A Sociolinguistic and Multisemiotic Analysis of Mobility and Identities in Hangberg, Hout Bay

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KEYWORDS

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Intertexuality

Recontextualization

Resemiotization

Semiotic Remediation

ABSTRACT

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PhD thesis, Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape

The thesis is titled a *Sociolinguistic and Multisemiotic Analysis of Mobility and Identities in Hangberg, Hout Bay*. The guiding idea of this research project is to explore the contesting social and semiotic processes of transformation in Hangberg since the transition towards post-apartheid in South Africa. One of the objectives of this study is to probe how Hangberg and its people are (re)constructed in the media and virtual spaces (Facebook, and newspaper articles) as well as in the physical linguistic/semiotic landscapes (LL) of Hangberg. The researcher uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) and conceptual tools such as resemiotisation and remediation to capture and understand the socio-ideological construction of the people of Hangberg through a mesh of verbal as well as visual language / signs in the virtual and physical semiotic landscapes.

The study strictly works within the framework of an ethnographic research with the focus resting on varied methods such walk, gaze, observations, interviews and photography to collect large amount of data across different discursive sites. Walking is an epistemological and methodological tool, which allows the researcher to observe the enactment of discourses of place in order to gain insider impressions of the neighborhood and, at the same time, maintaining the objectivity required for an unbiased analysis. Following Blommaert, the walking method is very

helpful in the participant observations and habitus of the neighbourhood, "as space (or place) is abounding with traces of human activity and interactions…capturing the social actor in semiotic processes" (Blommaert, 2013:37).

Upon reflecting on the use of digital camera in data collection, over five hundred images were collected for a spatial analysis in and out of Hangberg. Photography yielded digital images forming not only the quantitative data but also the qualitative one upon which an analysis was done that takes its point of departure in geosemiotics. The artefacts of LL are interpreted as sites that encounter three cycles of discourse: the interaction order, semiotics of place and visual semiotics (Scollon and Scollon, 2003). With regards to place semiotics, the study shows evidence of the contesting layering, emplacement, multiple code usage, realization and reference of material signage on the semiotic space of Hangberg.

The study further delves into the area of sociolinguistics and embodied practices to demonstrate the semiotic landscape of complex local-level experiences and contestations (reflecting on the recent violent protests, gentrification and eviction issues, xenophobia, race troubles and segregation). With these dynamics, the study makes important contributions to the transformation debate (post-1994) in South Africa, which reflects the frustrations and disappointments among local residents of Hangberg. The implications of these contestations provide interesting insights into emergent reconstructions of race, inequalities and segregation in post-apartheid, as the study captures the reshaping of resemiotised artefacts and discourses (informal segregation and White supremacy practices) that were used in the restructuring of the colonial and apartheid cultures and contexts in the new South Africa.

As a result of a robust methodology and theoretical base, the study is able to demonstrate how the LL of Hangberg is moralized through socio-cultural practices, historized in its streetscapes, spiritualized through religious architecture, graffitized through spray-canned discourses and commercialized through global and local resources that display the socio-economic contours of the place. These presentations reflect the everyday ordinariness of place-making in the Hanberg landscape of a people still dispossessed. Ultimately, the study makes important contributions to MDA theories, studies in dispossession and marginalization in relation to place and interactional order, and research of the linguistic/semiotic landscape, all which allow for a rich and complex understanding of meaning – making, space and place in marginalities of communities and societies.

DECLARATION

I declare that *A Sociolinguistic and Multisemiotic Analysis of Mobility and Identities in Hangberg, Hout Bay* is my own work and that it has not been submitted for any degree and examination in any other university and also that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signed………………………

SHARMAINE WITBOOI (2615163)

Supervisor

………………………………………………..

Professor Felix Banda

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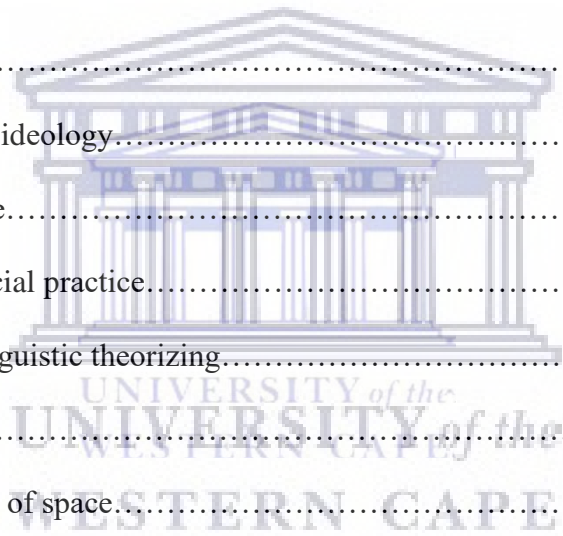
Upon reflection of my time at the Linguistic Department, I sincerely want to thank my supervisor Professor. Felix. Banda for his assistance, I appreciate it very much. Thank you, Prof. your patience and friendliness was a source of inspiration to me. I could not have accomplished this without your help. I further extend my gratitude to Nathalie who went out of her way to assist with the proof reading of the thesis; her contribution is so much appreciated.

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LIST OF ABBREVAITIONS

CDA   Critical Discourse Analysis

MDA   Multimodal Discourse Analysis

LL   Linguistic Landscape

SFL   Systematic Functional Linguistics

DEIC   Dutch East Indian Company

MPA   Marine Protected Area

AEC   Anti-Eviction Campaign

DA   Democratic Alliance

Chapter One

Topic and Background

1.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the study: *A Sociolinguistic and Multisemiotic Analysis of Mobility and Identities in Hangberg, Hout Bay.* The motivation for the study emerged from the media's rhetoric (in newspapers and social media) on Hangberg and its people in post-apartheid as new struggles (violent protests, gentrification issues, evictions, gangsterism, alcohol and drug abuse, etc.) came to the fore in the Coloured community. Some of the issues mentioned above, will be discussed in more detail in the upcoming chapters. The first analysis discussion of this thesis looks at the role the media played in the construction of the Hangberg identity. The *Cape Times*, *Weekend Argus*, *Sentinel News* publications and Facebook comments are analysed within particular frameworks to establish the above-mentioned viewpoint.

Despite exploring Hangberg through media representations, this study also develops a research perspective of the complexity of the Hangberg space in an elite coastal suburban area, namely Hout Bay. The study draws on the semiotic/linguistic landscape analysis framework to explore the socio-economic, religious, cultural and discursive constructions of the neighbourhood. The researcher wishes to explore the language used in signage and in speakers' public displays as well as their performances. Through the semiotic/linguistic landscape exploration (visual literacies), study is able to exploit broader processes involving power relations (social exclusions) and cultural belongings.

This chapter commences by first, introducing the post-apartheid geographic, cultural and socio-political contexts of Hangberg; second, it provides a brief sociolinguistic account of Hangberg's Khoisan roots. Third, this chapter also presents the statement of purpose and the objectives of the study. Lastly, it concludes with a brief description of the structure of the thesis (through chapter outline).
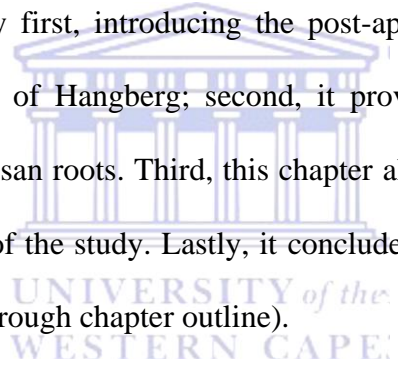
1.1 Geography and social-political contexts of Hangberg
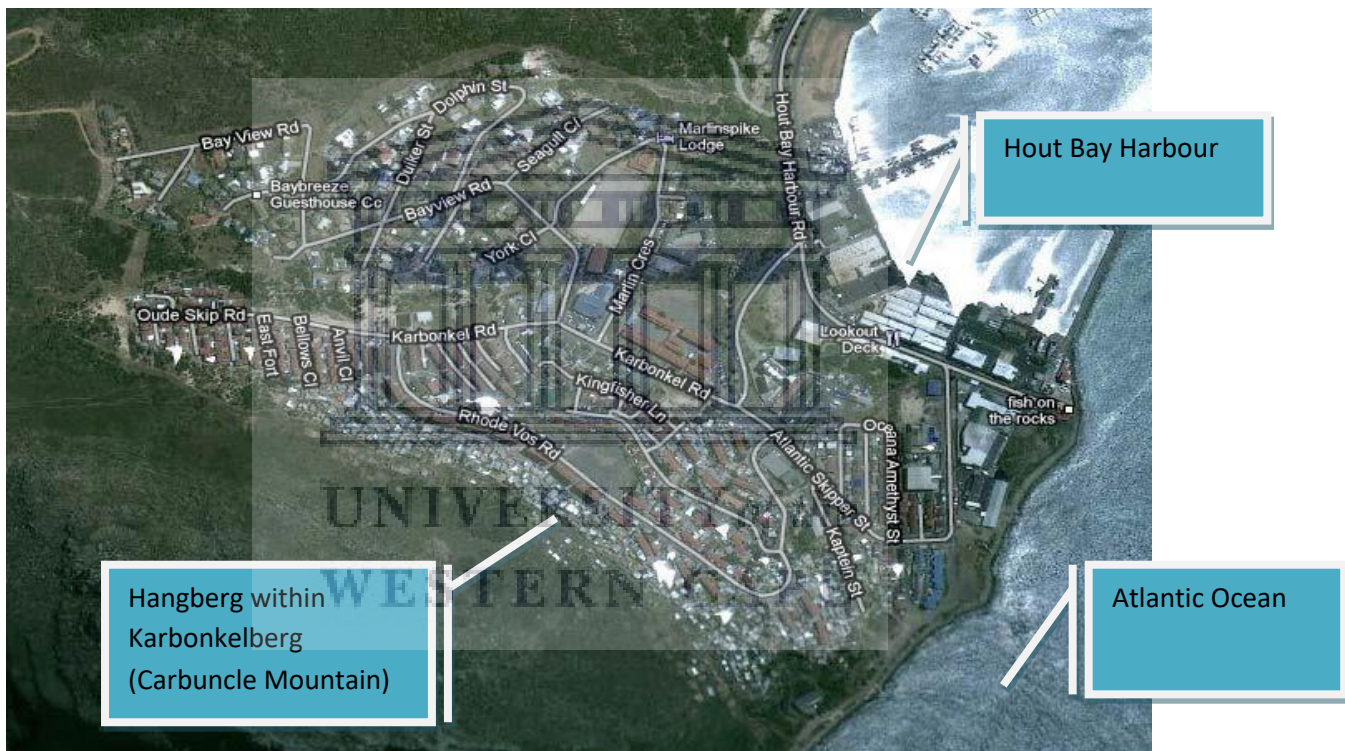
Figure 1.1 Satellite image of Hangberg within the Karbonkelberg (Carbuncle Mountain) at the Atlantic Ocean (Source: Google Earth).

We are always looking at the world from somewhere, a place. The place in focus for this research project is a township called Hangberg located on the periphery of a relatively (White) affluent coastal suburb, Hout Bay. The poor, fishing community of Hangberg is situated at the base of Sentinel Peak, which connects them with the Karbonkelberg (Carbuncle Mountain) and the Atlantic Ocean. The study's intention

with this discussion is to provide information on a socio-economic, political, and geographical level with a special emphasis on the establishment of Hangberg in the 1950s until now. The researcher will explore how Hangberg is perceived in post-modern contexts, by presenting literature on historical research, photograph images and media representations (ideologies) that manifest the real conditions of existence of the place. It is important to provide some understanding of the construction of the Hangberg community in Hout Bay.

Robinson (1998) documented how a city like Cape Town came to experience social transformation at marco-level structures in relation to globalization, cosmopolitanism, mobility (immigration) and crossings / dimensions of identities as it transitioned from an (old) apartheid urban space. Thus, it is essential for this study to pay attention to the urban complexities of everyday social processes that are produced in Hangberg, if we are to understand how the place came to be, who acts and circulates in it, and how the ideas (ways of thinking) of the people affected by what is happening in it. Following Bond (2000), city-worlds are moving spaces generated in multidimensional ways through power relations (social struggles/contestations) in connection with the allocation of public goods.

Hence, the study fruitfully engages with the work of Mbembe (2003), in his description, the South African 'township' is a necropolitics that depict domination and power. In similar vein, Belinda Bozzoli (2000) conceptualizes the township as a peculiar institution scientifically planned for the purpose of control with respect to socio-political, cultural and economic structures. Her spatial analysis is practical for the thesis to explore Hangberg as a township profoundly entrenched in severe oppression,

poverty, violence and marginality based on the notions of race, ethnicity and class" in post-apartheid (Bozzoli, 2000). For instance, considering the control measurements set up in the fishing industry and the evictions that denied Hangbergers a sense of belonging to the place, scholars such as Fieuw (2011); and Tefre (2010) remind us that "the right of non-Whites who live in the city in the post-apartheid era is in constant threat if not denied in full..." (Mbembe, 2004:391). Nonetheless, the enthusiasm for change that symbolized the end of apartheid, not only sets out a new way of relating to space now, but also allows us to look at the practices in the apartheid space(s) (Robinson, 1998). Generally speaking, we all know that the apartheid philosophy used ethnicity (race) as a tool to institutionalize oppression and segregation which extended to urban living and working spaces. Hangberg, for example, was perceived as a dumping ground for Coloured families who had fishing labour as a primary source of revenue in the 1950s. With the implementation of the Group Area Act of 1950, the state gave two percent of the land to the Coloured community of Hangberg on which state housing (residential flats) was built for the fishing labourers (Rubin and Royston, 2008).

Froestad (2005:338) reminds us that "increased exploration of Coloured and African fishing labour after the Second World War created an exceptionally poor and reliant labour force, which was incapable of providing its own housing needs". During this period, more people were forced away from the Hout Bay village in 1956 when it became a White area. By the 1980s, people who were categorized as Coloureds had been removed several times until they all resided in what we have come to know today as Hangberg (Froestad, 2005:341). Although this banishment ideology was perceived as a strategy to force Coloured fishing labourers to stay near their work locations, the intent was to create division (physical separation) between ethnic groups with the

different residential areas for different races (Mabokela and King, 2001: xi- xii). These interstices of displacement became the most common images reflecting the brutality of the apartheid South Africa.

From a geographical perspective, the positionality of Hangberg at the foot of Sentinel Peak enables a relationship between its residents and the ocean. That said, De Certeau (1984) states that people use the city landscape to construct who they are, through an identity narrative. Symbolically, a place like Hout Bay Harbour shaped and constructed the biographies and subjectivities (identities) of many Hangbergers (the people of Hangberg). Men came to know the sea through fishing labour and women came to know the sea by working with fish in the factories (Witte, 2010:10). It is clear that many Hangberg inhabitants were dependent on the local fishing industry, their histories, life stories and everyday conversations were (and still are) deeply embedded in the ebb and flow of the sea (Swanepoel, 2013:96).

Figure 1.2 Hout Bay Harbour and Hangberg on the Base of Sentinel Peak

Over the years, there has been regulation of fishing in the area due to the perceptions attached to Hangberg as a problem zone regarding the illegal poaching activities. These regulations took place at the Karbonkelberg Sanctuary (Sowman *et al.,* 2011:576). Regulations such as the Marine Protected Area (MPA) coincided with the 1934 Rock Lobster Sanctuary and the Karbonkelberg Restriction Zone of 1985 to restrict small-scale fishers of Hangberg not to fish too much in the ocean (Sowman *et al.,* 2011). These coercive regulations were not just responsible for the closure of many fishing factories in the 1990s (Froestad, 2005) but they led to the excessively impoverished conditions of Hangberg, prevalent today (Tefre, 2010). On a post-apartheid ideological level, Hangbergers (the people of Hangberg) came heavily under the spotlight in the media as many journalists portrayed the area as poverty-stricken, seeing that many residents encountered problems to maintain steady employment, particularly in the fishing industry after the quota system was introduced in 1994 (*Cape Times*, 5 April 2013).

This quota system concerns fishing rights and permits and is challenging because it restricts the fishermen's pathways to the sea. Although 49 per cent of the workers from the remaining factories at the harbour came from Hangberg (Witte, 2010:38), many commercial fishing companies have begun to recruit skilled workers from outside Hout Bay and the competition for labour became harsh (*Cape Times*, 5 April 2013). The situation has left many fishers with no other alternatives but to become involved in the illegal poaching activities of *perlemeon* (abalone). There is no doubt that the fishers of Hangberg are breaking the law and that these 'sea snails' turn them into 'crooks' or 'criminals', which could cause them to face long jail sentences (*Cape Times,* 5 April 2013). It is apparent that the post-apartheid fishing industry is more defined by

criminalized acts and fraud schemes that undeniably hamper transformation and accelerate unemployment levels. Taking into account the ongoing struggles in pursuing a living from the ocean, we cannot overlook the fact that fishers are under severe pressure to support their families even though they commit a crime to illegally exploit the marine resources (abalone), which is on the brink of extinction.

Given the above profile, it is not surprising that Fieuw (2011) gives reference to Hangberg as a place of contestations, hopelessness and deep apathy, located in paradigms of class differentiation, dispossessions (evictions), spatial dislocation and racial polarization imprinted by apartheid sanctions. Taking Fieuw's (2011) argument seriously, this study draws on Rampton (1992:2) who asserts that "researchers cannot help being socially located persons...as engaging in critical ethnographic research, they acknowledge their own experiences to every stage of the research process and this influence the questions they ask and the ways in which they try to find answers" (Rampton, 1992:5). Because of this, the researcher finds it suitable to conceptualise her own research experiences and epistemological positionings as she puts together her journey in theory (see Eisner, 1991).

Turning to the fieldwork reflections, during her first visit to Hangberg, the researcher travelled with the My Citi bus through Hout Bay. On the journey, she observed what Davis (1990) calls a "paranoid spatiality" (ecology of fear) in the suburb. It seems as though the White elites (gated communities) bear the effects of fear, vulnerability and anxiety of losing their lives to the *stranger* and *criminal* that have greater prominence in most urban imaginaries. As a result, Whites constructed high, over-sized prison-like walls that swallow up the houses (Saff, 1998/2004). Interestingly, in the geography of

fortifications and enclosures, there are entrances that display sophisticated alarm systems, surveillance cameras and high wire fencing (for security purposes), a response to mitigate incidences of violence that might be caused by the Coloured and Black populations (Landman and Schönteich, 2002).

As the researcher made her way to the Hout Bay harbour, she glimpsed Hangberg at the foot of Sentinel Peak and saw the mushrooming of inadequate backyard dwellings. The "limits of liberation" (Robins, 2005:1) has become observable in Hangberg with sharks squeezed in between old department buildings and brick houses; this depicts a "culture of poverty" and "marginality" (Rubin and Royston, 2008). These images of Hangberg reflect a crouching township, out of place on its knees and without spaciousness as people live there on top of each other (Fanon, 1991). Drawing on this scenario, it is clear that the poor residents' housing needs have not been met and that the transformation promises of better quality in service delivery by the ANC government, in fact stirred feelings of frustration and disappointment in the community, which later turned into violent protests in 2010.

Leading from this, the study draws on Mike Davis's (1990) work on the privatization of public spaces in the book, *'City of Quartz: Excavating the Future of Los Angeles'* in which he describes the city as a potential site of conflict and political struggle for identity options. His work will permit this study to explore Hout Bay as a fortress enclave of business tourism attraction through the development of luxury complexes, festivals and fishing activities in a post-apartheid South Africa. On the other hand, Davis's (1990) theory will also be valuable for exploring the wider Hout Bay area (including Hangberg) as an urban typology that exacerbates patterns of urban

segregation, business constraints and power struggles over state resources. These dimensions of socio-economic inequalities draw attention to the extreme dimensions of social difference between 'Us' and 'Them', the historical difference between past and future, and the economic difference between the existing market and profitable opportunities in the wider Hout Bay landscape.

This tense layering of meaning is further expressed in the physical boundaries and barriers which divide the fortified cells of the affluent White English gated community from "places of poverty, conflict and terror"(Fieuw, 2011), in this case, Hangberg where the police battled the poor and marginalized residents from their living spaces (Davis, 1990). Furthermore, the extreme forms of polarisation between Hout Bay and Hangberg have sharpened and bear more of a resemblance to the poorer and densely populated areas on the Cape Flats than the beautiful homes from the surrounding White coastal suburbs (Hout Bay, Camps Bay and Llandudno). Considering the above, we know that the apartheid spatial planning served to create aggravated spatial forms that are still noticeable in post-apartheid. Following this, Mbembe argued that:
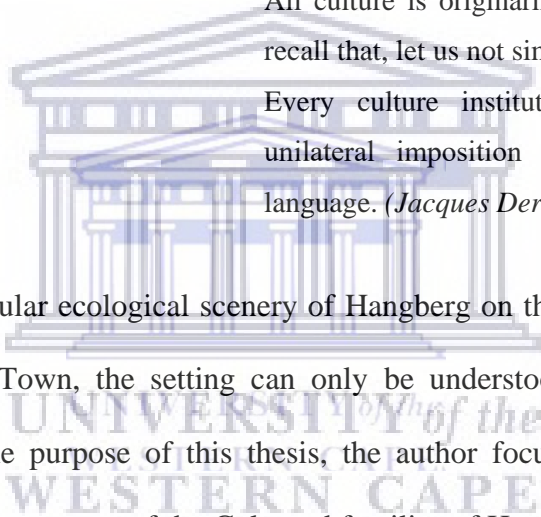
> "… through a combination of brute force, dispossession and expropriation and the imposition of negative laws and sanction . . . [t]he right of Blacks to live in the city were constantly under threat, if not denied in full… [T]his is why most social struggle of the post-apartheid era can be read as *attempts to reconquer the right to be urban*" (Mbembe, 2004:391).

In September 2010, Hangberg escalated into a place of terror when the police battled and fiercely expelled the poor residents from their homes (Davis, 1990). The forced removals (evictions) by the police were initiated by the Democratic Alliance (DA)

Provincial Government to push the poor residents of Hangberg to the periphery of the Cape Flats (Blikkiesdorp)[1]. This initiative should be seen as a turnaround execution of the apartheid regulation into a post-apartheid democratic space that completely destroyed it, where social relations are structured around race and class confrontations, which impose forms of social exclusion and racial oppression.

1.2 Sociolinguistic background of the research setting

Telling history: Retracing Hangberg through Khoisan roots

> All culture is originarily colonial. In order to recall that, let us not simply rely on etymology. Every culture institutes itself through the unilateral imposition of some 'politics' of language. *(Jacques Derrida, 1998: 39)*

Considering the spectacular ecological scenery of Hangberg on the Atlantic Sea Board of Hout Bay in Cape Town, the setting can only be understood in South Africa's colonial history. For the purpose of this thesis, the author focuses on the historical process of Khoisan roots, as most of the Coloured families of Hangberg originated from this pastoralist society in Southern Africa, during the seventeenth century. According to Quintana-Murci *et al.* (2010) recent genetic testing of Coloured, populations indicated that they share as much as 60 per cent of their genetic make-up with the Khoisan. During apartheid, the people of Hangberg and other communities officially categorized as Coloured were forcibly removed by the Group Areas Act of 1956 from the coasts of

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[1]http://mpackyarders.org.za/2010/09/25/battle-of-hangberg-shackdwellers-say-no-toeviction) – Retrieved the 3 November 2013.

the Western Cape to the townships, on the prone valley of the Cape Flats (Davenport and Saunders, 2000).

It is important to mention here that a local Dutch patois and Creole language, namely Afrikaans remains a part of this heritage - first spoken by slaves and servants, which were the Coloured people (Shell, 1994). Given this sociolinguistic profile regarding Khoisan people (later categorized as Coloureds), the study begins this section with a brief discussion regarding the role language played in the early Dutch settlement in the Cape. Such an exploration grants the study an opportunity to trace down historical trajectories in the region of Southern Africa, in particular the Western Cape, which will reveal slavery, paternalism and oppression based on inequality and exclusion along language and racial trajectories. Documented archaeological evidence indicated that the Khoikhoi (also referred to as the Hottentots by White settlers) started moving from a northerly direction into the Cape region, approximately 1800 years ago (Terreblanche, 2002:154). According to Nienaber (1990), the Khoikhoi people were perceived as to be the descendants of the hunter-gatherers who became the pastoralists in Southern Africa. It is important to add that according to historical research (census), the word Khoikhoi means 'people of people' (real or genuine people) because they were closely related to the Bushman (Nienaber, 1990).

The Khoikhoi were the first African indigenous population to meet European explorers. Mostert (1992) reminds us when the Portuguese navigator Bartolomeu Dias went ashore at Mossel Bay in 1488; it was most likely the first time that the Khoikhoi had seen White people. In fact, such events were crucial for the sporadic linguistic contact between passing Europeans and the indigenous inhabitants who acquired some

proficiency in European languages such as Portuguese, English and Dutch, long before the permanent White settlement in the Cape became a reality (Schoeman, 2007). When the first group of White employees of the Dutch East Indian Company (DEIC) and Jan Van Riebeeck arrived in the Cape in 1652, they established a refreshment station for ships that were travelling to and from the east (Schoeman, 2007).

During this time, the Cape Colony was a space of flows, of flux, of translocation with multiple nexuses of entry and exit points. Ships were able to meet, exchange news during the course of long voyage, have their sick cared for and obtain refreshments (Schoeman, 2007:11). Jan Van Riebeeck started to exploit areas such as Hout Bay for the colony's timber supply owing to its green, dense woodlands and used the coastal topography as a strategic portal site for Khoisan fishing labour (Lückhoff, 1951). Later on, land use patterns in Hout Bay and the surrounding areas began to alter dramatically from livestock farming by the nomadic Khoikhoi herders to small-scale, mixed farming by the Dutch and French colonial settlers. Considering the labour aspect, it must have been difficult given the stout character of the Cape vegetation and topography. During this period, colonization made slavery the chief source of labour in the Cape. Slaves were imported from Madagascar, Mozambique, the Indonesian Archipelago, South India and Sri Lanka to cultivate the farmlands (Mesthrie, 1995).

From a sociolinguistic standpoint, language played a crucial role in these stories from the very beginning. As previously mentioned, the period of White European settlement and their trade with the Khoisan groups during the seventeenth century were crucial as it sets in motion processes of language shift, assimilation and the emergence of ethnicity and race constructions which had a lasting impact on an ethnolinguistic community like

Hangberg. Rachael Gilmour (2006:2) reminds us that the development and management of linguistic knowledge was imbricated in the maintenance of European colonial power. A melting pot of ethnicities on the subject of the Cape slaves was clearly visible in a multiplicity of repertoires and literacy performances. Many of the slaves were proficient in several European (Portuguese, French, and German) and other Asian languages that they later incorporated into the Cape Malay dialect (cf den Besten, 2000). Yet, these dialects were never widely spread and did not pose a serious threat to the Dutch character in public domains (Schoeman, 2007).

Ten years after Van Riebeeck arrived in the Cape, he formulated a memorandum for his successor and declared that "the slaves here learn nothing but Dutch and so too the Hottentots (Khoikhoi), so that no other language is spoken here" (as cited in Schoeman, 2007:167). As the European settlers and Jan Van Riebeeck were exposed to the local Khoikhoi inhabitants, they relied heavily on the Khoikhoi interpreters to establish trade correlations between the settlement and local inhabitants (Schoeman, 2007). In the seventeenth century, Van Riebeeck took into his household - a young Khoi girl named Krotoa (also known as Eva) and trained her as the first Khoi woman interpreter in the Dutch castle (Wicomb, 2000:1). Although Eva knew Dutch, she was never taught to read and write in the dialect. In support of this, the study quotes the following from one of Van Riebeeck's diaries:

> "...Krotoa...fell under the benevolent protection of our fort" before her teens...and she was by us called Eva, who has been in the service of the Commander's wife form the beginning and is now living here permanently and is beginning to learn to speak Dutch well" (Gray, 1979:43).

Work done by Comaroff and Comaroff (1997) on the colonial encounters between the Europeans and native Southern Africans showed that the process was never straight forward or without any contradictions and tensions. These authors assert that colonialization was a complex dialectical process of appropriation and contestations over shifting configurations of language, power, economy (livestock ownership) and politics. Conversely, it was also viewed as a process where a certain colony intimacy (Suleri, 1992) was gradually characterized in the relationships between the Europeans and the Khoikhoi inhabitants (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997:28). Interestingly, Gray's (1979) passage above cites an example of this, where Krotoa (Khoi female) quickly adopted some of the Dutch cultural practices and learned to speak the Dutch language, despite the pressing tensions over land and hunting resources, which started as early as 1659. Under the colonial conditions, the concept of intimacy between the colonizers and the colonized signaled neither aspects of equality nor the absence of oppressed practices and dispossession. In this context, 'intimacy' refers to the notion of assimilation of social, linguistic and cultural codes (practices) without eliminating racial differences.

In the early days of the colonial settlement, Europeans settlers never attempted to learn Khoikhoi languages; somehow, they engaged in discriminatory practices in which they articulated racist idioms towards indigenous groups/cultures. In support of this, Mostert (1992) wrote that early Europeans perceived Khoikhoi as "base, foul and profane" (p.34). They deemed the Khoikhoi register (dialect) "as one of the strangest and most incomprehensible form of all human communication", due to its clicking, sound (Mostert, 1992:35). In 1598, John Davy issued in his writings that their "words are for most part inarticulate and in speaking, they clocke with the tongue like a brood hen, which clocking and words are both pronounced together very strangely" (cited in

Gilmour, 2006:16). Similarly, John Milward commented in 1614:"These people (Khoikhoi) are most miserable, destitute of religion in any kind, as far as we can perceive, and of all civility; their speech is a chattering than a language..." (cited in Gilmour, 2006:15).

There is no doubt that prejudiced commentaries based on language and race had its roots in the earliest depictions of Europeans who dehumanized Khoi and San indigenous groups of Southern Africa. Despite the negative connotations of inferiority towards indigenous people and their cultural practices, a series of armed confrontations over the ownership of land escalated between the White European settlers and the Khoikhoi clan led by Doman in 1659 (Elphick, 1977). In the midst of these clashes, the governor introduced a "bounty system...offering rewards for killing animals, lions, wolves and leopards" (Hey, 1995:160). According to Elphick (1977; 1985) this raiding on livestock together with the dispossessions of land led to the complete collapse of the Khoikhoi life structures. Ironically, throughout the merciless fights, the White settlers were seen as the victims while the Khoikhoi who defended their gazing land and animals were pushed out of the Cape Colony.
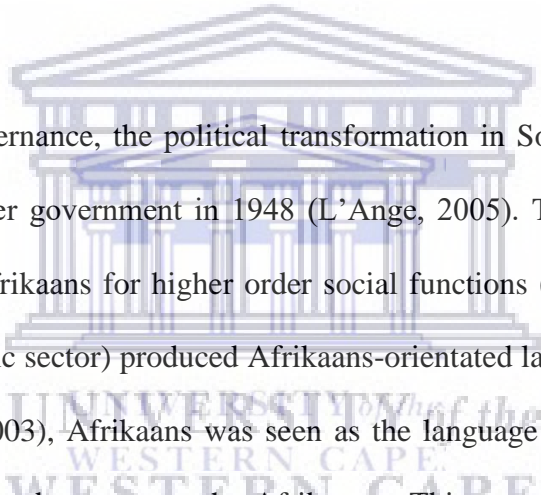
Ultimately, with the outbreak of the smallpox epidemic in 1713, the Khoikhoi fled from the Cape Colony while others joined the ranks with groups like the Xhosas (Gray, 1979:163).The click features of the Bantu languages (IsiXhosa, IsiZulu, Setswana, etc.) give emphasis to the long, intimate relationships (interracial marriages) between the Khoikhoi women and Bantu-speaking people. On other occasions, the Khoikhoi people also assimilated into the White European society as a labour class (as domestic workers or farmhands). To be precise, they were freer than slaves were, and took on positions

where they could perform many of their cultural and religious practices and values. Since their society was disintegrating, Khoikhoi people started to adopt European names and very significantly began to speak Cape Dutch as a first language due to the prestige that the culture enjoyed at the time (Giliomee, 2003).

The reason why the Khoikhoi desired Europeans names was to identify themselves with the Colony's masters and to distance themselves from the slaves (Elphick, 1977). Following Nienaber (1963), these colonial encounters indeed highlighted the activity of linguistic and cultural shifts that caused Khoikhoi languages to decline gradually in the Western Cape; shortly they were replaced with the Dutch discourses. Today there are some of the remaining Khoikhoi languages, namely: the Nama, Kora (! Ora), Gri (Xri), which still exist in the Namaqualand in the Richterveld and along the Orange River in the Northern Cape (Kohler, 1981:469). By the end of 1795, the Khoikhoi and San descendants faced the extinction of their languages; according to Phaswana (2003), many of them were integrated into the Afrikaans–Holland language communities. "Afrikaans developed in South Africa out of a Dutch stem as a result of the social interaction between the European colonists who arrived in 1652, the slaves imported from Africa and Asia and the indigenous Khoikhoi people" (Giliomee, 2004:25).

It is fair to say that the development of Afrikaans established multiracial Afrikaans speech communities in South Africa (Nienaber, 1963:97-98). Throughout the eighteenth century, Afrikaans remained a lowly patois and a language of pragmatic interactions of everyday life for Whites, Coloureds and Blacks (Nienaber, 1963:97-98). Notably, with the British ruling in Southern Africa around the nineteenth century, the imposition of English values was introduced to establish and maintain a form of moral and social

superiority over the disadvantaged urban dwellers, particularly those categorized as Black, Coloured and Indian (Brickford-Smith, 1995). The British regulations sought to replace Dutch with English as the official administrative and legal language in the Cape (Dubow, 2004:21). These pressures for Anglicization through the hegemonic position of the English language was partially accomplished in the geography of Cape Town where the original Dutch word *Hout Baai* became Hout Bay; *Tafel Berg* became Table Mountain and *Leeuw Kop* Lion's Head. Indeed, this demonstrates how the British transformed the urban fabric and social structures of Cape Town (Brickford-Smith, 1995).

Despite the British governance, the political transformation in South Africa led to the opening of the Afrikaner government in 1948 (L'Ange, 2005). The investment in the intellectualization of Afrikaans for higher order social functions (university education, big businesses and public sector) produced Afrikaans-orientated language professionals. Following Giliomee (2003), Afrikaans was seen as the language of the oppressor that provided jobs and other advantages to the Afrikaners. This perspective resonates with the incarnation of Bourdieu's (1991) "cultural capital" and "linguistic habitus". In essence, the dominant aspect of this linguistic habitus renders the seamless connection between Standard Afrikaans and the racist hubris of the White man. Primarily, it was the language planners of *Algemeen Beskaafde Afrikaans* who deliberately engineered the standard language to reinforce the racist agenda of the ruling strata of the White establishment (Alexander, 1999; Webb, 2002).

Steyn (1984) reminds us that the final death knell for the Khoikhoi of the Western Cape Province came under the implementation of the Population Registration Act (No. 30 of

1950). The Act determined race through linguistic and physical characteristics, association, practices and social acceptance (Union of South Africa 1950 *Population Registration Act*). Under the apartheid regime, most of the Khoikhoi in areas like Hangberg were forced to register and were (re)classified as Coloureds (Steyn, 1984). Broadly speaking, the term 'Coloured' articulates the nuance of an 'in-betweener' or 'racial mixture'. For Lewis (2001), the Coloured identity is seen as a perceived product of the transgression of a sacrosanct boundary and has a connotation of lacking, deficiency and moral and cultural degeneration. This 'in-between' identity was given to Coloureds because of their skin color not being white or black enough. This could also be seen, as ascribing a shame to the aspect of being a Coloured (Lewis, 2001:133). Virtually, all the Coloureds in the speech community of Hangberg are bilingual; they officially speak Afrikaans as first language and English as second language.

This sentiment is parallel with the research work of McCormick (2002) and Matthews (2009) in which they postulate that the Cape is a locale rich in diverse languages, language varieties and cultures. According to both authors, one hardly finds a monolingual / monoglot person here. However, the majority are most comfortable in what is called Kaaps or Kaapse Afrikaans whose extended vocabulary includes not only Dutch / Afrikaans and English but also Malay and the vocabulary of other languages in contact. Kaapse Afrikaans is in fact the home language of the majority of people in Cape Town and its surrounding areas, but it has no official status. Therefore, in addition to problems associated with the label Coloured, the Hangberg community finds themselves marginalized from the mainstream Standard or White Afrikaans and Standard English, two of the three languages of the Western Cape Province. There is a need to study the interaction of these factors in the construction of identities in

Hangberg. In particular, there is a dearth in studies in the linguistic and ethnic profiles of the Coloured communities such as Hangberg.

The socio-political transformation of South Africa in 1994 (democracy) in tandem with the wake of globalization in the twenty-first century brought yet more changes to Hangberg. Extensive flows of immigrants from both Europe and Africa escalated in the urban peripheral township. Threats of gentrification, displacement and massive protests were also on the rise. Despite these changes, diasporic communities and native dwellers participate in linguistic diversity, where the heterogeneity of the community is constantly re-enacted in the form of mixed linguistic repertoires, genres and styles. Contributing to the linguistic heterogeneity is the way in which local linguistic landscapes are semiotically configured through multiple forms of media and material objects, and by images in the form of branded products, adverts and signage that circulate across different spaces and places in the community.

As we move through the analysis chapters, we will explore the semiotic production and reading of space and place to capture the manifold complexities of (transnational) multilingual mobility, which is a characteristic of many late-modern multilingual societies like Hangberg. The study now turns to the statement of purpose - a discussion of the rationale behind the research.

1.3 Statement of purpose

One guiding idea of this research project is to probe processes of transformation in Cape Town's socio-political landscape, and to analyses the sociolinguistic changes in Hangberg after the transition towards democracy in post-1994. The South African

transition was largely in terms of political freedom and affirmative action – developmental processes and socio-economic structural changes that are still elusive (Reddy, 2008). The occurrence of unpredictable and explosive altercations and conflict (retrenchments in different labour sectors and widespread service delivery protest) were (and continues to be) visible in the urban periphery townships, which are indications of this unfulfilled dream of democracy, post-1994. For example, at the end of 2012 – the Marikana shooting occurred, in which 34 striking mineworkers were killed by the police, followed by events such as the violent farm labour unrest in the Western Cape.

As noted, similar contestations in the form of public protest marches, forced evictions, gentrification and displacements have emerged in Hangberg. Undoubtedly, it was these discourses involving the transformation of neighbourhood that frequently dominated the media (see news analysis in Chapter Six). In turn, these spatial imaginations caught the eyes of the researcher. She immediately began to develop an interest in the role the media played in the construction of the Hangberg identity. She, thus attempts to look at the ideological conceptions ascribed to the community and its people in newspapers and social media (Facebook).With such data inclusion, the study will be able to observe how the verbal and visual components construct the meaning-making dimensions that reflect the intersemiotic relationships (through intertextual, resemiotised and recontextualized references) across selected media platforms (newspapers and Facebook).

In terms of the socio-spatial transformation discourse of Hangberg, the study realises that language is a most sensitive measure of social transformation. Reflecting on the language situation in Hangberg is imperative to gain a sense of the different place-making narrations pertaining to 'social, cultural and linguistic superdiversity' (see

Vertovec, 2010) dynamics, which lead to a greater understanding of identity and socio-cultural transformations. As concerns language choice and language mixing practices, the argument that arises here is that stable and homogenous communities – the old sociolinguistic notion of 'speech community' is very much in question (see Rampton, 1998 for critique). Pratt (1987) argued that shared group norms (one language, one people and one religion) are a "linguistic utopia" that ignores social spaces as contact zones where people with diverse norms engage in communicative activities. This demands our attention to heterogeneity – hybrid discourses such as code-switching or language switching, practised by Cape Coloureds in Hangberg.

Leading from this, it is important to mention that the Cape Coloured identity and discourse practices are themselves sites of contestations. Often, Coloured people have been perceived as well as labelled as not white enough and not black enough. In the Hangberg case, many Coloureds are still not able to use their languages (Kaaps - a mixture of Afrikaans and English, also Dread Talk - a Rastafari language viewed as "holy tool" as the many poetic, biblical references and metaphors make the language mysterious to those outside their community) in formal public spaces such as workplace, education, church, in court of law, etc. This is a real struggle for Hangbergers (the people of Hangberg), as they are seen as not speaking the right languages and not having the right identity.

This study argues that it is crucial for the marginalized of Hangberg to reconstruct and refashioned their own identities and unique language varieties to separate themselves from certain imposed structures – but more importantly negotiate what it means to be and become multilingual and cosmopolitan citizens. Stroud and Mpendukana (2010)

show how the marginalized groups contest English as hegemonic practice in the Black township of Khayelitsha in Cape Town. Their study demonstrated how commercial advertisers have come to understand the persuasive impact of code switching in marketing messages when selling goods and services to English / Xhosa bilingual customers in the township.

Such academic work further encourages this study to explore the social circulation of different languages, registers, genres (facets of multilingualism) and the construction of identities in new cultural discourses and practices in Hangberg. It is critical to fully appreciate not only hybrid discourses (Kaapse Afrikaans) but the identities and cultural practices from which the people draw inspiration.

1.4 General aim

The researcher's aim is to do a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) of the frontpages of different newspapers, in addition to online-interactions from Facebook, to see how visual and verbal texts are used in the construction or deconstruction of the Hangberg Coloured identity. To complement this, the researcher also draws on the notions of recontextualization, resemiotisation and semiotic remediation as analytic tools, in an attempt to show how media texts develops from previous practices and contexts and how it can be understood in the context of the Hangberg discourse.

The researcher further explores Hangberg through the linguistic landscape (LL) and will also incorporating a geosemiotic analysis (Scollon and Scollon 2003) to examine the contemporary, heterogeneous and changing aspects related to the township. The first would be the contestations of public spaces (protests and social exclusions), since the

LL texts are above all texts that are displayed publicly and visibly. The second would be the articulation of postmodern identities in Hangberg through the linguistic practices of the participants in conjunction with other discourses of consumerism, aspiration, sense of belonging, religious or cultural affiliations visible in the artefacts of LL.

1.4.1 Specific objectives

This paper is restricted to these specific objectives to meet the above aims:

1. To explore how Hangbergers use different languages and other linguistic resources at their disposal and look at how the LL texts interact intersemiotically with their contexts (become resemiotised and repurposed).

2. To determine multiple identity options (race, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, religion and citizenship) and hybrid linguistic styles in the artefacts of Hangberg's LL.

3. To examine contestation/ social struggles in Hangberg where the rights to the city and difference are articulated (Also to see how resistance is manifested in these instances).

4. To unravel the Hangberg ideology and discourse (way of *representing* social life) in post-apartheid South Africa through different media platforms (Facebook, newspapers, and internet images). The focus is on language usage and the visual images used in multimodal representations that allude to the Hangberg identity.
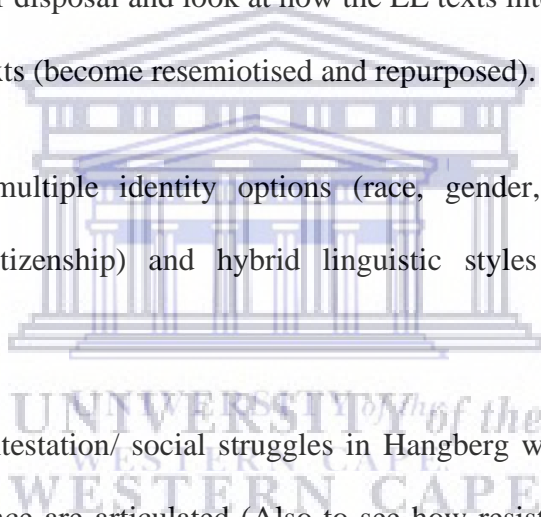
1.5 Research questions

Considering the above objectives, the study aims to answer the following research questions that become relevant.

1. What languages, linguistic resources (discourses, genres and styles) and semiotic artefacts (signs) are socially circulated and distributed within the LL of Hangberg? (Also to see how these resources are repurposed, resemiotised and recycled in new contexts for meaning-making).

2. How do Hangbergers use their hybrid linguistic repertoires in the stylization of modern identities, and do these language practices reveal meanings associated with localization and globalization in the LL of Hangberg?

3. What processes of contestations /social struggles are evident in the public spaces of Hangberg where the rights to the city are articulated and how is resistance deployed in these instances?

4. What ideologies appear in the media discourses involving Hangberg and its people in post-apartheid? The focus is on language usage and the visual images used in multimodal representations that allude to the Hangberg identity.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

The first chapter provides a general introduction to the study, including the historical, political, linguistic and cultural background of Hangberg. The statement of purpose, general aims and objectives of the study are outlined. These sub-sections foreground processes of transformation, gentrification, displacement pressures and the inequalities

of political and racial contestations (protests) in the coastal urban periphery (Hangberg).
These political, socio-economic and linguistic aspects with regards to the notion of
place and space are significant, as they add to the sociolinguistic situation of Hangberg,
particularly to multilingualism and how it has been envisaged with English as the
official (dominant) language within different institutionalized spaces (education,
parliament, hospitals, etc.).

The second chapter consists of the literature review. It considers the following concepts:
discourses of globalization, mobility and cosmopolitanism; the notion of language;
performing the local through linguistic resources; multilingualism as social practice;
towards recent sociolinguistic theorizing; space and place (Lefebvre's perspective);
body, space and habitus; language approach to the study of space and place; and the
linguistic landscaping.

The above are important aspects in sociolinguistic research (literature) to explore how
multilingual repertoires and resources are (re)configured within and across different
spaces in Hangberg with the negotiation of late-modern identities. It would be
interesting to see the multiple linguistic practices and hybrid identities that would
emerge from such a hotly contested place, explicitly at socio-political, economic and
cultural level.

The third chapter consists of the conjectural framework that the study adopts with
regards to identity. The study begins discussing identity through sociopsychological
(essentialist) ontologies. Under this framework, the study reveals aspects of the identity
through social categorization as it explores the concepts of race and Othering. Leading

from this, the study extends its discussion to poststructuralist and interdisciplinary understandings of identities as fluid (mobile), multiple, sites of struggle and constructed in linguistic expressions (Le Page and Tabouret – Keller, 1985; Cameron, 2000; and Labrie, 2002). This includes the work done on hybridity and the third space (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004; Bhabha, 1994; and Rampton, 2006).

The fourth chapter outlines the theoretical and analytical frameworks of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA), which allow us to explore the social construction of language, identity, race, ethnicity, power relations and ideologies in media representations and the place-making narrations in the LL of post-apartheid Hangberg. MDA with its extension to resemiotisation, semiotic remediation and geosemiotics is explained. These conceptual tools are useful because they focus on complex meaning-making processes involving different/multiple modes and semiosis. Through them, the study was able to witness the social circulations and transformations of semiotic resources across different modes and artefacts.

The fifth chapter presents the methodological framework of the thesis. The chapter outlines and describes the sampling technique (the informants who engaged in the study), data collection methods, the multiple data sources used and various tools used for the analysis. We also look at the ethical considerations and transcription key that are presented in the process of the research. The chapter ends with research limitations and problems encountered during the data collection.

The sixth chapter focuses on diverse media discourses in relation to Hangberg and its people. It also looks at the different challenges the community face in post-apartheid

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South Africa (poaching issues, race troubles and violent evictions resulting from gentrification, etc). CDA and MDA analytic frameworks and other conceptual tools such as recontextualization and resemiotisation are employed to analyse the Facebook interactions / dialogues and the Cape newspapers' front pages.

This chapter also illustrates how effective MDA is; Kress and Van Leeuwen's visual grammar is used for analysis in constructing meaning-making options in various types of images, multimodality is also as extended through the notion of resemiotisation to analyze how the Hangberg identities are constructed along race and exclusionary discourses. This is significant, as the recontextualized / reworked functions through resemiotisation in media texts provide detail on ideological (stereotypical) perspectives regarding the Hangberg identity in post-apartheid.

The seventh chapter builds on the previous one (chapter six), as the study investigates the social struggles / contestations regarding Hangberg, where the study considers key thematics or literature in the production of space to explore how neighbourhood is "perceived, lived and conceived" (Lefebvre, 1991) in the post-apartheid South African contexts. The study pays most attention to socio-political, economic and racial challenges visible in the semiotic landscape of Hangberg that feeds into the notion of "right to the city" (Lefebvre, 1996), which calls for active citizenship forms.

The eighth chapter draws on the linguistic landscape and narrations that are important terrains, as they connect contemporary geographical, social, linguistic and economic activities and mobilities, which affiliate social construction of meanings. These are the most obvious areas where language, other semiotic codes and identities become vehicles

of explicit staging or of high performance (Coupland, 2007) through processes of recontextualization. Moving along, this chapter also reveals the overlapping of identities and the crossing of linguistic practices (plural exchanges of genres) of Hangbergers, which indeed highlight the concept of hybridization (see Bhabha, 1994) navigating across and within different realms of contexts.

In the ninth chapter, the study explores the stylization of post-modern identities in Hangberg. The study explores the Rastafari youth of Hangberg through broader forms of semiotic expressions such as Dread Talk, body movements, dreadlock hair styling, colourful clothing, reggae music, dance styles and herbal medicine practices for a broader discussion of transcultural flows and the sociolinguistics of globalization (stylistic remixing).

The tenth chapter presents the summary of the findings and conclusion of the study. The author draws back to chapter one by answering the research questions. The chapter summarises the main points emerging from the study and considers the contribution of the thesis to this research field, as well as its suggestions for future research.
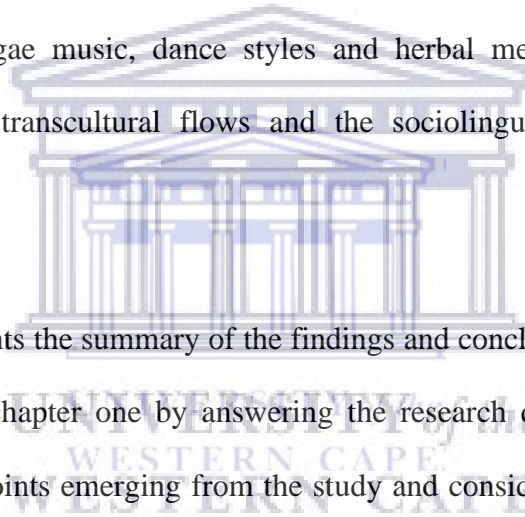
Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the study introduces the literature review. The chapter commences by exploring the discourses of globalization, mobility and cosmopolitanism; the notion of language; performing the local through linguistic resources; the term and definition of ideology; and ideologies of language. This chapter further discussing multilingualism as social practice; towards recent sociolinguistic theorizing; space and place; body, space and the habitus; language approach to space and place; and linguistic landscaping to gain better insight of the complexities of mobility and the multilingual construction of Hangberg through the circulation of discourses and the citizens' localized practices often characterized by an interplay of local and global cultural references.

The literature works toward showing the dialectical relations between globalization, mobility, multilingualism and identity as fluid and socially constructs, embedded in power relations of larger historical, political socio-economic processes (Heller, 1992; Bourdieu, 1991), as we explore the formation of new multilingual spaces in Hangberg. As the upcoming analysis chapters reveal (Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine), the function of these broad concepts mentioned above are complex, uneven, diverse and multidimensional, which allow the study to examine multilingualism in relation to the approaches of space on the theme of 'flows, processes and social practices'. This is imperative as the upcoming chapters shed light on the (re)production of *hybridity* or hybridization (see Bhabha, 1994) through the discourses of place-making (mixing of various linguistic styles) which evolving in the field of linguistic landscapes.

Surely, these discourses in the place-making come to shape processes of globalization, multilingualism and the negotiations of identities, which are interrelated. It is important for this study to understand that "the city is discourse (language), it speaks to its inhabitants, we speak our city... it is in relation to personal histories that urban texts are interpreted and reinterpreted" (Barthes, 1997:168). This study agrees with (Harvey, 1996:25) who sees discourse as one element or 'moment' of social processes that is dialectically related to other 'moments' (discourses). According to Fairclough (2006) "to say the relation between 'moments' are interconnected means although they are different from one another, they are not discrete" (p.29). In other words, they are fluid-they "flow into each other" (Fairclough, 2006:30). It is precisely this movement of 'flowing into' that leads the study into the discussion of the complex interconnections between discourses of globalization, mobility and cosmopolitanism in multilingual contexts such as Hangberg.
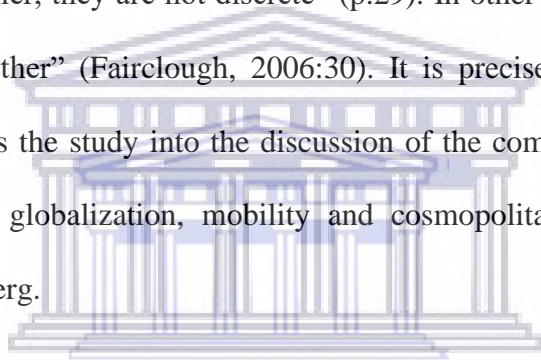
2.1 Discourses of globalization, mobility and cosmopolitanism

The study takes into consideration that globalization is a very broad multifaceted concept, sometimes difficult and confusing to understand. As Cameron (2000) states, globalization is a very complex process, functioning at various different levels and with different resultant effects according to where, why and how is it happening. Thomlinson also indicates that globalization is seen as the "rapidly developing and ever-densing network of interconnections and interdependencies that characterize modern life" (Thomlinson, 1999:2).

Rather than looking for a specific definition, Fairclough suggests we should look at how globalization has been positioned and taken up by different scholars as seen in

discourse. In his book, *Language and Globalization* (2006), Fairclough outlines four different positions in which discourse is recognised as a significant element of globalization: objectivist, rhetoricist, ideologies and social constructivist. He describes the *objectivist* as seeing globalization as an objective set of processes that discourse either illuminates or obscures, represents or mispresents (Fairclough, 2006:14). The *rhetoricist* position uses globalization as a mean to persuade, for example, the public to accept certain policies. On the other hand, the *ideologist* position conceives of certain discourses of globalization that contribute to the legitimation of the world order, which incorporates asymmetrical relations of power (Fairclough, 2006:15). The ideologist specifically looks at how certain discourses achieve and sustain dominance or hegemony in certain practices and strategies. Lastly, is the *social constructivist* who puts more emphasis on the socially constructed character of social realities (Fairclough, 2006:16).
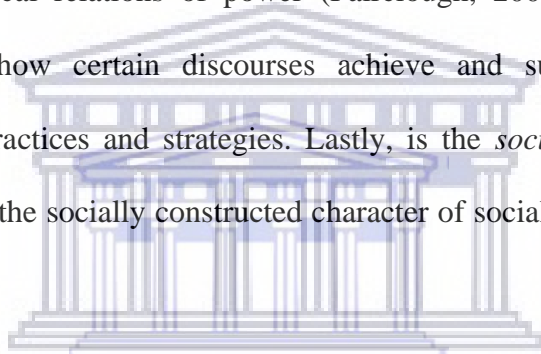
Proceeding, one could bring the argument forward that the complexity of globalization begun with the emergence of towns and cities. This perspective resonates with Blommeart's (2008) argument in which he demonstrates how the globalized economy and new representations of cosmopolitanism (transmigration) shape diversity as he refers to a "multi-everything London" (p.81). A similar observation can be made in relation to other global cities: Cape Town (Vigouroux, 2005), New York (Urciuoli, 1996; Chen, 1992) and many others which are constantly re-imagined and reconstituted as places with increasing transnational flows of capital, information, commodities and people (Appadurai, 1990; Sassen, 1991). These global cities encapsulate the current phase of globalization characterized by a new paradigm or 'mobility turn' (Sheller and Urry, 2006) given the fact that "we live in a smooth world...with no fixed boundaries or

barriers; all is movement" (Hardt and Negri, 2000:136). One salient point that Chew (2010) makes is that movement is essential to existence: "nothing that has life is without motion..." (p. 47). That said, the notions movement and mobility changed the researcher's understanding of space and place as fluid, mobile entities rather than dead and fixed/ passive (Harvey's 1996 view of globalization based on conceiving space and time as social constructs support Chew's view). Hence, city spaces (urban and periphery) can be considered "as much as spaces as flow as they are spaces of place" (Yeoh, 2006:150) to the ways mobility works in modernity.

This leads the study into a discussion of post-modern multilateral flows of people, things, and ideas across borders which have engendered transformation not just in linguistic markets (education, government, media, work places) but also in the reconfiguration of (old) apartheid 'ethnoscapes' (Appadurai, 1990) under globalization and the political dispensation of 1994. In this 'double transition' period: the overthrow of apartheid combined with neoliberal globalization (Webster and Adler, 1999), large translocal migration patterns were witnessed to cities. Non-Whites from townships in rural provinces (periphery) flocked to cities (center) that were allocated for Whites in the apartheid era to earn a better living (Worden, 1994). Exploring globalization in the 21st century (post-modernity), the study draws on Castells (1997) implication that the "here and now" (the metaphysics of the presence) is vital to understand potentially productive or destructive powers in the negotiation of identities and different language styles and genres (sociolinguistic processes), all neatly summed up in diverse discursive and social ways of negotiating the city.

Moving on, Szerszynski and Urry (2006) reminds us that mobility is a crucial part of cosmopolitanism. The language of landscape and of cosmopolitanism, they suggest is a "language of mobility, of abstract characteristics and comparison" (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006). Implicitly this echoes Pennycook's (2012:118) rationale, as he asserts that languages which accompany these flows are also on the move and turn out to be floating around in unexpected places (also see Heller, 2007:343). Turning up in unexpected places coined by Heller (2007) and later used by Pennycook (2012), indeed offers a reasonable conceptualization for globalization, mobility and cosmopolitanism, in that, as people move into new places their ways of speaking, singing and writing alongside with their clothes and accessories, move with them and get recontextualized and resemiotised in the process.

Perhaps, it is for this reason that Glissant (1997:267) proposes that we treat cosmopolitanism as a verb rather than a noun (or a process rather than a state). This speaks to Appiah (2007) who treats cosmopolitanism as a process as he opts for "practices and not principles to base his debate on the cultural and linguistic engagement between diverse cultures in contexts of trans-mobility" (p.85). He goes on to argue that discourses that are operationalized in global contexts would unveil strategies of 'engagement' that enable people to align with multimodal interactions for meaning making and collaboration (Appiah, 2007). Through such macro and micro compass readings, one can expect "social change in discourses as they 'turn into' a neo-liberal political economy, new linguistic practices of various sorts, new identities and material realities, which all condense with other social processes" (Harvey,1996:25).

Doing her project at Hangberg, the researcher's aim was to explore how different discourses and social processes in relation to globalization exhibit subaltern modes of multilingual/multicultural contact within and across different discursive spaces. The study adopts Appadurai's (1990) theoretical framework of imaginary landscapes of globalization: ethnoscapes (flow of people), technoscapes (flow of technologies), financescapes, (flow of money), mediascapes, (flow of information through media) and ideoscapes (flow of ideas associated with ideologies) to underscore particular flows, sociolinguistic processes (the creation of new hybrid linguistic registers) and the negotiations of subjectivities in a cosmopolitan contexts like Hangberg. The researcher is particularly interested in Appadurai's (1990/1996) 'ethnoscapes' as it suits the study well to investigate the flows of diverse linguistic, cultural and social networks in Hangberg.

Exploring these scapes permit us to observe how the modern world is swept by changes in different scale relations. That is, how languages, discourses, styles, genres and semiotic artefacts (e.g. Coca Cola brands) are constantly on the move around the globe (see Blommaert's 2003 concept 'semiotic mobility') "and their disembedding from and re-embedding into social and semiotic contexts" (Androutsopoulos, 2010:205). See Chapter Nine, this phenomenon speaks to cultural globalization as an increased circulation of semiotic and cultural artefacts across national and ethnolinguistic borders (Crane, 2002), sometimes leading to "transnational globalized art forms" (Blommaert 2003:131) such as reggae music of Rastafarians (Alim *et al.,* 2009). Similar to the modern linguistic exchanges, hegemonic exchanges in the economic market – under the concepts Westernization, Americanization and McDonaldization (Ritzer, 1998) are driven primarily by processes of globalization, imperialism and modernity. This is

important, see in Chapter Eight under the section, *'Coca-Colarization of Hangberg: Transidiomatic in form'*, this thesis demonstrates how the global distribution of brand goods unleashed small-scale businesses in local localities relating to advertising and marketing practices (branding is a "core activity of capitalism" [Holt, 2006:300]).

This broadens our understanding of globalization which has spread the social circulation of linguistic resources and semiotic artefacts – adapted (localized or hybridized) in the consumption of new brand geographies. As Jessop (1999) suggests, globalization can be conceived as changes in scales and relationships between scales, and local spatialities (Hangberg) that is subject to processes of re-scaling which involves processes of recontextualization, of outside entities coming inside of local contexts. The salient point that Jessop makes is that this process has come to articulate the concept of "glocalization" (see Robertson, 1995), which expresses the interaction of globalizing and localizing (in this case, the global Coca Cola's experience of hybridization in the commercial LL of Hangberg).

As previously indicated, we cannot talk about the flow of things (branded artefacts/ objects) across the globe without discussing the linguistic formations (the mixing of different discourses, genres and styles, etc.) and the construction of identities that globalization facilitates and brings to being. As Fairclough (2006) states: "it is partly language that is globalizing and globalized" (p.3). In the upcoming chapters (Chapters Eight and Nine), the researcher draws on the notion 'metrolingualism' (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2015) with the hope to better demonstrate how English and hybrid dialects such Kaaps and Jamaican creole/dread talk become grammars and sets of skills (resources) generated by the mobility of codes, which Hangbergers (the people of

Hangberg) use to enter both global and local worlds. Reflecting upon these linguistic and cultural performativities, it is clear that the prefix 'metro' has multiple signifiers that point to a fast and fluid urban space like Hangberg in Hout Bay (that is, metropolitan). From a linguistic view point, it (metro) refers to borrowing speech style born out of cultural movements, twists and flows (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010:40), whereby linguistic minority communities enjoy a strategic advantage for integrating themselves into processes of globalization and multilingualism at broader level.

