then his a POES man, a big fuckin' POES. Such a fuckin' hypocrite…That same night his smoking buttons in the backyard in fuckin' Woodstock or he goes to steal someone's fuckin' CD player out of their car…I'm starting today to doubt if there's a fuckin' God. If there is he's probably SLEEPING 'cause with all the wrong going on and all the good people are being inflicted upon (muffled) they fuckin' kill you. They catch the guy and his out in fuckin' four years for good behaviour. The BOERE used to fuckin' hang you…They fuckin' rape a three year old child, they come chop off your fuckin' cock.

Troy draws on the three broad themes to construct his argument of the 'other' in the excerpt: (1) he problematizes the notion of religion, (2) deconstructs the image of masculinity, drugs and violence and (3) voices his (historical) idea of authority and rule of law. All of these themes are ideologically linked to legitimacy and social fears.

Troy begins his argument by drawing on the two biggest religions in Cape Town, specifically Christianity and Islam, in order to discuss the contradictions he finds in

the city. His opening statement describes the hypocritical Christian as sitting (praying) in 'fuckin' church every Sunday' and similarly, the hypocritical Muslim sitting (praying) in 'fuckin' mosque every Friday'. However, he then abandons the Christian 'other' and expands his construction of the hypocritical Muslim. Although the gender of the individual is not explicitly stated, Troy's background knowledge of the Islamic religion would be in line with the fact that it is predominantly only the Muslim men who frequent the Mosque on a Friday. Troy's mention of the 'fez' also fortifies the image of the individual as a man as only Muslim men wear the traditional fez as head gear and the women wear the head scarf or 'burka'.

Once the image of the (hypocritical) fez-wearing Muslim man is constructed it is almost immediately emasculated by the description of him being a 'poes'. This South African slang word is a vulgar term meaning 'vagina' and is often employed to mock or break down the machismo image of a man. Troy goes on to call him a 'big fuckin' POES' and a 'fuckin' hypocrite' and by doing this he simultaneously aligns femininity with duplicity and insincerity, which are traits that he himself uses for women in his life and which is discussed further. Troy also highlights the changes which emerge from day to night. The transformation from pious Muslim man during the day transforms into a nefarious 'button' smoking man at night. Under the cover of darkness, the duplicity and insincerity of the Muslim man emerges.

Troy also explicitly mentions 'Woodstock' as the place where these illicit crimes take place. This move from mosque to Woodstock moves the place of crime away from Observatory and constructs it as something that happens outside of the norm and outside of the geography of the neighbourhood. This is similar to the example above where the Nigerian taxi moved an Observatory man away from Observatory before being murdered. Once again there is a transplantation of danger from Observatory to elsewhere in the city.

Troy once again problematizes religion when declaring his growing doubt about the existence of God being attributed to "… all the wrong going on and all the good people are being inflicted upon". The use of the word 'inflicted' positions these nameless villains as having power over the weaker 'good' people. He situates the problem as having to do with a larger state law which allows for inmates to have their

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sentences reduced with good behaviour. Present-day petty theft and crime is later contrasted with the image of a 'safer' and more regulated time during apartheid. This assertion is seen when Troy declares: 'The BOERE used to fuckin' hang you'. The term 'BOERE' was one given to White (largely Afrikaans police officers mainly during apartheid). The mention of 'hanging' was used to create an image of these law enforces dispensing 'justifiable punishment'.

Troy completes his assertion of a more regulated and fair system when he declares '….[when] they fuckin' rape a three year old child, they [Boere] come chop off your fuckin' cock'. The graphic punishment 'chop off your fuckin' cock' is probably an exaggeration on Troy's behalf, but the employment of which performs two uses. Firstly, the effectiveness of apartheid police officers is emphasized and secondly the final emasculation of the wicked male wrongdoer is effected through castration. The link between 'poes' 'rape' and 'cock' speak to the defiling of the weaker (children and women) group in society by the dominant and violent 'coloured' or Muslim male. White police officers are seen as champions against violence and distributors of fair and just retribution.

5.7 Contesting social normativities

Neil is a white South African male in his late-thirties who works and lives in Observatory. He discusses differences in social practices and perception of violence as indicative of the construction of a violent 'other'. Below is an excerpt wherein Neil uses an example of child rape to construct the violent male 'other'.

> You read in the paper a child got raped or something like that and when you read you find that SEVEN guys [committed rape], now – that were involved erm I've got seven friends, imagine me saying [to] seven friends, 'okay I want to attack that – guy', my friends will tell 'you drunk or something?' so I- there is something out of balance, in our society.
> [Emphasis added]

The matter of gender once again emerges as a central theme when constructing the 'other' and speaks to differences in cultural groups in contemporary South African society as a whole. Although the gender of the child is not mentioned it is often assumed that child rape by multiple male perpetrators is carried out on females, but this is not always the case. The large number of male perpetrators is emphasized in

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the sentence: 'you find that SEVEN guys [committed rape]...' and illustrates the disbelief of such a large number of men committing this heinous crime. He declares: "…imagine me saying [to] seven friends, 'okay I want to attack that – guy', my friends will tell 'you drunk or something?' Neil draws a comparison wherein violence (towards another man) would be seen as completely irrational in his social circle. Neil's moral centre here is clearly defined as one wherein violence is against the norm. His deliberate replacement of 'guy' instead of 'child' is a distancing strategy from the severe violent act of child rape.

It is a commonly-held misconception that sexual relations with a child can cure HIV or Aids. This belief has had a number of devastating effects on the social fabric of communities in South Africa and has been documented by many reports in the media. This is considered by Neil as a culturally-rooted belief in the African culture. However, the devastating emergence of AIDs is a recent phenomenon which cannot plausibly be tied to the longstanding traditions within African culture. Essentially, this implied that Neil (as a White guy) is challenging his perceived socio-cultural beliefs of a black 'other'.

Delving further into differences in social norms, Neil provides an interesting view of the changing social setting and culture of the neighbourhood. Having served the army for many years, this business owner had endured and witnessed horrific violence in Angola where he was sent at the age of seventeen. His thoughts about race, apartheid, Observatory and interracial relationships are intertwined with his fascination with African art and culture and restoration.

> I would catch a train from Kenilworth or Wynberg station for extra lessons in Mowbray, [I was] nine or ten years old, I haven't really looked at the – maybe the trains that go – maybe its still in the non-euro- white area-coloured areas, it's still [safe] to walk young children, but then you see all these attacks also come, I don't remember those attacks when I were kids, erm all these murder and kids and stuff, so I think there's something seriously wrong…

In the above excerpt we see a correlation between safe travelling as a young child during apartheid and the dangers which now exist for children since the abolishment

of apartheid laws. He self-corrects when inadvertently referring to 'coloureds' as 'non-Europeans'. 'Non-Europeans' was a term given to all non-whites in South Africa during the early years of apartheid. This slip confirms the position Neil occupied during apartheid, which encompasses both his experience as an army recruit as well as a white person.

Neil is a living contradiction and he oscillates between being a soldier in the army and having to have killed black people to being a humanitarian and lover of black culture. He epitomizes the struggle many white South Africans have in which they acknowledge the wrongs of the past, but feel that they were helpless to stop it. For this reason, he feels that apartheid should not be employed as an excuse for the lives that people now have and believes himself to be one that is situated on the 'periphery'. This sentiment is palpable when he declares:

> Everyone says like 'apartheid made me stupid' er 'I can't earn money', 'they didn't teach me anything' and to me its just all bullshit, you can blame apartheid for a lot, er a lot of it I have got no basically no education, okay I might have had a mother and father at home, but I didn't have - both my parents were erm basically orphans, my mom's mother died when she was twelve, my father's father died when he was fifteen and erm there was no love in our family - put it that way, I don't remember my mom ever hugging me or my father ever hugging me, maybe late in life and they probably never got when they were kids so erm we might've had, we stayed four kids in a bedroom, so we might have had a home to go to and food and clean clothes etcetera etcetera but erm my mom had six children in total but only four lived, but I was a boy and that and I were forgotten about, so most of the time my mom didn't know what was going on with me, I were always beaten up and fighting.

Neil draws many parallels between the hardships he endured as a dyslexic, unloved child that was forced into the army to that of the difficulties faced by coloured or black people who similarly had not had a stable home life or profited from a good education. This indignant view puts forth a perspective of apartheid as having had far-reaching affects on the white community, the same as on the black and coloured communities. By constructing himself as another victim of apartheid (alongside blacks and coloured), he situates himself as a legitimate member of the nation through shared suffering. Through Neil's bald-faced construction of his own tragic history (forced army service and lonely childhood), he imagines himself to be a legitimate member of the South African nation.

5.8 Multiculturalism and slippery terminology

Analysis into just how people discuss the diversity or multiculturalism of the neighbourhood reveals the ever-present monolingual and monocultural sensitivity of the topic. In an excerpt of a conversation with a South African and 'coloured' boerewors (sausage roll) seller in Observatory, the trickiness associated with talking about diversity or multiculturalism emerges. Below is her answer to whether she believes Observatory is in fact a multicultural neighbourhood:

> Rhoda: erm multicultural yes there's actually more … what is that word? More foreigners?
> Amina: Ja
> Rhoda: There's a lot of foreigners here
> Amina: From which countries?
> Rhoda: Erm Congo, not so much Congo, but Kenya and erm [to sister] van waar is is is erm nie die een van Congo [from where is is erm no the one from Congo] [trails off in conversation with sister]
> Sister: Nigeria?
> Rhoda: Nigeria
> Amina: Nigerians okay, and Zimbabweans?
> Rhoda: Erm no I think there's like more a cha- different about them – no its more Nigerian, you can see the behaviour is more=
> Amina: Explain to me, what do you mean, what's the difference?
> Rhoda: No, I don't want to go into it 'cos otherwise its gonna sound like I'm … but there's more cultures you know what I mean, they they they more=
> Amina: Their attire, their clothes, or the way they speak?
> Rhoda: The way they speak, the way they address people, there's a subtle way of of of making you feel more comfortable, you know and they they-when they speak to one another but otherwise the Zimbabweans are more well, LOUD that's it
> Amina: [laughs] And what other sort of foreigners do you get here?
> Rhoda: Pardon?
> Amina: What other foreigners, from which other countries?
> Rhoda: Ooh yene erm… we don't actually get a lot of them here, here by us, just the normal locals you get here [long pause] must be so careful with what TERMS you use
> Amina: [laughs]
> Rhoda: You know what I mean!
> Amina: I know it's er, I know=
> Rhoda: We we actually work with all sorts here and I've never been racist or anything I look at this one person and I don't see the colour of your skin, but erm are their people from oversees …

From the first line, it becomes clear that Rhoda associated multiculturalism with 'foreigners', a term that she herself is hesitant to use. She is hesitant to use the term multiculturalism as she erroneously associates it with Black (African) 'foreigners' and

hence with race. Throughout her answer she avoids racializing people by markedly not using the term 'black'. Her confusion over the specific country of origin (from Congo to Kenya and finally Nigeria) highlighted her unfamiliarity with the different foreign black nationalities in Africa. Like many others interviewed she also makes reference to locals and the 'other'. She also illustrates her (lack of) knowledge of different cultures through differentiation of subtle socio-cultural nuances when she says: 'The way they speak, the way they address people, there's a subtle way of of of making you feel more comfortable, you know and they they - when they speak to one another but otherwise the Zimbabweans are more well, LOUD that's it'. In this extract Nigerians are singled out as smooth talkers with the speaker hesitant to even discuss the ethnic group and is contrasted with the neutral attitude attributed to Zimbabweans who are simply 'loud'.

Furthermore, Rhoda conjures an image in which multiculturalism comes from 'out there in Africa' to destabilize the (which posits an image of an already) homogenous rainbow nation of South Africans. She explicitly states her unwillingness to be drawn into direct conversation about diversity and on occasion tries to avoid the topic altogether, when she says:
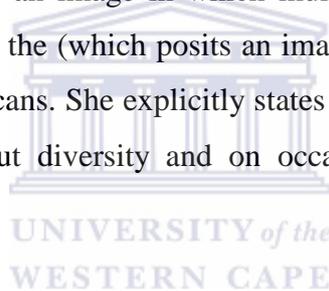
> "what is that word? More foreigners…No, I don't want to go into it 'cause otherwise its gonna sound like I'm …Ooh yene [oh geez]…must be so careful with what TERMS you use…I've never been racist or anything I look at this one person and I don't see the colour of your skin…"

It is important to note that the term 'foreigners' here is employed only when discussing blacks from different parts of Africa. This strategy is similar to the way the term 'foreign national' was used to describe blacks Africans who were the target of xenophobic attacks. For Rhoda, her unwillingness to hold a conversation about foreigners may be attributed to her own engagement with racism during the years of apartheid. Her avoidance strategies may be evident of a greater dilemma in which she is trying her utmost to avoid appearing as a racist herself. Interestingly, the dismantling of apartheid did not prepare her or provide her with the vocabulary to describe the so-called "other" without being cast as an overt racist herself. Her vocabulary is still limited by the apartheid edifices that shut her out of multicultural experiences.

5.9 Summary

It is clear that the four differently imagined communities discussed above have different resources at their disposal and that contestation over territories can cross a gamut of different aspects of a community, such as gender, race, religion, social conventions and language. It is evident that there is a plurality of imaginings of Observatory occurring at any given time.

In Observatory it is evident that different places and place identities are constantly being recreated (as seen with the mobile gallery), and redefined (the emergence of the African corner), and the agendas of organized associations (OCA) are maintained and transformed with the changing social configuration. The Movement indicates the most adaptability and mobility through colonization of several spaces and technologically-related mediascapes such social networks to showcase and promote their crafts. There is a lack of communication between The Movement and the OCA which often leads to social obfuscation and suspicion between the two groups. Pertinently, both of these groups have emerged as strong social groups, each claiming to be an integral part of Observatory's hip and attractive appeal. The contestations between these two groups are discussed further in the chapter on place branding.

It appears that the homeless group has a reducing territory in LMR and their territory is being controlled by the OCA. They do not have a voice in this imagined community; albeit that they are recognized by the OCA through various initiatives and drives. The homeless practises the least amount of territoriality and have slowly decreased in numbers and visibility in Observatory.

The Movement exercises territoriality over their territory (commercial space) through effective use of social media (Facebook), innovative creation of commercial spaces (Mobile gallery) and consistently unstructured events. The OCA has the most power of all the different imagined groups. This group exercised territoriality over each of the different communities explicated here. This group identified their territory as (largely) geographically delimited. The immigrant business owners in the African Corner appear to have a great degree of problems regarding their legitimacy with their

territory largely contested by the OCA. A detailed breakdown of one specific business in the African corner is discussed in the following chapter on semiotic landscape.

Territories such as the African Corner demonstrate the settlement of socio-economic migrants that have appropriated space on LMR. The different imagined community mentioned here exemplifies the tension between legitimacy and 'otherness' and constructs Observatory as a contest space. In sum, the various discursive constructions of legitimacy and the 'other' in Observatory, as well as the different social networks revealed the workings of Observatory as a contested space in which differently imagined communities exercise their legitimacy through semiotics, language and cultural practices. Further domains of contestation are reviewed in the subsequent chapters investigating the semiotic landscape, the local junior school and the branding of Observatory.

CHAPTER SIX

Contesting Semiotic Landscapes

6.0 Introduction

Observatory's semiotic landscape has gone through many transnational changes and traces of the different languages and communities have endured on the landscape. Victorian-styled buildings and narrow roads index a bygone colonial period. Over time these buildings have become semiotically altered to reflect the burgeoning African locality which has brought about Observatory's African appeal. Due to the artistic and bohemian reputation that Observatory has also become known for, this neighbourhood has been compared to the upmarket artistic neighbourhoods of Soho in New York and Notting Hill in London. Signage on Observatory's commercial hub of Lower Main Road (LMR) is of particular interest due to its regular turnover of stores and intriguing and creative appropriation of world languages and global cuisines. Pertinently, while some studies have looked at signs on the SL as reflective of diverse linguistic repertoires (cf. Backhaus, 2007); signs on the SL can also play a symbolic role wherein appropriation, aspiration, transgression and hybridity are found to be indicators of social change. In addition, the emplacement of signs is also critical to further interpretation and examination of signs on the SL.

In the study, space, artefacts and texts are not viewed as static elements of the SL, but are mobile and constantly open to resemiotization and recontextualization. Different signs on the SL which feed into the neighbourhood's 'alternative', 'cosmopolitan', 'African' and 'edgy' feel are unpacked here. The geosemiotics (Scollon and Scollon, 2003) of signs and a critique of linguistic mapping (Backhaus, 2007), are provided below. The SL is thus analyzed in its capacity to capture the appropriation and transformation of signs in (claimed) space as they traverse through time and socio-political climates. Following Scollon and Scollon, a historical and ethnographic approach is used when analyzing signs as the motivation behind the creation of signs which could vary between *inter alia* "…geopolitical ideology, pragmatic convenience or current fashion" (2003:124). Similar to Higgins (2009) research of text documents follows an ethnographic approach wherein the interpretations of signs are viewed in relation to the perception of its authors and/or readers.

6.1 Mapping the landscape

Observatory's city planning and architecture act as the most enduring building blocks of the semiotic landscape and speaks to the colonial heritage and apartheid history of the neighbourhood. Moreover, the manner in which new shops and signage become interwoven within this century old Victorian neighbourhood emerges as a type of resemiotization of Observatory's LMR. As the graphic below shows, Observatory is situated favourably with access to the city's major highway and access to train, bus and taxis.
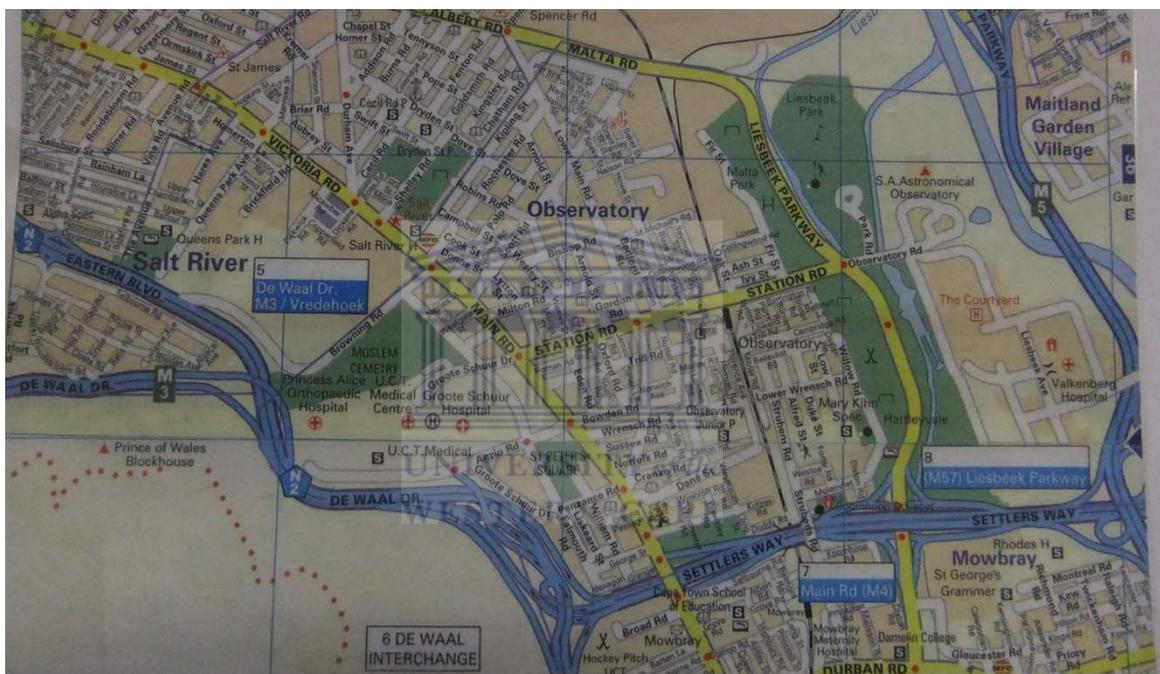
Observatory is also situated a stone's throw away from a well-known state hospital and a short stint from a prestigious Ivy League (and historically white) university. Observatory's close proximity to prestigious institutions and the efficient municipal planning identifies it as a previously-white neighbourhood during apartheid. In this way the community configuration also impacted the landscape of Observatory. In fact Montoya-Pelaez (1987) attributed gentrification in the area largely to the presence of white populace during that time and states:

> "It was assumed that this group was more responsible for gentrification, because they belong to the wealthier and more privileged sector of this

society…. In other words the [property] agents would only allow the 'white' members of the population to buy property in Observatory."

From the excerpt there is a sense that whites played a beneficial role in Observatory in that they (purportedly) positively influenced the augmentation of the area and inversely the area benefited from their presence. This belief is indicative of the apartheid indoctrination of 'white is right'. This argument speaks to the 'rightful place' of whites in affluent areas in Cape Town and is rigorously discussed in a later chapter.

Nevertheless, Observatory is still reputed to be a neighbourhood which is undergoing massive gentrification, however this time the gentrification is often attributed to it being considered 'African' and 'cosmopolitan'. These depictions of Observatory disinvest the earlier argument of 'ownership' and 'rightness' of whites in Observatory. The SL of contemporary Observatory also opens the landscape to the migration (and celebration) of Africanism.

During the British colonial period, Observatory's bond with its colonial ruler was adopted with such enthusiasm that the neighbourhood was once called "Observe-a – tory". This was a play on the Observatory residents' fervent desire to be affiliated with the British Empire during the time when Britain's conservative party 'Tory' was popular. The neologism 'Observatorian' (with its obvious link to 'Victorian') is a present-day label adopted by Observatory residents to emphasize their tie to the neighbourhood and can (to some extent) also be seen as re-affirming ties to its British heritage. This phenomenon, as well as the overall re-branding of the neighbourhood, is discussed in a later chapter.

The tapered balcony and lace-detailed poles are indicative of buildings built during the Colonial period. An example of the Victorian buildings is provided below:

Apart from the century-old Victorian buildings and Cape Dutch Villas, another enduring feature of the SL is the numerous narrow roads. Lower Main Road is characteristically commented upon by vexed drivers attempting to navigate through the narrow roads. The roads are barely big enough for two cars to pass by comfortably; however, narrow roads are not a city planning error, but rather further evidence of Observatory's early conception – a time before the invention of cars. Tenably as permanent as the buildings and roads are that of the road names which serve as navigation devices for newcomers and passers-by alike.

6.1.1 Street names as enduring relics of the SL

Another example of attempts to retain aspects of Observatory's colonial past is found when looking at street names. In Observatory (as with Cape Town's CBD), street names with evident British and Dutch origins abound. In Observatory, ubiquitous British street names such as: 'Oxford', 'London', 'Wrench', 'Sussex', 'Norfolk', 'Rochester' and 'Collingwood' still scatter the neighbourhood today. Furthermore, there are also streets which were named earlier during the time of Dutch colonialism, specifically: Bellevliet, Molenvliet and Coornhoop. Although these street names are

iconic of Observatory (and Cape Town's) dual colonial past, street signs have also been 'renamed' and recontextualized by graffiti artists:

In the graphic above, the tag 'LIFEFORCES' is seen on the road sign and is accompanied by splatters of paint and the natural wearing down of this 2009 sign. In Observatory, focus is placed on the 'cleansing' of purportedly 'unlawful' and unwanted traces of 'outsiders' (such as graffiti artists) and is discussed in a later chapter. In the graphic below the sign is seen as new and without 'graffiti' from the street pole:

Undoubtedly the most well-known and enduring remnant of colonialism can be seen at the border of Observatory and on one of the major highways in Cape Town, that of 'Liesbeek Parkway'. The word 'Liesbeek' was coined by Jan Van Riebeek and means 'sweet water' in Dutch.


Liesbeek Parkway itself has become a part of the city with it being erected on one of Cape Town's main highways (N2). These images attest to the city's colonial past and serves as navigators to the city. Their inclusion, regardless of its simplicity, remains evidence of the enduring markers of colonialism on the city.

6.2 Language choice on the SL

For the study, permanent public signs (specifically shop windows) on the busiest business stretch of LMR were captured. The choice of languages on signs (as studied here on shop signage) is one of the first steps in constructing an image of the neighbourhood. As it has been argued elsewhere, language visibility on signage is not always a key indicator of language vitality. However, it is the first step when surveying the landscape. What follows is a quantitative breakdown of the landscape which is further supplemented with a multimodal analysis.

On the commercial corridor of Observatory, a total of 63 signs was noted and tabulated in accordance with the number of languages which were solitary and those in combinations with other languages. Exploring language choice on signs offers 'surface information' as to the official look of the neighbourhood and is non-ethnographic. The graphic quantification of the linguistic configuration is provided below and offers a picture of the languages chosen on permanent public signs:

Solitary language on signs

□ English only	
■ African only	
□ European only	
□ Asian only	
■ Afrikaans only	

percentage
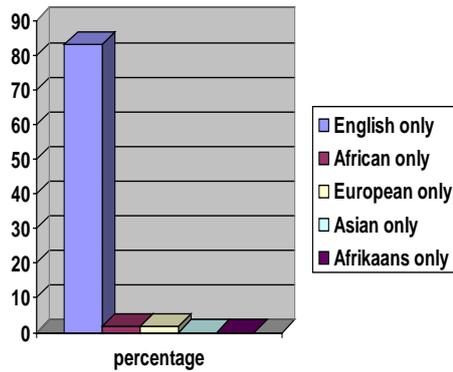
Languages combined on signs

□ English + European	
■ English + African	
□ English + Asian	
□ English + Afrikaans + African	
■ English + Afrikaans	

percentage
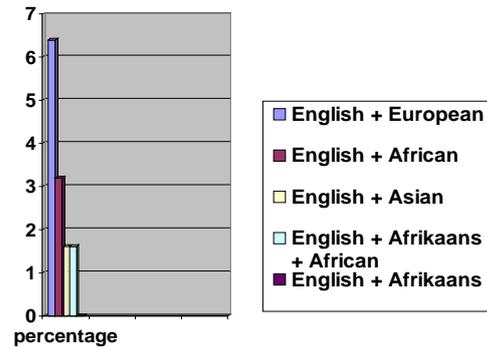
The first graph indicates signs which only have one language visible on signs and the second graph reveals languages in combination (and their frequency) on signage in Observatory. For Backhaus (2007), a sign that displays a translation or has been designed in a multilingual format is done so as to accommodate people with a foreign background. These types of signs emerge through the incorporation of homophonic and mixed signs. In Backhaus' (2007) study of Japanese signage in Tokyo, the absence of translation on signage indicates that the implied reader is Japanese. In Backhaus' case, polyphonic and monophonic signs are mainly used. From the data above homophonic signs (signs with complete translation) occur only as governmental (cautionary or instructional signs). The only homophonic sign comprising of three languages was a temporary warning construction sign (denoted by the yellow background) and an official city plaque respectively. The graphics are supplied below:

Waarskuwing
Konstruksie Terrein
Geen Ingang
Caution
Construction Area
No Entry
Isilumkiso
Akungenwa
Kontraki Iyasebenza Apha

Visitors Report to Site Office

CITY OF CAPE TOWN | ISIXEKO SASEKAPA | STAD KAAPSTAD

THIS CITY WORKS FOR YOU

The Village Green Public Open Space was officially opened
by the Chairperson of the Pinelands Subcouncil,
Alderman Brian Watkyns on 25 November 2009

Die Village Green openbare oop ruimte is op 25 November 2009 amptelik
deur die voorsitter van die Pinelands-subraad,
raadsheer Brian Watkyns geopen

Umthabalala weBala loLuntu i-Village Green wavulwa ngokusesikweni
nguSihlalo weBhungana lase-Pinelands,
Ucebakhulu u-Brian Watkyns ngowama- 25 Novemba 2009

Official signage often emerges as homophonic signs and can be seen sporadically on the SL and usually serves to indicate cautionary, informative and/or instructive services. These signs invariably include the three 'local' languages of the city and almost exclusively position English as the preferred code on these signs. Furthermore, although governmental or municipal signs index which languages may be spoken, it also symbolically represents social change as signs consisting of Xhosa or any other African language were only produced after 1994. The inclusion of all three languages has both a symbolic and indexical function. The indexical value of all three languages are evident as they are spoken in Observatory, however, the inclusion of all three languages are also seen as symbolic as they symbolize the new face of the South African government, specifically the recognition of African languages.

In the temporary construction sign the language choices are made up of standard Afrikaans, English and Xhosa. The code preference is displayed on the sign with Afrikaans (top), English (center) and Xhosa (bottom). Lou explains that "A code placed above another code is considered to be preferred as well as [a] code that appears in the center position" (2007: 178). The top half of the sign displays three official languages, with English found in the center. The use of English on the bottom half of the sign is written in a bigger font and supplied additional as it fulfils a navigational purpose. In light of this assertion, English is seen as the preferred code as it occupies the complete bottom half of the sign.

The second sign is a governmental sign which was erected in the Village Green in commemoration of those that died in the Second World War. The language choices are once again representative of the three official local languages of the city; however English is this time positioned at the top, followed by Afrikaans and Xhosa. According to the graph, monophonic signs (solitary languages on signs) are largely made up of English signs and constitute 80% of signage on the SL. These signs index the vibrant usage of English for commercial signage on the SL and an examination of the variety of English ('local' or 'center' English) is examined further.

Paragraph 3-4-5
Alongside Afrikaans, Asian languages (such as Chinese, Japanese and Taiwanese) are not visible as standalone languages on signage. Although there are four Chinese restaurants on LMR their signage forms part of Backhaus' (2007) mixed signs as they

are always found in combination with one other language in particular – English. The use of English as a primary denominator is habitually attributed to it being an international language, language of business and lingua franca – which is normal of Centre- English rhetoric. However, English can also be seen as not a denominator, but rather an equalizer. This means that it plays an equal role in the importance of the particular sign. As illustrated further, the English discussed here is not typical of 'centre-English', but is one that has been localized (cf. Higgins, 2009). This means that its value as a local language can only be realized when viewed in its multilingual contexts.

Data reveals that there were no polyphonic signs (signs with languages which do not constitute mutual translations) found on the SL. Backhaus (2007) explains that these signs are directed at multiple readers and will therefore confirm the existence of a multilingual community. If the connection between polyphonic signs and multilingualism is taken as true, the lack of these signs may indicate the monolingual tendencies of this community, with specific reference to the overwhelming presence of English on the SL.

The graphs highlights the dominance of English on mixed part signs (signs made up of two or more languages). They reveal that English was *always* employed in conjunction with other languages on all of these signs. This fact establishes the saliency of (localized) English on the semiotic landscape; however it does not reveal the variety of English. Mixed signs consisting of English and European languages make up the majority of these signs with over 60%, followed by English and African languages (30%), while English and Asian languages trail behind with just over 5%.

Thus far, we have scratched the surface of language on signage, however a more in-depth examination of languages and other modes are to follow.

However it is the absence of Afrikaans and Asian monophonic signs which are of interest here. Apart from the official (governmental) Afrikaans sign, commercial Afrikaans signs have remained conspicuously absent from the SL. This invisibility of the language on the SL should however not be hurriedly attributed to its lack of vitality as street observations show that many locals speak Afrikaans every day. An

analysis of a resident's complaint below (addressed to the local OCA) highlights the still vibrant nature of Afrikaans within an intimate domain of online chat. The left column is a snippet of the post in its original form and the column on the right is the English translation. English words originally used by the author are highlighted in red.