This definitely highlights the *social constructivist* position (Fairclough, 2006), as more emphasis is put on the social constructed character of social realities and the significance of discourse (linguistic varieties and dialects) in their transcultural performances (p.16). Looking at this, Jessop's (1999) conceptualization of globalization resonates with this study, not as a single, coherent causal process but as a complex, chaotic and over determined outcome of multi-scalar, multi-temporal and multi-centric series processes with structural and strategic moments (cited in Fairclough, 2006:20). This highlights the interplay and dialectical relationship of structure and agency (or strategies, in Jessop's conceptualization), which is important in the study's stance. In Chapters Eight, in the section, *Comical joy in township! Language play (textual carnival),* we see how lucid metrolinguistic play (non-standard, code meshing and hybrid oral style) through carnival, is employed in the urban/underground ('metro') sociality.

2.2 Notion of language

There is no language in itself, nor are there any linguistic universals, only a throng of dialects, patois, slangs, and specialized languages.

There is no ideal speaker-listener, any more than there is a homogeneous linguistic community *(Gilles Deleuze & Felix Guattari, 2004:8).*

Considering the symbolic functioning of different linguistic markets under the conditions of post-modernity, several scholars (Pennycook, 2010; Blommaert, 2010; Canagarajah, 2013; Rampton, 2006) have pointed out that there has been a paradigmatic shift from the dominant dichotomies of structuralism, which perceived language as an abstract, fixed structure rather than a social practice. With respect to this, the dissertation is taking a poststructuralist stance to explore social practices (discourse and language) of societies as sites of struggle and simultaneously revealing communities and identities as heterogeneous arenas characterized by power relations (Norton, 2000). This framework is pragmatic for the thesis as it pays attention to the social positioning, partiality, contestability, instability, and mutability of ways in which language usage and ideologies are linked to the relations of power and political arrangements in societies (Blackledge, 2005).

Canagarajah (2013:28) highlights an interesting point of reference to language in view of the performativity of human beings in the world (how we do things with words). According to Canagarajah, poststructuralists take the position that "the mouth is where cries are broken into phonemes, morphemes and semanteme…the mouth is where the profundity of an oral body separates itself from meaning" (Foucault, 2000:354). "Through this open mouth, through this alimentary voice, the genesis of language, the formation of meaning and the flesh of thought extend their divergent series" (Foucault, 2000:355). Canagarajah (2013:27) argues that individuals simply do not rely on

utterances, words, and sentences for meaning but they are aligning to features in the environment such as objects, bodies, music, dance, setting and participants to give meaning to the words.

Other scholars such as William Hanks (1996); Halliday (1978); and Bakhtin (1981) agree that the field of sociolinguistics has always been beset by contradictions. According to Hanks (1996), language can be seen as an "abstract system and an aspect of an everyday practice, a generalizable form and a temporally local action, a social fact....individual's utterance" (p.9). This observation clearly builds on the thought that language(s) can no longer be isolated from social behaviours and other social semiotic systems, as it allows for a broader approach to multimodality (Kress, 2003 / 2010).This ties in with the work of Pennycook (2010:21) in his book, *Language as a Local Practice*, as he stretches the term 'practice' by exhibiting that language is not a pregiven entity used in different contexts but a discourse, social construction, a representation as well as a dynamic social phenomenon. Pennycook (2010) asserts that language as a local practice goes beyond talks of language use (practice) in context (locality). He looks at locality as (space) from where practice can be explored as a social semiotic activity (Pennycook, 2010:10).

In the same vein, Canagarajah (2007:91) notes that language cannot be understood "outside the realm of a practice". This practice-based perspective is useful as it is open to form, function and meaning making of social dimensions generated through social activity. From this opinion, practice is not passive, but secondary and generative (Canagarajah, 2013). Pennycook (2010) and Canagarajah (2007) challenge structuralist paradigms that specify that the knowledge of language and competence is very much

located in the mind of a monolingual speaker-hearer in a homogeneous speech community. Having said that, even the Enlightenment thinkers (known as Romantic Movement) of the eighteenth century conceptualise language as an abstract 'thing', in other words, a predetermined object (autonomous system) that speakers neatly can fit into. Such dichotomies comes at a price seeing that language is removed from the material and social settings in which its functions in the fullest ecological context to produce meaning (Canagarajah, 2013).

Through these frameworks, we lose the notion that languages are mobile, heterogeneous and hybrid resources that combine with other semiotic resources to make meaning in contexts. Following Block (2003), this philosophical move is bias because the linguistic repertoires of multilingual speakers is viewed as separate entities stored in the mind with neatly compartments and clear boundaries rather than defining it as a unified linguistic competence in which the knowledge of one or more languages co-exists and overlap. Going back to the early 1950s and 1960s, the approach of structuralism is best exemplified by the theories of Saussure (1966) and Whorf (1956). They took up a position and identified language as a scientific object by differentiating language (*langue*) from speech *(parole)*. Such thinking leads us to the Chomskyan interriorization of language and competence based on homogeneity (Chomsky, 1965).

This monolingual orientation is inappropriate because it does not take into consideration that language is embedded within the social field (context) where it puts representations of individuals, institutions, actions (practices) and power relations at the center of its analysis. As researchers, we have to move away from language as an autonomous system based on human consciousness (cognition) and instead focus on 'practice' in

order to explain how communication works in contact zones. Bourdieu (1988) observed that the structuralist philosophies were never able to construct practice other than negatively as they denied that repertoires are plural and variable and obscures multilingualism as transmodal hybrid linguistic practices. This is problematic, particularly for a research setting like Hangberg where people have multiple attachments, multiple competences and multiplicity of strategies in relation to language and identity, which they use in different spaces.

The study explores the term 'crossing' (Rampton, 1995), which refers to inter-ethnic linguistic adoption of styles or codes (from out-groups) to demonstrate the prominence of code-meshing and polyglot dialogues in post-modern contexts. In tandem, poststructuralist and sociolinguistic theories offered by Sedgwick (1993) on the queer theory; diaspora by Hall (1995) and hybridity by Bhabha (1994) and Bakhtin (1981) show the instability in discursive practices and identities. These approaches destabilize or dismantle essentialist (structuralist) binaries and myths on notions of linguistic and cultural homogeneity and as Derrida's (1967) work demonstrates that some variety of languages and subjectivities are not clear-cut or stable as they would seem, they are more fluid and ever-changing.

Fluidity is a useful word when exploring discourse of language through the poststructuralist framework as it portrays the possibility of borderless crossings and flexible identifications. Bakhtin (1981) suggests there is a dialogue of different times, epochs and days; a dialogue is forever, dying, living, being born: a co-existence and becoming are here infused into a concrete unity that is contradictory, multi-speeched and heterogeneous (as cited in Ibrahim, 1999:45). More precisely, this notion of fluidity

is well explained in Otsuji and Pennycook (2010:246) metrolingual research, in which they offer fruitful insights that go beyond language as a system, with the focus on languages as *emergent* from contexts of interaction. Their motivation for developing this framework has inspired many scholars today to deconstruct models of languages and ideologies at various points in history to bring out the concealed intentions of colonizing and missionary agencies in the past.

Regardless of this, Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) drew on Makoni and Pennycook's (2007) call for the disinvention and reconstitution of languages to question dominant myths of languages as pure and fixed structures. Makoni and Pennycook's (2007) study recognizes ways in which the subjects' actions are apparent within discourse as they partake in fluid repertoires for meaning-making. This calls for the disinvention and reconstitution of languages (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007) also gives way to explore the notion of 'performativity' developed by various poststructuralists (Austin, 1971; Butler, 1990 / 2015; Rampton, 2006; and Bakhtin, 1981) who think about language and identity as fluid, plural and ever-changing social processes that can be refashioned (reinvented) in forthcoming state of affairs. These performative theories are very influential to theorize how talk and meaning is performed through social practices. For Goffman, "speakers are the social actors who display a sense of awareness of the alternative language choices that they craft in communicative events" (Goffman, 1981:55). Goffman (1983) views interaction as a performance shaped by the demands of the setting, he also identify language as discursive processes contingent upon the interactional process in which it occurs.

Leading from this, the study supports Bakhtin's (1981) view of a dialogic nature of language "not as a neutral medium […] (rather) it is overpopulated with the intensions of others" and need to be understood in the individual's social, political and cultural context (p.290). Bakhtin (1981) was keen to reject the abstract objective notion that utterances are individually created out of individualized psychological reality or through an application of the rules of a syntactic system. His work imparts ways to think about language learning and "how speakers struggle to appropriate the voices of others and bend those voices for their own purposes" (Bakhtin, 1981:293). The researcher views voice as an important concept here and consider what people communicate and say not just as a form of language but also as means in which they reflect talk, behaviours and personalities.

To note further down on Bakhtin's (1981:293) meaning of "appropriating others words", Lensmire and Beals (1994) state that "we are born and develop, learn to speak, write, awash in the words of others…our own words are always someone else's first" (p.20). This perspective is parallel to Hopper's implication of sedimentation in which he argues that "individuals say things that have been said before…each individual occasion of language use results in the constant erosion and displacement of the sediment usage of repeated speech acts that is called grammar" (Hopper, 1998:159). More importantly, language appears unrestricted without rules through the process of sedimentation, open to grant individuals a chance to do whatever they want to do with it (Hopper, 1998).

The most significant contribution of this discussion is to show that language and identities are performed through "the local generic, discursive and stylistic practices"

(Pennycook, 2012:119) rather than a reflection of prior set of fixed options. Some data from interviews in the upcoming chapters will show how the informants of Hangberg appropriate the words of others while finding ways to make those words suit their own purposes through multimodal strategies and the symbolic investments in the representation of the Self and Other. In other words, redefining what it means for them to be and become multilingual and multicultural Hangberg citizens (Foucault, 1980). Norton Peirce (1995) reminds us "when we speak, we do not only exchange information but are (re)organizing a sense of who we are and how we relate to the social world" (p.18). Based on the recent sociolinguistic account of language and identity, the thesis gives credit to other transmodal symbolic and semiotic resources (genres, discourses, styles) and also view them as social practices which become part of repertoires of heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981).

In this sense, this thesis can perhaps begin to have a clearer picture how complex and fluid investments in ideologies and representations of language and identities are constructed (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004: 27). As Jacquemet (2005) puts it, "we need to examine communicative practices based on disorderly recombinations and language mixings occurring in both local and distant environments" (p.246). On a more specific level, the study had to investigate other semiotic resources available to Hangbergers besides languages which (re)shape their multiple worlds and overlap with social identities in different 'contact zones' in the community (Pratt, 1991:34). Hence, the study would now like to discuss and expand upon Fairclough's (2003:27) 'orders of discourse': discourses, genres and styles, and how these resources are relevant to the study.

2.3 Performing the local: Other linguistic resources (discourse, genre and style)

> "Alongside the emerging planetary dimensions of business, finance, trade and information flow, a 'localizing' space - fixing process is set in motion...to draw on local resources, embedded in local patterns of value-attributions" (*Blommaert 2005: 139*).

In the previous section, the study highlighted the importance of understanding language as a practice that is locally produced. Following Pennycook (2010) "the local needs to be understood in relation to the dynamic interpretation of space...local practices construct locality" (p.7). Urban environments such as cities and townships are "as much spaces of flows as they are spaces of place" (Yeoh, 2006:150), and much daily movement in a locality, ultimately defining local life (Hall, 2009:579). The researcher treats locality (in all its relevant senses: geographical, social and geopolitical) as the ground on which she begins her thinking. One way through which the meaning of locality and localness can be articulated and coordinated is to talk about the importance of locally adapted lexis found in adapted genres, discourses and styles (orders of discourse), which highlight the social practices and events of Hangbergers, for instance with English and Jamaican creole borrowings and code-mixing of Rastafari talk in Hangberg.

These are new discourses that are constantly emerging, and do not emerge out of nowhere; they 'translate' and selectively 'condense' other moments of the social process as people experience them in their practical engagement with the world (Fairclough, 2006:20). They are, in Williams' expression (1977:37), "a grasping of reality through language use"or rather so many attempts at grasping reality, which may

prove more or less practically adequate (Sayer, 2000) for reality. Performing the local in this context is a specific type of social construction involving 'linguistic locality' as a response to the globalized popular culture. Semiotic material from 'elsewhere' is made to speak 'from here' and 'to here', drawing on a range of semiotic / linguistic resources (discourses) for its new indexical grounding.

Like Harvey (1996), the researcher regards discourse as one element or 'moment' of the social processes that is dialectically related to other moments ('moment' is used precisely for elements whose relations are dialectical).This study shows that people within translocal style communities like Hangberg do not only invest in different languages but develop social practices (selling of herbs, poetry of talk, graffiti arts, carnival activities, memories, music, etc). Makoni and Makoni (2010) and Sebba (2010) give us an account on the dislocation of languages, of language in motion in which linguistic material travelling around the world, not only produce global languages but also translocal styles and genres for processes of self-identification within the dynamics of globalization.

For a fuller discussion, the researcher builds upon Blommaert's (2009/2010) argument for a sociolinguistics of speech patterns and repertoires that take into account perceived communication shaped by mobile resources and not immobile languages. This ties neatly in with Jacquemet's (2005) "transidiomatic practices" and Pennycook's (2012) notion of "language as performative act", which allow us to expand our insights to a level where we "move above languages to language varieties, repertoires, blends of accents, genres, styles and forms of literacy practices" (Blommaert, 2003:608). This thesis acknowledges that linguistic resources such as genres, discourses (ways of

representing) and styles (ways of being, identities) leave a residue in the habitus (Bourdieu, 1991). Pushing Blommaert's(2003) argument even further, the thesis explores Fairclough's (2003) contextual variables, the "orders of discourse" (discourse, genre and styles) to examine how these semiotic tools or resources are present in Hangbergers' repertoires, as it pays more attention to the local than ever before.

2.3.1 Discourse

To begin, the study adopts a poststructuralist notion of discourse as a particular "way of representing" (Fairclough, 2003) multimodal and intertextual aspects in social life as it plays a crucial role in the organizations of linguistic actions. Fairclough uses the term 'discourse' in two ways: firstly, as abstract noun, which refers to language and other semiosis, and secondly, as a count noun that refers to diverse presentations of the social world (Fairclough, 2003:26). Building on this perspective, Gee (1990:142) describes discourse as the accepted ways of saying, doing, being, valuing and believing of individuals to produce meaning, using language in a particular context. Discourse is seen here as a constitutive factor of social relations and belief systems. This view is based on the socio-semiotic approach in which language performs the ideational function of representing the world and the textual function of relating discourse and context, but also the interpersonal function of enacting social identities and relations (Jan Renkema, 2003).

These conceptualizations are parallel to Bourdieu's (1991) notion of the habitus, which he describes as a set of dispositions (arrangements) acquired from people's earliest years, which predispose them to act, behave and interact in various ways. It is important to note that Bourdieu's (1991) habitus provides the study a deeper understanding on

how people in the Hangberg context interact in different spaces and what discourses do they utilize to enhance effective multilingual and multimodal communication. The study further supports the work of Weedon (1987) that discourses can offer an individual a range of modes of subjectivity. Similarly, Fairclough (2003) demonstrates that "discourses are inculcated in identities in a more agentive manner and it is an on-going process of identification" (p.28). Ferreira and Mendalowitz (2009) suggest that individuals constantly reposition themselves according to present and past interactions and resultant in individual emotions such as joy, anger, insecurity, loss, fear and desire: "the desire of recognition, affiliation, security and safety"(p.10).

For Bangeni and Kapp (2005) the degree to which individuals reconstruct 'who they are' is regulated by the extent to which they are able to access material through social and linguistic resources which are valued within dominant discourses. They highlight for a discourse to become dominant, it must mean something to people and resonate with their everyday life experiences (Bangeni and Kapp, 2005). This conceptualization helps the study to see whether citizens of Hangberg invest in certain discourses, and if so, what do these investments mean to them? Why are they significant? This can be observed through the representations of language choice in the Hangberg citizens' life narratives found in the LL and social spaces (networks), which assist the thesis to interpret how their voices are circulating in different discourses within and across multiple spaces.

In the spirit of Bakhtin (1981) and Derrida (1987), a dominant discourse aims to univocally displace, suppress, overwhelm and overturn the interplay of the minority or oppositional voices. According to them, a dominant discourse also serves to inhibit the

possibility of kinetic interplay of diverse voices, perspectives, accounts and narratives representing multiple social groups. The agency of individuals and oppressed groups which contest and resist positions of powerlessness in the prevailing or dominant discourse is the means by which spaces can be opened up for their alternative voices and diverse viewpoints (Bakhtin, 1981).

This research project shows many flows of global influences into the local contexts of Hangberg, which have thus greatly resulted in Rastafarian culture. As Stuart Hall points out (1991:33-36), "the return to the local is often a response to globalization". These global flows (Mordecai, 2001) display linguistic and discursive features of Dread Talk (Jamaican creole) and reggae music into the wider African circle of flows, which have in turn changed the music and linguascapes of the periphery township in Cape Town (crafting a space for the exercise of local agency and citizenship). The Rastafarians use "borrowings from Jamaican languages, clichés of Khoisan and Kaaps (English and Afrikaans) - it is "a kind of linguistic *bricolage*" formed from the multilingual and multicultural mixes of Southern Africa, Europe and the Caribbean (Doran, 2004:94).

These alternative voices and myriad texts are of interest to the study, as there is a vast array of languages, multilingual resources, identity and cultural influences at work. Certainly, a postmodern move toward deconstructing dominant/hegemonic discourses (the idea that English is 'one thing' or monolithic language) and toward repositioning multifarious speakers as adapters, resisters and transformers of the English imaginary. Exploring and connecting English with popular culture (Rasfarianship), the study shows a numerous diasporic and hybridised manifestations in Africa ('the global is being

localized' - English has been taken up, transformed and incorporated with local language styles).

Apart from this, one of the great contributions of this study is to contextualizing (reporting) on the Hangberg discourse in post-transition (post-1994). Illustrating this, the study draws on media communication technologies and modes (Facebook posts and newspaper articles) in Chapter Six, to examine the Hangberg locality as product of experience and discourse within a broader social context of the debates relating to the poaching, evictions, gentrification, conflict and racism issues. In more detail, instances of language use will be underscored here, as Fowler (1987) demonstrates "media [newspapers] bathe the public in discourse and language and in doing so, they permeate people with ideology...functions of this process is to actually construct or constitute, reconstruct or reproduce such abstract categories as power, authority, discrimination, subordination" (p.68).

Discourse, according to Bakhtin, "cannot fail to be oriented toward the already uttered, the already known, the common opinion and so forth" (Bakhtin, 1981:279). Under the sub-theme: '*Recontextualization of racism in journalist texts'*, we witness how the journalist of the newspaper "replaced, reworked and re-accentuated" those racist, discriminatory words (Bakhtin, 1986:89) of a White female (Hartley), constructing the Coloured and Black communities of Hangberg and Imizamo Yethu as the 'Animal, Other'. He does so; with his own interpretation to justify her racist behaviour (his new use of words alters meaning). As Bakhtin (1986) notes, others' "utterances can be repeated with varying degrees of reinterpretation" (p. 91).

2.3.2 Style

Fairclough (2003) describes styles as "discourse aspects of ways of being" - how people identify themselves and are identified by others. This view of style as identity construction shares a sociolinguistic approach to style that considers it as an individual writer/speaker's use of language as a resource to evoke particular personae. In Chapter Nine, this thesis deems it appropriate to draw on the notion 'style' or stylization as central tool to underscore popular culture in Hangberg, where it focuses on the flow of Rastafari cultural accessories /materials, linguistic practices and ideologies with an eye towards understanding the multiple processes of identification (Fairclough,2003:159). Following Blommeart's (2003) call for a much-needed sociolinguistics of globalization, the study engages with the remixing of styles illustrating how speakers of the Rastafari culture use their linguistic forms to rework, reinvent and recreate their identities to gain local-global statuses (Rose, 1994).

Recent work on stylization and style affirms Rampton's (1999:423) theoretical breakthroughs at attempting to look at "speech transposition into and out of arenas social conditions and relations that are substantially different". Rampton describes style or stylization as a local performance of speech in which speakers produce an artistic image of another's language (Rampton, 2006). In other words, speakers can cross into sociolinguistic practices most commonly associated with others.

In making this argument for stylization as identity construction, Higgins (2008) shows us, a unique style of rapping is often done in multiple languages such as Swahili, Kihuni and African American English. Language through various practices such as battles, rhyme ciphers, shout outs and usage of Black American lexicon, phonology and syntax

are central to how the youth imagining themselves as global and local agents in the world (Pennycook, 2003:517). According to Alim (2009), a speech style conveys an ideologically mediated and motivated phenomenon that cut across all levels of communication, in many ways this goes beyond the internal, structural notions of language or even multimodal conceptualizations.

Bearing that in mind, Pennycook (2007) reminds us that the intertexual relations (the (re)creative uses of stylistic and semiotic resources) implicates recontextualization, which mark an era of mobility in which cultural and linguistic material circulate around the world's "langscapes" (Appadurai, 1996; Blommaert, 2003) to produce global and translocal styles. What is most appreciated from the example above, is how the local and international conflate within a given public space, they produce resources "for creating new regional ('glocalized') ways of speaking, new (supra) regional styles and lects" (Auer and Schmidt 2010: xii). Alternatively, what Canagarajah (2006) calls an enmeshment of language within space.

This study shows in upcoming chapters that Rastafari culture has become both the most profound and the most perplexing stylistic (cultural, musical, and linguistic) movement of the 21st century. Spady (1991: 223) reminds us that the styling and profiling of Rastafarians are bringing about a revolution in dress, talk, song, dance and nonverbal discourses [and] they are in the enviable position of influencing international values, trends and styles. This is illustrated in Chapter Nine, as the researcher pays attention of the "stylization of self" (Nuttall, 2004) or rather the lifestylization of Rastafarian community in post-apartheid Hangberg, how young people remodel the past in very
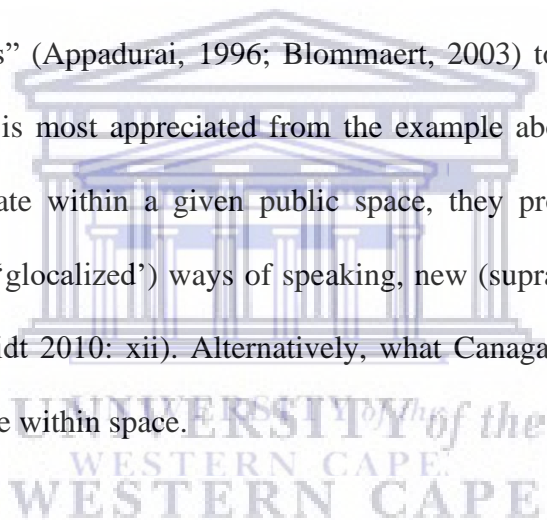
specific ways, developing a mode of cultural accessorization in the making of their contemporary selfhood.

2.3.3 Genre

Another mode of language and identity performativity can be explored through the concept of genre, which is often described as a "way of acting" (Fairclough, 2003) or as Paltridge (2006) elucidates "ways in which people get things done through the use of discourse" (p 12). When genre is viewed from an angle of activity, as a social process (as doing things with words) then we end up with a view of text as more open ended, which takes into account a much greater mobility of textual organization (Kress, 2003). According to Hanks, genres never become fixed in a unitary structure but rather quintessentially intertextual (Hanks, 1987). In making this argument, Hanks advocates that discourse be linked to a particular genre, the process by which it is produced and received with its relationship to prior discourses.

From a sociolinguistic stance, we always communicate in genres, every single aspect of social life develops within textual patterning that is 'generic', i.e. culturally reorganized (Hymes, 1995). The invocation of a generic frame is a theme such as *'once upon a time'* that carries with it a set of expectations concerning the unfolding of discourses, which indexes other texts in the opening formula (Bauman, 1999). The category of genre was one component of Hymes' (1972a) *Speaking Model,* which became a key objective in the ethnographic field as many researchers looked the local categorization of speech acts or speaking genres (e.g. lecture, lesson, sermon, prayer, story, jokes) and their functions at variety of social events. If we remove talk (speaking) from our daily life, we would then remove much of what we actually 'do'. On that note, it is important to

mention that language use is a constitutive of our social life, that is, speaking does not just happen *in* social interaction, speaking itself is social interaction (Hymes, 1972a). Hymes' concept of genre directs this study's focus on the routinized, conventionalized organization of languages/dialects in the textual production of a particular context (Hymes, 1972b:48).

An important part of conducting such work is to show that genre is made by people in their own social encounters, conversely when it becomes text; it gives us insight into the social organization of the world in which it is made (Kress, 2003:100). This is parallel to Rampton's (2006) perspective of genres as "integrated, multi-level analyses that participants implicitly formulate for their own practical activity" (p.128). This ties in with Butler's (1990/2015) notion of performance that allows the researcher to extend the notion of genre beyond sociolinguistics (what people *do* with *words*) to a broader field of identity, in this case, the hairstyling practices of post-modernity (how people *doing* things with *hair*).

We witness how this study moves from the traditional essentialism of gender toward a performative semiotics of corporeality. Here embodied acts, gestures and enactments are seen as performative skills in the sense that the essence that they possess is through corporeal signs and other discursive means (Butler, 1990:136). In Chapter Eight under the section, '*Performing gender, identity and art in hair*', the study puts on view hair as an artistic and communicative medium (portraying modern hairstyle patterns achieved through zigzag patterns, lines and circles on the head). In this exploration, the gendered subjects (metrosexual barber men) denaturalized long held normative functions of hair (imposed hegemonic views) with hair tattooing to decorate the social body.

This thesis also deems the notion of genre as an important (useful) construct in the analyses of the LL, since a genre sets up a particular set of expectations as to the type of topic/content, form of register, attitudinal stance, and interactional roles that are appropriate to given occasions (Blommaert, 2008; Bauman and Briggs, 1992), and orientates interlocutors to the production of an appropriate local semiotics (Stroud and Jegels, 2014). From a genre point of view, we were permitted to see how discourse frames were manifested in a variety of genres (graffiti writing, advertisements, protest posters, street signage, vendors' texts, governmental texts, etc.) across different discursive spaces of Hangberg, which are useful to the research project (detailed in Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine). A study of these genres reveals how the community of Hangberg actually functions in terms of representational and communicative literacy usage found in public domains and their inherent social functions. Further, the researcher draws on Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996/2006) seminal work on the grammar of visual design for the analysis of meaning created by physical positioning of text genres in the LL.
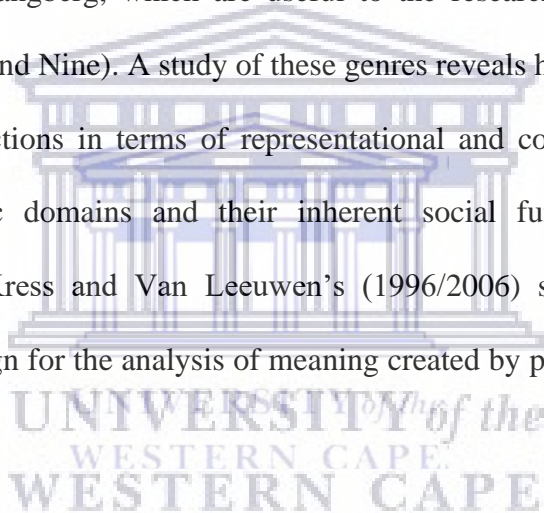
Doing a genre analysis of the LL in multilingual contexts such as Hangberg is by its nature concerned with the different functional uses of languages through selection.That said the study next turns to the notion of ideology in the representation of language produced through socio-economic, political, and cultural discourses in relation to our work on the Hangberg community.

2.4 The term and definition ideology

To begin, examining ideological practices have enjoyed increasing attention in recent times, not only in the field of linguistics but also in other social sciences such as

anthropology and politics. Ideology is a underlying concept for this study given that one of the fundamental goal of the research is to uncover the ideological practices of the media analysis in Chapter Six (newspapers and social media comments). Therefore, the study shall begin with a definition of what it understands by term ideology. Following Fairclough (2003:19), he defines ideologies as "representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation".

This study embraces Van Dijk's (1995) stance that centers on the views of ideologies from a representational viewpoint. The scholar explored a number of axiomatic propositions of in-group and out-group membership based on myths of superiority, in particular the ideological representation classified from the 'Self' and 'Other' and the 'Us' and 'Them' perspective. For him, 'Self and Us', is always elevated at the expense of 'Others and Them' (Van Dijk, 1995:139). According to Woodard (1998), the notion ideology is connected with four major conceptual strands in the contemporary uses:

(a.) Ideology can be linked to the individual consciousness (learned, not innate).

(b.) It can be connected to social and experiential origins (social practices which are linked to inferiority, sexism and violence).

(c.) Thirdly, ideology can function as a tool for struggle of power in dominant discourses.

(d.) Lastly, it can be conceptualized as a distortion / illusion for the truth (grounded on 'falsity' or stereotyping rather than on reality).

To explain the above points, it is safe to say that individuals or groups are not born with an ideological scheme. Instead, these ideologies are learnt and nurtured in the society in

which people live. Additionally, these ideologies are revealed in people's actual behaviour and therefore perceive as real rather than false once they are institutionalised by the media, governments, schools, etc. During colonial times of the Cape Colony, the above four characteristics of ideology were evident in the contact between the European settlers and Khoisan people. Looking at the dominant discourses and ideologies presented by Orientalist scholarship (Said, 1978) with regards to colonial contexts in Southern Africa, we see how White Europeans were implicated in discriminatory sentiments and practices against the Khoisan as the 'inferior Other'.

They were judged based on their religion (Khoisan were belief to lack religion), race (their non-White skin color was perceived as inferior to Whites) and civility (behaviouris typically like mischievous animals that need to be fixed). As explained in Chapter One, Khoisan language was deemed as one of the strangest form of all human communication due to its clicking, sound (Mostert, 1992:35). Such ideological thinking was clearly devised to embellish the Khoisan images, which left them vulnerable to exploitation and dispossession of their land and (livestock) resources (Elphick, 1977). This thesis demonstrates in Chapter Six how languages (both verbal and visual) are used in biased ideologies related to race, behaviour and other discriminative appraisal in news reporting in attempts to blame Hangbergers for poaching issues, violence, illegal land grabs (invasions) in the coastal Hout Bay area (criminalisation and animalization of the non-White body are palpable in the news rhetoric).

2.4.1 Ideologies of language

> Whatever you say reverberates. Whatever you don't say speaks for itself. So either way

you're talking politics. (From the poem 'Children of our age', *Wisława Szymborska, 1995:149)*

As argued by Gee (1996:73), "ideological struggle pre-eminently takes place in language". Therefore, the poststructuralist approach is pragmatic for the thesis as it pays attention to the social positioning, partiality, contestability, instability, and mutability of ways in which language uses and beliefs are linked to the relations of power and political arrangements in societies (Blackledge, 2005). The study is aware of the role of ideologies in relation to linguistic practices, which are not always straight forward because their impacts on everyday experiences cannot be predicted (Rampton, 2006).

The thesis supports Blackledge's (2005) view of language ideologies as the values, practices and beliefs that are associated with language use. Wodak (1989) also sees language ideologies as socio-cultural motivated ideas, perceptions and expectations of languages. For Woodard and Schieffelien (1994) language ideologies are never only about language but they can be about the production of social relations of sameness and difference and the creation of cultural stereotypes. For Gal (2002) ideologies are cultural specific notions that individuals bring to linguistic practices. They are the ideas that people have about certain languages and what linguistic differences mean to people who use them (Gal, 2002). Ibrahim's work (1999:5) poignantly makes a powerful connection between social identity constructions, language investments and people's personal desires to "who they are or what they become".

Exploring language ideologies and language choices in the LL permit the author to see Hangbergers' complex investments as multilingual citizens, as well as their positioning

in relation to the official language policy of the Western Cape (their value of languages in the globalized economy). The impact of language policies can be examined in light of language practices since language users may enforce or revolt against official regional policy in their public displays. As Shohamy (2006) notes, the public space can be an arena for ideological battles. In Chapter Eight under the sub-theme: *'Code preference, reference and interpretation'*, the study shows how the research setting is influenced both by regionalization and globalization.

The study turns next to investigate features of multilingualism in Hangberg (post-1994), by looking at ways in which "linguistic resources, activities and urban space are bound together" (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2015:161). The study is particularly interested in how Hangbergers position them at different times in social spaces in relation to their engagement in hybridized speech genres in the negotiation and construction of identities.

2.5 Multilingualism as social practice

> Over the last twenty years, the problem that had previously been stifled or even ignored in many countries - that linguistic diversities within the same political communities. Where language communities have been repressed for a long time…the importance of diversity (re)emerged, leading to multilingualism and even secession (*Daniele Archibugi, 2005:538*).

The study takes into consideration that multilingualism has been going on for centuries and does not appear to be a new phenomenon. However, the ways in which scholars have looked at multilingualism, and how individuals position themselves around this

discourse is significant. This thesis understands multilingualism as a form of agency with intended or planned actions in which individuals process life experiences to facilitate effective intercultural communication. What is significant here is to explore: what it means to be and become a multilingual and multicultural citizen in a world marked by globalization, mobility and rapid change? How and why do people invest in certain languages and identities? Which are observable in everyday interactions? Of course, we need to answer these big questions because they lie at the heart of this thesis.

In connection to this, the study has used recorded interviews and observation data to explore how agency and voice are mediated through the Hangberg citizens' language investments, ideologies and identity positionings. More importantly, this allows us to have a more in-depth understanding of the complexities relating to how and why people make choices to invest in the ways that they do. In the context of debates around post-colonialism and post-modern globalization, this study later shows how the increased value of multilingualism has become more connected to the new sociolinguistic realities where national and spatial boundaries no longer keep languages and speakers in neatly analyzed spaces (Blommaert *et al*., 2005). Looking at the discourses of worldliness (Pennycook, 1994) and World Englishes (Kachru, 1983; Meierkord, 2004; and Canagarajah, 1999) in relation of being and becoming multilingual, the researcher illustrates that English has always been a contact language, which underwent changes in relation to the diverse new languages and communities that it has been coming into contact with.

Recent studies on multilingualism considers the "socio-political semiotic nexus of praxis cum ideology" (Tsitsipis, 2007:277) and an appreciation of language practices

that draw on the semiotic resources and repertoires. These theories suggest that language knowledge should not be conceptualized in terms of abstract (autonomous) systems but as communicative repertoires (Hall, Cheng and Carlson, 2006:232). Turning to the publication of Aronin and Singleton (2008), they argue, "the development of multilingualism in the world has a critical point in terms of scale and significance" (p.1). So much so, that they refer to multilingualism as a new linguistic dispensation because it is inextricably intertwined with processes of globalization: in the reordering of linguistic forms, landscapes, mobility, ideologies and identities in this new globalized world.

At the same time, there is no denying that the spread of multilingualism to different parts of the world has made English the lingua franca. Fishman (1998) [cited in Aronin and Singleton (2008)] states that English have become the leading international language in economic and political spheres and the language of high society and the young through the trend of globalization. English is now the dominant language of world communication, trade, diplomacy and social mobility and more people are motivated to master the language (cf De Swaan, 1988). It is ironic that the spread of English is linked to the onset of multilingualism as a new linguistic dispensation in the globalized world because multilingualism assumes the use of more than one language (including African languages) and yet English appears to be the dominant global discourse. On the other hand, looking from a broader continuum, the study suggests that multilingualism is increasing under globalization and the spread of English globally.

In view of the nature of globalization in late-modernity, Pennycook (1994) takes up a poststructuralist stance and employ the notion of worldliness to challenge dominant dichotomies of structuralism in which language is seen as system rather than a local social practice. Pennycook (1994) uses the notion of worldliness pointing to both the dominant global position of English and English being embedded in the world. Likewise, Higgins (2009), this thesis seeks to redress strong claims made by those who view English as an imperialistic language through demonstrations of how language has been altered by speakers around the world and made to fit local context and local registers (p.6). Higgins takes up a new approach exploring multilingualism that destabilizes dominant conceptualizations of English as a distinct code and as a global language bounded by particular domains of use. Higgins (2009) addresses the relationships between varieties in translocal contact and suggests that we ought to grasp the implications of hybridity and linguistic bricolage in which English so often participates.
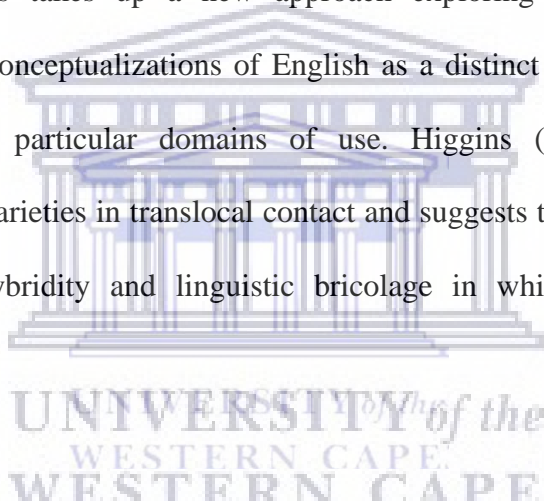
Scholars such as Pennycook (2007) and Blommaert *et al*. (2005), like Higgins (2009) adopted Bakhtin's (1981) concept of multivocality, which offers a more comprehensive framework to reveal how multiple hybrid forms of English and other local languages such as 'Sheng' (a Swahili variety) become local resources in East Africa (Tanzania and Kenya) societies. This study further draws some insights from Higgins' work to illustrate multilingualism as a social practice in the speech repertoires of Hangbergers as they draw upon linguistic resources, both local and global (Jamaican Creole, Kaaps, English, Khoi clichés) performing trade (selling of herbs) in informal spaces. Following the above, Higgins (2009) goes on to state: that because of its global status, English is a key part to the heteroglossic or multilingual landscape of Southern Africa. It is in light

of Higgins' argument that this study considers English as an important element in exploring language practices of urban periphery township, Hangberg.

The power of English, through its hybridity draws on both local and global resources, which allow residents of Hangberg to glide effortlessly among local, national and international identities. The goal of this research project is to understand the practice of multilingual repertoires by multilingual speakers in Hangberg. The analysis in the upcoming chapters illustrate a very particular view of multilingualism and multimodal communication, and how different languages and linguistic resources (discourse, genres and styles) are appropriated, learned, taught and reproduced in public spaces.

Turning to the context of township economies in Southern Africa, Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) argue for a material ethnography of multilingualism of the LL that analyses how languages are figured different socio-economic scales. Similar to other LL studies in South Africa (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2010; Kelleher and Milani, 2015; Williams and Lanza, 2016), this study takes into account the commercialization of signage in formal and informal economic sectors (i.e. multilingual spaces of commerce which offer a variety of goods and services). Hangberg as research site is a promising location to observe the increased value of multilingualism and transnational global identities, because this multicultural community was established in the 1950s, during apartheid South Africa.

2.6 Towards recent sociolinguistic theorizing

There has been some recent and interesting work done concerning the notion of multilingualism, many terminologies started to emerge to explain the ever-changing

language practices that occur in late modernity. In recent sociolinguistic studies, traditional conceptions of multilingualism in terms of located, separate and bounded, linguistic systems is giving way to approaches that capture the fundamental way in which languages and speech repertoires flow and interact with people. Repertoires of resources are organized across individuals, and institutions reflecting social and historical trajectories. Considering this, many scholars use other (heteroglossic) terms, besides multilingualism to represent their insights into multi – layered communicative modes such as language crossing, code-meshing and polyglot dialog in relation to global contact zones. In sociolinguistics, Jorgensen (2008) and Moller (2008) coined the term polylingualism; Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) adopted metrolingualism; Garcia (2009) drew on translanguaging; and Canagarajah (2013) took a position on translingual practices to develop a new paradigm in communication (contact phenomena), language choice(s), hierarchies of languages, aspects of literacy and pedagogy.

All the above mentioned terms, deviate away from the traditionalist (essentialist) conceptualization of language as a system and treat it (language) as emergent practice from contexts of interaction or what Pratt (1991) refers to "contact zones" where people of different and mixed backgrounds meet, clash and grapple with each other often in highly asymmetrical (uneven) relations of power to negotiate identities. As previously mentioned, models based on fixed systems, grammatical competence and homogeneous communities are not useful when we are dealing with plural languages and interlocutors. To provide a preview of what is still to come (in chapters ahead), the author takes pleasure in notifying the reader that the citizens of Hangberg, who participate in the study, do not rely on language forms and meaning-making options posited by structuralist models for communication in contact zones. Rather than moving

from top down to apply predefined knowledge from their language or cognitive system, they are working ground up to collaboratively construct meaning through semiotic resources borrowed from diverse languages.

Going back to Pennycook's (2010) argument, it is not only about 'walking' in the city (De Certeau, 1984) but also 'talking' in the city, a practice that has been overlooked in urban semiotics. Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) indicate that talking in the city is a metrolingual practice, not only does it derive from the language resources of the city, but it produces the city through sedimented language acts. Going back to Otsuji and Pennycook (2010), the term metrolingualism has been presented as an urban phenomenon in which languages were less tied to place, territory or ethnicity in recent forms of globalization. These scholars move beyond an analysis of multilingualism to capture the multiplicity of language interaction in contexts of urban, metropolitan areas (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010) and the ways in which people of mixed backgrounds use, play and negotiate identities through language.

Amidst the flux of dialect diversity, Heller (2007) asserts, "languages turn out to be floating around in unexpected places" (p.343). This resonates with Canagarajah (2013) observation that unpredictability and linguistic diversity (multilingualism) should be treated as the norm and not the exception in post-modern conditions. To complement this way of thinking, the researcher draws on the signifier 'metro' (from term metrolingualism) to show that a fluid, productive urban (metropolitan) research setting like Hangberg facilitates the circulation of diverse discursive linguistic practices and new (hybrid) identities at a fast and quick pace in translocal spaces (Otsuji and

Pennycook, 2010). At a micro-level context, hybrid language styles and voices (in conversations, literacies, representations of rap music, and so forth) have been regularly discovered in the contemporary cities (centers) and townships (peripheries) in Africa through contact of movement, migration and mixing.

To explore this, the study turns to a large multilingual country like Malawi, where the population speaks languages other than English to enjoy translingual, metrolingual and polylingual practices in urban spaces. Following Perullo and Fenn (2003) the English use in Malawi is radically contextualized in the vocabulary of African dialects to "take on new set of meanings...in contemporary social experiences of the Malawian youth" (p.41). This is parallel to the work of Higgins (2009), where East Africans exploit the heteroglossia of language to perform identities (Bakhtin, 1981). Their heteroglossic ability resonates with Rampton's (2006) conceptualization of language crossing in urban environments in which he shows how individuals code-mesh English with other vernaculars by creating a new (re)invention in their linguistic practices to negotiate their identities. These translingual practices assist us to see how local and global resources produce language and identity in spaces of diversity.

In connection with Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) metrolingual approach, the study does not support any hypotheses that rural and remote areas are monolingual. Paul (1920) notes the following: "within any rural linguistic community there are as many dialects as there are individuals…locating an increase in diversity and difference beyond a certain degree" (p.38). Such rural places also have historical backgrounds of translingual practices and serve as vivid examples of how the globalized world

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influences and shapes mixed (hybrid) linguistic features. It is fair to say that at an era of globalization, both rural and urban places constantly deal with reconfiguration, one of their main expressions are the intense and diversified paths of mobility (Bell and Osti, 2010). As Byrd Clark (2009) puts it, "we live in an ever-changing, evolving and shifting world where socially construed boundaries are becoming more obscured while simultaneously making visible the spaces, dimensions and strategies of being and becoming multiple people in multiple places"(p10).

Moving on, other terminology such as 'polylingualism' was proposed by Jorgensen (2008) and Moller (2008) instead of multilingualism in light of the idea that "speakers use mixed language resources or features and not languages" (Jorgensen, 2008:166). Moller asks the following questions regarding polylingualism:

> What if the participant do not orient to the juxtaposition of languages in term of switching? What if they insist orient to the linguistic norm where all available linguistic resources can be used to reach the goal of the speakers? Then it is not adequate to categorize this conversation as bilingual or multilingual or even as language mixing because all these terms depend on the separatability of linguistic categories. I suggest the term polylingual instead (Moller, 2008:218).

Focusing on linguistic features rather than languages assumes that speakers do not necessarily have sufficient knowledge or *competence* in a particular *language.* This approach is parallel to plurilingualism (Council of Europe,2000) and fragmented multilingualism (Blommaert, 2010), which aims to capture the dynamic and the evolving relationship between English and other indigenous African languages and

multiple semiotic systems from a language user point of view (Makoni and Makoni, 2010:258). While a multilingual person may be understood as using constellations of separate languages, a multilanguage user simultaneously uses linguistic features drawn from multiple interconnected linguistic resources (Makoni and Makoni, 2010). In bringing hybrid language features to the center of the discussion, the study draws inspiration from Makoni and Pennycook (2007) work on the disinvention and reconstitution of languages in which they call for the dismantle of linguistic boundaries where multilinguals can draw on *local knowledge* (semiotic resources) to make sense of the multiple meanings that surrounds them.

This leads us to Garcia (2009) who uses the term 'translanguaging', which refers to the multiple discursive practices that individuals engage to make sense of their worlds; it is a phenomenon that goes beyond code switching. In the same vein, translanguaging practices is considered as important in the negotiation of identity and they dictate how linguistic resources offer or shun access to powerful social networks, as multilingual speakers are allow to choose the linguistic practices, accordingly (Garcia, 2010: 524). This is in line with Canagarajah's (2013) translingual practice that captures the common underlying processes and orientations motivating hybrid modes (code-meshing, crossing and polyglot dialog) articulated in the prologue of this section.

He speaks about how speakers negotiate both linguistic resources in their repertoire and in the context to produce a text that is rhetorically most appropriate and effective in the situation of power relations (Canagarajah, 2013). Below, the study discusses the notion of space and place as meaningful locations in which humans produce and consume meaning through various social actions (Cresswell, 2004) as well as looking how these

spatial elements relate to the current perceptions regarding geosemiotics and linguistic landscaping, which became prominent in post-modem academic literacies.

2.7 Space and Place

> Places combines of physical acts with acts of imagination, unearths spatial and territorial clichés, "agitating them with language" *(Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004:371).*

In this section, the researcher attempts to integrate a dialectical conversation between the concepts 'place' and 'space', which will be used in this thesis. Moving into a detail discussion, she draws upon academic literature to distinguish the call for and suggestion of the concepts. Following Casey (1997), he asserts that space and place are complex aspects in understanding everyday social life through different interactions, and therefore become an emergent theme in contemporary theories within and across the social sciences and humanities. Primarily, the researcher takes a poststructuralist and sociolinguistic stance in the conceptualization of space and place as "significant constituent[s] of social processes and bearer[s] of meaning in their own right" (Gunn, 2001:3). The researcher understands them as fluid, not fixed or static in contexts. Therefore, to clarify this, the researcher fully needs to know what each of the concepts means.

The researcher's understanding of place in geographical terms signals the 'where about' of things (location on surface where things just happens). Thus, she (researcher) realizes that individuals cannot talk about place without discussing space (Sack, 1997:58), as he acknowledges that "place implies space, and each home is a place of space". Being able

to draw on this conceptual discussion give allowance to see that there is a dialectically connection between place and space. These terms are best understood as being mutually embedded. According to Italian geographer Franco Farinelli (2003), it is best to examine place and space together instead of separately.

For him "place...is a part of terrestrial surface that is not equivalent to any other, that cannot be exchanged with any other without everything changing. Instead with space [location of place] each part can be substituted for another without anything being altered..." (Franco Farinelli, 2003:11).

Moving on, Sack's (1997) discussion of place and space as dialectically related features is very important here. Observing interactions and social relationships of human dwellers in the landscape permit him to see space as a property of the natural world that can be experienced. He argues as people move along the earth, they pass from one place to the other. However, if they move quickly the places blur, they lose track of their qualities and they coalesce into the sense that they are moving through space (Sack, 1997:16). In this frame of reference, Sack (1997) stresses that places are woven together with spaces by movement and the network ties that produce places as changing constellations of human commitments, capacities and strategies. In other words, places are invariably parts of spaces, and spaces provide the resources and frame of reference in which places are made. Having said that, the production of space is not only about providing a more complex description of the landscape or reading of the semiotic compasses of everyday life but rather to view the world of artefacts, as well as architecture as forms of communication.

Such thinking is of greater significance here, because the notion of space and place generally are not simply about certain places or spaces but discursively reproduced. As such, space / place itself, or *spatiality*, to use Soja's terminology (1989), needs to be understood as a dialectic process (double articulation) that is constituted in and by all social forms, processes and (discourse) practices. The production of space and place is something that the study is highly interested in here, namely the transformation and reinvention of 'places' in which the 'background' of social interaction of the city are viewed no longer as merely neutral containers but living, dynamic, fluid, affective and rich in symbolism. This characteristic is best rendered by the term 'space'.

Perhaps the best-known and most influential theorist of socio-spatial production, is French philosopher, Henri Lefebvre who argued that a complex and dialectic spatiality is a fundamental aspect of social reality.

2.7.1 Lefebvre's production of space

Important to note, within a postmodern theory, space and place are examined not as static, *a priori* or objective phenomena but as ongoing and dynamically constructed tools of 'thought and action' (Lefebvre, 1991: 26). The author draws here on the ideas of Lefebvre (1991) that are formulated in his book, *The Production of Space*. The most significant part of Lefebvre's theory is when he described space as being part of the human experience. He sees space as a 'social space' in which lived experiences of people is socially produced (Lefebvre, 1991). It is clear from his perspective that spaces can never be empty places but should be seen as sites in which social agents continually engage in activities that present discourse practices.

The above sentiment forms an underlying structure for the study to investigate how the people of Hangberg position them and move their bodies within and across different spaces in the negotiation of their identities. The study specifically looks here at how the people use their multilingual repertoires in the different social spaces explored below with the purpose to generate agency and voice on social, political and cultural terms. Lefebvrian's (1991) ontology postulates that space is present in every action and life is inextricably linked with the production of different spaces. Using Lefebvre (1991) framework, we can observe three 'moments' in the production of space:

(a.) Representations of space (*conceived* space) which corresponds to mental / imagined construction of spaces perceived by land users, 'visioning practices, etc. This conceptualization of space highlights how the people of Hangberg draw on cognitive schemata (memory) to apply social knowledge as they engage in multiple linguistic and spatial practices to communicate these to others. They use this imagined enriching space to express their language choices, ideologies and social representations in different contexts, circumstances and through interactions.

(b.) Spatial practice (*perceived* space) embraces a very natural, physical, concrete (material) and objective space in which people relate daily (such as home, parks, schools and streets, so on). This space represents the people of Hangberg's perceptions/imaginations of the world through which they see themselves and negotiate a sense of self (identity) in their living surroundings.

(c.) Representational space (*lived* space) is a complex amalgamation of the conceived and the perceived space(s). For Lefebvre (1991) this lived space seeks

to denote qualitative, fluid and relational spaces, which are produced and modified over time as people cross and interact in it. It is fully imbricated in an individual's everyday life such to an extent that social life represents a constituent element where social relations and lived spaces blend in everyday.

Lefebvre (1991) views these three 'moments' as interconnected conventional spaces in which individuals live. In addition Dear (1997) states that "space has been lived in before it has been conceptualized and practices have generated from it and to some degree enveloped representation" (p.51). What this means is that space is lived in before it has been perceived and produced before it can be read (Dear, 1997:51). The study finds the above sentiments interesting because it explores space not as a dead or empty area in which individuals live and move across but as an organic, fluid and interactional space that produces discourse and communicative practices as it flows and collides with other spaces (Merrifield, 2000:171).

Lefebvre's (1991) notion of the production of space serves as inspiration in how spaces and places may be 'conceived', 'perceived' and, more importantly 'lived'. In this study, the researcher discusses space both in physical (place) and social (social life) terms, with particular focus on how both influence the representation of Hangberg people. This thesis shows that the media also play a critical role in the representation/production of identity and space. "It is one discursive medium through which...images [of subject and object] are generated and maintained, representing interactions to the public at large" (Ruddick, 1996:139). See in Chapter Six, journalists of the news article, '*Threat of Fresh Conflict in Hangberg*', presenting images of Hangberg (physically) as contested post-colonial space and socially characterised as having low social status in terms of

population (poor, working class that makes living from fishing opportunities) who are perceived through negative imagery representations - *crooks* implicated in abalone poaching (see news article, *Sea Snail that Turns Men into Crooks*). For Lefebvre, the (*lived*) representational space overlays the representation of space (*conceived*) which shaping the inhabitants' (*perceived*) discursive activities (spatial practices).

Both in Bourdieu's (1991) and Lefebvre's (1991) views on space, they highlight the issue of relationships in space, in terms of power (hierarchy), distance, rank of imposition and so forth. Bourdieu explicitly depicts the power struggle within space, which in turn creates social structures in terms of distinctions such as "orders, grades and all other symbolic hierarchies" (Bourdieu, 1991: 238). In this study, the researcher shows how the lived spaces of Hangberg manifested conflicts and tensions, these imaginaries geographies in the city display the struggle over place (land) and resources through its spatial practices (protests). In the upcoming chapters (Chapter Seven and Eight), we observe the continuous change of place and the right of people to act in ways which can be seen as various levels of resistance from street protests to graffiti practices.

One of the central interests in the re-theorising of space is the notion of people's sense of place. As people and cultures are located in space, it is particularly the idea of 'home' (understood as points of origin and belonging) that is inevitably bound up with specific geographical locations which they come to know and experience both sensually and intellectually (Entrikin,1991) through semiotic framing and various forms of discourse construal. Individuals create their identities in part through the process of geographical imagining, the locating of self in space, by sharing space and interacting with others,

and claiming the ownership of specific places, or being excluded from them (Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010:6). In the section, *'Identity and the reinvention of difference'*, the reader is able to see the different interactions and identities of the protesters (people) represented and configured in space and place – this adds to how place is constituted and who get constructed as 'legitimate' and 'authentic' Hangberg citizens.

Because Lefebvre (1991) work maintains its emphasis on the social production of space, the study argues that the three moments, 'the conceived, the perceived and the lived' can indeed capture the bodily experience towards space. What is important here is that the current study offers centrality to the body in multimodal communications, which reveals the habitus of participants that live, work and pass through space/place.

2.8 Body, space and habitus

When the researcher explored the social activities that occur within the social spaces of Hangberg (frame analysis Goffman, 1974), she could not ignore the role of the human body in such events. Hence, the concept of the 'body' is viewed through the physical lens to determine how performances of the participants of Hangbergare carried out in space/place. This would allow the thesis to place more emphasis on agency (affect value), voice and identity construction which shape the surfaces [and experiences] of the body for either speaking or acting in the world. Viewing the representations of the human body as alive and emergent in everyday life, the researcher adopts the term 'embodiment' as "indeterminate methodology device examining perceptual experiences, mode of presence and social engagement in discursive spaces" (Csordas, 1994:12). The researcher goes as far as to argue that embodiment could offer future researchers insight

into people's interactions in public spaces through the body as the semiotic landscape, framing co-production of multimodal representations.

As noted, this discussion of Lefebvre's *Production of Space* theory ties in with habitus framework (Bourdieu, 1991) as an embodied representation of space: "as *lived bodies* belong to *spaces*…and help to constitute them" (Casey, 1996:14). For that reason, thesis is considering the links between space, social action and identity. It is compelled not to declare the body and space dead (in their nominal form) but rather conceptualizing them as verbs (into a more agentive and creative activity). For example, Giddens (1984) has argued that space is not an empty dimension that social grouping networks become structured in but has to be considered in terms of its involvement in the constitution of systems in social interactions (p. 368). Anthony Gidden's (1984) argument reminds us how the body habits generate cultural features and social structure through dimensions of embodied rhythms (physical distance, body positioning) in context/ interaction. Mobile, embodied practices are central to how we experience the world from practices of writing and sensing, to walking and driving. Our mobilities create spaces and stories – "spatial stories" (Thrift, 2000:556).

Some credit must also go to Crouch's (2003) notion of 'spacing' that framed the subjective and practical ways in which a person handles his / her material surroundings, this includes dimensions of action and agency. Simply put, spacing is positioned here in terms of action to make sense of the flows of movements, languages, practices, identity negotiations, routine activities and multisensory performativities that are shaped and crafted of space (Crouch, 2003).

Lebrevé argues:

> "The whole of (social) space proceeds from the body, even though it is so metamorphoses, the body may forget it all together...within the body itself, the spatial is considered...The passive (senses) body and the active body (labour) converges in space" (Lebrevé, 1991:45).

Leading from this, the study further expands its discussion to the notion of the 'habitus' (Bourdieu,1977), considering the fact that social spaces are concerned with the reproduction of performative practices and the refiguring of negotiations of complex and fluid contemporary identities and values, which require the being of human body or the existence of the 'bodily' (Burkitt, 1999). Through our bodies, we expressively perform who we are, and signify 'habitual dispositions' (Bourdieu, 1977). That is how we think, feel and move in certain ways that operate below the levels of consciousness and stay with us as we move across different spaces and places (Bourdieu, 1991). These dispositions appear durable and produce (spatial) practices that align with the conditions of existence where the habitus itself is a product.
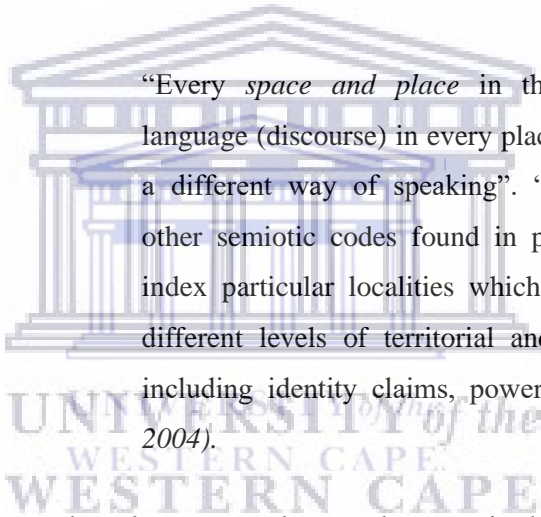
It is important to argue that Bourdieu's (1977) notion of 'habitus' does allow for agency on the part of the social actor - in this *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, he describes that through the routine practice of daily life, the social actor is seen to make choices rather than flowing rules in social spaces. Clearly, within the habitus framework, the body is not forgotten "its ability to reflect consciously on thought and sensation is spatially located" for symbolic means to communicate with the Self and Others (Burkitt, 1999:80). Bourdieu's notion of the habitus, and Low's (1996) position on the

'embodied spaces' redirects our understanding of how individuals semiotically interact within intersecting spaces. The work of these scholars' provides conceptual tools for analyzing the role of language within these interactions and how place is constituted is through the language usage. However, it should be noted that individuals' identity acts cannot only be read linguistically but also through multimodal representations (body, talk, dress, action, posture, gesture, movement and behaviour), upon which the social actors are judged and positioned.

The above embodiment themes will further be discussed in Chapter Seven, under sub-theme: *The phoenix rose again from ashes (segregation resurfacing at beaches) - The underneath* where the study expands upon embodied rhythms to illustrate how multimodal communication works in the space(s) of the city. More recent work of poststructuralist and feminist critiques of social subjectivity and embodiment (Donna Haraway, 1991; Judith Butler, 1990/2015) investigate the body not simply a site of inscription but a property of performance (for resistance and self-assertion). In the upcoming chapters (Chapter Seven), their contribution allow the study to show how the body in the modern era remains highly contested and politicized - signaling boundaries of separation (segregation) in an informal manner between racial groups in public (beach) spaces.The study will further bring attention to representation through and from bodies in distinctive ways–the body as site of violence (White women fearing of being rape or hurt by Black men); the body in accounts of fear and anxiety, the body in immoral behaviour *(*non-Whites accused of acting uncivilized); and the body recognized in racialized ways (perceived as inferior, Other) (also detailed in Chapter Seven).

In this next section, the study turns to a language approach to space and place [linguistic landscaping and geosemiotics] to illustrate how social space is exclusively linked to citizens' linguistic practices (their talking in the city). Malinowski (2008) reminds us that an account of the linguistic landscaping constitutes an active production of space through language, and thus allows us to see how different linguistic resources (discourses, style and genres) are used and different worlds evoked as people use their linguistic whereabouts around them.

2.9 Language approach to space and place

> "Every *space and place* in the world has its own language (discourse) in every place in the world one find a different way of speaking". "Speaking, writing and other semiotic codes found in place (through) signage index particular localities which orient people through different levels of territorial and societal stratification including identity claims, power relations" *(Johnstone, 2004).*

A much more recent approach to language, place and space, is the LL research, which explores the ways in which languages function in public spaces. Scholars such as Cresswell (2004); and Blommaert and Maly (2014) view place not just as mere geographically defined area but a site that includes a symbolic representation of social, cultural and political values, which are linked to speech communities. As Blommaert (2013) notes, "communication always takes place in a spatial arena, [which] imposes its own rules, possibilities and restrictions on communication" (p. 32). Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005) discussion on space (or place) are very relevant to this thesis, as

space is not an objective, neutral sociolinguistic variable but constitutive in organizing patterns of agency, voice, identity and multilingual and multimodal practices.