Ek lees artikels op hierdie forum oor "noise control" en tel. no'som te bel. (Arme Insp. Nel probeer altyd help)▪ Uitgesprokenheid oor die gaos en slapelose nagte wat die OBSFEST bring.MAAR DAN KEUR ONS OPELUG-KONSERTE GOED BY 'N OCA MEETING?(Moet elke siel in OBS dan 'n "member" van die OCA wees voor hullegeld?)▪
Ek lees op hierdie forum van mense se goevoelens rondom graffiti entagging.MAAR DAN GRAFFITI (die *fok weet wie?) ONS DIE INGANG NA OBS?"Welcome ALL graffiti artists!" MI CASA, SU CASA! Feel free to *piss on my wall...Feel free to party until midnight...Feel free to drink in public...Feel free to break your bottles in the street...Feel free to keep my family awake till whenever...It's all good, because its OBS.THE LAWLESS "VILLAGE" IN CAPE TOWN. Ja ek is moerig!(...and don't dare tell me that this has nothing to do with crime...)
[name]
[adress] , *FUCKEN-OBS! [home number]excuse my language

I read articles on this forum about "noise control" and the number to call (Poor Insp. Nel always tries to help) to speak out about the chaos and sleeplessnes nights because of the Obs fesival. BUT THEN WHY DO WE APPROVE OPEN-AIR FESTIVALS AT AN OCA MEETING? (Does every soul in OBS have to be a "member" of the OCA before they get any value out of it?)▪
I always read about peoples frustrations regarding graffiti on this forum. THEN WE GRAFFITI (who the fuck knows?) THE ENTRANCE TO OBS? "Welcome ALL graffiti artists!" MI CASA, SU CASA MY HOUSE IS YOUR HOUSE! Feel free to *piss on my wall...Feel free to party until midnight...Feel free to drink in public...Feel free to break your bottles in the street...Feel free to keep my family awake till whenever...It's all good, because its OBS.THE LAWLESS "VILLAGE" IN CAPE TOWN. Yes I am pissed off!(...and don't dare tell me that this has nothing to do with crime...)
[name]
[adress] , *FUCKEN-OBS! [home number]excuse my language

The text above was found on Observatory's community web forum, and different (more vibrant) use of Afrikaans is observed. While Afrikaans is used as the primary language, it is argued that code switching between English and Afrikaans reflects a particular type of interaction –an antagonistic discourse. The complaint above was posted by a resident on the local community forum and was directed at the Observatory Civic Association (OCA). The post is written primarily in Afrikaans; however the switch back and forth between Afrikaans and English appears to index not only different codes, but also entirely different values. The author makes clear his emotions by tying the 'offensive' statement 'MI CASA, SU CASA' (loosely translated as MY HOUSE IS YOUR HOUSE) as a violation of his space in terms of sanitation (feel free to piss on my wall, feel free to break your bottles in the street) and

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propriety (feel free to party until midnight, feel free to keep my family awake till whenever) and the overall quality of life.

Therefore we see that it is not only the SL which tells us of the ecology of neighbourhood discourse. In fact what we see is a reflection of the author's linguistic value system. In other words, English appears to almost embody the negative attributes of the antagonist, depicted here as unlawful graffiti artists, noisy revellers and an uncaring community association.

6.3 Glocalization of signs and spaces

Signs which appropriate (and localize) global brands are of keen interest here as well. Below are two signs which attempt to appropriate global brand identities, specifically, 'El Fiesta' (Mexican) and 'Florentine' (Italian):
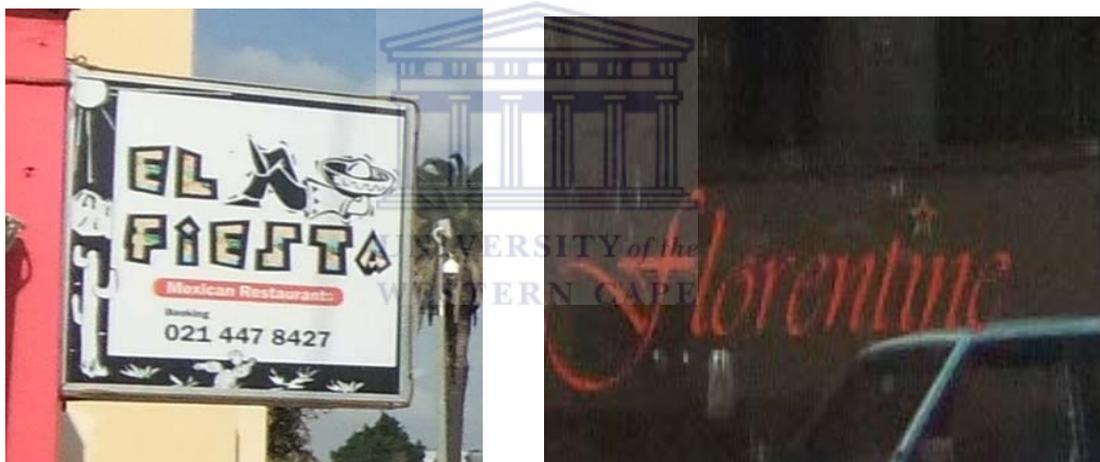
El Fiesta is both an iconic and symbolic sign. Firstly, the picture is iconic because it shows the image of a man (catching a nap) under a 'sombrero'. The wordweb defines a sombrero as 'a straw hat with a tall crown and broad brim; worn in the American southwest and in Mexico'. The image of the man is bordered by a cactus which is also symbolic of Mexico as it grows naturally in the Mexican desert. It also indexes the laid back nature of Mexican life and symbolically appropriates the Mexican brand with its particular font and language choice. The sign is written in Spanish and 'El Fiesta' means 'the festival'. In this way Mexican food indexes a much larger global brand identity and culture which is associated with Mexico.

The second sign is called 'Florentine' and is interesting as it is symbolic of the Italian renaissance period which was known as the Florentine renaissance. It is also defined by Wordweb as 'a native or inhabitant of Florence, Italy'. The star above the 'i' may represent the star of Bethlehem. Similar to 'El Fiesta', this store draws on the 'global' brand identity of Italy to sell their cuisine. The creation of these signs may be seen as an attempt to appropriate 'global' brand identities (cuisine and culture) into Observatory through distinct 'Mexican' and 'Italian' cuisine. It is the appropriation of these global brands which can also be perceived as the localization of the global. The move away from the (overtly) global signs can be seen as a localizing trend in which both the foreignness and locality of signs emerge as a simultaneous feature on the SL.

Examples of these mixed part signs can be seen with 'Pizza Fusione' and 'Café Ganesh' and are provided below:

Pizza Fusione Lounge is interesting because at first it appears as a sign consisting of two codes or languages, specifically: Italian and English. 'Pizza' is clearly an Italian word which is used regularly in South African homes; however 'fusione' which is also Italian, performs a dual function. The etymology of 'fusione' is Italian for 'fusion', 'melting' or 'merging', however it can also be read as 'fusion' with an 'e' added for flair or creative appeal. All of the observers questioned pronounced the name of the eatery as Pizza Fusion Lounge and hadn't even noticed the 'e' until specifically questioned about it.

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The 'Café Ganesh Afro-global culture and cuisine' sign is interesting as it draws on different languages (French, Hindi and English) as well as a Hindu deity to construct it's distinctly glocalized identity. The image of the elephant-deity riding a mouse is a pervasive symbol in the Hindu culture and is known as Ganesha. Although there may be different sectarian beliefs within the Hindu culture, all Hindus worship Ganesha and therefore this deity has a unifying affect across all Hindus. The placement of the Ganesha Hindu deity in the middle of a drawing of the African continent is therefore symbolic of the deity's power to unite Africa.

The link between the Hindu deity 'Ganesha' and the name of the restaurant café Ganesh is made clear. The image of the Hindu deity situated on the African continent speaks to the 'afro-global cuisine' which further exemplifies this sign as an example of glocalization. This means that the Hindu culture is touted as a part of Africa.

6.3.1 Chinese and English mixed sign

A mixed sign which consists of Chinese and English can be seen with the 'Asia Supermarket Sushi and Thai Take Away' sign below:

What is interesting about this sign is that it uses Chinese script and localized English text as well as graphic illustrations of Chinese women (not clear on this picture) when appropriating a global brand.

Although unclear on the graphic above, the windows have two large posters of traditional 'Chinese' women with long black hair and fans in their hands. These posters shape the traditional Chinese appearance that readers come to associate with Chinese stores. The colours on posters are dominated by red, black and white. This is similar to the colours used on the store sign. Pertinently, this specific colour choice is a characteristic feature of mainstream Chinese signage. The use of these traditional colours and artefacts may be considered as a strategic business tactic used to bolster its global 'brand' identity in Observatory.

Looking at the sign itself, there is an unusual combination of 'Asia' and 'Supermarket' in 'Asia supermarket' which is inconsistent with Standard English. This is because two nouns are placed side by side, which means that the noun 'Asia' is used in place of an adjective like 'Asian'. Also the word 'supermarket' is a misnomer in that the store does not supply a large variety of stock as found in conventional supermarkets. This store was only in the business of selling Asian cuisine. The type of English described here may be written off as errors and indicative of what Blommaert *et al* (2005) have called 'peripheral normativity'. However, moving beyond this (myopic) view of English as simply having 'peripheral norms' placed upon it, this study looks at English as localized by the community in which it is located. A shift away from concepts of 'peripheral normativity' and 'center English' allow signs and texts to be read in relation to their ability to reach their communicative goal as opposed to a linguistically puritanical analysis of 'error counting'.

On the sign, English is positioned in the middle and center with a Chinese inscription positioned in the left margin of the sign. Apart from language choice and code preference, text vectors also form part of the geosemiotic analysis as they point to "…the normal or conventional reading direction of text in a language" (Scollon and Scollon, 2003: 216). Here we see the reader's eye being directed from top to bottom for English and Chinese. The Chinese sign with its English text vector reading from left to right is in the traditional line of English reading vectors, while the Chinese text vector reads from top to bottom.

This sign is also interesting when looking at how it was subsequently redesigned and is provided below:

In the second version of the same store sign, the sign was once again categorized as a mixed sign because of the use of the Chinese (with 'Sushi' and 'Thai') and English (with '&'). However due to the global appropriation of 'Sushi' and 'Thai' (which has been appropriated into the English language) this sign could just have easily been categorized as a monophonic sign. This means that 'Sushi' and 'Thai' appear almost English due to its regular and commonplace use in the English language. Notwithstanding this fact, this sign revealed that novel elements of traditional Chinese signage such as symmetry and illustrations had been employed. This meant that while much of the clearly 'Chinese' indicators (such as the Chinese inscription) had been removed, the designer had found other means to stay true to the characteristics of Asian sign (such as symmetry), which will be discussed later on.

The most glaring difference between the first and second sign could be seen with the reduction of words on the sign and the change in colour. Words on the sign were reduced from seven (Asia Supermarket Sushi and Thai Take Away) to three (Sushi and Thai). There is also a complete erasure of the Chinese inscription originally placed on the left margin of the sign. Here the words 'Sushi' and 'Thai' were retained from the original sign. Colours on the sign no longer followed the well known 'traditional' black and red, but rather included bright red and neon green. The effects of these changes are twofold: (1) the sign is 'uncluttered' and visually more prominent and (2) the sign appears more sophisticated and global. Apart from the sign

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itself, the windows of the shop had changed, with misted glass replacing the previous traditional Chinese poster used earlier.

Elements which reveal 'locality' can be seen with the employment of symmetry on Chinese signage (cf. Lou, 2007). On the sign, the positioning of the two words 'sushi' and 'Thai' are located diagonally across from one another, with each side taking up an equal amount of space. Symmetry is also further emphasized with each half of the sign filled squarely with two different colours. In addition, the two illustrations of flowers (with 'Sushi') and temple (with 'Thai') are also located diagonally across from each other which further emphasize symmetry. In essence, while there is evidence of this sign appropriating a global brand (through word reduction and erasure of Chinese script), it has also simultaneously managed to maintain a sense of locality through symmetry.

As seen below, the latest remodelling of the sign reveals the identity of the owner 'Mr Lin' as well as the re-inclusion of the Chinese script:

What is interesting about this sign is that the inclusion of the Chinese script is used in a symmetrical fashion, with it flanking 'sushi and Thai'. The fonts are also unusual with 'Mr Lin's' written in a more romantic font which contrasts with the block font used for 'Sushi and Thai'.

The first sign above shows that 'mixed signs' displaying English and Chinese do not reveal much about the variety of English employed. Also, while the second sign may appear (largely) monophonic, new and implicit forms of locality may exist which cannot be tabulated quantitatively.

As mentioned elsewhere, there is a keen desire to retain the heritage of the colonial past through the maintenance of the Victorian architecture in LMR. Notwithstanding these attempts at maintenance of a colonial past, there is also evidence that some buildings have been semiotically altered to reflect the African locality wherein they are now found. The deliberate Africanization of shop signs are discussed when looking at the four shop signs. Below are two graphics of Kilimanjaro store in Observatory:

The 2009 'Kilimanjaro' shop front displays an interesting slogan - 'back to basics' above a volcano. The words 'back to basics' imply a return to the simplicity and essentiality of the past. Pertinently, this desire to return to the basics refers to an African past and not a colonial one. The colours of the shop are imbued with natural browns, orange and green. However, in 2010 the shop owner changed the sign to a more colourful and detailed design as seen on the right graphic. Although the image of a volcano is maintained on both shop signs, the shop name re-emerges as a bright yellow and red hand painted sign. The typical beige and brown is removed, however, the African image is still visible through the display of African artefacts (dream

catcher and African clothes). The shop has therefore had a facelift, but still maintains a distinct African appeal.

Below is another example of an 'African' store named specifically 'Mnandi Textiles and Design'. The shop name reveals signs of multivocality (cf. Higgins, 2009) which draws on the use of an African language alongside the syncretic features of mixed languages on signs:


'Mnandi Textiles and Design' is of sociolinguistic and sociocultural interest as it draws on African culture, the syncretic nature of bivalent languages and the 'bricolage effect' (mixture or addition of an assortment of different African parts that constitute an amalgam of Africanness).

The etymology of the name 'Mnandi' is derived from the Xhosa language meaning 'nice'. Mesthrie (1995) posits that Mnandi may be a Xhosa name which emerged through a cultural practice known as Hlonipha. "Hlonipha refers to the avoidance, by married women of any syllables that occur in their in-laws [name]" (Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert and Leap, 2009: 217). This means that a name like Nonayisi, with a source word of 'nice', would then have the equivalent of 'Mnandi' in Xhosa (cf. Mesthrie, 1995).

The shop name therefore consists of the Nguni (Xhosa) word 'Mnandi' and three English words, specifically 'Textiles and Design'. The English used here exhibits centrifugal tendencies as it does not conform to the grammatical principle of

utilization of apostrophes to signal possession, such as 'Mnandi's textile and design'. In this way, and as seen with the earlier analysis of the 'Asia Supermarket Sushi and Thai Take-away' shop sign, English also appears to have been localized. At this point, the sign does appear to draw on South African Africanism. However, multivocality of the shop sign (as harnessing an assortment of African semiotics), is made apparent when looking at the shop sign *in relation to* the rest of the shop window.

On either side of the shop name there is an African mask. However, the origins of the flanking masks is somewhat peculiar in that these masks are not typically found in South Africa and are in fact endemic to South-central and West Africa. In the same way, the African dresses displayed in the windows are not typically Xhosa attire; instead it appears to be more reminiscent of dresses and 'chitenje' or 'Kitenge' material found in South-central and East Africa respectively. " Kitenge (vitenge is the Swahili plural) is made of cotton fabric with wax print. It is very popular in East Africa. The beauty of kitenge is that it is known as a textile that tells stories. This can be achieved through colour (kitenge is often multicolored), shapes and patterns. The kitenge can represent a cultural background, a social position, or just a mood and a feeling …" http://www.adeledejak.com/blog/?p=90.

The bottom of the shop is painted in colourful earthy shapes and designs which are atypical Xhosa artistry. Instead these paint designs and colours are reminiscent of the Ndebele tribe which habitually adorn their huts in Transvaal in South Africa as well as Zimbabwe. An example of the artwork can be seen when looking at the original paintwork of an Ndebele house, as seen below:

"Traditionally, muted earth colours, made from ground ochre, and different natural-coloured clays, in white, browns, pinks and yellows, were used. Black was derived from charcoal. Today, bright colours are the order of the day." http://www.krugerpark.co.za/africa_ndebele.html. Nevertheless, it is not uncommon to find 'modern colours' such as blue, green and red also employed. Therefore 'Mnandi Textile and Design' appears to have used some modern colours while still remaining true to the basic linear lines associated with Ndebele paintwork.

Most notably, the varying African artefacts seen here (such as masks, dresses and colours) may be viewed as a melange of South African and African cultures and symbols. The emplacement of two South African flags one beneath the other may index solidarity with the host country. In addition there appears to be an overlapping and blending of African cultures and symbols. Indeed, all the many vibrant and diverse African cultures appear to be grouped together, at once encapsulating the essence of the entire African continent in a single space. What we see here is a blending of a smorgasbord of 'Africanness' from all over the continent with the combination of which may be sold as a hybridized local Africa store.

While the previous African signs discussed above indexed Africanness through semiotic and linguistic appropriation, the next African sign is more explicit of its appropriation of Africannes. The sign below is taken outside an internet café in LMR and is called 'African Access Internet Cafe':

The name of the shop sign is 'African Access Internet Café' and can also be categorized as an example of a mixed sign. This time the mixed sign is made up of English and French. However, like 'sushi' and 'Thai', the word 'café' has also been appropriated into the English vernacular. This means that this sign could also be categorized as a monophonic sign as it is only made up of English words. By not accenting the 'e' in 'café' the sign appears to be made more of (localized) English than a mixed sign

The sign shows a map of the African continent beneath the word 'African' on the left side. On the right, there is a @ symbol which denotes technology and the World Wide Web. Beneath the graphic, we see the word 'access', which may be understood in terms of internet access, but also access into the world of Africa. The colours used in this sign are not consistent with the natural hues employed in other African signs on LMR. Instead, the bright blue, red and white colours of this sign are indicative of normal commercial colours i.e. American flag, Microsoft and IBM. The lack of African colours on the sign may have been negated by the explicit use of the word 'African' and the image of an African continent. Pertinently the words 'internet cafe' are more prominent as they are afforded more space and a bigger font printed in capitals. The emphasis of the sign is therefore drawn more to its indexical value as an internet cafe and less to the emblematic function of it being an 'African Internet cafe'.

The emplacement of the mural straight ahead of the 'African Access' sign enhances the African image of the internet café. It was unclear whether the mural was commissioned by African Access. However, if this was to be found to be true then it would reinforce a distinct African ambience.

On entry into African Access the African mask on the back wall is another explicitly African artefact which is atypical of South African culture. These types of masks are readily reminiscent of 'tribal' South-Central and West African masks. However, although this store has put a lot of effort into creating an African image, the emplacement of the advertisement board at the entrance of the internet shop displays only European and Asian flags and appears to 'sell' Africa as a 'cheaper' option than Europe.

The board reads:

> Call anyone in: Switzerland, Hong Kong, New Zealand, Spain, United Kingdom, United States on their landline and pay 65c…per minute!

Rationally, one can deduce that a large number of customers at African Access are European and are residing in Observatory and experiencing 'Africa' in LMR. Although any tourist experience comes at a price this experience of Africa as displayed on the sign board emphasizes the affordability of calling from Africa.

Therefore, Observatory's 'Africanness' is seen as a commercial selling point in which the rainbow nation is positioned (and sold) cheaply by African Access.

Nevertheless, while it is clear that some transnational groups celebrate their Africanness and use it as a marketing strategy; other transnational groups appear to shy away from the overt use of African signs altogether. An example of a group that obviates from displaying their Africanness is that of the Somali store in LMR. Unlike the other African groups mentioned above, the Somali shop employs no African images or languages. Below is a graphic image of the Somali-owned shop on LMR, named Viv Supermarket:

Figure 4: Viv Supermarket

The shop store above is called 'Viv Supermarket' and unlike many other shops in LMR, which painstakingly customize the design of their stores to project a clearly African image, no such attempt was made by this Somali business owner. In fact there is nothing in the design of the shop windows or signage which makes this store stand out. Whereas previous signage shows Africanness being celebrated in Observatory, the exterior of this shop appears to be unmarked by any African signage, art and texts.

The exterior of the shop does however show evidence of transnational identity markers and is discussed later.

The Coca-Cola branding coupled with the sign 'Airtime sold here' are all generic signs. The sign on the right of the entrance reading 'super' and 'market' was pasted over the previous owner's paintwork. The previous store was called 'INDULGE' and the 'I' and 'N' from 'INDULGE' can still partly be seen on the right-hand side of the shop door. The words 'super market' is used in the same way as in the earlier Asian sign discussed previously. Once again the use of 'super market' here is a misnomer as a supermarket is very big and stocks a vast supply of stock. However, the owner may have chosen to separate the words strategically so as to emphasize how 'super' his market was.

This 'supermarket' is better described as a small convenient store, stocking essential groceries, airtime and cigarettes. On the one hand, the store may be perceived as lacking planning or creativity on behalf of the shop owner. However, on the other hand, the lack of personalization of the store may itself be regarded as a keen business strategy. With the store situated amongst the gaily painted and intriguing shop fronts of LMR, the business owner appears to rely on the world-renowned Coca Cola branding to propel it from obscurity, whilst performing a dual function of concealing its Somali identity from the landscape. This may seem paradoxical, but unlike brand association (association with a brand so as to enhance one's own personal brand), this type of branding can be understood as 'brand anonymity', a neologism which combines the association with a brand so as to conceal a supererogatory facet of one's personal makeup.

Notwithstanding the clear flouting of personalizing commercial signage design on LMR, 'VIV Supermarket' does indeed practice territoriality of its space as seen on entry into the store. A graphic of the interior of the shop is supplied

below:

Once again the shop owner did not remove the previous owner's paintwork which can still be seen when looking at the pink paintwork that lines the windows. The emplacement of a TV above the exit to the store is the act of territoriality as it plays Islamic videos. Pertinently, the emplacement of the TV is positioned for the viewing of the cashier and not the customers. The creative placement of a TV bunny antenna on top of a used coffee container is also unusual in Observatory, as most stores, restaurants and pubs try their utmost to conceal their fittings and fixtures.

In many ways the Somali shop flouts normalized commercial strategies (such as *inter alia* the customizing of a brand, removal of previous owner's shop décor and the concealment of wires and fixtures) when appropriating global brands in LMR. In due large part to these idiosyncratic commercial divergences, the Somali shop does indeed localize the landscape through their use of creative and elementary business strategies.

6.4 Transborder flows in the African Corner

Apart from shop fronts windows and signage which celebrates or detaches themselves from their African ties, there are also notices found in and around these stores which indicate the presence and mobility of African artefacts, culture and language. Below are two very different advertisements, the first is an advertisement for an upcoming party and the other an obituary notice. While disregarding the dissimilarity in content

and style of these notices, their placement and their audience creates an image of a wide transnational community that is moving past transnational boundaries and highlights the mobility and recontextualization of language, dance and culture in Observatory.

Below is a graphic image of a notice found in the African Corner of Observatory, promoting an upcoming Congolese party in LMR. What is interesting about this particular advert is that it was the only explicitly African poster to be advertised in this manner on LMR. The notice itself is written in French and English and is a celebration of the 50th anniversary of independence from Belgium.

Advertisement 1: The 'Debout Congolais' party

The caption reads: *The "Debout Congolais" Party for the 50th Anniversary of the Republic of Congo.* A 'debout congolais party' translates into 'Congolese, get up party' and would have appeared as if geared solely for Congolese partygoers if it were not for the end which states: 'all nationalities welcomed'. The purpose of the notice is to celebrate 50 years of independence of DRC with people from all nationalities. The use of both English and French can be also seen as a linguistic strategy in which a

wide net of readers can be reached, which corroborates the explicit mention of 'all nationalities welcomed'. Drawing again on Backhaus' (2007) differentiation of signage, there are two examples of homophonic signs (signs with complete translation) occurring within the notice. In particular, commercially expected tidbits cleverly added to appeal to both English and French-speaking partygoers emerge in the form of 'female allure' and 'prizes or competition. These homophonic signs are specifically: (1) 'Girls will be going wild' followed by the French translation: 'Elles vont tout enleve' and (2) 'Dress to impress, there will be a prize for the best-dressed guy and the sexyest couple' followed by the French translation: 'Des pris a gagner: le plus grand sapeur, et le couple le plus sexy'.

Neither French nor English is considered to be the more dominant of the two languages used on this sign. Like the interplay between Afrikaans and English in an earlier example, these two languages do not stand as autonomous systems. The placement of English words and phrases followed by the French translation indicates that English may not necessarily be understood by the audience. Also, the adjectival phrase 'le couple le plus sexy' also shows the incorporation of English as the word 'sexy' has become appropriated into French. This is similar to the previous example which revealed the appropriation of the French word café into English.

The transnational celebration of independence of the DRC has effectively crossed borders into South Africa. The use of French and English on the sign is somewhat paradoxical in that they both shared a common colonial role in the DRC and South Africa respectively. Nevertheless, it is clear that French still holds a high status in the DRC and is continuously used in schools. For Leitch "[T]here are definite associations of status, prestige, and sophistication attached to French usage. It speaks of an individual's education and ambition. In general, the Congolese are proud of their reputation for a superior level of French usage and their strong historical ties with France. There is, as well, an inherent negative symbolic element related to foreign domination and oppression, which becomes especially important in the context of defining national identity in a post-colonial era. The extreme attractiveness of French is held in check by this negative factor" (2005:5). Here we see the use of French in the DRC being tied to France, however the Congolese speak French due to

the Belgian colonial linkages. The celebration of independence can nevertheless intimate the claiming to a French identity as an integral part of a liberated identity.

When looking at the middle bottom section of the notice there is one text section on the sign which is written exclusively in French. The extract is positioned at the bottom of the notice and is framed by black text, the original French text and an English translation is supplied below:

Original message:
"congolais, debout
fieremment, partout
proclammons, l'union
de notre, nation
oublions. ce qui nous divise"
Faisons la fete
LE SAMEDI 14 AOUT 2010
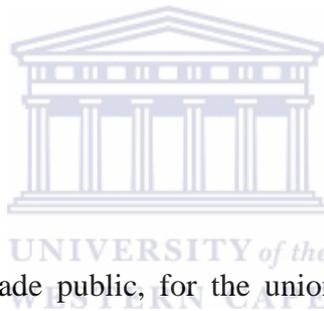
Translation:
'Congolese get up (party) made public, for the union of our forgotten nation that (previously) divided us
Partake in the festival
Saturday 14 August 2010'

This text stands apart from the conviviality and frivolity of the rest of the poster (which mentions women and competitions) and instead directs the (French) reader to the real motivation behind the party, one that is 'proudly Congolese' and patriotic. This indicates that the notice fulfills two objectives: firstly to advertise a party, secondly (and more importantly), to celebrate a specifically Congolese celebration of independence.

The use of English may fulfil more of a communicative goal as it is the lingua franca in South Africa and will therefore ensure that 'non-Congolese/ non-French speaking' partygoers would also understand the sign. Intriguingly, Lingala (which is a language of wider communication and interethnic lingua franca in Congo), is not found on this

sign. Leitch illuminates the salience of Lingala to Congolese people as it being affiliated with "…strong connotations of Africanism, nationalism, and loyalty to the state that are important to understand. To speak Lingala is to identify with the nation-building process and political development of the country" (2005:5). Similarly, in Vigouroux's study "…Lingala asserts a symbolic territory, in the sense of belonging in a particular culture, the urban culture of Kinshasa, with everything associated with it" (2005: 247). Thus, the implications of non-use of Lingala by others could symbolically imply that French is establishing a certain degree of credibility as a localized language – a language of nation building and freedom.

The employment of French and English, pictures of the women, 'mapuka action' as well as '50 years of independence' is all considered to be semiotic material which dialogically construct each other. Agha asserts that the term 'dialogic' refers to more than the nature of dyadic conversation and "…describes any structure of entextualization that juxtaposes images of speaker-actor as contrasting with or appearing to react against each other" (2005: 38).

Apart from the language use discussed above, an eye-catching aspect of the notice is that it is made up of the bright colours, specifically: green, yellow and red as well as the image of three women provocatively positioned with their enlarged rear ends facing the reader. This is not a solely suggestive position, but is actually speaking to the texts 'mapuka action' and 'girls will be going wild'. This sign is exophoric in that it indexes "something outside the text" (Scollon and Scollon, 2003: 153), specifically 'mapuka', which indexes a cultural dance endemic to Cote d'Ivoire in West Africa. 'Mapuka' is an anglicized form of the full wording of 'Mapouka'. The omission of the 'o' in 'mapouka' is usually found on online sources in combinations with music (Hip Hop Mapuka), dance 'Mapuka booty shake' and a 'Mapuka Facebook'. Mapouka is also known as 'Macouka' or 'La dense du fessier' which is translated into English as 'the dance of the behind (buttocks)'. Mapouka is a traditional dance with its roots in the South-east of Cote d'Ivoire and refers to a mating dance which has existed for over centuries.

Akindes (2002) explains that Mapouka is an integral part of Ivorian culture and is deemed as an inherent part of the heritage of Cote d'Ivoire. Migration and the internet

have seen this dance becoming increasingly popular in music videos and nightclubs on a global scale. The traditional mapouka dance involves the enthusiastic gyrating of a woman's bottom without moving the hips and with her head away from the audience. Its popularity has evolved into a much more extreme dance form wherein women dance nearly completely nude and has been recontextualized in pornography. Pertinently, this cultural dance form has crossed borders both in print, but more so through digital recontextualization as online pornographic material. This recontextualization from 'mapouka' (as a cultural dance) to 'mapuka' (as pornographic material) has found its (new) home in clubs and Hip Hop music.

While women in the pornography industry are often the subject of sexual dominance by males, Akindes contrastingly argues that the traditional mapouka values women through "…the reaffirmation of local aesthetics that does not show preference for slim women" (2002:100). However, the hybrid form of 'mapuka' and 'action' (which can be read as both French and English) positions sexuality ambivalently in that it may be argued that both men and women are positioned in a highly sexualized way. Women are positioned as the initiators of the sexual display and (in fact) are the only ones that can carry out the dance moves. This means that men may be seen in a weak position resulting in them being drawn to this particular party. Another gender disparity can be seen by the allocation of prizes, with one prize for the 'best dressed guy and the sexyest couple'. The fact that there is no 'best dressed woman' category could suggest two things (1) women may not be portrayed as strong enough or important enough to warrant an individual merit or (2) women generally outperform men in that category and therefore do not need or want such a category. It also implies that men may arrive on their own, but women would come with a partner in tow. The 'sexyest' couple also reinforces a typical image of heterosexual couples as opposed to gay or lesbian couples. The combination of provocatively positioned women, 'mapuka action', the inferior positioning of men, and the omission of a 'best dressed woman' category may suggest that traditional African (and Congolese) socially accepted dynamics of men and women relationships are, through images and text in this notice, further recontextualized.

In continuation to the previous poster, this second notice is also an example of one which shows the contextualization and crossing of national borders. Specifically, the

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notice below is one that conveys the wake-keeping details of a young Nigerian woman. This notice was placed outside a club in the 'African corner':

Advertisement 2: Obituary announcement

Although this notice is written in English, there are several features of the sign which show that this notice has larger transnational ties. The original message is as follows:
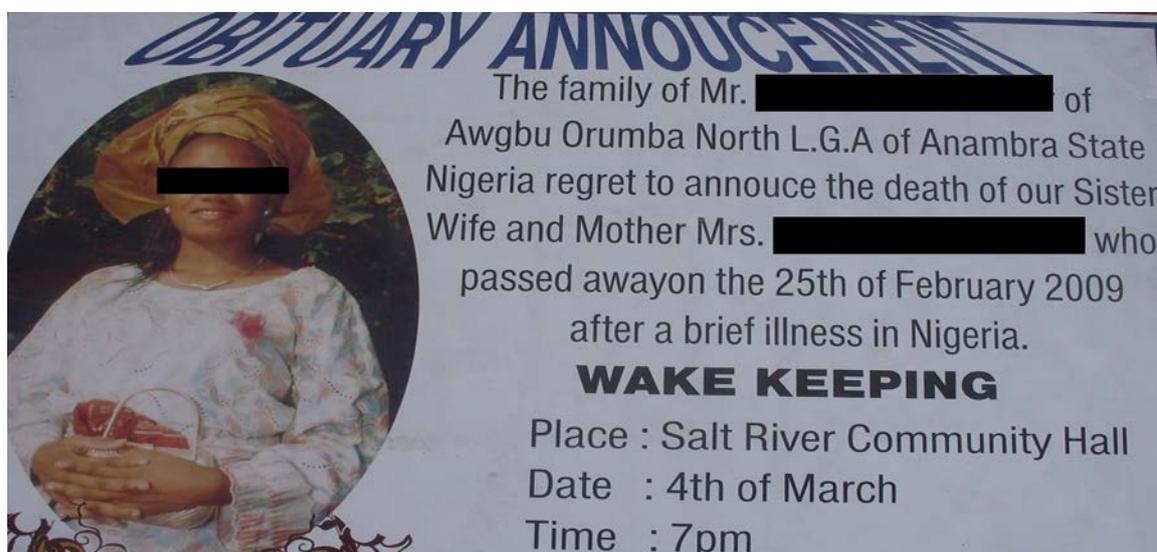
Obituary annoucement
The family of Mr. [NAME] of
Awgbu Orumba North L.G.A of AnambraState
Nigeriaregret to announce the death of our Sister,
Wife and Mother Mrs. [NAME] who
Passed awayon the 25 of February 2009
after a brief illness in Nigeria
WAKE KEEPING

Place: Salt River Community Hall
Date: 4th of March
Time: 7pm

Blommaert *et al* (2005) use the notion of 'peripheral normativity' to understand localized use of English which habitually have orthographic errors (such as 'annoucement' instead of 'announcement') and minor typos (such as 'awayon' instead of 'away on') in the notice. The argument over which 'norms' are being used is debatable and it has already been established that English can be localized and therefore would not conform to 'center English'.

Interestingly, although an image of the woman that passed away is clearly presented on the notice, it is the framing of the woman intertextually which is of keen interest. The deceased woman is introduced through her husband, region, state, country and relation as 'sister', 'wife' and 'mother' before being identified by her married status as: 'Mrs [name]'.

Additional information such as 'Awgbu Orumba North L.G.A of Anambra State Nigeria' is important as it tells 'insider' information regarding language spoken (Igbo), ethnicity of residents with (over 70% being Igbo) and government state location (South Eastern part of Nigeria). LGA stands for Local Government Area and is administered by a Local Government Council which oversees specific functions as per the Nigerian constitution. "Orumba Local Government Area is home to some of Nigeria's distinguished personalities spanning the academia, politics, and corporate world" http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orumba_North , accessed 9 October 2011

This information tells us that the expected reader would not only be knowledgeable of Nigeria and therefore probably Nigerians themselves, but also cognisant of the social class and prestige of the deceased. Pertinently, the image of the Nigerian (both author and reader) is quite unlike the common discursively constructed one. This obituary notice, with its wake-keeping writing conventions and framed picture of the deceased demonstrates the translocation or mobility of cultural attributes across regional and national borders. This notice provides insight into Nigerian culture which does not fit with the stereotypical 'bad African' reputation discussed previously. This notice shows characteristics of Nigerian people being affiliated with familial or grieving practices of Nigerian quotidian life. This picture therefore shows aspects of Nigerian cultural attributes which are antithetical to the habitual underworld associations which are regularly attributed to Nigerians.

The placement of this sign in the African corner of Observatory indicates that there are indeed (Nigerian) people of interest that may well know the deceased, or the family and would find it pertinent to attend. The notice indicates that the wake-keeping itself would take place outside of Observatory. This notice therefore performs a navigational function. Notices like the two analysed above show the permeability of

man-made transnational borders as well as the different contextualization which occur in the process of crossing these boundaries.

6.5 Appropriation and transformation: Case of Ezithebeni Braai Lounge

The manner in which discourse, identities and interaction influence space is observed through an analysis of a particular 'black' club in Trump Towers, also known as 'the African corner'. This area has been labelled by some as 'the African corner', due to the vast number of Black patrons and businesses. Over a three-year period, Ezithebeni Braai Lounge displayed an abundance of sociolinguistic transformation on its signage which is linked to the appropriation and transformation of their territory. The manner in which this club constructs its Africanness and performs its territoriality is analysed here. The 'African corner' is situated at the end of LMR and Trill road in the Trump Towers, graphics of which are supplied below:

At the beginning of the study, 'Ezithebeni Braai Lounge' captured interest as the only shop on LMR which incorporated the three official languages of the city. This means that it was the only sign on LMR which showcased English, Afrikaans and Xhosa. The sign and space became even more intriguing as time passed and with each of the subsequent name changes. The name-changes, patronage and even outer window transformations proved to impact on the 'talk' around the changing social dynamics of the club and the changing perception of EBL from an 'African' club to a 'drug/dangerous' hive. Language and placement of signs are therefore not deemed incidental and are in fact seen as important indicators to look out for when assessing

the appropriation and transformation of space. As explored earlier, language choice on signs may be indicative of the languages that people speak, but it may also have symbolic meaning. Signage on the club specified here changed over the three year period of fieldwork and the name changes are provided below:

I. Ezithebeni Braai Lounge (end 2008)
II. Ezithebeni Braai Longitima (mid 2009)
III. Ezithebeni Braai Mambo Spotlight (2010)
IV. Ezithe beni Braai Lounge (2011)

6.5.1 Ezithebeni Braai Lounge (EBL)

When EBL was first established, it catered for a wide range of people and their shop sign, written in Xhosa, Afrikaans and English, and seemed to convey the inclusiveness of this space. The original shop sign was a combination of Xhosa ('Ezithebeni' meaning 'platter') + Afrikaans ('Braai' meaning 'barbeque') + English (Lounge). The sign was situated on a painted brown bone with the shop's number directly beneath it. As a graphic of the first sign was lost, an analysis of the multimodal aspects will begin with the second sign. At the time of research the club was considered more of a pub plus restaurant and observations of club patrons showed there to be a diverse patronage.

At the time Tarryn (a young Zimbabwean waitress at EBL) stated that the restaurant had a largely black clientele base and would play all types of music: particularly House, Zimbabwean, RandB, Country and Soul. The Africanness of EBL emerged not only through signage, but was also observed through the types of music, food and overall ambience of the club. The transformation of the club from an unknown space to one appropriated by 'Africans' becomes apparent in the review of the club proffered by another Zimbabwean contact named Morris who had had only positive things to say about EBL:

> "Ezithe [EBL] is lekker, it's lekker because they play Congolese music, pap and meat, so usually Congolese, Nigerian, coloured [frequents EBL], actually 'cause I been scared, I used to stay in Delft…"

Interestingly Morris finds EBL to be a comfortable space in which to interact with Coloureds – a group which he had previously been frightened to encounter in his home in Delft. Delft is a poverty-stricken coloured township in Cape Town and is often associated with gangsterism and violence. For Morris, EBL had become a space in which novel experiences with an unlikely group could occur and it is through this transformation and appropriation of the space that EBL changed the landscape of the social scene on LMR.

This restaurant and club would often be found with signboards placed outside showing the African dishes available. An example of the menu board is provided below:

The menu board reads:

Now Serving/ African Dishes

Grilled fish + pap, gravy & salad R30

Fried fish + pap/rice, gravy & salad R30

Spiced lamb + rice, gravy & salad R30

Spiced rice and lamb stew & salad R30

Starters:

Chicken livers peri-peri R20

Garlic bread & cheese toping R12

6.5.2 Ezithebeni Braai Longitima (EBL)

A few months later the sign changed to Ezithebeni Braai Longitima, which now meant that the language choice changed slightly to Xhosa + Afrikaans + Hybrid

English. It was deduced that the word 'longitima' may have been the phonetic equivalent of the English expression 'long time'. A graphic of the second sign is provided below:

A multimodal analysis shows the sign using two colours, specifically brown and yellow. The words were written in brown text on a yellow background shaped as a bone or platter. The colours chosen can be described as neutral colours which are typically used to depict African heritage.

An African heritage (as tied to the DRC) was suggested by some as they believed that 'long-time' was an urban Lingala word meaning 'chill'. However, this assumption could not be confirmed irrefutably. Notwithstanding this incertitude, Lingala music has definitely become recognized and widespread over much of Africa. Previously, South Africa was thought of as a Xhoisan territory and thus believed to have been largely unimpacted by Lingala music and culture. Nevertheless, while EBL gained popularity as an overtly African club in LMR, their existence was not welcomed by everyone in Observatory. In fact, businesses and clubs in the African corner became a regular discussion point at OCA meetings and were minuted (Nov, 2009) as:

> 4.6 In collaboration with the CPF, a database of all the establishments without health and safety-, liquor- and business licenses will the [be] compiled

A meeting with local members of the civic association and the Community Police Forum (or CPF) and some of the business owners in LMR took place soon after. Below are pictures depicting a meeting between the Woodstock CPF, OCA members and business owners at the end of 2010:

A graphic of the closed shop is provided below:

Following the temporary closing EBL re-appeared with not only a change in the language choice on its signage, but a complete overhaul of its outer aesthetics as well.

6.5.3 Ezithebeni Braai Mamba Spotlight

EBL's third and final change (thus far) came with the name change to Ezithebeni Braai Mamba Spotlight. 'Mamba' is derived from the Zulu word 'imamba' meaning snake and is often collocated with 'black' as in 'Black Mamba' or 'Black snake'. Here we see the language choice on the sign recontextualizing into Xhosa, Afrikaans, Zulu and English. Pertinently, the African-related theme (of being wild and untamed) is continued here. A graphic of the latest sign is provided

below:

The continued transformation and appropriation of space can be seen with the expanded colour range to include red and blue on a lime green background as well as the name change and even the outer windows. The windows now have a misty glaze which obscures vision into the club and contributes to it being perceived as more private and discreet than before. These changes further exacerbated discourse around drug dealing and crime at the club.

In fact, by the time the third name change was realized, the change in the social dynamics of the patrons was remarked upon by many. Another Zimbabwean informant (whose identity will remain unknown) believes that EBL has become 'too Congolese' and is no longer 'cool'. Speaking off record, he said that he felt that they no longer catered for their 'African brothers'.

While much talk about crime was discussed by OCA members and participants in the study as 'off-record', the resultant discourse led to a meeting of the local police (action) and the construction of a specific 'reality' in which many of the (black) businesses in the 'African corner' were conflated with crime and drug dealing. Iedema describes the creation of 'facticity' from local talk as directly related to the 'construction of reality'. Drawing on Mehan (1993) he states: "…with each step the process reconfigures the situation which it posited as its origin: an increasing number

of people become involved; relevant meanings are committed to minutes, reports and files; letters and other forms of correspondence summarize and thereby 'authorize' those meanings, and so on. Thanks to that increasing distance from its origin, each recontextualization adds to the 'weight', the institutional importance, the authority, in short, the 'facticity', of what is said and written" (Iedema, 2003:41).

The meeting between CPF, OCA and business owners in the African corner can be said to have culminated from a journey of 'talk' to documented 'facts'. The OCA, with good reason or malice, seems to go on campaign to discredit businesses on the African corner with their talk of criminal activities. This 'talk' at OCA meetings became minuted and from these minuted meetings emerged enquiries and calls to institution bodies and business owners which led to the eventual meeting itself. With each recontextualization of the perceived 'problem' also came extra 'validity' and 'facticity' of the problem. This meeting can be seen as a power play about ownership of a particular space in which speculation, fact and fiction became blurred.

The change in the signage represented a complete appropriation of the African corner by Africans. The transformation and appropriation of an African territory proved to put into motion many other seemingly separate and isolated elements of quotidian life in the African corner. The power of discourse and organization (monthly meetings and collaborating with the police) resulted in speculation of criminal activities coming to a head. In this way the 'facticity' (Iedema, 2003) of what was speculated, discussed, minuted and presented, resulted in the increased importance of the OCA.

6.5.4 Ezithe Beni Braai Lounge

The most recent version of the sign reveals the sign coming full circle. Once again there is a combination of Xhosa + Afrikaans + English. The fourth remodelling of the sign is provided below:

While the splitting of the word 'ezithebeni' into 'ezithe' and 'beni' does not appear to fulfil any evident linguistic function, the addition of 'African Restaurant' at the bottom of the sign effectively replaces the contact number for the store. The removal of a store telephone number is peculiar in that restaurants (by its very nature) always display contact details so that potential customers can reach them to book tables and make enquiries. Therefore, the removal of the telephone number may mean that the restaurant owner is using the space for other means. Pertinently, the shop windows have also been further blocked up and therefore there is even less visibility into the club.

In sum we see Ezithe Beni Braai Lounge refracting further from a public space to a private one. The previous manifestation of this restaurant as a multilingual space (wherein the opportunity to create a space of difference was purported) has now effectively become a 'Nigerian' club which is considered dangerous and falls outside of the realm of the Obs community.

This phenomenon can be seen with EBL starting out as a braai space (patroned by blacks and coloureds), then later refracted into a more private space (seen through

name change and later the semiotic process of screened glass panes, and then refracted further by its perception of housing drug dealers). Although the patrons may have stayed the same and aesthetic changes made to the outside of the space (typical of all businesses especially Barmooda), however discourses of fear and suspicion resulted in this space refracting from a public space to a more and more private space (through changes in the semiotic process alone).

The effect of language ideology on identities and place is evident in the case of Ezithe Beni Braai Lounge which ultimately suffered discourse-reinforcing stereotypes of the dark, masculine African 'other'. It is clear that 'talk' is seen as a catalyst for changing a (neutral or invisible) 'space' to a 'place' filled with ideological discourse influencing access, identities and interaction.

6.6 Summary

The SL of Observatory revealed that languages spoken 'on the ground' were not always reflected on the SL. This is contrary to current SL research which puts forth that language vitality is connected to its proliferation on the landscape. In addition, language choice on the SL could not simply be tabulated and quantitatively explicated. The implied readers of (permanent) shop signage on Observatory's SL appear to be expected to have English as a primary language in their linguistic repertoire, however the type (or variety) of English is not consistent with 'center English'. This means that although English was the common denominator on all mixed signs on the SL, there was evidence that it was the localized version of English which was dominant and not 'center' English. For this reason English was seen as an 'equalizer' and not 'dominator' when juxtaposed with other languages.

Most commercial signs on the SL were symbolic of their globally appropriated labels and not indexical of those country-of-origin speech communities. This means that Mexican, Italian and Irish brands and cuisine did not index the existence of those particular speech communities. Although Asian signs on the SL have been re-packaged to preclude more traditional Chinese nuances (colour, literal translation and pictures), newer versions that include colour, symmetry and language choice have

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dexterously towed the line between 'traditional' and 'new age'. In turn, Asian languages appear to continue to live harmoniously with (localized) English.

Signs on the SL revealed transborder activity through the mobility of text and cultural practices. After having been repackaged digitally and disseminated to millions of viewers, the remote cultural dance of Mapouka has gained novel and unprecedented infamy. The permeability of borders is therefore seen through the progress of technology and the insatiable curiosity of global viewers.

Language choice on signage proved Afrikaans to be conspicuous in its stark absence. With the exception of cautionary (governmental) signage, very little other Afrikaans was observable on the SL. This phenomenon, taken on its own, may appear to be predictable in a typically English neighbourhood; however the lack of Afrikaans suggests that the vitality of a language is not always reflected on the SL. Here we see that the hallmark of linguistic vitality may not always be discursively constructed on the SL. In this way, the fact that Afrikaans appears to be used merely for cautionary or administrative purposes on the SL in Observatory does not tell us about its use in other domains. To this end, what constitutes 'vitality' should extend past the visibility of languages on the SL to also include the emplacement of these signs and observable interaction.

Intriguingly, while most stores were eager and willing to embrace Africanism as a key selling point, other (more vulnerable) transnational groups chose to eschew this practice in lieu of maintaining their anonymity which this study refers to as 'brand anonymity'. It was conjectured that this new form of branding (for anonymity) was propelled through the outside socio-political factors of xenophobia and violence. In addition, the overt expression of Africanism (as seen with EBL) had over time become constructed as a problem and had ideologically become associated with danger and crime.

In sum, it is clear that while there are globally recognized brands appropriated in LMR, there are also local African instantiations which have emerged on the SL. Signs on the SL reveal a predilection towards appealing to European taste through the brokering (selling) of token African cuisine, apparel and culture.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Community construction and aspiration

7.0 Introduction

A move away from commercial public signage to more personalized and ephemeral texts within a definable space are analysed here. These texts offer insight into the construction of both individual and group aspirations for Observatory. As stated in the previous chapter, texts (or signs) are seen as indexing social transformation through the imagined appropriation or contestation of space by its authors. In this respect differences in languages and style are viewed as critical in the construction of the Observatory community. In this section the notion of community and space is made visible through texts on signage which index *inter alia* a 'village-like' (homogenous) ideal, a linguistically and socio-economically divergent (heterogeneous) community as well as an overlapping of the two.
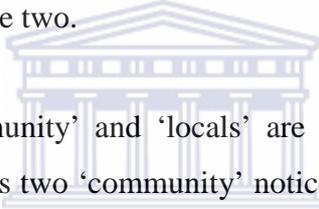
The manner in which 'community' and 'locals' are textually constructed emerged when examining Observatory's two 'community' notice boards. Pertinently, the study views the discursive constructions of identity as most important as it places the focus on the way identity is imagined and not how it is geographically defined. This means that emphasis moves away from bygone notions of citizenship and identity as pre-determined by history or genealogy. What is most important then is the desirability and uses which certain identities (usually in the form of nationalities) attribute to the author. In this way, an analysis of the construction of identity (as opposed to deconstructing the veracity of identity) is of utmost importance. In this regard, identities are not seen as tied to border, but rather fluid and unrestrained, with the ultimate choice materializing through the construction of identity by the author.

On one notice board an idealized image of an aspirational 'village' is constructed. On the other notice board, evidence of a heterogeneous Observatory community signals the arrival of newcomers as 'legitimate members of the community. In this regard, the ephemeral (fluid) signs which make up signs on both of these notice boards are analysed in relation to their communicative purpose, the construction of identity as positioned as locals, and 'newcomers' and/or outsiders in the neighbourhood. As most

of the notices are written in English, centripetal and centrifugal tendencies towards English in the use of Standard or localized English are of keen sociolinguistic interest here.

The two notice boards in this study are located in close proximity to one another within the local supermarket called Kwikspar and can be said to occupy nearly the exact same space. A distinctly hierarchical approach is not engendered as *a priori* when analysing the two notice boards. In addition, centripetal and centrifugal tendencies around 'center English' and its role (or lack of) in the formation of hybridity, is examined here.

This chapter is interested in the discursive constructions of identity, its implications within the Observatory community and the different resources drawn upon when articulating aspirations for the neighbourhood. Although the two notice boards can be categorized as markedly different to one another, there are instances where an overlap occurs which suggest that these notice boards do not operate in diametric opposition to one another. This means that even though it is useful to look at notice boards as encompassing specific characteristics (as revealed by the visual representation of signs), the two notice boards are not viewed as having mutually exclusive properties and therefore attention will also be placed on notices (on both notice boards) which reveal inventive and novel use of language to articulate the different aspirations of the community. The multivocal nature of signs and the dialogical relation between signs and notices are also discussed.

7.1 Community on notice boards

The two very distinct and functionally important 'community' notice boards are found adjacent to each other at the entrance to Observatory's busy convenient store, Kwikspar. The notices on the two 'community' notice boards were analysed using discourse analysis. Varying representations of community are considered as textually constructed with signage using different linguistic strategies in its creation of an Observatory community. For each of the two notice boards aspirations for the community and the author's and reader's role *within* the community are foregrounded. An analysis of these two notice boards illuminates tension between notions of

community and neighbourhood and subsequently a tension between locality and belonging. Following Modan (2007) this study construes that a community is held together by social networks as opposed to a neighbourhood which is geographically defined. This means that while one notice board may index a community via social networks, the other may simply index a tie to the geography of the neighbourhood. Looking at the two notice boards as 'sites' (cf. Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009) which may speak dialogically to one another, allows the geographical area of Observatory to be examined as a neighbourhood 'space' which has become a 'place' wherein social practices are carried out (cf. Vigouroux, 2005).

A graphic and analysis of the two notice boards are supplied below:
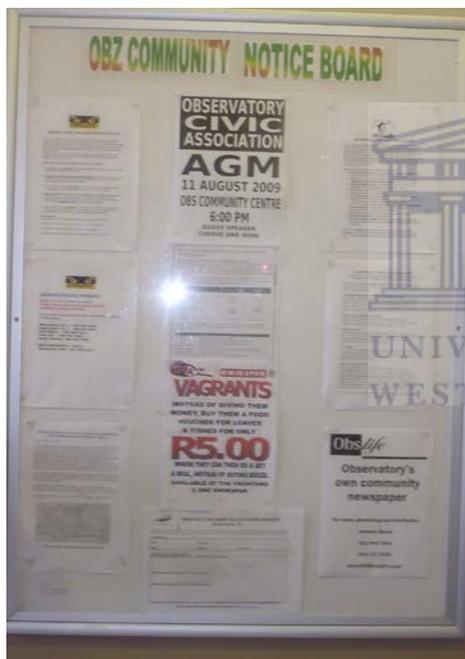
Notice board A   Notice board B

Notice board A is identified as the 'Obz' community notice board and it is on this notice board that notices that are typed and printed (with some signs laminated and others printed in colour) can be found.

Notice board B is simply called 'Obz Kwikspar' and notices found here are often handwritten. This notice board is composed of two outer margins of pull-out advertisements and pamphlets, while the middle section is scattered with handwritten

cards, used to fulfil a host of divergent purposes such as *inter alia* notices to rent or lease accommodation, job-seeker and job-offered adverts, with the occasional missing pet notice also displayed here. Characteristic of authors or creators of these signs is the use of minimal economic resources as authors are able to freely obtain postcards from the Kwikspar and (as these notices were handwritten) there was no need for typing or printing.

Aesthetically, notice board A differs markedly from notice board B as notices found here are placed on a white background and covered with a thick sheet of plastic. These notices cannot be removed or replaced by any unauthorized individual. The words 'OBZ COMMUNITY NOTICE BOARD' are a permanent fixture, while the notices are changed regularly. This notice board is run by the Observatory Civic Association (OCA) and it is thought that notices are (most likely) changed by some authoritative figure from the local civic association. All of the notices are invariably written in 'Standard' English. Signage on this notice board appears to be ordered and typed, with no orthographic errors. This notice board largely fulfils an informative, cautionary and entertaining purpose by generally supplying the reader with information on upcoming civic plans, initiatives, community progress and monthly meetings.

Signs on this notice board appear to be orientated towards a specific audience (tenably middle to upper class Observatory residents). This target audience is deduced when looking at the resources employed when creating these signs, which are always neatly typed, displaying printed notices with contact details of community organizations and government affiliations. It may be argued that their strategies are in fact largely motivated by very specific aspirations for the community. Notices on this notice board are analysed in order to uncover the aspirational desires, which feed into what constitutes a legitimate member or 'local' of the Observatory 'community'.

Notice board B consists of cards which are available at the entrance of Kwikspar and are distributed freely to those interested in placing ads. Signs on this notice board are handwritten, with little circumspection given to grammatical and orthographic errors. Notices found here are often requests for work or enquiries about accommodation. These signs are removed every three weeks by an employee of Kwikspar. Although

both notice boards contain largely English notices, what we see is a completely different use of the space, directed at a (potentially) different audience and resulting in different aspirations of the Observatory community.

Pertinently, it may appear that both these notice boards employ numerous creative and economical strategies in order to reach an (aspirational) ideal. In addition Ben Rafael *et al's* (2006) distinction between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' signs on each of the notice boards is explored further.

7.1.1 'Obz Community Notice board' (Notice board A)

Notice board A is run by the Observatory Civic Association and mainly functions in an informational one-way manner. Notices on this board generally supply the reader with information on upcoming civic plans, initiatives, community progress and monthly meetings. This notice board is located on the left side of the entrance into the Kwikspar and (with the exception of a short removal for paintwork), had not been moved since the onset of the study in 2009. This is important to mention as Notice board B has been permanently moved to the opposite wall after the paintwork was complete. It was replaced with two generic advertising posters. Reasons for this action could not be confirmed, however it is plausible that notice board B was moved so as to put an end to the 'traffic' that customers habitually faced when exiting the store. This traffic was mainly due to the large number of people (locals, vagrants and tourists alike) seen perusing the notice board.

Notices found on notice board A are consistent with Ben Rafael (2006) *et al's* 'top down' signs. These signs take the form of governmental, municipal and organization which serves official policies. These types of notices start off from a single public agency and are then disseminated to the masses. Examples of top-down signage found on this notice board are provided below:
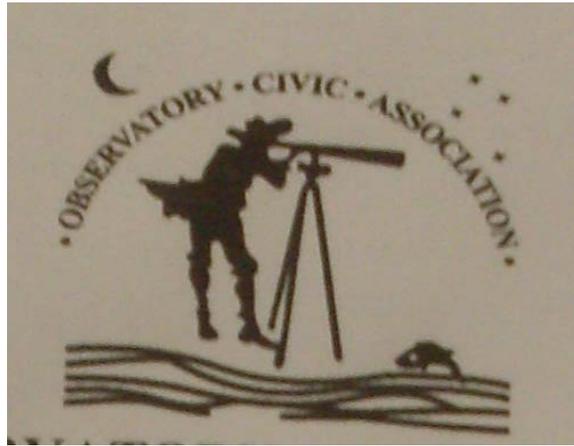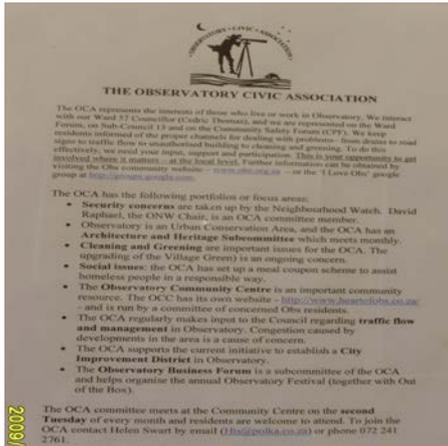
The OCA notice and its emblem are important to the construction of community. The image of a medieval stargazer is reminiscent of the first Dutch arrivals to the Cape that wished to establish an Observatory. The OCA as well as its subsidiaries draws on the colonial heritage of the neighbourhood.

Initiatives are also placed on this notice board:

Notices concerning the local neighbourhood watch and local newspaper are also found on this notice board:

Intriguingly, the semiotics of this notice board is largely indicative of the concerns of a (specifically residential) 'local'. Many of the notices found on this notice board appeared to talk 'about' unwanted parties and instructs the reader as to how to deal with the undesirable populace. The 'Neighbourhood Watch' sign fulfils a 'local-insider' role of protection of the (legitimate) locals, as their existence is meant to 'watch out for the community'. Once again, only one aspect of the community is legitimized and the notion of in-group and out-group status emerges as a clear marker of difference. The notice board points to aspirations of a 'village-ideal' as resemiotized (Iedema, 2003) and encoded in different semiotic artefacts (Observatory community newspaper and pamphlet) and technologies (Observatory websites) in Observatory.

The local neighbourhood watch protects the local residents, while the local newspaper is delivered to all residents in the Observatory area and therefore serves an informative and entertainment function. All of these elements construct the inclusive 'village-like' feel of Observatory. This means that signs on this notice board can be read together as informing and forming one another. 'Reading positions' can be seen as further illustrating the general stability of the authors and their assumed audience.

Signage of the 'neighbourhood watch' works well with community awareness about the problem of (lawless) and bothersome vagrants. The audience is at once positioned as being (a) community orientated (signalled by a 'hand-up not a hand-out philosophy'), (b) literate (community newspaper and the general 'correctness' of English found on this notice board), (c) constructed as dutiful Christians (drawn out from the 'fish and loaves' appeal which is compounded by the near complete absence of any other visible religious signage), (d) vulnerable and therefore in need of protection (neighbourhood watch), (e) socio-economically more powerful than other groups as they are affiliated to 'official' governmental organizations (such as the Observatory Improvement District) and (f) 'bona fide' members who are specifically described as 'property owners' within the OBSID footprint.

Ties to the neighbourhood emerged through the assertion of authenticity as stemming from property ownership. This strongly relays the relationship between the author(s) on this notice board and the perceived 'legitimate' audience. This categorization of course excludes a large percentage of Observatory community members who are made up of migrants, refugees, and even local Capetonians found outside of the geography of the immediate Observatory. Therefore restrictions of perceived audience can be summarized as derived from the following demographic profiling: (a) socio-economic status, (b) religious affiliation (c) level of English competency (d) patriarchal dominance (e) knowledge of the geography and history of the neighbourhood and finally (f) access to the global world of 'internet'.

A strong sense of in-group membership emerges from this notice board which provides a homogenous image – not unlike the demographic make-up observed at OCA meetings. OCA members are made up of a largely elderly population (late forties to late sixties) and is largely white and male dominated. Also, the language of use is almost exclusively English.

The perception of in-group inclusion puts forth confluent perceptions of distinct 'others' as the cause of fear, danger and simply not 'fitting in'. On this notice board it appears that a specific social formation of a 'village-ideal' is created through the positioning of the reader as being part of a very specific 'neighbourhood identity in which they are overtly positioned as the 'legitimate' local. Signs on this notice board

are consistently written in 'center English' with an emphasis on social ties linked to shared technologies such as the internet and shared common social practices and interests. It appears then that spaces are imagined and discursively constructed (and even contested) as belonging to a specific group of people in Observatory. The co-existence of 'others' are not viewed as a necessary (or even a desired) building block for the community and the erasure of 'unwanted people and practices' embodies this view exactly.

This particular notice board can be seen as a construction of aspiration involving a select (but powerful) few in Observatory. This means that while their aspirations have not yet been met, this notice board serves as a site of aspiration (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009) from a perceived position of luxury as epitomized by the host of resources which make this notice board functional. Those residents (home owners) that fall outside of the targeted audience would perhaps shy away from following instructions on how to ensure the welfare of the vagrants in the area and may search for a more socially oriented approach. Some residents have found their own ways of dealing with vagrants, such as permitting them to sleep on their private property at night or the provision of ad hoc gardening and cleaning jobs. Furthermore, locals which rent accommodation may feel excluded by the 'property-owner' emphasis and may subsequently feel excluded from this group despite having resided in the neighbourhood for many decades. This means that although a distinct image of the local has been created, it may not be representative of the overwhelming population of Observatory.

Although the physical space of these signs is constrained, they speak to different spaces in the immediate local and global arena. Meetings are held in the Observatory Community Hall, vagrants are found on street corners, privacy and safety in the home are monitored by the neighbourhood watch and neighbourhood on-goings are reported in the community newspaper and online. Therefore this notice board appears to be very much tied to a specific geography of Observatory. This means that a collective aspiration for a specific group (related to social practices and artefacts), can be established.