Likewise, Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005), the study argues for a more interdisciplinary approach, which is primarily concerned with the complex way how individuals inhabit, make use and are influenced by the organization of space. They take a broader focus explaining how spaces produce informal hierarchies of languages - 'give off' an ideological positioning of different language(s) and multimodal literacies practiced in public (Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck, 2005).This conceptualization of space is nowadays widely recognised in the disciplines of geography and sociology (see Harvey, 2006) and bring into line with Henri Lefebvre (1991) spatial theory, as previously discussed. As Lefebvre (1991) written about the importance of images and mental representations of space and the discourses framed in it. His work paves the way in understanding how space is constructed through spatial, social and linguistic practices.

Albeit Lefebvre's ideas do not sufficiently explain how language constructs space, the study gives recognition to Tuan (1977) and Lou (2007) conceptualizations that "words have the power to turn a space into a place" (p.14). They argue that linguistic tokens such as billboards or banners are not added on to a given physical space but are part of what makes and shapes this space, giving it cultural meaning and thereby turning it into place. From this perspective, space and place is defined by common social and linguistic practices in which small - scale language regimes develop. This argument is reflective of Landry and Bourhis (1997); Cenoz and Gorter (2006); and Leeman and Modan (2010) social positionings of the linguistic landscape framework, along with
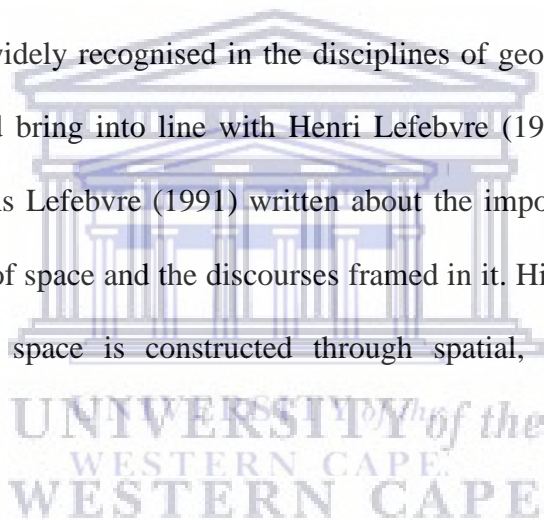
Scollon and Scollon's (2003) comprehensive geosemiotic analysis of language in the material world: *Discourse of Place*, which are referenced in the section below.

2.9.1 Linguistic Landscape

To begin this discussion, the study draws on a well-known and comprehensive definition of linguistic landscape as defined by Landry and Bourhis (1997) and state that**:**

> 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 (p. 25).

This notion of language use in public space (linguistic landscape) can directly be linked to the meanings of signs and their emplacement to the sociolinguistic reality of a place, which often correlates with the ethnolinguistic vitality of speakers (Landry and Bourhis, 1997). The above scholars further argue that important information and symbolic functions that call forth the relative power, status and identity of a particular speech community inhabiting territory" are all display on signs (Landry and Bourhis, 1997:23).

Cenoz and Gorter (2006) give a similiar suggestion that the linguistic landscape not only reflects the status of different languages in society but that it also act as a force shaping how languages are being perceived and used by the population. In this regard, focus is placed on languages that feature prominently, occasionally and those that are completely absent from the LL. This thesis would like to argue that analyzing the textual landscape of Hangberg can tell us more about the symbolic value of the

languages within that particular space as the LL does serve of a marker of social reality (having an information function), as well as contributing to the creating space and place (Rafael *et al*., 2006).

Placing further emphasis on this, there is an acknowledgement from the this study that public writings are not only significant in examining texts (the use of languages) in the landscape – as in recent years there has been a shift observed in LL research in 21st century as it begun to widen its scope. Several sociolinguistic studies convey a range of ways on how spatial, political and socio-economic factors impact text - as language and other semiotic resources (discourses, genres, styles, dialects and registers) are viewed as forms of recontextualized and resemiotised social practices across economically differentiated technologies, artefacts and spaces (see Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009). Leeman and Modan (2010) validate this point when they stated that words on the street are part 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 through the transformation of semiotics.

Like Leeman and Modan (2010), the current study explores under the theme of the linguistic landscape and geosemiotics, wider globalized processes of development and social change, concerning spatial, cultural, socioeconomic and linguistic practices. As phenomenon (globalization) is familiar to many of the world cities, today. Since democracy in 1994, for example, ordinary people and many business owners have migrated to Hangberg (to live) and Hout Bay harbour (to do trade), with such mobilities, we observe how diversity shaped and transformed these sites in post-apartheid. An increase or rapid development in multilingualism/multiculturalism was evident in the

linguistic landscape [on commercial architecture and at front of the shops windows], as new immigrants have access to these spaces.

Taking the representations of linguistic diversity above into account, the study based its argument, stating that an exploration on discourses and other subjective representations (literacy practices) in Hangberg and its surrounding areas would be ineffective without drawing upon a contextualized approach which focus on semiotic landscape as well as power relations because they provide insight into a sociolinguistics of mobility and linguistic localization within the space (e.g. Shohamy and Gorter, 2008; Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010; and Hanauer, 2009). The scholars above assert that despite Landry and Bourhis (1997), and Spolsky and Cooper (1991) advances in this area of research, the dynamics of LL has not been fully unpacked. According to them, the LL constitutes a field characterized by dynamics of relations of power highlighted in the nature of linguistic, social, cultural and political context. One such approach is relevant in Leeman and Modan (2010) and Scollon and Scollon (2003) studies, they assert that the presence (visibility) of an individual's language on signage creates the ideological and socio-political construction of the landscape (everyday ordinariness of place-making).

There is an acknowledgement from various scholars that political transformations had far-reaching consequences in practices of consumerism (Nuttall, 2009), spaces of consumption (Williams and Lanza, 2016) and with the constructions of identities. Considering this, the study sheds light on the transformative aspects of Hangberg (post-1994) through the LL as it relying on a geosemiotic analysis (Scollon and Scollon, 2003). This approach reposes three interlocking systems and/or cycles of discourse: interaction order, place semiotics and visual analysis (see upcoming analysis chapters).

2.10 Summary

This chapter provided a discussion of the literature review for the study. Here the study discussed the interconnections and blurred boundaries between globalization, mobility, language [including discourse, style and genre), multilingualism and space on a broader level. As evident, the author drew upon a theoretical approach that crosses boundaries to ambitiously link sociolinguistics, critical discourse analysis, multimodality, postmodern geographical theories and the poststructuralist work on identity. Through a delft bricolage of many scholars' work here, the study's aim was to provide multifaceted lens that grasps multilingual speech varieties, multimodal representations, ideologies and attachments, all of which surface in the texts of the semiotic/linguistic landscape and in the participants' discourses.

In the next section, the author provides literature on discourses of identities to illustrate the interconnections between discourse of language and identity in a globalized world.

Chapter Three

Discourses of Identity: Epistemological positioning and definition of terms

3.0 Introduction

This chapter is based on the epistemological positionings of a variety of scholars and some literature on the concept of identity. It also explores the notions of 'race' and the 'Other', acting as catalysts toward identity. Primarily, this thesis recognizes identity as a very complex concept to define. Within the broad field of discourse and identity, we find often numerous near-synonymous terms for identity: namely, the self, personality, category, person description, subjectivity, subject and persona, etc. This is problematic, in that there is no specific definition that truly captures the essence of identity that it is continually being experienced by people at national, local, institutional and individual level.

But what exactly is identity? According to Hall (1996) and Mahtani (2002), identity is not an "it" since this makes identity difficult to talk about. Benwell and Stokoe (2006) pointed out in their book, *Discourse and Identity*, who we are to each other is accomplished, disputed, ascribed, resisted, managed and negotiated through discourse. Identity for Hall (2006) is historically, not biologically, defined. He states that the subject assumes different identities at different times, identities that are not unified around a coherent Self. Mercer (1990) argued that with the increased urbanization, mobility, new technologies and globalization, we see a 'crisis' in identity whereby the imagined complete, unified, sedentary, stable and coherent conception of identity is

actually a fantasy as many of us are confronted by a fleeting multiplicity of possible identities (Hall, 2006). Old ethno-nationalist ways of constructing identity and belonging are being challenged by this conceived multi-dimensionality and fast, rapid change.

Considering popular culture (e.g. Rastafarianism in Hangberg, see Chapter Nine), we observe such crisis of identities in these discourses with characters, such as the young Rasta males' struggle every day to personify themselves as members of the movement while having their family members and community imposing different positionings and ways of being (styles) on them. This is relevant to the interview that the researcher had with one of the Rastas: he stated that his family is ashamed and disappointed in him smoking dagga (ganja or marijuana), that is illegal in their eyes (social stigmas). The subject explained that it is part of his religion - the sacramental function of ganja in meditation is to lift up the spirit and communicate with *Jah* (God) through this medium.

The researcher thus opts to use the term 'discourses of identity', which she uses to imply that identity is always in process, overlapping, performed and claimed at the same time. More importantly, identities are constructed at the interstices of multiple axes: age, race, class, religion, ethnicity, gender, generation, sexual orientation, geopolitical locale, institutional affiliation..." (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2006:16). Let us explore the sociopsychological and poststructuralist approaches in the interpretation of identity.

3.1. Sociopsychological approaches to identity

This section draws some insights from the sociopsychological (essentialist) approaches to examine the notion of identity. It could be argued that the notion of identity appeared

in the ancient times, before the 1600s. However, Benwell and Stokoe (2006) identify two historical periods in Western history, which gave rise to identity construction: the seventeenth century's Age of Reason or Enlightenment and the Romantic Movement in the first half of the nineteenth century. What is of interest is that these two periods show a bi-polarization in their conceptualization of identity, which were exclusively linked to the construction of 'Self' allied with 'Nature' (Taylor, 1989). In other words, rather than relying on the mind, the discovery of one true self is reflected outwardly through nature. This construction of Romantic Self speaks of nationalism, the perpetuations of "one people, one country" and the relationships between people and their living place (this speaks to the protest discourse *'We are Khoisan of Hangberg, not Coloureds'* in the upcoming chapters).

Nevertheless, these nineteenth century conceptions of identity are linked with morality, unity and mysticism. Such constructions generate and address identity as essential, natural, reified, singular, hermetically sealed and universal (see Potter and Wetherell, 1987). Scholars that used these sociopsychological approaches were obsessed with the existence of ethnic groups, highlighting that collective and individual identities are produced concurrently through interactions where group boundaries and membership are formed (see Juteau, 1989). In the last decade, many researchers began to see the shortcomings in using the sociopsychological approaches to theorize identity as a stable, intra-psychological, situation–transcendent trait shared by members of the collective cultural group (Noels *et al.,* 1996:246). Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) argued against these approaches that assume a one to one correspondence between language and ethnic identity, in that they shape homogenous cultures.

The sociopsychological (essentialist) approaches have been criticized by various scholars for its monolingual and monocultural bias in terms of identity, asserting that they are over-simplified models and far removed from the real life situations. In other words, they reduce complex socio-political, socio-economic and socio-cultural factors that shape subjects between various groups in multilingual contexts. On the other hand, these models of essentialism are not only characteristics of language and ethnicity (ethnolinguistic groups and their ethnolinguistic vitality) but have been characterised by the nexus of race and class in the South African contexts. Historically, more so than anywhere in the world, the political, economic and social status of every individual in South Africa was conditioned, if not predetermined by categories of race.

Moreover, the human population of South Africa underwent essentialist constructions during colonialism and apartheid, divided into discrete and stable groups (i.e. Bushmen, Khoisan, Bantu, Coloured and European) each with its own distinctive physical, cultural and intellectual characteristics. Today these racial categories have gained widespread acceptance. We hear these racial/ethnic terms being used on the radio and television, we read them in newspapers and use them in daily conversations. In Chapter Six, we draw on CDA in our media analysis (investigating newspapers and social media interactions) along the axes of race and class to examine the discriminatory practices and racially determined stereotypes that often appear in the media despite South Africa's much lauded transition to democracy. Here the study draws on the work of Van Dijk (1991/ 1997) who looked at how the press and the media contribute to what is called "new racism" by using a discourse analytical approach.

In the next section, the researcher draws on the concepts of 'race' and the 'Other', as she seeks to understand these perceptions in the (re)constructions of identities and the (re)production of power imbalances under the colonialist, apartheid and post-apartheid discourses.

3.2 Identity as categorization: Concepts race and the Other

Early critical studies have exposed the historical emergence of the concepts of 'race' and 'Other' by investigating how the White European colonialist discourse were formed in the slave trade experiences and slavery institutions. This leads the researcher into discussions of cultural theorists Paul Gilroy and Stuart Hall who were key figures problematizing the discursive construction of the West and the Rest (Hall, 1992) and the concept of race (Gilroy, 2002). Hall pointed out that 'the West' is not a fact of geography but a historical construct that was produced and (re)produced in colonialist discourse and it functions to classify societies and people into different essentialist categories. Hall (1992: 276) goes on to state: "It produces knowledge about the superior (White) West and the inferior (non-White) Rest; it discursively constructs both the binary categories of cultural Self and Other and binary sets of knowledge about them" (e.g., the civilized, advanced, superior West versus the uncivilized, primitive, inferior Rest).

Race is constructed in these colonialist approaches that forge intimate connections between privilege and oppression (Nash, 2008:12). In tandem, race is very much related to the conception of the Other (Said, 1978). The 'Othering' refers to the practice of comparing ourselves to others and at the same time distancing ourselves from them (Palfreyman, 2005). The markers of differentiation shape the meaning of 'Us' and

'Them' and are based on factors of race, geography, ethnicity and ideology. Sowell (1994:10) argues that the Othering consists in objectification of another person or group that ignores the complexity and subjectivity of the individual (this concept of Othering is positioned of multiple marginalizations). Pennycook (1998:129) argued that "one of the central aspects of colonial discourse has been to construct the native Other (people of colour) as backward, dirty, primitive, depraved, childlike, feminine, then on the other side, there has been the construction of the colonisers, their language, culture and political structures as advanced, superior, modern, civilised, masculine, mature and so on".

Considering Pennycook's perspective, the poststructuralists (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004); Hall, 2006; Bhabha, 1994); and Bakhtin, 1981) argued that the colonialist has to construct an inferior, the racial Other in order to know who he/she is (Self). This view of Pennycook resonates with our research, as it established the negative connotations linked to Otherness through the Cape Hangberg discourse. This is due to preconceived notions and prescribed identities given to the people of Hangberg. In the upcoming chapters, the study shows how racist ideologies are embedded in, and reproduced through discourse. In particular, the study highlights how Hangbergers are represented along negative associations attached to their identity: perceived as poachers (men turn into crooks by sea snails), as stupid animals that should be tied to ropes, as illegal land invaders, and as Khoisan primitives. The *Cape Times*, *Weekend Argus* newspaper articles and online - interactions (Hartley's Facebook comments) cover topics related to the negative characterizations highlighted above (see in Chapter Six). The reciprocal constitution of these stereotypes based on race, racism and Otherness are typical examples of the construction of identity through racial oppression and discrimination in

post-apartheid context, as we investigate the South African press. Exploring this, the study was able to highlight the reconstruction/reproduction of race and racism through discourse practices (Wodak and Riesgl, 1999: 176).

In the latter sections of Chapter Seven, the study demonstrates through an embodied analysis how segregation and racial practices still occur in South African public spaces (Hout Bay beach, near Hangberg). Here the study focuses on the materiality of body and indicate that it functions as semioscape (semiotic landscape) in which racial nuances are displayed. The study further discusses how the racial behaviour of Whites is justified by uncivilized, immoral behaviour of the Other. In this regard, the Other would be the non-White people who were discriminated against because of their physical and linguistic characteristics and associations (see sub-themes: *The phoenix rose again from ashes (segregation resurfacing at beaches) - The underneath; Filth, appearance and uncivilized behaviour used to defend and justified xenophobia, racism and segregation in post-apartheid*). According to such findings, Said's (1978) construct of 'Otherness' allows the study to bring the argument forth that Whites in South Africa could be seen as racist – as they fear non-Whites because they do not know who they are without them.

The above perspective is similar to what Fanon (1952) pointed out in his book, *Black Skin, White Masks,* "They [Whites] have to know who they *are not* in order to know who they *are*" (p.70). To be clear, Fanon knows what it is to be Black when the White child pulls the hand of her mother and says, "Look momma, a Black man". He says, "I was fixed in that gaze" (Fanon, 1952:75) that is the gaze of Otherness. Accordingly, there is no identity that is without the dialogic relationship to the Other. Meaning, the

Other is not outside but also inside the Self in relation to identity (Hall, 1991:16). This is significant as we can safely assume that identities are always in relation to/with others and not separate. Hall (1991) was one of those critics of sociopsychological approaches who launched a deconstruction of identity in a poststructuralist approach, which moved away from essentialist constructions (of race, ethnicity and otherness) to the dialectic Self and Other. According to Hall "within us, we have contradictory identities pulling in different directions so that our identifications are continuously being shifted about" (Hall, 2006:251).

This approach of the poststructuralists helps the researcher to investigate and understand the complex, non-static identity negotiation of bodies through aesthetics, language and embodied practices as well as racial ideologies privileging 'Whiteness' and degrading 'non-Whiteness'.

3.3 Poststructuralist approaches to language and identities

First and foremost, the study concurs with Mercer (1990:34) that "identity only becomes an issue when something is assumed to be fixed, coherent, stable and displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty". As Derrida (1967) demonstrates, things are not as clear- cut or as stable as it would first seem (he refers to identities and discursive practices), they are more "fluid". Fluidity is a useful term when looking at discourses of identities and language through a poststructuralist and interdisciplinary frameworks.The study takes a poststructuralist stance in the conceptualization of identity, as more and more researchers see identity as non-essential, discursively constructed, contingent, subjective, fluid, hybrid, multiple and fragmented (Potter and Wetherell,1987).

The above conceptions of identity are linked to the poststructuralist and sociolinguistic theories, as those offered by Weedon (1997) on subjectivity; diaspora by Hall (1990); hybridity by authors such as Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), Bhabha (1994) and Bakhtin (1981); crossing by Rampton (1995); and constructions of Self and Other (Hall, 1992/2006; Said, 1978). The poststructuralist approach is pragmatic for this thesis as it pays attention to socio-historically moulded bias, contestability, instability and mutability of ways in which language use, ideologies and identities are linked to the relations of power and political arrangements in societies (Blackledge, 2005).

In line with this approach, this study provides a socio-historic context of both previous and current foundations of the Coloured Hangberg community, showing that "language usage in multilingual societies are embedded in historical, political, socio-economic and cultural systems" (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004:10) (see Chapter One in the section, *Telling history: Retracing Hangberg through Khoisan roots*). In the same way, Rampton (1995) draws on a sociolinguistic approach that conveys a range of ways in which people use languages, language varieties, codes, dialects to appropriate, explore, reproduce or challenge influential images and stereotypes of groups to which they do not themselves belong (emphasis on language crossing). This approach highlights how Hangberg people undermine hegemony by the use of counter-hegemonic discourses (multilingual speech patterns) in their everyday life.

Pavlenko and Blackledge highlight their agreement with Rampton, claiming that "code-switching or language crossing needs to be examined not as a unique phenomenon but as a part of a series of linguistic practices that people use to realize their goals and to defy hegemony and domination" (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2006:12). In accordance

with the poststructuralist approach, the code-switching in multilingual practices of Hangbergers is a means of negotiating identities as the "invention and use of new linguistic varieties" (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2006:23). Textual carnival through performative multilingual language play in Hangberg is an alternative linguistic repertoire, a way to construct the newness and inventive nature of Cape discourse. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2006) remind us that the construction of languages are achieved by exploring identities as performative actions where identity negotiation is embedded in discourse rather than rigidly fitted into pre-existing and contextually distanced criteria.

3.3.1 Hybridity as third space: Multiplicity and fragmentation

A major contribution of the poststructuralist approaches is that they draw attention to "hybrid, transgendered, and multiracial identities that have been ignored by pointing to the splits and fissures in categories which were previously seen as bounded or dichotomous" (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004:13). The scholars show a keen interest, highlighting previously marginalised hybrid identities and arguing for a move away from essentialist constructions that have dominated discourse research (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2006). The poststructuralist approaches explain "at times, fragmentation and splintering give birth to new, hybrid, identities and linguistic repertories and new discourses of gender, sexuality, class, ethnicity and race that may bring with them new identity options, just as other options may be fading into background" (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004:17). These aspects of identities display their multiplicity.

Hybridity is posited as the 'third space' that results from fragmentation hence the necessity to steer away from rigid forms of recognition, acceptance and exploration of

the roles of other variables. Exploring hybridity affords recognition to emerging identity options and linguistic repertoires that have previously been ignored (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2006:16). This brings the discussion to the nature of this study, exploring how the Hangberg community's linguistic repertoires are socially practiced, distributed and structured to give rise to hybrid identities in late modernity. It is argued that the Hangberg Coloured discourse is performed through linguistic, cultural and religious practices in various contexts, which undermine dominant discourses of identity. The carnival celebrations of the Hangberg Klopse (*Hangberg Coons*) and the scenes of the Rastafari lifestyle expressions in the upcoming chapters is what can be considered a third space (Bhabha, 1994/1996), a form of counter hegemonic discourse or practice. For Bhabha, negotiation of identity for minority populations involves creating an in between or liminal space of culture - a third space in which the fixed identities of the traditional societal order do not hold sway, and hybrid identities can be performed and affirmed (Bhabha, 1996:54).
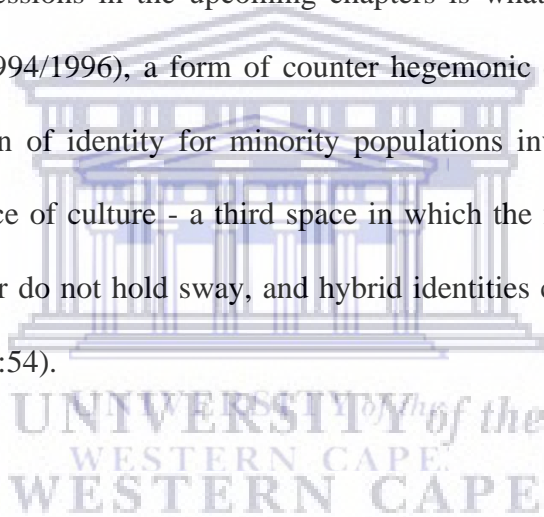
3.4 Summary

This chapter discussed the notion of identity with the sociopsychological (essentialist) approaches. These models are critiqued for the reason that they assume a one-to-one correspondence between language and ethnic identity (as they do not suit linguistic practices and the negotiations of identities that are performed outside of the predictable boundaries set forth by these frameworks). It was also essential to review studies on the construction of race and the Other and their role in relations of power, with the aim to explore the formation of racial ideologies and classifications, particularly in the South African context. Exploring the concepts of race and Otherness in post-apartheid context, the study offered an epistemological account of the body ingrained in racist ideologies

and attitudes within social spaces through relations of power (to include/welcome people in space or to exclude those considered as the Other).

As Dixon (1997:18) points out "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). It was evident that the walking of dogs on the beach spaces of Hout Bay serve as vehicle of protection as violence upon the White body becomes a hallmark in post-apartheid. Fear of crime is predominately concentrated amongst Whites. Therefore, we see racial groups are segregated in terms of interaction in public spaces.This discourse separateness can also be traced with the building of high walls in White residential areas of Hout Bay (racialized spaces), which serves as protection for the residents. The constant occurrence of issues of race and its effects in societies remains important for investigation.

As a result of the context in which the study is embedded, it was important to elaborate on the poststructuralist approaches endorsed by (Pavlenko and Blackledge,2006; Bhabha, 1994; Hall, 1990; Bakhtin, 1981; and Rampton, 1995) on the instabilities of identities as they flag multiple discontinuities and hybridities at the interstices of geographical, linguistic and cultural contact. In Chapter Nine, we see how the people of Hangberg, particularly the youth re-ascribe their identities through a global popular culture in post-modernity. The male individuals use popular culture (their affiliation with the Rastafarian movement) to rework their identities to exhibit their selfhood through the smoking of ganga/dagga, fashion clothing, reggae music and the use of Dread Talk (Dolby, 2001). Additionally, they "appropriated aspects of the global Jamaican Rastafarian culture as a medium for the expression of issues relating to racism

and the problem of national identity…to become a localized form of cultural expression" (Bennett, 1999:77). Bennett's work on hip-hop culture in Germany demonstrates similar processes this study identifies regarding the Rastafari culture in Hangberg – places where the local and the global are mutually constituted through dynamic and complex processes that bring identity to the forefront (Bennett, 1999: 77).

The researcher considered identity as a process, of intersecting identificatory continua, along which individuals locate themselves and others – and through these intersections, identities are constantly (re)produced. The emphasis here is on multiple identifications, their mutability and dynamism, considering not only the "being" of identity but its "becoming" (Yon, 1999).
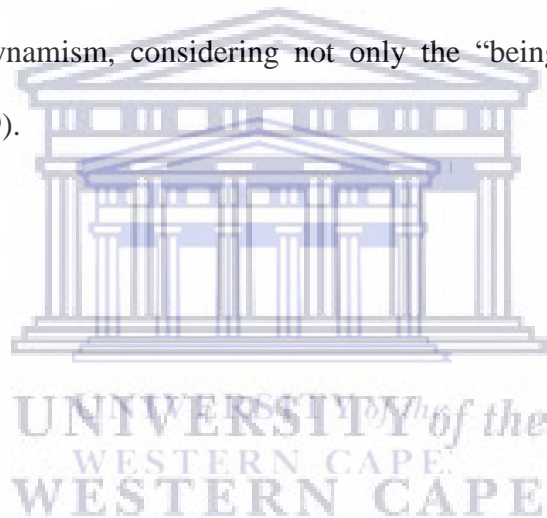
Chapter Four

Theoretical and Analytical Framework: Merging CDA and MDA

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the study presents an interdisciplinary analytic framework. The study draws upon Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Multimodal Discourse Analysis analytical and theoretical frameworks. The researcher uses CDA to draw out oppressive and hegemonic ideologies and attitudes that would otherwise remain opaque. On the other hand, the MDA is used to account for the multisemiotic data used in this thesis. The reason for such an interdisciplinary framework is simply based on the strengths of both approaches when working collectively rather than independently. Such fusion "places a number of restrictions on individual cognitive biases and... useful way of dealing with the incremental effect of discourse" in mixed composition of written and visual representations (Kress, 2010). By using an MDA framework, the study is able to adopt other analytic concepts, such as resemiotisation and semiotic remediation, to trace intertextualised and recontextualized processes in media discourses and in the artefacts of LL as main meaning-making tools across different modalities and activities. Such multimodal forms of communication suggest that material and generic traces are reframed and repurposed within its new contexts (Prior and Hengst, 2010:142) for new meanings across different semiotic modes.

Given the range of studies that successfully applied the frameworks of CDA and MDA for sociolinguistic and multisemiotic purposes, it is beyond doubt that the combination of both has a lot to offer for this thesis where the key inquiries are based on the LL research, and media representations on the research community. In addition, the two

analytic frameworks are relevant in answering the research questions (seen here as an advantage for this field of study).

4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis, a well-established theoretical and methodological framework in sociolinguistic studies has influenced this study. Fairclough and Wodak (2010: vii) argue, "CDA has been created in the world of applied linguistics and discourse analysis, a way of systematically approaching the relationships between language and social structure". Hence, its objective is to explore how discourse (re)produces and maintains relations of dominance and inequality (see Van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Wodak and Meyer, 2001). The use of CDA in exposing power relations in texts makes it highly significant for this study. In addition, a methodology in studying discourse, CDA is crucial in establishing hidden ideologies in the corpus of print media and social media (newspaper articles and Facebook comments), individual narratives and written and visual texts in the LL of Hangberg. In line with this, Woodard and Schieffelien (1994) assert that ideologies are never only about language; they mediate and construct people's experiences (through stereotypes and discrimination) as well as influencing perceptions of identities.

With particular reference to media texts (newspapers), the study shows through a CDA investigation how the Cape Coloured identity [of Hangberg men] is realised at the micro-discursive level of linguistic features and positioned by biased ideological aspects (see headline of newspaper article in Chapter Six: '*Sea snails that turn men into crooks*'). With such interpretations and explanations, CDA functions as a powerful tool to read off language constituents, the nominations and construction of identities (crooks)

and social practices (poaching) within discourse/ texts (Fairclough, 1992:10). This shows that CDA is a "sociolinguistic research tool that facilitates a simultaneous focus on the linguistic features of a text (such as vocabulary, grammar, semantics, and graphological or phonological features) and on social structures and practices underlying a text" (Hanrahan, 2010:150). Hanrahan's perspective is slightly different from the position of O'Halloran (2010:563), which focuses only on the relationship between language power and ideology.

Hanrahan (2010), likewise Fairclough (1995) is particularly interested in language as a social practice as well as the investigation into discourse as a social phenomenon in relation to linguistic and non-linguistic communicative practices. In other words, these scholars have moved away from the analysis of individual decontextualized texts to look at the sociocultural factors that lie behind the production of particular types of texts and social practices. Using CDA as analytic tool for this study is useful, as it:

(a.) is concerned with analysis at micro and macro levels of social practices and structures, with regards to language use, performances of genres, discourses and styles in context (Fairclough, 1995/2003; Hanrahan, 2010).

(b.) offers insight on where discourses are produced, distributed and consumed within society and the relationship between discourse and social power by describing how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimised by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions (Van Dijk, 1993; Bourdieu, 1991).

(c.) can also be used to critique texts in terms of the ideological effects and the hegemonic processes (domination of power) in which discourse, events and social practices occur, given its roots in the social theory (Gramsci, 1971).

(d.) offers interpretations [translations] of new meanings in texts through references of intertextuality and recontextualization - showing transformation of discourse practices and prior (earlier) use of discourse/texts in social contexts (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Bernstein, 1990).

Thus, considering the above perspectives, the focus on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) allows for a rich understanding regarding issues of identity construction and/or deconstruction as well as analysing how meaning is socially and culturally negotiated in news texts (newspapers), advertisements and other public texts. Exploring the linguistic resources in the textual landscape, ideological effects present in media texts, different forms of linguistic hybridity in Hangbergers linguistic repertoires, CDA as a tool allows us to consider intertextualised and recontextualized references in the negotiation of meaning, born out of the multimodal composition of texts. The intertextual processes illustrate that the meaning of a text cannot be exclusively derived from itself. Texts may be worded in ways that presuppose other and prior texts. Given this link, this study is interested in how old texts affect new contexts and how contexts alter the rhetorical force of text, such in a way that a text can accrete contextuality (Van Leeuwen, 2009; Hiramoto and Sung-Yul Park, 2012).

4.2 Intertextuality and recontextualization: Discourse/text analytic tools

The concepts of intertextuality and recontexualization are essential to do an analysis of the language use when studying media texts and discourses as well as the texts visible in public space. The term intertextuality was first coined by Kristeva (1969) and is largely associated with theorists such as Bakhtin (1986), Lemke (1985), Fairclough (1992), and Hiramoto and Sung-Yul Park (2012). Kristeva situates intertextuality, as referring to the different ways texts and prior texts are connected to each other. In this regard, how the texts on social media and newspaper articles relate to those already known by Hangberg readers. Intertextuality is one tool that the media uses to tap into shared linguistic, socio-economic, cultural and political knowledge. Fairclough looks at intertextuality in his work on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Fairclough defined intertextuality in the following way, "the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts that may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth" (Fairclough, 1992:84). In CDA, Fairclough (1992) sees intertextuality as form of recontextualization. He suggests that the notion of recontextualization captures this process of intertextuality because texts are taken from their previous contexts and recontextualized for new meaning (Fairclough, 1992; Wu, 2010). Recontextualization is a notion first developed by Bernstein (1990/1996) in his study on pedagogy. It refers to a process in which texts, signs or meanings are extracted from one social practice and introduced into another. It emphasises the shifts of meanings either within one genre – as in different versions of a specific written text – or across semiotic dimensions (Bernstein, 1990; Wodak, 2000). It is a dynamic transfer and transformation of something from one discourse/text-in-context to another (Linell, 1998). Despite the various definitions of recontextualization,

this study adopts the one proposed by Fairclough (1992, 2003, and 2004); Linell (1998); and Wodak (2000), which refers to the relocation of discourse elements from their original context/practice and their appropriation in new context and practice. The scholars view regard transformation as tangible linguistic changes when one discourse is converting from one social practice to another.

See in Chapter Six, many newspapers engaged in intertextuality and recontextualization, framing Hartley's racist Facebook rant differently in the headlines. This study builds on the recontextualization and transformation processes involved in Vanessa Hartley's racist comments on Facebook. In Chapter Six, the author does a comparative analysis with the original Facebook post of Vanessa Hartley and the recontextualized print version of her story in the *Sentinel News* (news article), entitled 'Anger over racist rant'. The Facebook sample shows how hate speech and racist ideologies are articulated on social media, and then given new meaning through intertextual and recontextualized chains, as original texts get transformed, recycled, reused and retold by many other newspaper journalists that result in the production of many more versions.

Having explained CDA's analytic procedures as well as analytical insights into intertextuality and recontextualization, the study moves to the Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) framework below. This study is theoretical and thus, provides an inclusive analysis on both the linguistic and visual aspects of texts in connection with the media discourses (Facebook comments and newspaper articles), and the LL of Hangberg (public texts).

4.3 Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA)

This section focuses on Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) under the broader area of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), as the main tool for this study. Kress (2010) defines mode as a social semiotic resource for meaning-making. Multimodality is the use of multiple modes for meaning-making. The term multimodality comes from the field of linguistics, taking into account different modes of communication that include the use of other semiotic resources such as gesture, sound, music and symbols (Kress, 2010; Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; Iedema, 2003). Likewise, for Levine and Scollon (2004) and O'Halloran (2004), multimodality is concerned with the analysis of multimodal texts and semiotic systems combined in multimodal phenomena, in other words, different modes of communication (material and virtual spaces shopping, electronic discourse, vocational training and service encounters) and the construct of meaning.

In respect of the above sentiment, the realization is that language cannot function in isolation without other semiotic modes. In other words, language does not occur as sole mediational means by which an action is taken. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001) taking a similiar stance, suggesting that "actions tend to be inherently multimodal, a currently popular term for what should be apparent in any event". In the book, *How to do Critical Discourse Analysis*, Machin and Mayr's (2012) hypothesis congealed into a multimodal discourse analysis, showing how images, photographs, diagrams and graphics work together in creating meaning from multiple communication modes. As Iedema (2007) argues, "multimodality provides the means or platform to describe a practice or representation in all its semiotic complexity and richness" (p.39).This is because language, whether written or spoken can be realised through intersemiotic shifts that

involve resemiotisation.This sheds light on the "analytical means for...tracing how semiotics are translated from one into another as social processes unfold" (Iedema, 2003:30).

To be more precise, the rationale behind this viewpoint of multimodality is that multiplication of meanings takes place in multi-semiotic texts (Lemke, 1998) and the discourse shifts between different resources and across different contexts as social practices. In conjunction, O'Halloran (1999a; and Royce 1998) takes us to another dimension of the interpretation of multimodality by identifying semiotic metaphors that refer to the new semantic reconstruals and expansions, occurring intersemiotically with shifts between semiotic codes. Using multimodality is thus one avenue to investigate the sociolinguistics factors in the LL of the research setting (Hangberg) and the media discourses related to the neighbourhood (presentations of print media and social media publications). Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006) show us the way images and verbal texts are juxtaposed. This allows for an analysis of multimodal images drawing on analytic categories such as modality (colour saturation, differentiation, depth, brightness, etc.), composition (either centered, circular or center-margin), or polarized (given – new, ideal – real), which contribute to the eventual findings of this thesis. These elements are at work in the artefacts of the LL of Hangberg (written and visual texts) and media representation (newspapers), their constructs of the Cape Coloured Hangberg identity. We consider some of the design features as textual organisation in this study.

4.3.1 Multimodality as conceptual tool of SFL

The study situates multimodality in the area of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) developed by Halliday (1978), as conceptual tool for further data analysis (visual representations). Although SFL originally applied to language, it rests essentially on the basic assumption of language as social semiotic construct. Therefore, it is appropriate to interpret SFL as a semiotic theory based on visual analysis rather than a particular theory of language. Working in this direction, the study explores and observes multiliteracies that compose multimodal texts across different semiotic systems, for example visual communication - gesture, music to encode action, or images to encode emotion (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001).

This thesis draws extensively on the analytical framework introduced by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006) in the book, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. They expanded on Halliday's (1994) linguistic analysis (ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings) to interpret multimodalities, including verbal texts and visual texts by offering a useful toolkit for the reading of images. Kress and Van Leeuwen adopted what they perceived as the appropriate terminology for visual sign-making (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996/2006). Under ideational, they refer to representational (narrative and conceptual) meanings; under interpersonal, they refer to interactive meanings; and under textual, the compositional meanings. In this light, the idea of applying Systemic Functional Linguistics (see Halliday, 1994) to images derived from Kress and Van Leeuwen's assumption that:

"Visual structures realize meanings as linguistic structures do also. (…). For instance, what is expressed in language through the choice between different

word classes and semantic structures is, in visual communication, expressed through the choice between, for instance, different uses of colour, or different compositional structures" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996:41).

Considering the above, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) argue that these functions (three meanings) are not restricted to spoken and written languages alone but are realised by visual images and multimodality captures precisely the dynamic interplay between written language and visual images in performing these functions. In this regard, this study represents the three main semiotic systems (meanings) in the case of the *Weekend Argus*, *Cape Times*, *Sentinel* newspapers and the artefacts of the LL as they reflect the multimodalities of verbal text and visual text. These three meanings are further classified into the following evaluative categories:

- visual representation of social actors (ideational meaning)
- semiotic relations of viewer and image (interpersonal meaning)
- compositional interpretation of multi-semiotic texts (textual meaning)

4.3.1.1 Visual representation of social actors

As previously mentioned, this study evaluates Kress and Van Leeuwen's pedagogical application of Visual Grammar (1996), the description that various kinds of visuals organize and represent their representational meanings (ideational). With actual purpose, the study focuses on the ways visuals attempt to address the represented participants (social actors) and the ideologies and attributes attach to them in the ideational/representational content, which derive from Kress and Van Leeuwen's assumption. In the linguistic system of SFL, the ideational metafunction is realized by a clause representation, largely through the system of transitivity. This semantic system of

transitivity deals with types of different processes (material, verbal, behavioural, identifying) associated with its participants and circumstances, which explain in the most general way how phenomena of the real world are represented in linguistic structures (Halliday, 1985:102).

SFL also deals with the methods used by human beings to build a mental picture of reality through mental processes, to make sense of their experience of what goes on around them and inside them (Halliday, 1994). This category grants allowance to look *who* (social actor) is responsible for processes and actions and how their opinions and ideologies are encoded in discourses and social practices. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), the SFL linguistic system presents some similarities with regards to their semiotic categories, as the study attempts to illustrate above. In the representational structures, they discussed the image of grammar (news pictures, advertisements, protest signs) also through the configurations of participants (people, objects), events (processes) and circumstantial information (when, where, how things happen) to highlight human experience at a visual level.

In addition, the social actor's analysis (Van Leeuwen, 1996) can help us to find out how people (social actors or participants) are identified, categorized and evaluated both linguistically and visually. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) proposed that reading (viewing) a visual involves two kinds of participants the interactive participants, and the represented participants. See Chapter Six, in the section, *'Negative Other-presentation in 'Sea Snail that Turns Men into Crooks',* the study draws on the social actor analysis, under Van Leeuwen's (1993/1996) concepts of nomination realized by negative <u>proper nouns</u>: whereby the fishermen are characterized as *crooks* and *marijuana smokers*, by

name and surname: *Colin Abrahams* identified by <u>social activity in society</u>: his involvement in *poaching*. This level of analysis was important, as it allowed us to focus on the identities of the social actors who were determined by information that was based on personal opinions rather than on facts – informed by stereotypes.

Exploring the above, this thesis was able to demonstrate how visual (media) discourses are used to propagate various ideologies on the subjectivities of social actors that are determined by the processes of the transitivity system. It is safe to say that visual pictures and written texts are objective and subjective traces of socio-semiotic power struggles (poverty and economic inequality), ideologies (sense making practices on racism) and identities (stereotypes), which are realized by elements of the ideational content.

4.3.1.2 Semiotic relations of image and audience

When we look at visual and verbal communications, they are also concerned with the representation of social relations, in this case between the visual image and the viewer or audience. All images have their space organized in some way and there are two related aspects of this organization to be considered: the organization of space within an image, and the way the spatial organization of an image offers a particular viewing position to its spectators. In a socially constrained context, one way in which the interpersonal complementarity between the visual and verbal components in multimodal texts can be examined is through an analysis of intersemiotic mood, or the ways that both the modes address the viewers/readers. In the linguistic system in SFL, the interpersonal metafunction is realized in a clause exchange of an interactive event in which the speaker or writer addresses the audience. He/she could be making statements,

asking questions, making offers or command them to carry out actions (Halliday, 1985). This may relate intersemiotically to the ways that the visuals address the viewers.

Considering the above, mood as a visual component draws on different methods that do not fit with the verbal (linguistic) categories. Nonetheless, visuals often need verbal support to make the speech function clear. For example, in an advertisement, a visual offer of goods and services often supported by a verbal contact address, where printed (written) questions are used to complement (questioning) facial expressions. A vector drawn from some point of origin to the viewer's face (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1990:30) can realise this. That said, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) assert that in Western cultures, visuals generally perform only these two image acts: 'offer' and 'demand' and not the full range of Halliday's (1994) three primary speech functions - declarative, imperative and interrogative moods. Evaluating visual images through the codes of 'offer' and 'demand' allows us to identify the following mood aspects: contact, social distance and point of view.

4.3.1.2.1 Contact

Contact relates to the appearance of the images. This is a visual resource concerned with how the image of a person lookingdirectly or indirectly at the viewers. The aspect of importance here is the relation between the sets of participants involved in the viewing of the visuals. What this tells us is that the two participants (the producer and the viewer of image) interchangeably influence each other in the communication process. Taking the examples of interviewing or spoken communication, the interactive participants are usually seen as the speaker-listeners (who can in turn reverse roles). They may not

physically be there (a typical situation), or they could be the speakers and listeners themselves.

However, with visuals there is no physical speaker. The viewer is alone with the visual and there is no opportunity for turn taking as in speech-based communication. In the contact system, images can make either an offer or a demand to the viewer. The realization of a visual demand is determined by the presence or absence of a gaze, which indicates a form of direct or indirect address to the viewer (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996/2006). This gaze creates a vector between the eye line of the represented and interactive participant, demanding a response of some kind. This may often be supported by some kind of physical gesture. The animate represented participant(s), that could be human or animal (mostly human) will demand something via one or more pairs of eyes looking directly at the viewer and what is demanded by the represented participant(s) in the image depends entirely on how the look is conveyed.

In the offer visual (or) picture, there is no requirement from the viewer to enter into some kind of imaginary social relation with the represented participant. In visuals where offers are being made, the represented participants are always looking away from the viewer - there is no look being projected directly at the viewer. In other words, the represented participant gazes away with the face in a direction where it hides - no socio-relational call on the viewer.
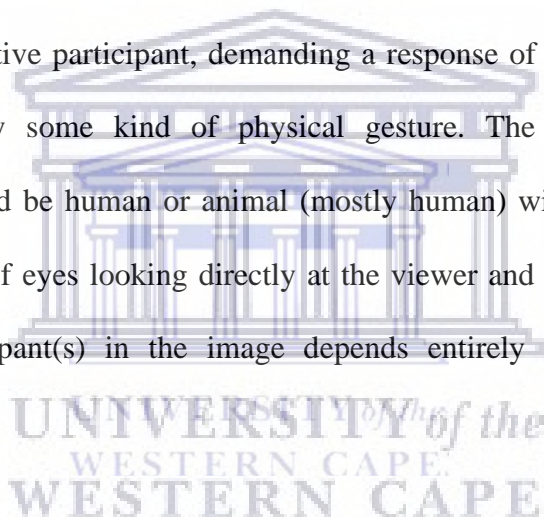
4.3.1.2.2 Social distance

To stretch this further, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006) also speak about the social distance between the participants and the viewers. It is important to highlight here that social distance is mainly concerned with the social relations between participants; they may be long-term relationships in which they are seen as intimates, friends, colleagues, acquaintances, total strangers, and so forth; or short-term relationships that last until the actual communicative event. Social distance has to do with how close or far away, the viewer is relative to the presented object.

Jewitt and Oyama (2001) observed that images bring people, places and things to those who view them. Social relations through distance can be realized through the frame size of the picture. The size of the frame affects how much of the human body is shown in the visual frame, giving different shots such as the close-up, the medium shot and the long shot. These are all techniques that derive from cinematography and photography (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1990).

4.3.1.2.3 Point of view

In connection to the above, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) speak about the angle of shots through the concept of point of view. According to the authors, point of view has to do with the angle at which the picture is viewed, whether it is a vertical or horizontal angle (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996:135). The angle at which an image is viewed determines the interpretation of the viewer that, in turn makes the picture subjective or not. The vertical angle is an important element in interactive (interpersonal) meaning in visuals in that it allows for the establishment of power relations between the viewer and the represented participants.
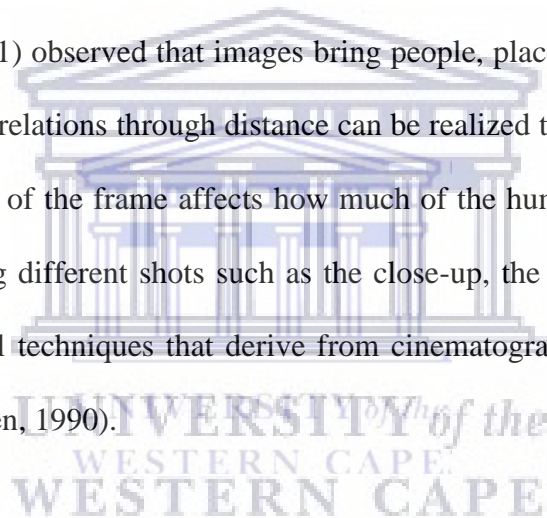
These relations are also important and operate in the ways that visuals attempt to project meanings. The major difference is that the viewer is the subject that may or may not have the power, rather than the participants in visual communication. Thus, if the viewer from a high angle or from 'above' views the represented participant, then the interactive participant (the viewer) is deemed to have a more powerful position relative to the represented participant. The relation is reversed when the angle is one of the represented participants being in a lower position.

Furthermore, if the represented participant is at the same level as the interactive participant, then the relation is one of equality, or of neutral power. Following Kress and Van Leeuwen (1990), an eye-level angle suggests a sense of equality between the viewer and the represented participants. In the horizontal angle and degrees of involvement, the power relation is a continuum, or a matter of degrees of power (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996).

4.3.1.3 Compositional design of multi-semiotic texts

This section deals with the relevant compositional meanings in visual grammar. The compositional interpretation remains a useful method because it offers a way of looking very carefully at the content and form of images. Elements in a visual or a text are arranged to give a sense of a coherent structural message to the viewers. This social semiotic visual analysis resource deals with resources similar to the textual metafunction features of grammar. The term composition is employed to capture and analyze how multimodal systems of meaning (advertisement, photograph, text, and street signs) are composed to construct its message. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) proposed three main areas of meaning-making potential within the textual metafunction:

information value, salience, colour and framing inform the reader on the compositional organization of the visual text.

4.3.1.3.1 Information value

Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) argue that the position a visual element holds, establishes its value and importance within the textual composition. This refers to the information value that is assigned to different areas: the real, ideal, given, new, centre and margin (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006:209). As put forth by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), visual images can be arranged polarized on the horizontal axis. For images that are polarized on the horizontal axis, the left position is occupied by 'given' information, meaning it is information that the viewer already knows and this forms the point of departure for the message. Contrastingly, the information that is available on right position of a visual is considered as 'new'. It is something not yet known to the reader/viewer, hence calling upon the viewer to pay special attention to it. For that matter, the information is problematic and contestable (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996).

Nonetheless, according to Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006), the vertical axis presents the top-bottom polarity tag of 'the ideal' and 'the real'. The 'ideal' is characterized by generalized and more factual information and is usually ideologically the most salient part, while the 'real' is more specific; it presents practical or real information (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996:193). Images can also be organized around the 'centre' and 'margins' principle with the centre forming the nucleus information that holds the marginal elements (Martin and Rose, 2007). The marginal elements (margins), thus subservient to the centre and belong to it. This kind of visual analysis is significant to the compositional information lay out in multimodal texts (see Chapter Six, in the

section, *Visualization of multimodality and resemiotisation in 'Threat of Fresh Conflict in Hangberg'* (newspaper).

Even though this model on the compositional design proposed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) is based on Western ways of reading, it does provide an analytical toolkit to carry out a sociolinguistic and multisemiotic research, which is situated in non-Western social contexts. The researcher is aware that in some Asian and African societies, people might read or view the images from the right to the left and from bottom to the top. Because multimodality helps define intersemiotic relationships between verbal and visual components, this model that is based on Western ideologies is well assessed in our analysis about visual reading and interpretation as meaning-makings of the multimodal constructions in African contexts.

4.3.1.3.2 Salience and framing

Leading from this, multimodal texts can also be read through salience and framing devices. Through the element of salience, the visual and verbal texts differ in terms of attention as we draw on features such as color contrast, size, layout and tonal value (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). This speaks to the higher degree of these features that visual and verbal texts exhibit, the stronger (salience) a particular element will be. In the book, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) argue that elements in an image are separated or connected by frames. As pointed out by Jewitt and Oyama (2001), framing is brought by rhythm, it is what connects and disconnects elements in composition and it can be realized through colour schemes, empty spaces and vectors images.This is very similar to the grammatical resources that signal theme and rheme and hold the text together as one whole. Worth mentioning, the

conception of framing points to how multimodal texts divide or join visual and verbal elements, which on their own are realised differently and possess different properties.

Other than framing, which plays a key role in the textual organisation of images and verbal texts, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) put forward the idea that one of the ways reality is modulated in visual communication is through colour, which can be idealized to a greater or lesser degree modality or truth value. This brings us to modality that deals with the worthiness and the truthfulness of the information in multimodal texts. Colour saturation indicates whether an image represents real people, places and things or whether the depiction is fictional, imagined, fantasist or caricatural (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996:161). Another very important aspect of colour in the image is the symbolic (metaphoric) meanings and associations carried and may change according to contexts.
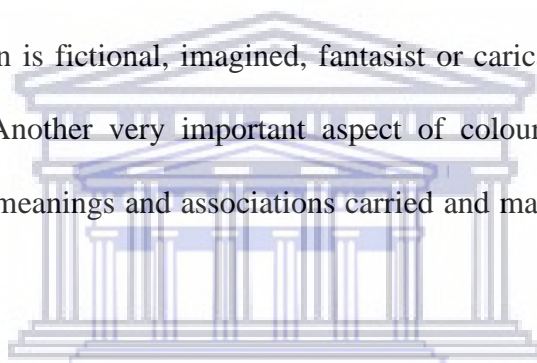
Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) show how there are many other features of colours that have their meaning potential because of association. Colour plays a role in all coding orientations. You can have abstract colour (for example, uniform pinkness for faces, or greenness for grass). You can have naturalistic colour. Moreover, you can have sensory colour – colour becomes sensory to the degree it exceeds naturalism. Colour is also a source of pleasure and produces (or not) affective meanings.The use of particular colours in a visual image may represent or influence moods/ feelings and reactions. In other words, we all recognize the emotive and sensual value of colours. Through different shades, the principle of pleasure is enacted. In addition, colours in general are loaded with social signification. In Chapter Eight under the sub-theme:*'Cultural practices of Hangbergers: Sounds and carnival scenes'*, the study provides detail

information that the Coloured people of Hangberg have a long history with colourful representations of themselves and in relation to their physical adornments. Figure *8.2 (a)* is an image of the Hangberg Klopse (*Hangberg Coons*) in carnival, dressing up in bright colourful gear (jackets, trousers and hats) with different musical instruments dangling from their hands, as they perform for overseas tourists at Hout Bay Harbour.

4.4 Extending multimodality through resemiotisation

As mentioned earlier, multimodality is concerned with the multi-semiotic complexity practices and their textual/visual meaning making processes within and across different modes and modalities. This phenomenon with multiple semiotics has its extension in the theme of resemiotisation (see Iedema, 2003). It is important to mention that Iedema does not focus so much on the semiotic complexity of representations but rather pay attention to the origins and dynamic emergence of those representations. His key objective is to conceptualise complex semiotic representations within the practice, social rule and available resources with the focus on how the meaning-making of messages (in and on signs, books, buildings, electronic technologies and newspapers) in certain contexts unfolds.

However, this perspective focuses primarily on the recontextualization of meaning in multi-semiotic text. Therefore, the study embraces Iedema's view of resemiotisation because it addresses the ways meaning making shifts from context to context, from practice to practice or from one stage of a practice to the next (Iedema, 2003/2010). For Iedema (2003:29), resemiotisation grants the analytical means for: (1) tracing how semiotics is translated from one into the other as social processes unfold; and (2) allows for how and why these semiotics (rather than others) are mobilized to do certain things

at certain times. This suggests that resemiotisation demonstrates how practices become apparent with intersemiotic shifts (Iedema, 2010:142).

Additionally, the end result of resemiotisation can be equated to intertextuality in the sense that discourses, linguistic features and visual semiotics as messages move in and across different forms and modalities, which give rise to new social meanings within and across different modes of representation. This results in linguistic creativity (hybrid discourses) and indicates mobility and transformation. Related to the notion of resemiotisation is the concept of semiotic remediation, which we discuss below.

4.5 Semiotic remediation: Process of repurposing

In line with the concept of resemiotisation (Iedema, 2003), Bolter and Grusin (1999) and Prior and Hengst (2010) coined the term 'semiotic remediation' that stresses the repurposing of discourse practices (texts) in different contexts. For these scholars semiotic remediation is necessary to understand how different semiotic performances are reported, re-voiced re-presented and reused across modes, media and chains of activities. Prior and Hengst (2010) acknowledge that most of the text we are exposed to is a result of re-purposing and re-performing. To encapsulate the notion of semiotic remediation, the study gives reference to the notion of resemiotisation; these two semiotic components are closely related as they seek to analyze performances of recontextualization.

In Chapter Eight under the section, *'Coca-Colarization of Hangberg: Transidiomatic in form'*, the study shows the interplay of global-local consumption cultures where global (Western) celebrated brands (Coca Cola) underwent tremendous shifts in meaning and

materiality when moved into new contexts (Africa). These brands first symbolize global artefacts, as they are transferred from its original context (the West) to African contexts, they then are repurposed and remediated for different economic purposes (Irvine, 2010:236).This is an interpretation of remediation indexing to broader communicative forms rather than just transferring information from one mode of communication to another. Although remediation centres on the shift of customer products from one space to another (through exportation) and the relocations of indexical meanings attached to them, this is a process referred to as re-entextualization (Silverstein and Urban, 1996).

It is argued here that re-entextualization stems from the transmission activities of semiotic artefacts across contexts and the complex reporting, reworking and reordering of textualised meanings. This thesis deems the conceptualizations of resemiotisation, recontextualization, semiotic remediation and re-entextualization valuable in its CDA and MDA analytic frameworks, showing how discourses and semiotic artefacts move from one form of semiotic mode to another and is transformed and resemiotised in the artefacts of the LL of Hangberg and in the media platforms.

4.6 Geosemiotic analysis

The study further expands its multimodal framework to a geosemiotic analysis (Scollon and Scollon 2003), which is relevant to study a 'site of engagement' (such as that of the artefacts of the LL of Hangberg). Scollon and Scollon fall back on Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996/2006) *Grammar of Visual Design* mentioned above. Using Kress and Van Leeuwen's multimodal analysis framework, Scollon and Scollon (2003) were able to demonstrate the indexicalisation in multimodal texts and how interactions take place

in specific geographies. A geosemiotic approach entails situating a text indexically – in terms of how it is placed in the world – through three systems of discourse.
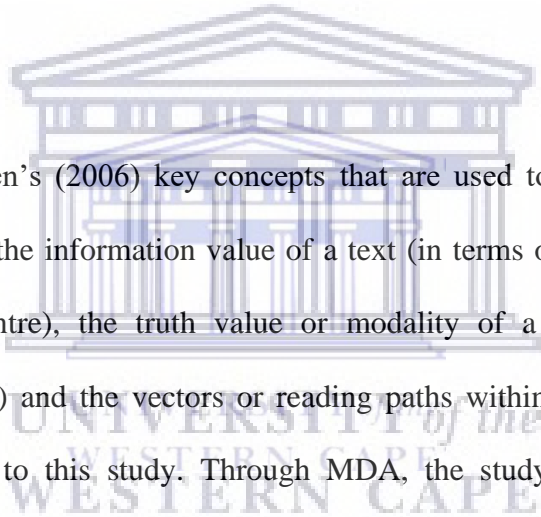
The first, of these discourse systems is the '*interaction order*' (Scollon and Scollon, 2003) that is how people move around in physical, interpersonal and perceptual space. This type of interaction is dependent on individuals' habitus (Bourdieu, 1991), that is their memories, experiences and subjectivities in spaces. The second system is the '*visual semiotics*' of a text or the multimodal composition (Scollon and Scollon, 2003). (1) Visual semiotics is concerned with the information value of a text in terms of its design and layout; (2) it draws attention to the truth value or modality of a text as this can be inferred from colour choice, saturation, tones, and so forth; (3) it also focuses on the 'vectors or reading paths' within the frame of a text and what that frame complements in this theoretical positioning. The third system is '*place semiotics*', which encompasses the interaction of various linguistic and visual make-ups of texts on the urban place-making narratives. In Scollon and Scollon's methodology, code preferences, inscription, materiality and emplacement of signs are all part of place semiotics. These systems are at work in the artefacts of the LL of Hangberg.

Moving forward, the study adopts a methodology in the next chapter that is familiar in LL research – drawing on the three cycles of discourse above, analysis of photographs and relying on field notes, interviews and walking method.

4.7 Summary

This chapter explored the analytical framework for this study that consists of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA). It started exploring the significance of CDA in the field of sociolinguistics, which is suitable for our analysis on newspaper print, the verbal comments on social media (Facebook) as well as the narratives (interviews) of selected participants. Adopting MDA as main tool of analysis provides a platform from which to evaluate a linguistic landscape inquiry and media analysis (newspapers and social media discourse) concerning the Hangberg community.

Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) key concepts that are used to analyse multimodal texts entails looking at the information value of a text (in terms of the given, the new, the ideal, the real, centre), the truth value or modality of a text (colour choice, saturation, and so forth) and the vectors or reading paths within the frame of a text, which are all relevant to this study. Through MDA, the study also employs other conceptual tools such as recontextualization, resemiotisation and semiotic remediation, which contribute to the eventual findings of this project.

Chapter Five

Methodology and Research Design

5.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed outline of the methodology adopted in the study. Firstly, a description of the research design is posited to give a clear outline of the processes carried out in this chapter. Secondly, this chapter also details the research paradigm, sampling design and data collection processes. The rationale behind the selection of participants and research sites are also provided here. More importantly, an explanation of the data analysis is outlined through the interdisclinary analytic frameworks of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) and Geosemiotic Analysis to interpret and analyze the data found in the field sites. Lastly, this chapter acknowledges the limitations and problems encountered in the fieldwork.

5.1 Research design

This ethnographic study operates within the framework of a qualitative approach that allows for the analysis of data from interviews, observation techniques and the digital images (photography) of the social and geographical locations of Hangberg.This study also deals with the multimodal and textual analysis of three newspaper articles (the *Cape Times, Weekend Argus* and *Sentinel News*) and one example of online-interaction through Facebook to further cover the social issues, social practices and identity negotiations and constructions of the community of Hangberg. More importantly, because the research project is based on material ethnography (diverse multi-modal texts of the LL, media discourses and narratives), qualitative and quantitative methods
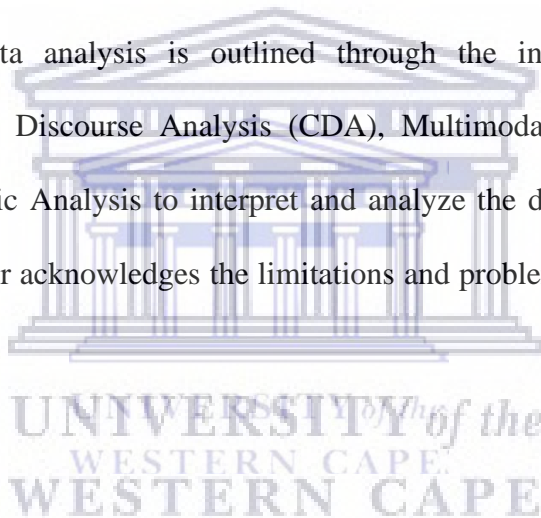
are relevant as they permit the researcher to examine "selected issues, cases or events in depth and detail" (Patton, 1987:10).

5.2 Sampling formula

For the study, the researcher used a purposive sampling to select different informants from Hangberg (which comprised of Coloureds) and the surrounding areas like Hout Bay Valley (where Whites live) as well as Imizamo Yethu, a neighbouring Black township in Hout Bay. Important to mention that areas such as Hout Bay Valley and Imizamo Yethu were not research sites but with their residents involved, the study was backed by the fact that they provided the relevant socio-historical and unique perceptions about the meaning-making processes arising from the interview data, digital images, sociocultural artefacts and observations. This mixed ratio of people (sampling population) is useful because it allows the researcher to identify the informants who provide the best information to achieve the objectives set out in the study (cf. Kumar, 1999).