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The village-like aspiration of Observatory is shaped as one which is run by the local civic association and protected by the neighbourhood watch. The Observatory envisioned here is 'vagrant-free' and clean (OBSID notice). All these signs together form an idealized vision of a 'village-like' neighbourhood in which the streets are safe and people know each other by name. This vision is further reinforced by the local website which operates in a dialogic relationship with the notice board. It becomes clear that this vision of a 'perfect Observatory' discount other members of the ethnoscape which may also form part of the landscape of the area. It is interesting that the greater diverse populace and newcomers such as migrants, students or partygoers, are completely absent from this notice board. The absence of these groups suggests that these groups may fall outside of the idealized construction of being a 'local' in this socially constructed view of the Observatory 'community'.

7.1.2 'Obz Kwikspar' (Notice board B)

Notices on this notice board are the size of a generic postcard and can be freely obtained on request within Kwikspar. Authors of signage here are therefore provided with postcard and pen to write their advert free of charge.

Notices found on this notice board differed from those found on notice board A as seen when looking at the textual style of writing which are indicative of Ben Rafael *et al's* (2006) bottom up signs. Bottom-up signs are '[P]roduced and presented by countless actors who generally sprout from the public, designed by autonomous actors" (Ben Rafael *et al*, 2006: 14). Needless to say signage found in this site also constructs discourses of aspiration and the particular strategies used by these authors are proffered here. Signs on this notice board house largely self-promotional notices and can be viewed as part of the sales business genre. Many notices are in fact self-promotion adverts (in the form of job-seeker adverts). Handwritten notices of jobseekers are clearly marked when identifying the gaining of employment as its communicative purpose. The communicative purpose of a job application is posited by Bhatia (1993: 59) as: "…the main function of a job application letter is also persuasive, in the sense that its writer aims to elicit a specific response from its reader(s), in this case a call for interview." These types of signs are prevalent on notice board B wherein job-wanted notices and other services rendered (DVD repairs

and mechanical work) abounds. The job seekers in this case are nearly exclusively black foreigners (mostly women) seeking work as chars or nannies.

Notices such as these can be viewed as self-promotion advertisements attesting to the job seekers' reliability, efficiency and availability to fulfil the job. These signs are invariably written by non-English first language speakers and would be identifiable as Ben-Rafael's 'bottom-up' signs. This type of writing is also referred to as 'peripheral normativity' (Blommaert *et al*, 2005) which is "…non-standard and locally produced language forms, unmonitored for correctness…" (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009: 375). For Blommaert *et al* (2005) these types of notices are typical of English second language speakers and can be found the world over. However, the analyses below move past this surface description of orthographic and syntactic errors and explore the possible linguistic strategies and success of these authors which surpass mere writing proficiency. Higgins' (2009) work suggests that the type of English used here has less to do with the inability to write proper 'center' English and more to do with English being localized by its transnational authors. In this way the 'norms' typically placed on English used on the 'periphery' of the world, does not apply here. Instead, the type of English used here indexes centrifugal tendencies to establish an efficient and easy localized form of communication. These notices and issues around peripheral normativity are discussed further.

Examples of localized English can be seen with some of the notices written in simple terms with reference only to the communicative purpose of finding employment as seen below:
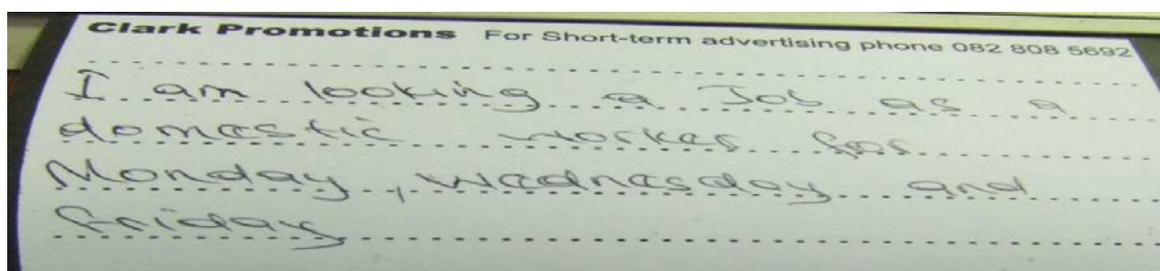
Original message:

I am looking a job as a

Domestic worker for

Monday, Wednesday and

friday

However, there are also more complex notices in which authors supply additional information in order to better achieve their communicative purpose of gaining employment. Pertinently, these notices are considered effective and do not necessarily need to be typed or professionally printed in order to be successful in its communicative purpose. These types of notices (with added 'extras') still include many of the grammatical and orthographic errors described by Blommaert *et al* (2005) as 'peripheral normativity', and yet nonetheless still prove to be highly effective. The range of additional information includes personal identity markers such as: age, gender, nationality, languages, and even health. Of particular interest is the positioning of identities through nationality, language and locality. Listed below are different notices which fall into this category and host a range of 'extras' which authors include when attempting to make themselves appear more marketable. In other words, these English notices may still be regarded as extremely effective, despite not conforming to standard norms of English or being typewritten or professionally printed.
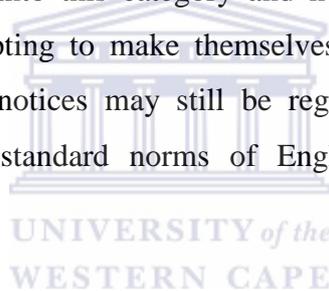
Most of the notices seeking employment are aimed at the higher-end market, specifically middle class Observatory residents seeking reliable and hardworking 'domestic workers', 'chars' or 'child minders'. It is argued that these handwritten notices create (to a large part *because* of the grammatical and orthographic errors), a highly effective image to a prospective employee. The majority of these types of notices are written by female authors who, when searching for jobs as nannies or chars, position themselves in a very specific way so as to market themselves effectively. This means that female authors may eschew traits of being overtly educated or sophisticated in favour of conveying a more innocent and trustworthy impression. This image is often reflected in the simplicity of the language and lack of self-correction in spelling. In this way, these notices are not only effective as self-promotional notices, but also cleverly engender space through the explicit mention of additional information such as gender, name and nationality, an example of which is given below:
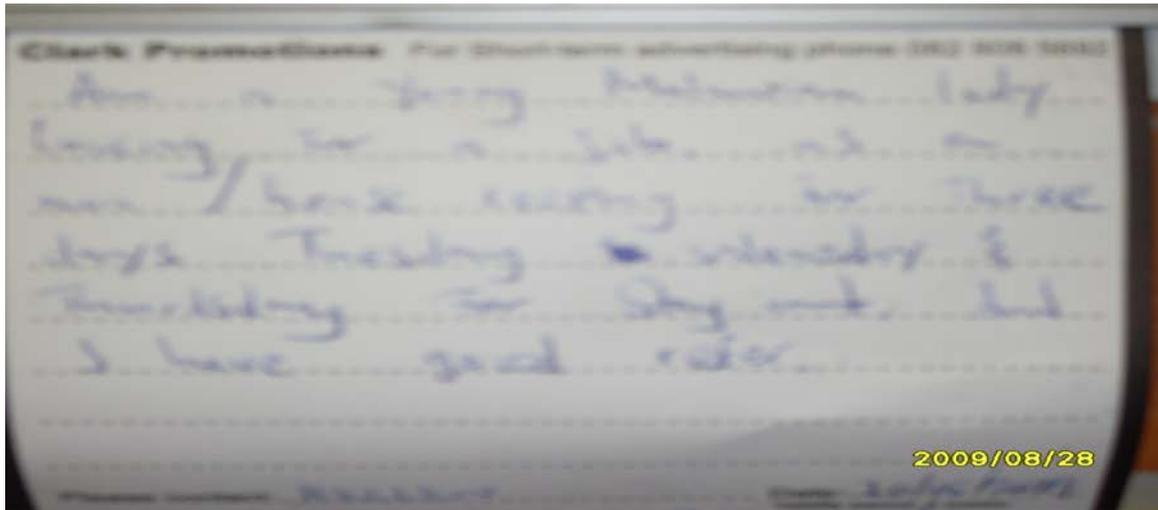
Original notice:

Am a young Malawian Lady
looking for a job as a
non/house keeping for three
days Tuesday Wensday +
Thurdsday for stay out and
I have good refer – Hellen

In the example above we see the job-seeker using English to advertise herself as a candidate for char work. The author positions herself favourably very early on in the notice by highlighting three very important characteristics, that of age, nationality and gender. Here the jobseeker establishes herself as a favourable candidate by describing herself as 'young' which alludes to other traits of her being 'energetic', 'eager' and 'hardworking'. Her description is then followed by the most ubiquitous common denominator found in these types of advertisements, an explicit marker of nationality, specifically a foreign 'other' black (Malawian) nationality. The explicit mention of nationality may correlate to the move which suggests the 'value' of a service. Notices such as these may be seen as one of necessity borne out of the obvious need for employment. However, the distinct mention of an African nationality (specifically other than South African black), indicates that employing a Malawian may also inversely be seen as a 'necessity' for the prospective middle class employers. In other words, as it becomes increasingly commonplace for middle class employers to procure 'foreign' black women in their employ, the deliberate insertion of this information can be seen as ameliorating the status of both the employee and employer. This can be seen when the job seeker includes her gender even though the

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char industry in South Africa (as with the rest of the world) still very much falls within the realm of 'women's work'.

We see the jobseeker using the term 'housekeeping' which alludes to her being a housekeeper as opposed to the more crude and derogatory term 'maid'. The word 'maid' (used synonymously with 'girl' or 'meisie' [its Afrikaans equivalent] or a more respectable 'auntie') has invariably been used in South African households, but has over the years become less commonplace. Decidedly more neutral-sounding and connotatively more 'respectful' terminology such as 'char' or 'housekeeper' has found favour in residential homes.

The author also has conditions or restrictions which the prospective boss is made aware of in the middle section of her ad. The applicant states the quantity of days that she's willing to work (three), the actual days of the week that she is prepared to work, (Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday) as well as the living arrangements ('stay out'-meaning that the jobseeker does not wish/ need to live at the employer's home). These conditions position the job-seeker as having the power to dictate how and when she will be willing to work. She evidently has her own place and her time is occupied elsewhere during the week, which alludes to the assumption that she is very good at what she does and is in high demand. The prospective employer is thus positioned weaker and this in turn constructs the job-seeker as having competitive and sought after services.

The job seeker confirms her high status by explicitly mentioning that she has good references (good refer). Her name is also further confirmation of her 'foreignness', as most Xhosa women in Cape town typically have Xhosa names (such as 'Thandi' or 'Nobuhle'). The name Hellen may be accredited to the British colonialism of African countries (like Malawi), with parents giving their children British names, a trend which did not take off amongst Xhosas in the Western Cape.

Listed above are the more obvious and explicit features intentionally highlighted by the author, however, there are unintentional features which also seep into the notice. What may appear to be simple orthographic errors can be further analysed in terms of prosody and which Cook refers to as "the patterning of sound" (2001:96). Holmes

adds "that accents, dialects and foreign words have become part of the paralanguage of advertising discourse" (2005: 9) and uncovered that an 'Italian' accent when written in an English text, allows for the reader to hear the accent aurally. She explains that the "representation of this accent functions as part of the visual texture of the advertisement rather than being part of the content or information contained in it" (2005:10). Similarly, reading the words 'Wensday' and 'Thurdsday' allow the readers to hear the author's accent which then further reinforces 'foreignness'.

Other effective self-promotion adverts use 'country of origin' as a selling point. In the notice below, the author follows the generic convention of jobseekers, i.e. name, goal (find employment) and contact details and adds some additional information.
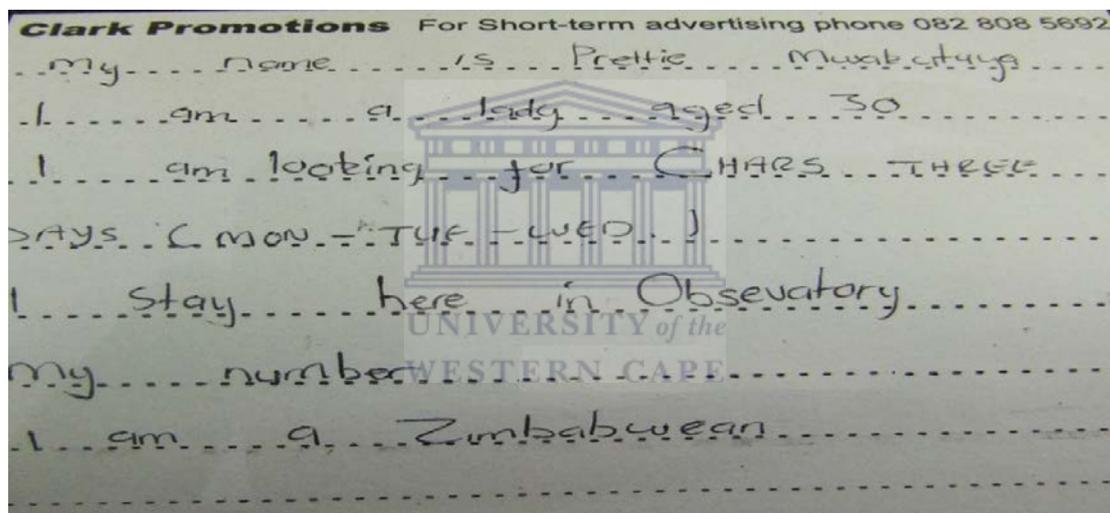
Original message:
My name is [name]
I am a lady named aged 30
I am looking for chars three
days (Mon - Tue - Wed)
I stay here in Observatory
My number is [number]
I am a Zimbabwean

The author includes other information explicitly, such as: 'I am a lady aged 30', 'I stay *here* in Observatory' and 'I am a Zimbabwean'. Here the author positions her identity in relation to gender, age, locality and nationality. The end of the notice shows the author positioning herself in relation to both her immediate (micro) environment of Observatory as well as her country- of- origin, Zimbabwe.

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The author's use of the adverb 'here' in 'I stay here in Observatory' emphasizes the temporal locality of the author in Observatory. Although the author's intention in the statement cannot be confirmed irrefutably, the notion of 'legitimacy' and in-group status may be attributed to the assertion of staying within the geographically-bounded area of the neighbourhood. Another use of the indication of nationality may be due to its effectiveness as a marketing ploy. In some contexts being Zimbabwean is seen as a negative attribute, but when seeking work as a domestic, char or nanny it is a positive attribute.

The temporality of the author's stay as well as the positive connotations of being Zimbabwean (as opposed to Nigerian, for example), is reinforced here. The combination of the statements 'I stay here in Observatory' and 'I am a Zimbabwean' at once positions the author as claiming in-group status (through locality) as well as 'out-group' status or foreignness through nationality. This author can be seen as using her nationality as an effective self-promotion marketing strategy. The author capitalizes on the positive connotations that being Zimbabwean brings her and for this reason states her nationality explicitly. Here we see the author adopting a dual identity as a marketing ploy in which she situates herself locally (within the geography of the Observatory neighbourhood) as well as a reliable foreigner (from elsewhere in Africa). Whether the author is in fact Zimbabwean is not important, when compared to the imagined advantages that assuming this nationality might bring to the author. Therefore, we see that the Zimbabwean nationality has currency in the workplace and the astute African foreigner may well opt to rely on this discursive construct for maximum appeal in the workplace.

Language on a sign also has a specific communicative effect. The notice below similarly consists of an author seeking employment; however the notice is written exclusively in Standard Afrikaans and unpacks how South African (local) authors use language choice, locality and legitimacy to position themselves in the job market:
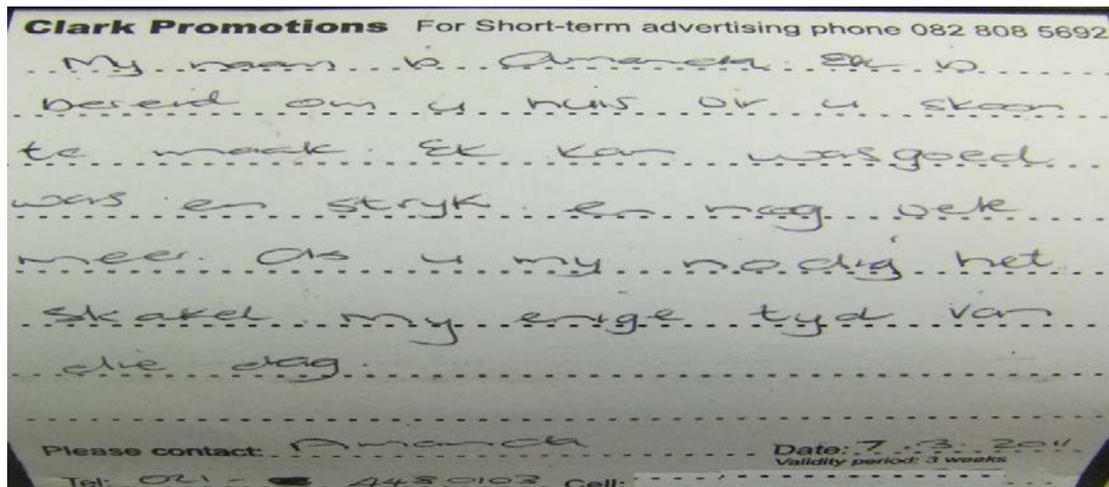
Original Afrikaans message:
My naam is Amanda.
Ek is bereid om u huis vir u skoon te maak.
Ek kan wasgoed was en stryk en nog vele meer.
As u my nodig het skakel my enige tyd van die dag.

English translation:
My name is Amanda.
I am willing to clean your house for you.
I can wash and iron and much more.
If you have need of me [then] you can phone me any time of the day.

The notice is written in Standard Afrikaans and unlike many of the other notices analysed; there are no grammatical or orthographic errors. The formal variety of Afrikaans is used and is signalled by the formal 'u' meaning 'you', as opposed to the informal 'jy' which also means 'you'. The author also follows the proper grammatical structure of Standard Afrikaans, which places the verb at the end of the sentence. The author's deft use of Afrikaans would tenably position her as a 'local' Capetonian. The author may be South African (presumably due to her proficiency in Afrikaans). However, there is also the less likely possibility that the author may have asked someone to translate her advert into Afrikaans. The author may have opted for the formal (standard) variety of Afrikaans as a marketing strategy. It is quite common to find blacks and coloured cleaners from outside of Cape Town speaking 'suiwer' or 'pure' Afrikaans. These women are often described by the derogatory term 'up-country'. This term refers to someone that is naïve and unused to urban life. However, the use of Standard or 'pure' Afrikaans may also be positively affiliated with a stern, reliable and subservient employee. This variety of Afrikaans stands in sharp contrast to the local 'Kaapse' variety of Afrikaans which is oftentimes portrayed as 'lower-

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class' and attributed to notions of 'untrustworthiness' and 'gangsterism'. Below is a figure of another job seeker's notice and although English is the language used by the author, it offers further insight into language, identity, and legitimacy:
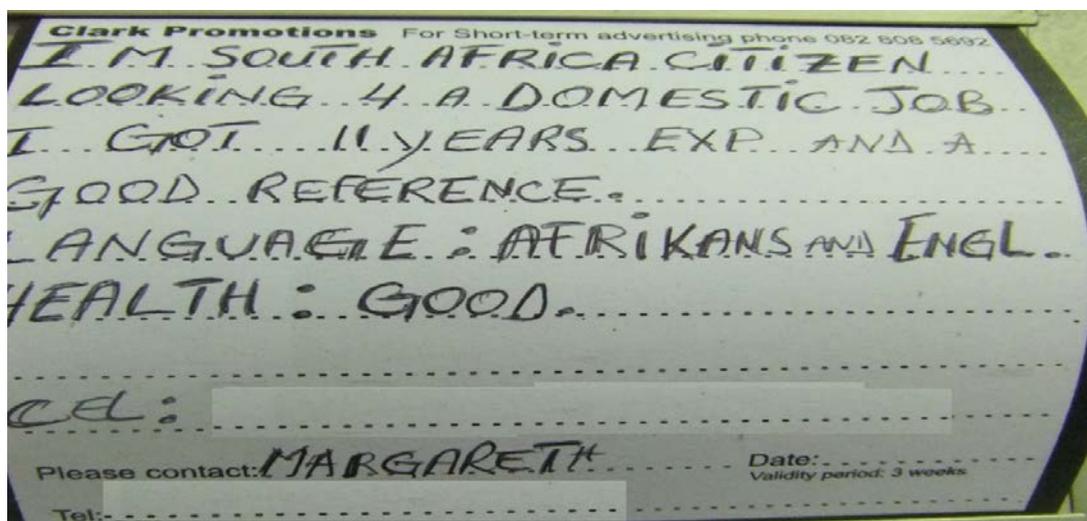
Original message:

IM SOUTH AFRICA CITIZEN
LOOKING 4 A DOMESTIC JOB
I GOT 11 YEARS EXP AND A
GOOD REFERENCE.
LANGUAGE: AFRIKANS ANDENGL.
HEALTH: GOOD.

Unlike previous notices, this notice begins with an explicit mention of the author's South African nationality. Unlike many other authors who add additional personal information as a footnote or as 'filler' in the body of the notice, this author positions her South African identity first. She is also the only author to use the word 'citizen' which clearly indicates ties to 'legitimacy' in relation to nationhood. The author fortifies claims to her South African citizenship through the mention of her proficiency in two of the official languages of the country, namely Afrikaans and English. This type of legitimacy is tied to linguistic proficiency in two of the eleven official languages, specifically English and Afrikaans. The author appears to link the apartheid ideological construct of the one-to-one relationship between language and ethnicity (or citizenship). The author's use of the English language reveals grammatical errors as in 'IM SOUTH AFRICA CITIZEN', which should read 'I AM A SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZEN' and basic orthographic errors such as 'AFRIKANS' as opposed to 'AFRIKAANS'. These errors indicate that the author's claim to

legitimacy may not in essence be tied to proficiency in English (as seen in the notice above), and that there are more latent ties such as 'birthright' or having been born in the country. Here 'peripheral normativity' is seen as losing much of its punch as it offers no bearing on communicative purpose. Instead, the mention of South African citizenship and proficiency in English and Afrikaans may be indicative of the kind of employer envisaged by the author, particularly one that recognizes South African citizens (over African foreigners), as a preferred employee.

Continuing with notices which overtly espouse 'foreignness' as an effective marketing tool, this next notice is interesting as it is written completely in Lingala, a native language of the Democratic Republic of Congo and the language of wider communication in Southern Africa. The aspiration of this group may well speak to 'otherness' as a necessary addition to the make-up of this aspirational construction of a heterogeneous Observatory. The Lingala notice continues the discussion of a divergence from the 'center' English to reveal how the employment of Lingala appropriates space on this notice board and also reveals the malleability of this space as changeable and not limited. The below notice is written entirely in Lingala which is spoken in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).
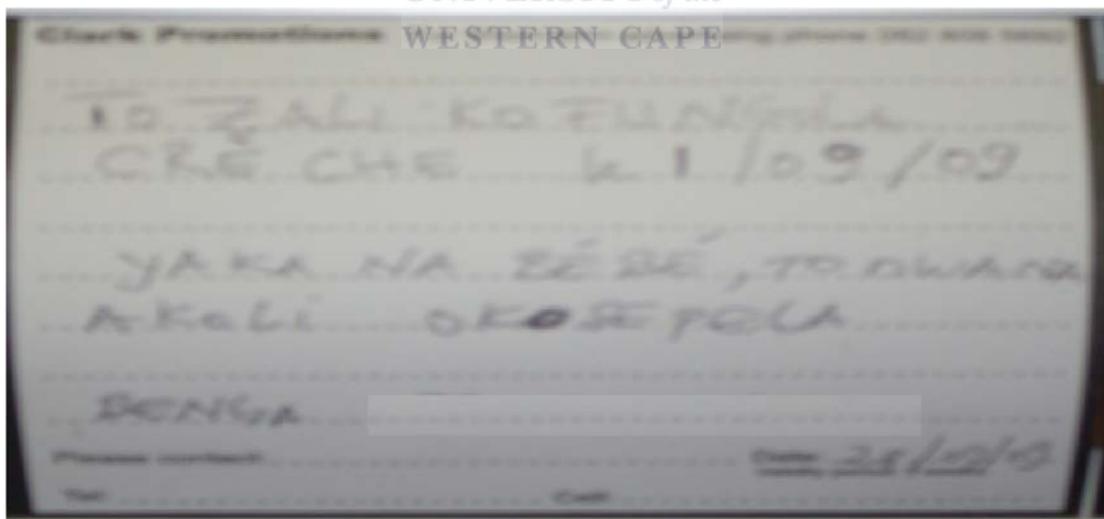
Original Lingala notice:

ToZali KOFUNGA

CRECHE le 1/09/09

YAKA NA BÉBÉ, TODWANA

AKALI OKOSEPHELA BENGA

English translation:

We open new

crèche from 1/09/09

bring your baby you will be happy phone

The communicative purpose of this notice serves as an advertisement for services rendered, specifically, a newly-established crèche in Observatory. Unlike the other notices discussed, this notice is directed at a target group of people from the DRC and excludes all others as it is not written in the lingua franca of English. However, the words 'crèche' and 'bébé' are recognizable and does allude to the gist of the notice. Without proficiency in Lingala, one could be forgiven for assuming that the author may have been searching for a suitable crèche as opposed to advertising one. The fact that the author is advertising a new crèche speaks to the settlement and permanency of Congolese people in Observatory. Further evidence of the emergence and sustainability of a Congolese-specific restaurant (discussed in the previous chapter) also points to the settlement of this transnational group in Observatory. This notice subtly differs from the transnational authors in the job-wanted notices above in that this notice is directed at Lingala-speaking people and there is no attempt to use English (whether 'center' English or localized English) at all. What is interesting here is that in this space, black transnational foreigners seem to be engaging more agentively than their South African counterparts. This can be seen with notices written by 'native' Xhosa or coloureds groups tending to be largely absent from these spaces.

7.2 Summary

What constitutes community membership is not clearly demonstrable when looking at the two notice boards. This means that there is an 'official' surface community on notice board A while there is also a burgeoning (near invisible) unofficial community which are also asserting themselves into Observatory.

On notice board A, an image of an innocuous 'normal' community with a 'homeless' problem is constructed. On the one hand, notice board A appears to fulfil a directive

function wherein community members are 'taught' how to think and act. On the other hand, this community does appear to have benevolent intentions and a generally vibrant community spirit. Notice board B constructs an image of an extremely diverse community membership. Loose and strong social (transnational) groups are signalled on this notice board.

Aspirations of the authors on notice board A appear to be clearly defined. Observatory looks after its pensioners and homeless and residents are encouraged to join the local civic association. A largely English neighbourhood is also signalled. Aspirations of authors on notice board B appear to be consistent with those striving to make a home in the 'new' South Africa. Attributes (well mannered and English speaking) are constructed as important values which they bring along with them. Power, if construed as tied to English (which it normally is), would definitely place notice board A with its 'standard English' notices as having more communicative effect. However, 'power', if related to diversity of meaning and communication, would certainly place notice board B (with its localized form of English) as having more power.
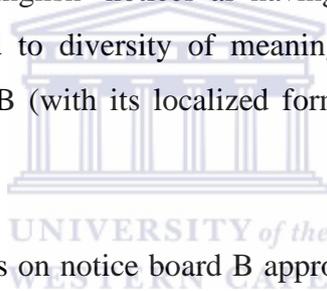
It is also apparent that authors on notice board B appropriate specific nationalities as grounds for gaining employment because of the sociocultural positive attributes which it has accrued in the neighbourhood and the city more generally.

Notice board B reveals the much wider and complex view of 'locals' in the Observatory 'community' as a necessary addition to the texture of the neighbourhood. Notices on notice board A speak to a specific (middle class) audience through the use of Standard English and were largely consistent with Ben Rafael *et al's* (2006) top down signs. The authors of these notices were unknown; however the notice board appears to be speaking with a single (civic) voice. An analysis of this notice board (notice board A) clearly delineated the boundary between community (as residents within a specific geography of Observatory) and outsiders (as those passing though and unaccustomed to expectations and social networks of locals). To a large extent, vagrants and foreigners would generally fit into this 'outsider' category.

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Intriguingly, notice board B highlighted the possibility of both the author and the reader having power and ties to the community. Community was seen as made up of many different types of foreigners with language not seen as a constraint. Popular understanding of the 'peripheral normativity' of English as displaying the status of lower economies is alternatively seen here as a shrewd marketing tool wherein foreigners were legitimized by their particular idiolect and not disadvantaged by them.

Pertinently, it is only on notice board B that a burgeoning new community was visible as seen with notices relating to employment and childrearing. The authors in this site used their 'accents' and language in Observatory without hesitation thereby further legitimizing new spaces. This completes their appropriation of the spaces. In addition these notices revealed the mobility of language and texts across national, social and modal boundaries (cf. Appadurai, 1996). The belief that 'locals' have the only real ties with the space emerges as a fallacy. It became apparent that the 'newcomers' themselves were also not just passive beings and their identity was fore grounded as important. Saliently, authors of these notices saw themselves as part of a burgeoning 'new' community in Observatory and not simply occupying its border. Also, we saw Afrikaans, although a native and official language for many in Cape Town, also occupying limited space on either of the two notice boards.

This recurring theme of legitimacy and in-group and out-group membership emerged as an important issue which reflected the different uses of space. This issue resonates with the ancient rules of apartheid wherein the white government earmarked whites as the 'legitimate' citizens wherein preferential education, employment and living conditions were allotted to this group. It may be argued that the creation of a community within notice board A may only be representative of a select few. Having discussed the creation of a distinct locale and two divergent views of community, the 'others' are also viewed as important in their contribution to an understanding of the local and what constitutes community. Further analysis between a community of locals (that belong) and distinct outsiders (that do not belong) in Observatory is discussed when analysing access and reception of translocal newcomers at the local school.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Observatory Junior School as Contested Territory

8.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on Observatory Junior School (henceforth OJS) which underwent a massive demographic shift from a largely white pupil base to an almost exclusively black one since 1994. Previously, the white pupils that attended OJS came from the residing area of Observatory however; the black learners which currently attend OJS are from townships located in largely poverty stricken black areas further afield in Cape Town. Discourse pertaining to the legitimacy of these black students at OJS (which foregrounds the school as a contested place), is analysed when looking at print and virtual material. The school, its resources and its demographic change in learners are viewed as inextricably tied to the history of education under apartheid law in South Africa as well as the newly imagined futures of the school.

Under apartheid law, the right to education, as with all other laws during this time, was grossly unfair and privileged the white populace. Although progress has been made to bridge the gap between various ethnic groups in the country, facilities and amenities at 'Model C' schools are still much better than their public school counterparts. These amenities can be seen as the result of the disproportionate funding during apartheid. "In 1982 the Apartheid government of South Africa spent an average of R1,211 on education for each White child, and only R146 for each Black child" (Lemon and Battersby-Lennard, 2011: abstract). This means that the apartheid government invested heavily in the education of White children and it is this rich inheritance which is now being accessed by black township children. Access to education has almost always been unfairly distributed and it has been argued that "… one of the fundamental differences between the experiences of Whites and Blacks in [the] Apartheid era [in] South Africa was education. Whilst the battle against enforced education in Afrikaans was eventually won, the Apartheid government's 'Bantu' education policy meant that Black children did not receive the same opportunities as White children" (Lemon and Battersby-Lennard, 2011: abstract). Needless to say, black children from township areas would (almost assuredly) not have been able to gain access to Model C school amenities and education during this time. However, with post-1994 liberation and the abolishment of apartheid laws also came movement

across geographically restricted educational domains. Drastic changes in demographics at OJS are evidence of the post-liberal change which has contributed to a blurring of racial, linguistic and spatial boundaries catalyzed by learner migration both in and out of the school. In this regard, Dixon points out that the "...intimate ties between identity, geography and racism have been underexplored in South Africa, even though questions of identity have featured prominently in local explanations of racial conflict (cf. Foster and Louw-Potgieter, 1991) (2007: 20).

Contemporary OJS is now predominantly occupied by black children from townships in Cape Town. The effects of the migration of white children out of OJS and the inward migration of black learners into OJS have brought to the fore discourses on racism, exclusion and legitimacy. Concerning the movements in and out of previously white schools, Hofmeyr points out that "In some quarters, perceptions of middle class 'flight' from public schooling to private education have been interpreted as 'evidence' of declining standards in public education. Depleted numbers in some black township schools have raised concerns about the impacts of pupil migration on quality and equity" (2000: 5). The argument about the lowering level of education is addressed further when exploring dominant ideologies at OJS.

In order to uncover latent desires and inherent beliefs and ideologies, Blackledge's (2003) work on Chinese learners at British schools identifies common-sense arguments as *topoi*. Similarly, the analysis of OJS is important in its capacity to uncover significant discourses (or topoi) on 'community', 'legitimacy', 'identity' and the construction of the 'other'. The analysis of OJS is investigated through a triangulation of reactive and non-reactive data, specifically: an article written about the school in the community newspaper, a virtual blog discussing the changes in the school and interviews with locals and learners' parents about the school. This method allows for a textured analysis which interweaves what is written in both a linear fashion (newspaper) as well as a virtual open-ended conversational one (online) and also includes what is said in conversations (interviews). In this way, discourse on education and English are pitted against commonly held ideologies and beliefs that may stem from apartheid teachings.

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This triangulation of discourse pertaining to OJS speaks to ingrained racist ideologies, which manifest through discourse pertaining to movement in and out of specific areas. In this way, Dixon (1997:18) points out that "Racist ideologies typically seek to naturalize racist geographies, to make racial division appear universal and immutable, to keep people in their 'proper places' (Jackson and Penrose, 1993; Kobayashi and Peake, 1994). In order to accomplish this, they often mobilize common-sense construction of the link between 'race' and geography." It is the common-sense beliefs between identity and space that this chapter explores.

8.1 Contextualizing Observatory Junior School

Observatory Junior School was first established in the early 1900s. During this time it was considered a 'white' school meant to service the white families in the area. Post-1994 saw an influx of black learners from poverty stricken townships, such asKhayelitsha and Nyanga in Cape Town.

The school was also adopted by companies such as ABERCROMBIE and KENT and TRUWORTHS. The school has also been recognized by the INSTITUTE FOR JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION and Woolworths Trust. It is generally perceived as a school which caters to disadvantaged learners. Below are signs and pictures found around the school which depict its affiliation and dependency on outside benefactors.

OJS is also the pilot school of the SHINE program, an international teaching program which provides international volunteer teachers to provide assistance in English to children who would otherwise not have received these opportunities. Emphasis is placed on children from disadvantaged areas acquiring proficiency in English.

From the above signage, the image of the school as one which caters for English second language pupils from poverty stricken areas, is elucidated by the necessity of the centre at OJS.
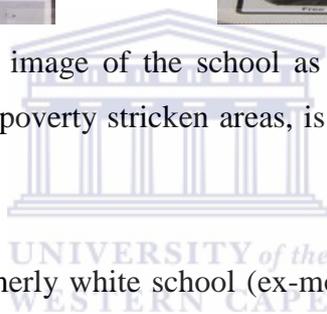
With OJS having been a formerly white school (ex-model C school) there are many amenities that learners, teachers and volunteers have at their disposal, amongst which are, large main hall, library, garden, tennis and netball courts, music room, playground and computer room. The learners also participate in sporting activities and library training. Below are some pictures of the amenities that can be found at OJS:

The picture on the left shows the view from the top banister of the school hall. The hall itself has large bay windows and high ceilings with a raised platform. The school hall is impressive in its architectural design and is vastly different from public schools

in black townships which generally have very poorly designed school halls, or an absence of a school hall altogether. The top right picture shows the neatly kept playground which the learners use during their allotted intervals. The bottom right picture shows the students' computer lab which was donated by another external donor. The value that these school amenities bring to black learners from poverty stricken townships is immensurate and builds towards educational success. This is an example of the geosemiotics of the socially laden value of signs (specifically, the school hall, playground and computer lab) which together construct an image of a well resourced and well-maintained 'good' school.

Township schools tend to only have one or two computers for the use of the principal and staff. Not only do township schools suffer from a lack of resources, but they also often fall victim to acts of vandalism. For these reasons, resources such as those provided at OJS are well sought after by black learners in faraway townships as well as 'local learners' (residing in Observatory). These resources make OJS attractive to both locals and those further afield and are one of the chief reasons why it is construed as a contested space. With the new democratic dispensation, discussion around the legitimate recipients of previously 'white-owned' institutions such as OJS, becomes a point of contention and is discussed further.

8.2 Divergent imaginings of educational futures at OJS

There appears to be two very distinct imaginings of educational futures at OJS which clearly speak to divergent notions of legitimacy/ belonging, space and territory, language ideology and social transformation in South Africa at large. On the one hand, black and coloured parents may now be imagining a more successful future for their kids who negate previous boundaries (implemented under apartheid law) and further facilitated by public transport (train, bus and taxi) and financial stability (made possible through low school fees). On the other hand, there is a future imagining of OJS as 'once again' being reclaimed and used by the residents located in the geography of Observatory. These two divergent imaginings of OJS is explored further.

From the analysis of these two different imagining of OJS, emerges the distinct construction of the 'other', made evident through the palpable expression of in-group legitimacy and out-group status. The ideology of *necessary* segregation or a 'natural apartheid' is one that was promulgated during apartheid with laws which enforced disproportionate division of land and resources. It is thus with movements across racial 'boundaries' that some may appear 'out of place'.

The methods used to uncover the different ideologies around education and legitimacy is through the identification of argumentation strategies or topoi. For van Dijk 'argumentation schemes' represent "the common-sense reasoning typical for specific issues' (2000: 98) and "…the most typical elements of the argumentative and persuasive nature of debates on immigration, integration and the multicultural society" (van Dijk, 2000:98).

Blackledge's (2003) study touches on this point as he looked at Chinese learners at a British school and uncovered that argumentative strategies indexed larger negative ideologies concerning learners' visits to heritage countries. Argumentative strategies implied that these visits had detrimental effects on the learners and the British school system. Similarly, the data discussed further is analysed so as to ascertain the different argumentation strategies employed. Keen sociolinguistic interest lies within the expression of power, mobility, agency and voice. The argument then is how relations of power, mobility, agency and voice speak to notions of legitimacy/belonging in the imaginings of OJS by various significant others.

Obslife, a local newspaper in Observatory, is clear about its imagined 'owners' of OJS, as can be seen from the following excerpts in an article aptly entitled: 'Bringing Obs Junior School back home'. The title of the article "Bringing Obs Junior School back home" foregrounds the topoi of reclaiming space to its 'rightful' or 'legitimate' users. This is where we see the biggest fracture between imagined lives at OJS. Straightaway the reader is introduced to two different sets of learners with black learners being constructed as the 'other' and Observatory children constructed as belonging to the 'local' or legitimate community, as show below:

> At present, the Obs Junior School bizarrely find itself populated
> mostly by children from townships up to 30kms away, while local
> children wade through the rush-hour traffic each morning to distant
> private and better resourced schools…

The issue of legitimacy is directly tied to the appropriation of space and sets the tone for later discussion around 'us' and 'them'. In-group membership, which signals legitimacy at OJS, is inferred by the description of 'parents with young children living in the village' as opposed to 'children from townships up to 30 kms away'. Pertinently, the village is a recurring metaphor for Observatory's close-knit community of residents and is a key marker of in-group and legitimate status. However, a distinct 'other' emerges as black learners are constructed in terms of geographical distance - 'townships up to 30 kms away'. In this regard black learners are seen as coming from a very distant place (not a village) but rather a township which signals that these learners fall outside of the 'acceptable legitimacy' of the village. In the article legitimate status of parents are signalled with description of in-group members as 'local middle class parents', ' Observatory parents', 'local parents'. Parents of black learners are not mentioned. This means that the 'voice' of the legitimate group is really only heard on the side of the Observatory (white) parents. Reference to 'teachers at local school' is the only other description of blacks and is coupled with 'inferior education'.

When introducing the fact that the majority of the school children at OJS are black, the inserted adverb 'bizarrely' constructs an image that something out of the ordinary is happening at the school. Furthermore, a comparison is drawn between the transportation methods used by these 'distant township children' and the 'local children' when going to school. Straightaway children residing in Observatory are granted legitimacy by the description of them being 'local children'. These local children are shown to be disadvantaged by these township children as they:

> … wade through the rush-hour traffic each morning to distant
> private and better resourced schools.

The practice of sending children to schools far from home is not a new one. Both the parents from the townships and Observatory alike send their children to schools away from home, which they perceive to be better resourced and therefore able to produce a better future for their children. In the context of imagined communities, Appadurai (1996: 6) points out that "More people than ever before seem to imagine routinely the possibility that they or their children will live and work in places other than where they were born". The imagined futures discussed here are made possible through factors such as the advancement of transportation and the abolishment of apartheid laws. Nevertheless, it may be argued that some apartheid imaginings still exist.

The distance which these township children have to travel is directly linked to the historical placement of blacks far from the inner city (which were reserved for whites). Schools operating in townships today are still very much under-resourced and associated with low levels of education. The situation in Observatory indicates that the practice of sending children to schools far from home is shared by both the 'local' parents and 'black' parents. However, it is the trajectory from townships into Observatory that is being objected to. This can be seen as the racializing of a normative practice.
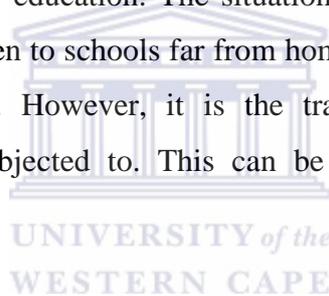
As seen in the extract below, the resulting low number of white students attending OJS is constructed as one of the 'problems' that the principal has to deal with in order to promote or 'sell' the school to 'local middle-class parents':

> Only five of the 630 pupils are white and when it comes to selling the school to local middle-class parents, she [the principal] has to compete against the likes of Grove and St. George's

Also, two very privileged schools, namely Grove and St. George's, are cited as competition for OJS. These schools are described as "private and better resourced state schools". Contradictorily, mention of OJS having bested all other schools in the Western province, by winning two awards (one for astronomy and another for gardening), was effectively diminished by the description of it as simply 'signs of budding excellence at the school'. In light of these achievements, OJS should have been lauded as a school that can compete with other 'well-resourced schools' in the

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province, instead the achievements earned by these black learners were played down by the phrase 'budding success', which implies that that the school has not reached its full potential and was still in its infancy stage. Intriguingly, the only time when explicit mention of race went *unmentioned* occurred when describing the successes of these evidently black learners at OJS:

> O'Ryan points to the signs of budding excellence at the school: a team of Obs Junior pupils has over the last few years come third, then second, and this year first in an astronomy competition run by the local observatory. They competed against the best in the Western Cape, and will now go on to compete in a national competition in Gauteng. Similarly, a group of Obs Junior pupils has won a province-wide school gardening competition.

Here we see a non-racializing of pupils when credit or academic merits are mentioned. Vague descriptions, such as: 'a team of Obs Junior pupils' and 'a group of Obs Junior pupils' are used to identify the recipients of these awards. Significantly, when no clear mention is made of race, these above descriptions fall more into the constructed image of a 'legitimate' in-group. This suggests that symbolic power – through academic accreditation, are not afforded to these black learners.

Middle class parents occupy a socio-economic position intermediate between those of the lower classes and the wealthy. However, in South Africa, poverty levels are much higher than first world countries and these 'local middle-class parents' may indeed be considered wealthy by third world standard.

Notably, the principal situates herself in a weak position, wherein she appears to be appealing greatly for 'legitimate' membership by the 'local' community'. She expressly mentions her desire to fix the 'distortion' of the large number of black learners at OJS. Throughout the article no voice can be heard from the black learners or their parents.

Principal O'Ryan

Determined   to turn

	the OJS into school of first choice
fix	this distortion
	school will closely reflect the demographics of South Africa – essential component of a good education for South African children
acknowledges	long way to go
	only five of 630 pupils are white
selling school	local middle class parents
compete	Grove and St. Georges
hard sell	inferior – black school mindset
convince	hard, measurable achievements
possible	introduction of national external exams for Gr 3 and 6
principal for nine months	
determined	annual 10 percent rise in
	dismal numeracy pass rate of just below 16%
	literacy at a somewhat more acceptable 87%
ascribes	low numeracy figures
	terminology difference
	between new external exam papers
	and terms used by the teachers at local schools
points	signs of budding excellence at the school
	a team of Obs Junior pupils
	3rd, 2nd, 1st Astronomy competition
	run by local observatory
	they
	competed against best in Western Cape
	go on to compete in national competition - Gauteng
	a group of Obs Junior pupils
	won
	province wide school gardening competition
	the school
	boasts
	lively cultural programme,
	including strong chess
	ballet
	and golf clubs
	Leadership development
	Emphasized
	culminating in annual leadership camp
	for 20 Grade sixes
	seven extra teaching posts
	fees of R1 795 per year
	R150 per month
Points	only five
	of her 22 teachers participated in the recent strike
	despite considerable pressure
	South African Democratic Teachers Union
believes	clear culture of putting children first
	is developing
would consider	working with a group of local parents
replied	an emphatic yes

From the condensed version of the article above it is clear that Principal O'Ryan voice (and therein the voice of the school is clearly articulated. Bakhtin (1986) points out that discourse can be "double-voiced" and this also occurs in Blackledge's study where an inspection report houses the "(apparently homogenous voices) of the 'governors and staff'…" (2003:342). Similarly, the ObsLife article expresses the pleading voice of the principal and what the reader may construe as an apparently homogenous group of Observatory parents. Whether this homogeneity is true is not confirmed, which means that there may indeed be parents in Observatory who do not share the views articulated in the text. Clearly, representation of the views of black parents and children are excluded. In this regard, Blackledge (2003) reminds us to investigate whose voice is being heard and which voice is absent in the text as what is absent from a text is often just as significant as that which is 'in' a text. Put another way, "Choice entails exclusion as well as inclusion" (Fairclough, 1995: 210).

An interview with a resident that read the article concerning OJS demonstrates the highly negative ripple effect of this seemingly authoritative community perspective on the school:
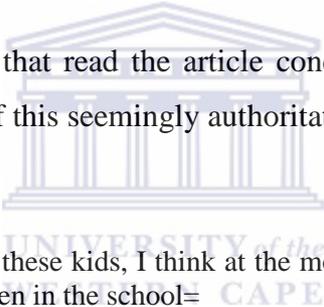
> Interviewee: All these kids, I think at the moment there are currently four white children in the school=
>
> Interviewer: I I believe that
>
> Interviewee: These kids are bussed in from Khayelitsha and wherever wherever wherever
>
> Interviewer: okay, so quite far, quite a distance
>
> Interviewee: yes and now the OBSID etcetera are hoping to say take Obs Junior School back so to speak for Obs, but if I had a child I would not send my child there
>
> Interviewer: okay, why?
>
> Interviewee: BECAUSE I'm afraid the standard of education is not good enough and it's not a racial thing but I want, I would want my child where proper English is spoken etcetera etcetera
>
> Interviewer: so what is, what's happening there, I mean, I must actually – I'm gonna go there today, what is happening there?
>
> Interviewee: well its bumbling along but the standard of education is not like before=

Interviewer:　　=what was it like before, was it different before maybe a few years back

Interviewee:　It's been like this for quite a while now, LONG ago forty years ago, it was okay, but I would not send a child there and I make no bones about it so you find they say, when the kids get to school going age, they tend to go nearer to where they comfortable to be=

Interviewer:　　= so would they move themselves completely out of the..

Interviewee:　Ja a lot of them move themselves out completely

The excerpt above is an example of a perspective expressed in the article being relayed by a resident as her own corroborating view. However, there are many instances where near direct quotation of the article (and its own limited view on the topic), is reproduced. Most significantly, when asked about the history of the school, which was not addressed in the article, the interviewee responded vaguely, as seen below:

Interviewer:　=what was it like before, was it different before maybe a few years back

Interviewee:　It's been like this for quite a while now, LONG ago forty years ago, it was okay,

In contrast, when discussing the current situation of OJS with the resident it became evident that much of her opinion was simply transferred information obtained through reading the local community newspaper. This suggests transference from information (from article) to opinion (of individual) which therein lends credibility to the 'facticity' of the article. The ObsLife article states that 'only five of the 630 pupils are white' which is therefore later restated by the resident as 'there are currently four white children in the school'. The article also refers to the learners as 'children from township', which later becomes rephrased as 'kids [that] are bussed in from Khayelitsha and wherever wherever wherever'. Even the title of the article 'Bringing Obs Junior School back home' is also later restated as the resident's opinion when she states '[we] take Obs Junior School back so to speak for Obs'.

When the resident puts forward her own views on sending a child to OJS, we see that she has opted to accept the common-sense argument employed in the article which

suggests that black education may be interpreted (by some) as inferior education. In the article, this argument is expressed as follows:

> Even assuming that Observatory parents are beyond the mindset that equates a majority-black school per se with inferior education, she [the principal] will have to convince with hard, measurable achievements…

The word 'even' is used as an intensive which indicates something unexpected is to follow and in 'even assuming' an affirmation of a very possible disbelief is manifested. Although the author may not share the view that black dominated schools equate to inferior education, the discourse *permits* this presupposition as a common sense argument. It instantly shifts power from the school to the reader and decidedly undermines the value and legitimacy of such a school in Observatory. Below we see just how such an argument can construct or reinforce a negative stereotype when adopted as a 'common-sense' argument by the resident:

> Interviewee: yes and now the OBSID etcetera are hoping to say take Obs Junior School back so to speak for Obs, but if I had a child I would not send my child there
>
> Interviewer: okay, why?
>
> Interviewee: BECAUSE I'm afraid the standard of education is not good enough and it's not a racial thing but I want, I would want my child where proper English is spoken etcetera etcetera
>
> [Emphasis added]

This is a good example of the danger that lurks behind uncontested 'common-sense' arguments concerning identity and education, especially when placed in a community newspaper. No mention is made of the nation-building impact of mobile black children that would otherwise not have had access to such resources. Instead, a continuation of the 'common-sense' argument develops into a full-blown ideology of 'good education' being associated with race (white children) and language (English). And to this end, black learners do not fit into this category.

Explicit mention is made of the distance that black school kids travel in order to attend OJS and this journey, from the township area to the city school, is constructed

as a problem. The act of black learners travelling great distances to obtain better education is exactly the same activity- which local white learners in Observatory undertake as well. Learners are said to have to 'relocate' to distant and better-resourced schools, with examples of Grove and St. Georges being cited. One of the popular transport options used by black learners is taxis, which are extremely cheap and fast. Below is a picture of the OJS learners' means of transport, busses, taxis, and minibuses alongside the train station:

Crucially, the trajectory of 'white' learners from Observatory into Newlands or Mowbray where Grove Primary School and St. George's Grammar School are located respectively is not considered as a possible problem for parents in those areas. This implies that it is not the journey itself which is the problem, but rather where these learners depart from and the (racial) identity of these learners. Due to exorbitant school fees, many previously white (Model C) schools have only a few black learners in attendance as financial affordability is not within reach of the large majority of blacks in the South Africa. Banda (2000, 2004) contends that extremely high school fees effectively acts as a filter for many of the poorer black learners, both locally and nationally.

OJS does not have this same filter and in fact, has extremely low school fees. In the article, explicit mention is made of the fees paid annually at OJS:

> Obs Junior charges school fees of R1795, which comes to about R150 per month…

Here we see low school fees being constructed as a problem, as it plainly opens the door to many poorer black learners who would otherwise not be able to afford to pay for travelling costs, uniforms as well as school fees.

8.3 Virtual contestation for OJS

Contestation over OJS, their learners and legitimacy can also be found in the virtual arena. Wikmapia is an online editable map where users can describe any place in the world. It is a combination of both Google Maps with a Wiki system, thereby allowing users to add information in the form of virtual posts. What follows is an analysis of four such posts discovered when searching for OJS online.

The posts analyzed are submitted voluntarily by virtual participants and yields much information regarding ideas of legitimacy, the English language and race and identity on both a local and national scale. These posts are understood through Bakhtin's (1984) notion of dialogicality which moves away from the simple dyadic conversations and rather focuses on different sources expressed over time and space. For Agha the term dialogic "…describes any structure of entextualization that juxtaposes images of speaker-actor as contrasting with or appearing to react against each other" (2005: 38).

Although several months had passed between each post, it is clear that each post speaks dialogically to the other. From the initial post, it is clear that the author (or blogger) created the post with a future dialogue in mind. From the four-part exchange analysed below, there is a myriad of meanings possible and the multivocality of language emerges as a key tool when examining these posts. Despite the fact that virtually any person in the world could have posted these comments, it becomes clear these bloggers are South African and that each blogger had read the other's posts and added their own interpretation of the subject matter in order to construct meaning.

The users identified themselves as: Notimpressed, Bangilizwe, Realistic and Meme. All four users posted only one post each, with the first post initiated by Notimpressed, who had attended OJS in the 1980's. Notimpressed expresses firm views about the

denigration of the school since the arrival of black students. Bangilizwe replies with a terse response, claiming that the country now belongs to blacks. The next blogger is Realistic, who not only elaborates on Notimpressed's post but also admonishes Bangilizwe for her use of English and at this point English becomes overtly aligned to whiteness. To end, Meme responds to each blogger individually in attempts to not only bring about some sort of accord about space and race, but also language. Although this entire blog is written in English, views about the English language and race are expressed both covertly and overtly in each post.

The first post reconfigures OJS as a formerly 'successful local white school' to a presently poorly run black one. The next post deals almost exclusively with language and race on a national level. In addition, although gender is not specified, a strong female voice is heard from all four users. There is also a strong indication that two of the users (Notimpressed and Realistic) are white, while Bangilizwe and Meme are isiXhosa names and strongly hint that these two users are black. Although only Notimpressed and Meme discuss the issue of legitimacy (in terms of whom the school belongs to) the other two users talk more about language as restricted to race on a national level. The blog analysed http://wikimapia.org/11424723/Observatory-Junior-school (as accessed on January 15, 2011), is added as an annexure.

Notimpressed situates herself as a previously legitimate learner at OJS and does so by using the possessive pronouns 'my' and 'our' when discussing the school. She also draws upon her experiences shared with friends and the feeling of being proud of the school. Her mention of the mother of a friend of hers that still works at the school also affirms her connection to the school. Notimpressed also uses capital letters to indicate emphasis and affect. Examples below show how the blogger indicates legitimacy (insider/inclusivity):

> One of the mom's of a friend of mine that was in my class when I attended the school was there
> When I attended the school all my friends and I were so proud to be at that school. It was OUR school.
> my school
> MY SCHOOL
> my school. UNTIL 1997.
>
> [Original emphasis in CAPITALS]

Notimpressed constructs commonsense arguments about the denigration of the school and puts the blame firmly on the present 'illegitimate' black learners at OJS and is explored in more detail further on. What follows is an analysis of the emotive statements made by Notimpressed and her description of the black learners, which are characterized as unwanted, negligent and ostensibly illegitimate learners at the school.

I am appauled	at the fact that 96% of the students are Xhosa.
I was horrified	at the condition and state the school property was in.
One of the mom's of a friend of mine	(she still helps out and supports the school)
	The library was totally wrecked.
	The walls were totally filthy, amongst other areas of the school she showed me.
I	am not a racist, but wow how the
blacks	have messed every thing good up that was working perfectly well before they arrived. Show me any place the white people had before that is now better or even the same. No you can't. Why?
Because they	are incapable of looking after any thing that isn't broken. If it is fixed it can't be used until it is broken.
Again, I'm not a racist.	
	My domestic's family and mine are like family.
I am helping her	with a few hundred rands extra a month to put her eldest boy through high school.
If I had not seen the	sorry state

Although Notimpressed explicitly adjudges a non–racist attitude (as seen when she states "I'm not a racist" twice in her post) it is the comment about her domestic worker that belies her latent racist attitude. In the sentence "My domestic's family and mine are like family" the blogger clearly assumes that the reader will know that the domestic worker is black. Furthermore her mention of financial support in "I am helping her with a few hundred rands extra a month…" is also supposed to lend credence to her purportedly non-racist attitude. The blogger clearly believes that OJS is being misappropriated by blacks and that it is worse for wear because of it. The irony of course lies in condemning blacks for taking over and ruining OJS while assisting a cash strapped black woman in sending her child to school. This paradox is emblematic of the dual desire to live as part of the rainbow nation, while insisting that this should be undertaken separately.

The second post is quite short, contains profanity and is a response to Notimpressed. The blogger, named Bangilizwe, posits the view that Notimpressed is indeed racist and takes the argument from a local arena (OJS) to a national one by stating that "South Africa belongs to Blacks for your information, days are gone when there whites areas only". Although there are some grammatical errors, (missing third person conjugation of the verb to be as in "when there *were* white areas only"), the sentiment of the post is palpable. Although Bangilizwe is taking an extreme stance, which is of course in itself racist, she has also positioned herself as the aggressor and is chastised by Realistic in the following post.

This third post addresses both Notimpressed and Bangilizwe and begins with a defence of Notimpressed's views and ending with an admonishment to Bangilizwe. The third blogger, named Realistic, rationalizes the first post saying that it "is not a racist comment but a fact…" (common-sense argument) and then begins to problematize the notion of blacks in South Africa (when remarking on "Xhosa, Zulu"). Realistic then draws on her historical (and decidedly colonial-bias) representation of history when she says: "…if history serves me right most black people were running around in loin clothes killing one another before the white man arrived." Van Dijk's (2000) assessment of argumentative strategies as topoi can be linked to black culture and white 'legitimacy' and states: "Argumentative assertions of the depravity of black culture are combined with denials of white deficiencies (racism), with rhetorical mitigation and euphemization of its crimes (colonialism, slavery), and with semantic reversals of blame (blaming the victim). Social conflict is thus cognitively represented and enhanced by polarization, and discursively sustained and reproduced by derogating, demonizing, and excluding the Others from the community of Us, the Civilized" (van Dijk, 2000: 362).

In a way, this type of historical mockery of black people of South Africa is reminiscent of much of the apartheid propaganda that occurred over the years and which led to much of the enduring stereotypes that still exist today. As shown below, Realistic appears offended by Bangilizwe's use of profanity and attempts to disempower her by aligning the English language to a white identity. By doing so Realistic is excluding Bangilizwe from the very linguistic resource which has allowed

her to understand and voice opinions in this domain. Realistic therefore has found a way to exclude Bangilizwe from the 'civilized' white English-speaking people.

Meme, having read all of the other posts now appears to have taken the role of omnipresent South African identity. Meme opens with a question addressing all of the aforementioned bloggers. Her plea that the bloggers find solutions for their problems is stated clearly when she says: "Can we for once stop complaining and look for solutions?" She then attempts to offer solutions (in the form of thought-provoking questions, advice, admonishments and explanation) to each of the bloggers in the order in which they initially posted their views.

Meme is the only blogger to directly address the initial problem posed by Notimpressed concerning the state of OJS. This is contrary to Bangilizwe, whose curt post did not address the initial issue concerning the state of the school, but rather concentrated on race and ownership on a national level. Although Realistic does address the issue of the state of the school, she quickly moves from the local (school) to a greater historical and national view of language and ethnicity.

Meme poses four questions to Notimpressed, specifically:

> Why does everything always have to be about race?
>
> You say you are not a racist, so why do you keep saying it?
>
> Why do you feel the need to justify your comment?
>
> It would have been enough to say the school is in a bad condition without pointing out that it's 96% Xhosa, blacks etc... is there anything you've tried to do to get YOUR school to what it used to be?

The first three questions deal with the issue of race and racism and it becomes apparent that she does not agree with Notimpressed's affirmation that she is not a racist. Her final question has to do with the actions of Notimpressed, placing her in a weaker position by challenging her own inactions in contributing to OJS. She uses capitals to emphasize that it is Notimpressed's inaction which should be evaluated as she claims to hold such an extreme attachment for the school. As seen below, Meme's advice (and admonishments) addressed to Bangilizwe materializes in the form of the two following statements:

there is no reason for you to curse at other people.

South Africa belongs to ALL who live in it...that's what the Constitution says.

Meme addresses Bangilizwe's profanity just briefly, and then in her next statement she talks about all races living harmoniously on a national level and ends with "that's what the Constitution says." Her reference to the South African constitution may have been employed as a gentle reminder to Bangilizwe about democracy, but more likely, it was employed as verification and authority on the subject of nationhood.

Meme takes the most revealing and argumentative stance with Realistic, in which she moves back and forth between notions of language and identity and the importance of competency in the national language of English. Her opening statement: "I'm assuming you are white because your English is so good" shows a construction of identity (being white) with language (English) and most importantly, competency in English, as seen when she says "so good".

Meme then de-centres the English language by placing it on the localized arena when she says: "Remember that English is not a first language to every South African." When Meme says: "If you were speaking IsiXhosa as a white person would you be fluent in it?" she moves Realistic into a weaker position by swapping linguistic scenarios. Her final comment to Realistic returns to the issue of English and race and this time she identifies herself as black in: "I'm black by the way and I know I speak and write English very well even though it's not my first language…" At this point, Meme juxtaposes her identity with English; she deconstructs the one-to-one identity between language and identity i.e. you have to be white to speak English well. Moreover, she ends by stating that her level of English is "…even better than most white South Africans!"

This final declaration can be construed as a reminder that English is not the strict domain of whites in South Africa. Meme ends by moving away from race and language to a more general understanding of different cultures when she says "…it takes one person at a time trying to understand other people's cultures in order for us

to understand why things are the way they are and why people do things the way they do." Incidentally, Meme's conscious decision to speak to each blogger in the order in which they posted their comments is indicative of her way of trying to bring out understanding across perspectives and cultures.

In the analysis of the blog posts it becomes clear that 'legitimacy' and 'power' is addressed by all parties in different ways. Notimpressed's first initial post centres on the issue of legitimacy and for her legitimacy is tied to her identity as a previous learner of OJS during the 1980's. During this time OJS, like the suburb, was previously considered a white area, with only whites being the legitimate users and inhabitants of the area. She then extends her discussion around legitimacy (as tied to her being a white OJS learner) to discussion around white areas that have now (in her opinion) become spoilt by blacks. West (2006:38) speaks to this belief when explaining that: "…middle-class white South Africans are still fiercely protecting their unselfconscious entitlement to a sense of home (belonging), autonomy, relevance, legitimacy and honour".

Notimpressed's argument has been echoed by many of the interviewees in the study, who believe that things were better before apartheid ended and which is discussed more intently when considering common-sense arguments. Whereas the above perspective relied on 'facts' including reference to the Constitution and history, below we see arguments based on what we can call common sense knowledge.

Topos of 'naturalness' of apartheid:

> Show me any place the white people had before that is now better or even
> the same. No you can't. Why?"