Arising from the aforesaid, the purposive sampling represents the following groups: ordinary citizens of the three Hout Bay communities, beachgoers, educational staff, civic activists, street vendors, hairstylists, barbershop owners, small shop owners, church leaders, and members of the Rastafari community, amongst others. The selected key informants yielded over forty in sample size. The researcher chose to select a mixed ratio of people, as it permits her to bring together different participants that composed of a diverse range of social, cultural backgrounds, geographical locations and linguistic investments. As Kumar (1999) reminds us, "a purposive sampling technique enables the study to access the residents in Hangberg and the surrounding areas who are likely to
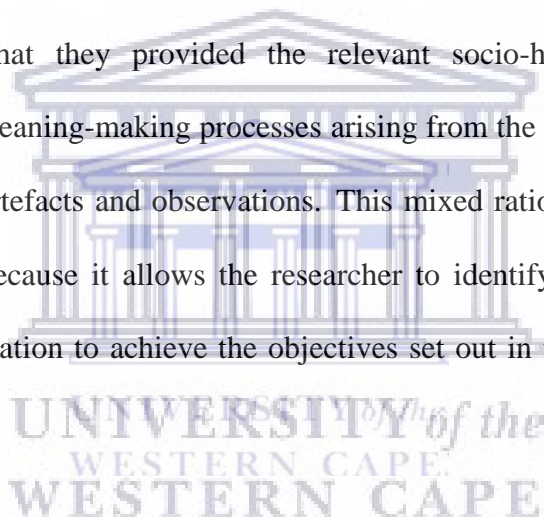
have the required information and are willing to share it" (p. 10). This leads to the identification of a "few rich cases… those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of evaluation of the term 'purposeful' sampling" (Patton, 1987:11).

5.3 Data collection and procedures

The researcher has collected an extensive amount of data from January 2014 until June 2018. She collected data from different sites in Hangberg - the educational spaces, the beach, the taxi rank, hair salons and barbershops, the library, shops, the dentist and the community hall to gain insight into the habitus of the neighbourhood (its religious, cultural, educational and economic sites) and the people's views of this as well as their discourses. Ethnography brings out language practices and place (giving a sense of the social realities of Hangberg). The researcher thus collected a corpus of data from the different field of sites to build a database of multiple (about 500) photographic artefacts that applied specifically to the linguistic/semiotic landscape of Hangberg.

Secondary sources, like newspaper articles, were also collected by purchasing the publications. In addition, online interaction (written texts) from Facebook was acquired, as well as protest materials through the internet. The researcher also conducted interviews, done observations and made written notes to record and fine-tune her writing journey. All the data collected pertained to multilingualism, citizenship issues, language, literacy and identity negotiation and construction.

5.4 A geosemiotic ethnographic variable

Due to the collection and interpretation of data and the ways in which this thesis moves, the researcher presents a research methodology to explore the LL of Hangberg through a geosemiotic lens. The researcher linked ethnography to the LL. She constructed the term '*geosemiotic ethnographic variable*' as a strategic name for this particular ethnographic research – as a means of logic to how she went analysing the data and answering the research questions. A geosemiotic analysis allows for an exploration of the habitus (the social fabric) of Hangberg – as it is a place but *also* a space. Through the habitus, the researcher examines the inhabitants (people) of Hangberg and their discourses through observations to obtain "knowledge of the social reality of this ordinary place and the lives lived there" (Schutz, 2004:213). 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" (Eisner, 1991:112).

As mentioned above, the ethnographic variable (*geosemiotic heuristic*) is applicable to the linguistic landscape research, which is to say that the texts visible in the public space allows for a rich understanding concerning the rhetorical and discursive functions of a place. This is linked to Scollon and Scollon's (2003) work of geosemiotics, which situates signs in the material world that extracts the key units of analysis from the theories of multimodal analysis (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996) and as a site of social interaction, which encounter the cycles of habitus, interactional order, visual semiotics and place semiotics (see Figure *5.1* below).
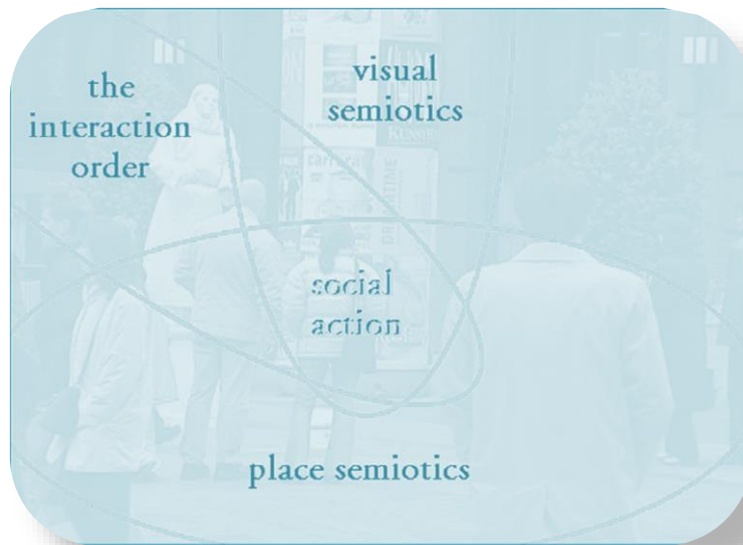
Figure 5.1 Geosemiotic model based on Scollon and Scollon (2003:10)

Geosemiotics in ethnography as methodology understand the habitus and interactional order as cycles of discourse, this method also identify with public manifestations through participant observations, walking, interviews, field notes and photography, all used in this research design. This research strategy proved to be very helpful as the researcher was able to further stretch to qualitative and quantitative approaches that have been adopted for semiotics of place and visual analysis (visual semiotics) of the signs of the Cape newspapers and in the localized Hangberg contexts.

5.5 Footwork of walking: Interactional order

In essence, the study introduces the'interactional order' (Scollon and Scollon, 2003) through the walking method. Since the aim of the researcher was to obtain insight into Hangberg as a discursive and interactional space in which ordinary people carried out their daily exchanges, she turned her focus to the dynamics of the neighbourhood. In this regard, the researcher considers Ingold's (2000:192) perspective of "place and landscape as a lived and material terrain…it affords those spending time there, being

shaped by the kinds of activities in which its inhabitants engage" as her research is located in a geosemiotic ethnographic approach. Spradley (1979) asserts "rather than studying people, ethnography means learning from people" (p. 3).To get a better understanding of the research setting, the researcher explored Hangberg through *walking by foot* (De Certeau, 1984), while conducting her research between the years 2014 and 2018.

Walking is a method that blends in with many other elements of the interaction order as given by Scollon and Scollon (2003). Through walking, the researcher participated in the research site (Hangberg) and met the people that live, work and move through the site, as she moved on foot. This is in line with De Certeau (1984), suggesting that walking is a practice of everyday life that allows one to actualise and read the city. Since it is also an active mode, "include[ing] engagement with the full physical and sensory environment" (Lee, 2004 cited in Stroud and Jegels, 2013:7), walking frames many elements of the interaction order (Scollon and Scollon, 2003:20), the daily interactions of Hangberg.

As the researcher walking by foot in Hangberg, she was able to engage in observations and interviews to gain a personal contact and to understand both the social reality of the research sites as well as structural constraints (social struggles). Through this walking method, the researcher was able to interact with the LL (observe it), as it "reflects the complex patterns of communicative life in an urban space and indexes language practices, ethnic cultures, values and the history of a community" (Todd-Garvin, 2010: 266).

5.6 Observations and field notes

The 'interaction order' (Scollon and Scollon, 2003) was best captured by observing the Hangberg while walking. Both the walking method and observations are justified as they allowed the researcher to access 'the lived space of the Hangberg inhabitants' (Lefebvre, 1991), which highlight trajectories of their discourses of identities and their cultural and linguistic practices. The researcher was able to listen to, watch and record the events and behaviour of interest in the field settings (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). Observations and writing up of field notes are essential and proved to be helpful, as the researcher investigated dynamic processes of interaction of the people, their bodily positionings and their social activities "as place making is socially accomplished through embodied practices" (Stroud and Jegels, 2013:6). Goffman (1959) considers this the presentation of self, what is given off by a person. These semiotic performances were noted down, as they supplemented the data at a later stage. The footwork of walking, observations and the writing of field notes were supported by the use of a digital camera (photographing the LL) and interviews.

5.7 Interviews and focus group discussion

In ethnography, interviews might range from the form of a more casual conversation to sitting down with an audio recorder to discuss specific issues in a focused way. A total of forty participants were interviewed. Key informant interviews were supplemented by five focus group discussions and twenty nine individual or one-on-one interviews. The focus group and individual interviews provide a rich foundation to capture the different aspects relating the informants' lived experiences within and across different spaces of Hangberg. The interview questions primarily focused on the participants' linguistic

practices within and across multiple spaces, their language ideologies and investments in certain languages that inextricably link to their identities.

That said, when the researcher began interviewing, she was able to collect a vast array of data in a relatively short amount of time. The researcher recorded the conversations she had with the informants which was useful to store information in its most natural form, and in facilitating transcriptions while guaranteeing accuracy at the same time (Coupland *et al*., 1993).The study considered individual interviewing to be extremely significant because they provide first hand insider accounts of how the citizens of Hangberg (re)construct ideologies around multilingualism, power relations and identity (Baynham, 2000).

Fifteen of the individual interviews were arranged in neutral and mutually convenient environments. The structured interviews lasted for approximately 45 minutes to 3 hours (minimum); the other twenty five interviews and five focus group discussions were unstructured interview schedules. They were shorter (1 to 2 hours) and were executed while walking through the landscape. Through this 'walking narrative methodology' (Stroud and Jegels, 2014), the researcher was able to go right where these informants live/work, and it also allowed the researcher to engage with consumers/customers. The rationale for this data collection method (interviews) is imperative, as the data functions as an expression (what is said, when, where and how it is said) that allows the researcher to gain access to the manifestations of the informants on the topic, the reasons, manner and places in which they articulated their spatial stories. Carspecken (1996) describes interviews as valuable in research because they help the researcher to access respondents in their natural environment and capture their real experiences. They

also give allowance for the participants' voices to be heard as they draw on their lived experiences through story telling. Patton (1990) explains it more vividly: "We interview to find out things we cannot observe...we cannot observe feelings, thoughts and intensions". "We cannot observe behaviour that took place at some previous point in time...we cannot observe how people organize the world, we have to ask people questions about these things" (Patton, 1990:196).

The purpose of the interviews was to elicit as much information as possible. Data obtained from the interviews were later translated and transcribed and it functioned as a primary source in the analysis of the data. Transcriptions are very important, as we do not only focus on what is communicated but how and what is said is essential when analyzing any type of speech, particularly interviews. In order to simplify the understanding of the transcription data, the writer used the same transcription keys 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

5.8 Using digital camera in ethnography

Using the camera in the streets of Hangberg captured Scollon and Scollon's (2003) cycle of visual semiotics – ways of seeing the world as it actually is (Berger, 1972).

Photographing Hangberg afforded the researcher the luxury of grabbing hold of the LL of Hangberg (place semiotics) and the embodied practices of the participants in place. This study was influenced by the work of David MacDougall (2005), as he employed digital technology (camera) to look carefully at texture and interactions in the local framing of events where meanings are inspired, produced and understood. This is significant because in visual-recorded space, we can see how people wish to portray aspects of their identities and their embodied practices through modality of the visual.

In photographic tours, image making becomes a form of ethnographic note taking – rather than just a way of visually recording data. It also involves producing images that are commonly used to represent the research experiences (Irving, 2010). As discussed in Chapter Four, this ethnography is methodologically coherent with multimodality that allows the study to look at the camera data from which cultural meanings can be interpreted or read. The camera offers representations of real-world actions (an element of the interactional order and visual semiotics) through visual images, on the part of social actors and their relationships in the production of space (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). One cannot get this type of information from tape-recorded interviews, even if one remembers or tries to recount participants' actions during interviews – it is rare to be able to document everything going on visually.

5.9 Data analysis

5.9.1 Categories for quantitative and qualitative analysis: Place semiotics

The wide scale sampling of the Hangberg LL provided a corpus of data that was analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively using Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Geosemiotic Analysis. Geosemiotics includes

analysing the data taken in the LL of Hangberg to explore the indexicalisation of signs in relation to code preferences, inscription, materiality and emplacement. These tenets allow for an analysis of data in the semiotics of place that inform us about the first indexation, which is referred to as 'code preference', that is languages (whether monolingual or multilingual) on a sign which usually gives an indication of which language is the preferred code. This involves a quantitative analysis where researchers group signs into the language choice. Code preference as category for analysis is understood in different types of text genres presented in the LL of Hangberg – government texts, formal premises texts, informal ad hoc texts, and informal vendor texts (see table of figure *8.7.b* in Chapter Eight).

The second indexation discussed in the place semiotic system is 'inscription', that is "all of the meaning systems are based on the materiality of surfaces: the appearance and accessibility or designated purpose" (Scollon and Scollon, 2003: 129). The materials out of which an object (sign) is made signal much about how we are to interpret its meaning. The inscriptions of signs are largely determined by this study. The last indexationis 'emplacement', where language appears on the world also works within a system of meaning, in this case conveying authorization (Scollon and Scollon, 2003:151). Signs can be stationary or mobile in terms of spatial mobility of the sign carriers (Reh, 2004). These systems of categorization function less based on the messages they carry but more based on how these messages are carried (as does indeed any semiotic theory). This falls under a quantitative approach where signs are described in terms of spatial and content analysis.

In the case of the Hangberg LL, the geosemiotics model with regard to code preference, inscription and placement help us to systematically show the social structuring of languages and at the same time, speak to historical factors, globalization, emotional attitudes, gendered and sexualized discourses, and economic and political aspects in the manifestation in the research setting. In Chapter Seven, Eight and Nine, the researcher draws on the three 'discourse cycles' (Scollon and Scollon, 2003:8) through a geosemiotic lens for a close in-depth analysis of textual and visual discourses of the dataset of the LL or material world (which applied to ethnography). This study therefore relies on qualitative analysis to yield more reliable research findings.

5.9.2 Analysis of media texts: Visual semiotics

Important to stress that Scollon and Scollon's (2003) three discourse cycles adopted in this study are applicable to Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996/2006) grammar of visual design to analyse socio-spatial discourses and media landscapes. A media analysis was done from a corpus of three different newspapers (*Cape Times*, *Weekend Argus* and *Sentinel News)* and an online commentary from social media (Facebook post), which help us understand how verbal and visual texts function, constituting and transmitting knowledge, as well as conveying power and ideological attitudes. Examining the signs on the semiotic/linguistic landscape(s) and media discourses, the study adopts a Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) to focus how the following features concerning information value, modality, salience, framing, recontextualization, resemiotisation and semiotic remediation are signalled and interrelated in different ways.

It was an important task to work close with the data collected from various media landscapes to gain a clear insight into the ideological stance that media took in terms of

identity options regarding Hangberg and its people in post-apartheid South Africa. As above-mentioned, the study is also extending its visual analysis to the artefacts of the LL.

5.10 Limitations of the study

One problem worth mentioning is concerned with the protests (materials) data, which the researcher could not obtain from the digital lens of her camera. The problem was simply caused by the challenges that the researcher faced when she attempted to collect such data. She had to travel to Hangberg during the protests, which she did but was restricted by police officials from entering the neighbourhood. This was all due to the violence that erupted between the residents and the police. To remedy this problem, the researcher had to obtain visuals from different internet sources and used in this study to inform the reader of how multimodal images play up many other aspects of city life and city forms (in this case, to highlight how processes of gentrification and displacement engendered the greatest conflict in Africa's poor societies).

5.11 Summary

In this chapter, the researcher presented her rationale and a more in-depth discussion for choosing particular methods to analyse complex, ambiguous and diverse samples of the data collected. From this end, she briefly discussed the research design, process and the methodological tools that were used for this study. The sampling size, sampling procedures and data analysis have been discussed and also the challenges (limitations) that were met during the data collection. In the upcoming five chapters, the researcher will proceed to analyze the data that was collected.

Chapter Six

Representation of Hangberg and its people in media: Post-apartheid rhetoric of Otherness

6.0 Introduction

This chapter probes how Hangberg and its people are constructed in post-apartheid; the intention is see how themes of race, racism and the notion of Otherness are portrayed in the media (newspapers) and online interactions (Facebook). That said, this chapter attempts to show the media's role in the establishment of ideologies associated with dominance, discrimination, power and control in press coverage over marginalized communities like Hangberg. In saying so, the study concurs with Fowler (1987: 68) that the "media occupy a powerful position in a social and economic system and it has a privileged position in that their overt job is to issue public discourse about society and about the world.

To address the points raised above, a corpus of different newspapers (*Cape Times*, *Weekend Argus* and *Sentinel News)*, online commentaries from social media (Facebook) and news story headlines were obtained for a discourse and multimodal analysis that help centralise the discussion around the race, racism and the concept of Otherness. The following themes developed from the data: Negative Other-Presentation in '*Sea Snail that Turns Men into Crooks'* (newspaper); Recontextualization of racism in journalist texts (*Sentinel News*); Race and the animal: White supremacy on social media (Facebook); Visualization of multimodality and resemiotisation in *'Threat of Fresh Conflict in Hangberg'* (newspaper); and Mockery at play in visual semiotics: Carnivalesque humour.

The study uses the construct of the 'Other' as a metaphor to investigate new avenues – the evaluation of linguistic devices related to hate speech, stereotypes and racial labels in the *Cape Times* and *Weekend Argus* newspapers and social media (Facebook) towards the construction of the Hangberg identity in post-apartheid. The study further analyses the contemporary political, social and economic aspects (migration, gentrification, displacements, poaching, evictions, crime and racial discrimination) in the media discourses to assert the Hangberg identity options.

The study adopts an interdisciplinary framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), particularly the work of Van Dijk (1991/1998/2014) and Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) as used by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006) to analyse the composition of the multimodal frontpages of newspapers, to capture the socio-cultural context of Hangberg. These interconnected analytical frameworks contribute to the current study, merging various visual and verbal texts found on the frontpages of the newspapers that bring to light how the media has the power to reproduce and reinforce race/class nexus points, discrimination and ideologies of domination (propagate ideas of superiority versus inferiority, animal versus human, criminal/crooks versus hero, and so forth), constructing the Hangberg discourse.

That said, the study further draws on the notions of recontextualization (Bernstein, 1996) and resemiotisation (Iedema, 2003) as analytical tools under the frameworks of CDA and MDA, to trace and examine the translation of events across different media platforms to establish how the linguistic/semiotic devices are reframed and transformed for new meaning-making processes. In the upcoming sections, the study provides rich examples to elucidate this point, presenting data from the newspaper, *Sentinel News* to

illustrate how journalists can alter linguistic devices through the *rearrangement* (adding) and *substitution* (omissions) of words and phrases that completely transform the semantic meanings of the original texts (Facebook) with new interpretations (bias media reporting).

It is important to mention that the interdisciplinary analytic frameworks of CDA and MDA both enrich our analysis, which will allow us to understand how ideologies operate holistically in media texts. More importantly, these analytic tools also reveal hidden agendas (bias and stereotypical impressions) that were not explicit at first sight.Wodak (2001) states, the attempt to work interdisciplinarily, multimethodically and with a variety of different empirical data, including background information, contribute to the objective understanding of research issues.

6.1 Textual Analysis: Negative Other-presentation in *'Sea Snail that Turns Men into Crooks'* (newspaper)

To begin our analysis discussion, the study draws on the news article, '*Sea Snail that Turns Men into Crooks*', which portrays linguistic dimensions (e.g., lexical choices, syntax and style references) to explore ideologies that carry out prejudicial and racist representationsin the news reporting of Hangberg and its people. This cuts to the core of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach that illustrates text production (discourse of news) and social cognition, which gives rise to interpretation (audiences' accounts of news) at a linguistic level. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an umbrella term for a set of analytical approaches that seek to investigate how language or discourse reproduces social and political inequality, discrimination and the manipulation

of power abuse or domination (Riggins, 1997). The media texts will be analysed to find assumptions embedded in the language usage that hints at Otherness.

Against this backdrop (media discourse analysis), the study finds it suitable to introduce an intersectional framework of news values put forth by Galtung and Ruge (1965) and Hartley (1982), their positioning of the press coverage is important. More specifically, the study is able to examine news reporting as a social practice in which powerful or less powerful individuals and social events (processes) are scrutinized under the guidance of the news values to locate their news worthiness. The study follows certain categories regarding the news values and links them to the poaching story of the newspaper, namely: *negativity* (bad news), *consonance* (predictability of events), *personalisation* (categorization and identity processes), *elite persons* (status of actors - politicians), and so on (Galtung and Ruge, 1965).

In the light of these methodological considerations, the study now turns to explore the construction of Hangberg in the news of poaching, the focus is on the textual features of the *Cape Times* article, figure *6.1* below to examine hidden ideologies of race, class and discrimination. Like Kress, the researcher argues that media texts "are ideological systems articulated through language...ideological systems in itself can be reached via the analysis of language" (Kress, 1983:124). The researcher illustrates this argument by showing the effect which specific syntactic processes can (and do) have upon textual meaning. Looking at the headline down to the lead of the newspaper, the researcher observes that the "represented participants" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996) are implicated in negative 'Other' representations through Van Dijk's (2000) "ideological square". Pertaining to that, the journalist uses the syntactic structure of the sub-headline:

"*Sea snail that turns men into crooks*" to facilitate the audiences to read off the reported event as criminality performed by Hangberg fishers. At a semantic level, the verb phrase 'turns' puts agency on the transitive processes, stressing "their bad actions" (Hodge and Kress, 1993).

Figure 6.1 Cape Times newspaper reporting on abalone poaching in Hangberg.

Having investigated Van Leeuwen's social network of representation of social actors (1993/1996), Reisigl and Wodak (2001) build upon it and argue that analytical categories such as "*exclusion/inclusion, suppression, backgrounding, passivation, collectivisation, aggregation, impersonalisation* and others" are of great help to any research study in accurately describing some of the more subtle forms of discriminatorily as well as constructing, identifying or hiding social actors (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001:46). In support of the above perspective, the material process (turns) of the sub-headline introduces three animate social actors inscribed in a dialectic relationship: The sea snail (*goal*) turns (material process) men (*actors*) into crooks (*targets / beneficiaries*). The nomination and characterisation of the social actors in the
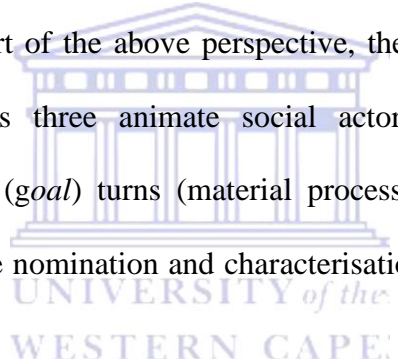
transitive verb (*turns*) manifests a material (active) effect that is negative upon the coastal environment (their actions are perceived as a threat).

Considering the news value of *personalisation* (Galtung and Ruge, 1965), the social actors are positioned in the reported event as the targets/ beneficiaries (the culprits). Foregrounding the social actors as crooks is highly ideological, particularly in response to the normalization/noun phrase, which is a negative expression (pejorative senses of immorality). This also reads as a judgment with the implication that the press coverage reinforces negative views of the fishers by outright moral condemnation (*crooks*). These linguistic construct (crooks) mould the readers to perceive the low working class (fishers) of Hangberg as criminals/perpetrators who engage in illegal poaching practices. The visual and textual representations can be read off and evaluated what Galtung and Ruge (1965) refer to as *negative personalisation* values, conforming the perspective of the 'Othering' (Said, 1978).

The 'Other' *is* what the Self *is not*. The ontology of the 'Other' arrives through its difference to the Self (Riggins, 1997) (see in Chapter Three, the section *'Identity as categorization: Concepts Race and the Other'*). As mentioned above, all the fishermen of Hangberg (Coloured, Black and Moslem) are demonized as the low life, criminals, poachers, and the undesirables (Other) from whom the deserving White middle classes of Hout Bay needed to be protected from. The Othering technique is obvious here through stereotyping. This poaching discourse in Hangberg resonates with Tim Wise's (2005) work, as he argues "Let a Black or other non-Whites commit a crime and it is said to have been predictable. Let a White commit a crime and it becomes anomalous, an exception, something that was off the map of expectation" (Wise, 2005:49).

Furthermore, the newspaper draws on different identity representations to construct the social actors in the poaching of marine resources: qualities are assigned to *gender* (young and old men), *age* (range from 15 to 50 years), *physical objects* (diving cylinders), *dressing codes* (wetsuits) and so forth. According to Reisigl and Wodak (2001), these attributive and referential strategies bear *negative predications* of the group of fishers. These negative predictions persisted throughout the body paragraphs of the newspaper, the journalist repeatedly drew on physical objects and tools (dick booties, diving hood, high power torch, board a sleek rubber duck, etc.) to generate coherence in text display. As mentioned previously, these words/metaphors mainly function as metalinguistic commentary that displays the journalist's perception of the fishers in a negative way and thus alluded to them as crooks. The lexicons are cleverly selected to pass judgment on the men collectively, according to their actions.

From this detailed unveiling of language (discourse), it is fair to say that the journalist generalizes the wrongdoing (bad, immoral acts) of certain individuals, who are driven by their own motives with the entire fishers in the community (a *negative Other-presentation* emerges with the normalization of activities in Hangberg through poaching). This tactic in press coverage is discriminatory, racial and biased. It seems as though anything can serve as material for the imposition of stereotypes - from identity classifications (naming, age, gender and clothing) to social activities (negative evaluation in terms of functionalization). Witnessing this, Fowler (1991:17) reminds us that news reporting is "a reciprocal, dialectical process in which stereotypes are the currencies of exchange".

Moreover, scenes of *generalization* (Van Leeuwen, 1996) kept surfacing to provide insight into the experiential worlds of various individuals (Colin) who faced discrimination, owing to his cultural ritual of marijuana smoking - one of the *negative* characteristics that are linked to poachers. This is achieved in the following example, "And perhaps Colin enjoys smoking cheese (high grade marijuana) from time to time, so he spends R100 on a tiny section, cut it with cheap majat that comes wrapped in newspaper, packs him a tight bottle neck and gets stoned on the blend". The conjunction/adverbial pairing 'and perhaps' highlights that the above sentiment is not factual (truthful) but generalized. There is no certainty (low modality) in terms of the activity that social actor engage in Halliday (1994) contends modality as expressive category denotes the speaker/writer judgement and embodies interpersonal or rhetorical functions.

This rhetoric is based on criticism and buttress misinformation. It is fair to argue that the journalist is prejudiced against the Hangberg fishermen by the extent to which he assigned undesirable qualities to them, not based on facts – the use of group nominals define them as poachers, thieves, and marijuana smokers. Such stereotypes are deeply implicated in ideological assumptions of the undesirable 'Other'. Overall, the study also sketches associations of corruption with regard to the marine resources in the Karbonkelberg Sanctuary of Hout Bay. One would expect that Black *power elite* (see Galtung and Ruge, 1965), as the marine management agents (under the democratic ANC government) would speak about the stance that they would take in offering temporary solutions for the fishing dilemma in the area. Clearly, their voices are absent (hidden) from the news report. We are guided by Colin's quote "What's the point,

bru?"… "Quotas are f*****g [foking] joke! "They just hand them [the quotes] out their friends, mos".

The selected quote of Colin highlights corruption involving the politicians (*elite persons*) with tenders, which they give to their friends, and not the unemployed fishers in Hangberg. The coded language of Colin (which features as the main character) conveys negative images of the wealthy Blacks of South Africa, particularly those in government positions. Ironically, the journalist has not evaluated the politicians (Black *elite*) along these lines. Considering the poaching from a government level, there is no recognition and understanding of the fishers' life circumstances and their struggles to receive fishing permits annually. Arriving at the meaning of corruption in the fishing sector, it clear that the fishers' exclusions have threatened their masculinity, and thus they see poaching as fit to inject them with capital - obtaining money to make a living.

In tandem with the scrutiny of the *Cape Times* newspaper, the study also collected stories from other local newspapers – *Sentinel News, Cape Times, Sowetan* and *the Mail & Guardian* to explore in more detail how Hangberg is constructed / evaluated in the press. The study is guided here by the news value on *concordance* (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). Concordance searches enable us to see the words that typically co-occur in language use – word collocating reveals its connotations or semantic/discourse prosodies, that is, attitudinal, affective, evaluative and pragmatic meaning. Therefore, collocates are good indicators of backgrounded discourses and over time become primers for readers on how to interpret a word (Hoey, 2005; Durrant and Doherty, 2010). The study looks at the *concordance* of the word 'Hangberg' (*7*) in the headlines of other newspaper corpuses with respect to social and economic issues (poaching,

gentrification, displacements, unemployment, evictions, crime and drug abuse issues) that are attributable to negative reporting on the community.

Below, the study provides some headlines that highlight themes of *negativity* (Galtung and Ruge, 1965).

a) Hangberg **saga**

b) Zuma **asked to probe** Hangberg

c) **No picnic** in Hangberg

d) Hangberg **stabbing shock**

e) Hangberg carries **cost of gang culture**

f) Tik tock Hangberg's **meth time bomb**

g) Hangberg **solutions** rests with the city

Additionally, the study provides references that mirror the *concordance* method, all predictably to conflict (*3*) and land / home evictions (*2*) in Hangberg.

a) Police vs. residents in **eviction battle**

b) Shack dwellers say no to **eviction**

c) Bay of **terror**

d) Charge Zille with **genocide**

e) Shooting us like **dogs**

When one looks at the different headlines above, there is nothing about Hangberg and its people that are appraised/ evaluated positively (see White 1998; Martin 2000), as such the appraisal means "capacity in social esteem". Building further upon this, the loaded lexicons (collocates) in ***bold*** (conflict, genocide, terror, eviction, crime, dogs,

gangsterism, and drug abuse) unveil *negative* evaluations (Hoey, 2005). The negative evaluations refer to the situation in which the chaos reached its peak in Hangberg. Examining concordances as signposts in the Hangberg analysis is imperative for our understanding of the dialectic characteristics of journalistic texts, which play a crucial role in discovering evidence of recontextualized chains in texts.

6.2 Recontextualization of racism in journalist texts (*Sentinel News*)

In this section, the study primarily focuses on recontextualized words (linguistic constructs) to expose racist talks, attitudes, beliefs, sentiments and practices in media genres. Upon reflection, the discourses are based on "White fantasy" and serve the interest of White privilege and power (Steyn, 2001; Giroux 1997). On the other hand, investigating the notion of recontextualization in this thesis directs us to elucidate how (old) texts originating elsewhere, gets lifted out if its original context and transformed in new contexts (Bernstein, 1996). Linell (1998) asserts that recontextualization involves taking something "for example, actual words and meanings or things like ideologies, patterns of discourse, attitudes and social identities from one discourse-in-context to another"(p.14).

Similar to these scholars, the researcher argues that the process of recontextualization captures the notion of resemiotisation, as most texts are taken from their prior contexts (discourses and social practices) then re-worked and re-invented for new meaning (Iedema, 2003). The knowledge of pre-existing text is crucial in media discourse, especially in the meaning-making process of the readers. It is to demonstrate that no text is created in isolation and that through this concept; we are able to observe how different discourse genres and practices manifest intersemiotic shifts.

For the discussion of analysis here, the author does a comparative analysis, presenting the original Facebook post of Vanessa Hartley and the recontextualized print version of her story in the *Sentinel News,* entitled 'Anger over racist rant'(see appendix at the end of the thesis the original versions). With this in mind, the author compares the two extracts in the table below and does an evaluation in accordance with the rules of transcription, which assisted in demonstrating the contextualized elements and their effects in textual performances:

a.) standard text: identical text in both news genres

b.) **Bold** text: lexical, syntactic or stylistic references

c.) *Italics* text: textual elements not present in the opposite text.

Figure 6.2: Patterns of the stylistic difference between Facebook post and *Sentinel News*

Facebook page (Original speech)	Sentinel newspaper (recontextualized)
Hartley writes, "**They are like stupid animals**", **We should tie them to a rope**". "To (sic) many Africans flocking to Hout Bay. Draw up a petition. Soon there will be nothing left of Hout Bay.	*Ms Hartley, whom Sentinel has since established is* not *a resident of Hout Bay as reported by media has been widely condemned for the post on Sunday December 4 in which* **she likened Africans to stupid animals and called for them to be tied to a rope.** *The public out cry has also resulted in her suspension from work pending an investigation*. To (sic) many Africans flocking to Hout Bay. Draw up a petition, soon nothing left of Hout Bay", *she wrote in the post*

Looking at figure 6.2 above, it confirms that Hartley's original speech underwent a transformation when the newspaper journalist added more information to what was

given in the prior texts (Bernstein, 1996). We witness what seems to be reflect a White supremacist discourse with offensive ideologies, which allude to hate speech and racism on social media (Facebook), later recontextualized, resemiotised and remediated in new/other contexts (newspaper texts). This is in line with what Reisigl and Wodak (2001) stated that "racism as an ideology manifests itself discursively through discourse…[and] discriminatory and exclusionary practices which are promulgated and legitimized" (p.6). The selected sample from Facebook is ideal to exhibit how stereotypes, hate speech and racist ideologies are articulated on social media, and given new value (meaning) through intertextual chains, as original texts are recycled, reused and retold by many other newspaper journalists, which result in the production of many more versions.

On that point, other texts (headlines) from different media sources (newspapers) are presented below that underwent different recontextualized phases of reporting Hartley's Facebook post to the readers appealing to Reisigl and Wodak's (2001) stance on racism.

[*Daily Voice*, 05 December 2016]
Racist" rant lands Hout Bay woman in hot water

[*Cape Times,* 04 December 2016]
Hout Bay F.B. racist: ANC to lay complaint

[*Cape Argus*, 05 December 2016]
Vanessa Hartley*Theylikestupidanimals post condemned

[*Herald*, 05 December 2016]
Idiot Hout Bay resident creates racism shit storm on Facebook

Working with the transcriptions in table 6.2 above, the researcher turns her attention to the lexical choices (words styles and references) in the *Sentinel News* that underwent a metamorphosis, as they play a central role in new meaning making processes. It is important to recognize the following categorizations of transformations in the recontextualization process: *addition*, *deletion*, *generalization*, *rearrangement* and *falsifications* (Van Leeuwen, 1993; Fairclough, 1992; Wodak, 2000). Representations are repeated in different news reports, and we consider these developments very essential in textual analysis.

From a CDA perspective (Van Dijk, 1992/1995; and Wodak, 1997), in contrast to the Facebook racist rant, the *Sentinel News* highlights the *deletions* (omissions) of personal pronouns 'We' and 'They' in news coverage. This reflects how the social actors are positioned in the news reporting as the peripheral Other. In this regard, the media can be said to erase what non-Whites in Hout Bay can perceive as inflammatory rhetoric. From the CDA perspective, the agenda behind this can be said to be designed to mislead the readers into believing that there is tolerance, respect and acceptance towards the people of color in Hout Bay. The strategy has been described as racial discrimination through discursive performance and a means of division (Wodak, 1997). The strategy of softening the White supremacist behaviour that alludes to racial discrimination by means of *deletions* (omissions) and interpretation options has been attested in several literature (Fairclough, 1995/2000; Van Dijk, 1992/1995; and Wodak, 1997). Looking at several instances with the exception of this example, "many Whites rejected apartheid but repeatedly re-introduced older colonial and apartheid racist ideologies where non-Whites are constructed through negative images that are quite offensive" (Verwey and

Quayle, 2012:560). According to Wodak, racists rely on a discourse of dichotomy to sustain "We vs. Them" illusions (Wodak, 1997:72).

Ultimately, the deletion of other rhetorical devices from the newspaper permits us to see the *rearrangement* of social processes or verbalizations at clause level (Van Leeuwen, 1993). To complement this, in the interdisciplinary analytic approach (see Chapter Four), the study drew upon multimodality as conceptual tool of Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) in which Halliday (1994) identifies the system of transitivity: the 'saying', 'doing', 'thinking' and 'being' that constitute human experience. This framework is practical for examining how social processes in text production saturate bias impressions as they undergo recontextualization or transformation. The emphasis here is on the effects of negative signifiers in actions (verbal processes) and the use of euphemisms to lessen and camouflage the negative constructions.

Phrasal Verbs: Textual Effect

are (certainty)   like (certainty) *existential fact*
should tie (certainty) *obligation*

Substitution of Verb Phrases (Processes)

Likened *mental process* (judgement not fact base)
called to be tied *passive verbal process* (past tense omit agency)

Considering the verb/adjective pairing are like – the use of the verb are is highly ideological as it establishes a relational (identifying) process realized in a factual discourse, which emphasizes certainty of the representation of actions (They are like stupid animals). In contrast, the *substitution* of the euphemistic word likened in the

clause (in which she likened Africans to stupid animals) removed the existential factuality of the declaration (Kress, 1983:127). This reveals how agency (action) through existential processes (are like) are replaced by a passivized verb without agency (likened). From a CDA perspective, the *Sentinel News* engages in obfuscation and manipulation (Fairclough, 2000; Van Dijk, 1995) with the omissions of <u>are like</u> to intimate that non-Whites are aligned with animals. These animalistic metaphors stress inferiority by diminishing non-Whites (or rather Blackness and Brownness) as peripheral and beneath Whiteness (ideological effect, see Van Dijk, 1995).

Another example is the *deletion* of the modal verb <u>should</u> tie that emphasizes obligation in the present tense to a certain course of action (authority) and substituted with a passive verb phrase of the past tense <u>called</u> to be tied (to remove agency in making it seems as if there is no threat or wrongdoing in the action). This ties to the work of Fairclough (2000:163), as he asserts that patterns in such obfuscation are quite revealing of newspapers ideological codes. These recontextualized patterns above draw attention to the softening (or reversal) of racist speech and provides initial evidence that people of color tend to be represented in the press in a passive role unless they are agents of negative actions (Van Dijk, 2000:39). More importantly, the *rearrangements* in verbal processes may be very effective when this results in giving the readers wrong impressions through the backgrounding of words (which take away the racist tone of Hartley's voice).

Many would argue that the textual representations manifested are highly ideological and go into making a White outlook in reporting (choosing linguistic descriptions that foreground positivity). One need then to ask: What was the agenda of the journalist with

the misinformation through backgrounding (omissions) that caused a shift in semantic meanings? Is it an attempt from the journalist to reverse racism, minimizing or denying the degree of White supremacy, discrimination and offence echoed in the public to the poor and marginalized of Hangberg and Imizamo Yethu (through the avoidance of prejudicial language use)? Or is it that the newspaper (*Sentinel News*) is driven by capitalism (making profit), and thus not wanting to lose readership among the upper class elite of Hout Bay, which is predominantly White (cf Fairclough, 2000)?

To attempt to respond to these questions, it is apparent that the journalist concealed the racist behaviour of Vanessa Hartley through the *falsification* strategy. The journalistic text entails more of a 'defense of opinion' as opposed to the pursuit of 'truth'. This can be observed through the *addition* of apparent 'denial disclaimers' (Van Dijk, 1999:9) where the journalist gives Hartley a voice to state she is not a racist: "I don't see that stating the mere term African as racist". In Hartley's discourse, the lexical item 'Africans' is prefaced with negativisation, the noun phrase 'stupid animals' manifests that Africans are perceived as animals and the adjective/epithet 'stupid' paints them (Africans) as not being clever. Interestingly, it does not end here 'selected disclaimers of apparent 'ignorance' (Van Dijk, 1999:9) are evident where the journalist inserted Hartley's quotation, "what has become of freedom of speech?" What do you have to go down this road?" to portray her in a positive light - as a victim who is seen as racist. It was done to shift the racism from her (also see appendix at the back, the original Facebook post).

The headline: *Anger over racist rant* (*Sentinel News*, 5 December 2016) proves the above point; one could see that the lexical arrangements were done in a way that it did

not directly implicate Vanessa Hartley as a racist. No agent was mentioned in the headline (the person saying the remarks). As a result, passivation (Van Leeuwen, 1996) is realized by the backgrounding or whole absence of the actor. This is such a biased move because her identity in concealed, even though the phrase 'a racist rant' is cited.

6.3 "Race and the animal": White supremacy on social media (Facebook)

This section continues its analysis of Hartley's rhetoric on Facebook, as it reveals how contemporary White supremacist discourse conceptualizes people of African descent in ways that complement our understandings of Whiteness. The terms 'White supremacy' and 'Whiteness' point to the ways in which colorism (White as believed to be supremely beautiful, untainted, moral, good, intelligent, civilized, lawful, etc) is the hallmark of racism in post-apartheid South Africa. It also speaks to those who are phenotypically White and benefit unjustly from being White, and still play a role in constituting the non-White body as the 'Other' to sustain White racism (Frye, 1995:117).

As Hall (1999) noted, identification is always a double-sided process, constructed through - rather than outside off - difference. Looking at Hartley's Facebook post, it is premised on a presupposed difference linked to the pronouns 'They' and 'We' to polarize the different racial groups in Hout Bay (Whites of the Valley, Blacks of Imizamo Yethu and Coloureds/Moslems of Hangberg).With these presuppositions, Hartley conveys a 'We' positive-representation of the high moral Self to Whites (perceived as superior), which is in contrast to the 'They' negative-representation of the 'immoral Other' (non-Whites seen as inferior) (Van Dijk, 1992:89). What we see here is how lexical choices become illustrations of Van Dijk's "ideological square" where there

is a dialogical relationship between the positioning of the Self and the Other (Van Dijk 1992/2000). It is this relational dimension that is incredibly significant. Hence, the meaning attached to people's skin color (Blackness/ Colouredness) are constituted and configured (*relationally*) within a semiotic field of axiological difference, one that is structured vis-à-vis the construction of Whiteness as the transcendental norm (Yancy, 2008:846).

The discourse of Hartley positions multiple marginalizations and reinforces the image of the Other, "we should tie them to a rope" (people of color flocking to Hout Bay). As witnessed, the syntactic constituents 'too many' in the clause, "To (sic) many Africans flocking to Hout Bay" are highly ideological – it shows a desire from the White middle class to maintain control over Hout Bay, a former White apartheid landscape. This is an adjectival phrase 'too many' highlighting a huge quantity (amount) and serves as an attribute source (value judgement) linking the inferior, strange, uncivilized Other (non-Whites) to cause disorder based on their mere presence in Hout Bay. This is what Hage (1998:123) refers to as 'numbering pathology' often achieved in references or in predictions to groups and their action through exclusionary strategies (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). Clearly, there are assumptions for what to expect of a non-White body in a White coastal suburban space like Hout Bay (how dangerous and unruly it is, and how unlawful, criminal it is).

Clearly, the influx of these non-White groups to Hout Bay (particularly the Hangberg and Imizamo Yethu townships) constitutes a threat to the peaceful civilizations in the area. The mentality is that people of color routinely violate social rules, norms, and laws and will push Whites into the ocean (conceptual metaphor, meaning to force out of the

area); it is just a matter of time. The author argues here that non-Whites (Other) are viewed as a weapon in the alleged cultural destruction of the White race and space. This particular interpretation of Hartley's Facebook post (see figure *6.2*) reveal that non-Whites (Blacks/Coloureds) should be tied to a rope. In other words, they must be stopped before breaking down the barriers to racial mixing in the suburb.

In Hartley's discourse, paranoia (fear) is provoked in the following phrases, "Draw up a petition…Soon there will be nothing left of Hout Bay". It gives the impression that the non-Whites will bring filth and decay to Hout Bay that will negatively affect the beautiful ocean scenery of the Valley, as well as putting a risk to White existence. With regards to this, the study supports Marilyn Frye (1995) positioning that this discourse is a racist tactic that would enable many Whites to sustain and perpetuate their *whitely-being-in-the-world* (p.117). This fear of the White race's extinction (Lacy, 2008) from Hartley's Facebook post gives thought to the contemporary land reform issues in South Africa (distribution of land without compensation), where many Whites face the risks of losing acres of land/ properties to state custodianship. We have also seen an increase in White farm murders over the last decade, all potential motives that invite us to imagine why Whites in contemporary South Africa engage in such racist utterances on social media.[2]

What is most striking in Hartley's discourse is the animal term assigned to non–Whites, which reproduces a negative stereotype. The semantic meaning of the term rests in it usage - in this case, communicative information to stop their mobility to Hout Bay by

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[2]Farm attacks and farm murders in South Africa –Afriforum –www.afriforum.co.za – retrieved on 4 July 2019.

fastening (tie) them like animals to a rope. Besides this trace the continuing processes of racialization and exclusion of democratic South Africa. These linguistic expressions reveal that people of color are seen as less human; simply because of the way they look. Besides Hartley's discourse on the race-animality nexus, another example that took center stage on social media was Penny Sparrows Facebook post, in early January 2016. In her Facebook remarks, she compares the New Year's beachgoers of Durban as monkeys, adding that "they obviously have no education (*sic)* or whatsoever (*sic*) and so to allow them is inviting huge dirt and troubles and discomfort to others…all I saw were black on black skins what a shame"[3]. Both the White South African women (Hartley and Sparrow) used the racist animalistic metaphors (monkeys and animal), which rhetorically reinforce genetic inferiority and have the insidious notion that non-Whites are creatures that ravage civilizations. For Wolfe (2012), animalisation is at the root and hence, radical in its etymological sense, and of the primal scene of racism itself.

These are White supremacist images and serve an exoticizing quality to make non-Whites appear strange, different and dangerous to Whites (Said, 1978). As Mbembe (2017) notes, for the European liberal humanist subject, turning a human being into an "animal body effects a Fanonian (1970:10) epidermalisation in which Whiteness becomes the signifier of human, and it paradigmatic other, the Black body of Africa, the signifier of all that is animal". Under these conditions, the Black body is not human enough or it is non-human, sub-human or formed in its negation (Mbembe, 2017:73). Following historical academic literature, discourses of animality was a key apparatus of

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[3]*The Citizen.* 2016. Penny Sparrow calls black people monkeys. Available –https: // www. citizen.co.za – retrieved 19 September 2017.

Western European colonial domination across the globe (Skaria, 1997), which served to distance the African human populations (compared to the great apes) from the full human of Europe (Stepan, 1990). European colonisers justified their legislative and economic practices by claiming that natives were behind or below Europe on the ladder of civilisation and used the category racial difference to distinguish between the colonizers and colonised (Skaria, 1997). These colonial and Western stereotypes where Africans are seen as wild animals or apes (literature of history) are repurposed, reintroduced, and remediated in post-apartheid South Africa. Vanessa Hartley's and Penny Sparrow's social media accounts substantiate this. Again, we witness how the non-Whites are abject (wretched) and signified along cultural formations of race and the animal metaphors. Abjection ties the non-White body to what is foul, impure, a threat and poisonous to the existence of the White body. In other words, the abject is that what must be expelled from certain places in society, for the sake of security (Lipschitz, 2018:16).

To recapitulate, the analysis in this discussion unveils the specific words, metaphors, linguistic constructs and discourses (relating to poaching, and racial issues in connection with Hangberg), which index social change and ideological bias - these all moulding the perceptions of the reader. What the study discussed above is a bench mark for "White talk" (Daniels, 1997; Steyn, 2001) where space, race and pejoratives (crooks, animals) are re-appropriated in the remodeling of South Africa's historical segregation, racist practices and discriminations in a democratic era (see Cherryl Walker, 2008:230). Specifically, we explore the animalisation discourse in the production of the "human" and the "animal" within the post/apartheid zoologo-racial machinery (Wolfe, 2012). As noted, our study shows how social media and print media (newspapers) are used as

vehicles to promote hate speech and racist ideologies between various ethnic groups in post-apartheid South Africa. This being the case, this study argues that any anti-racist practices in post-apartheid South Africa must confront the technologies of animalisation that operate through and within the race-species order.

6.4 Visualization of multimodality and resemiotisation in '*Threat of Fresh Conflict in Hangberg*' (*newspaper*)

In this section, the study draws on a Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) through Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996/2006) seminal work, *Grammar of Visual Design*, which offers a useful toolkit for reading and understanding verbal and visual images in media analysis. The study examines the front-page images of the *Weekend Argus*, "*Threat of fresh conflict in Hangberg*", in accordance with the different features that represent meaning with regards to the physical positioning of texts: "the given, the new, the real, the ideal, salience, the margin and the centre" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996/ 2006).

Figure 6.3 Weekend Argus newspaper on fresh conflicts in Hangberg

Analyzing the thematic elements in the composition of the *Weekend Argus* front page, we see that the image that occupies the left express information already *given*, self-evident and commonsensical (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). It is the information known to the reader. On this basis, the reader/audience is invited to see the impoverished conditions of contemporary Hangberg through the visual device (visual shots on the growing number of backyard shacks in close proximity to the Atlantic Ocean). The 'given' information depicts Hangberg as one of the poorest locations within the broader Hout Bay context - poverty seems to be growing, owing to the high unemployment rate, lack of proper housing, and so forth. Now, the reader/audience is also informed about a situation in what Robins (2005:1) refers to as the "limits to liberation", which becomes evident with the impoverish conditions in the township. The metaphor illustrates that the promises on socio-economic transformation in former apartheid Coloured/Black communities are elusive and hard to imagine (Reddy, 2008). The poverty-stricken landscape of Hangbergin an era of globalization (post-modernity) can be interpreted by outsiders (those who do not belong) and the audiences as a dysfunctional place in terms of the inequality that exists there.

When looking at the visual representations (pictures) positioned on the right (Khoi man with horses and chickens and the two councilors with phones), the 'new' information is revealed. Additionally, the picture of the Khoi man with horses and chickens is an 'offer' image. From the vertical angle of the shot, the represented participant (Khoisan man) detaches himself from the audience by literally looking down which reinforces notions of mistrust, and being uncomfortable in the presence of media reporters. He does so from a medium distance, which does not greatly diminish the impact of his look

(Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996:126). In this respect, his facial expression is somewhat passive, he is not smiling (very busy in terms of what he is doing – feeding animals). It is important that caution is exercised when using Kress and Van Leeuwen's framework (1996) for offer and demand images, their toolkit is primarily designed to interpret images in a Western context. When we interpret images in African contexts, we should refrain from generalizations. In some African cultures, including that of the Khoisan indigenous groups, eye contact with men or older persons by women and children is generally avoided as a symbol of respect.

Although this image is not positioned in the centre, it does take a 'salience' effect in terms of the size and the content in layout (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). One cannot help but to put intense focus on it because the information structuring is eye-catching. The study would like to add that such visual arrangements are meaningful. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), different information values can be realised by the relative position of different elements vis-à-vis the vertical axis so that one can distinguish between a top and a bottom section. Drawing upon Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) metaphor theory, Chandler (2007) suggests that the compositional distinction between upper and lower areas in a semiotic space carries further associations, which are the result of the metaphorical meanings of 'up' and 'down' in English language use:

> [*U*]p is associated with goodness, virtue, happiness, consciousness, health, life, the future, high status, having control or power, and with rationality, while *down* is associated with conflict, badness, depravity, sickness, death, low status, being subject to control or power and with emotion (Chandler, 2007: 112).

There is an acknowledgement from the study that the distinctions between 'up' and 'down', 'top' and 'bottom', 'ideal' and 'real' (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006) and their respective connotations are not always applicable to all multimodal compositions of print media. In saying so, it is interesting how the visual image (the Khoi male with animals) of the upper section of the 'ideal' symbolizes the promise of democratization and economic development in a new South Africa. As for the interpersonal function, this multimodal device (of the Khoi male with animals) promotes the idea of hope and good news (Chandler, 2007) to the audiences about South Africa as the 'Rainbow' nation – a renewed country where peace, racial equality, multiculturalism and social integration are recognised. During apartheid such spectacles were visible,'considering the state - sanctioned oppression that took place for years on the grounds of race.

For argument's sake, the visual device is deceptive; it forces the audiences to assume that redistribution of land in South Africa is a successful project. It promotes a fallacious belief that the lives of the oppressed have been transformed through inclusive economic opportunities (Khoisan receive dispossessed land and engage in farming practices). In this way, a positive unified message is communicated to the world, as South Africa puts a foot forward to give an 'ideal' future for its citizens (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). However, it can be argued that the visual image functions from an *idealised* or rather persuasive influence, not reality (which appeals to *'what might be'*). On the other hand, the 'real' manifested at the bottom section (the picture of two councillors) tends to be more informative and realistic, showing us the reality of '*what is*' (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996: 193). As previously mentioned, the bottom visual positioned on the right confirms the above point; it depicts the new information, normally the contested issues – Hangbergers' fight against evictions.

Further analysis was carried out through the textual function, as one move the eye to the bottom image (picture), one is allowed for a particular reading that brings out textual coherence. Following Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) visual devices perform an ideational function, if their framing structures are considered in multimodal analysis of newspaper texts. In real terms, this suggests that vectors form part of the grammar of visual design; their presence within an image signifies different interactional patternsin the achievement of visual and textual amalgamation. In this particular case, the visual framings allow for socio-effective discourse cycles to come to the fore. That being said, the study proceeds to focus on the appraisal theory (Martin, 2000), the multiple facial expressions from the bottom device are visible, which stress socio-effective that give rise to interpretations of nervousness, sadness, anger and disappointment (see Chandler, 2007).

The researcher further recognizes appraisal references in non-linguistic cues (the gesturing of the hands in the air) as the two community councilors of Hangberg interact. Exploring the face vectors of the two councilors, effects of worry and distress (Martin, 2000) are palpable, which can be linked to reality (the real challenges of Hangberg, which brought different emotions to its citizens). In support, more convincing evidence is displayed in the headline, '*Threat of Fresh Conflict in Hangberg'* and sub-headline*, 'I won't move-they can kill'*. It is quite clear that the meanings and references that derive from the linguistic and visual devices are rich, so much so that they interact quite visibly with the audience on how social and economic issues (gentrification, evictions, conflict and displacements) negatively impact the local citizens of Hangberg in post-apartheid Hout Bay. Drawing upon Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1998) reflections, visual modes

serve to structure text and bring the various elements of the page such as photographs, headlines, and blocks of text together into a coherent and meaningful whole.

6.4.1 Mockery at play in visual semiotics: "Carnivalesque humour"

In light of the above discussion, the study continues its analysis by exploring how new emerging subjectivities and cultural practices associated with the colonial contexts are put on display in the news article, *Threat of fresh conflict in Hangberg* (see the visual of Khoisan man with animals of figure *6.3*). Machin and Mayr (2012) reminded us that "images can be used to say things that we cannot be saying in language" (p.12). The visual image of the Khoisan man with animals depicts the 'represented participant' (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996:19) wearing primitive (traditional) attire made of animal (leopard) skin and standing barefoot. Such visual images are viewed symbolically; different viewers hold different 'mental models' which are constructed in the historical dimension of discourse. Many people may know that walking barefoot is a tribal convention associated with pre-colonialism in some African cultures. From a Western perspective, being barefoot connotes primitivism (a status of inferior quality) or being uncivilized.

Of course, different meanings are created from such an image, it manifests a level of poverty with Chief Xoma participating in livestock farming (couple of chickens, ducks and three horses) in a coastal landscape that has high value. With such semiotic visuals, one is reminded of how the livelihoods of the Khoisan people of South Africa in the seventeenth century, during colonialism. This is quite interesting, because four decades ago there were virtually no sign of Khoisan people, their languages and rituals visible in the Western Cape Province, in particular Cape Town. The visual syntax of the image

provides evidence of a resemiotised cycle (Iedema, 2003) with the return of the pre-colonial indigenous body to its once lost ancestral lands in South Africa. Iedema's (2003) notion of resemiotisation is germane to underscore traces of the Khoisan history that dates back to pre-colonial contexts and the shifts in the social and economic practices which establish new meanings (new economies and land use patterns changed from livestock farming by nomadic Khoikhoi herders, to small-scale, mixed farming practices in post-colonial times).

As previously mentioned, the visual device is highly ideological, and speaks to the transformative project in Hangberg in Hout Bay - addressing issues around unity, integration (multiculturalism) and economic equality in South Africa, post-1994 (by including the Khoisan/indigenous people into the local economy of Cape Town). However, this vision cannot easily be translated into practice, given the heritage of entrenched inequalities that promote socio-economic cleavages in Hout Bay, based on class and colour. The issue here is that the visual presents a mismatch with reality (what is happening on ground level) – for example, the land used for farming by the Khoisan man was obtained illegally through land invasion.

In the same vein, the researcher acknowledges that there is a trick effect with the visual depiction of the Khoisan man in primordial attire, it comes to serve a function of "carnivalesque humour" (Bakhtin, 1984). Carnivalesque humour is achieved here through the photogenie and aestheticism (bodily presentation) - being barefooted and half-naked in Khoi (traditional) attire at an animal farm on the shorelines of Hout Bay. Surely, this provokes laughter from the readers of the newspaper, as they would find this odd and absurd. Such visual images may also be offensive to Hangbergers because

of the negative publicity (sketches) which reaffirms racial and ethnic stereotypes - that the offspring of indigenous people are poor, different (strange), uneducated and uncivilised in terms of behaviour (just like their ancestors).

Bakhtin (1984) extends his notion of the *carnivalesque* as a counter - hegemonic tradition which "embraces an anti-classical aesthetic that rejects formal harmony and unity in favour of the asymmetrical, the heterogeneous, the oxymoronic, the miscegenated...within carnival, all hierarchical distinction, all the barriers, all norms and prohibitions are temporarily suspended" (cited in Stam, 2000:18). In support of the above perspective, carnivalesque denigrates the seriousness of the topic: *Threat of fresh conflict in Hangberg*. The readers are offered the *reversal* of the social norm to light up their depressed mood (view and read the chaotic scenes in Hangberg through humour and laughter). The visual sketch (Khoisan man on farm) deconstruct or decontextualize racist stereotypes associated with being the Other through carnival (laughter and mockery) and depict non-Whites as having the same privileges/ benefits as Whites in post-apartheid South Africa pertaining to land and farming ownership.

Reading these multimodal visuals as narratives (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006), the newspaper creates an allusive ideology with the readers illustrating that the economic inequality and social exclusion of Coloured people (claiming Khoi identity) in urban South African spaces are declining. This implies that the poor population (Khoisan) is starting to live better in the dreary township along the coastal suburb, not as workers or servants but as farmers who have obtained land rights.

6.5 Summary

This chapter examined the media discourse that permits the author and readers to see how ideological practices were positioned regarding Hangberg in post-apartheid South Africa. Ideology was a core concept for this chapter to uncover the hidden meanings of discourse (not directly stated in text) and various ideological messages of the following newspapers, *Threat of Fresh Conflict in Hangberg*, *Sea Snail that Turns Men into Crooks*, *Sentinel News* and Hartley's social media (Facebook) remarks. In the analysis, the study uses in Cape Times newspaper, *Sea snail that turns men into crooks* to demonstrate how (verbal/written) language resort to discriminatory ideologies related to race, racism and other discriminative measures in attempts to construct Hangberg and its people negatively.

This chapter also explored notions such as recontextualization and resemiotisation in media representations (verbal text and visual images) to establish the construct of Otherness in relation to Hangberg. Additionally, it sheds light on other instances (Hartley's social media/Facebook remarks) that have a direct implication on racializing technologies; particularly the representational images of the 'animal Other'. These examples stage the historical (colonial and apartheid) resonances of the race-species order within the present and reveal animalisation's racializing effects (these animalistic metaphors highlight Black people as the highest anthropoid). That said, this rhetoric speaks to how South Africans think about difference or the "significant Otherness" (Haraway, 2012:97). Following Wolfe (2012:10), he clarifies in *Before the Law*, the architecture of racism as species difference is not borne out biological data (of the "properly" human) but instead birthed in bio-necropolitical technologies of making killable. As South Africans, we must dismantle the politics of animalisation, if we want

to come to grips with the complexities of racial, sex/gendered, classed differences that mark the post-apartheid South Africa.

Furthermore, the findings from this chapter also highlight the resurfacing of indigenous (Khoisan) identities in post-apartheid settings through multimodal texts that convey humour and sarcasm (see the article, entitled, *Threat of fresh conflict in Hangberg*). In this very same discussion, under the sub-theme: *Mockery at play in visual discourse'*, the study demonstrated the ways in which media discourse is borrowed from and transformed into other discourses, which highlight resemiotisation (Iedema, 2003). We were able to see how ancient Khoisan history is resemiotised, remediated and re-lived in a humorous way through cultural trait visuals associated with colonialism (being barefooted and half naked in dress codes of animal skin), all which may provoke laughter from the reader. Furthermore, in Chapter Eight, the study moves away from visual carnival scenes to expose linguistic carnival (humour and mockery*)* as being part of the post-apartheid Hangberg identity.

As noted, this chapter sheds light on the negative construction of Hangberg (as a poor, violent place) and its people (as uncivilized crooks who engage in illegal poaching and as stupid animals who will destroy the beautiful scenery of Hout Bay). Considering these negativities, the study drew on the postcolonial theories (Spivak, 1987; Xavier, 1998; Stam, 2000) to show that Hangbergers formerly colonized by the Europeans and later oppressed by the apartheid regime engage in strategies of resistance to deal with oppressive forces in their community. As seen in figure *8.2 b*, slaves could not fight openly with guns and thus created a form of dance associated with 'Kaapse Klopse' (*Cape Coons*) as an act of survival and to preserve their humanity against the centuries

of captivity. Likewise their slave ancestors, Hangbergers participate in the street parades (carnival) through dancing and singing that form part the Coloured identity in post-modernity, see figure 8.*2 (a)* in the beginning of Chapter Eight.