One of the strategic tenets of apartheid was the imposition of racist government belief that 'white is right' and that space occupied by whites should be better than other spaces occupied by other races. This resulted in many (non-white) people forcefully removed from their homes. Therefore, the 'places which white people had before' which Realistic refers to should not be viewed in isolation to its appropriation from blacks, coloured and Indians during apartheid. Areas such as Camps Bay, Sea Point

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and Constantia were strategically provided for white people due to their beautiful surroundings, and upmarket appeal with neighbourhoods like Observatory also attractive due to its close proximity to city amenities and major roads. Over the years, the naturalness of living separately became a part of the idyllic quotidian lives which many whites enjoyed.

The palpable frustration and anger expressed by Notimpressed in this text is produced as a challenge to blacks and demands evidence of previously white spaces which have shown improvement after the advent of democracy. The argument is an expression of 'rightness' which is accompanied with spaces.

Notimpressed, although firmly presenting herself as a (legitimate) learner of OJS, does not credit the black children as learners themselves, but rather as 'outsiders'. In her haste to publicize her feelings about the condition of OJS, she moves away from the idea that the Xhosa learners are just that -young children of school-going age. Instead, she problematizes the learners' presence by constructing them as black homogenous adults and decision makers of their own educational future. Notimpressed discusses her school experience at OJS during the 1980's with sentimental nostalgia. Her five reiterations of the possessive pronoun 'my' in my school indicate her high degree of pride. However, her 'pride' quickly dissolves when contrasted with her visit of the school in 1997. During this post apartheid transitional time period, she relays her feelings of OJS as 'appalled' and 'horrified' by what she sees. She describes the school's library as 'totally wrecked' and the walls as 'totally filthy'. She goes on to explain the condition of the school is due to the large number of black students and states 'blacks have messed up everything good that was working perfectly well before they arrived' and that 'blacks are incapable of looking after anything that isn't broken'. It appears that for Notimpressed there is no middle ground or 'grey area' but rather clear polarized views of the school before and after apartheid.

There are numerous ways in which Notimpressed positions herself as a legitimate OJS learner in the 1980's over black learners. The word 'attended' is used twice in the post and signals Notimpressed's legitimacy as an expected and desirable learner at the school. The use of numerous possessive pronouns i.e. 'my' in 'my class' and 'our' in 'our school' not only establishes Notimpressed as a learner of the school, but more

importantly implies that the school belongs to her, and in this way she exerts ownership and control over the school. She also talks about collective pride in 'my friends and I were so proud' and school (institutional) pride in 'I have always been proud of my school'. This description of pride as tied to a collective (community of friends at OJS) and institution (OJS) feeds validity to Notimpressed's belief that she was a truly legitimate learner at OJS and clearly categorizes black learners as outsiders.

Her feelings towards OJS (in 1997) reveal a complete turnaround from her previous one, with her expressing numerous negative affirmations. And although Notimpressed visited OJS in 1997, she uses current figures of '96% of the students are Xhosa' to problematize the present condition of the school. She places the blame for the condition of the school squarely on the racial category of the students. Her mention of the library as being 'totally wrecked' and walls 'totally filthy' are employed as evidence of the misuse and negligence of 'white' property by illegitimate black learners. Notimpressed's descriptions of the black learners are aligned with a homogenous group of (black) vandals which misappropriates previously 'legitimate' and perfectly ordered white areas.

Notimpressed doesn't only locate her problem within the local arena of OJS; she soon expands into her latent belief in the benefits of a 'natural apartheid'. She talks about things having been better when South Africa was a racially - segregated country. Unsurprisingly, black learners are positioned as newcomers to the area and are subsumed into a more general black 'problem' which is set on a national scale. Notimpressed's statement that: 'blacks have messed every thing good up that was working perfectly well before they arrived' lends credence to her belief that apartheid was a good system for the people of South Africa.

Notimpressed credits space and facilities as commodities, with the 'legitimate' owners being the whites. She disempowers black learners by classifying them as a nameless homogenous group with no ties to the school. Furthermore, she delegitimizes the learners by claiming that their misuse of school property is synonymous with misappropriation of space and facilities nationwide. However, the

core miscarriage of understanding social transformation is the exclusion of intangible things such as the hopes and dreams and imagined futures of these learners.

For Bangilizwe, legitimacy is simply tied to race (black identity), with space no longer belonging to whites which is apparent when she states "days are gone when there whites areas only" [meant as gone are the days when there were white areas only]. The third blogger, Realistic introduces legitimacy as language being tied to race, specifically the English language and white ethnicity, can be construed as aimed at disempowering non-English first language:

> "So it's not about having black or white areas but looking after what we have and being tolerant, unlike your use of foul language and your total disrespect for the English or should i say white language"

She essentially creates a one-to-one relationship between language and race. This strategy of exclusion was heavily relied on during apartheid, with language playing a huge role in confirming ethnicity. For example, black people were often grouped into the Xhosa or Zulu speech communities, with coloureds grouped into the Afrikaans community. Therefore, the belief that English belongs to whites in South Africa is not a new idea and is in fact a repetition of apartheid indoctrination and imaginings

Realistic also expresses her belief that white areas are spaces that legitimately belong to whites and she looks to history to substantiate her claims: "if history serves me right most black people were running around in loin clothes killing one another before the white man arrived." Similar to Notimpressed, she indicates that black people don't know how to look after space and for this reason whites had no choice but to take ownership and enforce control through regulating space and those that have access to those spaces. In this way, the description of blacks as 'running around in loin clothes killing one another' portrays them as violent and uncivilized, especially when juxtaposed alongside 'the white man' which was meant to imply non-violent and civilized tendencies. This argument supports the idea that apartheid was in fact beneficial for blacks through its regulating the uncivilized and negligent black masses. These types of common-sense arguments appear often when speaking to whites and

coloureds in Observatory and are quite dangerous as they further disempower and marginalize blacks.

For Meme, legitimacy was tied to being South African, with English not only the domain of whites and space to be shared and not the exclusive domains of whites. This is clear when she states "I'm black by the way and I know I speak and write English very well even though it's not my first language, even better than most white South Africans!"

A deeper analysis into the constructions of black and white by the bloggers is provided in the discursive collocation of race, language and identity provided below:

Notimpressed	Bangilizwe	Realistic	Meme
Xhosa	Blacks	Blacks	Xhosa
Blacks	white areas	black people	blacks
white people		Blacks	white
domestic family		xhosa	isiXhosa
They		zulu	white person
		black people	black
		white man	white South Africans
		black/white areas	
		white language	

Notably, Notimpressed's description of Blacks range from language spoken (Xhosa), profession (domestic family) and impersonal 'they'. Contrastingly she depicts whites as 'white people' who can be tied to 'citizenry' and individuals. This can be seen as her affording them a higher degree of social identity. Bangilizwe refers to 'blacks' in a general sense, but collocates the word 'white' with 'areas'. This is not uncommon as much has been made about whites (only) areas and this may imply the continuation of whiteness as tied to specific spaces in the mind of Bangilizwe. Realistic constructs an image of blacks as tied to either Xhosa or Zulu. She also constructs an image of historically uncivilized black people and the civilized white man and their accompanying white language. For this blogger there is no common ground between blacks and whites.

Meme refers to both blacks and whites in the general sense; however unlike the other bloggers her reference to language (isiXhosa) indexes a higher degree of value and respect. This is primarily ascertained through the correct spelling of Xhosa, with the prefix 'isi' followed by 'Xhosa'. Unlike the other bloggers, Meme describes whites as 'south africans' and therefore legitimately tied to the 'new' and democratic South Africa.

8.4 Virtual depictions of OJS

Although it appears that much of the views concerning OJS are laced with emotive speech, a different representation of OJS (as found in online advertisements) brings forth a much more neutral tone of the school. In fact, in these circles, OJS is seen in a positive light while still addressing issues of race, legitimacy and English.

The two divergent imaginings of OJS discussed thus far indicates that it (1) should be 'returned' to 'locals' and (b) constructed as a shared space and resource, are constructed discursively through the common-sense arguments discussed above and appear emotive and personal. Contrastingly, the analysis of online advertisements is notably removed from this type of intimate voicing and takes up the typical advertising voice, one that is omnipresent and largely positive.

The advertisements places OJS into a global arena with an international audience and it is within this context that the construction of the learners and subsequent notions of legitimacy are analysed.

Below are two international teaching advertisements, both of which are based at OJS.

Advertisement One

> Over the years the demographics of Observatory Primary School have changed significantly. Today, more than 96% of the learners are Xhosa speaking and Observatory Junior is no longer a community based school; rather, many of the learners travel great distances daily in order to attend this progressive multilingual school.
>
> Accessed: January 15, 2011http://www.khanya.co.za/schools/khanyaschool.php?emisno=0103309307

Advertisement Two

> Observatory Primary mainly caters for the poorer African children
> that come from the township areas of Cape Town. These are the
> most needy and make up 98% of the school's children. You can
> also coach sports as well as English teaching and language
> enrichment, music, art or any other subject that you have particular
> knowledge   in.
> Observatory Junior is a multi-cultured and racial school and mainly
> has children at the school between 5 - 13 years of age. English is
> not the children's mother tongue, but their general standard of
> language   is   about   Fair   to   Good.
>
> Accessed: January 15, 2011http://www.travellersworldwide.com/08a-
> south-africa/08-sa-teach-ct.htm

In both advertisements, the demographics of the learners at the school are overtly
mentioned. In advertisement one, the author states "more than 96% of the learners are
Xhosa speaking" and in advertisement two, the statement is made that "these are the
most needy and make up 98% of the school's children". Earlier it was clear that many
concerns came about directly due to the large number of black learners at the school.
However, in the global arena the number of black learners is seen as a selling point of
the school. One reason why this inverse way of thinking may occur is due to the
world-wide image of South Africa as being a 'rainbow' nation.

Advertisement one describes OJS as "no longer [a] community based school", which
is indicative of two salient factors: firstly, the author is keenly aware of the school not
being used by residents of the neighbourhood. Secondly, the author may be
euphemistically referencing OJS in the way the school is no longer a white school.
Another point that was mentioned in the Obslife newspaper was that 'local'
(Observatory) students have to travel great distances to get to good schools, similarly
advertisement one also highlights the efforts made by these black learners when
remarking that: "learners travel great distances". Black learners are constructed as
pioneers of their own future and that readers of the advert should likewise appreciate
their efforts. Of particular interest is the fact that they are not seen as outsiders
because they travel far distances, instead they are constructed as legitimate users of
that space because they fall into the holistic inclusive vision of the 'rainbow nation'.

Although this advertisement is written completely in English, the focus of English at
OJS is not the highlight of the advertisement. Rather, the author advertises OJS as a

"multilingual school", a description which implies the acceptance of diversity, a point that was omitted for the most part by many of the views about OJS.

Finally, OJS itself is not constructed as one which is neglected or misused; instead it is seen as a "progressive" school. This description is in line with all previous constructions of black learners as legitimate and therefore is in line with South Africa's liberal image.

The second advertisement places more focus on the description of learners as 'poorer African children', 'most needy' and coming from 'township areas'. These types of descriptions are in line with the global vocabulary about South African children and for this reason; learners are constructed as legitimate uses of the space because of the disadvantages they face and the areas they stay. In this way, OJS learners are not constructed as 'outsiders' or the 'other' because of where they live, instead it is this very fact which deems them as legitimate in global arena. This stance contrasts sharply with earlier constructions of black learners as 'outsiders' to the school and neighbourhood. English is mentioned as not being the children's first language and their proficiency is described as 'about Fair to Good'. However, as OJS is described as a 'multi-cultured and racial school', English is not constructed as a problem for the learners.

The role of English is significantly underplayed in both these advertisements, with other factors, such as the needs of the learners and the celebration of multiculturalism placed at the centre stage. Interestingly, all the 'problems' raised concerning travelling, English proficiency and legitimacy are no longer placed upon the backs of the black learners. They are seen as legitimate because they are South African and are portrayed to the international audience as that which can add value. This representation of contemporary Observatory suggest a serious disconnect between global notions (and portrayal) of legitimacy and actual legitimacy in the local arena.

8.5 Summary

This chapter suggests that the discourse found in the local Observatory newspaper , when juxtaposed alongside a variety of narratives by the ethnoscape, mirror the

enduring struggle between 'us' and 'them'. This struggle is fed largely through the ideology of separateness during the years of apartheid and highlights the contention of just what constitutes legitimacy in the new South Africa. Discourse by some Observatory 'locals' appears to promote an insular conception of an idealized village or 'community of practice' which is spatially defined and wary of 'outsiders' entering and utilizing their space or territory.

Tension between the construction of the local (legitimate) white learners and the outsider (and illegitimate) black learners emerges as an important point of discussion and contention. The construction of the local is tied to residency within the borders of Observatory. This means that geographic boundaries are seen as important markers of insider and outsiderness. Contrastingly, black parents may well be imagining a very different view of OJS, one which values heterogeneity and cultural and linguistic diversity. This view, although profoundly propagated during the early nineties (which coincided with the entry of black students at the OJS), has become less favoured over time. With the recent turnover of residents, there appears to be obstacles or 'friction' faced by these black learners.

Common-sense arguments suggest that notions of the rightness of 'white entitlement' are at present conflated with English and civilization. To this end, black learners appear to have the least amount of voice and are generally marginalized. In sum, this chapter suggests that the access to education, and the legitimacy of those in receipt of said education, is still very much a hotly contested issue and can be framed within the broader context of xenophobia.

CHAPTER NINE

Observatory brands, branding and rebranding

9.0 Introduction

Thus far Observatory has been discussed through the examination of specific semiotic, linguistic, social and spatial instantiations; however it is the effects of the sum of these different facets which make up Observatory's unique composition or 'brand'. As stated elsewhere, literature pertaining to branding has largely been associated with products or services in the commercial industry, however there has been a move towards examining cities and neighbourhoods under the banner of place branding (cf. Forest, 2004).

Others find it more fruitful to consider a place brand as the intellectual property of multiple stakeholders, that is, 'the totality of the thoughts, feelings, associations and expectations that come to mind when a prospect or consumer is exposed to an entity's name, logo, products, services, events, or any design or symbol representing them" (Lindsay 2000)" (Van Ham, 2010:126). An analysis of 'Obs' brand signs are explored in relation to the thoughts, expectations and feelings discursively constructed about the neighbourhood. Specifically, Observatory's annual festival emerges as the single most recognizable brand of the neighbourhood and it is the recontexualization of the festival which is viewed as impacting greatly on the rebranding of Observatory. An analysis of the 'recontexualization' or 'rebranding' of the Observatory neighbourhood is explored in an attempt to uncover who may be included within this new brand and who may fall outside this newly refashioned brand. Lefebvre's (1991) representation of space and Foucault's (1977, 1982, 1997) notion of heterotopias are employed when examining the multiple natures of the effects of these changes on the Observatory brand.

Reasons for the shift or change in festival branding is also examined with specific reference to the different stakeholders which contribute to the 'Obs' (festival and neighbourhood) brand each year. The relationship between consumers and owners of this brand also emerges as an integral part of understanding the brand. Pertinently, although Observatory is analysed as a neighbourhood place brand, its significance

within the greater city of Cape Town and the international arena is also foregrounded here.

9.1 Branding Observatory in the global arena

Observatory architectural design and rich history is not the only aspects that make this brand stand apart from other neighbourhoods in Cape Town and in the wider global arena. Observatory's brand is therefore not only tied to its well-documented historical legacy, but also its connotative value, as one that is trendy and cosmopolitan and quintessentially diverse. It is this brand that Observatory has become known for, both locally and globally. "A brand also has a connotative function by evoking associations which imbue the product with cultural meaning" (Eshuis and Edwards, 2008: 3). Furthermore, Eshuis and Edwards point out that "…brands add symbolic and non-functional benefits to a product, thus making the product valuable in the psychological and social life of people" (2008: 3). Nowhere has the symbolic function of Observatory as a diverse neighbourhood been so readily welcomed and celebrated. However, Observatory as a neighbourhood, village and suburb is one whose story has changed many times over and has resulted in its multi-faceted 'heritage' which is enjoyed by its current constituencies, locals, residents and other interested parties.

Heritage in Observatory both indexes the recent (emancipatory) past as well as its colonial heritage of yesteryear. Of particular interest are the different heritages that Observatory draws on when establishing its brand. Benson (2011:1) a brand strategist, attributes a great brand to its heritage and states succinctly:

> What makes these brands great, what they all have in common, is that they have had the time to build a meaningful and relevant past – a heritage. Customers need time to buy and use the brand, time to make the brand a part of their lives, and time to endow the brand from one generation to the next.
>
> Heritage speaks of status, character, and social class. It speaks of a traditional way of life that is of value to present and future generations. It speaks of inheritance, of shared experiences and of a common history. Brands express and share their heritage in the form of a narrative; a crisp, meaningful, relevant, and memorable story – a brand story.

http://www.brandsandbranding-online.co.za/heritage-a-master-brand-builder-joseph-benson/

Observatory has mixed heritages to draw upon and the brand story is what makes Observatory different and memorable. While Eshuis and Edwards may be true in saying that "Cities use branding to establish a unique identity that attracts visitors and investors" (2008: 2), it is important to remember that the neighbourhood brand itself may stand apart from the city wherein it is found. In this regard, Cape Town is known as the 'mother city' of South Africa and is often promoted as a sought-after tourist destination, while Observatory is known as an 'alternative' and 'cosmopolitan' neighbourhood within the tourism hotspot of Cape Town.

In May 2011, Cape Town succeeded in its mission to become a top tourism destination and was awarded the 'best holiday destination' by Tripadvisor. According to Wikipedia "TripAdvisor.com is the world's largest travel site that assists customers in gathering travel information, posting reviews and opinions of travel related content and engaging in interactive travel forums. Tripadvisor is a pioneer of user-generated content. The website services are free to users, who provide most of the content, and the website is supported by an advertising business model." Tripadvisor's popularity is therefore accredited to its many online users who make comments about first-hand experiences when visiting holiday destinations.

Tripadvisor's glittering description of Cape Town is provided below:

> Cape Town glistens at the southern toe of the African continent. Amazing sites, from Robben Island, Nelson Mandela's former prison, to tourist brochure-views at Blaauwberg Beach and Kirstenbosch National Botanical Gardens, are within easy driving distance of "The Mother City". Sun worshippers, surfers and divers flock to nearby white sand beaches and azure waters under Table Mountain. The Cape of Good Hope Nature Reserve provides sweeping sea vistas, hiking trails and wildlife encounters.
> http://www.tripadvisor.com/Tourism-g312659-Cape_Town_Western_Cape-Vacations.html

Tripadvisor creates a scintillating picture of Cape Town through the use of adjectival phrases such as: 'southern toes of the African continent', 'tourist brochure views' and 'white sand beaches and azure waters' to create an almost exaggerated endorsement of the city's attractive qualities. They also include the story of the iconic 'Nelson Mandela' to further promote places outside of Cape Town, such as 'Robben Island'.

When juxtaposed with a description by Tripadvisor of neighbourhoods found within the city, they offer a contrasting and perhaps more realist perspective of the city. Neighbourhoods are described by Tripadvisor as:

> Cape Town has a wide range of suburbs from millionaire coastal resorts, tree lined middle class suburbs to dangerous gang controlled ghettos and shanty towns. This is the same as for the vast majority of cities in the world and especially those in the developing world.

Descriptions of 'millionaire coastal resorts' contrast sharply with 'dangerous gang controlled ghettos and shanty towns'. This disparity is given scant attention by Tripadvisor who goes on to list must-see neighbourhoods in Cape Town with Observatory not given a mention at all:

> For the tourist, areas such as the **V & A Waterfront** and **Camps Bay** offer many accommodation options and are close to all the action of the city and beach. The suburbs of the **Atlantic Seaboard** (Green Point, Sea Point, Bantry Bay, Clifton, Camps Bay, Hout Bay and Llandudno) are mostly upmarket and have a beautiful coastal setting.
> [Original emphasis in bold]

However, this has not been the case in the past as, only three years back, Observatory was itself marketed as 'the cultural heart' of the 'relaxed' and 'trendy' Cape Town and definitely not one that would be overlooked. This was also surprising as discourse in 2007 ObzFest proclaimed it as the 'cultural heart of the Mother City' and the 'highlight of Cape Town's cultural calendar'. This depiction positions Observatory as playing a key role in Cape Town as a neighbourhood other than the norm, something special and unique. The 2007 ObzFest festival director, Koketso Sachane, describes the sharp contrast between Observatory and its surrounding communities as follows:

> "Observatory has a huge, vibrant and diverse population and has long epitomized all that is creatively cutting-edge in the city of Cape Town. Where some suburbs are losing all their personality due to unheralded development, the Observatory Civic Association, the Observatory Business Forum and ward councillor Cedric Thomas are consistently working to meet the challenge of keeping a balance between urban growth and cultural heritage,"

The description of Observatory as the 'cultural heart' of the Mother City is emblematic of the symbolic responsibility that the neighbourhood may play in sustaining cultural relations in the city. The above description of Observatory's LMR highlights the role that the neighbourhood plays as a sort of 'melting pot' which is portrayed as an inviting space and in this way an intermediary space for social transformation in the city. More about the neighbourhood and its role in the city is discussed further under brand functions.

Previous descriptions of Observatory as: 'bohemian', 'alternative', 'relaxed' and a 'melting pot' draw together the image or 'brand' of Observatory as a vital component of modern or liberal living in Cape Town. The same article also hints strongly that this type of mixing is not happening in other places and that it is what makes the neighbourhood out of the ordinary and a form of 'other'.

> It (Observatory) remains one of the most fascinating cultural pressure points of our city and Capetonians have a responsibility to nurture and keep this suburb alive for future generations

Above we see Observatory described as a 'cultural pressure point' in relation to the city with the ObzFest an evident marker of cultural going-ons in the suburb. This description of a 'melting pot' is in sharp contrast to the earlier description of Observatory in which black Africans are constructed as not belonging, however, the Observatory brand does appear to celebrate the African culture.

9.2 Observatory branding in the local arena

Observatory is most often referred to as 'obs' and there are ubiquitous references to 'obz' or 'obs' branding used creatively by various restaurateurs and clubs in LMR. Amongst them, shop names bearing the brand emerge, such as: 'obzessions'

'obviouzly armchair' 'obz café' 'obZone'. In addition, 'I heart obs' stickers (as seen in the figure below) can be found on shop windows, street lamps, with a resident even tattooing the logo on her wrist:

Branding of Observatory is also achieved through neighbourhood media channels, such as: Obs Life newspaper, Obs News pamphlet and the Observatory Website. All of these media channels are affiliated with the OCA which organizes the Observatory festival each year. The Observatory festival is one of the major brands of Observatory and is discussed further on.

In this way the Observatory brand can be said to function in different ways and it is to these functions that we now turn. Eshuis and Edwards (2008) highlight four functions of branding in the private sector which are: (a) brand ownership, (b) brand values, (c) brand identity and (d) brand commodity. These functions are discussed further when exploring the Observatory brand.

9.3 Brand ownership

Eshuis and Edwards (2008) state that "Brands denote ownership. A brand stands for a name, logo, trademark or tune that signifies ownership (cf. Balmer, 2006) and has an important function in the legal sphere". Ownership of the brand may emerge in different ways and through the use of different resources within Observatory. Van Ham reminds us that "It is also important to distil a place's identity without losing sight of its complexity. Place branding involves multiple stakeholders, often with competing interests; unlike product branding, place branding is seldom under the control of one central authority" (2010: 133).

In this study, three major stakeholders are considered, namely: the OCA, the Movement and the black immigrants. The OCA can be said to control brand ownership through the multiple marked 'obs' branding found on the website, Observatory newspapers and Observatory pamphlets. The Movement can be said to enact ownership through *performing* the brand through poetry about freedom, world music and intercultural mixing. Black immigrants much more subtly also claim brand ownership through creating and selling African artefacts, music, and food. In this way, it becomes clear that Observatory branding can be communicated in different ways, all of which reveal different facets of the Observatory brand. A look into Observatory's brand ownership is provided when exploring certain stakeholders, specifically: (a) the OCA, (b) THE MOVEMENT and (c) Black immigrants.

9.3.1 OCA as brand owners

The OCA as a civic association is mandated to care for the welfare of its constituencies, most noticeably homeowners. Clearly, the Observatory brand (seen here as a tourism destination), adds monetary value in terms of property value and commercial interest. Residential property in Observatory has held steadily over the last few years, with houses ranging from five hundred thousand rand (for a one-bedroomed semi-detached 'garden cottage') to nearly two million rand (for a four-bed roomed 120 square meter plot). Although the houses are often advertised as 'quaint', 'Victorian', 'homey' it is doubtful that it is purely the colonial heritage which has cemented the neighbourhood as a gentrifying neighbourhood. It is plausible that Observatory's 'cosmopolitan' and 'trendy' vibe has also added to the gentrification of the neighbourhood. This means that it may well be the 'experiential' feature of Observatory which potential homeowners buy into and which augments monetary value to the property.

Many of the members of the OCA are also business owners and therefore the commercial brand of Observatory is of utmost importance. One of the ways in which the OCA benefits from the brand is through ownership of 'official' Observatory media. These media artefacts (specifically: newspaper, website and pamphlet) both benefit from the established brand as well as *feed* into the brand. Many articles in these media channels speak to the holistic image of the neighbourhood and perpetuate the image of a welcoming and friendly neighbourhood.

Observatory websites are examples of one such media channel affiliated with the OCA. Looking at the official Observatory websites, namely www.iloveobs.org and www.heartofobs.org , there is a loyalty to the brand and the image of observatory as having a village-like appeal. The logo "*Be the change you want to see in the world*", is from the very well-known and loved promoter of peace and acceptance, Mahatma Ghandi. Using this world-renowned adage as a logo implies a sense of positivity and acceptance.

The welcome note is also quite interesting:

> Welcome to the Observatory Community website. This isn't a back to front designer website, but rather an organic website that will take contributions from various people and grow into something much bigger. Please create an account for yourself and start contributing to the site!
>
> [Emphasis added]
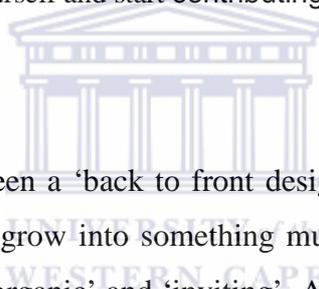
A comparison is drawn between a 'back to front designer' website and an 'organic' one. The play on the words 'grow into something much bigger' follows the overall feeling of the website being 'organic' and 'inviting'. As opposed to the website being a 'back to front designer' it is instead described as being 'organic' which invokes a more natural and inclusive image. This sentiment communicates the importance of Observatory's brand as the 'cultural heart of the city'.

Another media channel is that of 'ObsLife', an independent monthly newspaper distributed free to homes and businesses in Observatory. On its online website articles are placed in one of the following eleven categories, namely: 'Business', 'Community organisations', 'Crime', 'Disasters', 'Facilities', 'History', 'Observatory Improvement District', 'Obz Festival', 'People', 'Restaurants' and 'Sub-cultures'. Some headlines printed in 'ObsLife', which display the diversity of topics relevant to the residents include: 'New lunch voucher scheme for Obs homeless launched' (March 15, 2010 In : Community organisations; 'Observatory security boost just in time' (dated, December 20, 2009) In : Crime; '2500 top jobs created in Obs' (dated March 25,

2009) In : Business and ' Is Obs still a safe haven against prejudice?' (dated March 12, 2009) In : Sub-cultures.

The OCA also benefits from the branding of Observatory as a diverse and 'tolerant' neighbourhood as seen with the landmark success of the ObzFest. Although many residents have become less enamoured with the going-ons during the festival each year, it is this very festival which has thrust Observatory into the global arena. Indubitably, monetary value is gained through the success of this festival; however, consternation over who profits the most has contributed to the rebranding of the festival. More discussion around the rebranding of this landmark by the OCA is discussed in more detail further on.

9.3.2 The Movement as brand owners

Observatory branding which adds monetary value to THE MOVEMENT manifests itself through the branding of Observatory as a tourism destination. However, The Movement is able to tap into monetary value through its own contribution as being a part of the 'edginess' of Observatory's youth. Whereas the OCA may be said to simply tap into the established brand, the aim of The Movement is to be the brand. Having Observatory (as a hip student and tourist destination) is seen as a platform in which members of The Movement display new representations of Observatory as seen through their eyes. In the picture below is the word 'Observatory' written above the picture of a young black woman's face across the map of Africa:

It is these creative and forward thinking clothes, art, music that continuously draws the youth back to Observatory. For members of The Movement, no other neighbourhood is comparable to Observatory as they felt that in Observatory they did not need to compete with mass-produced brands. Sizwe Shangaze, a member of The Movement and founder of Instangu, a 'Root of Consciousness' brand, sells trendy, edgy and unique merchandise. Below are examples of goods sold and packaged at Instangu Cafe:

Photographs of previous fashions shows showcasing the colourful clothes and shoes sold at Instangu café line the walls.

9.3.3 Black immigrants as brand owners

Black immigrants stand apart from the OCA (as they are not members) and The Movement (as they are not artists), but are instead black business owners that add to the African feel and look of the neighbourhood simply by operating their business. The Somali store and Congolese restaurant and pub add to the African ambience of the neighbourhood as they provide the African ambiance and multiculturalism of the neighbourhood. Pertinently, it is also the African brand which brings these black immigrants to Observatory as they feel safer and more welcomed in the neighbourhood which thereafter boost the African facet of the Observatory brand. Similarly, other transnational business owners (such as *inter alia* Chinese, Indian and Irish businesses) flourish because of the multicultural brand of Observatory.

9.4 Brand values

Eshuis and Edwards (2008) go on to say that "Brands communicate meaning. As signs brands communicate the essence and meaning of a product (cf. Kapferer, 1992)…Brands can also communicate key values. Brands can work as value systems referring to ethics and social responsibility (Kapferer, 1992). This function is about the values that consumers find in a brand. Brands may reflect what individual consumers stand for. " Reflecting on Observatory's brand as the 'cultural heart' of Cape Town, it is clear that the neighbourhood branding has become associated with a variety of different values. Observatory has the largest number of NGOs in Cape Town and alongside this; it also has a school for the deaf as well as numerous homeless initiatives. Other values which have become associated with the Observatory brand and that are also linked to social aspects include: 'integration', 'acceptance', 'tolerance'. Herein Appadurai's (1990) all-inclusive notion of ethnoscape emphasizes the diversity of consumers of Observatory's brand as a brandscape.

Furthermore, Ind and Watt (2006: 333) add that: "The brand definition frames the context, provides boundaries, sets benchmarks, creates clarity and focuses energy." The idea that a brand determines context and creates borders (both real and imagined) brings to light the markedly different social interaction and activities found in Observatory. As opposed to other neighbourhoods in Cape Town Observatory is described as an 'alternative' neighbourhood to the city life. This means that within geographical boundaries of Observatory lies another facet of Observatory branding which manifests itself through the normativity of in-migration of transnational groups, interracial mixing, multiculturalism and the annual street festival. Furthermore, the concentration of a mix of cultural groups sets Observatory apart from its neighbouring suburbs and suggests that a community of practice exists in Observatory which exists within the geographical border of Observatory.

9.5 Brand identity

The identity created for consumers is said to be constructed through branding and is the fourth function identified by Eshuis and Edwards (2008). Balmer corroborates this belief by stating that "Brands are appropriated by consumers as a means of defining

who they are, wish to be and /or wish to be seen as" (2006:36). Whereas the product of the brand (and its connotations and values) has been previously emphasized, an engagement with consumers and how identity formation is constructed *through* the brand is explored here. Eshuis and Edwards state that "people may use their Apple computer to establish a 'liberal' or 'artistic' identity" (2008: 4). Similarly, neighbourhoods are often composed of people who (for the most part) identify with the brand of their community. The construction of identity through Observatory branding is evident in many ways.

The neologism 'observatorians' (discussed elsewhere) lends credence to the brand *informing* identity. Other descriptions of people in Observatory identifying themselves as 'obs trawlers' index a laid-back type of person with very tolerant views and who are 'worldly' philosophers on life and people. Many interviewees feel that a move into Observatory has to do with a state of mind which accepts diversity and supplants 'backward' notions of racism and intolerance. Black Africans themselves appear to have an indifferent view on the (African) brand and appear not to believe that it is directed at them at all. This view is perpetuated by them fulfilling jobs as bartenders and waiters, while not actually participating in the leisure activities. In this way, black Africans themselves can be seen as artefacts of the brand.

9.6 Observatory branding as a commodity

Another function which is most evident when discussing brands relates to the attainment of monetary value through the brand. Eshuis and Edwards (2008) state that "Brands add monetary value. The monetary value of a brand is largely built on the symbolic and non-functional benefits that a brand adds to a product or a company. By imbuing a product with symbolic or experiential features a brand helps to differentiate a product from competitor's products. This gives the opportunity to charge a premium price (De Chernatony and Dall'Olmo Riley, 1998)". The Observatory brand, although 'sold' as a 'welcoming', 'tolerant', 'artistic' and 'young' neighbourhood, also has a counter image in which it appears 'unwelcoming' and 'intolerant' of certain groups. These groups often do not fall into the 'consumer' category of the Observatory branding and is discussed further. Observatory as a commodity has to do with the monetary value of the brand. The 'symbolic and non-

functional benefits' of the Observatory brand bring about monetary value and represents Observatory as a 'commodity', one that can be packaged and sold.

It is the correlation between 'symbolic' or 'experiential' features that institutions, associations and movements mentioned in previous chapters, are explored. What follows is a discussion of the annual festival as a key marker of the brand.

9.7 ObzFest as a brand identity

The ObzFest commenced in 1996, just two years after the first democratic election in South Africa and quickly put Observatory on the social map. The name 'ObzFest' intertexually draws on the world-renowned 'Oktoberfest' in Germany which attracts millions of people to the city of Munich for the world's largest annual fair. According to Wikipedia 2011 "Other cities across the world also hold Oktoberfest celebrations, modelled after the Munich event." http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oktoberfest. Although definitive links to the Oktoberfest has not been confirmed, it is possible that Observatory might have become recognized as one such city which celebrates the Oktoberfest, but on a much smaller scale. Similar to the Oktoberfest, the ObzFest is also a cultural festival consisting mainly of live music bands, dancing, drinking and the selling and buying of 'African' art. The ObzFest is reported to have started because a few musicians wanted to stop the closing down of the Observatory library and since then, this novel and free-loving festival rapidly became known as the largest block party in Southern Africa.

Over the years the popularity of the ObzFest became undeniable, and has become Observatory's most recognizable brand with its festival attended by locals and foreigners alike. The festival however has evolved from 'hippy' to 'alternative' to 'African' and more recently to 'expensive' or 'exclusive'. The evolving nature of the ObzFest and the implications of its changes are discussed further when discussing the rebranding of the festival.

9.7.1 ObzFest in motion

With the commencement of research in 2008, Observatory once again attracted a huge diverse crowd into its neighbourhood and it was celebrated on the traditional date

which is fixed at the first weekend of December each year. Crowds were served with live bands and food stalls, however although entrance was free some clubs were charging entry fees. For many of the partygoers, the emblazoned graffiti sign, advertising the previous year's ObzFest was more than enough advertising. Although the 2008 ObzFest was deemed a success it was one which elicited the most complaints from residents and which indelibly influenced the operations of future festivals in Observatory.

In 2009 the ObzFest was cancelled. Confirmation of this cancellation was found on IOL News and is added as an annexure. Two reasons were cited for the 2009 cancellation, the first dealt with a 'local' problem, whilst the second was influenced by a much larger or global scale. The first reason for cancellation was discussed from the beginning of 2009 with much vigour at the OCA monthly meetings. Many of the members felt that residents were receiving a raw deal from the ObzFest, which they felt had caused an upsurge in crime. Residual issues of noise and dirt pollution were discussed in great detail, with many members feeling that only the big 'drink holes' were making money from the event.

There was some talk about having an ObzFest 'unplugged' so as to return to a more 'civilized' affair, and structuring stalls so that tickets would have to be paid before entry instead of the previously open-access tradition of the ObzFest. In this regard, a member of the OCA was commissioned to find a new events team to organize the ObzFest, however progress was slow. At this point, the matter of the money being supplied by the City (as was previously obtained) was met with some consternation. It became evident that due to the indecision as to whether the ObzFest would happen, there was a possibility that the money may instead be redirected to a local township. However, some OCA members seemed positive that that would not be the case as 'they had always gotten it (money) before'.

Nevertheless, it is the second, large-scale commitment of the Soccer World Cup 2010 which ultimately ended all discussion on the matter. South Africa, having won the bid to host the Soccer World Cup, was holding its soccer group draws on the same weekend in Cape Town and with no other big event being allowed to run concurrently with the draw the 2009, ObzFest was effectively cancelled.

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Furthermore, there were some business owners that wanted the ObzFest to continue as usual and there was even talk of a 'mini ObzFest'. The manager of Roots had loosely spoken of joining up with Stones (another popular club) in order to continue the ObzFest. The aim was to stage some form of resistance to the OCA, but this goal did not ultimately materialize. A few months later, Roots was closed for business.

9.7.2 Lived experiences of ObzFest

Each year ObzFest transforms LMR from a busy business thoroughfare to a hive of social connection, activity and parties. It can be said that ObzFest is experienced, lived and connected to its partygoers, meaning that this space becomes a place of both inclusion (for the throngs of strangers) and exclusion (for some of the residents who do not wish to partake in the festivities). For many years, LMR has annually been cordoned off by the South African Police Services (SAPS) and provisions are made for parking for residents. Although the festival is delimitated geographically (with Trill, Station and Norfolk road closed to the public), no other limitations on the crowd was made, meaning that a racial, culturally and linguistically mixed crowd would habitually be drawn in.
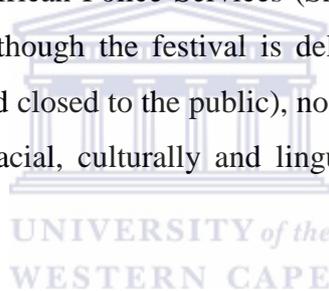
Access to ObzFest is gained through walking onto LMR from one or other off road. In this light LMR reverts from a public road to a more private space over the three--day festival period. This means that every year 'regulars' consisting of large numbers of people would attend the festival and partake in its unique festivities. Although the physical space of LMR did not differ greatly to many other roads in Observatory, during the ObzFest the social relations or 'lived moments' (cf. Lefebvre, 1991) experienced by the diverse and excited throngs of people transformed this road into a hive of multicultural activity and grounds for new experiences. The 'lived moments' or experiences in a given space is what Lefebvre (1991) refers to as spaces of representation. Traces of the ObzFest could habitually be seen with graffitied walls announcing the previous year's ObzFest, leftover banners, bottles and debris and the tired reveller. The annual presence of police cordoning off the road was also a regular trace of the ObzFest. Due to the regularity of the ObzFest and the knowledge that it would occur in the first weekend of December, many partygoers would simply turn up for the festival without needing any additional marketing reminders. The ObzFest can

be described as having become both institutionalized (by the organizers, police, and city sponsorship) and ritualized (by its regular annual visits), both of which emerged as a result of strong social relationships. The ObzFest could then attest to Harvey's (1987) 'monumentality and constructed spaces of ritual'.

The physical nature of LMR as a particularly long narrow road, barely big enough for two cars to pass comfortably, has not dampened the enthusiasm and love of the festival, despite the rather awkward planning (which predates the invention of the motorcar and was in fact constructed for horse and carriage). LMR has flourished as the location for the annual ObzFest with space habitually sectioning off of the main road, leaving party revellers to find parking in streets off LMR. Space in LMR is set up so that there is space for food and craft stalls with much of the vacant space left for dancing and live bands. Evidently, the physical space of LMR has not changed the ObzFest, however it is the different 'lived moments' – or spaces of representation which changes. In other words, every ObzFest results in LMR becoming a space of ritualized gatherings and commercial consumption. The ObzFest with its unplanned urban lifestyle drawing card and quaint unique shops can similarly be seen as heterotopias in its spontaneous enduring position as an alternative part of town. For some the ObzFest may be experienced as a safe haven for the more liberal or forward thinking people of Cape Town, with interracial as well as homosexual couples interacting more freely during this period.

The ObzFest oscillates between being a public and private space for the multiple transient groups, consisting of tourists, immigrants, refugees and students alike. During the three-day festival immigrants and refugees appear very well accepted. However, one may argue that for businesses and organizers, the presence of immigrants and refugees at the Fest may fortify the image of the tranquility and cultural mix of Observatory. This in turn is good for the brand and for business.

Over the years, the ObzFest occupied a paradoxical role of housing restaurants, drink holes and live musical acts. It had become a welcomed destination and home of young and hip people with a penchant for a homely suburban feel (characterized by knowing shopkeepers and vagrants by their first name and having their regular meal or drinks ready at their favourite restaurants), as well as having a city edge (characterized by

the loud music, late partying, heterogeneous and 'liberal' crowds). In this way, the ObzFest has succeeded in combining two very distinct (and often opposing) directions for the neighbourhood.

9.7.3 ObzFest brands and consumers

According to Eshuis and Edwards (2008) the relationship between the brand and its consumer is also important. Pertinently, the ObzFest appealed to large numbers of people which become 'regulars' over the three days in December. One informant declared: "I don't know where Observatory is, but I do know OBZFEST'. The relationship between the brand (ObzFest) and consumers (ethnoscape) can be seen as a strong one, as festival goers return to the festival on an annual basis with little need for promotional signage. The relationship is characterized by diverse groups of people entering Observatory in search of the all-embracing and fun ambience that they have associated with the brand. ObzFest 'consumers' would be considered as the vast majority of people seeking to 'buy' into the rainbow and cosmopolitan brand through engagement with 'novel' or 'illicit' cultural practices. The relationship between the brand (product) and consumer is geographically bound to Observatory and to which Molotch adds "…branding dynamic uses place image to unite products and consumers who identify with a favoured way of life and then sells them all elements of what it takes to live that imagined geographic life style" (2002: 680). In this way, the ObzFest has become a ritualized event which caters to the consumers' desires for a 'multicultural' experience.

9.7.4 Rebranding ObzFest

According to Thurlow and Aiello "… rebranding itself assumes the role of signifier, communicating a refreshed or renewed product – or at least persuading customers that this is the case" (2007: 336). A discourse analysis of texts, advertisements and interviews generated over the last three years of the festival speaks to other changes in social practices, inclusion/exclusion and functionality attributed to the brand.

In the past four years the festival has undergone many changes. The most ostensible sign of the rebranding or repositioning of the ObzFest came about with the name change from ObzFest to Observatory festival of Arts (OFOA) in 2010 and (more recently) to Obs Arts Festival in 2011. Changes in the festival's advertising, the

targeted audience and the overall activities and feel of the 'lived moments' of the festival are analysed. The extract introducing the OFOA constructs new concepts about identity and purpose *explicitly* in its attempts to rebrand and differentiate itself from the better-known ObzFest.

A media publication of the OFOA begins with "Now in its 14th year the Observatory Festival has been renamed The Observatory Festival of Arts" which immediately connects the 'new' Observatory Festival of Arts to the already established and socially credible ObzFest. The complete omission of using the popular shortened version 'ObzFest' may have been a deliberate strategy in which to eschew any nostalgic notions of the festival. The emergence of a 'legitimate' voice is truly heard when the 'other' is made clearly visible. An analysis of neologisms indicates that despite the surface appearance of multiculturalism, the practice of 'othering' continues.

In the extract reference is made between 'us' and 'them' when situating art in South Africa:

> In collaboration with a multitude of organisations, the festival challenges perspectives on the nature and importance of arts activity in South Africa, its relevance to the wider audience and the relationship between "our own environments" and the "outside world".

> [Original emphasis]

Here 'our own environments' and the 'outside world' highlight activities in Observatory as set as something different or 'other' than 'what is out there'. This sentiment underpins (and indeed follows earlier Foucauldian claims of) Observatory as a space of heterotopia. This organization of space is highlighted in the extract when it is said that: "The event further promotes insight and dialogue by creating multiple 'free' areas during the festival that program interactive content." With the introduction of 'multiple free areas' arises many other issues, such as: who controls space, how space is regulated and ultimately how these spaces are now 'lived'.

The neologism 'Observatorians' also informs the rebranding process and is a term which had only recently been heard towards the end of the fieldwork. The word

'Observatorian' sounds very similar to 'Victorian' which means that it may be a throwback to the neighbourhood's heavy British influence during colonial time.

This neologism contrasts with the more well-known 'obs trawler' used to describe typical Observatory community members. The label 'observatorian' can therefore be seen as a branding of those that are a part of the 'new' Observatory. This type of branding is akin to that of citizens of towns and countries, characterized by Capetonians or South Africans respectively. In this way, the neologism 'observatorian' implies legitimacy and belonging as a productive 'citizen' of Observatory. Data shows that those that lay claim to being an 'observatorian' habitually fall into the geographically defined 'neighbourhood' of Observatory. A glaring differentiation can be made when juxtaposing the neologism 'observatorian' alongside 'South African diaspora'. Implications of this difference speak to the tension between community and nationhood. Where 'observatorians' are geographically defined, 'South African diaspora' speaks to a *native* deterritorialized group of South Africans in Observatory.

Another fascinating neologism is that of 'residential African' which can be likened to the term 'foreign nationals' which became popular with the South African media when discussing discourses on xenophobia. Resistance against the inclusion of Blacks from South Africa is espoused in the short excerpt below:

> Interviewer: No. What about the new obz festival I'm hearing of.
> Interviewee: There is going to be an obz festival this year. It will probably be fun 'cause people are forced to provide music. They go for that you know er… I think it's also… the kinds of elements of people that also affect business er er er. These foreign nationals they call them.
> Interviewer: er
> Interviewee: Putting up their business' it's cuts out interests of our, of South Africans, because we don't want to go to their restaurants. We don't wanna go to their pubs. We basically… there is still that thing where WE DON'T SUPPORT THEM AND THEY DON'T SUPPORT US.

It becomes clear in the extract, that some (South African) business owner do not imagine that black Africans' or 'residential Africans' should benefit from the Observatory brand. Here the term 'foreign nationals' appears more loaded (even derogatory) and is used in place of 'residential Africans' which appears more equitable, implying legitimacy and entitlement.

The 2011 festival was intriguing as it showed a completely overhauled festival, with changes to nearly every facet of the festival. Once again, publicity about the festival is supplied online and is situated alongside the long fifteen year history of the ObzFest:

> "The fifteenth annual Obs Arts Festival taking place on the 9th, 10th and 11th December in Observatory, Cape Town features live bands, street performers, an interactive graffiti mural, visual arts, market stalls and much more! The highly anticipated music line-up includes Idols 2011 runner-up Mark Haze, aKING, Hot Water, The Rudimentals, Claire Phillips and other well-known Cape Town bands. Obs Arts Fest promises something for everybody…get your tickets now at www.webtickets.co.za!!!"

> http://whocsoc.com/2011/11/29/fifteenth-annual-obs-arts-festival/ accessed on 7 December 2011.

An image of the poster (located online) is supplied below:

Business owners described the 2011 festival as 'quieter than normal' even going as far as to say that they made more money on a regular weekend. Some informants felt that they were misled by a recent article about the festival which projected an estimation of 15000 attendees of the festival. When asked about the actual turnout, informants estimated that only two hundred people attended and that they were 'far away from LMR. Informants felt that the impact of having all the activities happening on the Village Green and not in LMR diverted many of the people away from other

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businesses. According to informants that had regularly attended the festival for the past five years, the festival was 'not so cool' or 'quiet' and 'boring'. A German informant who had experienced the festival in 2009 confessed to have been utterly disappointed by the dramatic change from fun and exciting to 'just another day in Obs'.

All informants discussed the costing of the festival as one of the primary reasons for the poor show of people. Interested partygoers needed to purchase tickets in order to access the cordoned off Village Green. Payment options were R50 for the Friday, R70 for the Saturday or R20 for the Sunday, with partygoers also able to purchase a R90 ticket which would allow access for the entire weekend. According to the informants, this strategy was not viewed favourably by partygoers as they felt that it was too much money and 'too controlled'. Some informants lashed out at the OCA feeling that the festival had simply become a money-making business and lacked the inviting warmness that was felt previously.

Another reason for the poor turnout was attributed to the change in date of the festival. For the first time, the festival date changed from the first weekend in December (which should have been 2nd, 3rd and 4th December) to the second weekend of the month. The lack of adequate street publicity of the festival ensured that only those that attended OCA meetings, read ObsLife or regularly used online media (such as Facebook), were knowledgeable about the change in date. This means that a large number of regular festival attendees would arrive in Observatory and find no festival activities at all.

9.7.5 ObzFest brand consumer change

With the change of festival name, entrance fee and new date, the festival attracted a new type of 'obs' consumers. Consumers would have access to the internet, have credit cards to purchase tickets online, would be geared to pop culture and would have a generally more middle class profile. The festival organizers may be attempting to migrate residents to online media. Also, the inclusion of children may have also been aimed at inviting a more family oriented consumer. All of these factors may suggest that a new relationship is forming wherein the loud, diverse and (largely

uncontrollable) audience is now being eschewed, in favour of more mainstream, family-oriented consumers.

9.8 Summary

Observatory thus far has been analysed as a brand which consists of semiotics (Observatory or 'obs' signs), communications (newspapers, websites) and social function (cultural pressure point and responsible for interracial mixing). With the changes of its highly publicized 'ObzFest' to a more reserved 'Obs Arts Festival' a change in the direction of the Observatory branding is suggested as well as a change in consumers.

With the rebranding of the ObzFest, also came other changes in 'outright' legitimacy, (with geographically-bounded names such as 'Observatorian)'; structured regulation of movement (as seen with the 'free spaces' at ObzFest) and changes in socio-cultural audience (as seen with more control and influence over the 'types' of artists. An earlier online description of Observatory as a '*de facto* grey area where all races lived together' (during apartheid), has evolved. These days, Observatory has been repositioned (to some degree) and described (and celebrated) as having a 'diverse' populace and being the 'cultural heart' of the city. However, racial disparity and exclusion still exists.

Observatory, as a neighbourhood place brand does indeed have a 'selling point' both materially and symbolically, with its brand visible through the distinct balancing acts between 'residential' and 'commercial' spaces. Observatory, with its many student hostels, restaurants, clubs and pubs, simultaneously offers the consumer accommodation and entertainment. This 'commercial edge' is juxtaposed alongside suburban homes, schools, parks and library. In a sense Observatory is at once privatized and publicized.

Property developers, student hostels, business owners and residents all have a stake in the image or brand that Observatory projects, both locally and globally. Of the three Obs brand owners discussed above, it is clear that ownership of place branding is complex and fed through different ways. Similarly, it is evident that Observatory has

a multitude of stakeholders that both create and consume the brand. Observatory, with its 'well documented' history and immense city funding, is an economic hub for some, making the image and brand of Observatory extremely important. The renaming of the landmark cultural festival (ObzFest) signals a deliberate shift in the repositioning of that brand.

For Boyer: "Foucault's theorization of space again operates a double logic: by their very imaginations and illusions heterotopias sustain the normality of everyday space and yet they negate these illusions, replacing them with other imaginary, but more static places" (2008: 53). This 'double logic' is epitomized by the complexity of the continuous revolving door of Observatory as a heterotypic space which is at once inviting and unappealing. There is a consistent contradiction between black Africans being despised as unwanted and yet at the same time being revered for their art and cultural attributes. The 'open door' policy of the annual festival appears to be more accurately described as a 'revolving door' through which many 'consumers' hasten to Observatory in order to ensure their space at the annual festival, while it is second nature for 'locals' in Observatory to take a (forced) sojourn from their residence in order to escape it altogether. This phenomenon indicates Observatory as a space of heterotopia.
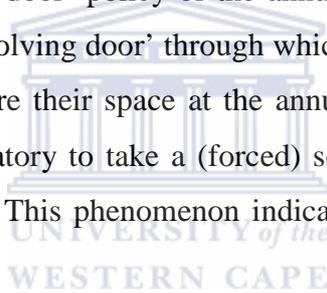
CHAPTER TEN

Summary and conclusion

10.0 Introduction

The preceding analysis chapters have discussed the different sociolinguistic and sociocultural factors which make Observatory an especially intriguing and exciting multicultural neighbourhood in which to conduct sociolinguistic research. The impetus to conduct ethnographic research in a multicultural neighbourhood in South Africa was borne out of a sociolinguistic inquiry as to just how shifts in power and collective imagination manifest, affect and transform language, identity and space in this previously English-speaking whites-only suburb of Observatory. Taken at face-value Observatory appears to be a diverse, trendy and cosmopolitan place, however as the preceding chapters demonstrate, the sociolinguistic situation in Observatory is still very much riddled with differences in power and instantiations of contestation over space, resources and legitimacy. Indubitably, transformation of language and identity is tied to the distant colonial heritage of the city, the recent transitional history of the country as well as the imagined future of the neighbourhood by its various stakeholders.
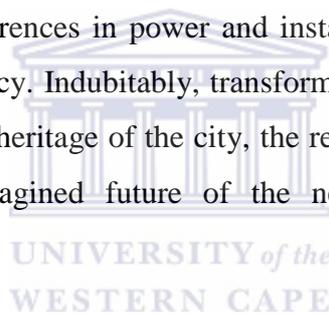
As a heterogeneous and complex neighbourhood, Observatory in many ways is comparable to a halfway house wherein divergent stakeholders frequent on a regular basis and in which they live and function differently. Observatory as a halfway house is analogous of the ephemeral nature of businesses on Lower Main Road, as a meeting place for a variety of cultures, languages and people that would previously be considered diametric in nature. Tenably, the most significant sign of Observatory as emblematic of a halfway house can be seen with the large transnational and translocal waves of migrants opting to live, work and play in Observatory before once again departing back home or to another neighbourhood, city or country. The same analogy can be put to 'locals' as residents often discuss raising their children elsewhere while more senior residents prefer to return to Observatory to live out their summer years.

10.1 Objectives revisited

Social networks reveal the workings of Observatory as a neighbourhood housing a host of differently imagined communities. Contestation over space ensures that the notion of 'legitimacy' emerges as a chief element of tension between locals and newcomers. Various semiotic changes on the linguistic landscape of Observatory's 'commercial corridor' reveal divergent discursively constructed aspirations for the community. Contestation over territory repositions legitimacy as a central theme which makes visible the dominant ideology of the neighbourhood. The different social networks and constructions of identity and community speaks to new imaginings for this neighbourhood. In order to reflect on the sociocultural and sociolinguistic changes, the initial objectives set out in the study are revisited below:

10.1.1 To ascertain how translocal and transnational flows have transformed this neighbourhood

Traces of transnational and translocal flows are still very much apparent on the contemporary Observatory landscape, nearly a century after it gained its urban neighbourhood status. These traces of colonial flows can be seen with the Dutch and British street names and architecture. More recent history shows Observatory to be a desired destination for migrants from the rest of Africa, particularly from the DRC, Zimbabwe and Nigeria. The study revealed that although there is inward migration of transnational groups from Asia and Europe it is only the inward migration of migrants from Africa which is met with suspicion by some local residents. This phenomenon can be seen when looking at the manner in which the different transnational groups settle into Observatory. Much of their settlement and reception by locals were upheld and constructed through public perception of these groups. The notoriety of Nigerians is driven on the coattails of 'rumours' which ascribes to them names such as drug dealers and pimps.

For a range of reasons, different transnational groups present or conceal their identities in Observatory. For some transnational groups, like the Somalis, playing 'invisible' is the safest route. For others, an overt African identity appears to work well in the domain of employment as seen with the proliferation of Zimbabwean handwritten job notices. Additionally, there are transnational cultural flows which appear dominant, as seen with the Congolese community's overt expression of their

rich culture and language which is indicative of a growing solidarity amongst this transnational group (cf. Mai, 2011). The Congolese community in the study can be said to trade on their love of Congolese music, emancipatory excitement and social cohesiveness which resulted in them contributing to the 'African appeal' of the neighbourhood.

10.1.2 Uncover how 'multilingual identities' are asserted and received in Observatory

Related to multilingualism is the way people express or assert their (multiple) identities. Analogous of positioning and expression of multilingual identities were seen through the emergence of the 'mapuka' urban digitalized form from the 'mapouka' traditional one. Even with the vast shift in perception of the dance (from traditional to pornographic), the identity of the Congolese partygoers are nevertheless still signalled as linguistically multilingual (Lingala, French and English) and multicultural (both Congolese French and South African).

Handwritten postcards also exemplify the use of multilingual identities for self-marketization, specifically for Zimbabweans and Malawians. Intriguingly, other less 'popular' nationalities such as Nigerians are not found in this space suggesting a consciousness relating to 'what sells' in a multilingual/ multicultural setting.

The SL also highlighted that modifications to Asian signage which also takes its lead from the multilingual setting in which it is found. This means that Chinese characters on signage appear oriented towards a non-Chinese audience with an emphasis on signalling Asianness as opposed to communicating effectively in Chinese (Banda, forthcoming).

10.1.3 Determine whether there is an Observatory or 'Obs' brand and detail what this entails

This study ascertains that Observatory's culture (perhaps expectedly) is continuously changing and when merged with the neighbourhood as place branding, it becomes evident that Observatory as a brand is also undergoing continuous and rapid change. Observatory's brand is imbued with two very different and important 'new' types of communities. The Movement established itself as a fast-moving 'young' cutting edge artistic community which has large international ties. The OCA is also gathering

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traction through a regular concatenation of Obs-centric media (such as Obslife and ObsNews), as well as through successful community initiatives and the rebranding of the Observatory festival. This group appears to promote a more local (geographically bounded) notion of community. These two groups emphasize the cultural contestations occurring in the neighbourhood and speak to the tension between official branding and the unofficial (often unwanted) one.

10.1.4 Ascertain how Observatory has changed on a cultural and linguistic level over the years

Undoubtedly, Observatory has changed both culturally and linguistically. However, it is the cultural contestations discussed above which indicate the tension between Observatory as wanting to stay the same (with large European influences) and essentially a 'mini-Europe', whilst still trying to 'sell' an African image. There is also evidence of linguistic contestation between the colonial powers of yesteryear, specifically between the Dutch and English. This contestation can be seen with the absence of Afrikaans signs on any public signage in LMR. This is interesting as there is a significant amount (15%) of Afrikaans speakers reportedly live in Observatory (Census, 2001). The absence of Afrikaans on the landscape may then indicate an underlying struggle for power between English and Afrikaans, which are both construed as 'colonial languages'. In this instance other transnational languages such as Lingala (which has received a lot more success and visibility on the SL) may be showing signs of appropriating the space of Afrikaans and therein index social transformation in Observatory.

However, cultural contestation can be said to be more than just a simple 'us' and 'them' and may also be said to occur within seemingly homogenous African transnational groups. This implies that while the trendiness and acceptance of being African may be promoted and imbued by some transnational groups in Observatory, whilst other African groups may shun visibility altogether. These differences can be seen with the success of the Congolese club and their overt expression of Africanness as well as the acceptance of Zimbabweans in the employment sector in Observatory. On the other hand, African groups which tend to eschew the distinct marks of Africaness, can be seen with the Somali group, who, although desperately trying to remain incognito, could not keep their nationality hidden for very long . The

Nigerians (although spoken of quite a bit) did not openly own any establishments in Observatory, and did not feature on any job-seeker adverts (unlike Zimbabweans and Malawians). This means that being a Nigerian African may hold different values in Observatory as opposed to a Zimbabwean African (as seen with the Congolese club and prevalence of Zimbabwean employed in Observatory). Other groups, such as Nigerians and Somalis, may have found a less visible space on the SL and in the communities of Observatory. The choices by some groups to be extremely flamboyant about their presence are intriguing especially when contrasting them with others that have chosen to be more reserved about their language and culture. Linguistically, languages in contact are markedly different from that of census results.

10.1.5 Explore signs on the linguistic and semiotic landscape in place

Signs on the landscape were considered as multimodal and analyses drew on both textual and non-verbal modes on signs. The landscape revealed pockets of areas which showed great multilingual and multimodal variation. While 'language counting' was seen as a reasonable starting point, the study moved beyond this first (basic) analytical step to include more complex and loaded interpretation of signs other modes on signs. Looking at the landscape as a contested space revealed the tension between the colonial (British) backdrop which housed a burgeoning African aesthetic. Different imaginings of identity and community were found discursively constructed on two community notice boards and revealed in-group and out-group tendencies between locals and transnational groups.

10.1.6 Ascertain the power relations which exist between contesting groups in Observatory

This study looked at four groups: OCA, The Movement, Immigrants and vagrants and while the last two groups appeared to have the least amount of power, the first two groups showed greatest resilience to change and the most creative use of the resources at their disposal. In fact, differences in power can be said to have crystallized between the OCA and The Movement with each group exerting power in different ways. Simply put The Movement is seen as exerting power through offering alternative views to mainstream arts and cultural practices. Their use of power can also be seen through the use of social Medias (Facebook) and through creative parties or galleries of their products. This type of power can be described as 'social/status power'. This

group asserted power through the use of technologies (Facebook and Sms) to communicate upcoming events to its members. Unlike the OCA this movement drew upon the current (hip) African angle to 'sell' Observatory.

The OCA on the other hand, exercises power through its affiliation with institutional groups and can be described as 'institutional power'.

Throughout the study it became clear that the OCA held a proportionately larger amount of power over other groups in Observatory. The OCA's power was made visible when looking at their effectiveness in controlling and contesting other groups. In a three year period, the OCA was able to dramatically rebrand the local festival and steer it into a different direction. They did this by having strong social networks and by regularly drawing on the colonial heritage of the neighbourhood in order to 'sell' Observatory. This social group butted heads with The Movement quite often and this may be due to the fact that The Movement also displayed signs of having a strong social network with its members.

10.1.7 Establish whether English itself is being transformed in this community

Although the 'new' South Africa would imply a burgeoning linguistic heterogeneity, signage on the 'commercial corridor' still affirms English as the most prevalent language used on signage. However, the *type* or *variety* of English is important as many (if not all) English signs showed signs of localization. Higgins' (2009) work on English as a local language exemplifies this point. Pertinently, this study suggests that current interpretation (and analysis) of English may need to be overhauled, particularly when looking to understand typographical and grammatical errors which have been referred to as 'peripheral normativity'. Whereas this term endeavours to explain errors created by non-Center English speakers, this study revealed that these 'errors' may actually have more to do with strategic self-marketization and localizing of English by English second-language speakers. Authors (who use localized English for their handwritten notices) may not have been as effective if they had to use the standard variety of English. In fact, use of the standard variety of English when seeking certain jobs (such as nanny, char, or gardener) may have connoted other qualities (overqualified, arrogant, or unlikely to work long in that position). This means that (contrary to mainstream views); 'center- English' may not always be the

variety of choice and may be seen as having counter-productive effects on communication.