Chapter Seven

Hangberg as site of social contestations - Conceived, perceived and lived

7.0 Introduction

This chapter underscores Hangberg as a contested space, involving complex dynamics of place-making and highlights explosive disagreements, differences and conflict due to unexpected outcomes of engagements (Nayak, 2010). The chapter further explores some of the practices and mechanisms behind the multiple constructions of the Hangberg space and its meanings (the recent violent protests, gentrification and eviction issues, xenophobia, race troubles and segregation). An exploration into physical / semiotic landscape of Hangberg is necessary to observe the citizens' social struggles in public spaces, because the rights of people of color living in the city are constantly under threat, if not denied in full. Following Mbembe and Lebrevé, most social struggles of post-apartheid South Africa can be read as "attempts to reconquer the right to city/or be urban" (Mbembe, 2004; Lebrevé, 1996). With these imaginary geographies of the city, the study acknowledges that spaces comprise and support multiple publics and that "groups do *not* occupy a common sense of place" (Amin, 2002:8).

Lefebvre's (1991) '*Production of Space'* serves as inspiration for examining Hangberg within a globalized context, with the aims to contribute to the understanding of socio-economic transformation in Hangberg in its complexity and contextually. Lefebvre's (1991) '*conceived*, *perceived* and *lived*' spaces permit us to contextualize arguments within the socio-cultural conditions of the Cape for the analysis of events, contestations and meaning-making in the research setting. In this light, the thesis shows how the *perceived* (physical) spaces of Hangberg are messy, unruly, organic and chaotic places

where the buildings, the streets and the linguistic landscape reflect the diverse facets of globalization, gentrification and property development. Such understandings tie in with the spatial practices (*lived* experiences) of the residents, framed in their (*conceived*) spaces - their imaginary representations that become a visual trace of the hotly contested debates.

The author also extends Lefebvre's (1991) exploration of space of the street through Scollon and Scollon's (2003) work on spatial semiotics, Jaworski and Thurlow's (2010) survey on the semiotic landscape, Pietikainen *et al.* (2011) and Scollon and Scollon's (2004) nexus approach of visual space. These are theories based on the geosemiotic analysis, which situates signs in the material world, approaching them as actualisations of multimodal social semiotic texts and interactions that take place in very specific geographic locales. This highlights Hangberg as a research site of encounter of the cycles of habitus, interaction order, place semiotics and visual analysis (Scollon and Scollon, 2003:8).

In addition, Kelleher and Milani (2015) examined the geosemiotic cycles laying emphasis on the notions 'surface' and 'underneath' with respect to LL research - to make sense of the texts visible in public space that allows for a rich and complex understanding of place. Drawing on the notions surface and underneath in this chapter, this study argues that Hangberg can to be read from different vantage points: from *above*, from *below*, or *from in between* surfaces. The conception of surface points to the visible designated texts: the visual signs of streetscapes, front shops, transgressive texts on walls and architectural structures and the linguistic styles in contestations (protests

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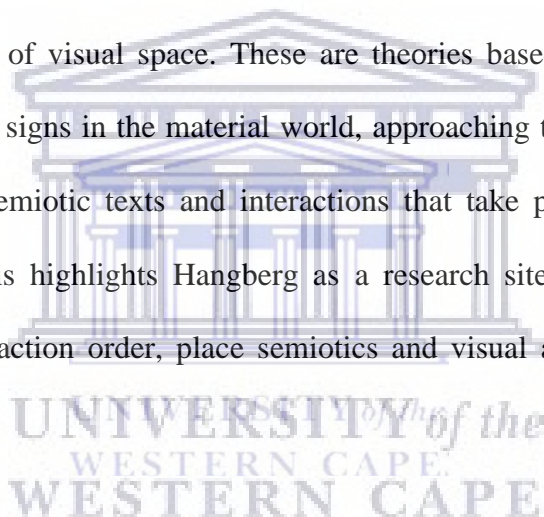
materials). Thus, reading Hangberg from multimodal semiotic texts allow this study to capture the post-modern geography juxtaposed with sensory and interactional activities.

Any surface, however, cannot exist without an underlying ground – the underneath of Hangberg's racial segregation past, a common history of oppression, exploitative fishing labour and forced demographic change on the urban edge. The underneath, in this metaphor, is what might not be directly visible but nonetheless imbues verbal/visual manifestations with meanings, namely, the contemporary lived experiences and the histories of a place. To complement the surface, the study accentuates the concept underneath later in this chapter, as it explores the embodied practices of the beachgoers through the habitus cycle of the interaction order (Scollon and Scollon, 2003; Goffman, 1983).

Through the body as semiotic landscapes (or semioscape), the researcher challenges the "domain of corporeal construct of bodily practices in place-making and how visual space is a result of human actions..." (Pietikainen*et al.,* 2011:277). The thesis demonstrates how the body is caught up in a visceral literacy (Andrejevic, 2010), the ability to read underneath the skin – the inner or hidden emotions and dispositions within emerging surveillance practices in which it manoeuvres. This is captured by the photographing and mapping of the corporeal landscape where the body is under scrutiny through observation.

The study now explores the surface of the LL of Hangberg, the deep complexities in terms of social contestations in the township. How Hangberg expands as a new space for citizen claims in post-apartheid South Africa is of particular interest to this study.

7. 1 A contested space: Gentrification, urban change and protests

After twenty years of transition from apartheid to democracy from 1994, Hangberg is produced as a complex and ambiguous space where the representations of space give the neighbourhood the appearance of a hotly contested space. The surface of Hangberg presents a battleground of conflict, threats of gentrification, the casualization of fishing labour through retrenchments, high rental costs and the privatization of land that led to protests and evictions in the area. Walking through the site, it was clear that these social struggles/challenges in Hangberg, coupled with the demands for better living conditions were unavoidable (as they are diagnostic facets attesting to social transformation). From photographing artefacts and meeting people, this community was (and continue to be) threatened by market-driven displacements, ever since the Sentinel Mountain went up for auction in 2009 (cited in Prince, *Independent Online*, 16/01/2009, emphasis added).

In line with the discussion above, the researcher draws on the work of Davidson and Lees. They assert that gentrification centres on the reinvestment of capital, social upgrading of a locale to attract high-income groups, landscape change and the displacements of low-income groups (Davidson and Lees, 2005:1187). On the other hand, Slater (2006) outlined the class angle to gentrification, arguing that the process has its roots in "class transformation…change in an area's social make up and resulting in the displacement/evictions of poorer sections of the community" (p.716). The visual images of figure *7.1* below validate the perspective of the above-mentioned scholars. Processes of gentrification in Hangberg were tracked down in property development that led to increased property values and the escalation of class differences, especially between the newly arrived elite and the existing local working class.

Figure 7.1 Hangberg as gentrified space: new residential departments for the upper-middle-class renters.

Although these architectural buildings are promising, the reading of the post-apartheid city is similar to that of the apartheid city. The discourses of spatial transformation in post-apartheid South Africa results in new forms of segregation (territorial boundaries) and exclusion inherited patterns of uneven development. As we know, boundaries create identities and are created through identity, in this case, perpetuated by the new-gated communities in Hangberg as they inherently exclude/segregate the insiders from the outsiders for fear of the Other.According to Bagaeen and Uduku (2011:2), the Other outside the gates are often demonized as the low life, criminals and undesirables from whom the deserving middle classes needed to protect themselves.

The cosmopolitan crossings of the global elite seem to be an uncomfortable topic for Hangbergers. They are caught between a rock and a hard place (in a difficult situation), as the globalized forces reinforce marginalization and inequality in the neighbourhood. There is a belief that the White elite are taking over and strategically trying to push out the Coloured population from the area. The researcher explored some of these themes (the influx of high-income groups to the neighbourhood) in depth in the interviews that

she conducted from June 2014. Such an investigation bestowed the researcher an opportunity to speak to residents who have stayed in the community for many years; below is Aunt Shelley's discourse, a resident of Hangberg for more than 40 years. This is what she had to say about the disadvantages of gentrification in Hangberg, post 1994.

Extract One:

> The government, now wants to move (displace) our people to Blikkiesdorp, daar op die Flats (*there on the Cape Flats*), daar is nie a see and mountain nie, soos hier nie (*there is no sea and mountain there like here*). They don't want to give us land to build houses, ons leef op mekaar, een tot drie families bly in een yard hier (*we live on each other, one up to three families stay in one property*).

This is an example that truly captures the economic constraints and exclusionary dynamics concerning gentrification and development, as Hangberg is undergoing rapid demographic changes. Taking this into account, the study draws on the work of Wacquant's (2009) *Punishing the Poor* in which he outlined people's struggles over space and their responses to public and private urban planning initiatives in gentrifying neighbourhoods. The story of Shelley proves to be useful and conveys the same message as Wacquant that gentrification influences the residents negatively, in that it fuels class struggles between the displaced and the economically favoured. Quite a lot of local citizens perceived as land invaders (outsiders) were shipped out from coastal urban Hangberg along the Atlantic Ocean to Blikkiesdorp on the Cape Flats, a newly created peripheral location/township.

Shelley's discourse holds significance and ties in with Fieuw's (2011) study on Hangberg, as he declared that a significant number of low-income households of Hangberg (approximately, 75 shack dwellers) received eviction notices when they refused to be displaced in 2007. In support, the researcher also consulted reports from the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign (AEC), as they propose that the South African Sea Products, a subsidiary of Oceana Fishing Group and an established commercial fishing business in Hout Bay Harbour, relocated 40 families from the company's residential hostels (subsequently demolished). These families were displaced to low-cost housing projects in Mitchell's Plain, 40 kilometres away from their original work place (AEC, 11/04/2008). Rumours were going around that the company was in the process of tearing down its hostel accommodation to sell land to private land developers (Fieuw, 2011).

It is through these exhibitions of gentrification and displacements that "marginalized actors can claim power, thereby exercising citizenship from below" (Sinwell, 2010:67). In relation to this, some community members reveal their visions for the kind of place that Hangberg should be. Aunt Brenda, a Hangberg resident for almost 60 years, had the following to say:

Extract Two:

> We feel powerless, not knowing what to do but also 'kak omgekrap
> met die government (*also are very unhappy*) with this because they
> want to sell land on top of the mountain to high status mense van oor
> see (*rich people from over seas*). Daai lady, hoe nou weer ... Oopra
> (Oprah) Winfrey, ja sy and (*yes, she and*) Bill Gates and that Tiger
> mannetjie van golf (*Tiger man that play golf*). We told Zille, not in our

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name, they can't build here. This is our land, our heritage for our

children, ons gaan dit nie net verkoop nie, al is dit biljoene rante (*we*

won't just sell our land, even if it has a cost value of billions of rands).

It is evident from the extract above that some local residents began to worry about their

younger generation retaining property in the area; they realized that if some families

take money from outsiders (developers and investors) the social character of their

neighbourhood will change radically (which is already happening). The following

statement alludes to that "We told Zille, not in our name, they can't build here. This is

our land, our heritage for our children, ons gaan dit nie net verkoop nie, al is dit biljoene

rante" (*We won't just sell our land, even if it has a cost value of billions of rands*).

Illustrated in these comments are the ripple effects of gentrification that give rise to the

massive class differences and bring about pressure on local residents' ability to retain

the character of their location. In instances like this where hegemonic macro-structural

forces (development interventions, gentrification and displacements) seems total at first,

one could be guided to believe that there is no possibility for human agency to resist

these challenges, as they are typically the problems of the new South Africa (Marais,

2011; Robins, 2005). It appears to be the case in Hangberg, when Aunt Brenda states,

"We feel powerless, not knowing what to do but also 'kak omgekrap met die

government (*very unhappy*) with this because they want to sell land on top of the

mountain to high mense van oor see" (*rich people from over-seas*). In the upcoming

discussions in this chapter, there are examples showing how Hangbergers are caught up

in these economic inequalities and thus, utilize their informal powers (through protests)

to oppose threats of gentrification and displacements.

That being said, the study draws on data (visual images) from online media forums, which broadcast the public visibility of protest events in Hangberg from the year 2015 until 2018. It is important to mention that the protest materials (images) derived first from the physical context of the unrest/turmoil, and shifted to other contexts like websites (internet) where the researcher took them, thus repurposed, remediated and reused for the academic writing of this thesis. Scollon (2008) refers to these trajectories of reuse and re-representation as discourse itineraries "the historical path of these resemiotised displacements" as they are reworked across activities and various media platforms (Scollon, 2008: 234). This demonstrates that the focus is shifted away from discourse analysis (language) to an intertexual analysis (to assess the intersemiotic relationships of co-occurring signs within a single text).

Being able to explore the turbulence in Hangberg through the conflict materialities, this thesis understands the *LL as a mode of discourse*, which relates to social structures and agency (contested issues). Taking a discourse approach to place (see Scollon and Scollon, 2003), the protest signs allow the study to examine "the languages written on the public signs intended for viewers to be read" (Spolsky and Cooper, 1991: 81–84) and how human participation and identities are constructed in the production of space.

7.1.1 "All hell broke loose" in Hangberg – The surface

Looking at the images of figures *7.2 (a) and (b)* below, they attest to the new spates of violent protests, reflecting a coastal landscape in turmoil with the burning of tires and rubbish bins, which led to the closure of Harbour Road on 12 September 2017. It is important to mention that the visibility of conflict increased significantly over the last eight years in Hangberg, owing to gentrification processes that led to home evictions.

Figure 7.2 (a) burning of tyres and bins[4]   Figure 7.2 (b) protesters covered faces [5]

Before delving into analysis, we concur with Mitchell (1995) that public spaces gain political importance if marginalized groups take them and then reconfigured as spaces for representation. This is illuminated in the visual devices above. We see how Hangberg is undergoing a process of transformation since the end of the White minority rule (apartheid) in 1994 as well as "social contestations that of which [exceeds] ... that of disruption" (Norval, 2012:819), as citizens resist hegemonic forces by expressing their right to live in the suburbs. Drawing on the notion of surface, the conflict and dissent in the LL of Hangberg can be read semiotically through an arbitrary reference grounded in visual semiotics (see Crouch and Lübbren, 2003),without us depending on linguistic articulations.

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[4]https://www.news24.com/South Africa/news-hangberg -residents -protests- for- better-living conditions

[5]https://www.sapeople.com/2017/09/14/mayhem-hangberg-deputy-minister-police-cancels-imbizo/

Going back to the early 1990s and 1995s, the sign interpretations in the 'looking' and 'seeing' (visuality) are linked to Peircean social semiotics that has been widely recognised in the field of sociolinguistics. Peirce's work made an important contribution with regards to digital information in photography which pictured reality (Peirce's theory of 1972). More importantly, Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) of photography is the main frame for analysis. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006) provide tools (compositional elements: salience and framing*) with which to analyse the multimodal texts of figures *7.2 (a) and (b)*. At the same time, the photo images also necessitate the need for embodied and appraisal scrutiny as they show ideological representations - different bodily gestures and positionings of the represented participants that may well construct their identities for the readers.

Looking at the interrelated nature of the multimodal text of figure *7.2(b)*, it is moulded through effect (Martin and White, 2005), an appraisal tool to analyse the protesters feelings and positionings subjectively. For example, the jumping, lifting and gesturing of the hands of the protesters in the air beckon "body talk" (Weiss, 2002) or "body-based image schemas" (Csordas,1994) - descriptions, metaphors and metonyms of the body that act in violent protests. As can be seen, the visual syntax is powerfully framed as the photo construct the protesters' anger and frustrations (effects) that reside internally within their bodies and the action of taking out their anger in protest demonstrations. Their emotions are real, actual and the consequences thereof are depicted in the images and the constructed sub-headline: '*All hell broke loose in Hangberg – The surface*'.

Interestingly, the disturbing visual materializing of figure *7.2 (b)* provides insight into elements of salience and framing in the construction of the events (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006) with the male protesters covering their heads and faces with cloths, that stirred up perceptions of transgressive behaviour of non-White bodies, which need to be policed if not arrested. These visual images also echo Hangberg as resembling a war zone (construct meaning options) as the protesters combat their removal from Hangberg (in the White coastal suburb of Hout Bay) to one of the former apartheid's so-called dumping grounds for Coloureds (Blikkiesdorp on the Cape Flats). Concerning this, Bangstad *et.al* 's (2012) work is influential to illustrate that the protest semiotics display the citizens' struggle for a right to exist in the city, in this case, a form of resistance against displacements.

It is so that these intense protest visuals had a large impact on the identity of Hangberg, as they did not go unnoticed in the media (see the *Weekend Argus* article entitled, *Threat of fresh conflict in Hangberg* in Chapter Six). Many media reporters used the protest materials to characterize the Hangberg in a negative light, likened to a ghetto (a gang - infested area).

7.1.2 "Zille is kak violent": Corporal punishment from the state/government

To approach the streets of Hangberg as a politics of space is to realise how important informal texts (protest materials) are to the interpretation of the LL.Turning to the theme 'discourse in place' ingrained in the geosemiotic analysis (Scollon and Scollon, 2003), the study looks at the emplacement of the semiotic devices of figures *7.3 (a) and (b)* below. In terms of placement, it is evident that the signs are mobile (transient), temporary and not stable or permanent. These types of signage produced by the locals

was also found in David Hanauer's 2009 study of transitory linguistic landscape – the signs move with the protesters and do not last longer than the event for which they were designed.

Figure 7.3 (a) sign discredit Zille as violent [6]   Figure 7.3 (b) Zille seen as evil Hitler[7]

The signs were easily spotted (visible), with the purpose of inviting by-passers to join the protest rallies. Looking at the following slogans, '*Zille is kak violent', 'Zille is die nuwe Hitler'* and '*Crimes against humanity committed by evil state officials'*, they can be read as both "linguistic and political ideals" (Harvey, 2008).These slogans are tools of geopolitical power; they reveal how the protesters distanced themselves from institutions of power (i.e. the Western Cape government). According to this perspective, the content in the posters allude to the contemporary socio-economic opportunities from which Hangbergers were excluded under the governance of Helen Zille (Premier of the Western Cape).

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[6]https://www.africasacountry.com/2011/02/the-uprising

[7]https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/angry-hangberg-residents-demand-answers-810379

Moreover, figure 7.*3 (a), 'Zille is kak violent'* confirms the negative emotion of anger and frustration towards Zille, also matching a judgement that constitutes taboo connoting cues. The reference of this phrase alludes to the common verbal profanities on the Cape Flats. In terms of code preference, it is a mixed language sign that comprises of English and Afrikaans words. The word 'kak' is an Afrikaans taboo lexicon, defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as "crap", "shit", "poo", "rubbish," "nonsense" and "worthless". In this light, the term 'kak' takes up different socio-cultural meanings that present the bad or low treatment that Hangbergers received from the Premier of the Western Cape. Furthermore, the grammatical structure of the words in the slogan '*Zille is kak violent'* alternate and do not hold the same meanings as ascribed to the so-called 'White' Afrikaans and 'White' English discourse practices.

Reflecting on the phonology category of English and Afrikaans as lexical items, the protesters use the knowledge of Cape Coloured discourse to create word play and the typical sounds of the Cape Flats. As Matthews (2009) points out, a 'White' Standard English and Afrikaans speaking individual who does not hold any cultural or historical background knowledge of the Cape Town's township communities and discourses would experience difficulties interpreting the semantics and meaning-making of the slogan. Indicatively, the taboo element 'kak' in the adjective phrase 'violent' portrays Zille as vicious, nasty and inhumane (her character is negatively constructed). This is what Ramonet (1999) calls the 'personalization of politics' where the political leader is judged or condemned on his/her character due to the governing decisions that they took. Besides that, the slogan *'Zille is die nuwe Hitler'* also construct Helen Zille as the oppressor (enemy) of the oppressed (vulnerable and marginalized of Hangberg) when compared to the evil Nazi leader who was guilty for the extermination of the Jews

during the Holocaust – https://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/the-holocaust: Retrieved the 14 November 2018.

Defining Zille as the new Hitler speaks volumes of the severity of crimes committed in Hangberg, the police are ideally expected to serve the community and maintain order and justice. This is in contrast to what the protest visuals confirm. There are emotional outcries against the physical abuse of Hangbergers from police officials who were accused of having blood on their hands as beaten bodies were dragged from the mountain / Sentinel peak, during evictions. As a result, the chaos and violence were blamed on Zille as the Western Cape premier for sending the police to demolish homes of illegal shack dwellers.

Figure *7.3* (c) visual demonstations against evictions[8]

With figure *7.3 (c)* above, there is an implicature showing '*Crimes against humanity committed by evil state officials'*. The slogan centres the protesters as the victims of abuse – suffering evictions on the coastal periphery of the city by the hands of 'the evil ones' (Helen Zille and other state officials). Consequently, this coincides with Fieuw

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[8]https://www.goodthings guy.com /people/hout bay-protest/

(2011) research when he stated that many of the shack dwellers of Hangberg in 2010 and 2017 were badly injured during these violent evictions and repression from the state officials when they claimed their right to the city (access urban land for housing). In this manner, the police's credibility as an effective security force is judged.

7.1.3 Identity and the reinvention of difference

As noted from the lexically rich protest discourse, Hangberg emerges as a theatre of political and economic contestations enacted in new forms of citizenship claims. This situation re-enforces Lefebvre's (1996) 'right to the city' that grasps cities as human spaces created out of and produced by difference that manifests in social spaces (the emphasis here is on the political and contradictory struggles between exclusion and inclusion for representation).

Figure 7.4 (a) visual on Khoisan identity[9]

As evidenced, the protest affairs are embodied in the 'right to the city', the Hangberg community fighting not to be excluded from the city and decision-making; and the

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[9]https://www.flickr.com/hangberg voices of the residents/ image - Khoisan identity.

'right to difference', the right to be free from externally imposed identification (see Lefebvre, 1996; Harvey, 2008). The author illuminates this with the examples (signs) provided below, as they present a discourse that gives rise to the construction of identity through difference and characteristics of the 'Other' (Hall and Du Guy, 1996). In accordance with the poststructuralist approach to identity, the differentiation is between 'Us' (Khoisan) and 'Them' Coloureds – as the protesters construct themselves as opposites (Hall, 1990). As Hall (1999) noted, identification is always a double-sided process, constructed through—rather than outside of—difference.

It is very clear from the slogan in figure *7.4 (a)*,*'We are not Coloureds, We are Khoisan'* that the protesters want the readers to know who they *are* (proudly Khoisan) and not Coloureds. Being Coloured is associated with a counterfeit (mistaken or imposed) identity constructed during apartheid. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2006:21) postulate that imposed identities are non-negotiable in a particular place and time. The protesters contested the Coloured label to negotiate their own identification of becoming Khoisan. "Being and becoming" in flux situates a process that calls forth past, present and future (Foucault, 1980). It can be argued here that the Hangberg protests, which reflect contestation in negotiation processes indeed mark the revival of Khoisan identity in *re-telling the past* (Hall, 1990). This is in line with Pavlenko and Blackledge who argue that negotiating identities in multilingual contexts "is much more nuanced and allows for a more complex and rich understanding of particular negotiations" (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2006:27).

Considering the ethnic consciousness in the LL texts (their collective memory of Khoisan history), the study turns to Theal's (1894/1910) essentialist approach that is

based on dominant Western paradigms of racial distinctions. Theal used the theory of race to classify the Khoisan indigenous group according to phenotype features (skin colour, physical features, customs and so forth), which was then linked to discourses of marginality, racial inferiority and stigmatization. Following the extract below:

> "*Bushmen or Khoisan are pigmies in size, yellowish-brown in colour, broad faces in line with eyes…flat noses with thick lips. Bushmen lived by chase and upon wild animals, honey, locusts and acrrion… their weapon of offence was a feeable bow but the arrow-head was coated with poison so deadly that the slightest wound was mortal*" (Theal, 1894:1-2).

Theal's remarks above disclose a Khoisan identity where race functions to stratify social systems in South Africa, during colonialism. As a result of the racial classification, this discourse attributes to features of the 'Other' (Said, 1978) as Theal constructed stereotypical images of the Khoisan's "broad faces in line with eyes…flat noses with thick lips". Such pejorative indexicalities substantiate that for centuries the Khoisan people were seen as sub-human creatures positioned as inferior (Pierce, 1997) under the White colonial rule. These colonial discourses, in which indigenous and black bodies are exposed to racist attitudes, are still evident in post-apartheid South Africa. This could be one of the reasons why Hangbergers reject the (oppressive) imposed Coloured label of the apartheid period. They do not want to be downgraded as people with no roots and not belonging to Hangberg (the land of their Khoisan ancestors). According to Adhikari (2005), the Coloured person's "desire to assimilate into the dominant society has been a key feature highlighting their drive for acknowledgement of their worth as individuals and citizens and acceptance as equals or partners by Whites" (p.8).

Although the protest sign in figure *7.4 (a)* evokes new identity options '*We are Khoisan'*, the negotiations and self-positionings are fixed, essentialist reconstructions, which are problematic. It is similar to the oppressive Coloured label imposed by the White supremacist state of apartheid. Such findings indicate how racial differences are on the rise (envisioned as a source of enrichment, choice and liberation) but very much recognised as categories of race and class that reinforce discrimination in the new South Africa. In fact, one of the more disturbing ironies of post-apartheid 'transformation', that provides a new salience to the essentialist versions of race (reinvestment in the body, place, identity and ethnicity as sites of differentiation).

Our findings further unveil linguistic resources showing deictic meanings pertaining to the Coloured Hangberg community through the claims of belonging and legitimacy in the following protest messages: *'This land is rightfully ours', 'We refuse to be called illegal'*. Scollon and Scollon (2003) explain deictics as "demonstrative and deictic adverbials (indexicals), which stress the socio-cultural conception of the spaces, individuals live in" (p.36). Personal pronouns may also be realised and reinforced through the same action of pointing, they index the people with whom we are speaking (Scollon and Scollon, 2003:36). Figures *7.4 (b) and (c)* below, contain personal and possessive pronouns ('we' and 'ours') and demonstrative determiners (deictics) 'this' that construct the spatial scale. It is this detailed unveiling of language/words with the extraordinary power that the protesters reterritorialize Hangberg by reinscribing history and meaning back into the urban landscape. They reclaim citizenship and a sense of belonging, as stated in the slogan '*This land is rightfully ours*' (see below).

Figure 7.4 (b)   Protest sign on land ownership[10]

Looking at the signage above, it clearly encapsulates cultural pride (a wonderful and worthy thing), where descendants of the Khoisan embrace their heritage to restore their dignity by means of land claims. As evidenced, the slogan '*This land is rightfully ours'* reveal the demands of the protesters, wanting the land back, which was taken away from the Khoisan population by the Europeans, during colonial times. One thing one can infer from the texts above is that the marginalized of Hangberg use the conditions in which they are disadvantaged (evictions, unemployment and poverty) to advance them by claiming an ancestral link between Hangberg and the Khoisan as the original owners of the land. In this case, the White elite who moved into the community or bought property are positioned as the outsiders. This strongly implies that the celebration of difference in contemporary South Africa (in terms of identity, belonging and roots) is to exclude and oppress other racial groups.

In the same vein, there is a real fight back for Hangberg; the visual device below illustrates a rescaling in power where the protesters decline negative proclamations *'We refuse to be called illegal'.* The linguistic commentary confirms that Hangbergers fight

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[10]https://www.flickr.com/hangberg voices of the residents/ image -land claim

social exclusion - contesting evictions from lived spaces (homes).The word 'illegal' indexes persons who are land thieves or engage in land grabbing unlawfully (a negative evaluation based on criminality).

Figure 7.4(c) sign displaying land invasion issues[11]

Appraisal is thus applicable here to written texts in that it provides analytic tools with which to examine how language is used to position participants (in this case, a judgement on illegal land occupants) within any given context (Martin and White, 2005). Overall, looking at the previous analysis discussions, there are various platforms through which Hangbergers seek to express their identity and with relevance to this study - the protests are one such avenue of expression. In addition, it is important to acknowledge the linguistic and visual codes (code preference) that convey the contestations in Hangberg. That said, almost all the multimodal texts were written in Standard English with no grammatical errors, so to speak. It is somewhat surprising to observe the absence of Afrikaans, considering that the majority of the people in Hangberg speak the language. Backhaus (2007) put this finding to rest, as his work revealed that the visibility of languages on visual images did not necessarily give a

[11]https://www.flickr.com/hangberg voices of the residents/image -land invasion.

picture of the language vitality of those languages. It is the case here; the languages in the protest discourses demonstrate the ideological fault-line (mismatch), as they do not reflect the actual linguistic practices of Hangberg. The fact that Afrikaans is not present does not mean that it is not used in other domains such as schools, health care and police institutions.

To recapitulate above discussion, it provides insights into the social contestations of Hangberg, as the community members articulate a strong personal sense of belonging to the place (for them it is their 'sacred heritage'). This can further be illustrated with the oral recordings of Aunt Brenda in the section, 'A *Contested space: Gentrification, urban change and protests'*. Her discourse reveals how residents are mobilized into one voice, protecting Hangberg Sentinel (mountain landscape) against elite outsiders such as Oprah Winfrey, Bill Gates and Tiger Woods who wants to buy the land. In a nutshell, these story lines depict the realization of Hangberg's worth, being situated on a spectacular setting (the magnificent Atlantic Ocean) – which relates here to questions of identity. One potential reason why Hangbergers redefined themselves as Khoisan people is to gain back control over environmental resources (land on the foot of the Sentinel slope).

In the upcoming chapters, the study further elaborates on how some citizens present their social relations with Hangberg through Khoisan healing practices and the lifestyle of the Rastafari. Here, one can assume that these voices and representations of indigenous and religious experiences give the Hangberg people a sense of belonging. On the other hand, these reconfigurations of old alignments of race/ ethnicity or religion party to processes of deracialisation but they are also implicated in the boundaries of re-

racialisation. It is to these ideas of re-racialisation (segregation/polarisation of the post-apartheid spatial form) that the study turns to next.

7.2 The phoenix rose again from ashes (segregation resurfacing at beaches) - The underneath

In Chapter Six, under the sub-themes:'*Recontexualization of racism in journalist texts (Sentinel News); and Race and the Animal: White supremacy on social media',* the researcher examined how race troubles associated with colonial and apartheid philosophies rematerialize on media platforms (Facebook and newspapers) in connection with the Hangberg identity. However, in this section, the study is shifting away from the race technologies in the media discourses and will concentrate on the physical landscape (Lefebvre's concept of "abstract space") in which power struggles occur in relation to embodied practices in urban settings (as they make up the mundane reality of racial contact and avoidance).

The metaphoric clause *'The phoenix rose again from the ashes'* in the sub-theme seeks to determine whether there is a rebirth of segregation in the public spaces (beaches) of democratic South Africa. Leading from this, the study's aim is to demonstrate that race as *lived* is a powerful experience, which emerges within an interstitial space of habituated bodily postures. The Hout Bay beach, near Hangberg is a fecund/ productive site for exploring race relations because many non-Whites (Blacks, Coloureds and Moslems, etc.) had the experience of Whites reacting to their non-White bodies as suspicious in the public. Lefebvre's (1991) triad of representations of (*conceived*) space, representational space (*lived*) and spatial practices (*perceived*) would further assist us to

explore how the beach space is produced through the interactions of bodies and objects (through the lens of the underneath).

7.2.1 "When place becomes race"

At this juncture, it is important to mention, despite the fact that Hangberg is in close proximity to the beach, its inhabitants could never go and enjoy such social spaces during apartheid.

Figure 7.5 Visual of Hout Bay beach in 1956 with Hangberg in the background[12]

The apartheid legislations were all about ensuring that people kept to their proper places. Nonetheless, these policies demonstrate how identity is linked to spatiality, constituted in the construction of "separate spaces for separate races" (Christopher, 1987: 8). The photograph of figure *7.5* above corroborates that, THIS BEACH FOR WHITES ONLY – HIERDIE STRAND NET VIR BLANKES. The contextual information on the sign highlights the apartheid social production of space in South Africa under the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No 49 of 1953. This act forced racial segregation in public areas to eliminate interracial contact. In conjunction with the

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[12]https://www.digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za –apartheid beach images of Hout Bay beach

above, Dixon and Durrheim (2003:2) stated that despite the abolition of institutionalised segregation in post-apartheid, public spaces "remain pervasive and adaptable systems for ordering social life to fuel racial discrimination and division". This is a significant finding suggesting that post-apartheid South Africa is still marked (branded) by physical, moral and social oppression. However, that being the case, this researcher is optimistic that intergroup conflict and racism between White and non-White South Africans can be reduced if members of the different ethnic groups are more civilised and interactive with each other under the right conditions.

Against this backdrop, the study draws on Scollon and Scollon's (2003) diagnostic framework of geosemiotics, which allows the body to be scrutinized as objects (social texts) through visual photography and observations. The aim here is to provide evidence that the body's interactional processes are indexical (Scollon and Scollon, 2003:27) beyond the label of languages and contribute to additional meanings to distinguish segregation in contested territories and in the construction of racialized identities.

7.2.2 A case for mapping the landscape: Body as semioscape

During the researcher's visits to Hout Bay harbour and seashore from the year 2013 until 2016, she developed an observational account of conduct amongst different racial groups. To complement this methodological initiative, the researcher drew on a behavioural mapping exercise via photographic representations as well as informal interviews (conversations) for the purpose of the overlapping themes involving power relations in this particular analysis discussion. She further realized using digital technology was fundamental - shots of the "sensory ecology" of the external world (at the beach of Hout Bay) would be captured through the camera lens. The researcher

observed the (beach) landscape as a "way of seeing the external world" (Cosgrove, 1985; Scollon and Scollon, 2003) and having a "visual ideology" of it (Berger, 1972).

Analysis of visual semiotics relies on Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA), which places the emphasis of analysis on the interactions between participants in public space on consideration of image (represented and interactional). Such analysis permits the study to navigate by gaze (and map read) beyond the surface of the participants', which offers a more in-depth account of bodily experiences in spatial trajectories. Stroud and Jegels' work is very insightful, as they inform researchers not just to know how signage of the body can be read but how it is embodied, enacted, re-narrated and performed in space and place (Stroud and Jegels, 2013). One can add that the 'representational' world (Lebrevé, 1991) per se is at once "work and product – a materialisation of social being" (Lefebvre, 1984:102) and thus projects power geometries through communications where bodies converse messages to either to exclude or include individuals in public spaces.

Taking a close look at the picture of figure *7.6* below, the mapping of the semiotic landscape elevates multiculturalism that is inevitably contradictory to the racial exclusivity of apartheid, if we are to speak about the abolishment of racial legislations of the Group Areas Act (with the physical appearance of boundaries, fences and White Only beach sign in figure *7.5*). Only in terms of the units of the interaction order (beach activities), there is a real comparison. Interpersonal distance does vary; this beach space is enmeshed in networks of cultural flows (high proportions of Black, White, Coloured and Indian beachgoers). Although there has been social transformation in South Africa's
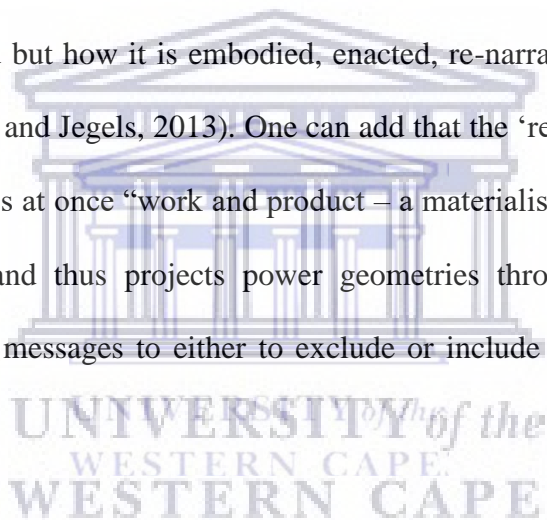
cities, the multiracial trends on these beach spaces should not be puzzled (confused) with genuine social integration and assimilation processes.

Racialising space: White beachgoers clustered in "dog walking spaces"
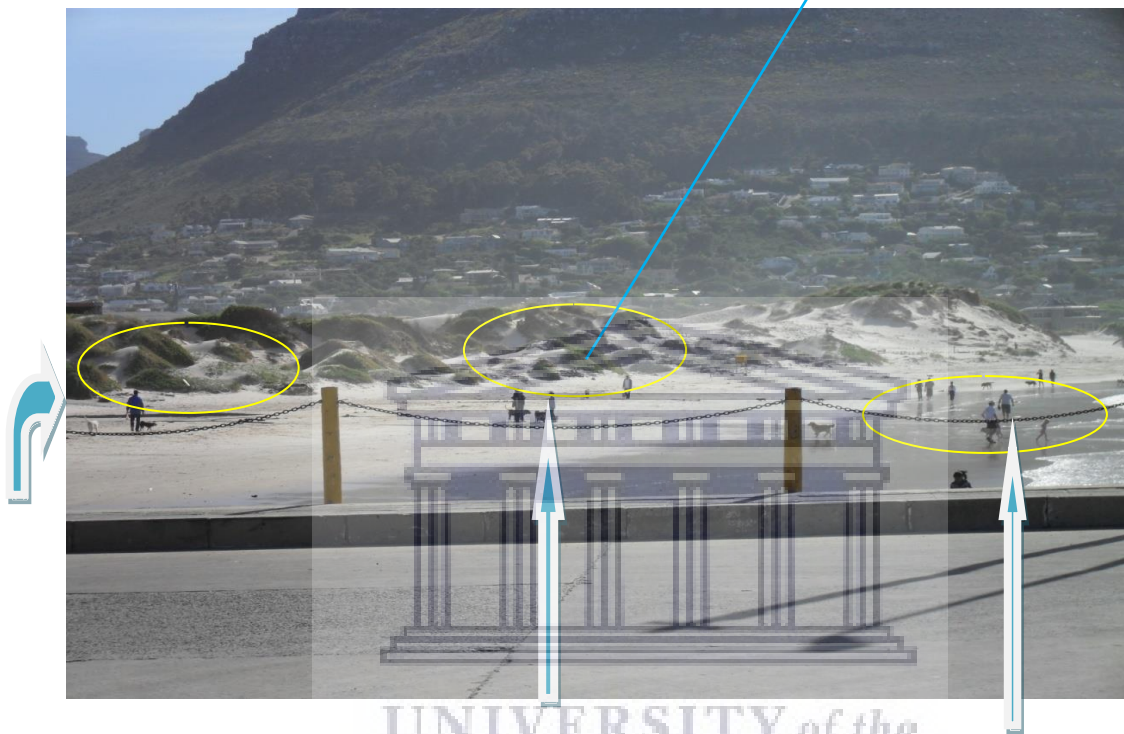
Figure 7.6 Hout Bay beach (near Hangberg) – the arrows indicate small clusters of beach-goers.

Building on the above discussion, Lefebvre (1984) also stresses that when talking about or investigation space, the concept of production should be emphasised such as who produces, what is produced, why and for whom. The findings from the visual of figure *7.6* reveal boundary narrative constitutive of social action: the clustering patterns of individuals, highlighting social polarisation (Barth, 1969; Paasi, 1995). Paradoxical to Dixon and Durrheim's (2003) work on informal segregation through "umbrella spaces", this current study shows a very different outcome in that White beachgoers are clustered in "*dog walking spaces*" (see figure *7.6* above) - territorial spaces that typically marked racial boundaries and constitute social distance between groups in public spaces,

displayed at eye-level. Apart from the information that originates from the visual device, the researcher observed that White beachgoers visited Hout Bay beach frequently with their dogs during weekdays and on weekends in the early mornings, preferably in the absence of other racial groups.

During the span time of three years that the researcher collected a morass of data across different discursive sites in Hangberg, including Hout Bay harbour, she witnessed beach withdrawals from Whites during big holidays (in December) when other racial groups occupy the same space(s) in great numbers. Through these observation accounts, it becomes very clear that the beach territories are no longer fun spaces where Whites can be free or feel 'in place'. Given the general lack of contact between racial groups on the beach space (from the above visuals and field note observations), the resurfacing of segregation based on a racial order becomes evident (this development alludes to the metaphor '*the rise of phoenix from the ashes*'). It becomes apparent that Whites are paying more attention to the visibility of the high crime instances that is currently taking place in South Africa (interviews and observations give confirmation of this). In this context, the walking of dogs on the beach space serves as a means of defense (protection) against (Black) violence or criminal behaviour against the White body, in post-apartheid South Africa. The non-White body is shown to undergo a process of 'confiscation' or exclusion through the phenomenon of the white gaze, which is a form of embodied seeing. Fear of crime is predominately concentrated amongst Whites; see the interviews below, which validate this argument.

Reflecting on the dog metaphor, it is striking to see the use of the dog by Whites (dog lovers) in post-apartheid South Africa, even if this representation is different from the

use of dogs on the Black body (non-Whites) during apartheid. By invoking incidents of history, Keith Shear's (2008) research established that South Africans experienced dogs as "powerful symbols of settler control" during the colonial period. He further asserts, "Dogs have also been a favoured instrument of repressive regimes" (Shear, 2008:195), including the apartheid regime. Shear's work is influential as it reflects clearly a concern with the "embodiment of colonial violence and the inscription of racist colonial and apartheid discourses on the Black man's body" (Pramod Nayar, 2013:75).

As noted above in figure *7.6*, 'White kinship with dogs' displays a symbol of love for the pet – part of the middle class suburban family home. The dog is also used in this contexts as defense force to secure the safety of Whites on Hout Bay beach, as the non-White bodies of men are perceived as a threat, a token of danger (characterised by all sorts of negative attributes to read them as dangerous, criminals, rapists, etc). Their Blackness / Colouredness are sufficient evidence of their brutality. What is passed off as 'seeing', however, is really a form of *reading* (Butler, 1993:16). This is clearly, what can be noted in the findings where representations of suspected violence have figured strongly later in the beach discourse (see section, *Phobia: White anxiety over non-White body*).

On the other hand, it was intriguing to see how the dog discourse also ascends in the post-apartheid evictions/forced removals of Hangberg. The researcher chose to look at the protest data: interviews and semiotic devices to show how the police dogs, along with teargas, rubber bullets, and water cannons were used as instruments to cope with the Hangberg riots. The historical construction of the dog as a symbol and instrument of repressive force is replayed in the post/apartheid state's management [police] of protests

that it construes as violent (see Logan's discourse below). For Login and others, the police dogs activated memories of how dogs became the tools of apartheid's brute violence when he said, "Hulle (polisie) kom hier met die bloed honde soos in di ou tyd, ou wounde van marteling is oppie oog gebring". [*They (police) came with their dogs like in the old days, old wounds of the past were reveale*d]. "Bullets het hier gefly, (bullets flew here) everywhere bodies dragged on the ground from mountain".

In these contexts, it is evident that the dog is used as a weapon on the non-White body in a postcolonial context (the body becomes a sign of the killable). When looking at Logan's discourse, we observe some chains of semiotic remediation in his narrative - we can immediately trace the recycling of discourses that highlight the eviction and protest itineraries, shown in the previous discussions. Similar to the multimodal texts of the protest signs corresponding to corporal punishment of the state in figures *7.3 (a), (b)* and *(c)*, the turn-taking itineraries in the above extract (novel) re-emphasises the very same intrusions Hangbergers suffered when they clashed with police.

The above analysis discussion shows that the body remains a site of contestation (in battles over territory); in this case, however, the body is highly racialized in that it reproduces boundaries of segregation in an informal manner between racial groups in beach spaces. The same can be said about space, as Sundstrom (2003:83) notes, "when we divide spatially, we cannot help but to inscribe and produce the categories and identities associated with our spatial divisions...as with racialized spaces come race". The beach space of Hout Bay (near Hangberg) is weight down by racism, White assumptions and phantasmatic constructions of the non-White body – the spaces at the beach is suggestive of the ways in which Whites inhabit space vis-à-vis other non-White

bodies. The corporeal integrity of the non-White body (dark flesh) undergoes an onslaught by White imaginary, which has been historically shaped and structured through the years of White hegemony (Yancy, 2008).

The findings in this section explain why one cannot just denounce the colonial and apartheid practices in the post-apartheid era – the beach space investigation illustrates a live reality. The outcome suggests that colonial/apartheid discourse is still alive albeit disguised under a new name, post-apartheid discourse. The beach discourse of Hout Bay (near Hangberg) is a pale reminder of how the non-White body has been historically marginalized and derailed within the space of the White body politics, as well as how it has been subjected to inhuman brutality. Important to mention that this history is the past and present - hallmark of racism practiced in post-apartheid South Africa.

7.2.3 Filth, physical appearance and uncivilized behaviour used to defend and justify xenophobia, racism and segregation in post- apartheid

After observing spots of racialization in the above analysis (the domain of leisure), the researcher acknowledges with such findings that a new type of racism and segregation has surfaced on beaches of Hout Bay, near Hangberg. Even though a multimodal methodological framework (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006) through the camera photography was employed - seeing 'how' and through 'what' interactional processes occur in spaces and places, the researcher argues that it is not enough to let observations and semiotic devices (photographs) speak for themselves. She therefore offers this section as a building block on the previous one, supported by the other bits and pieces of racism.

Given the above, the researcher looks at how the racialized body is presented through other distinctive ways, which is *talking* (the evaluation of narrative accounts of participants, see Davies and Harré, 1990). Through the gaze of the researcher and through interviews, this study supports the domain of representation through the semiotic landscape analysis. However, the study does not base its analysis purely on what signs show but also compares subjective understandings and contrasting points of view. The study presents rich examples here that are linguistic inscriptions in terms of what the narrators are saying (with regards to how they position themselves). The study underscores discourses of self-identification and draws on cognitive maps of movement in the city often shaped by racial metaphors. The evidence is based on how the individual body is implicated in blatant racist and inflammatory expressions ranging from affect/emotions (fear, anxiety and disgust) offered by author such as Ahmed (2004) and Fanon (2008); physical appearance (colour, skin and bold size depicted as threatening) by Mbembe (2003/2017); policing by Turner (1995); inappropriate behaviour (being uncivilized) by Dixon et.al. (1997); pollution and dirt (littering/filth) by Sibley (1995); and stereotypes by authors such as Hooks (1995) and Pierce (2001).

These racial metaphors provide a lens through which to see how the body is read off through identifications of racial differences of the Self and Other (see Hall, 1991) in public spaces. These are important representations for the researcher to understand fully how racism works and contributes to Whiteness ideologies. While doing observations on the beach, the researcher approached a White female (known as Elma from Hout Bay Valley) to get a sense of her social experiences at the beach in post-apartheid South Africa. The researcher posed specific questions around desegregation and forms of

interactions, which has transformed the beaches since the end of formal apartheid. This is what Elma had to say:

Extract three:

We have more 'mess' than before on the beach; food, fried chicken

> and meat, white pap (*porridge*) and bottles of beer leaving left overs
>
> here and rush off. It's loud music, running half nude, screaming, it's
>
> like a jungle, everything is wild, not normal. Why not clean up litter
>
> you don't do that at home. And you can't tell them that, they'll cast
>
> swears at you, tell you that you don't belong and should leave South
>
> Africa, because you stole from them. Ridiculous stuff, nowadays.

The extract above is very powerful as we are reminded of symbolic trashing of the non-White person as the 'racial Other' in public spaces (in this case, Hout Bay beach). It is clear that the subject (Elma) expresses concerns about non-White beachgoers and sees them as a threat to the clean, beautiful and safe image of the beach. Words and phrases such as 'littering', 'loud noise', 'filth / dirt', 'running around half naked' are amongst the more frequently invested with racial significance - the speech is coded as negative. On the one hand, the phrase "African food such as fried chicken and meat, white pap (porridge) and beer" transmits a message of being 'native' in terms of food branding, as well as resulting in filthy conditions (pollution) if people do not clean up after they have eaten. It is clear that words are carefully engineered here in Elma's discourse to characterise a realistic image of non-Whites as 'primitive/native' – 'backwards', 'uncivilized' in terms of behaviour and living in dirt.

In addition, non-Whites are also portrayed as living roughly/wildly, which implies that they are inferior, "they're described of running around nude, scream, making loud

noise", "they don't clean up after themselves", "the beach is like a *jungle* with them there", "they'll cast swears at people". These examples insinuate that people of colour are only capable of surviving in uncivilized environments such as jungles rather than in multiracial civilizations among other human beings. More importantly, this shows how territorial metaphors and uncontrollable characteristics are racially coded where non-Whites are seen as disorganized, spreading litter, being chaotic and lacking decency in the use of post-apartheid urban spaces. As Frantz Fanon (1967) noted, when one is dirty, one is black (non-White) – whether one is thinking of a 'physical dirtiness' or of 'moral dirtiness' (p. 189).

The way the non-White body is presented here is that it poses an infectious threat to the White body and need to be disciplined in the name of decency and cleanliness (marginalized by stereotypical judgments). The study argues that the polluting or painting of the Other becomes central to how White public spaces are ordered, structured and maintained in post-apartheid South Africa. The logic of White Order or/and the construction of Whiteness can be understood here as a "social organization that produces institutionalized and militarized conceptions of hierarchized human difference" (Rodriguez, 2006:11), placing the White race above the Black race. Having said this, Elma's discourse highlights the principal features of these modes of racial reasoning; her speech (talk) is textual evidence displaying how social spaces in the city (Hout Bay beach) are constructed through the grammar of race and power relations associated with White supremacist discourse.

In this way, Whiteness functions as a communicative practice (and ideology) that levies power through identities created in everyday interactions. Interestingly, this discourse of

defilement is not incidental; what is displayed here is a strategic disclosure on themes of filth and the transgression presences of township dwellers (non-Whites) and physical behaviours to characterize post-apartheid beach spaces negatively (cf. Dixon *et al.*, 1997). For many White Hout Bay residents, it seems that these gloomily visual scenes are the most salient evidence of the loss of Hout Bay's former pristine /faultless urban image along the magnificent Atlantic Ocean.

Having laid out some of the functions of the discourse of filth (race troubles) in public spaces, we can better understand how such discourse works as a "spatial purification practice" (Sibley, 1995) as a means to construct invisible boundaries (Barth, 1969). Within these frontiers, the contest for identity socialization takes place, as social actors attempt to create exclusive 'Us' identities and, by definition, outsider images that paint the 'Other'. In this instance, White residents of Hout Bay (Elma and other subjects) use the theme of filth to exclude and marginalize their township neighbours (non-Whites of Hangberg and Imizamo Yethu) to secure their position in public spaces (sharing public facilities like beaches, schools, hospitals, toilets, etc).

7.2.4 Phobia: White anxiety over non-White body

While the individual body is a key element in the previous two sections, we build on it here to illustrate further, how the physicality of the body and effects of fear (anxiety) are registered in White supremacy discourse. In the extract cited below, the study explores a White female's (Mariat) discourse, as she describes Black men as dangerous and prone to criminal behaviour in public spaces. According to Fanon "city people are good judges of danger, sometimes this attitude results in outsiders characterized and read off as dangerous and in a sense overdetermined by their racial appearances" (Fanon, 2008).

Regarding the stereotyping of criminal events, we witness below how the Black/non-White body is highly noticed for its non-belongingness and the threat it poses. In this respect, we demonstrate how fearful White people are in the presence of Black men. The subject's (Mariat) gaze upon the male Black body might be said to function like a camera obscura – in which she 'sees' a threatening Black body.

Extract four:

> Everyone coming here do whatever they want, steal, attack, rape and hurt people, just getting worse by the day. We need stricter policing here to check these men out. They are Blacks not from country and others are from there (pointing finger to Hangberg) and Mandela Park, they are major perpetrators, destroy us (Whites). You, just know, these big Black men looking wild and trouble shine from them. "How can you feel safe? Can't, feel safe coming to the beach..."My dog accompany me, I feel shield having him next to me. If something happens to me (rape) it can't be cancelled like credit card. This is a complete assault on our (White) race and (White) neighbourhood.

In this extract above, Black men are labelled as people who 'steal', 'attack', 'rape' and 'hurt' others (in terms of their behaviour and morality) and White people are the targets of such actions. Such characterisations culminated in a negative message of Black men *being* aggressive when Mariat states, "You, just know, these big black men looking wild and trouble shine from them". Mbembe reminds us that the "Black men's corporeal body is above all bodies – gigantic and fantastic (out of this world) in organs, colour, smell, flesh, an extraordinary accumulations in sensations" (Mbembe, 2017:39). There seems to be an offensive odour of the body with the words 'wild' and 'trouble' illustrating disparaging physical characteristics that flow from their appearances.

These correlates to Black African males carry a stereotypical generalized message that is based on a threat (Black men portrayed as dangerous and the enemy). The White female subject (Marait) thinks that her act of 'seeing' the Black man is an act of 'knowing' who he is, of knowing what he will do next. After all, she describes them in a negative light, highlighting corporeal topographies and morphologies that offer a way of mapping exterior traits to the interior of the Black men as violent, uncontrollable and as a threat to Whites. As Bell Hooks (1995) stated, stereotypes are inaccurate information, not only as form of representation but also as substitutions for what is real. To put it in Bell Hooks words, when Mariat sees strange males at the beach, she is on the lookout for potential threats and this fosters a general fear of getting hurt, "If something happens to me (rape) it can't be cancelled like credit card". For Mariat, an attack on the body is an attack on the person, leaving psychological scars that cannot be erased.

The above example buttresses a stereotypical formation and application on Black men as hypersexual, aggressive (violent), a token of danger, criminals and rapists (these are generalized opinions rather than commonsensical facts).When Mariat *see*s Black men walking on the beach, the symbolic order of Blackness is seen as *evil*. Their Blackness *is* the stimulus that triggers her response. 'The Negro, as Fanon notes, 'is a phobogenic object, a stimulus to anxiety" (Fanon, 1967:151). Mariat's discourse rhetorically functions to induce horror of Black men with her *fear for crime* -as an excuse *for her fear* of race and gender (she sees a non-White male predictor that will soon strike). Such conceptions associated with negative stereotypes are problematic; these ideologies speak of "horrible Black-on-White crimes" (Pierce, 2001), which implies that Black men regularly act out violently against White victims. Mariat's reading of the male Black body is incorrect, seems though that she suffers from a cognition dysfunction

(Mills, 1997:18) and a structured blindness, a socio-psychologically reinforcing opacity that obstructs the process of 'seeing' beyond falsehoods (these various modes of Whitely bodily behaviour reinforce and sustain White hegemony and mythos).

Going back to figure *7.6* above, we can see how the 'fear of the Otherness' is used as justification for social and spatial distancing marked by the body (informal segregation and exclusion on Hout Bay beach). Through stereotypical representation, the Black men become the imaginary Other (perpetrators) who threaten White civilization when Mariat says, "They are Blacks not from the country and others are from there (pointing fingers to Hangberg) and Imizamo Yethu (also known as Mandela Park), they are major perpetrators, destroying us". In this context, the study recognizes xenophobia (elements of fear) in Mariat's discourse, following Witbooi (2012) whose work draws on race-species meanings indicating how the Black foreign bodies were blamed for the social and economic issues in post-apartheid South Africa.

In respect to this, the study brings forth the argument that xenophobia is not unique to the post-apartheid era; the history of Hout Bay has threads of xenophobia that ran through it as early as the 1950s. The fear of non-Whites in so-called White spaces is a historically racist phenomenon where people of color could not live with Whites in one area (metaphorically, this attests to the deadly effect that Coloureds posed to the existence of White civilization). The fear for people of color was only mentally curable by physical racial separation. An excellent example of this is the forced removals of Coloured fishing labourers from the Hout Bay Valley to Hangberg at the foot of the Sentinel Peak in the 1950s (the apartheid government's decision to set up the first Coloured location on the periphery of Hout Bay, near the fishing harbour). Clearly, in

those days the non-Whites (Coloureds and Blacks) were diminished as peripheral and beneath Whiteness, perceived as the racial 'Other' (metaphorically so to speak, the foreigners or the inferior in the Cape).

To recapitulate, the discursive samples used in visual and textual beach landscaping of Hout Bay (near Hangberg) are instrumental; they disclose how fear of the 'Other' (real contact with other racial groups) in post-apartheid South Africa facilitates a new form of spatial ordering, associated with separation/ segregation. There is a disregard for interaction amongst various people over centuries and still occur (i.e. there is no interaction between people of different races). The White population of South Africa continues to experience a great deal of discomfort, fear and anxiety "as their proximity becomes crime against person and place" (Ahmed, 2004:126). For example, they use metaphors such as fear, disgust, pollution (littering, filthiness, and dirt), sound (loud noise), and uncivilized behaviours of Black and Coloured people to defend and justify segregation and White supremacy in post-apartheid South Africa.

With these symbolic constructions at the beaches, the racial separatism discourse of apartheid resurfaces where racial groups engage in xenophobic practices. As Ahmed (2004:128) recalls, "fear does not involve the defence of borders that already exist; rather, fear makes those borders, by establishing objects from which the subject, in fearing, can move apart". These effects then are always in emergence, calibrated through the sediments of histories of race that exist in the folds of contemporary South African suburban dwellings. 'Who belongs where' was a question that lay at the very heart of the doctrines of the old apartheid regime.

7. 3 Summary

In this chapter, the study explored the socio-political and racial contestations in Hangberg under the themes of dissent, conflict (protests), marginalization (evictions), discrimination (racism) and exclusionary discourses (segregation) to deepen our understanding of certain urban sociospatial processes in post-apartheid South Africa. This chapter offered an accessible and readable inquiry into distinct contexts in which discourse (language usage) and embodied practices manifest the above-mentioned contestations in what Lefebvre (1991) calls concrete space (spaces of everyday life and experiences). The primary aim of this chapter was not simply to show how the semiotic/linguistic landscape represents signage but acts as a crucial site of identity construction and representation in producing space. This exploration offered the reader an intriguing analysis of ideologized, interiorized landscaping resulting from the individual's interaction with the visual space.

This chapter also dealt with Hangbergers' attempts to reclaim their land and heritage as a source for identity construction that resulted through race and class differences, attached to the Khoisan revival in late-modernity. Neville Alexander (2002:82) writes, "South Africans are schizophrenic about their identity" and that they allude to the "identity crisis in the new South Africa" (Nuttall and Michael, 2000:110). It is clear, with the formal demise of apartheid (post-1994), notions of race, racial identities and racial reasoning have become newly politicised technologies, important avenues of interrogation and contestation.

Analyzing the racial contestations in public beach spaces, we have seen how identity is bound up not 'just' in talk and text but also in 'practices in-interaction' (such as bodily

movement in physical spaces). Lefebvre's three moments – the conceived, lived and perceived capture the bodily experiences towards space (Lefebvre, 1991:40) where we are able to see the tensions/ruptures between the 'US' and 'Them' (Gumperz, 1982), identities that reveal difference and messages that exclude/include and divide/integrate individuals in social spaces. It is the hope of this study to dispel the myth that embodied practices are not simply semiotic signs of the physical world but instead seen as actions through the notion of the habitus (Bourdieu, 1991), to explore how agents organized themselves into a particular hierarchy in the social space that led to social polarization (segregation and division).

To conclude, it was essential for the study to examine the body and its role in the mediation of power to determine how racial ideologies and signifiers were invoked in judgements of racial appearance in post-apartheid South Africa.We have seen how Whites used negative connotations (lexicons) such as dirt, pollution, littering, noise, fear, uncivilized behaviour to organize racist practices and socially exclude non-Whites, and framing them as the problem.
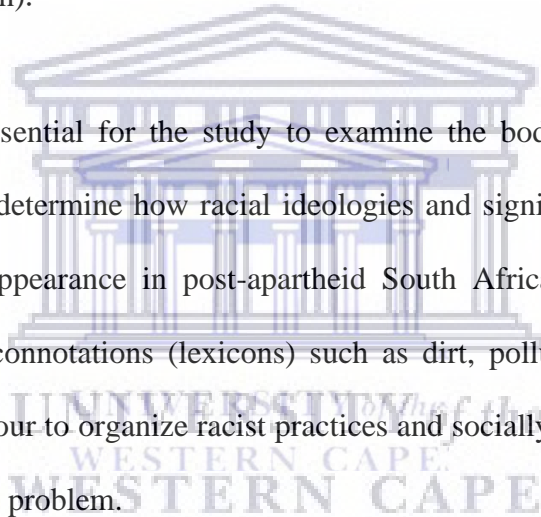
Chapter Eight

New semiotic spaces, literacy, identity and multilingual citizenship: A case for the linguistic landscape and narrations

8.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the crossing/dimension of identity construction, traces of the different languages and the social practices of Hangbergers, most significant the attention is drawn to multilingual citizenship in the periphery township. In order to make sense on how discourses are appropriated through the moments of people's everyday life, this chapter examines the linguistic/semiotic spaces and places in which Hangbergers anchor complex connections of *hybridity or hybridization* (Bhabha, 1994) to navigate across, between and within different realms of contexts.

That said, it is important for the study to look at how human interactions occur in public spaces, as well as exploring (new) semiosis of hybrid surface inscriptions, as it takes an approach to the LL. Here, the study underscores how semiotic spaces are reinvented in post-apartheid Hangberg, as well as looking at how language(s) and other linguistic resources (language varieties, genres, styles and discourses) intersect with the processes of globalization, multilingualism and identity construction. All these spatial aspects converge on the formation of new semiotic spaces, which evolve perceptions of multilingualism citizenship, localized practices and the stylizations of subjectivities.

It is important to mention that this study could have been conducted with any particular socially constructed ethnic group. However, within this so-called fishing community (Hangberg), there exists a myriad of social differences and heterogeneity (considering

its cultural and linguistic heterogeneity, and its spatial multilayeredness). As this chapter sheds light on the sociolinguistic processes of place-making across and within multiple discursive spaces, the researcher examines how the participants in this study look at the world from *somewhere*, a place from which spatial meanings ascend. This understanding contributes to Harvey's (1996) discussion of "places being the focal point of imaginary beliefs, desires, power, rituals, discourses, material practices and social relations, displaying symbolic and representational meanings…distinctive products of institutionalized social and economic power" (p.316). It is here that we make sense of De Certeau's (1984:117) suggestion of "space as a practiced place", leaving traces of multifaceted interstices of "nexus points" (Scollon and Scollon, 2004).

The study argues that investigating notions of space and place allow for an initial conceptualization of the Hangberg's LL, emerging from different entanglements, aspirations, intimacies and vulnerabilities in unexpected ways (Brystom and Nuttall, 2013:324). On that note, the study extends its multimodal visual analysis (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996/2006) on urban signs and their locations in this chapter, as it alludes to the semiotic/ linguistic landscape of Hangberg: to the layout, colour schemes and framing of texts, temporality of materials and the information placed in thematic position of texts to draw conclusions on the following aspects (given and new, ideal and real). In drawing upon an interdisciplinary approach (the theoretical and analytic frameworks of discourse analysis, multimodality and geosemiotic in Chapters Four), the study draws attention to the different modes of communication in landscapes as semiotic moments, highlighting the social circulation of languages, discourses, genres, styles (including artefacts and signs). Specifically, the study views signs as re-semiotised chains, the interactional artefacts of a sociolinguistic (multilingual) mobility

(here we attempt to understand the mobile phenomena associated with global brand flows, transmission of information [or language] across signs and contexts). It (study) examines the emplaced signage in space and place, and how they display recontextualized and resemiotised chains from previous contexts and practices. Investigating these spatial dimensions, the study shows how the LL of Hangberg is moralized through socio-cultural practices, historized in its streetscapes, spiritualized through religious institutions and their functions, graffitized through spray-canned discourses, sex and health literacy practices, and commercialized through hairstyling public signage and Coco Cola brand artefacts, exhibiting the social, religious, cultural and economic contours of the place.

Having said this, the researcher adopts a methodology that privileges the LL research for a broader conceptualization of discourse (the language used in signage and in speakers' public displays) and the assessment of the photographs taken, and their interpretation within the three cycles of discourse (interactional order, visual semiotics and place semiotics).The researcher also relies on field notes, interviews and map reading (see figure *8.3 (d),* the satellite map of Hangberg from Google Earth) within multiple sites to co-construct meaning. Carrying out interviews (narrative performances) with the participants in this study was very instrumental, as they offered the study detailed interpretations of the increased value of (multilingual) linguistic citizenship traced in code-mixing registers. The interviews are relevant to the contextualization of the LL within this research. With the researcher's interview encounters in the fieldwork, she came across many languages, dialects and social identity constructions that fit into the social, linguistic, and economic mobility of Hangberg, evident in the surface inscriptions of the LL texts.

Within this chapter, the researcher also carries themes over from Chapter Seven, with reference to the socio-political and racial contestations, which are intricately tied to processes of social transformation in contemporary Hangberg. As we know, surfaces are always shifting, exposing territories that are constantly subject to dispute, contestations, claiming and reclaiming. For this reason, the study draws on Scollon and Scollon's (2003) discourse cycle of visual semiotics in relation to place to illustrate how the notion of "ordentlikheid" (*respectability and dignity*) (Ross, 2009) emerge from the Hangberg's landscape, irrespective of the tensions (contestations), hardships and conflict that stretch over long periods of time. In terms of social, cultural and political complexities, the notion of ordentlikheid (*respectability*) emerges as a core value, resonating with local ideas of a good moral person, and new normative expectations of citizenship (Ross, 2009; Salo, 2005).

8. 1 In the midst of contestations, ordentlikheid surface among Hangbergers*:* A moral geography

Following the work of Kadushin *et al.* (2005) on new geographies of governmentalities under globalization, the study shows in the case of Hangberg how local authorities discriminated and marginalized the poor, not realising their "right to the city" (Lefebvre, 1996) when campaigning against evictions and relocations. In Chapter Seven, under the sub-theme: '*Zille is kak violent: Corporal punishment from the state/government'*, the study reveals how Hangbergers voiced their grievances against the state officials (the Western Cape government under the leadership of Helen Zille) who perceived them as the problem to be fixed, despite the fact that they suffer forced removals due to gentrification and development in Hangberg.

Additionally, what stood out the most while the researcher was doing fieldwork in Hangberg was the cultural agency of the marginalized. People were engaging in new socio-economic activities to create employment opportunities for themselves to address the current problems that they encounter in everyday life. We see these employment strategies as efforts of the urban poor to reconstitute their citizenship. After all, these are initiatives through which Hangbergers (the people of Hangberg) demonstrate that they lead improved lifestyles, not sitting back and wait for the government to do things for them. This, for them, is an attempt to contest negative perceptions of Hangberg, as it is often portrayed as the ghetto or what Yiftachel (2009) refers to as a "grey space", deeply rooted in social pathologies (violence, crime, drug abuse and diseases such as HIV and AIDS).

Going back to scholars such as (Robinson, 2006; Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004; and Ross, 2009), they made important contributions insofar as the resilience of Africa's townships and the courageous agency of their dwellers, seeking to create meaningful lives for themselves in the midst of poverty and social predicaments. All of these works provide some thinking into the social aspiration discourse, underlying the social construction of societies. A useful way to think and further elaborate on social aspiration is through Jane Hill's (1995) concept of "moral geography" to achieve better a understanding (or positive evaluation) of social settings (public open spaces). Pertaining to this, Tuan (1991: 694) reminded us that the "quality of place is more than just aesthetic or affectional; it also has a moral dimension". First of all, a moral geography is an interweaving moral framework linked to a geographical territory in which the human population of Hangberg redefining public spaces through expressions of ordentlikheid (*respectability*). From a social anthropological perspective, scholars such as Ross

(2009); and Salo (2005) redirected an understanding of the subjective value of ordentlikheid among the Coloured population on the Cape flats where the local aspirations (hope and desires) of individuals and families are in stark contrast with the reality of poverty, high unemployment rates, inequality and inability, to lead a life that is socially approved.

As the researcher explored Hangberg by walking on foot (De Certeau, 1984), more lines of ordentlikheid (*respectability and living a dignified life*) became observable in the social character of the area (a sense of community with regards to people's commitment to the church, to family life, and the celebration of local heritage were make known). The researcher was fascinated by the church popularity in Hangberg; it was obvious that Coloured people love church. The researcher could also not helped noticing individuals' active participation (*The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life;* see Goffman, 1959) in other church activities such as the annual church bazaars. She (researcher) soon learned that these are religious events that unite the friendships of people at a community level. At these special functions, the church congregations would sell second-hand clothing, shoes, books, barbeque, salads and cake to their members. All these social practices present a positive picture of the church and social fabric of the community as a whole.

Another remarkable feature from this community was the humanity (kindness and compassion) displayed for the people who had passed on (died), these are different types of interactional order units (Scollon and Scollon, 2003) through which Hangberg was read and discursively constructed. The Christian belief system in this place runs deep; the researcher observed how people went on Sunday afternoons to the cemetery, putting flowers on the graves of loved ones. Due to these activities, Hangbergers were

recognised as respectable people (Ross, 2009:3). This, together the religious rituals mentioned above attest to the spirit of communal activity, dedication to local traditions, social standards and upright lifestyle practices in the community. This leads us to affect and emotion spectacles (see death tributes notes below), which further verify the morals and values of the people of Hangberg through the notion of ordentlikheid.

8.1.1 A moralized landscape through affect /emotions: Death tributes

Looking at the visual device (photograph) of figure *8.1* below, it was discovered in the year 2014 at the exit point of Hout Bay harbour in the direction of Hangberg. Looking at the tree trunk, it puts on view self-made heart shaped notes, cut out by scissors, and written in pen ink. The messages were to the Hangberg families who lost loved ones (fishermen) in a tragic accident on the ocean. Here, we see the LL provides some retrospect into the past events, as well as exhibiting an idealized vision of a 'village-like' community that is sticking together in times of difficulties (mourning).

Figure 8.1 texts on the tree trunk reflect affect: messages of condolences / sympathy.

With reference to the landscape signs of the tree trunk, a strong sense of community is demonstrated through expressions of ordentlikheid (Ross, 2009). Hangbergers are

recognised here as respectable people through their commitment for love and social cohesion to community life (this ties in with the appraisal of 'positive politeness'; see Brown and Levinson, 1987). Many people, for example, were showing sympathy and kindness to other families who underwent trauma (suffering) in the community. Positive politeness cues came off strongly from the literacy devices on the tree trunk, some read as follows: Bied vir Hanberg ☹ Ans (*Pray for Hangberg ☹Ans*), Res in VREDE Geliefdes (*Rest in PEACE Beloved Ones*). These heart-felt messages coupled the white cross with flowers hold significance, displaying a narrative of a coastal peripheral community that has strong roots in the religious doctrine of Christianity.

These emotional writings (death tribute messages) also shed light on the language practices (the code-switch of English and Afrikaans) and literacies of Hangbergers. These written discourses resonate with the notion of genre (the register of the situation, see Eggins, 1994), which is influential in highlighting information what people *do* with discourse/language in public spaces. The study examines the death tribute messages as a type of literacy genre, occupying the surfaces of the LL (Milani and Kelleher, 2015).

1) Van *Ells (From Ells)*

   We miss you kla oom stompi (*We miss you already uncle stompie*)

   In di hemel (*In heaven*)

   RIP   ♡

2) Os is leeg and werloos vandag (*We feel empty and unstable today*)

   Want God het hard gepraat (*Because the Lord spoke hard*)

   Bied vir Hanberg ☹ Ans (*Pray for Hangberg*)

3) IN ROU GEDOMEL (*FULL OF GRIEF*)

   Not mch to sy (*Not much to say*)

Res in VREDE Geliefdes (*Rest in PEACE Beloveds*)

From Mark 2 FAM (*From Mark to FAMILIES*)

(All texts were recorded in hand written field note journal).

On a close inspection, the writing and language features on the messages highlight a multilingual community performing multiple identities (with the use of both Afrikaans and English in their speech utterances). The presentational devices*:* the words, phrases and clause structures were not in a standard version of Afrikaans or English; they were more informal, a hybrid discourse variety associated with periphery spaces of the Cape Flats. Taking into account the technical aspect, a visible lack of knowledge in terms of the correct pronunciation of words (phonetics) were displayed. A notable feature is the wide range of spelling problems (errors) in writing of the notes. The study elaborates on this below (see the underlining of lexicons).

The following examples in the written grammar stress non-standard spelling and the ellipsis/deletions of vowels and consonants within words (Kla for klaar, Stompi for Stompie, di for die, Os for Ons, werloos for weerloos, Hanberg for Hangberg, GEDOMEL for GEDOMPEL, mch for much, sy for say, Res for Rest).

It is important to mention, the fact that the rhetorical figure of speech occur through the deletions of vowels and consonants, it does not necessarily mean that the people who wrote these messages lack literary skills. These literacy practices and interactional routines resonate with the local population of Hangberg, they index familiarity concerning the orthographic manifestation and act as a representation of Cape Coloured identity. These messages point to what Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005) and

Vigouroux (2011) refer to as "grassroots literacy" practices - very common informal writing practices noticeable in contemporary South African townships. Albeit the spellings are non-standard and chaotic, it is difficult to distinguish whether they are genuine errors (associated with illiteracy) or deliberate deviations that contribute to a kind of argot or sociolect performance in speech (orality).

Considering the graphology of the writings, some kind of linguistic creativity comes through in the social cues (paralanguage and gestures). Graphological devices such as 'emoticons' are present, which conveying the mood of the writers. One of them is ☹ (symbol of sad face); a cue that draws on the discourse of sincerity (deep felt condolences) and through the (heart icon)♡ where love is expressed. In the same vein, the use of non-standard homophones, where a letter or number stands for a longer word is also used in creative ways (Crystal, 2001), acronyms such as RIP = Rest in Peace, From Mark 2 FAMS = From Mark to FAMILIES. The number/letter homophones displayed above, are also a common grammar innovation (modernization), which is popular in SMS text messaging.

Overall, this study insists that this type of literacy should not be seen as bad literacy (Goody, 1968) and brings forth the argument that grassroots literacies should not be discriminated against but allowed to co-exist alongside the elite, normative literacies. Adding to the discussion above, it is fascinating to see from the data (death tribute messages) how Hangbergers are busy reinventing their social spaces through creative language use (Vigouroux and Mufwene, 2008). More of these informal literacies in Hangberg's LL are to be seen under the spray canned discourses and graffiti writings (transgressive discourse), later in this chapter.

8.2 Cultural practices of Hangbergers: Sounds and carnival scenes

As the researcher travelled to Hangberg in the year 2014, one of her first stops was at the breath-taking landscape of Hout Bay harbour. Whilst wandering around, she was mesmerised by the beautiful seaside, particularly the fishing boats standing on the seashores.
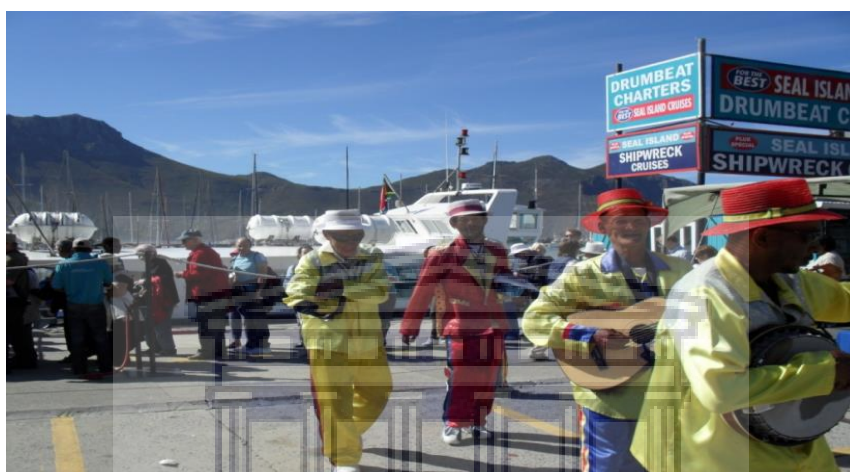
Figure 8.2 (a) Image of the Hangberg 'Klopse' in carnival performances

The fishing boats were small, colorful and charmingly traditional with names like Atlantic Princess, Brood winner vannie Baai, and Kaptein van die Seile. The harbour's architectures blend Dutch, British and Portuguese influences (its colonial past), as free reign was given to Europeans in the early seventeenth centuries in the Cape Colony. With the Atlantic sea dancing in lively currents and lapping on the shore, global and local tourists flocked to the harbour. Being there on of her visit, a flare of excitement filled the jolly harbour space, and the researcher noticed how a group of Coloured males from Hangberg roved the ground. They were fully costumed in colourful (sparkling yellow, red, blue and grey) jackets, trousers and hats with different musical instruments dangling in their hands. Sticks were stamped on the ground while singing and dancing to the sounds of their ghoemas (*drums)* and guitars.

The researcher deems the bodily performances and semiotic artefacts as meaningful resources with which one can see how the urban landscape is reterritorialized but more importantly, how people's repertoires of identity are reclaimed and reimagined by engaging in historical practices. From a tourism angle, these men are presented with an opportunity to create work for themselves to improve their lifestyles as well as carving out a space to display their cultural heritage to the world. The dances and music performed, served to stimulate collective memories of slavery and the indigenous (Khoisan) culture, and at the same time becoming a crucial link to the notion of identity. Hall (2006) notes that identities are multidimensional, constantly being renegotiated but never divorced from place.

Turning to the context of different activities in place and identities configured and represented: a social link between the performers and audience is established through the mode of representations (music and dance). As the researcher listened to the music of the Hangberg Klopse (*Hangberg Coons*), she recognised that the lyrics of the songs tie in with the discourses of the enslaved people – men, women and children who were forcibly abducted from their native land. The group, for example was singing an Afrikaans song that was very popular with the Cape carnival events, "daar kom die Alibama, die Alibama kom oor die see" (*There comes the Alabama, the Alabama comes over the sea*). These songs hold cultural significance, and allude to how slaves were crammed like cargo into rotting leaky ships headed for a variety of destinations: to and from African continent. An interesting facet of the songs, dances and bodily decorations of the Hangberg Klopse (*Hangberg Coons*) is that they highlight carnivalesque expressions of a deep-rooted Eurocentric, colonial gaze, mirroring the freed slave

celebrations in the 1834-1890 in the Cape Colony (Bickford Smith, 1995) (see figure *8.2 b* below).

Figure 8.2 (b) Image of freed slaves celebrating emancipation with ghoema-style drums and other musical instruments in 1834[13]

The visual image of figure 8.*2 (b)* above provides evidence that the Hangberg community has ethnic links to the Khoisan slave population; their symbolic and material practices in post-apartheid affirm this observation. We see that the carnival celebrations characterized by the bright colourful gear, music and dances at Hout Bay harbour (see figure *8.2 a.)*, exhibit a resemiotised discourse theme associated with the contexts of colonialism. Each year on January 2nd, Cape Town gets pleasure from the minstrel parade - a celebration as shown, dating back to the era of slavery in Southern Africa. A final thing that stands out is that the Hangberg Klopse (*Hangberg Coons*) shifted away from the old times of the carnival (Second of the New Year), they repurposed and reinvented 'new' time-frames to celebrate these events throughout the year. With this

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[13]https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/opinion/bring-to-an-end-the-enslavement-to-corruption-12210748

particular perspective on space/place, the study views the cultural materialities in figure *8.2 (a)*, the Hangberg Klopse (*Hangberg Coons*) at the harbour and figure *8.2 (b)*, the freed slaves celebrating emancipation as "rich bundles of histories, of discourses, of experiences" (Scollon and Scollon, 2003:15), which allow us to read Hangberg from socio-cultural and political trajectories: *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place* (Erasmus, 2001). From these carnival activities, we see semiotic representations of intimacy with their pasts, shaping the living connections of their present. More spatial readings are to come from the streets of Hangberg, see below.

8.3 Signscapes: Undertaken textual reading from the street

Following urban theorists such as Fritzsche (1996); Lynch (1960); and King (1996), they speak of "cities as text to be read" and argue through ordinary streetscapes people can observe the identity of a specific place. On the researcher's first visit to Hangberg in the year 2013, the first thing that was apparent while walking afoot up north from the harbour was the bulk of signs in the main road. These signs had been her first entry point to Hangberg and its semiotic spaces (see below).

Figure 8.3 (a) Informational signs in the streets of Hangberg

Pennycook (2001) asserts that there is no 'escape' from discourse (linguistic texts) when engaging in spatial semiotics. Hangberg's textual and visual environments correspond to that first walk the researcher had through the site. The visual quality of the territorial landscape complements the semiotic readings of the township's surface inscriptions. According to Nebeský (1989), people understand their surroundings by forming mental maps of the following material features: paths (e.g. streets and transport), edges (walls, buildings), districts, nodes (intersections, focal points) and landmarks. Looking at the emplacements of the street signs of figure *8.3 (a)* above, they exhibit the 'visual impressions' of Hangberg (Simmel, 1924) through a sum of textual inscriptions - the significant routes that mark the mapping of the township space. That is the linguistic landscape highlighting "[t]he language of public road signs, street names and public signs on buildings of a given territory" (Landry and Bourhis, 1997:25).

As Leferevre (1991) explains, a space of representation is a "space directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of inhabitants and users" (p.33). In truth, all the signs found in Hangberg are *deictic* - they serve to point the way (direction) to particular locations, as well as *interpellating* (representational), denouncing the naming of buildings and the semiotic function of those places. A good example of a deictic signage is the directions capped in arrows of where to find the different religious congregations in the neighbourhood (see figure *8.3 (a)* above). Also, the surface signs of figure *8.3 (a)* is rich in history and cultural expressions, highlighting religious references. The street names (St Simon Anglican Church, Methodist Church and New Apostolic Church, including the Mosque) on the signs declare faith–based ideologies under several institutes. Symbolically, these co-texts invite us to imagine these spiritual places as the food ingredients that nourish the community in post-

apartheid (keeping it alive as ideal space), if one considers the high levels of conflict (crime, gangsterism) in the area. Lefebvre notes that space can be marked abstractly by means of discourse and signs, and by so doing acquires symbolic value (Lefebvre, 1991: 141).

The Words "Our Lady Star of the Sea" and the image of a seal

Figure 8.3 (b) Image of the Mosque Figure   8.3 (c) Image of Catholic Church

In particular, a very modern, heterogeneous (multicultural) environment is designated with the religious aspects, involving Christianity, Islam and Catholicism. The religious buildings as structural parts of the urban architectural design prove that point (see figures *8.3 b – c)*. Looking at the visual depiction of figure *8.3 (b),* the architecture design of the mosque, we see a direct reference to the Islamic faith through the cultural materialities (minarets and cupolas artefacts), which staging an Eastern outlook. This is the only mosque built in Hangberg and accommodates 500 worshippers; it attracts no substantial resistance (cultural tension and conflict) from the majority Christian faith population. With mosques comes the call for prayer, which is indeed a *sound mark* (Bull, 2000) of Muslims practicing Islam in the area. There is a special significance with

the chanting of these prayers in that they have a deep Arabic sound (the recitation of the Quran), exercised by the human voice (Danielson, 1997). This ritual is contrary to the Jewish people who use the *shofa*r (horn) and Christians the *bell* to announce prayer calls or services. This is a welcome cue for the audience/readers how Hangberg has been transformed over the last 50 years with tolerance of diversity and unity through these religious institutions and their members (Muslims and Christians).

Some references on the signscapes and architectural buildings display intertexual references in the LL, which correspond to the coastal geography and religious observations. Visually, what is so striking is the linguistic expression *'Our Lady Star of the Sea'* on the wall of the Catholic Church (figure *8.3 c*). Against the backdrop of such socio-religious contextualization, we know that many Roman Catholics refer to Virgin Mary, the Mother of Jesus as 'Their Lady' or as they would say 'Our Lady'. As they know both the symbolic and linguistic significations of the phrase in their faith (showing devotion to Mary). The linguistic feature *'Our Lady Star of the Se*a' and the visual device (*image of the seal*) signify "intertextual chains" (Fairclough, 1992) with the biblical discourse associated with the Virgin Mary (Our Lady), which has been transported into new contexts to project and capture the identity of the present landscape of Hangberg (a coastal geography with aquatic resources).

Metaphorically, the emphasis is not on the people of the church, whose existence is embedded in the ebb and flow of the ocean, as they making a living from the sea. The dialogicality of this linguistic expression '*Our Lady Star of the Se*a' is visible in how it speaks directly to the seal image on the building (and not Mother Mary). Suggesting that the Hangberg, situated within Hout Bay area is home or colony of the Cape Fur

seals at Duiker Island, which is a twenty minute drive by boat from the harbour - http://drumbeatcharters.co. za/40/minute-seal-colony-cruise - Retrieved 31 June 2016. Seeing the text as constituting social relations, Fairclough (1992) explains this inter-semiotic, interdiscursive dialogical representation in the LL of Hangberg (the visual and textual inscriptions on buildings) as intertextuality, that is "property texts being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged...the texts may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo and so forth" (p. 84). The example above (figure *8.3.c*) also draw attention to Iedema's (2003:30) notion of resemiotisation that attends to "the transformative dynamics of socially situated meaning-making processes", which capture how discourses are shifted and reordered as they travel across contexts and then become encoded in different semiotic artefacts.

Passing the Catholic Church, the researcher traced colonial and apartheid language features in Hangberg's street inscriptions. The main street Karbonkel Weg (*Carbuncle Mountain Road*) is a good example - it offers a colonial inventory, tracking a particular history that is embedded in the colonial imperial structures of the city (with the display of original Dutch Afrikaans lexicons). This type of signage (figure *8.3 a*) mobilizes a discourse about the city, in that it has strong Dutch and British connotations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when the Europeans colonized the hearts and minds of the Cape populations. The researcher also came across other street names (Bayview Road, Kingfisher Laan, Atlantic Skipper Straat, Duiker Straat, Kaptein Straat, Seagull Road) that generated strong references in the contexts of historicity and the ecology (see figure *8.3 (d)* below, a satellite image of Hangberg from Google Earth).

Bayview Rd, Seagull CL, and Dolphin St

Kingfisher Ln, Atlantic Skipper St, Duiker St, and Kaptein St
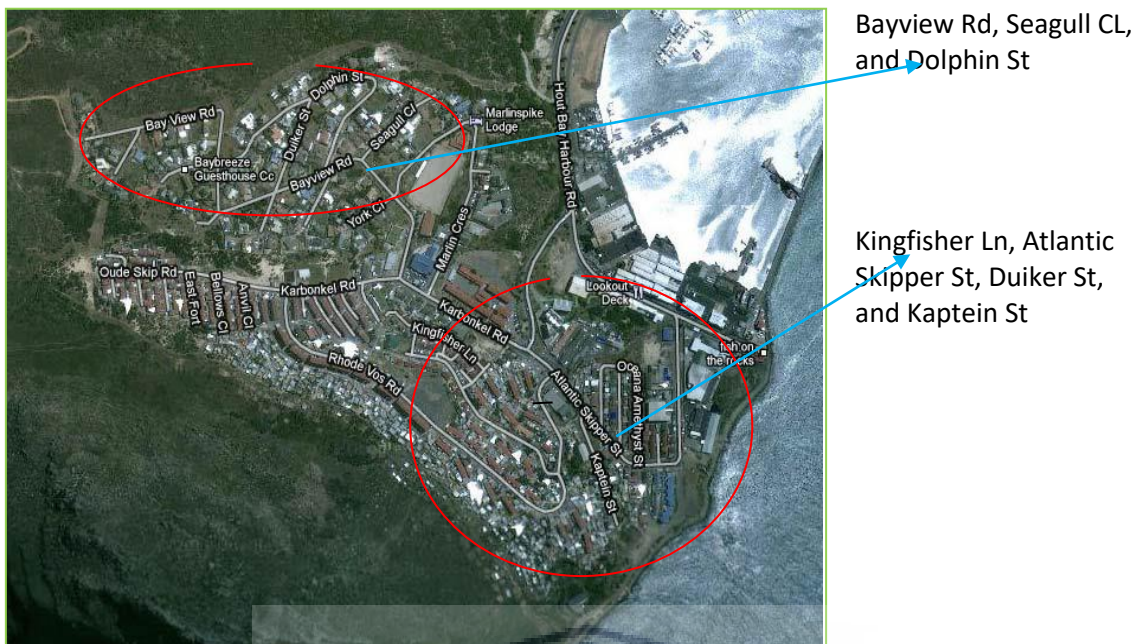
Figure 8.3 (d) a satellite image of Hangberg from Google Earth.

As noted, nature adds to these surface inscriptions, all the street names above hint at the marine coastal scenery. The street names are place-making connotations that indicate the reparable axes of traceable historical meanings, running all the way from the dockland (Hout Bay harbour) through the fishing community of Hangberg. On the other hand, the street names also give deeper recognition to the linguistic community (the people who stay in Hangberg). Landry and Bourhis (1997) note the linguistic landscape provides information about the sociolinguistic composition of the language groups inhabiting a territory in question. The spotlight is on the modest range of English and Dutch Afrikaans lexicons, discovered on the street signs that communicate a pre-historical Hangberg (the modes of communication implying that the community has links to the Dutch, British and Khoisan speech communities).

Despite the historical spectacle, what became more apparent in post-apartheid Hangberg was the rebranding or re-naming of streets. We can illustrate this with figure *8.3 (e)-* showing that the municipal street signage were absent. Some Hangberg residents came

up with their own street names, in this case '*Sonskyn Straat',* they incorporated in the semiotic landscape (see below).

Figure 8.3 (e) Monolingual Afrikaans signage, displaying graffiti

Looking at the semiotic function of the street name changes, we see the re-appropriation of the cityscape after the end of the apartheid rule in 1994 (this link in chains of recontextualized meanings). The emplacement of the street name in figure *8.3 e* cannot be seen as incidental, following Scollon and Scollon (2003) multiple symbolic meanings are hidden in a single signage (p.30). It is safe to say that the street name on the wall projects the place as local, as it reveals the language(s) that residents speak in the community (a token of place identity). It is interesting to note that the surface signs of Hangberg reflect on the urban cultures and rhythms (graffiti), impacting profoundly on how the area is perceived, regulated and navigated.

One thing that makes this graffiti work (figure *8.3 e)* so memorable is the fact that a permanent medium (paint) is used as an informal text in place. This is perhaps a key example of the style of Hangberg, its uniqueness in terms of the semiotic construction

of place. Solely based on Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996) views of information value (spatial composition), the graffiti text is playing with the spaces of ideal and real. The graffiti artist placed the visual message in an 'ideal' space, in doing so, transgressing the proprietary space of the wall on which it is painted. From a semiotic discourse perspective of LL texts (readings of graffiti), the physical geography of Hangberg is recontextualized, transformed and resemiotised - shifting its nature from the real world of sea, sunshine and mountainous peaks of flora and fauna to an imagined street art exhibition. Tellingly, the paintwork speaks of the beautiful scenery; however, there is a shadow side too. The gorgeous paintwork contradicts the reality in terms of what is happening in Hangberg on the ground – there is negligence in terms of infrastructure development (with no municipal signs in some streets). Other challenges such as the high rate of poverty, crime, social stress, unemployment, too much alcohol consumption and evictions gave rise to the conflict situations and hardships in the area.

With such negativity, Hangberg is often perceived as an undesirable place to visit. The graffiti displayed in the LL further strengthen such pessimistic view. They could be seen as incomprehensible hieroglyphic signatures that aggressively pollute the visual space of inhabitants, according to Milon (2002), a type of filth that damages Hangberg's attractiveness. More positively though, for some readers the graffiti texts sparkle the work of art, which record themes of aspiration, pride and resistance on the subject of belonging to Hangberg. The remediated outlook of Hangberg in the painting of the exterior wall (see figure *8.3 e)* designates a hope and bright future through the glaring of the sun. It also signals resistance whereby the sign producer challenges hegemonic oppressed forces as well as adding an initial understanding to the socio-cultural aspects of community.

Apart from graffiti discourse as social resistance to place identity, other transgressive semiotic discourses were caught on a school building (as from of art style) and a shop (as vandalism and rebellion), see below. More noteworthy, the graffiti texts speak to this study in different ways and opens up important directions for an understanding of the linguistic landscape, which brings out the complexity of dynamics of city spaces.

8.4 Graffiti as the transgression: Unwanted, 'out of place'

Veering off the main street, Karbonkel Weg (Carbuncle Mountain Road) on the second visit to Hangberg, the researcher found herself on the ground of a supermarket. It was situated in Bayview road, next to a dentist facility. From the outlook, it was an impersonalised space (anonymous), nothing about the business owner was revealed - no name and surname signatures

Graffiti text (transgressive literacy)

Figure 8.4 (a) consumption place (supermarket)   Figure 8.4 (b) graffiti that indexes sex talk

Looking at the Coca Cola signage of figure *8.4 (a)*, it communicates a type of decontextualized semiotics (Scollon and Scollon, 2003), which gives a very clear sense

of how the space is configured. The writing of graffiti on the walls of the shop (figure *8.4b)* is perceived as unwanted (undesirable), as the shop owner conveyed multiple complaints about his property being vandalised. The localized inscriptive graffiti texts are offensive and a marker of petty crime, something that came across strongly in the interview that the researcher had with the shop owner. The shop owner blamed the children of the community for the wall writings, stating "ek is gat vol vir die kak*, (I had enough of this nonsense)* what the children do to my business". "The gates at the back of the shop went missing numerous times and there is no explanation for that".In this case, the graffiti represents a form of "transgressive semiotics" (see Pennycook, 2007).

In the sub-headline, the researcher puts emphasis on the word 'transgression', which refers to conduct that breaks rules or exceeds social orders, it includes territorial trespassing, forbidden thoughts and activities (Pennycook, 2007). The conceptualization conveys the transgressive literacy choices that transcend legal norms in contexts, content and reference, as well as "violating the conventional semiotics of a place" (Scollon and Scollon, 2003:217). Hence, undesirable, owing that it is attached to a sex discourse condemned by the shop owner as a taboo. The visual literacy practice received a negative evaluation, as being *out of place* (Creswell, 1996) due to horrendous abuse of property.

8.4.1 Sexualization of language through transgressive literacy

As Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) argue "The place of visual communication in a given society can only be understood in the context of modes of public communication available in that society, their uses and appraisals" (p.33). This understanding of visual semiotics allows us to see clear links of a sex discourse in figure *8.4 (b),* which *breaking*

the silence on sex as a taboo in contemporary Hangberg. The graffiti literacy (writing) in the LL actualises femininity – it illustrates well how the girls express their sexuality and gender in the public sphere. This suggests that the human making of the landscape result of conscious acts, as the girls landscaping themselves. Likewise the Coca Cola logo of figure *8.4 (a)* that put emphasis on the idea of decontextualized semiotics in commercial linguistic landscape, the sex writings also depict decontextualized features in the graffiti writing (breaking down old traditional conceptions that it is wrong to utter sex discourses in public).

Figure *8.4 (b)* shows how the girls (Amber, Nay-Nay and Eve) are into sexual and romantic relationships. This is shown through their relationship statuses – Amber loves Wennen (a female is in relationship with a male), and Nay-Nay loves herself (Nay-Nay not in a relationship). They position themselves as 'cool' and 'fearless' through the following statement, "Os is net ons self" (*We are just being ourselves*).The vocabulary exhibits signs that the girls engage in acts of liberty in terms of who they are – mature enough to make sexual choices. This is a key moment as the girls' references are connected to their bodies, being sexually active to seduce men. At the same time, the writings highlight profane expressions in "Jou ding moet pyn" (*Your thing must be sore or pain*), which echoes sexual intercourse. Drawing on the semantics of the words Jou ding (*your thing*), they refer to the penis or vigina of a person, the words moet pyn (*must sore or pain*) refer to the burning sensation of the sexual organs after having sex. Exploring the semiosis 'underneath' the graffiti inscriptions, it is clear how the linguistic elements encode and produce selfhood/identity narratives through aspects of sexuality. The contextualising details of the sexual references are surely not what the shop owner wanted to see on the wall of his supermarket. Bearing in mind, in most

African cultures, sex talks are forbidden in the public domain (seen as violation of tradition).

Furthermore, the semiotic readings from figure *8.4 b* tell us that sex talk became a re-contextualized register; open for public debate in post-apartheid South Africa (a shift is taking place regarding sexual relations in the context of culture). We see this aspect of sexualization playing out in the interactions of the young girls and women in public spaces of Hangberg. Often do you hear them talk about their <u>minister of transport</u> (for mobility), <u>minister of finance</u> or ATM (for cash), and the <u>sugar daddy</u> (older men, often married) who cater for their consumption and/or subsistence needs (Dunkle *et al*. 2003; Hunter, 2004). These are all genre classifications that indicate how young women opt for a range of sexual partners who meet some of their material necessities (transport, money, rent, fashionable clothing, cell phones, etc).

Other incidences in which the researcher often heard these sex dialogues are bring forth here: namely contact zones such as taverns, street pavements, and public transport terminals. In these interactional contexts (social spaces), Hangbergers drew on manipulative vocabulary in which sex references were palpable. The researcher understood these sex signatures blended with euphemistic words. She often heard phrases such as "My skottle goed is seer" (*My private parts are sore*), "Oh, dus groot en lank ding, piere a donkie" (*Oh, it is big and long, like a donkey*),"ek soek al my goed vanaand in die kooi" (*I want all, tonight in bed*), "ek eet haar dat sy vomit" (*I work [or sex] her in bed that she vomit*) (the researcher took this information from her field notes). This shows more than anything else that the LL has an important role in socialisation, and in exploration of the public sphere. In making this argument,

particularly for adolescents (young girls), we see how graffiti in the space of the street plays an important role of what it means to grow up, to have a voice and to learn to let it free.

In the next section, the study demonstrates the link between transgressive semiotics (graffiti), sex talk and education in the periphery of the city.

8.5 Graffiti for teaching, 'a good cause': HIV/AIDS campaign

Looking at figure *8.5*, the HIV and AIDS spray-canned discourse (graffiti), it was found at Sentinel primary school in Hangberg. Important to mention that the researcher shifted her thinking of graffiti in this particular context, as she was obliged not to talk about graffiti as vandalism (as in the previous section) but as a form of art and health literacy practice.

Figure 8.5 Graffiti on the walls of Sentinel primary school (HIV/AIDS campaign)

On the subject of this discussion, it is fair to say that the school functions as activist space, choosing to educate its learners through spray-canned discourses to fight the spread of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases. This health project at Sentinel

primary school was launched by a non-profit organization, called LALELA. Its initiative is to create awareness on HIV and AIDS. With such contextualization of the LL, we are able to see how health campaigns open up spaces to get the nation talking about sex in public. According to Marks (2002), no one should shy away from issues of sex and sexuality, because the learners of this school live in an urban township (Hangberg) where the HIV epidemic spread rapidly since the late 1990s. Of course is ignorance the biggest killer when it comes to this deadly disease in South Africa. In making this argument, the study looks back at the Zuma case. According to Evans and Wolmarans (2006) during his rape trial on 3 April 2006, he said that he took a shower after having sex with a woman who had HIV to minimize the risk of contracting the disease (Skeen, 2007). In terms of ignorance, this signifies that Zuma lacks knowledge about the disease. His perception poses a great risk, as people might actually believe that taking a shower after unsafe sex could prevent HIV infections.

The researcher includes a variety of literature and knowledge from a number of scholars to this discussion of sex and health literacy. This leads her to the work of Oostendorp (2018), who made theoretical breakthroughs as she focused on the resemiotising moves (Iedema, 2003), analysing the shower statement of Zuma on various media platforms (newspaper reports, political cartoons, YouTube clips and public discourses). An interesting thing to note is that the shower comment plays a key role in evoking a broader chronotope of 'carnival laughter' (Bakhtin, 1981) in which Zuma's personae was mocked through his polygamous lifestyle. The researcher considers Iedema's (2003) notion of resemiotisation used in Oostendorp's study similar to Bolter and Grusin's (1999) semiotic remediation. Mambwe (2014), another academic researcher in the field of linguistics drew on Prior, Hengst, Roozen and Shipka's (2006) concept of

semiotic remediation to write on the *Fighting of HIV/AIDS through Popular Zambian Music*.

The above-mentioned scholars remarked that semiotic remediation "as a practice draws attention to the diverse ways that humans' and non-humans' semiotic performances (historical or imagined) are represented and reused across modes, media and chains of activity" (Prior, Hengst, Roozen and Shipka, 2006:734). Their work impart ways for us to think about the notion of semiotic remediation involving the repurposing, recycling, and recontextualization of semiotic resources to produce diverse messages that suit both the context of practice and the appropriation of meaning-making (Bolter and Grusin, 1999). This is particularly evident as the graffiti artists of LALELA repurposed the visual material (signage) and linguistic technologies of figure *8.5* (icon of red ribbon, colour choices and slogan 'FIGHT AIDS'*)* to spread awareness of safe sex and the risks of contracting HIV and AIDS. These visual devices capture recontextualized and resemiotised chains of an intertextual nature, highlighting how messages travel across different contexts and become encoded in diverse semiotic artefacts through different modes of communication (graffiti). Also, the visual literacy of HIV and AIDS can also be linked to other recontextualized messages of the *Lovelife* campaigns in South Africa (see Bok, 2009).

In treating HIV and AIDS education as a literacy practice (art painting / graffiti) is imperative because literacy is essential for health citizenship. This is evident when LALELA and Sentinel primary school took it upon themselves to stress the importance of visual literacy in today's urban environment. Their aim is to remove misconceptions among young learners and the public that taking a shower can eliminate HIV from the body after sexual intercourse (emphasis here is on Zuma rape trail statement). Looking

at the visual images of figure *8.5,* on an interpersonal level, the surface inscription establishes a relationship with the readers/viewers through several linguistic devices: the imperative verbal forms '*Use your voice'*, '*Use your power'*, '*Fight Aids'*. These grammatical choices create a powerful effect; they hail the readers /viewers into an imaginary dialogue with the HIV and AIDS epidemic. On account of this, the repetition of the words "use' and 'your' put emphasis on the second person, encouraging the learners as well as citizens to come out and fight against the spread of infections. The word 'your' as possessive determiner modifies the noun 'voice' and signals direct address to the recipient/receiver of the message.

Drawing on a visual-material approach to urban inscriptions under the framework of multimodality (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996/2006), in terms of the colour choice, the semiotic composition of figure *8.5* indicates multiple, rainbow colours (red, yellow, blue, pink, black and white, etc.) that create a strong, eye-catching chromatic contrast. These colours are salient from the angle of the street space and catch the attention of the viewer to the paint discourse. In terms of salience and colour choice, the visual signage on the walls of the school exhibits a 'high degree of modality' (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). The highly saturated tone of <u>red</u> in the semiotic object (ribbon) is a conventional sign that indexes to blood (red is like blood) and metaphorically, the danger of the epidemic. The colour <u>black</u> on body image is symbolic, indexing death as a consequence of the disease's devastating effects on persons. In light of these observations, the colour scenery of the HIV and AIDS literacy and art painting images create a powerful 'scale affect' (Blommaert, 2005), in that it is eye catching, informative, fun and vibrant to engage and target those who are shy to speak about the disease and its deadly effects.

Another striking feature on the surface inscription is the motto of Sentinel primary school, "*Respect, Integrity, Responsibly, Commitment*" on the right in the 'real' position of the multi-coloured rainbow design. Saliency is realised in the art paint image through optimistic colour schemes that do not attract anxiety but instead bring calmness and hope to the hearts of the learners (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). Subconsciously, the colour influences moods and reactions, which allow readers/viewers not to be afraid to know more about this disease. With these rainbow colours, the graffiti artwork brings 'positivity', 'excitement' and 'vulgarity' (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006:233). The spray-canned discourse is very powerful; a 'new message' is communicated, that the success in the fight against HIV and AIDS is reachable when individuals are morally conscious when sexually active - not engaging in unsafe sex (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996).

There is a clear sense in which the graffiti artists attempt to call up a positive response from the learners - being *responsible* and *committed* to practice safe sex by using a condom or abstain from sexual intercourse. The fight against HIV and AIDS is a key for the school, thus their motto, "*Respect, Integrity, Responsibly, Commitmen*t" is set up in this way to create as much publicity as possible, stressing to learners (and by-passers) that the fight against HIV and AIDS is about doing everything to protect yourself, and doing it with *integrity and respect* (openness and honesty with parents or family are required if your status is positive*).*

Overall, the LL of Hangberg does not only tell us about the sexual and gender identity categories of the neighbourhood, but illustrates significant health discourses. The study

continues to highlight graffiti as art work in education, as it creates an increased sense of belonging to these spaces (see below).

8.6 Spray-canned discourses (graffiti) in education: Biblical in reference

Looking at the visual depiction of figure *8.6* below, it speaks to us about a given territory - informing us through a recognisable genre on the container classroom that this is a day-care centre for kids. From an interactional point of view, the readings from the visual landscape of the crèche 'offer' (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006) Hangberg, a vibrant and sparkling outlook as well as positive readership for the audiences (those who pass-by the place). Milon (2002) has remarked that graffiti (as street art) is an "integral part of the city, it contributes to the definition of the city's exterior aspect (design) and identity" (p.11).

Figure 8.6 Graffiti found in English monolingual signage of a crèche

On the subject of the semiotic reading paths of this educational space, the composition, information value and modality of the objects/texts at the day-care centre (crèche) play an essential role in the meaning-making of the visual contexts and physical location (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). The semiotic category of graffiti could be analysed

here in terms of the vertical and horizontal axes of given/new and ideal/real. In terms of placement, we observe infigure *8.6* how the 'ideal' could be interpreted as the aspirational, the generalized message of the textual and visual image while the *'real'* forms or signals the practical information (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996:193). For example, figure *8.6* shows the vivid little painted angel is placed in the ideal position on the container classroom, followed by horizontal axis to the *real* position, carved with the written words '*Little Angles'*. At a textual level, the position of the verbal and image devices create a sense of cohesiveness in the multimodal composition of the design, e.g. constructing the place with localized inscriptions (graffiti as a form of art).

The lexicons '*Little Angles*' and the painting device can be linked to the Christian doctrine (from a biblical perspective), turning reading here into a required action for engagement to make sense of the urban environment. Let us turn to what the English dictionary says about the word 'Angel'. The dictionary refers to the word 'angel' as a spirit who is believed to be a servant of God and send by God to deliver a message or perform a task, and it is often shown with wings. Other bible verses have the following to say about angels. Luke 4:10 – For it is written, "He will command his <u>angels</u> concerning you to guard you carefully. John 20:11 and 12 – "Now Mary stood outside the tomb crying, as she wept, she bent over to look into the tomb". Moreover, saw two <u>angels</u> in white, seated where Jesus' body had been, one at the head and the other at the foot.

Evidently, in figure *8.6,* there is a reintroduction (reuse) of the biblical lexicon (Angel), which is rhetorically tied to moral standards attached to childhood education. This can be defined as intertextuality - texts that are worded in ways that presuppose other and

prior texts (Fairclough, 1992). The biblical appropriation sits comfortably with the crèche, suggesting that little children (Angles) would be safe and well protected in this learning space (angles are best known for the work, they do to protect people). Again, the LL of Hangberg reveal processes of intertextuality, resemiotisation and semiotic remediation, generating/promoting multiple reading paths by reference of the diverse range of linguistic, material and symbolic technologies. Moreover, the intertextual nature of these signs is significant for this study; as they capture the shift of meaning-making across different contexts, practices and modes of communication in multimodal construction of landscapes. As Blommaert (2012) puts it, "it is not just about borrowing and re-using 'texts' in the traditional sense of the term, but it is about the intersemiotic relationships (reshaping and reframing) of texts from one social world of usage into another" (p. 59). This is observed as the graffiti artists (sign producers) re-purposed and remediated meaning from biblical contexts to educational contexts - make use of the word 'Angels' in the semiotic discourse as the name for the crèche (see discourse of place, Scollon and Wong Scollon, 2003).

Furthermore, the study argues that the name of the crèche (*Little Angles)* elevates its meaning far beyond the ordinary; it conveys a sense of protection – a safe space shielded by a round fence. Children can be free - running, jumping and playing, as they wish because they are away from all possible dangers of the streets. Being a participant observer during visits, the researcher discovered that the crèche was a "translanguaging space" (Li Wei, 2011). The crèche adopted a policy through which it commits itself to multilingualism; focusing on multiple linguistic competences (and developed skills) through the accessibility of heteroglossic resources (Bakhtin, 1981). The institution's policy and services are not restricted to the children of Hangberg; it opened its doors

also to the children of Imizamo Yethu (neighbouring Black township in Hout Bay). What became particularly illuminating was the shift from monolingual teaching of Afrikaans towards a more integrated use of language, which generates translanguaging practices (with the meshing of Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa in teaching and learning). This explains how educational transformation through social integration and multilingualism manifest itself in the Hangberg today, despite the remaining legacies of apartheid.

8.7 Code preference, reference and interpretation

A very important facet of both LL research and geosemiotics is code choice/preference. In this debate, the study investigates the implication of code choice (revealed through the placement of code in the composition of the text - top, centred, etc) in the semiotics of place in the different sites of Hangberg.
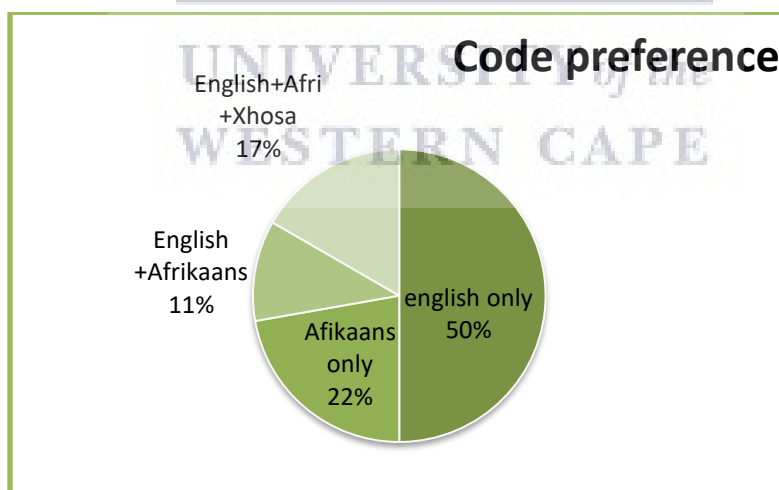
Figure 8.7 (a) A diagrammatic representation show the language choices in LL

Figure *8.7 (a)* above (the detailed diagram) shows the proportions of multilingual and monolingual texts as a percentage of total LL texts and then offers a breakdown per category. A total 90 signs were tabularized, which present all the languages highlighted

in the diagram pie above, In conjunction with the diagrammatic representation survey on the percentages of the code preferences of LL texts, the study also puts forward a table below, showing the language choice aspects with the content of artefacts of the LL. Through such quantitative counts, the study examines regularities in emplacement (where the texts were found), materiality / types of texts, language features and subject matter, see below.

Type of text	Amount	positioning	Language feature	Subject matter
Government and industrial texts	19	Sign posts, walls of buildings, service facilities	Translation of languages,very much multilingual and noun phrases appear mostly	Infrastructure, health, water and sanitation, fishery industry, library, transport
Formal text	19	Windows of shops, walls and lamp post of streets	Monolingual in nature	Information at schools, dentist points, churches, consumption of food in shops
Informal texts- vendors included	42	Hand written text on consumption of goods also colour writing(i.e. protests, home shops)	Monolingual in noun and verb phrases, dominantly multilingual texts	Service related, found at home run shops, consumer points on pavements
Informal texts-graffiti	10	Hand written text, colourful sprayed art visuals combine with writing	Spray painting with writings	At crèches, schools and on the walls of supermarkets

Figure 8.7 (b) Representation recapitulating key features of each category of text (genre). Illustrative examples of texts go together with the findings given in the diagram pie above on the different languages in LL.

Looking at table representation of figure *8.7 (b)* above, Hangberg shows a high proportion of informal LL texts (protest posters, emotional notices, consumer advertisements, transgressive texts/graffiti and so forth) that are found on the lamp posts, on trees, on the walls of buildings, on the pavements of the streets. The informal texts show a major percentage of handwritten content that produce connotations of space/place. The (handwritten) texts contribute to the discussions in Chapter Seven, Eight and Nine on contestations, literacy practices at grassroot level, inspirational and empowerment themes through consumer practices, multilingual citizenship and the stylization of subjectivities. This category also displays graffiti as spray-canned discourse that is significant as it brought out aspects concerning moral education, health literacy practices in schools (through HIV and AIDS campaigning) and place-making practices with the painting of street names on the walls. The branding of sexualization through transgressive literacy (writing on walls) was also a key feature in the semiotic construction of place.
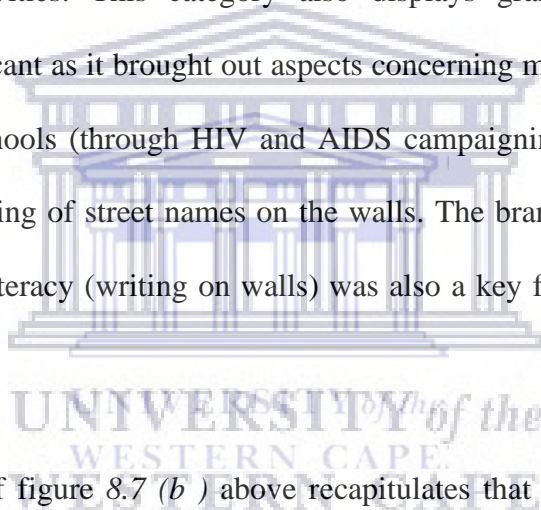
The table illustration of figure *8.7 (b)* above recapitulates that the informal texts (in signage and semiotic artefacts) have a high proportion of branding (through the Coca Cola logos and Rastafarian culture) for marketing consumerable goods and culture and they are predominantly colourful. See Chapter Seven, the 'right to the city' discourses were also present in Hangberg, they exhibit contestations (resistance against forced removals in protest messages) - all display in the informal texts (Lefebvre, 1996). Talking to some of the characteristics of the informal trade vendors' – they display texts on the pavement of the streets and at the taxi rank of Hangberg. These spaces are seen as legitimate spaces in the ecology of the street with the commercial discourses layered in their products and services on offer (see selling of herbs by Rastafarians in Chapter

Nine). The commercial texts in these spaces of consumption, for instance display language varieties known as a *peripheral normativity (*Blommaert, Huysmans, Muyllaert and Dyers 2005) – multilingual linguistic features with the use of Afrikkans and English as well as Dread Talk.

On the contrary, the positioning of formal texts appear more on sites such as churches/mosques, shops, schools, health agencies (clinic and dentist premises) and institutions (library), primarily with governmental signs on them. The table account of figure *8.7 (b)* shows that governmental and industrial signs do not occupy a very large proportion of the LL (less pronounced percentage of texts in total). In terms of branding, the governmental texts' format is formal; the use of image and colour is less (figures *8.7 c - d*). Examples of this is figure *8.7 (c)*, the signage of government institutions (Hangberg Community Hall) and figure *8.7 (d)*, the signage of a semi-privatized fishing factory are permanent (official) sign structures in the LL of Hangberg.

Figure 8.7 (c) Multilingual sign – informative   Figure 8.7 (d) Multilingual sign –cautionary

A very telling feature is that they are homophonic texts (signs with complete translation), serving to provide informative and cautionary/instructive information. Taking into account the placement of texts (languages) in the signage of figure *8.7 (c)*, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996:189) notes that the texts oppose left and right, the elements on the left are presented as 'given' or known information (painted image of table mountain with message: This City Works For You) and the elements placed to the centre and right as 'new' or more important information (identity of place – Hangberg Community Hall). It's important to mention that the spatial positioning of texts carry not only visual information but also ideological meanings. Scollon and Scollon suggest that the preferred code is invariably placed at the top, left or centre of the sign, while the marginalised code is placed on the bottom, right or margins (Scollon and Scollon, 2003:120). This is illustrated in figure *8.7 (c)* where English is the preferred code, in terms of composition, it takes up the 'top' position and occupied much of the space at bottom. The signage on the right, figure *8.7 (d)* does the opposite but English remains on top, however, there is a *rescaling* (chains of recontextualization meanings) in ranks of the other two languages (in this instance Afrikaans is on top of isiXhosa).

Going back to the signs of figures *8.7 c and d*, they index a multilingual mobility that is a characteristic of the late-modern Hangberg - all three the languages (English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa) may be spoken in the 'Coloured' fishing community of Hangberg and the entire Hout Bay (the Valley and Imizamo Yethu). This prima facie (visibility of English, Afrikaans and Xhosa in figures *8.7 c and d*) reflects the language policy of the Western Cape Province in the sites of Hangberg. More importantly, offers an inspiring discourse of how co-official languages can be used for nation-building and to promote a multilingual landscape through the politics of language. Going back in

history, we know that the isiXhosa language did not form part of the language policy of the Western Cape during apartheid, most of the Bantu homelands were situated in the Eastern Cape. To observe the inclusivity of isiXhosa in Hangberg's landscape puts on display a high regard for the language in public affairs (this shows a dynamic phase of social transformation in the refashioning /reproduction of signs, highlighting a change in their meanings and referential content). In terms of interactional context, there is an acknowledgement from the city designers and planners in post-transition to the signifance and vitality of isiXhosa in urban environments – as there are many speakers of the language owing to processes of globalization and mobility (the immigration of Black people from Eastern Cape rural areas to Cape Town).

All this suggests that the Hangberg linguistic landscape designates a case of language policy success - affirming that government official signs index a complex multilingual reality (Pavlenko, 2009). This is validated in the diagram of figure *8.7 (a),* showing a rise of 17% with the use of English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa in the linguistic landscape.

Figure 8.7 (e) English sign at Sentinel Primary   Figure 8.7 (f) English sign at Hangberg library

Looking at the signage on the left in figure *8.7 (e)*, it was found at Sentinel primary school. The fact that Sentinel is a dual medium school (teaching in both English and Afrikaans), it is clear-cut from the signage that more nurturing is given to English. It is the 'preferred code' (Scollon and Scollon, 2003) and features as the lingua franca of the educational institution - the language of wider communication. The sign on the right, figure *8.7 (f)* was discovered at the window front of Hangberg library. Apart from the visual grammatical features of code choice (monolingual English), there is an eye-catching aspect to the sign, referred to as being 'salient' in terms of the red colour, as the researcher draws on a multimodal analysis to examine the composition, information value and modality (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006) to artefacts of the LL. Red is the most emotionally intense colour, it is associated with danger. Its semiotic function here is to communicate a message of urgency to the public (viewers), in that people should use water responsibly due to the draught situation in Cape Town. The adding of the semiotic device (the tap with the line across it) coupled with verbal utterances on the sign, efficiently communicates a message about the immediate drought situation in the Western Cape. Meaning, if water is not used wisely, the taps at institutions, hospitals, homes, etc. will run dry.

To recapitulate the findings, this study discovered that most of the signs found in the LL of Hangberg were visually dominant in English (50% in percentage total), see the diagrammatic representation of figure *8.7 (a)*. Following Kasanga (2010) English on public display underscores its pervasive influence "as a global language or even the language of globalization" (p. 181). Important to mention that the researcher has expected the opposite to come out, due to the fact that Hangberg is a predominantly Afrikaans speech community. At opposite ends, the diagram of figure *8.7 (a)* only

presents an overview of 22 % of texts in the Afrikaans language. The study found in the Hangberg case (the tokens used in quantitative counts) that the government exercises socio-political control (power) over the community through the display of languages in its public spaces. Notably, there is an increased in the dominance or functional status of English by (50%) as indicated above as the preferred code on the official signs in the Hangberg site. All of these sociolinguistic (multilingual) processes have a profound effect on the reordering of space, creating a new development in the perceptions of place/space – in private, public, commercial or media contexts. This points towards a *rescaling* in linguistic hierarchy or scale (Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck, 2005), indicating the recontextualized LL of Hangberg (shift in language use over a period of time), as well as highlighting how the township is reconfigured as both local and global space.

The study turns to new spatial reconfigurations (interconnections of mobility and globalization) in Hangberg, which change the character of the landscape in terms of socio-cultural events and practices (see below).

8.8 New city space: Transformation, metro-ethnicities and language revival

Drawing on the visual images of figures *8.8 (a) and (b)* below, they were discovered in close proximity of the seaside, a footstep away from Snoekies (fish shop) and the market place at Hout Bay harbour. The urban signs display the transformation aspects of Hangberg, showing how some of its residents relocated from the Sentinel (mountain) periphery space to the industrial area at Hout Bay harbour (urban center). Following Bond (2000), city-worlds are moving spaces generated in multidimensional ways through power relations and contestations over the allocation of public resources.

Figure 8.8 (a) Sign of Khoi Khoi Farm   Figure 8.8 (b) Sign of Khoi Khoi Muay Thai

In events of (re)appropriation of space and relocations (Tarrius 1993), we see now how questions of identity are often posed in relation to territory. These aspects merge with the renewed right to urban life, of belonging and becoming - in this case, information showing that many Coloureds of Hangberg embraced their Khoisan heritage/identity for better economic opportunities, they affirmed their right to access multiple services and landownership. That said, a new space has been produced within the old harbour with new configurations, reflecting significant changes in the geography (new territorial contestations, new local economies, and mobilities). This is evident in the readings of the semiotic discourses (the visual and textual components) of the street spaces. Territories never exist in a fixed state, and the example in Figure *8.8 (a)* illustrates how the labour and economic activities of Hangbergers mark transition from small-scale fishermen to Khoisan farm owners and herbal doctors. Also, the signs exhibit a view of the periphery township as a living, breathing space, that of movement and change (a vulnerable, contested space, always open to dispute and change).

Particularly interesting is that the signs offer a window into the role the languages used play in the everyday life of Hangbergers. We will see how processes of linguistic (and

multimodal) *rescaling* are contributing to the (re)figuration of the township and the harbour space (Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck, 2005). The examples of figures *8.8 (a) and (b)* employs linguistic rescaling - showing how the linguistic expressions ('Xoma Aob', 'Wadada' and 'Hangberg Khoi Khoi Muay Thai') say much about the place as being one of transition, interaction, belongingness, self-expression and renewal (a Khoisan space). These textual inscriptions offer us insight into the revivalism of Khoisan identity (see figure *8.8 (b),* the sign reads Hangberg Khoi Khoi Muay Thai'). Joseph (2013) states that language is the "ultimate semiotic system...the very sense of who we are, where we belong, and why and how we relate to those around us, all relations have language at the center" (p. 55).

There is a linguistic tie with colonialism in the name and surname signatures (Xoma Aob), name of lived space (Hangberg Khoi Khoi Muay Thai, Khoi Khoi Kindy farm), and the social practices (Wadada crafts and herb nursery), all which accounts for historical and cultural readings. We see scenes of multilingualism with the *remixing* of Khoisan word Wadada with the English word crafts; and Afrikaans word Hangberg with the Khoisan lexicons Khoi Khoi Muay Thai – all harmonizing and blurring historical (indigenous) and contemporary (modern) influences. These linguistic resources in the textual messages illustrate that metro-ethnicities are *here and now* (Maher, 2010), palpable in Hangberg. Metroethnicity, Maher explains, is "a reconstruction of ethnicity: a hybridized ''street'' ethnicity deployed by a cross-section of people with ethnic backgrounds who are oriented towards cultural hybridity, cultural/ethnic tolerance and a multicultural lifestyle in friendships, music, language, arts, eating and dress" (Maher, 2005: 83). The messages of figures *8.8 (a) and (b)* explain how people of Hangberg

have different backgrounds and playing with ethnicity for aesthetic place-making effects.