As the study looked at an alternative to the theory of peripheral normativity, other (more creative and strategic uses of 'localized norms) is foregrounded. To explain English on signage allowed the contextual factors to play more of an informative role and allows the author more power, as a creative and resourceful agent in communication. This was clearly seen with the Zimbabwean authors whose spelling errors could be said to communicate additional attributes of sincerity and authenticity.

10.1.8 Impact of globalization on this local community

Globalization in Observatory presents itself in a variety of ways, most notably with the presence of a large number of translocal and transnational constituencies settling in Observatory. Many of these people discover Observatory through its virtual status as a cosmopolitan and diverse neighbourhood which exists online. The ObzFest helped play a large part in the pull of global communities towards Observatory. Interestingly, the homogenizing impact of globalization emerged largely through African businesses, however an especially 'unique' brand (both propagated by the OCA and The Movement), exercises a counter-homogenizing effect. While online resources, such as social media and websites were used by almost all in Observatory, the claim that the neighbourhood was a village unto itself was still very much lauded.

10.1.9 Migratory trends in and out of Observatory

The site of OJS revealed the most reaction to translocal migration in and out of Observatory, specifically by black learners. The study showed that local parents (still largely white and middle class), opted to send their children out of Observatory (and away from OJS), opting for seemingly 'better-resourced' schools elsewhere. An online 'dialogue' revealed that the inward migration of black learners was associated with the denigration of the school and outlined blacks as not a part of the in-group. Black learners from working class homes were seen as usurpers of the educational 'right' previously bestowed upon middle class white children in Observatory. Although OJS was marketed as a 'multicultural' and 'progressive' school, this portrayal of the school was not favoured by locals interviewed in the study. An examination of the local community newspaper constructed OJS as a space in need of

'reclaiming'. The newspaper suggests that the inward migration of black learners was largely unwelcomed by the local residents.

Silenced voices from black parents and learners indicate the possession of power to be in the hands of the (white) 'locals' with a clear division between us and them being drawn. Furthermore, the excessive volume of an inclusive Obs community may have additionally eschewed the notion of an Observatory community as extending into the geography of black townships. OJS is at once a shining beacon of social transformation as well as a source of tension perpetuated by the opening up of spaces and practices to black learners' from outside of Observatory.

10.1.10 The impact of translocal and transnational flows on Observatory's multilingual spaces and identities

Nowhere else has the shifts in power emerged quite as clearly as that of the situation at OJS. Power appears to have shifted hands from the in-group (residents) to the out-group (blacks) again and again and now has once again shifted between the groups. Power is an important distinguisher of the identity of the school as either a 'local/community/obs' school or a 'multicultural/multilingual/African' school.

10.1.11 How discourses and multilingual identities fit into the overarching theme of transformation and multicultural integration

The effects of this institutionalized racism can be seen when interviewing South African (coloured/Indian/white) participants who would often use (polite, vague or neutral) expressions such as 'local blacks', 'Xhosas' or 'our blacks' when attempting to differentiate between the different groups of blacks in Observatory. Transformation was often discursively constructed as the inward flow of transnational groups, the friendliness of locals (still largely white) and the influx and reception of foreign students.

10.1.12 Whether work on either scalar or contextual 'space' can in fact be of use in this multilingual/ multicultural African perspective

Most studies view sociolinguistic research of this nature as 'a view from below' (cf. Blommaert, 2008) which characterised the in-migration of 'deterritorialized groups' as migrating from the 'periphery' to the 'center'. These studies habitually incorporate

a method of 'stratification' in which certain groups are habitually conceived as occupying the bottom end of society (entry-level work) with others occupying the top-end (senior/top management). This study did not find it useful to discuss individuals, space or interaction in relation to the center- periphery model. This was because Observatory was itself construed as a continuously shifting community and therefore there was no 'center' from which to draw a periphery. The issue of polycentricity (multiple centers) only further emphasizes the fallibility of any fixed notion of language, identity or space. Additionally, polycentricity and center-periphery model simply could not work within a poststructuralist framework as it irrevocably refutes the usefulness or relevance of a universal 'truth' or (in this case) a universal center.

Crucially, this study viewed space differently from previous studies wherein space is never viewed as neutral and is thought to imbue by social practices (cf. Vigouroux, 2005). In this study, space was viewed as neutral. This means that space cannot do anything by itself, rather it is human actors which (when claiming space as territory and through territoriality) influence space. A focus on territory as opposed to space when viewing multilingual practices highlights the agenda and acts of territoriality that actors (and not space) exude.
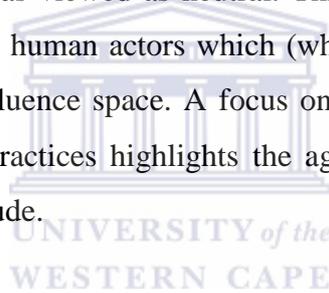
Territoriality is therefore understood as the act of exercising ownership over a territory, with contestation thereafter occurring from one or more groups over a given territory. In the study, the process of territoriality is seen as enacted by discursive construction and social practices. In the case of the African Corner, contestation by another group (OCA) revealed acts of territoriality and the emergence of newly imagined communities. Acts of territoriality by business owners and partygoers in the African Corner can be seen with the flouting of regularly-held social conventions in Observatory, such as: the selling of alcohol without proper liquor license, late and bothersome partying and the like. Contestation over this territory can be seen with the OCA's liaising with police and formally complaining over these transgressions.

Exploration into the establishment, workings and reception of the African Corner positions the retheorization of collective imagination, space, territory and contestation as key building blocks to measuring community and outsiders in the multicultural setting of Observatory.

The ObzFest as a brand was analysed through a spatial analysis of the appropriation of space and changes in access and restrictions over a three-year period. In this way the rebranding of Observatory was analyzed through the changing function or 'lived moments' (Lefebvre, 1991) in a particular space. Neologisms combined with redefined or rebranded spaces also indicated power through monopoly of space and agency. In this regard, the study suggests that there is a need to build on the spatial episteme in sociolinguistic theoretical advancements.

10.1.13 Contesting Semiotic Landscapes

Observatory's semiotic landscape revealed the intertwining of colonial relics (buildings) with new and creative (African) stores which adds a layer of 'new' meaning to the landscape. With these two different heritages being indexed, there are simultaneously a respect and a certain reverence for the colonial past as well as a desire to capture the imaginings of a 'rainbow nation'.

Intriguingly, signs on the SL indicated that English was dominant, but like the changing intertwining of past (colonial) and new (African), a localized version of English was favoured over that of 'center' English. The landscape also revealed the combination of languages and cultural artefacts not always considered out rightly harmonious, as seen with the Hindu/African sign. The emplacement of African signs on the semiotic landscape and the process of mobility and resemiotization of African cultural practices, text and language reveal Observatory's landscape as one which indexes social change both locally and internationally.

10.1.14 Uncover different aspirational futures of Observatory

An analysis of the two 'community' notice boards revealed different constructions of locality and aspirations of the neighbourhood. What was interesting was that the (official) 'community' notice board was absent of any evidence of the numerous transnational flows in the area. This notice board performed a largely informational function wherein legitimate organizations, communications and spaces were indexed. Importantly, only residents were constructed as bona fide locals in Observatory. The other (unofficial) 'community' notice board revealed a new locality indicative of the transnational groups in Observatory. For these groups a diverse aspirational future of

Observatory was imagined. Intriguingly, these very different aspirational futures (as depicted on the two notice boards) signals a disjuncture between what constitutes legitimate 'locals', desirable 'newcomers' and undesirable 'outsiders'.

10.2 Discussion questions revisited

What follows are discussion answers to questions pertinent to the study of Observatory.

10.2.1 Can spaces be 'multilingual' and what does this entail in Observatory?

This question, set at the onset of the study reveals the naivety of the researcher and the desire to answer a question without much reflection upon the question itself. This is because the study revealed that multilingual spaces do not exist as bubbles which can be identified at any given time. In Observatory, spaces do not own people, languages or practices and therefore cannot be defined as such. This study suggest that it would be better to discuss multilingual speech/interactions in a given space as opposed to space as being capable of influencing the interactions it houses.

10.2.2 What identity resources can be found in Observatory?

As mentioned previously, migrants in Observatory used their identity in creative and beneficial ways. Identity as a resource emerged as most evident when looking at the different ways in which Zimbabweans and Congolese exercised their identity in Observatory. In the study it became clear that being Zimbabwean could be seen as a resource which one could draw upon when seeking credibility as a trustworthy employee or roommate. Congolese people were able to use their musical prowess to draw in business and celebrate being African.

The neologism of 'Observatorian' also introduced a localized identity which was intriguing because it indexed a specific type of Observatory local, specifically a homeowner. The Observatorian neologism draws (proudly) on the colonial heritage of the neighbourhood. For this reason, those individuals that lacked the necessary knowledge of the 'rich' colonial history of the neighbourhood were somewhat puzzled by the name.

It appeared that those fond of using this neologism were also those that vehemently desired the 'reclamation' of Observatory and acquiesced with the rebranding of the neighbourhood's annual festival. This may suggest that it was derived by those that habitually draw on the colonial heritage of the neighbourhood, such as the OCA.

10.2.3 What multilingual practices (if any) can be identified in the Observatory neighbourhood?

Tenably, the most evident multilingual practice that occurred for the past fifteen years have been the annual three-day ObzFest in Observatory. The practice of housing new (African) musicians and airing new movies and theatrical pieces allowed for a host of diverse groups to settle into their own preferred spaces in Observatory. This practice was unheard of (for the most part) and for this reason the popularity of Observatory emerged.

10.2.4 Considering that there are large numbers of transnational groups in Observatory, what are the discourses on xenophobia?

Discussing xenophobia was a difficult task for some informants. A large amount of 'evasive speak' emerged with informants using politically correct terminology to describe foreigners, specifically black foreigners. Many informants described Observatory as being a better place to work and live as they found other places in Cape Town (such as locations and townships) to be less inviting, with some even fearing for their lives in these spaces. In this regard, Observatory was seen as a more desirable place than most other neighbourhoods in the city.

The example of Observatory Junior School may also index how previous workings of structural racism (as seen with apartheid laws) now result in points of friction and subtle acts of xenophobia which emerge through common-sense arguments about the naturalness of living apart and dominant ideologies which equate English both with Whiteness and 'good education'.

10.3 Conclusion

In this study Observatory's heterogeneous and multi-faceted neighbourhood was seen as being context-generative (Appadurai, 1996) and this provided rich sociocultural soil on which to understand local and global realities of diversity and contestation.

When concluding research in Observatory it became clear that this neighbourhood not only provides the context for social interaction, but in itself also constitutes the context. Critically, how 'newcomers' to the area were being received and their impact on Observatory's spatial, linguistic and cultural landscapes had emerged as a continuous point of tension and contestation. This study presents the different imagined communities which exist in Observatory and explored their contestation and negotiation within the multicultural setting of Observatory.

Concepts such as 'multilingualism', 'diversity', 'hybridity' and 'contestation' proved to be constantly shifting in the complex setting of Observatory. It is the changing faces of Observatory, with its waves of translocal and transnational migrations and fusions of cultures and languages, that reveal space as a contested commodity, which distinguishes between some as (desired) 'newcomers' and others as (unwanted) 'outsiders'.

Contesting notions of 'community', 'neighbourhood' and 'village' also indexed differences in the way Observatory was imagined. The disparities between these notions were crystallized when identifying ruptures or breaks in imaginings for the community. During the two years of ethnographic research, it became clear that the 'lived moments' in Observatory was being refashioned to look like a completely different and rebranded Observatory. Changes in lived moments could be seen with the 'cleansing' of the homeless, tension and contestation over the African Corner, the tenacious desire to reclaim the local school and finally the overhaul of the Observatory festival. It is these many and varied imaginings of diversity in Observatory (riddled with contradictions and contestations), which reveal the collective imagination as a sociolinguistically fascinating departure in which to study culture- in- motion.

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UNIVERSITY *of the*

WESTERN CAPE

APPENDIX A

SOUTH AFRICAN DATA ARCHIVE, POPULATION SURVEY, 1985

STUDY DESCRIPTION
SADA 0070
TITLE: Population Census, 1985
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:
Statistics South Africa
DEPOSITOR: Statistics South Africa
ORGANISATION HOUSING THE DATA:
Statistics South Africa
Private Bag x44
Pretoria, 0001
South Africa
Tel: +27 (0) 12 310 8911
Fax: +27(0) 12 322 3374
Website: www.statssa.gov.za
ABSTRACT:
The 1985 Population Census was enumerated on a de facto basis, that is, according to the place where
persons were located during the census. All persons who were present on Republic of South African
territory during census night were enumerated and included in the data. Visitors from abroad who were
present in the RSA on holiday or business on the night of the census, as well as foreigners (and their
families) who were studying or economically active, were enumerated but not included in the figures.
Likewise, members of the Diplomatic and Consular Corps of foreign countries were not included. However,
the South African personnel linked to the foreign missions including domestic workers were enumerated.
Crews and passengers of ships were also not enumerated, unless they were normally resident in the
Republic of South Africa. Residents of the RSA who were absent from the night were as far as possible
enumerated on their return and included in the region where they normally resided. Personnel of the South
African Government stationed abroad and their families were, however enumerated. Such persons were
included in the Transvaal (Pretoria).
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: South Africa
IMPORTANT VARIABLES :
Particulars of person- relationship within household, sex, age, marital status, population group, birthplace,
country of citizenship, level of education, occupation, identity of employer and the nature of economic
activity.
UNIVERSE :
The 1985 census covered the so-called white areas of South Africa, i.e. the areas in the former four
provinces of the Cape, the Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Natal. It also covered the so-called National
States of KwaZulu, Kangwane, Gazankulu, Lebowa, Qwaqwa, and Kwandebele. The 1985 South African

census excluded the areas of the Transkei, Bophutatswana, Ciskei, and Venda.

DATE OF FIELDWORK:

5 March 1985

METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION :

❖ In the major part of the country the 1985 Census was conducted by way of distributing census

questionnaires beforehand and collecting the completed returns after the census day. In cases where

the enumerator was requested to, as well as where the respondent was unable to complete the

questionnaire, the census enumerator assisted in the completion thereof.

❖ Comprehensive door-to-door surveys were not possible. An agreement was concluded with the Human

Sciences Research Council to enumerate areas by means of sample surveys. 88 areas country-wide were

enumerated on this basis.

❖ Every household was enumerated on a separate questionnaire.

UNDER-ENUMERATION:

❖ All censuses are open to error. The following under-enumeration figures have been calculated for the

1985 census.

❖ Estimated percentage distribution of undercount by race according to the HSRC:

Percent undercount

Whites 7.6%

Blacks in the "RSA" 20.4%

Blacks in the "National States" 15.1%

Colored 1.0%

Asian 4.6%

UNITS OF OBSERVATION: Persons were used as units of analysis.

EXTENT OF DATA COLLECTION:

❖ 2 data files in SPSS, hardcopy documentation and hardcopy questionnaire.

Data files:

Part 1

Area 85a Area 85b Area 85c Area 85d Area 85e

Number of cases 2 912 954 621 244 1 846 250 1 541 251 5 892 033

Number of records 2 912 954 621 244 1 846 250 1 541 251 5 892 033

Number of records per case 1 1 1 1 1

Logical record length 80 80 80 80 80

Number of variables 18 18 18 18 18

Number of kilobytes 95, 242 25, 019 90, 193 62, 383 271, 786

Part 2

Area 85f Area 85g Area 85h Area 85j

Number of cases 1 487 569 2 746 264 5 528 657 809 423

Number of records 1 487 569 2 746 264 5 528 657 809 423

Number of records per case 1 1 1 1

Logical record length 80 80 80 80

Number of variables 18 18 18 18

Number of kilobytes 72, 286 135, 151 249, 263 39, 385

PUBLICATIONS:

Central Statistical Service Report No. 02-85-01. 1985. Population Census, 1991. Pretoria: Central Statistical

Service.

Mostert, W. P., van Tonder, L., & Hofmeyr, B. 1986. Reconstruction of census age structures of the South

African black population:1936-1985. HSRC report 153. HSRC, Pretoria.

CODELIST

Population Census 1985 description

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VALUE GESLAG
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13='DIP&STD 10'
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15='SWAZILAND'
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17='ANGOLA'
18='EGIPTE'
19='GHANA'
20='KENIA'
21='KONGO'
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27='OEGANDA'
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37='BOELGARYE'
38='DENEMARKE'
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42='FINLAND'
43='FRANKRYK'
44='GIBRALTAR'
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25='OPMETER'
26='FISIKUS'
27='SKEIKUNDIGE'
28='METALLURG'
29='FISIESE WETENSK. TEGNOLOOG'
30='GEOLOOG'
31='AND. AARDWETENSK. BEROEPE'
32='FIS. NATUURWETENSK. BEROEPE N.E.G'
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34='PROGRAMMEERDER'
35='AND. REKENAARBER.'
36='LANDBOUKUNDIGE BER.'
37='BIOLOGIESE WETENSK. BER.'
38='LEWENSWETENSK. TEGNOLOOG'
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APPENDIX B

City of Cape Town by suburb - Observatory
Census 1996

Demographic Profile (Gender, Ethnic Group, Age, Education, Language)

Observatory	Male	Female	Total
ETHNIC GROUP			
African/Black	1,134	653	1,787
Coloured	818	876	1,694
Indian/Asian	101	65	166
White	2,052	2,024	4,076
Unspecified	128	184	312
Total	4,233	3,802	8,035
AGE			
0 – 14	444	441	885
15 – 34	2,396	1,819	4,215
35 – 54	858	814	1,672
55 – 64	224	251	475
65+	254	438	692
Unspecified	57	39	96
Total	4,233	3,802	8,035
EDUCATION (incl. still at school)			
No schooling	135	115	250
Grade 0 - Grade 2	37	31	68
Grade 3 - Grade 7	134	219	353
Grade 8 - Grade 11	559	678	1,237
Matric only	1,407	897	2,304
Matric plus Diploma/certificate	258	333	591
Matric plus Degree	252	302	554
Matric plus Postgraduate Degree	196	198	394
Other qualification	111	101	212
Unspecified	931	718	1,649
NA: Aged <5	213	210	423
Total	4,233	3,802	8,035
LANGUAGE			
English	2,443	2,602	5,045
Afrikaans	609	571	1,180
Xhosa	481	346	827
Other	655	254	909

Unspecified	45	29	74
Total	4,233	3,802	8,035

Compiled by Urban Policy Unit from the 1996 Census data supplied by Statistics South Africa

City of Cape Town by suburb - Observatory
Census 2001

Demographic Profile, Employment Profile, Housing Profile, Service Profile

Compiled by Strategic Development Information and GIS from 2001 Census data supplied by Statistics South Africa

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE BY GENDER

Ethnic Group, Age, Education, Language

Observatory

ETHNIC GROUP	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Black African	561	10.56	517	9.74	1,077	20.28
Coloured	502	9.45	495	9.32	997	18.78
Indian/Asian	100	1.88	86	1.62	186	3.50
White	1,495	28.15	1,554	29.27	3,049	57.42
Total	*2,657*	*50.04*	*2,652*	*49.94*	*5,310*	*100.00*

Observatory

AGE	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
0 - 5	115	2.17	152	2.86	266	5.01
6 - 12	92	1.73	81	1.53	172	3.24
13 - 17	64	1.21	78	1.47	141	2.66
18 - 34	1,363	25.67	1,322	24.90	2,685	50.56
35 - 54	724	13.63	605	11.39	1,329	25.03

55 - 64	147	2.77	160	3.01	307	5.78
65+	153	2.88	255	4.80	408	7.68
Total	*2,657*	*50.04*	*2,652*	*49.94*	*5,310*	*100.00*

Observatory						
EDUCATION LEVEL OF ADULTS (20+)	**Male**	**%**	**Female**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
No schooling	27	0.60	48	1.07	75	1.67
Grade 1- 6	90	2.00	75	1.67	165	3.66
Grade 7	27	0.60	36	0.80	63	1.40
Grade 8 - 11	322	7.15	388	8.61	710	15.76
Grade 12	743	16.50	640	14.21	1,383	30.71
Certificate with less than grade 12	36	0.80	24	0.53	60	1.33
Cert/dip with grade 12	449	9.97	364	8.08	813	18.05
Bachelor's degree	228	5.06	267	5.93	496	11.01
Bachelor's degree and diploma	70	1.55	82	1.82	152	3.37
Honour's degree	135	3.00	138	3.06	273	6.06
Higher degree (master's or doctorate)	173	3.84	142	3.15	315	6.99
Total	*2,300*	*51.07*	*2,204*	*48.93*	*4,504*	*100.00*

Observatory						
LANGUAGE	**Male**	**%**	**Female**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
English	1,850	34.84	1,925	36.25	3,775	71.09
Afrikaans	429	8.08	388	7.31	816	15.37
Xhosa	195	3.67	158	2.98	353	6.65
Other African	103	1.94	116	2.18	219	4.12
Other	80	1.51	66	1.24	146	2.75
Total	*2,657*	*50.04*	*2,652*	*49.94*	*5,310*	*100.00*

EMPLOYMENT PROFILE BY GENDER

Work Status, Occupation, Income

Observatory

WORK STATUS - ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE Aged 15 to 65	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Employed	1,224	47.11	1,191	45.84	2,416	92.99
Unemployed	89	3.43	94	3.62	183	7.04
Economically Active Total	*1,313*	*50.54*	*1,285*	*49.46*	*2,598*	*100.00*

Observatory

WORK STATUS - ECONOMICALLY INACTIVE Aged 15 to 65	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Scholar or student	398	21.50	479	25.88	877	47.38
Home-maker or housewife	6	0.32	82	4.43	88	4.75
Pensioner or retired person/too old to work	74	4.00	84	4.54	159	8.59
Unable to work due to illness or disability	287	15.51	126	6.81	413	22.31
Seasonal worker not working presently	36	1.94	6	0.32	42	2.27
Does not choose to work	73	3.94	82	4.43	155	8.37
Could not find work	48	2.59	69	3.73	117	6.32
Economically Inactive Total	*922*	*49.81*	*929*	*50.19*	*1,851*	*100.00*

Observatory

OCCUPATION OF LABOUR FORCE	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Legislators, senior officials and managers	123	5.09	108	4.47	231	9.56

Professionals	383	15.85	370	15.31	753	31.17
Technicians and associate professionals	132	5.46	204	8.44	336	13.91
Clerks	60	2.48	175	7.24	235	9.73
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	141	5.84	120	4.97	261	10.80
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	6	0.25	0	0.00	6	0.25
Craft and related trades workers	69	2.86	30	1.24	99	4.10
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	21	0.87	15	0.62	36	1.49
Elementary occupations	51	2.11	36	1.49	87	3.60
Undetermined	239	9.89	134	5.55	372	15.40
Total	***1,224***	***50.66***	***1,191***	***49.30***	***2,416***	***100.00***

Observatory						
INCOME OF EARNERS (PER MONTH)	**Male**	**%**	**Female**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
0 - R1 600	218	9.02	192	7.95	410	16.97
R1 601 - R6 400	495	20.49	564	23.34	1,059	43.83
R6 401 - R25 600	437	18.09	415	17.18	851	35.22
R25 601 - R102 400	60	2.48	15	0.62	75	3.10
R102 401 or more	15	0.62	6	0.25	21	0.87
Total	***1,224***	***50.66***	***1,191***	***49.30***	***2,416***	***100.00***

Top

HOUSING PROFILE

Type of Dwelling, Ownership, Household Income

Observatory		
TYPE OF DWELLING	**Number**	**%**
House or brick structure on a separate stand or yard	1,016	52.75
Traditional dwelling/hut/structure made of traditional materials	63	3.27
Flat in block of flats	243	12.62
Town/cluster/semi-detached house (simplex; duplex; triplex)	467	24.25
House/flat/room in back yard	21	1.09
Informal dwelling/shack in back yard	9	0.47
Informal dwelling/shack NOT in back yard	6	0.31
Room/flatlet not in back yard but on shared property	9	0.47
Caravan or tent	6	0.31
Private ship/boat	0	0.00
Not applicable (living quarters is not housing unit)	86	4.47
Total	*1,926*	*100.00*
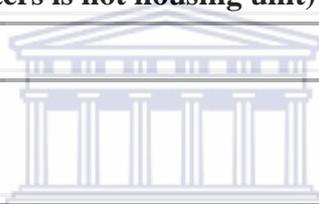
Observatory		
DWELLING OWNERSHIP	**Number**	**%**
Owned and fully paid off	474	24.61
Owned but not yet paid off	533	27.67
Rented	819	42.52
Occupied rent-free	15	0.78
Not applicable	86	4.47
Total	*1,926*	*100.00*

Observatory		
HOUSEHOLD INCOME (PER ANNUM)	**Number**	**%**
0 - R19 200	488	25.34
R19 201 - R76 800	487	25.29
R76 801 - R307 200	770	39.98
R307 201 - R1 228 800	157	8.15
R1 228 801 and more	24	1.25

Total	1,926	100.00

SERVICE PROFILE

Electricity, Water, Sanitation, Refuse Removal

Observatory

TYPE OF FUEL USED FOR LIGHTING	Number	%
Electricity	1,894	98.13
Gas	15	0.78
Paraffin	0	0.00
Candles	9	0.47
Solar	6	0.31
Other	6	0.31
Total	1,930	100.00

Observatory

ACCESS TO WATER	Number	%
Piped water inside dwelling	1,684	87.25
Piped water inside yard	100	5.18
Piped water on community stand: distance less than 200m. from dwelling	45	2.33
Piped water on community stand: distance greater than 200m. from dwelling	98	5.08
Borehole	0	0.00
Spring	0	0.00

Rain-water tank	0	0.00
Dam/pool/stagnant water	0	0.00
River/stream	0	0.00
Water vendor	0	0.00
Other	3	0.16
Total	*1,930*	*100.00*

Observatory

TYPE OF SANITATION	Number	%
Flush toilet (connected to sewerage system)	1,873	97.05
Flush toilet (with septic tank)	15	0.78
Chemical toilet	12	0.62
Pit latrine with ventilation (VIP)	0	0.00
Pit latrine without ventilation	0	0.00
Bucket latrine	6	0.31
None	24	1.24
Total	*1,930*	*100.00*
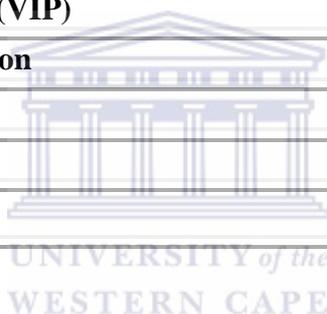
Observatory

TYPE OF REFUSE REMOVAL	Number	%
Removed by local authority at least once a week	1,849	95.80
Removed by local authority less often	27	1.40
Communal refuse dump	48	2.49
Own refuse dump	3	0.16
No rubbish disposal	3	0.16
Total	*1,930*	*100.00*

APPENDIX D

12 months ago notimpressed   +2

I attended Observatory Junior School in the 1980's and I am sorry to say I am appauled at the fact that 96% of the students are Xhosa. I visited the school in 1997 and I was horrified at the condition and state the school property was in. One of the mom's of a friend of mine that was in my class when I attended the school was there, (she still helps out and supports the school), and she showed me around. The library was totally wrecked. The walls were totally filthy, amongst other areas of the school she showed me. When I attended the school all my friends and I were so proud to be at that school. It was OUR school. And now? I must say I am very surprised that the name of the school is still the same. I am not a racist, but wow how the blacks have messed every thing good up that was working perfectly well before they arrived. Show me any place the white people had before that is now better or even the same. No you can't. Why? Because they are incapable of looking after any thing that isn't broken. If it is fixed it can't be used until it is broken. Sorry but I feel very strongly about this view. Again, I'm not a racist. My domestic's family and mine are like family. I am helping her with a few hundred rands extra a month to put her eldest boy through high school. I would never had felt this way if I had not seen the sorry state that my school was in the day I visited. I call it MY SCHOOL because I'm was proud of what it stood for and the good times and education it served me with. I've always been proud of my school. UNTIL 1997. Thank you for reading my message.

9 months ago Bangilizwe   0

You so fucking racist and please South Africa belongs to Blacks for your information, days are gone when there whites areas only.

5 months ago Realistic   0

I think a racist comment would have been along the lines of "the schools stinks because of all the blacks" etc.. the point i believe she was trying to make is that the school was in a better condition before the black people arrived which is not a racist comment but a fact, and as for South Africa belonging to the blacks which blacks excactly is that the xhosa?? the zulu?? because if history serves me right most black people where running around in loin clothes killing one another before the white man arrived. So its not about having black or white areas but looking after what we have and being tolerant, unlike your use of foul language and total disrespect for the english or should i say white language.

2 months ago MEME   0

Can we for once stop complaining and look for solutions? To you 'notimpressed', why does everything always have to be about race? You say you are not a racist, so why do you keep saying it? Why do you feel the need to justify your comment? It would have been enough to say the school is in a bad condition without pointing out that it's 96% Xhosa, blacks etc... is there anything you've tried to do to get YOUR school to what it used to be? 'Bangilizwe', there is no reason for you to curse at other people. South Africa belongs to ALL who live in it...that's what the Constitution says. Realistic..I'm assuming you are white because your English is so good. Remember that English is

not a first language to every South African. If you were speaking IsiXhosa as a white person would you be fluent in it? You talk about being tolerant...are you tolerant? That comment was unnecessary. I'm black by the way and I know I speak and write English very well even though it's not my first language, even better than most white South Africans! We live in this wonderful country and we have not choice (except if you migrate) but to g*et al*ong. It's not an over-night thing but it takes one person at a time trying to understand other people's cultures in order for us to understand why things are the way they are and why people do things the way they do. THAT IS TOLERANCE

APPENDIX E

OBSERVATORY FESTIVAL OF ARTS MEDIA

"**Now in its 14th year** the Observatory Festival has been renamed The Observatory Festival of Arts. This year's festival facilitates a cross pollination of audiences for ideas and forms, develops a **multi-disciplinary platform for intercultural dialogue and interaction**, and is representative of one of the largest residential arts communities in South Africa – The Observatory. In collaboration with a multitude of organisations, the festival challenges perspectives on the nature and importance of arts activity in South Africa, its relevance to the wider audience and the **relationship between "our own environments" and the "outside world".**

As well as showcase **Observatorians**, the Festival platforms a unique cross-section of music, visual arts and performance from the **South African diaspora**, representative of the diversity of cultures and contemporary disciplines that reside within the country today. The festival also invites interventions from international artists, creating a **counter point of insight and interaction** on the nature and complexity of community, art, growth, and change.

The event further promotes insight and dialogue by **creating multiple 'free' areas** during the festival that program interactive content. These areas are then visited by numerous people who may or may not have been prior exposed to the art practices they witness; encouraging all involved to **widen their personal, social, and political lenses**. The Observatory area is historically associated (most notably during apartheid years) with **leftfield activism, multi-cultural interaction, and social change**, and now hosts one of the largest residential communities of artists and intellectuals in South Africa REF: **Living History Project**. Issue based organisations are invited to develop impactful interventions, during the festival; raising awareness about pertinent local, national and global concerns.

One of the core objectives of the festival is to develop new audiences for contemporary and traditional art forms. In the streets and spaces of

Observatory, **residential Africans and visitors** alike will be able to enjoy one of the most diverse showcases of South African Artists in 2010.

The formats platformed during the Observatory Festival of Arts will include:

- Live Music
- Visual Art (including public installations)
- Traditional African arts, music and dance
- Street performance e.g. carnival parade, poi, interactive street theatre
- Physical Theatre and Contemporary Dance
- Theatre
- Comedy
- Spoken word & literary events
- Film and documentaries"