As can be seen thus far, the urban signs are both linguistic and visual systems; all examples of discourse of place and space (the blurring of texts and images). This is known as 'geosemiotics' (Scollon and Wong Scollon, 2003), a methodological and theoretical framework that foregrounds the places of discourse and is a method with a specifically urban scope. It reflects the placement of semiotic markings within the material world, showing how meaning derive from time, space and the social worlds indexed by language" (Scollon and Scollon, 2003:98). A geosemiotic analysis is relevant for this study, as it seeks to understand how the meaning of signs is 'indexable' i.e. referential to the real world interactions. There is public communication in figure *8.8 (a)* that put on view geosemiotics, confirming how Hangbergers engage in entrepreneurial practices (selling of herbs and wood furniture), which bring to light the positive contributions that they make in the local economies. The informal sector is represented as a solution to unemployment. This 'representation of space' (Lefebvre, 1991) encapsulates a sense of achievement and the realisation of present and future aspirations in Hangberg. The periphery of the city in this context becomes a place of hope, and of new social and economic formations.

The study further links the framework of geosemiotics (visual signs that address place semiotics) to the linguistic, cultural, socio-economic and discursive constructions of the research site. In doing so, the researcher was able to investigate some of the above-mentioned discourse themes in more depth in the interview that she conducted with the sign producer in figure *8.8 (a)* (Chief Xoma). As the researcher relied strongly on the

words of the participants, she drew on the notion 'performativity' developed by poststructuralists (Austin, 1971; Butler, 1999/2015; Bakhtin, 1981; and Pennycook, 2004), who think about language and the negotiation of identities as new inventions, suggesting that language and identities are produced in linguistic performances rather than pre-given. Performativity opens up ways for the study to understand language and identity not as fixed, stable entities but rather as fluid and ever-changing processes that can be refashioned in the future (Dewsbury, 2000; Pennycook, 2004).

The researcher would like to let the participants' words speak for themselves – and avoid what De Certeau (1984) would see as a reinterpretation through theorization. Meeting Chief Xoma on his farm, the researcher noticed that by-passers greeted him with their fists closed as they touched hands. It is there that she took note that Chief Xoma positions a duality of his life, a key factor in articulating multiple identities. The researcher pictured him as a hybrid, a person with a Coloured background, a Khoisan leader and Rastafarian. What was also striking when people called him by the name Ras Ronnie and not by his Khoisan signatures (Xoma Aob). When asked whether he is a Rasta, the following remark was given:

Extract five:

> "Being a Rasta het gemaak dat ek my Khoisan roots toe up look, om met Kruie te werk. (*Being a Rasta help me to dig up my Khoisan roots*). "Ouma het my als getaught van kruie tot erfenis" (*Grandmother taught me all this from herbs to heritage*). One day she fell vannie toilet af, van agter was eena die Korana (*One day she fell from the toilet as she come up her posture, the bums at the back was Korana*). So the roots run deep, deep in my veins.

The above extract complements the visual devices of figures *8.8 (a) and (b)*, what is fascinating is that these discourses accentuate that the sign producer (Chief Xoma Aob) engages in "truncated multilingualism"(Blommaert, 2010; Dyers, 2008), the usage of different language chunks for communicative purposes. The sign producer's language mixing of English, Afrikaans and Khoi clicks in the artefacts of the LL (writing on the signboards), and his oral speech could only be understood in the contexts of history. This argument was added because the participant's ancestors were Khoisan speakers; their prolonged contact with the Dutch settlers allowed Afrikaans to become dominant in their linguistic processes. This makes sense why the participant (Chief Xoma Aob) performed Khoi clicks, even though he is not fluent in the dialect.

Engaging in such linguistic "styling" (Rampton, 2006) to construct new meaning in identity negotiations is intriguing, seeing that the participant tries to position himself as an authentic member of the Khoisan indigenous group (the first people of the Cape Colony). See Chapter One, the researcher elaborated on the socio-historic context of the Khoisan discourse, the facts that the Khoi languages underwent endangerment during the 17th centuries, when the Khoisan people fled the Cape Colony (Nienaber, 1963). Adding to this, Phaswana (2003) advocates that many Khoi descendants faced extinction of their languages and therefore have been integrated into the Afrikaans– Holland language communities. Considering the written extract and the semiotic signs above, it is obvious that Chief Xoma Aob is a "translated man" (Rushdie, 1991) living across, between and within multiple worlds. His self stylization layered into hybrid identity formations (being Coloured, Khoisan leader, Rastafarian, Hangberg resident and herbalist) find expression in the multilingual genres that he invested in. As we know, self-identification is an ongoing project toward a configuration of meaning: "an

endeavour that we continuously work and reflect upon" (Giddens, 1991:81). As indicated, Chief Xoma Aob's identity is not one but many. And the many are not discrete either. They constitute what Bhabha terms 'fictive', 'ambiguous' and 'multiple' identities (Bhabha, 1990/ 1994).

Certain linguistic expressions also depict Chief Xoma Aob's personality as he engages in comedy involving taboo - this relates to him describing his Khoisan / Korana roots. He talked in a poetic manner about his grandmother's awful incident in the lavatory "One day she fell vannie toilet af, van agter was eena die Korana" (*One day she fell from the toilet as she come up her posture, the bums at the back was Korana*). It is here that the researcher immediately recognised "carnivalesque humour" (Bakhtin, 1984) with the mocking of his grandmother's full-figured body at the backside. It was not done in an offensive way but laughter was brought out (as it was comical). In this context, the indigenous female body is framed as something foreign – a biological oddity due to the physical shape of the body: buttocks and genitalia. His discourse paints a similiar picture of the colonial representations in which the African woman's body emerged as superstitious, a foreign sexuality (McClintock, 1995). We refer here to the infamous case of the Hottentot Venus and Saartjie Baartman documentary - in these colonial novel literatures the female indigenous bodies were stigmatized and exploited by sexual molestation and unethical experimentation, done by the colonial masters (McClintock, 1995; Erasmus, 2008).

Linking back to Xoma Aob discourse, his oral speech is remediated as he reintroduced (reused/ recycled) similar connotations that framed the body as something foreign: mocking the female body because it is full-figured around the waist downwards.

Although it can be read off as gender stereotyping- in this case of Xoma Aob, the body (of his grandmother) is not discriminated against or insulted upon (but judged as different, the 'Other' [Korana] in positive way; see Said, 1978). Rather used through *carnivalesque* humour (Bakhtin, 1984) (laughter through language play) as means to cite cultural affiliation with the intention to reclaiming his Khoisan identity. His narrative emphasises identity as a question of culture - background (roots /heritage) and what one looks like or who one's grandparents are.

8.9 Comic joy in the township! Language play

Building on the previous section, the study continues to underscore the playful language usage in Chief Xoma's discourse. This leads us into a discussion of language having a ludic function (Cook, 2000:193) or carnival effect (Bakhtin, 1984). The work of Oostendorp (2018) is significant here, insofar as showing how carnival is achieved in the textual presentations of media discourse. Her work showed how the Zuma shower comment was mocked across different modes of communication (cartoon linguistic styles and visual images, You Tube video clips, bodily gestures, laughter etc). Similar to Oostendorp (2018), this study is interested to see what people accomplish with humor in language use. Bakhtin (1984) indicates that the heteroglottal novelization of all language structures in all dialogic texts (linguistic and visual), irrespective of origin and original purpose, allow for new readings, new meanings and new analyses.

Illustrating the above perspective, the visual images of figure *8.9* below are inserted into our analysis of a contemporary narrative based on what Bakhtin (1984) refers to as carnivalesque humour", a type of mocking for comic effect. This is achieved through the representational devices, encapsulating how a descendent of the Khoisan (Chief

Xoma Aob) running a farm in a well-off city space. Laughter may come off for the perceived poverty displayed in the visuals (because the owner is not financially stable to run a farm). This link is established from visual semiotics of pictures below, which provides information that Chief Xoma Aob is of the low working- class, albeit living in an affluent area: in the Karbonkelberg (*Carbuncle Mountain*) of Hout Bay situated on the Atlantic Ocean.

Figure 8.9 Animals (horses and ducks) on Chief Xoma Aob farm

Besides the herb nursery and Wadada Craft work space at Chief Xoma Aob's farm (see figures *8.8 a - b)*, a variety of animals (four horses, chickens, dungeons and a dog) were found in the place (each with its own economic function and value). These economic commodities become the Khoisan Chief's source of life to attract local capital and services.When asked what the Chief uses the horses for, this is what he said.

Extract six:

"Na 2010 was os kinders baie getruamatized deur die geweld toe koop ek die perde en laat the kinders ry op dit. (*After the protest, violent events in 2010, children of the community were immensely traumatized, that when I decided to*

buy the horses so that they can ride on them). Dus soos counseling processes (it

like counselling to them)…Kyk ek vra nie baie van hulle om die perde te ry

(*Look I don't ask much of them to ride on the horses*). Al gee hulle net a wortel

of n' appel, dus al gevrae" (*Even if they can only give a carrot and an apple,*

very little is asked).

For validation purposes*,* the represented participant (Khoisan man with animals on the

farm), who took center stage in the newspaper '*Threat of Fresh Conflict in Hangberg'* is

the very same individual under scrutiny here. In Chapter Six, the study explores the

notion "carnivalesque humour" (Bakhtin, 1984) through semiotic discourses (visuals) in

print media, an attempt to capture carnival through mock and laughter effects (exploring

the representational devices that encapsulate the repertoires of subjectivity regarding

Chief Xoma Aob). On the contrary, carnival is explored here through the metrolinguistic

play – a linguistic reading path. The study further investigates Xoma Aob's tribal life

style through the habitus as cycle of discourse to capture intersecting trajectories: socio-

spatial, cultural and economic factors that influence his existence.

Looking at the extract above, it is clear that Xoma Aob speech act (Austin, 1962) feeds

on a political discourse involving 'human rights' to protect his cultural (Khoisan)

heritage. In doing so, he challenges post-colonial stereotypical perceptions that tribal

leaders and people are not skilled enough to engage in the farming practices or making a

decent living in a coastal affluent suburban area like Hout Bay. The increased violent

incidences relating to the protests and evictions in Hangberg are issues that have been

highly prioritised in the media (*Weekend Argus* newspaper). Referencing the above,

Chief Xoma Aob talks how he bought the horses after the violent protests in 2010 to

counsel many children in Hangberg (permit them to ride on the horses) as they were

"baie getruamatized deur die geweld" (*immensely traumatized by the violence protests and police brutality*). A point of reflection from the researcher's experience is that so much laughter came off when Xoma articulated these sentiments to her.

From a linguistic viewpoint, the bits and pieces of the Afrikaans and English lexicons merge in the comical display, generate linguistic hybridity, "Al gee hulle net a wortel of n' appel, dus al gevrae" (*Even if they can only give a carrot and an apple, very little is asked*). In view of 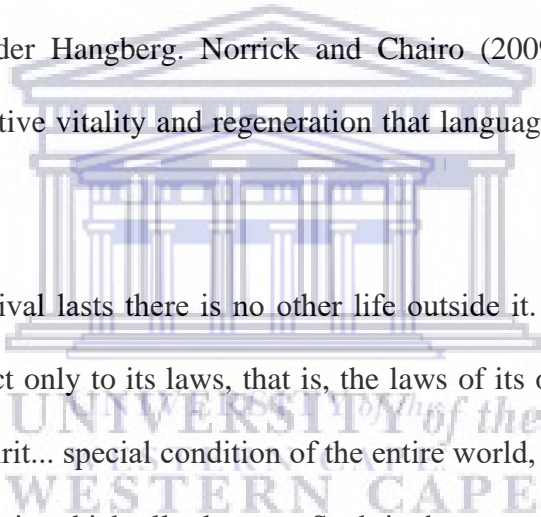that, the textual practices associated with carnival (humour and laughter) are one of the many ways in which convivial multilingualism emerges and operates within the wider Hangberg. Norrick and Chairo (2009) indicate that ludic ethnicity seizes the creative vitality and regeneration that language constantly provides. According to Bakhtin:

> "While carnival lasts there is no other life outside it. During carnival time life is subject only to its laws, that is, the laws of its own freedom. It has a universal spirit... special condition of the entire world, of the world's revival and renewal, in which all take part. Such is the essence of carnival, vividly felt by all its participants" (Bakhtin, 1968:7).

The researcher was fascinated to see that Hangbergers do so much to promote a multilinguistic, multicultural space. They use their agency to reproduce, re-imagine, redefine and re-articulate what it means to be and become multilingual citizens through language play. Here and in other instances, we see the blending of multidimensional facets regarding sociality and the negotiation of identity as part of everyday metrolingualism. These examples recall the work of the *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1991), how Chief Xoma constructs his identity in a narrative layered in culturally dependent speech

styles, codeswitching and jocular language. Furthermore, when asked what he does with the other animals, the response was as follow:

Extract seven:

> You see my chicken factory, the eggs I sell to women who work at the primary school and in return I got all the left-over food for my animals. My eende hulle maak waai geraas as the tik-koppe kom, veral as hond slaap (*My ducks, they keep me on alert with their noise when the tik-koppe come, especially when the dog sleeps*).

The extract highlights an entrepreneurial discourse with material exchanges to obtain capital – this indicates in many ways that Chief Xomais not financially well established to run a farm. There are other signs that he is at the low end economically: as he collects food and money donations from children, who ride the horses. The following quotation validates the above sentiment, "Al gee hulle (kinders) net a wortel of n' appel, dus al gevrae" (*Even if they (children) can only give a carrot and an apple, very little is asked)*. Another example in support of that is when he says, "*you see my chicken factory, the eggs, I sell to women, who work at the primary school and in return I got all the leftover food for my animals*".

Looking at the linguistic expressions above, humour may be triggered here through laughter among the recipients/receivers who read this. Through these presentational devices (figures of speech and visuals of figures *8.9*), the reader may mock Chief Xoma's standard of living (this primitive and impoverished lifestyle) and deem this behaviour uncivilized and strange in post-modernity (him letting children feed his animals through small handout gifts - carrots and apples). Lighthearted stories like this

show that language is not fixed; it can change and even have a playful side, depending on the contexts. As noted, a certain linguistic variety (juxtapose Afrikaans and English words) is being adjuncts to the creative use of carnival (jokes and mocking strategies).

The extract also alludes to substance abuse - the use of 'tik' (*crystal methamphetamine*) in post-apartheid Hangberg. There is an allegation that tik-koppe (*substance abusers*) is involved in criminality at night in the neighbourhood when the subject draws on a jokey speech "My eende hulle maak geraas as die tik-koppe kom, veral as hond slaap" (*My ducks, they keep me on alert with their noise when the tik-koppe come, especially when the dog sleeps*). This is indeed funny; one would expect the dogs to go after the thieves (tik-koppe) and not the ducks. With this message, he is also implying that there are decent people like himself in Hangberg that contrasted (differ) so significantly with the attitudes and mind-sets of the tik-koppe (*substance abusers and criminals*). His conception comes off that decency does not come with skin color (being Coloured, Khoisan) or status (being poor) but moral values that a person up holds.

As the researcher further engage in talks with the Chief, it was obvious that he has a very bright colourful (humorous and joking) character; this was reflected in his speech When she asked him how he managed to build his three double storey tin house with windows, he stated the following:

Extract eight:

> "Ek het dit self behou, want jy sien die Boere en Zille wou my Blikkiesdorp toe stuur" (*I built it myself, because the Boers (White people) and Zille want to transfer me to Blikkiesdorp*). "Wat maak ek toe, ek vat die stuk plate by hulle en

toe bou ek my huis" (*What I did, I took the zinc sheets from them and built my house*).

Again, carnivalesque humour emerges from Xoma Aob's discourse for purposes to display how he built his home (Hangberg Khoikhoi Muay Thai). Chunks of discourse elements are shifted from political contexts to narrative representation (associated with humorous language play). The re-entextualization of the narrative through intertexual references generates different reading positions and dialogicality. Discourses associated with the eviction and displacement processes (see visual image of figure *7.3* c) are reintroduced and resemiotised (Iedema, 2003) in this speech. See in Chapter One and Seven, the study elucidated how Hangbergers were removed from their lived spaces and transferred to Blikkiesdorp, a shanty or tin town on outskirt of the Cape Flats, near Delft. Looking at Xoma Aob's discourse, it is clear that he engages in a form of linguistic creativity - the using of catchwords, metaphors and idiom phrases when talking about the building materials involving the design of his home. That is reflected in the following phrase "Wat maak ek toe, ek die stuk plate by hulle en toe bou ek my huis" (*What I did, I took the zinc sheets from them and built my house*). Again, the ludic function came strong off with the innovations of syntax, metaphorically not as a lie or illusion but word play (pragmatics) to bring his viewpoint across in the conversation.

The subject (Chief Xoma Aob) manipulated language as historical property, and repurposed it as an accessory and chain for ludic function. He knew that Helen Zille and her government never offered zinc sheets to Hangbergers, but in fact, removed them forcefully to Blikkiesdorp on the Cape Flats. This speaks to Blommaert and Varis (2015) perspective that language play through linguistic hybridity can be perceived as

"acts of conviviality in social interactions, seemingly superficial but essential for upliftment…assuring social cohesion and belonging as well as being articulations of power and identity" (p.4). It is very insightful to see from the discourse of Chief Xoma "how the complexities around gentrification, conflict and tensions that marked difference (Otherness) get handled in productive ways" (Noble, 2011:828), through a valued linguistic capital (code-switching that speak to carnival and metrolingualism). All the representations above reflect the complex multilinguistic realities and comic joy in the township through language play.

8.10 Semiotics of the local peripheral economies: Pamzil salon

Exploring Hangberg through the *walking* tours, the researcher observed hairdressing practices in the commercial signage below. Drawing on the aspects of semiotics of place, the visual image of figure *8.10 (a)* was found high up in the residential area of Hangberg, and clearly serves to inform the readers/viewers of the services or goods on 'offer' (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006), which is directed to hairdos. The local is semiotically constructed by way of references to the services and products on display, the commercial production of the signage, repertoires of subjectivity and linguistic references, which cannot be divorced from the dynamics of the place.

Figure 8.10 (a) Sign of Pamzil salon

Furthermore, the researcher interpreted Pamzil salon as a personalized space. The fact that the researcher was working in the Hangberg site (fieldwork) and in regular contact with the people, she knew that the owner of the salon was a Coloured female, who runs her business from home. The commercial signage of figure *8.10 (a)* is designed in a conventional format characterized by much deictic anchoring to the immediate context: in form of the identity of the owner, <u>Pamzil</u> framed on top (in English), followed by the business (<u>hair studio</u> emphasizing hairstyling work) and the contact details (<u>telephone number, 7900936</u>). Looking at the surface semiosis (placement, location and material features) of both the Pamzil salon and barbershop (see next section), they provided a visible guide to reference them assigns found in sites of *necessity* (spaces lower in the economic hierarchy).

The signs and semiotic artefacts from these sites are manually produced with little economic investment (there is a low cost behind the production of the signboards); the signs says much about the usage of the available technologies and materials at hand (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009:367). There is explicit evidence of the above when looking at the Pamzil signage. It is hand-made and a wood stick object is attached to the signboard (metal plate) to keep it upright in the ground (little money is invested in the manufacturing of the signage). The Pamzil signage is written in English. It is the English spoken in the centre (standard version of English in elite urban markets or sites of *luxury*) is presented here as oppose to the local Englishes used in the periphery economies of Cape Town (Blommaert, 2005:404). Such types of text production based on the LL analysis gives a stance on the unexpected use and spread of English across economically advantaged and less advantaged spaces predicated on its unpredictability, flux and flexibility (Higgins, 2009).

8.10.1 There's a lot more than cutting hair: Identity/status in servicescape

Drawing on the photograph of figure *8.8 (b)* and observations, the researcher was able captured the interior perceptual space of the hair salon: its services and work practices. As the researcher assessed the interior design, it became clear to her that the space is customer focused.
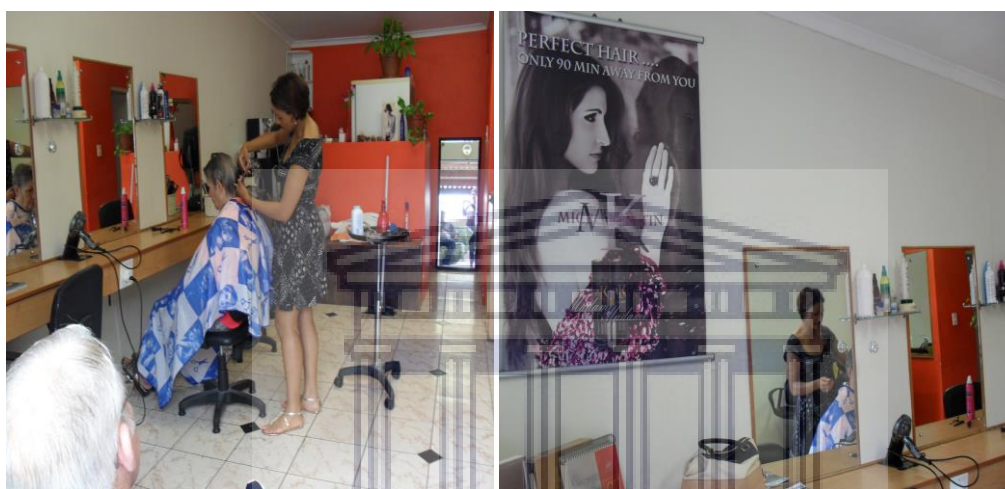
Figure 8.10 (b) the interior space of Pamzil   Figure 8.10 (c.) Poster on hairstyling and perfume

The space projects a high quality, aesthetic image and luxurious "taste" (Bourdieu, 1984) for the clients (this is realized by the interior look and service protocol). Notably, the interior décor conveys a sense of warmth coupled with a distinctive aesthetic flair. Concerning the *servicescape* (Bitner, 1992), the salon has very a stylish waiting area with a couch and reading materials for the clients (the reading materials range from newspapers and magazines displaying hairstyles, make up tutorials, body massages and the decorations of trendy home designs). A sense of worldliness is conveyed through the big advertising poster on the wall, exhibiting the MK (Micrc Keratin) perfume label (figure *8.10c)*. A common feature of advertising for consumer femininity is the way the product is *personified* and services on offer, "PERFECT HAIR ...Only 90 min away

from you". In terms of agency and interaction, the woman in the image is beautiful model; with blossoming flowing hair. Relating consumerism, it becomes a discourse with which women can and do signify their roles and identities across the globe.

Drawing on the aspects of spatial semiotics, Pamzil salon is a very spacious with stylish decorations (red painted walls at the back, contrasting the white walls on the sides). The high saturated tone of red was immediately striking (salient). In terms of interaction, the colour scheme provides a 'high degree of modality' (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996/2006), which exposes the real truth through the naked eye of the clients (the colour choice effects evoke trust and confidence, giving the clients further impression of an elegant setting with high quality services). From the angle of observation, the hairdressing products on sale were a bit expensive; these products bear significance to very well-known elite hair providers associated with the Western World.

Talking to some of the customers, it became obvious that this salon is very popular in the area, and that the owner (hair stylist) has a good reputation when it comes to her work. She caters for a diverse group of people, not just Hangbergers. Figure *8.10 (b)* above validates this – here we see the salon owner doing the hair of a White lady from the Valley in Hout Bay. While visiting Pamzil salon, it was captivating to see how the owner conducts an 'interactional' approach (Goffman, 1959; Scollon and Scollon, 2003) with the clients by means of a specific service discourse/practice. For example, before the salon owner embarks with business, she first greets her clients upon arrival. She ensures that her clients feel comfortable as she offers them a gown, and asks what hairdos they want: cutting, coloring, wash, blowing and so forth. These social

interactions highlight a high form of service etiquette and her work ethics as a professional. This adds more credibility to the salon.

8.11 Performing gender, identity and art in hair: Barbershop

To start, the barbershop visual of figure *8.11 (a)* below was discovered more to the down side of the ocean in Hangberg. In terms of inscription, there is no 'indexicality' (Silverstein, 2003) that gives reference to the identity of the person who runs the business. As the researcher interacted with many local vendors in the area, she knew that two young Coloured males are doing business from this container space.

Figure 8.11 (a) Outside view of Barbershop   Figure 8.11 (b) Hair signature on inside wall

On her visit, the researcher noticed hairstyling equipment and game machines as she approached the indoor space. This illustrates that another business runs from here, typical of periphery economies as they are on the low end of the economic hierarchy (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009). Similar to the Pamzil salon advertising, figures *8.11(a) and (b)* highlight a hairstyle discourse, manifested in the textual space of the container as well as in the servicescape of the interior wall. The commercial signage highlights the stylization of self /modern identities through a *performative nature* of

hairstyling presentations layered in the products and services. Theorist Judith Butler defined the *performative act* as "one which brings into 'being' or enacts that which it names, and so marks the constitutive or productive power of discourse" (Butler, 1995). For Butler (1995) it is impossible to position ourselves outside of societal norms that shape us, she believes that 'sustained social performances' require perpetual repetitions in order to preserve the status quo. These can be conveyed, for example, through corporeal/scalp signs, such as the researcher argues, *hairstyling*.

This study draws on Fairclough's (2003) notion of genre as a 'way of acting' (see Chapter Two) or as Paltridge (2006:2) explains "ways in which people get things done through discourse". This understanding allows us to capture the local economies of language, generating local meanings through forms of creativity. For the purpose of this discussion, it is practical to envision the notion genre from an angle of activity: as a social process (doing things with words). The researcher initially ended up evaluating texts as more open-ended; she took into account much greater mobility in textual construction and semiotic analysis framed for LL research (Kress, 2003). The researcher extended the notion genre to a broader spectrum that goes beyond clause level, in this case, the hairstyling practices of postmodernity. For her, as much as it has to do with '*doing things with words*' like in the field of linguistics, it is also about 'd*oing things with hair*'. The researcher illustrates the notion of genre in the 'local' commercial discourses as they are deictic markers to "material artefacts, languages, signs and symbols that comprising a way of seeing the worlds" (Styhre and Engberg, 2003:121).

The signage on the wall follows a local conventional structure or genre with different hairstyles and price tags next to them, for example, Bless R15, Tattoo R20, Beard, R5

and so on. The local convention of price-tags is familiar with the signage found in sites of *necessity*. Take note, the word Bless refers in this instance to "shaven head" and not something to be blessed with (a gift received) (following a Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles, 1996). Applying Judith Butler's work (1990:139-141) on gender performances, we are provided with a tool to think how the multiplicity of gender identities do not emerge from a pre-cultural nor from a biological essence wherein sex determines gender but rather fabricated in performative acts (fashioned as repetitive gestures and corporeal signs). This perspective substantiates figure *8.11 (c)*, the display of hair as an artistic and communicative medium (portraying modern hairstyle patterns through zigzag patterns, lines and circles on the head). The effect of such blade work demonstrates how the scalp (head) serves as site inspired by art drawings.

Also, a discourse of contestation is actualised through "the local branding of hair through which the barber men denaturalized long held normative functions of hair" (Butler, 1990:40). It is denaturalized because of the perception that women cannot wear similar hair styles as men and those men with hair tattooing seen as thugs. This hair space does not cater only for men but also women – the generic content on the left side of wall of figure *8.11 (b)*, '*women off cut + free pattern*' validates this point. The inscriptions visible show how this space introduces hair in a state of sustained fluid transformation; this discourse is attributed to repurposing hair's normative function, with the hairstylists' work as a source of agency and power (Giddens, 1984). The hairstyle discourse thus motivates and arouses modes of self-determination, informing the clients/customers to challenge / resist socially conditioned regulatory conventions (old traditions of hair).

Figure 8.11 (c) Commercial, hand-made signboard outside the Barbershop

Reflecting on the outside of the barbershop, this handmade commercial signboard in figure *8.11 (c)* was found near its entrance. The signboard stages a communication platform for dialogic exchanges with the different hairstyle images to potential clients: a strategy of "audience design" (Bell, 1984). Figure *8.11 (c)* exhibits no linguistic references, only the visual images are offered (different styles of hair). The sign producer employs this advertising resource to promote hair art. The visual signage is also designed to address clients/by-passers, suggesting that visiting would be worth their time, also that they are guaranteed quality service, low and affordable in price. Stroud and Jegels (2014) put forth similiar representations, as they staged visual information in public spaces, where township businessmen produce their own "narrations of space".

Turning to the language features of LL texts in both sites - Pamzil salon and barbershop, the researcher was surprised that English (a prestige language with an economic value) was the preferred code around the local economic arrangements. The use of English in these spaces of consumption came off in a very unpredictable way, not expected as

Hangberg is predominantly an Afrikaans speaking community. Some linguistic landscape studies have shown that the frequency of language use in public signage does not necessarily reflect the realities of everyday language use (see Cenoz and Gorter, 2006). Similarly, in this study, the invisibility of Afrikaans in the advertising of businesses (trade) in the Hangberg LL does not predict its lack of vitality.

Looking at the work of Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), the advertising involving English in Hangberg indexes how the community in the coastal suburb periphery experiences the marketization of social life - a key characteristic of the current period of late-modernity. Therefore, this current study puts forth that the predominance of English in the Hangberg LL texts (signage) allows for a rich understanding of the language dynamics of South Africa's townships, in terms of language dominance, language shift and development (we see how English is disembedded from their colonial pasts and re-embedded through processes of appropriation thereby to create local spaces of consumption).

8.12 Selling taste: Local eat lekker

As mentioned earlier, the researcher walking tours through Hangberg allowed her to participate and meet the people that reside, work and move through the research site. Being mobile, *on foot* allows her to interact with many local traders in the streets. The researcher supports Cavanaugh and Shankar's (2017) position of "language materiality based on food discourses speak discursively and semiotically to social production and social transformation of spaces and places". In this section, the study draws on the term "taste" (Bourdieu, 1984) and linked it to a food-commodified discourse, firmly situated in local contexts. The researcher draws on figure *8.12* below (the take way food Kiosk),

as an example to illustrate how food socialization occurs primarily through identity processes and linguistic expressions. The aim is to show how a public space is built or formed through words and images (see Jurafsky, 2014; Vasquez and Chik, 2015) - *what we eat inextricably reflects who we are.*

Figure 8.12 Take way food found on Hangberg streets [Translation: *Boerewors* is spicy meat sausage].

Food is a powerful resource for representation and organization of social order in place (Belasco, 2002). Looking at figure *8.12* above, it presents a food stall that was discovered on the streets of Hangberg. Analysing the sociolinguistic aspects of the commercial signage, it is an urban mode of communication that are common to expressions of "translanguaging" (Garcia and Wei, 2014). It is important to mention that translanguaging goes beyond languages, as it includes, according to Wei (2005:41) "any going between different linguistic structures, including different modalities". As noted, the street trader uses a local register of variety of languages to display his products and services on offer. The orthographic manifestation in the signage resonates with contemporary urban readership as it adopts different linguistic items from a variety of languages – see examples 'FARAH'S BOEREWORS', 'BEST BOERIE IN TOWN' and 'HALAAL'. The words BEST & IN TOWN are English lexicons, FARAH &

HALAAL are Arabic lexical items and BOEREWORS & BOERIE are Afrikaans words, displaying *street talk* (Machin and Van Leeuwen, 2003).

In terms of the composition and the semiotic convention of the signage, the use of space on the food stall is uneven with the trader's name FARAH in the uppermost space, follow by the lexicon BOEREWORS below, gesturing the type of small business. Referencing to identity, FARAH is a Muslim (Arabic) name, indexes a male person. The signage also contains a 'ludic spaces' where originality, creativity, and playfulness are displayed (ludic elements serve as meta-linguistic commentary to the main message). As noted, at the margins or peripheries of the signage, each side of the composition design consists of two semi-circular moons and stars. The insertion of the semiotic artefacts (Arabic semi-circular moons and stars) signifies the notion of resemiotisation (Iedema, 2003), these symbols are linked to recontextualization as they 'deictically' figured in messages of the Eid season, serving to contextualize the period of fasting and celebration. In this context, the semi-circular moons and stars generate a different reading path – positioned as an intertextual reference of the Muslim identity (religious motif) through the food discourse in spaces of consumption. This composition also capitalizes on the notion that the street food is *halaal*.

Taking into account the notion of "taste" (Bourdieu, 1984) to the selling of food (great flavour of boerewors rolls from the street), the Afrikaans linguistic construction of the word *boerewors* rolls exhibit that the Muslim trader is most likely not from the Middle East. People there do not eat this type of food. The researcher begins to speculate that the trader has a South African identity through the type of street food sold and his linguistic (multilingual) citizenship framed in this consumer discourse. To elaborate

further on the sociolinguistic technologies of place-making, the Afrikaans word BOEREWORS means farmer's sausage and is thus clearly traditional South African food ingredient (a spicy sausage originated from Dutch settlers in the seventeenth centuries). The linguistic hybridity or code-mixing in this particular signage serve to anchor the message in local context - present interactional context of the township/urban space/culture or encapsulates the life-style of "extreme locality" (Williams and Stroud, 2010:40). Here the local is linguistically constructed with the blending of Arabic, Afrikaans and English words (such textual composition excludes outsiders and only caters to those who are from around – the locals of Hangberg). These are rich examples that explain the individuals' multilingual habitus (their writing skills and ideological investments) for personalized and shared socio-cultural communicative effect in social spaces.

Notably, the enmeshment of the multiple linguistic resources in the food discourse give further indication that language varieties are in constant social circulations (mobility) across different spaces and modes of communication. As for enregisterment, the use of English as commodity is not just embodied in social, linguistic and cultural practices associated with the center (the elite in the suburbs, Hout Bay valley) but is also embedded in the Hangberg periphery as 'preferred code' (by way of reference the peripheral code is placed around the periphery, see Scollon and Scollon, 2003:120). It is safe to say that "we are looking at a world that can no longer be neatly divided into clear and transparent categories…for the sociolinguistics is witnessed by semiotic resources framed in trans-contextual networks, flows and movements" (Blommaert, 2010:7) in the construction of spaces and places.

Proceeding to the next section, the study shows that these mobilities (flows) do not just occur in languages but also in semiotic artefacts (Coca Cola brands) as it pays attention on how spaces and places generate transnational movements, intimately tied to globalization.

8.13 Coca-Colarization of Hangberg: Transidiomatic in form

As noted, there are many examples of commercially produced LL texts in Hangberg that draw attention to discourses of global and local aspirations.This discussion sheds light on the flow of brand objects and their view as resemiotized of artefacts/ signs in local contexts. It is through this aspect of place semiotics that the study explores Hangberg as "brand geography" (Pike, 2008) inspired by processes of "localization" (Miller, 1998) through semiotic discourses and artefacts. Appadurai (1996) argues "as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies, they tend to become indigenized in one way or another" (p.32). To substantiate the points above, the study draws on figures *8.13 (a), (b) and (c)* below, they show the prominence of global brands such as Coca Cola in the local economies of Hangberg through their flow (circulation), adaptation, emplacement and consumption.

Figure 8.13 (a) Coca Cola sign on supermarket   Figure 8.13 (b) Coca Cola sign on food shop

Figure 8.13 (c) Coca Cola brand in translocal signage on shop

More specifically, the study takes an approach to "decontextualized semiotics" (Scollon and Scollon, 2003), as it resonates with the global Coca Cola brands, which appear in the signs and spaces where "locally available technologies and materials are used" (Álvarez-Mosquera and Coetzee, 2018). Although the Coca Cola brand is globally produced, the artefacts above display a local semiotic convention (descaling) that connote strong local geographical cues (Bayview supermarket and the Bayside Halaal Takeouts) and references to goods and services on offer (Airtime and Electricity sold here). A global link is established in figures *8.13 (a), (b) and (c)*, the brand name of Coca Cola confirms for the reader that the product label is completely authentic, and directed to the outside world.

The production formats of these semiotic artefacts offer visual features of the brand name in its original English white lettering (given salience through the written bold-text). The red colour choice as mode has a more coherent effect along with the glass bottle of the black soft drink (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). The glass bottle highlights a luxury discourse with regards to 'taste' (Bourdieu, 1984) how the purchasers 'drink cold' from the bottle – as the glass maintains a cool temperature and maximise the taste of the drink. These red and white colours (in Coca Cola logos) are globally recognizable and have greater visual impact - something that the smaller,

eclectic group of home-made signs are not able to achieve. These visual inscriptions encapsulate the uniqueness of the brand concept.

As a result of cultural globalization, the Coca Cola artefacts highlight processes in their recontextualization and resemiotisation in the local consumption spaces of the township. The headline above '*Coca-Colarization of Hangberg: Transidiomatic in form'* alludes to the materiality of the Coca Cola brands: global high-tech modes of production, resemiotised, transformed and remodelled around available technologies and materials found in the township. These are good examples of "hybridization" (Bakhtin, 1981) and "indigenization" (Appadurai, 1990), contrasting two forms of representations, reflecting both local and global influences. These "transidiomatic" technologies and materials (Jacquemet, 2005:264) seen in Hangberg, speak to the material organization of place (in this case, providing different types of interactional orders). If one look at the interpenetration of economic practices (adaptation of global Coca Cola brands), the trend gives reference to a *rescaling* process (Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck 2005), the reconstruction and remediation of (local) consumer culture, and consumer agency in local markets, for example the "Coca-Colarization" in Hangberg. In this case, the emphasis is on "re-materialising the geography" (Lees, 2002) through new economic, social and cultural meanings.

Furthermore, these socio-economic reimaginings in the LL of Hangberg tell us that the locals (Hangberg traders) do not lean towards a *David-like* approach (emphasis on biblical intertextual expression) with regards to the their economic investments in commercial businesses. This could be interpreted with them not fighting a heroic battle against the corporate *Goliaths* of global capitalism. This can be illustrated with figures

8.13 (a), (b), and (c) as they provide concrete information that most informal traders make widespread use of the sponsored Coca Cola brands for their informal business enterprises, as the multinational corporations produce the signage free of charge to them (Stroud and Jegels, 2014). The traders do not have to be licensed or registered; they receive free signage that fits into the local scale of the economy. Such brand strategy and creativity adds to the economic production value of the brand, broadening the cultural richness of it (the primary brand) while also growing loyalty in the African trade sector.

8.14 Repurposing /recycling of semiotic materials: MTN and CELL C

Unlike the above discussion that focuses on the global-local transnational flows of Coca Cola brand artefacts, this section deals with local-to-local dynamics: how artefacts from MTN and CELL C (South African telecommunications companies) are repurposed and recycled for new advertising functions in local contexts. In terms of the material production of signs, a low economic investment is apparent in the production chain, which signals an economically disadvantaged space (site of *necessity*) - the semiotic materials of MTN and CELL C below in figures *8.14 (a) and (b)* resemble this view.

Figure 8.14(a) sign of MTN and CELL   Figure 8.14 (b) MTN board index repair of cell phones

It is clear from this observation that local traders in the township cannot afford commercial signboards that are high in cost (expensive). It seems as if nothing gets throw away in townships, the handmade advertising boards: "Unlocking Cell phone & Software" and "Cell for You: Cell phone Repair Centre" carry references of that. The local traders in the township repurposed and recycled material artefacts (Bolter and Grusin, 1999) in this discourse of consumption. Both the signs exhibit task-oriented (production) network of necessity, geared to products and services such as the repairs of cell phones, selling of cell phone faces, chargers, usb cables, and the selling of airtime. The MTN and CELL C artefacts are durable and high-tech-produced images. Local traders are unlikely to produce such durable signs with quality images. These high production technologies from South African telecommunications companies and transnational brands lend some advantages (professionalism and good revenue) to the township businesses.
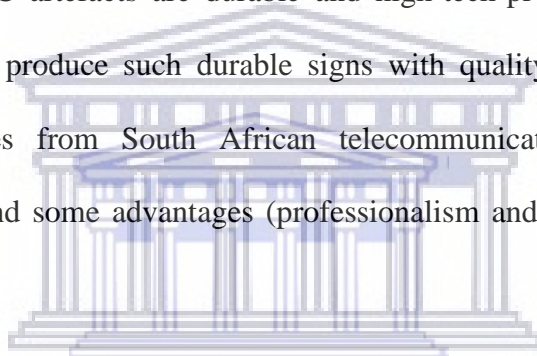
When interviewing the sign producer of figure *8.14(a)*, the subject confirmed that many customers endorsed his services, when he says "many locals stream in here to buy airtime or phone parts" (cell phone accessories). According to the subject, the reason for the good response to his business is the insertion of MTN; CELL C & VODACOM motifs on the advertising materials. These telecommunication brands make small businesses seem to be legit or trustworthy because they are popular (the cell phone logos are produced in hi-tech companies and have economic value). The author selected a quote from Jackson *et al.* (2006) highlighting that "entangled brands anchor for economic activities in spaces and places... and facets that are spatially inescapable" (p.4). In this case, we see the advertising of goods and services with the recycled materials is a "core activity of capitalism" (Holt 2006: 300).

Visiting the shop, the sign board "Cell for You: Cell phone Repair Centre" in figure *8.14(b)* also caused semiotic confusion to the researcher, she was puzzled and discovered a mismatch with what the place was projected for (Cell phone Repair Centre). Instead, she came to observe a small supermarket, whose stuff from time to time engaging in cell phone repair work – the representational space is not a cell phone repair centre. Looking at the linguistics on the signboard (Cell phone Repair Centre), it is used here in a misleading / manipulative way to attract customers to the business.

8.15 Summary

This chapter explored the circulation of language discourses within the space of the street of Hangberg (display of texts in public place). The physical space of the neighbourhood was approached semiotically/multimodally, as the signs in the street were analysed in terms of emplacement, inscriptions, code preferences, the information value, composition of the texts that played on the ideal and real spaces but also on the vertical power and modality (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). This porthole entry into the streets proved to be very useful in showing how the Hangberg community is refashioned by local and global influences that facilitate meaning-making dimensions in its textual and visual environments. The street spaces of Hangberg were explored as sites of social exploration, contestation and aspiration.

As Hangberg is slowly transforming, its linguistic landscape indexes how the place is moralized through socio-cultural practices, historized in its streetscapes, spiritualized through religious institutions, graffitized through spray-canned discourses, sex and health literacy practices, as well as commercialized through hairstyling practices and Coco Cola brand artefacts, all exhibiting the semiotic construction of place. From our

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findings, it was also clear that Hangberg progressively became a graffiti paradise (publicly visible and common). All these developments around graffiti are not just launched on the street walls and buildings of Hangberg but contested in an attempt to reclaim and re-appropriate space (Curtin, 2009). Affirmations of this are shown in the educational spaces (Sentinel primary school) where graffiti spray paintings were used to combat and bring HIVAIDS awareness to the learners and the public, in general. Many of the other examples featured content of gendered and sexual references (graffiti on the walls of the supermarket). Through this, we see that the linguistic landscape of Hangberg has presented new opportunities for scrutinizing multiple language usage, literacies practices and issues regarding citizenship layered in gendered, sexual and health technologies through spray-canned discourses (Blommaert and Malay, 2014). These transgressive literacy practices on buildings are sites for the performance and refashioning of late-modern South African selves/identities (Nuttall, 2004), they also creates an increased sense of belonging to these spaces.

This chapter further explored the LL of Hangberg through resemiotised chains, which illustrate recontextualized meanings though signs and semiotic arefacts, see in Chapter Eight under the section, *'Coca-Colarization of Hangberg: Transidiomatic in form'*, the study shows the interplay of global-local consumption cultures where global (Western) celebrated brands (Coca Cola) underwent tremendous shifts in meaning and materiality when moved into new contexts (Africa). The global Coca Cola brand trend gives reference to a *rescaling* process (Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck 2005), which marks the reconstruction and remediation of (local) consumer culture and consumer agency in local markets or local places like Hangberg.

Chapter Nine

Self-stylization and linguistic hybridity through consumer discourses

The Rastafarians of Hangberg

9.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at the reclaiming of urban environments driven by social transformative aspects, in this regard the embodied reconfigurations (restyling of identities) in connection with the consumerist orientations in post-apartheid Hangberg. The emphasis in this chapter is on the visual and linguistic materials (signs), as they unpack the surface semiosis: more specifically, tell us about the contribution of the social circulation of linguistic forms across commercial signage. This chapter brings forth the notions of space and place constituted through language and sheds light on the (multilingual) linguistic landscape, showing how local and global identities are formulated in the semiotic economies of Hangberg. The focus here is on popular culture and how these discourse themes contribute to the restructuration of Hangberg's sociolinguistic spaces and market places.

The researcher's approach to analyse the data was influenced by the works of Nuttal (2004); and Nuttal and Michael (2000) on social, political and economic transformation aspects in Africa's metropolitan areas. These scholars explain that South Africa's cities are caught up in complex shifts relating to the reconstruction of selfhood through popular culture associations since the advent of democracy in the early 1990s. In order to make sense of these complex social constructions, the study plunges into the streets of Hangberg to capture (i.e. the local economies that offer goods and services, also to

see how modern and traditional identities find expression in local products) practices of consumerism in the fabric of city life.

In the contexts of debates around consumer identities and on the sociolinguistics of multilingualism, Hangberg stood out. Its people re-established a sense of self through cultural materializations and market-driven language usage that serve business interests. The linguistic forms reflected in different practices and discourses play a vital role in the symbolic displays of personhood and place-making. In the case of Hangberg, we see a growing increase in images of self around consumerism, highlighting a 'new culture of commodification, and new forms of multivocality in different semiotic artefacts / signs. This description of social space brings to mind Fairclough's (1989) perspective that modern societies are the decreasing relevance of national, regional and ethnic identifications and shifting to a growing consumer culture, which celebrates the styles of life.

Investigating this new culture of commodification and practices of consumption relating to the refashioning of identities, the study draws on several sociolinguistic studies (Nuttall, 2004; Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009; Williams and Lanza, 2016) that convey themes of political aspirations that can be understood in the postmodern constructions of society. We see Hangberg as a consumer society in that what people there purchase becomes part of their identity or selfhood. In contemporary Hangberg, the identities of the youth are determined by the politics of aspiration (Nuttall, 2004), which finds expression in self-stylization around consumerism (see analysis below).
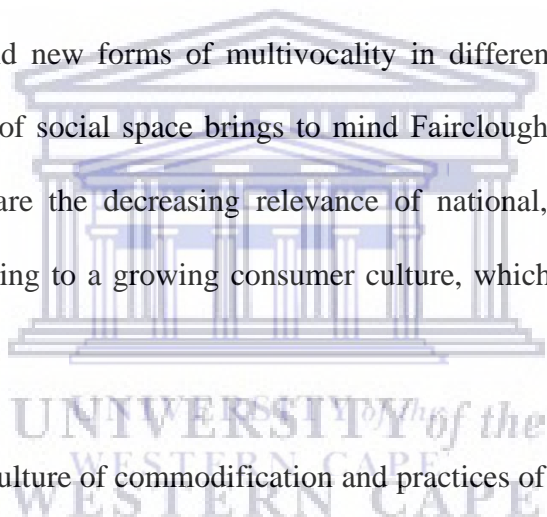
9.1 The metro-sexual as urban identity: Bourdieu's taste distinction

Whilst exploring Hangberg, the researcher came several times into contact with a group of young Coloured Rastafarian males who trade herbs at the taxi rank. The selling of herbs in the streetscapes reveals a new culture of commodification, underlies the production and consumption of products that are attached to registers of selfhood. Analysing the commercial signs of (figure *9.1* below), the researcher was able to provide insight into the actual use of languages in Hangberg and the materiality of the LL texts (economic investment in the production of signage). These signs show new masculine (Rastafari) inscriptions in the commercial linguistic landscape; and they are tied to the way we think about the production of inspirational identities and the local *economics* of place. As Foucault (1980) points out, "identity is a process rather than state, as flow rather than fixed characteristic, as constantly becoming rather than being". Indicatively, these commercial signs (as well as interactions) show how the younger generation of Hangberg identify with other Rastas (from Africa, America and the Caribbean) outside of the borders of the South Africa (the signs exhibit their adaptation of an outside linguistic/cultural form for the local context).

With reference to the refashioning of metro-sexual identities, many scholars discussed this topic numerous times. A scholar like Dolby (2006) argued that "people's everyday engagements with popular culture is a vital component in understanding emergent public spaces and citizenship practices in Africa, all aiming to provide the reader with a sense of the worldliness of African life in general" (p.32). She goes onto state: "As it is a site of struggle, it is also a place for the negotiation of identities, the construction of race, gender and nation, as well as the play of power" (Dolby, 2006:33).This is an important perspective and validates what we discuss in this chapter – Hangberg being a

site for the remixing and reassembling of racial and linguistic identities through popular culture (Rastafarism).

Following the history of the Cape Colony and its inhabitants, we know that many Cape Coloureds (now Rastas) in the old apartheid days rejected the Khoisan indigenous heritage, mainly because of racial suppression: inferiority and racial segregation assigned to indigenous cultures, as well as the banning of their traditional medicines (consumerable products) (see Flint, 2008). In terms of self-stylization (Nuttall, 2004), we observed transformations, some of the most powerful reimaginings of race and identity that the Cape has known in some time. One distinctive feature was the Rastas' engagements with the bush medicine practices occupying the *centre* and *periphery* of the city with its new forms. Repurposing and reasserting their indigenous rights in practices of consumerism infuse in some way a sense of pride and belonging, whereby the younger generation reconstruct positive gender roles - being someone in the New South Africa. Nuttall (2004) noted in the article, *the Y culture (youth culture) of Rosebank, Johannesburg* that "the city becomes the engine for self-stylizing…often embedded in cultures of the body, which represents one of the most decisive shifts of the post-apartheid era" (p. 449).

The study puts forward the term 'metrosexual' (see the sub-theme) to illustrate that men in urban spaces are no longer driven by gangsterism and/or being rebellious but instead modelled by the pride of the Rastafari principles and values (this is discuss further below with Ras David and Ras Tom samples). Linking back to Nuttall's (2004) positioning of self-stylization, the study argues that this new individual image of metro sexual identity can be read off from the Rastafari culture, largely expressed through

bodily stylizations (dreadlock hair styling, clothing) language repertoires (Dread language or Irey talk), reggae music, and practices of consumption (selling of herbs).This is relatively positive representations of the refashioning of postmodern selves presented in the semiotic/linguistic landscape of Hangberg, telling us much about the *place* in a variety of ways - how its younger generation participate in the global cultural customs, those very different from the parental generation. According to Fairclough (2003), these are practices of "styling" (see the literature in Chapter Two) shaping senses of the self, which is established by a "politics of aspiration" (see Nuttall, 2004).

In the Hangberg case, this discourses of aspiration find expressions in self-stylization (Nuttall, 2004), as we highlight how the younger generation of Hangberg "seek to transform themselves into singular beings, making their lives into an oeuvre that carries with it certain stylistic criteria…to the emergence of explicit forms of selfhood within the public domain" (Nuttall, 2004:432). These masculine figures, the Hangberg Rasta youth is seen as a democratizing force that loudly advocates feelings of resistance, hope, peace, dignity and rights in contexts of hardship and struggle (poverty, unemployment, violence and substance abuse). Being oppressed and labelled as a Coloured (an imposed identification) through an oppressed system during the apartheid years justify the struggle for the restoration of their human dignity and social inequality. This struggle was reflected in Ras David's discourse (he is a young Rasta male, aged twenty), see extract below.

The researcher felt that Ras David's discourse is relevant here; growing up as a Coloured, he felt that he had no culture and roots. Symbolically, Rastafari became the

adopted culture that fills the void left by the absence of a culture. We can infer that a symbolic correspondence is established between popular culture (Rastafari movement) and the contemporary lifestyle of urban men: Ras David talks convincingly how the customs, values, and laws associated with the Rastafari culture transformed him into "being and becoming" (Foucault, 1980) a respectable man. His gendered characteristics are expressed through symbolic investments of selfhood (the popular culture attached to him).

Extract nine:

> "Before I become a Rasta, I was violent with people, *ek se'* (you see), ek het fuck' in baie geluidique (baie gedrink) (*I fucking drank a lot of alcohol*), in die dronk beland (*being in jail*), baklei (*fight a lot*) but now, I take my dagga (*cannabis/marijuana*), eat the herb every day, the grass from our mountain land. Siesa (*sister*), I n' I (*I*) respect my brotherman (humankind) because Jah (*God*) shows One Love to us all from One Heart, we must imitate this…" Nee kyk the reggae music and ganga (dagga) smoking maak toe dat ek oppie Rasta yard opeindig (*look, it's the reggae music and smoking of marijuana that led me end up at the Rastas' place*). Dus lekka om te spliff, as jy nie daai doen is jy nie a Irie man (Rasta) (It is good to smoke ganga, if you don't do it then you can't be seen as Irie man (Rasta). This happened so quick, the next day was wearing shirt and trousers with red, green and yellow colours, that how I became a Rasta.

Looking at the discursive sample of Ras David above, we see what is happening now though – young people in the periphery of the city are doing things differently than before. They bring to the surface their associations with popular culture, highlighting

modes of cultural accessorization in the making of their contemporary selfhood. These embodied style practices give optimism and pride as citizens participate in new identity processes, different from the apartheid imposed classifications (White, Black, Coloured, Indian, etc). Since 1994, when the apartheid system was abolished, young people have occupied these identities in changing ways, living as they now do in post-apartheid. Drawing on Bourdieu's (1984) notion of 'taste', the study now builds on Nadine Dolby's (2000) conceptualisation of the term. She argues that "taste is displacing the traditional versions of race and culture as the carrier of social distinctions (Dolby, 2000:5). This notion of taste is an important one to both the study and theoretical approach (on identity), which allow for the metropolitan imaginings that derive from the mundane of practices of popular culture.

Here the notion of 'taste' is inserted in a contemporary narrative of the youth culture of Hangberg, it conveys how the Rastafarian movement replaced the church, family and peer group networks as primary site where new subjectivities are forged. The argument that the study tries to bring forth here is that the criteria that define bodies, clothing, language, culture and race categories (White, Coloured and Black) are not stable entities but, ever shifting in metamorphose (Dolby, 2000). After all, race is not written into or onto the body anymore, for the body is not stable or long enough to permit such an act of inscription. What is at stake "is not what the body is or carries inside it but rather what the body does in relation to other bodies" (Gilroy, 2000:255). This study concurs with Dolby (2000) that individuation and subjectivation reveal self-transformative practices based on specific aesthetic values and stylistic expressions. Ras David' discourse is a good example; it offers an analytical lens to capture ways in which race,

gender, and popular culture (Rastafarism) interact to shape the multiple dimensions of the man's experiences.

In the extract above, Ras David takes pride in describing how his body, identity and life style were negatively impact, growing up in the ghetto. He underwent transformation after he joined the Rastafari movement. He stated the following, "Before I become a Rasta, I was violent with people, ek se' (*you see*), ek het fuck' in baie geluidique (baie gedrink) (*I fucking drank a lot of alcohol)*, but now I respect my brotherman (humankind) because our Creator shows One Love to us all from One Heart". The sentiment above is very insightful, we have only to look at the work of Stefen Jensen's (2008), he remind us that men who have been emasculated by poverty and negative perceptions of themselves resort to gang involvement, violence and drug use to assert their dignity.

One of the most striking elements of Ras David's story of transformation was an exposure to Rastafarism, reggae music and the smoking of dagga (ganja). This experience was powerful, as he explains how he reclaimed a sense of selfhood after he joined the Rastafari movement: in the transitive verbs, there is a metamorphosis from *being* violent and drunken to *becoming* a more descent and responsible person. In extract nine above, Ras David's discourse echoes his use of dagga (*cannabis or marijuana*), when he says "*but now, I just take my dagga, eat the herb every day, the grass from our mountain land*". Of particular relevance to Ras David's discourse, dagga (cannabis) was a common use by the Khoisan and San indigenous groups and was later introduced to the Dutch settlers upon their arrival in the Cape. This speaks to the intertexual chains of meanings the word "dagga" holds - it can be traced to the Khoisan

dialect, believed to be the derivation of a term! AmaXa-b, meaning "green tobacco". The use of the dagga also occurred in the diary of Jan van Riebeeck in 1658 (spelled "daccha") (see Du Toit, 1976: 23). The trade and use of dagga (*cannabis*) is evident today, particularly in the flows of people and plants in Cape Town.

Other chains of intertextual meanings in his discourse are the scriptures of the Bible that he quoted anew for new meaning-making in cultural themes. The subject (and other Rastafarians) uses the Bible (holy book) as a resource to legalise and justified the use of dagga/ganga (*marijuana*). Ras David defended his use of dagga by the written saying in the biblical scriptures, Genesis 3.18:"thou shalt eat the herb of the field"; Psalms 104:14:"He causeth the grass for the cattle, and the herb for the service of man", Exodus 10.12:"Eat every herb of the land"; and Revelations 22 "you must eat the fruit of the tree that bears fruit 12 times a year". The word dagga (*marijuana*) functions as link in chains of recontextualized meanings; it became a symbol of healing with biblical significance. Also, it carries weight in that Ras David sees it as a healing herb (medicine) and religious sacrament. Plants (dagga as herbs) are considered part of Creation, and all Creation flows from God - the Rastafarians communicate with *Jah* (God) by this medium (Clarke, 1994).

Other intertextual references are linked to process of 're-entextualization' (Silverstein and Urban, 1996), as the researcher draws on the language features in Ras David's discourse. The following lexical items: '*Siesa*', *'I n I', 'Jah'*, '*One Love, One Heart*', '*Spliff*'' exhibit verbal cues of Dread Talk and Kaaps (linguistic remixings that give insight into processes of enregisterment through socially acceptable linguistic resource, see Agha, 2003:231). The meanings Rastafarians attach to these linguistic resources

demonstrate their authenticity of the speech variety.In the Ras David's discourse, the Jamaican Creole word '*Jah*' functions as a re-entextualized element from Rastafari religious literature, artistic performances, and reggae music. The word '*Jah'* refers to the Rastafari God (Haile Selassie I as in "Jah Ras Tafari" - Lion of the Tribe of Judah). The slang Afrikaans word 'Siesa' is cultural marker of respect, Ras David employs the word to manage his conversation with the customer. The word *'Siesa'* is a re-entextualized form of the Standard English word 'Sister' and *'I n I'* (a Jamaican patois pronunciation in utterance) is a re-entextualized form of the word 'I'. '*Siesa'* refers to a woman or lady, and *'I n'I'* means I (the first person pronoun). The noun phrase '*One Love, One Heart'* in Ras David's discourse comes from the lyrics of the Bob Marley song "One Love" (popular reggae song). The use of "*One Love, One Heart*" articulates Rastafarians' resistance to social injustice in a non-violent manner. It is achieved through re-entextualization, where new indexicalities are created through the wording / phrase to reveal how one can draw on religious faith (Rastafari) to love, unite and respect all living things.
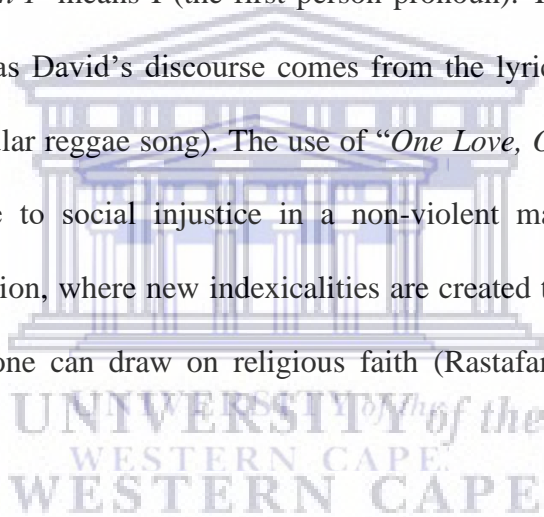
'Spliff' is another a lexicon from Dread Talk that refers to a portion of marijuana herb (also known as ganja or dagga) rolled into a joint for smoking. The word *'Spliff' is re-*entextualized (having an intertextual chain), as it derives from reggae music – see the lyrics in the Bob Marley song "Easy Skanking".

> Excuse me while I light my spliff
>
> Oh God, I got to take a lift
>
> From reality I just can‟t drift
>
> That's why I'm staying with this rift

Marley's reference "spliff" has now been extended to wider use (in Ras David's discourse). It is listed in the American Heritage College Dictionary as slang with a notation of meaning "a marijuana cigarette", ascribed to Jamaican English (Pollard, 2003). This clearly shows how the language has been extended outside the borders for which it was created through the poetic music discourse that has become international.

The linguistic constructions above exhibit re-entextualization, which describes how speakers take some fragment of discourse and quote it anew, making it seem to carry a meaning independent of its situation within two now distinct contexts (Silverstein and Urban, 1996; and Bauman and Briggs, 1990). This concept borrows from Bakhtin's (1981) notions of intertextuality and polyphony in that speakers' utterances are never uniquely authored, as each word has its own social history, imbued with the many meanings acquired from previous speakers and listeners. The previous meanings of the utterance are not lost; instead, they become a sort of palimpsest on which new meanings are sedimented.

The language use above (Dread Talk) also supports Hodge and Kress' assertion that "language is an instrument of control/power and of communication" (Hodge and Kress, 1993:6). In fact, hearing the language (Dread Talk / Irey Talk) would keep the image of Rastafari before the society (Pollard, 2000).

9.2 Discourse hybridity in the Bossie Kruie commodification

After the researcher met with Ras David, she was fortunate to be introduced to his friend, Ras Tom, an entrepreneur who is selling herbs. The researcher drew on Ras Tom's discourse to show the production of different multilingual economies in

Hangberg. She (researcher) illustrates this with the commercial signage of figure *9*.1-which reflects how discourses of place *(*signs of territory available for communication) and consumerable goods (selling of herbs) address the conceptualization of space and place.

Figure 9.1 English and Afrikaans in locally produced signage - "Bossie Kruie" (herb medicines) and hair products of Ras (Tom), herbalist in Hangberg.

Through such commercial LL texts, the researcher showcases Hangberg as a consumer society – in that what people purchase becomes part of their identity. As Bauman (2004: 91) points out, "we are all in and on the market, are simultaneously customers and commodities". Given this understanding, the study advocates Styhre and Engberg (2003) remarks that spaces of commodification are material assemblages constituted by artefacts, signs, language and symbols comprising a way of seeing, a way of perceiving the world. It is precisely these surfaces of production and consumption that ought to be taken more seriously as analytic constructs – an interesting theme that the study scrutinizes in the Hangberg LL texts. This study takes an approach to the linguistic landscapes in terms of sociolinguistics of multilingual mobility, where one look at the discourses transfigured across signage, contexts and languages.

In terms of interaction, the signs of figure *9.1* display multimodal semiotic systems of meanings with respect to the content, design and the producers who created them. The signs here are manually produced on a relatively low economic investment (made out of placards). Furthermore, their placement is in 'economically up-scaled place (at the taxi-rank and in the main road), maximizing a diverse, potential readership. This situation allows for a *gaze* towards the signs. It brings to light what Blommaert and Maly (2014) said of signs having a semiotic scope as they are always in dialogue–meaning, in that a relationship is built between the producers and addressees in the interactional process (Kelly-Holmes, 2005). At the same time, the Kruie Bossie advertisement above presents a fine example of what Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) call an 'offer' image. There is an interactional element to the signs that encourage those passing by to take interest in the consumption practices (consumerable products) on display.

Figure *9.1* is also "bottom-up commercial signs" (Ben-Rafael *et al*. 2006), typically associated with peripheral spaces (townships), as they displaya local, hybrid linguistic register of both English and Afrikaans. There is 'hybridity' or code-mixing in the sentences/discourses. This signs of figure *9.1* follow a conventional text structure, or genre. For example, the products' names take up a salience position as they are framed in the center (middle), written in bold and blocked letters. At syntactic level, the signs also depict what Rush (1998) refers to as a unique word order feature given that there is a "tendency to place the products' name first in lengthy designation of the commodity signs" (p.165). A similiar presentation is depicted with the name of the product (ARTiRiTiS SALF) on the top (ideal) and the price tag for the product (R30) at the bottom (real).The example here illustrates the *local* convention of price-giving familiar from signs found in sites of necessity.

In terms of how the languages are resourced in the signs above, English and Afrikaans co-exist in a non-standard linguistic *style* (see Fairclough, 2003 orders of discourse) that foregrounds local English phrasal patterns, 'ARTiRiTiS SALF', 'ATERY BLOKAGE', SKIN SALF, HART PROBLEMS and 'ColestoroL'.We see how the signs of figures *9.1* above display a register where words are encoded by reversing syllables and by changes in spelling or rather a variety characterized by misspellings. For example, the word ColestoroL is incorrect and functions as a substitute for Cholesterol and the word ARTiRiTiS as a substitute for Arthritis. These are non-standard and locally produced language features that Blommaert (2008:7) describes as "grassroots literacies", clearly fashioned in inconsistent spelling, spelling errors, or spelling that reflects "accent". The code mixing of the phrase SKIN SALF is covered by the notion of recontextualization. It captures how the word 'salf' is borrowed from Afrikaans language and fused with the English word 'skin'. A similar pattern of "language crossing" (Rampton, 1995) appears in the Afrikaans and English phrase 'hart problems'.The use of different stylistic modes bring across a discourse of hybridity and creativity whereby highly localized meanings are layered goods and services. The signs here and the previous set of signs in Chapter Eight show clearly the importance of the socio-economics of the site, underlying aspects of design and of the representation – from layout and choice of materials to language and forms of creativity.

On the other hand, the informal texts (commercial signs) employ a type of linguistic *descaling* of discourse or local scale (Blommaert, 2005), as it indexes both global and the local influences. Descaling is manifested in linguistic hybridity, the insertion of Afrikaans into English (Kaaps) in the advertising 'indexes' a local place that is cohesive to the local geographical space, and the presence of English as global resource. Looking

back at the section on *'Hybridity as third space'* in Chapter Three, hybridity involves the fusion of two relatively distinct cultural forms, styles and identities, creating a discursive space - a third space (Bhabha, 1994). These consumerist elements of advertising discourses resemble what Bakhtin (1986) calls "multivocality" and Otsuji and Pennycook (2015) refer to as "metrolingualism", emerging from multilingual linguistic references that reveal the complexity of social practices in township spaces. Piller (2001) notes "as people appropriate the discourses of multilingual consumerism for their own ends, the ways in which they do so are no longer controlled by the original advertisers" (p. 181). In the Hangberg case, the local producers rework both Afrikaans and English in non-standard forms in practices of consumption, generating local meanings 'rich in density of meaning and effect' (Blommaert, 2005: 404).

Seeing that the Rastafarians of Hangberg use Kaapse Afrikaans (code-mixing of English and Afrikaans) jointly with Dread Talk (Irey language) in their consumer discourses and interactions, for the researcher these metrolinguistic encounters is intended solely for the people of Hangberg. Not the White, English monolinguals living in Hout Bay, they may lack competence of different dialects or mixing across two or more languages. The mixing of different dialects in Ras Tom and Ras David's discourses and the commercial LL texts above should be seen as events/processes, involving complex language play, outsiders have to work hard to decode the messages and to understand the different interactional regimes (Goddard, 2001). It is fair for the researcher to say that examining the Rastafari youths' lifestyle (through narrations) and their consumerist practices helped her to make sense of the language developments of the late twentieth century (their articulation of the community's multilingual resources across different spaces).

The study argues that the use of multiple languages in commercial signs found in Hangberg and the linguistic practices of its residents (Rastafarians) characterized a particular and pervasive linguistic hybridity (mixing of Afrikaans and English, Dread Talk), pushing the fixed, abstract and scientific notions of language to the edge. This view certainly runs counter with the work of traditional sociolinguists such as Chomsky (1965) and Saussure (1966) and Whorf (1956) - see detailed discussion on this in Chapter Two under the section: '*The notion of language'*. This thesis shows that in the consumerist world (in local contexts/townships in Cape Town), prescriptive attitudes towards purity in language and the maintenance of boundaries between languages are no longer relevant.

9.3 Spiked the tongue with Dread Talk: Multivocality/linguistic remixing

This section builds on Ras Tom's verbal interactions with the consumers who purchased his herbal products (see figure *9.1* in previous section). The focus here is on the mobility of people and their languages. In this context, we note that the local is semiotically constructed by multiple indexicalities brought forth by the speech practices in space and place (the linguistic repertoires of consumers), which gives reference to the local features of township life.

Extract ten:

> Moeder en Vader, moet ni bang wees vir die herbs, Irie (*it is alright*). I'm no witch doctor (*sangoma*), I n'I (*We and they*) are different, I n'I *(We)* illen (*healing*) da (*the*) people with seeds on the earth, like my Khoi icestors (*ancestors*). See Jah (God) has spoke in the ancient, no itning (*waiting*) to get illen (*healed*) in heaven, it under the skies (on earth). That's why we mos here,

In' I (*We*, *Rastas*) have upinity (*opportunity*) to stand up for our people. No White man's pills treating bloeddruk (*blood pressure)* and suiker siekte (*diabetics*)...he doesn't tell me. I n' I (*We*) have da (*the*) products [pointing finger to herbal medicine], Jah (*God*) is living man, siesa (*sister)*, we helping onse mense (*our people*).

There are so many things to say about this written discursive scenario but the study would like to focus on the interactions of Ras Tom's selling of "Bossie Kruie" (*herbal medicine*), to develop a comprehensive understanding about plant-human engagements, as well as themes regarding human and environmental health and illness. An interesting observation was that the bush doctors differentiate themselves from other traditional African healers. What the researcher found intriguing in Ras Tom's discourse was when he began to tell her, becoming an herbalist was not to harm people with what he does, but indeed "healing the people with the seeds on the earth". Ras Tom stated that he is not a sangoma who engages in witchcraft; instead he positioned himself as a "healer of the people". He described how the products on sale prevent and cure diseases: "I n' I (*We*) illen (*healing*) *da* (the) people with seeds on the earth, like Khoi ancestors". This sentiment validates the Rasta bush doctors' healing beliefs. Their identification with the Khoisan healing traditions gives rise to the emergent ethno-medicine practices in the Western Cape (see Aston Philander, 2012).

Rasta bush doctors employ indigenous healing methods as a means of legitimizing Hangberg, which was once a historical marginalized community. Despite the fact that Ras Tom rejects the Coloured label, he surprisingly invests in what he claims a 'middle ground': being a Rasta herbalist and Khoisan descendant. Claiming this shared identification permits many Rastas to repurpose and redefine their parameters of

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stylization, by embracing (old) traditional / indigenous rituals, which convey broader cultural transformations in this modern era. What is particularly interesting, this written piece is the religious register, in which Ras Tom's life story is best understood when he said, "Jah (God) has spoken in the ancient (past), no itning (*waiting*) to get illen (*healed)* in heaven, it under the skies". Here he describes how Rastafarians believe that Jah (*God*) has spoken in the past and he still speaks with the same voice in the present. For him, they can hear the message today. He has an understanding that God is the life force, which dwells in humans and that the earth is the ground where people live and where their bodies are positioned; heaven can only be thinking of. Ras Tom's conscious perception allowed him to find God, not as a disembodied entity floating in the sky – as he had been taught, but in the people around him.

Extract ten above shows that the Rastafarians' trade with herbs (they trace their origins to the Khoisan indigenous healing tradition) are clearly a protest (rejection) against witchcraft and the dependency on Western biomedicine in post-apartheid South Africa. This is highlighted in the following statement, "No White man's pills treating blood pressure and diabetics...he doesn't tell me. I n' I (*We*) have da (*the*) products [pointing finger to herbal medicine], Jah (*God*) is living man, siesa (*sister*), we helping our people". It is fascinating to see that Rastafari movement is fuelled by a synthesis of ethnomedicinal knowledge that circulates across different social contexts (e.g. marketplace streets, pavements of taxi ranks) and interactions (multilingual commercial discourses and speech dialogues).

Below, the study demonstrates the lexical, phonological, and syntactical structures of the poetic music discourse of Dread Talk in the representation of figure *9.2*, working

with different sets of examples from extract ten above, which corresponds to creative

language features through the remixing of styles.

Linguistic Innovation 1	
Substitution of "I" of the Initial Syllable in DT Words--|ai|, "I," for the beginnings of English words modified for the formation of descriptive "Upfull" word sounds and meanings	
Standard English	**Dread Talk / Rastafarian language**
I - a personal pronoun used to refer to oneself.	**I n' I** - represents positivity. I, me, us, him, she, God in Me. Oneness between two or more persons or between Rastafari and God.
Alright	**Irie/ I-re/Irey** Feeling good; everything is alright; powerful and pleasing. A salutation.
Ancestors – a plural form of forefathers	**I-cestors** – African slaves under the most dehumanizing conditions managed to resist slavery and colonialism.
Waiting	**I-ting**
Healing	**I-llen**
Linguistic Innovation 2	
Morphological Variations that Create Contradictions	
God/ Lord /Heavenly Father - Being Spirit in Christianity that is worshipped and belief created the world.	**Jah** – Name Rastafarians call God. For many believe Haile Selassie [I] former emperor of Ethiopia it is the "Jah Ras Tafari", the King of Kings, Lion of the Tribe of Judah.
Linguistic Innovation 3	
Redefinition of Existing Standard English Lexicon	
Sister – girl/woman who has same mother and father.	**Siesa**- woman, see as member /child of the Rastaman, not related by blood.
Opportunity	**Upinity** - to be moved up forced down socially and economically as the Rastafari see themselves to be oppress by the Babylon system (nation –state, society).

Figure 9.2 is a representation recapitulating the different linguistic innovations in the Rastafarian discourses.

Up until this point, we have seen how participants like Ras David used Jamaican Creole words when he stated the following, I n'I (*I and I or We*) illen (*healing*) da (*the*) people with seeds on the earth, like my Khoi icestors (*ancestors*). Firstly, what is striking is that Ras Tom discourse throws up different ways in which the lexicon I n'I can be used dialogically to generate different reading positions. Who is I n'I *(I and I)* and what does it represent? The metaphoric /ai/ construction like I 'n I (*I and I or me and you),* gives emphasis on the significance of the first person, granting the other person equal first person status rather than third person status of English personal nouns. Rastafarians do not use personal pronouns such as 'me' or 'mine'; it is always 'I'. According to Denis-Constant (1995:2), there is always a reality of conscious self despite the fact that there may be a constant reference to the unity of Jah (God).

Secondly, the concept of I n' I (*I and I*) can refer to me, you, we (us) and them - in fact, it can be analysed as a collective word, highlighting the Self as more than the single individual, and therefore encompassing others. An example of this is in the following phrase: "I n' I (*we Rastas*) have upinity (*opportunity*) to stand up for our people". Thirdly, in other instances, the lexicon 'I' has also come to be used as a substitution for most of the initial letters of original English words. For example, the word "healing has been recontextualized to <u>i</u>llen*"*; "ancestors changed to <u>i</u>cestors"*;* "waiting transformed to <u>i</u>ting"; and "opportunity replaced by <u>u</u>pinity" [the sound of /o/ is replaced with the sound of /u/ in Jamaican Creole]. The usage of /i/ in this approach is not applicable to specific words because everybody is free to use it in way they deem fit (Denis-Constant, 1995:2).

We have in particular observed how other linguistic lexicons such as: da (*the*), illen (*healing*), In'I (*we, I, you*), siesa (*sister*), icestors (*ancestors*), upinity (*opportunit*y) displayed a register of short messaging (SMS language). The grammatical structure of the words alters and do not hold the same form as ascribed to the Standard Afrikaans and English discourse practices. Pennycook (2007); and Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) deem this as a recontextualized type of creative linguistic style that brings change in the pronunciation of words (through omission in grammar). In a way, this is a new 'invention' that exemplifies the use of new diversity of styles as *lingua franca* in township spaces. This speech practice/register enables Rastafarians all around the world to communicate with each other in events (and is considered here the mode of their interconnectivity). These orthographic abbreviations and truncated grammar highlight how Rastas de-essentialize (decontextualized) languages because there are no rules governing this register (with regards to language use, pronunciation or spelling of words). The lexicons/words can be broken and changed at any given time. This 'free – forming' language changes highlight the agency of speakers to create their own languages, as well as pushing the academic notions of language to their limits.

We explore in detail how these linguistic resources originated from Jamaican Patois (Creole language developed through colonialism), it has been used freely and members learn it so fast (Pollard, 2000). One of the most striking linguistic characteristics is multiple language usage in Ras Tom's discourse (Afrikaans, English and Dread Talk), resonating with the notion "multivocality" (Bakhtin, 1986), which is accorded with the "transcultural flowing" (see Pennycook, 2007) of languages and varieties and their appropriation for local contexts (a characteristic of many late-modern multilingual societies like Hangberg). This is illustrated in the following clause structure "See Jah

(God) has spoken in the ancient (past), no itning (*waiting*) to get illen (*healed*) in heaven, it under the skies". At the same time, this is also applying to Bakhtin's (1981) notion of "double-voicing" where one observe English as global language juxtaposed (blend) with local linguistic resources (Dread Talk and Kaaps) to function out the purpose meant for this specific genre (link in this case, to market economic discourses). Ras Tom double-identify with the heteroglossia of urban, Dread Talk (Rastafarian language), Kaaps (a variety of Afrikaans) while also claiming membership in a global world of transnational English speakers. These linguistic repertoires linked to multivocality and double-voicing address the notion of "re-entextualization" (Silverstein and Urban, 1996). This is illustrated under the following sub-themes in this chapter: *'The metro-sexual as urban identity: Bourdieu's taste distinction'; 'Spiked the tongue with Dread Talk: Multivocality/linguistic remixing',* here re-entextualization find expressions in the remixing and recycled of linguistic resources, quoted anew to find new meanings constituted through language.

For Pennycook (2007), the African Caribbean appropriations of the Rastafari varieties account for the constant reciprocity between globalization and localization. Rastafarians utilize the Jamaican patois with other South African languages to challenge the forces of oppression that still exist in post-apartheid (the language variety is a testimony to the power of endurance of a people who fought to not be submerged by circumstances). The multilingual repertoire of the Hangberg Rastafarians (which comprises of the Jamaican Creole, Khoi languages and language varieties such as Kaaps) contests the hegemonic (English and Afrikaans monolingual) language policies of government institutions and the language markets, aiming to generate an inclusive space for multilingual or double-voiced citizenship.

9.4 Negotiating transnationalism through brand naming and commodities

Moving on, the study shows that the styling and profiling of Rastafari culture is not limited to the selling of herbs (consumer products) and the commodification of language (Kaapse Afrikaans, English and Dread Talk) in business and marketing as indicated in the above visual and textual scenes. This analyses covers the consumption of goods (clothing brands, footwear, bags, heads, books, hand bracelets and hair products) associated with the Rastafari culture, which evokes all the crucial vectors of stylistic sensation. In this respect, figures *9.3 (a), (b) and (c)* below highlight that the Rastafari culture manifests a lifestyle, in that people "consume who they are or want to be" through brand and cultural accessories (Campbell,1987; Bourdieu, 1984).

While exploring Hangberg, the researcher approached a Black isiXhosa, street vendor from Imizamo Yethu, a black neighbouring township near Hangberg. He does trade in Hangberg and at Hout Bay harbour for over three years, selling Rastafarianism through the brand name '*Marcus Garvey Foundation*'. Profiling Marcus Garvey, he was a slave descendant (Rastafarian), born in Jamaican on 17 August 1887 (Smith-Irvin, 1989). Garvey was regarded as the prophet of the religious and political movement (he was seen as an immediate contributor to Afro-centric readings of the Bible that Rastafarians inherited). This understanding is relevant in the following statement: She or he shall at all times read, cite and perform the scripture in the Holy Piby, that is the name given for the Holy Bible (King James Version), and the recitations/ teachings of Haile Selassie (Tolsi, 2011). One could in fact say that Garvey presented for Rastafarians this African centred approach model based on biblical interpretations, to reflect upon the social and political conditions of persons of African descent (Chawane, 2014:93-114).

Marcus Garvey's narrative is also linked to the story of Moses who led the 'suffering Israelites' out of slavery to a promised land. In this respect, for Rastafarians, Garvey was the 'Black Moses' who emancipated Blacks from *Babylon* (American, British, Greek and Roman oppressive regimes) to *Zion* (Africa, Ethiopia or Heaven). Zion is considered the authentic and holy motherland; also refers to as the 'Garden of Eden' and the 'cradle of all mankind' (Chawane, 2014:93-114). Figure *9.3 (a)* below displays the Marcus Garvey brand on some consumerable items in Hangberg. Here, the global brand image (print version of Garvey face) appears on a local designed Rastafari flag. This visual representation is imbued with meaning - we can image a Black consciousness message being commemorated here, as the Garveyism doctrine is based on the decolonial principles, speaking to the good hopes for the Black race, for them to living in a dignified way. Drawing on Bourdieu's (1984) distinction about 'taste' to notions of space and identity, the Marcus Garvey's legacy lives on, with the remixing of his brand on consumerable goods in townships (his face styled/printed on Rastafi flag). His brand is popular and celebrated in Africa because he inspired many Blacks, talking to them about freeing themselves from 'mental slavery' – an idea that fulfilled the gain of political dependence and civil rights (Hill, 1990).

The surface inscriptions in figures *9.3 (a), (b), (c);* and figures *9.4 (a) and (b)* below encourage a reading path of Hangberg as a place of aspiration, illustrating how the global Rastafari discourses and brands have been repurposed, resemiotised and transformed through various material artefacts, signs and symbols in spaces of consumption. As Appadurai (1996:20) points out "individuals consumer identities are no longer [expected] to be local ones...there are avenues for experiencing the remixing of global consumerism". The material assemblages (semiotic artefacts) incorporated in

the isiXhosa vendor's trade, explicitly highlights new imaginations (cultural knowledge) around the fluidity of consumer identities through expressions of stylization (Bakhtin, 1981; Nuttal, 2004) as well as illustrating where the township culture in South Africa is heading in late - modernity. For the Black street trader doing business at the periphery of a former predominately-White coastal landscape, the researcher came to realise how the Black body from its history under apartheid, seek to locate itself in the city after long periods of exclusion. The activities and the forms of representation that take place in Hangberg display the materialization of a new urban culture and stylization of the Self through practices of consumerism.

Here, the signs of figures 9.*3 (a), (b) and (c)* exhibit processes of meaning-making, intertextuality, resemiotisation and interactional regimes that are typical task-oriented (production) network of necessity, geared to the products and services (the selling of footwear, bags, caps, books). In terms of interaction, the colour saturation in the front and background of the hawk stall gives the surface semiotics a "high degree of modality" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). The effect of the visuals is very eye-catching, not in a threatening way, though, but evoke and generate trust and confidence to the recipient/ client or by-passer (the by-passer receives an aesthetic experience that is rich and enjoyable through a contemplative *gaze*). The different colours and textures of the material designs, in fact have a very phatic element (the interpersonal metafunction in a Hallidayan to analysis) in that they are interactional rather than representational. They directly inform the person who passes by, of the exact nature of the services or goods on offer.

Image of Jamaican born, Marcus Garvey, he was seen as the black prophet (Moses) of Rastafari movement.

Figure 9.3 (a) Selling of footwear, bags, caps

Figure 9. 3 (b) Images of reading materials

Image of Haile Selassie on the books - he was crowned King of Ethiopia and perceived as the Living God (Jah).

Figure 9.3 (c) other accessories - ankle and arm braces

Colour is also used as an inter-textual reference. All these bright rainbow colours (yellow, red, green and black) on the textile surfaces of consumer goods (clothing, beads, necklaces, footwear, badges and heads) are symbolic; they are better understood in the ideology of the Rastafari movement and identifiable with Garveyism (Barrett, 1997:143). These colours have alternative meanings and serve as commercial brand displaying the Rastafari culture as a diverse movement, not limited to one particular continent, country and community - as they are based on specific aesthetic values and stylistic criteria through which individuals conform their rule of conduct. We have found in the history of the Rastafari doctrine that Marcus Garvey symbolises the colour black with the skin of the Black body, green is linked with nature, red signals the blood of the Black body that have flowed during oppressive times (colonialism and apartheid), and the colour yellow stands for wealth (Oosthuizen,1990). The red, green and gold are colours of the Ethiopian flag. Like these colours, any other emblem (icon) associated with Rastafari movement has spiritual significance and bears the central theme of Africa to encode Ethiopia as heaven (these representations gesture enslavement on the continent and the brutality that Africans suffer). These are fascinating aspects of place semiotics and again show how germane it is to understand local/ global dynamics and discourses.

In line with the above statement, figure *9.3 (b)* represents the reading materials (books), with the images of the African continent on the front covers. The books become the cultural accessories of the Rastafarian movement. Moreover, the signage speaks directly to Ethiopia as actual homeland and therefore, functions both as source of identity and a destination for repatriation for Africans living outside of Africa. This captures the prophecy of African redemption in Psalm 68, which reads as follows "Princes shall

come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hand unto God" [14] (Campbell, 1995). Even Garvey laid out an argument for the creation of a Black homeland – refer to Ethiopia, Africa, Zion and Heaven (Chawane, 2014:93-114). Furthermore, the signage of figures *9.3 (c)* exhibits images of the Ethiopian King Haile Selassie I who became the Messiah of African deliverance. Ras Tafari was the birth name of His Imperial Majesty (H.I.M. as he is called by Rastafarians) Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia, who is also the divinity (or head) of the movement with members regarding him as their *Jah* (God) and calling him Jah Rastafari (Gondwe, 2002:9). The name Haile Selassie means "*Might of the Trinity*". He then added to his name the biblical labels "*King of Kings*" and "*the Lion of the Tribe of Judah*", which positioned him in the legendary line of King Solomon in the Bible. The word Rastafari can also refer to the creed, religion, and movement or organisation, meaning that Haile Selassie I *follower*s *shall be called by his name* (Chawane, 2008:122).

And finally, all the readings of the visual signs display a local literacy environment that is constituted through the multimodal representations. The rationale with the book presentations is to encourage a reading culture among members to gain more knowledge of the movement that emanated from America (Jamaica) in the 1940s, and gained momentum in 1955 on the African continent (Ethiopia) (Barrett, 1997). These texts (autographies, books and novels) become material/linguistic technologies that rebel against all practices that are discriminatory/ oppressive in Africa of the past and the present (they are the backbone of Rastafari resistance to societal oppression).

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[14]This Psalm is one of those that are always recited during Rastafarian congregation.

9.5 Township of flows and transnational soundscapes: Reggae and poetic literacy

Apart from the Dread Talk dialect discussed above, the semiotic systems (advertising signboards) in figures *9.4 (a) and (b)* show that Rastas use poetry (literacy practice) and musical festivals as vehicles to draw significant attention to the 'outdoor world'. Such profiling and commodification of the Rastafari brand (through music and poem verses) in the semiotics of spaces are driven by the desire to be 'authentic' and 'simply the best'. "A culture of being true to the local and telling it like it is" (Pennycook, 2007:2).

Figure 9.4 (a) Reggae festival on advertisement   Figure 9.4 (b) poetic writing on signboard

Like Hip Hop events where a deejay and an emcee move the audience (Rose, 1994), reggae dance events are organized around a deejay, 'the beat', creative use of 'flow', 'rupture' in the structure of songs and audience (Järvenpää, 2015). A good example is the advertising of figure *9.4 (a),* "*Reggae legends Sunsplash*" beach festival; it validates the above statement, as it captures new Pan-African expressions and transnational flows, musically. With roots firmly grounded in Pan-Africanist thinking on the island of Jamaica in the early 1930s, the Rasta culture and philosophy have spread far beyond the

West Indies, largely as a result of the Jamaican Reggae onto the international pop music scene in the mid-1970s (Savishinsky, 1994: 19).

The advertisement further exhibits how Rastafari musicians (rappers, DJs' and stage bands) reinvent the local-global conception of Self through heteroglot naming practices that capture identity expressions through "diasporic flows" of Rastafarian music/ reggae (Prévos, 2001:53). Hebdige (1987) noted, stylistically reggae is characterised by deep bass rhythms punctuated with heavy drumbeats and heavy bass-driven sound (p. 81). The linguistic reference (MORE FYAH!!!!!!; Roots & Dancehall Smash Riddims) hints reggae music as cultural centrality (a universal language for Rastafi communities). This is an interactional context reading of the reggae festival/ dance party: where it will be held (on beach space), and what it is (turf wars of noise). Cooper, (1998) notes that reggae music especially that with Rastafarian intent, concerned issues of black pride and identity, deliberately drew on African experience and hence involved social criticism, political protest and the particular problems of urban slums.

"Reggae music's deep connection to social identities has been distinctively intensified by globalization…[and] musical identities and styles are more visibly transient, more audibly in a state of constant fission and fusion than ever before" (Feld, 2000:145), and simultaneously contains local and transnational influences. With reference to this, the representations of battling (*the bands, Mcees and DJ's*) as well as the multivocality in naming practices (*Daddy Son, Judgment Son, Jah Lion Temeles*) in the advertising of figure *9.4(a)* are bound up in the delivery of reggae sound-tracks and dance styles through which the musicians imagining themselves as both local and global producers of the world. The Reggae music festival discourse in the advertising reveal the naming

signatures of musicians, gesturing the Rastafari African artistic expressions through reggae music, gender (male power) and high status labels (markers of nobility).

We argue that the names of the Rastafari artists are crucial sites for identity making. See underlined italics in the following examples *Jah* Mason (Jamaica), *Jah* Levi Tafari, *King* roots (USA), *King* Kodza, *Wiseman* Doctrine, *Dread Kings* and *Ras* Cardie – these titles unveil discourse meanings associated with the Rastafari movement, demonstrating how the artists are both members of the global and local worlds. The title *Jah* in the names *Jah Mason* (Jamaica), *Jah Levi Tafari* refers to the Rastafarian name for God (an agent for change on behalf of the impoverished people). Rastafarians identify Haile Selassie I as the "Prince Ras Tafari" - Lion of the Tribe of Judah (their Jah/God) (Gondwe, 2002). *Ras* is the prefix of the lexicon Rastafarians - a messianic movement [whose] members believe that Haile Selassie [I] former emperor of Ethiopia is the Black Messiah who appeared in the flesh for the redemption of all Blacks exiled in the world of the White oppressors (Barrett, 1997). The original name *Ras* is the Ethiopian word for Prince and Tafari "Head Creator" (*Jahug*, 1992: 4). Ras Tafari was the birth name of His Imperial Majesty (H.I.M as he is called by Rastafarians).

The titles *Kings and Wiseman* in the names *King roots, King Kodza,* and *Wiseman Doctrine* are lexicons referenced from the Bible [see King Solomon] – very high in status and associated with powerful characters or followers that come out of Ethiopia, Africa. The title *Dread* in the name *Dread Kings* is a lexicon that refers to the growing of beards, dread locks that became a symbol of strength with the biblical significance attached to the Nazarite vow of Samson. Rastafarians emulates the Hebrew tribe in the way they wore a crown (dreadlocks) of their hair, they claim that their dreadlocks

originated from the same source, the Nazarite Vows[15]. According to the Nazarite Vows, in accord with God, the Nazarites must grow out their hair and makes sure *no razor comes upon his head,* as it says in Numbers 6:1 (Siwek, 2005: 1-6). Rastafari "dread" is an emblem of freedom, power and boldness (Chevannes, 1994), wearing dreadlocks is very central in the belief system of Rastafarians.

Other names are tied to global identifications alongside African roots. For example, the global artist '*Bushman' (Jamaican)* highlights his African roots and authenticity through the Khoisan associations (call him the Bushman). The Khoisan indigenous group was the first inhabitants in Southern Africa around about the 17th century. This indigenous group worked as slaves for the European settlers. Simultaneously, the signage positions the Bushman's global affiliations through his current living space (*Jamaica*). Other names are tied to more generically intercontinental identifications with reference to Africa - e.g., *'Born Afrikan' (Malawi).*The naming practices *Born Afrikan (Malawi), Root Rockers (USA)* and *Bashmouth (Zimbabwe)* illustrate that African, USA and Jamaican reggae rhythms hint at a *musica franca* (Johnson-Hill, 1996), involving transcultural flows and performances productively appropriated in local and global contexts. This explains how reggae's "global template" (Garofalo, 1993:28) gave rise to numerous local variants such as the Afro-reggae of Africa – the local versions of reggae are not only incorporated in the USA and Jamaican lyrics, but also melodies from Malawi, Zimbabwe and South Africa. In these overlapping naming practices based on the Rastafari principles and reggae influences, artists find a new cosmopolitanism (Appiah, 2007), the local-global conceptions of Self. With the double (local and global)

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[15]Dreadlocks are thick matted thatch of hair and are most visible mark of Rastafarians.

identifications, it is clear that the Rastafari movement does not have one point of origin but multiple, co-present, global origins.
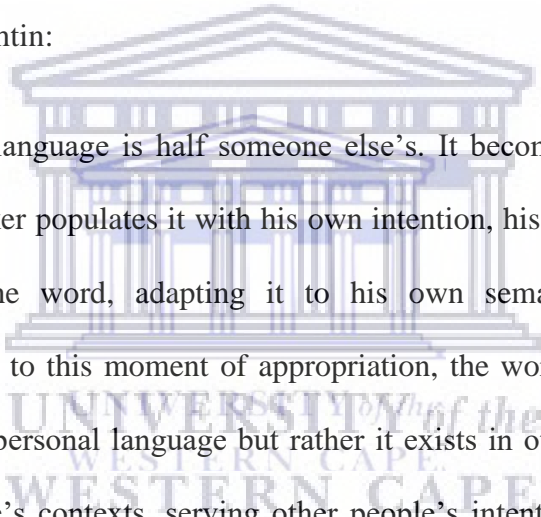
According to Pennycook (2007), popular culture such as hip hop or Rastafarism should be seen as vehicles for the world - wide dissemination of particular language forms, including new forms of literacy and message design (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). This is shown in figure *9.4 (b)*, the poetic discourse structures on the black board, "Always remember! Only a fool can fool someone" (this suggests an approach to the commercial literacies). The message design is commercially poised and contextualized in poetry, highlighting the local appropriations (bridge rhythms similiar to) of global reggae music sung by Bob Marley and words spoken by Marcus Garvey (with the literacy signature style at the bottom *G 8 man*). The poetic genre reveals a creative and playful semiotic reading in the surface inscriptions of Hangberg. Blommaert rightly suggests that for a sociolinguistic level of analysis, researchers need to move from languages to language varieties and repertoires because "it is not abstract language that is globalized but rather "specific speech forms, genres, styles and forms of literacy practice"(Blommaert, 2003:608).

To clarify the artful heteroglossic texts – the *G* is lexicon in the surname Garvey, the 8 stands for the month of August, the birth date of him, *man* denotes (male figure). The words in the poem ("Always remember! Only a fool can fool someone") are intertextually referenced from Marley's song in 1980, '*Get up stand up*', when he sings:

> "…*You can fool some people sometimes but*
> *you can't fool all the people all the time…*

And now we've seen the light (What you

gonna do) we gonna stand up for our rights".

In Bakhtin (1981) view, this type of discourses of figure *9.4 (b),* the poem written on the black board were quoted first from Garvey's speech and later remediated in the lyrics of Bob Marley's music where Rastas used intertexualised references from former global "resistance vernaculars" (Potter, 1995) in their utterances as a new invention. The idea invention is matched with new linguistic remixing to refashion Rastas as members of global Rastari movement. Such linguistic constructs (literacy writing) also allude to double-voicing, for Bakhtin:

"The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this moment of appropriation, the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language but rather it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's intentions: it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one's own" (Bakhtin, 1981:293–294).

As stressed above, double-voicing is found in the reuse, reworking of prior texts that indexes Bakhtin's (1981) notion of intertextuality, in that utterances are never uniquely authored, as each word has its own social history, imbued with the many meanings acquired from previous speakers and listeners. This type of discourse genres (the poem written on the black board echoing prior texts: Garvey's words were later re-entextualized or intertextualised (adapted in Marley's reggae music). This stylistic (re)mixing, as many have pointed out, goes well beyond mere imitation. The radical

recontextualizations and creative uses to which semiotic resources (discourses, genres and styles) are put signal an era of "global linguistic flows" (Alim *et al*. 2008) in which linguistic and other semiotic material circulates around the world's "langscapes" (Appadurai, 1996; Pennycook, 2003) to produce translocal style communities (Rastafarians in South African townships).

9.6 Summary

This chapter focused on popular culture whereby the study explores the Rastafari movement in the research site, Hangberg. It (chapter) explored multiple dynamics concerning this movement, ranging from their consumption practices (selling of herbs, clothing items, reading materials, etc.), linguistic practices in interactions (including literacy practices) and the lifestylization of its members. Hangberg stands out because of its cultural and linguistic heterogeneity, its spatial multilayeredness. The place generates a feeling of constant movement. Looking at the advertising signs, a multilingual mobility is transfigured across the signs, contexts and language usage. Hybrid linguistic expressions involving English and Afrikaans (Kaaps) and Dread Talk become the most legitimate forms of language use for the selling consumerable goods and the services on offer, but more importantly, the selling of consumer identities.

Upon reflection, the linguistic remixing of languages and language varieties of the Rastafarians in social interactions (and signage) reveal processes of linguistic hybridity and multivocality that is the norm for communication among them. With reference to that, Canagarajah (2005: xxiii) writes "a general fluidity and mixing in languages, cultures and identifies is becoming a fact of life...transnational life makes borders porous as ideas, goods, and people flow with greater mobility". It is important to

mention that these linguistic remixing in the Rastas' commercial discourses, repertoires and literacy practices are layered in processes of globalization – as languages, language varieties (Dread Talk associated with Jamaican patois) and other semiotic resources/ objects moving around the globe.

It is evident that the flows of language varieties, registers and cultural accessories (music, ritual practices, selling of herbs, clothing and reading materials/books) of the Rastafarians are entering into other domains and reshaping them, which in turn, re-invents Rastafarianship. This study shows how global Rastafari brand through the Marcus Garvey foundation is repurposed and recontextualized (transformed) into a South African township spaces like Hangberg for new meaning-making purposes. Drawing on Bourdieu's (1984) distinction about 'taste' to identity, we see how the Marcus Garvey's legacy lives on, with the remixing of his brand on consumerable goods in townships (his face styled/printed on Rastafi flag). In semiotic artefacts above figure *9.3 (a),* one observes how the Marcus Garvey, a descendant (Rastafarian) born in Jamaican in 1887 (Smith-Irvin, 1989) still influence and form part of the Africa's township culture and identity through marketing strategies. Marcus Garvey facial image is 'stylized' in black print onto the iconic Rastafarian flag in consumption spaces of Hangberg. These brands are filtered through a local process of what David Howes (1996:5) describes as hybridization through which he states, "Foreign goods are assigned meanings and uses by the culture of reception".

The idea that languages, language varieties and semiotic artefacts are in motion - travelling within mobile matrices requires linguists and researches to pay even more attention to the local than ever before. This thesis does exactly that as it offers in-depth

ethnographic analysis because globalization not only depends upon local arrangements but it also rearranges, reorders, and restructures those arrangements (Blommaert, 2003; Alim and Pennycook, 2007). As we have seen from the above discussion, the Rastafari people of Hangberg's local and global consciousness (knowledge) and their profiling and stylizing in terms of language and identity offer us new ways of imagining the world through ground current theories of global flows (Appadurai, 1996).

As stressed previously, the selling of good and services (herbal medicine) and the rise of creative linguistic speech styling as symbolic resources hold significance in the discussion of the Rastafarian culture, which has become a primary site of identification for youth of Hangberg and people around the world. Marking, for instance someone as idealized Rastafarian articulates a sense of identity and perhaps even more crucially, a "distinction from others through styling" (Irvine, 2001:21). This notion relating distinctiveness with the construction of identity and style resonate with through difference or differentiation among individuals or groups in a unique way. The selling of herbal medicine, dress, dread language and music (reggae songs) are all markers of difference through representations, attachments and social categorization, which forms part of the 'life stylization' of Rasfarians in Hangberg (driven to be seen as unique, special, different and simply the best).

Chapter Ten

Summary of Findings and Conclusion

10.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the findings and conclusions regarding this study:
*A Sociolinguistic and Multisemiotic Analysis of Mobility and Identities in Hangberg,
Hout Bay.* One of the main objectives regarding this study was to probe post-apartheid
transformative facets concerning the research setting that intersect with processes of
globalization, mobility, multilingualism, citizenship and identity construction. The
chapter presents a summary on the findings of the data analysis on media discourses and
semiotic/linguistic landscapes from Chapter Six to Chapter Nine, as it reviews
Hangberg's place-making processes through language mixing, transcultural flows
(mobility), and (hybrid) identity options, and contestations from sociolinguistic and
multisemiotic angles. Exploring these discourse themes, the study's objectives and the
research questions were met/ achieved.

Having mentioned that, the goal of this chapter is to see how successfully the thesis has
answered the key research questions through the summary of findings presented in the
previous four chapters. Furthermore, the chapter discusses its contributions to the study,
and concludes by proposing suggestions for future research in the field.

10.1 Review of research questions and summary of the findings

One of the leading objectives of this study was to gain insight into the representation of
Hangberg and its people in the media (newspapers such as *Cape Times*, *Weekend Argus*
and *Sentinel News)* and online commentaries from social media (Facebook) and in the

physical semiotic landscape. To achieve that, the researcher endeavoured to unearth the ideologies embedded in the discourses of the newspapers and social media (Facebook commentaries) and the spatial design to see how Hangbergers in fact are constructed in a post-apartheid era.

The study also investigates aspects relating social transformation in contemporary Hangberg to see how processes of globalization, mobility, language circulation, multilingualism are at work in the neighbourhood. It is for this reason, the study works within the framework of a qualitative approach with its focus on text /discourse analysis (interviews) and a multimodal analysis of verbal and visual texts in LL to see how Hangberg is (re)imagined and (re)configured in post-apartheid. Through such methodological and analytical advances, the study was able to explore heterogeneous, changing and integration aspects in Hangberg. In order to reflect on the socio-cultural and sociolinguistic changes, this study addressed the following research questions below:

1. What languages, linguistic resources (discourses, genres and styles) and semiotic artefacts (signs) are socially circulated and distributed within the LL of Hangberg? (Also looking at how these resources are repurposed, resemiotised and recycled in new contexts for meaning-making).

2. How do Hangbergers use their hybrid linguistic repertoires in the stylization of modern identities, and do these language practices reveal meanings associated with localization and globalization in LL of Hangberg?
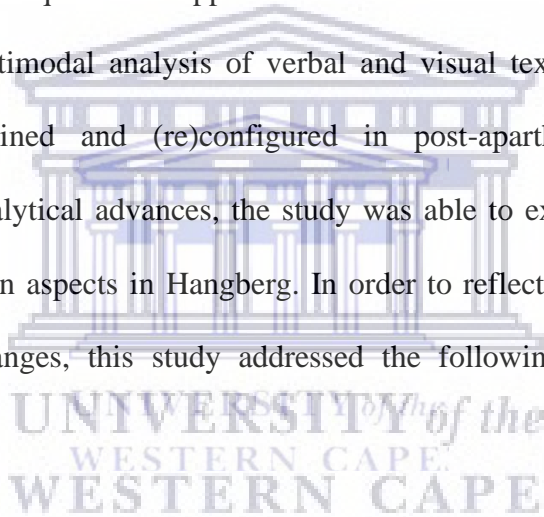
3. What processes of contestations /social struggles are evident in public spaces Hangberg where the rights to the city are articulated and how is resistance deployed in these instances?

4. What ideologies appear in the media discourses involving Hangberg and its people in post-apartheid South Africa? The focus is on language and visual imagery used in multimodal combinations in (Facebook, newspapers, and internet images) to allude to Hangberg Coloured identity.

The findings on each research question is summarised below.

10.1.1 *What languages, linguistic resources (discourses, genres and styles) and semiotic artefacts (signs) are socially circulated and distributed within the LL of Hangberg? (Also looking at how these resources are repurposed, resemiotised and recycled in new contexts for meaning making).*

Concerning the LL, Chapter Eight offered a detailed interpretation about the regularities of language use (the diagrammatic representation of figure *8.7.a*), the texts format, positioning of texts and aspects around the subject matter for the categories adopted in this research (table arrangement of figure *8.7.b*). Furthermore, the thesis sheds light on English, Afrikaans, isiXhosa and Dread Talk (Rastafari language) as the most predominant languages visible in the street signs of Hangberg. Approaching the streetscapes as a politics of space in Chapter Seven (of belonging and contestation), the study has shown how the informal LL inserts discourses (protests materials) that are predominantly in English (only one incidence where there was a mixture of Afrikaans and English).

Adding to this, English has been given visual priority in Hangberg's LL. It appeared often in local consumption spaces (hairstyling commercial discourses, literacy discourses of educational instructions). Such language choice indicates the macro-ideologies of English bias because it is viewed as the main lingua franca in South Africa and the world. However, the thesis has also revealed how the Hangberg citizens engage in resistance discourse practices of meaning-making (Heller, 2007:12) when they use Kaapse Afrikaans, a localized variety of English and Afrikaans and dread language (associated with Jamaican patois) in consumption places (e.g., the selling of 'Bossie Kruie' in the streets). The semiotic artefacts of the informal LL have also shown cultural manifestations of Kaaps found in the death tribute discourses (see Chapter Eight).

A focus on governmental and industrial texts in the LL has shown translations of Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa. Concerning the mobility and visibility of semiotic resources, graffiti flourished in the landscape of Hangberg with high modality in the choice of colours and tagging. In some instances, graffiti is perceived as a form of art, for a 'good cause' (used to address the HIV/AIDS pandemic through health literacy in education). In other instances, graffiti is criticized as being 'out of place' (the vandalism of properties and the display of sex talk in this mode of communication).

10.1.2 *How do Hangbergers use their hybrid linguistic repertoires in the stylization of modern identities, and do these language practices reveal meanings associated with localization and globalization in LL of Hangberg?*

As previously mentioned, Chapter Nine emphasized how Hangbergers (Rastafarians) use local languages: Kaaps, a mixture of English and Afrikaans, as well as Dread Talk in the social geography. For instance, they use these multiple language varieties and

styles to negotiate their membership within this movement whereby indexing a multiplicities of their identities. The Rastafari language varieties highlight the agency of speakers to create their own versions ("a new linguistic style, nobody can deal with", quoted from Rose, 1994: 38), as well as pushing the academic notions of language to the edge. In essence, this challenges the dominant ideologies about language as a fixed, impermeable and bounded system (Heller, 2007). This thesis has shown a defining feature of the Rastafarian language varieties, that they are not bound by specific languages: they are amalgamated linguistic features used in the creation of (new) meanings and the invention of hybrid linguistic repertoires and identities (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004: 23).

In addition, Chapter Eight demonstrated the disinvention of language through Hangbergers' language practices which involve humour in talk. Under the sub-theme:'*Comic joy in the township! Language play*', the study underscored jocular language usage (textual carnival) through translanguaging or in heteroglossic discourse practices (see Higgins, 2007).The following example truly captures what is said above, when Chief Xoma said "One day she fell vannie toilet af, <u>van agter was eena die Korana</u>" (*One day she fell from the toilet as she come up her posture, the bums at the back was Korana*). It is important to emphasise here that the switches into Afrikaans linguistic features helped to contextualize the situation/event as playful, light-hearted and jocular.

The employment of these localized repertoires (styles) through language mixing within different discursive spaces surely problematized the notion of mother tongue in that neither these languages are separated from each other but exist in relation to each other

(Block, 2003) in the Hangberg community. This causes a situation where the subject's (Chief Xoma) cultural experiences constantly overlap and his daily life has been reconfigured in terms of the dialectical interplay of the global and the local resources (Giddens, 1991) in which he increasingly negotiates linguistic style choices amongst a diversity of options.

10.1.3 *What processes of contestations /social struggles are evident in public of spaces Hangberg where the rights to the city are articulated and how is resistance deployed in these instances?*

This thesis discovered Hangberg as a site for contestations/ social struggles about urban development, gentrification, displacement and eviction pressures, which resulted in dynamics of uncertainty, vulnerability, social stress and violent protests. Such social processes articulate systematic violations of basic human rights, which become the norm in urban renewal mega projects in cities of the global South (AlSayyad, 2004). That said, citizens used the protests as a channel to express their voice (grievances) and agency in the public domain (see Chapter Seven). As seen previously, the study has drawn on Lefebvrian's (1991) tradition that served as inspiration to comprehend issues, contestations and belongings over the control of the production of social and political space, seeing that under the capitalist mode of urbanisation, the role of space "is less and less neutral, more and more active, both as an instrument and as goal, as means and as end" (Lefebvre, 1991:410).

To complement this positioning, the study included media discourse(s) to see the ideological presentations of Hangberg and its people in such rhetoric. The *Cape Times* newspaper emphasized the alarming rate of poaching occurring in Hangberg. The

journalist used negative lexicons in the sub-headline: "*Sea snail that turns men into crooks*" to evaluate the character of some male citizens (see Chapter Six). The eviction and violence of Hangberg drew further attention to negative light; see the *Weekend Argus* newspaper entitled, "*Threat of fresh conflict in Hangberg*". In connection with and contrast to negativity and socio-political contestations, one finds the re-emergence of the Khoisan identity becoming evident across different modalities (media discourses, consumption practices, narratives and protest materials), as people express a strong personal sense of belonging to the Sentinel Peak (the mountain) and the ocean.

The Khoisan people feel entitled to the land (Hangberg) and thus make claims to it. The protests slogan of figure *7.4 (b)*,"*This land is rightfully ours*" confirms this point. This thesis also highlighted that for certain people in Hangberg, dressing in traditional Khoi attire spoke to a pre-colonial identity, which legitimised the claim of being the original community of the Cape Peninsula (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1987:195). This is validated by the picture of the physical appearance of Chief Xoma Aob from the *Weekend Argus* newspaper in Chapter Six. As the study scrutinized the corporeal landscape to view the transformation processes from the ground level (see beach discourse), unexpectedly it discovered patterns of social segregation surfacing on Hout Bay beach, near Hangberg. Disintegration was still evident in public spaces; therefore, the study mapped the corporeal landscape where the body was used as a device (semio-scape) to establish the 'truth' (revelations) regarding such separations in public space.

Chapter Seven showed how White beachgoers positioned their bodies in small, separate clusters, walking with their dogs. Observing the landscape, the study showed that the dog in this instance can be said to be a defense mechanism (safe guard). However, the

study could not rely on such an assumption, and thus interviewed some White beachgoers to get a sense of their experiences on the beach. What stemmed from these interviews was that themes of filth (spreading of litter), physical appearance (black skin, men big in size) and uncivilized behaviour (making noise and half nude exposure of the body) were used to defend and justify post-apartheid segregation on the beach in Hout Bay.

10.1.4 *What ideologies appear in the media discourses involving Hangberg and its people in post-apartheid? The focus is on language and visual imagery used in multimodal combinations in (Facebook, newspapers, and internet images) to allude to Hangberg Coloured identity.*

The media plays an important role in disseminating messages and discourses which shape imaginings on societies.The findings have shown that Hangberg and its people received negative evaluations from the media (newspapers and social media platforms such as Facebook) in that they were primarily constructed "through processes of inferiorisation, marginalization and exclusion" (Van Dijk, 1997: 26). These social representations according to Van Dijk "express underlying prejudices, group norms and dominant ideologies" (Van Dijk, 1997:26), and sustained by various properties such as racial, cultural, political, economic, and educational differences. The findings have clearly indicated that the above-mentioned (the perception associated with prejudices, racism and group-based norms) were institutionalised through the strategy of polarisation, see the sub-headline, "*Sea snail that turns men into crooks*" as an example of this.

There were also ideologies prevalent in social media (Facebook), which highlighted subtle and aggressive marginalization of Hout Bay's non-White communities (Hangberg and Imizamo Yethu) in post-apartheid South Africa. The discourse of race further paved the way for other negative representations, which touched vividly on the race-species identity and zoologo racial order rhetoric (Kim, 2016:20): to distinguishing liveable lives (white human beings) from those that are deemed 'killable' or a threat (Black humans perceived as animals). Such contested issues in relation to race troubles and racism in the mid-early twentieth century in South Africa, are quintessential examples of essentialism, also in reference to the racial meanings to public places - the visibility of social segregation on Hout Bay beach, near Hangberg. Looking at the above explorations, they brought to the fore the idea of "multiculturalism in crisis" (Lentin *et al.*, 2011) concerning the racial technologies and contestations in which non-White mobilities to Hangberg and Imizamo Yethu are perceived as threatening, and often described as "animals that should be tied to a rope" (this quotation derived from Hartley's discourse, see Chapter Six).

Exploring the above media discourse(s), the findings of the study have clearly shown how events, people and social practices (with regards to discourse) are recontextualized from different perspectives and how identities are constructed, either through texts or through multimodal images. The study observed the mobilization (social circulation) and transformation (recontexualization) of semiotic resources (language, discourse, style and genres) across different media texts, modes and channels (Facebook posts and newspaper material), as well as the discursive organisation of power, which alluded to ideological representations characterised by race technologies. This is supported by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) and Jacquemet (2005) who explained that media

communication does not only involve resources provided by languages, but also other semiotic devices (images, sound and gesture generated by decontextualized and recontextualized processes) must be taken into account.

10.2 The contribution of this thesis to the field of research

Right at the beginning of the thesis, the researcher mentioned that the conflict imaginations (contestations) of Hangberg which dominated the media caught her eye, and immediately developed an interest in Hangberg to conduct fieldwork. She was drawn to these contesting events and felt compelled to investigate these representations through a sociolinguistic ethnography where she looked at the ideological conceptions attributed to Hangberg and its people, as they experienced discrimination and marginalization through the gentrification and evictions threats. The findings of Chapter Six (contestations highlighted in media discourse) and Chapter Seven (protests and social segregation practices in corporeal landscape) bear plenty witness to the nature of the ideologies of Hangberg and its people in post-apartheid South Africa. This thesis makes a noteworthy contribution to new constellation affecting identity politics in South Africa (post-1994); it hypothesised the negative representations of Hangberg and its people based on distinction of the Other.

The discourses of animalisation analyzed through the CDA paradigm established the racialising technologies (through an animalising apparatus), which the research setting attested to. One needs to look no further than some news reports and social media comments to see how these racialising bio-necropolitical technologies are put to work. This thesis shows the critical role social media (Facebook) and print media

(newspapers) play in the distribution of messages that are racist, phobic and hate-related. The study used the notion of resemiotisation (Iedema, 2003) and the notion of semiotic remediation developed (Prior and Grusin, 2010) to show how Vanessa Hartley's and Penny Sparrow's racist comments (as examples) stage the historical resonances of the race-species order within the present and reveal, as mentioned earlier, the animalisation's racialising effects. With this, the thesis sets out a future –oriented path for rethinking the question of race in general, as well as its relation to "the animal". This path would lead to the human ethics of Self and the Other that is rooted in a nexus of expanded connections and responsibilities.

This study also added value to the "hermeneutics of the body" (Duncan and Ley, 1993) in public space in terms of MDA analysis where the camera is used - that allowed for interpretive modes through which bodies are assumed to indicate or bespeak some aspects of the Self, often manifested and decoded in internal physical characteristics, movements and gesturing conditions (Duncan and Ley, 1993). The "visual ideology" of landscape (Berger, 1972) provided insights into separation practices in post-apartheid South Africa that has real bodily effects (the study drawn on talk for more clarification. In this instance, the researcher drew on the body as a semioscape (semiotic landscape) to conceptualise and read off informal segregation technologies associated with colonialism and apartheid, re-emerging (resurfacing) at Hout Bay beach. She located this practice(s) through what she calls "dog-walking" practices/machinery (here the dog functioned as instrument of defense) and reading of the gaze (link between the body and certain attitudes, expressions). In this case, the re-corporealization of anxiety was palpable at the beach when the non-White bodies entered the formerly white space (body is perceived here in phobic). Despite the abolition of separationist policies, it was

evident through the embodied practices that segregation still exists in South Africa. Moving forward, it is important to think how we would enlarge a sense of inter-connection between the Self and Others. We need to shift the debate to reframe the function of difference (through the body), so that it does not operate as a site of discrimination but multiplies into a network of connections, where there is no fear of the Other.

Furthermore, this study unveils the discourses of multilingualism and citizenship as well as showing the emergence of new discursive spaces and the overlapping identities. This puts forth the need for us to rethink the ways we look at languages and citizenship in relation to identities, geographical locations (space and place), social practices and representations. This study contributes to studies on the creative use of language as localized social practice and the (new) stylizing of identities in late-modern (multilingual) societies. In relation to this, the researcher discovered a new translocal style community, as she engaged with members of the Rastafari movement in Hangberg. Based on the findings of the study, it was evident that the Rastafarians create their own linguistic styles with the remixing of languages and varieties (Afrikaans, English and Jamaican Creole / Dread Talk) to distinguish them from others.

These creative uses of linguistic resources (genres, styles, discourses) indicated how Hangbergers in a peripheral place in the city are repurposing and remediated (reworking) their identities in an era of "global linguistic flows" (Alim *et al*., 2008). This study suggests that the contemporary popular culture (Rastafarian movement) is worthy of attention, especially since the popular music and linguistic remixing have put notions of globalization, mobility, multilingualism, hybrid stylization of identity,

plurality and multiculturalism to the forefront with the potential to socially reproduce indexicalities – "ways of being" in the world. These translocal style communities (the Rastafarians of Hangberg) operate on the stylistic commonalities and contrast that to draw the attention to the local and global resources.

10.3 Conclusion and suggestions for future research

Concluding, it is hoped that the discussions framed in this thesis provided a deeper understanding of the interconnectedness of contemporary social life in Hangberg. Related to the findings, this thesis revealed Hangberg as a heterogeneous and multi-faceted neighbourhood; a semiotic space on which to understand local and global realities of diversity, linguistic mixing, negotiations of transnationalism, forms of contestations, and the restyling of (old) identities (replacing racialized class identities).

From a practical stance, the interdisciplinary approach presented in this study has the potential to be used with many diverse and socially constructed ethnic groups or diverse (multicultural) societies in late-modernity. It will be useful to researchers who wish to take up contemporary, contesting and new imaginings of diversity, and sociolinguistic perspectives around popular culture, the restyling of identities, and multilingual citizenship in contemporary communities that present a melting pot of cultures and languages. The traces of transnational and translocal flows in the Hangberg landscape showed how social realities of diversity are "produced, ratified, resisted and reworked" in everyday interaction or in (everyday) forms of self-representation.

This study serves as a pointer to future research, as it gives emphasis on the importance of bodily practices and the negotiation of affect and emotion in place-making narrations.

This phenomenon can be seen when looking at how visual space is a result of human actions, and in turn, has an impact on human actions. In this respect, this study provided interesting insights into xenophobia and the reconstructions of race and segregation in post-apartheid South Africa, as it captured communicative, transformed, and contested social structures involving the body in space. Reading the body as signage has so often been overlooked, which is a central aspect of place-making and its meaning (how affect and movement in space is organized, narrated and interactively accomplished). Through an embodied analysis, this study has revealed how space is a contested commodity – distinguishing who belongs and not belongs in a particular space, which facilitates categories of 'them' (bad) and 'us' (good). It showed that such separations actually generate increased 'moral panic' by limiting social mixing and thus increasing paranoia and mistrust between cultural groups.

In a broader sense, the study also contributes knowledge to the fields of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) that is adopted. It provides insights on how the oppressive or powerful groups / institutions use discourses as vehicles of particular ideologies and domination. That said, this thesis showed through mainstream/widespread media and everyday interactions how race, discriminatory discourses, the rhetoric of animalisation and segregation technologies associated with colonialism and apartheid, resurfaced in a democratic state. These are important topics for future researchers to further address questions on race and racism as they come to be reproduced in South African contexts (they remain a recurrent source of conflict in the post-apartheid era).

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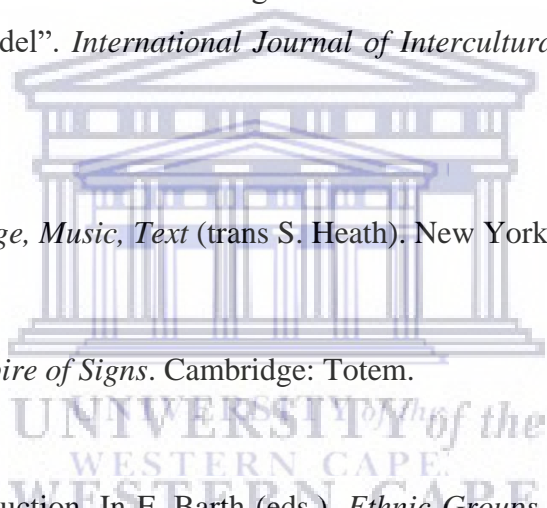
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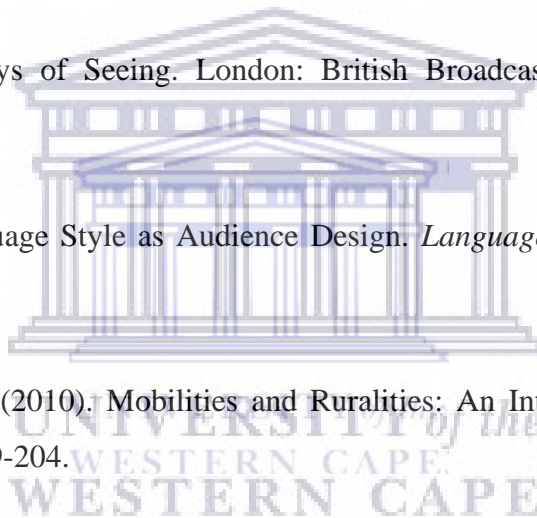
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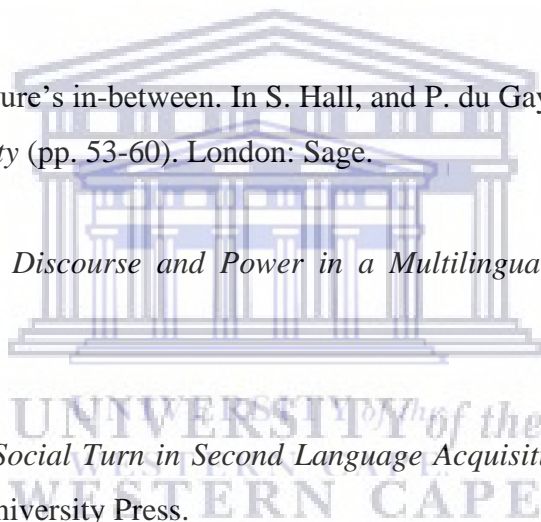
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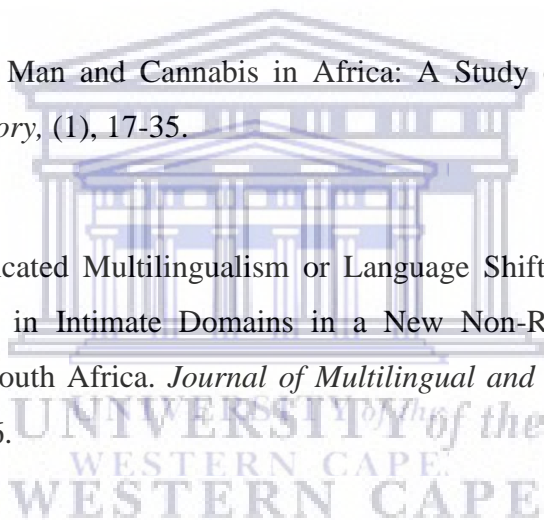
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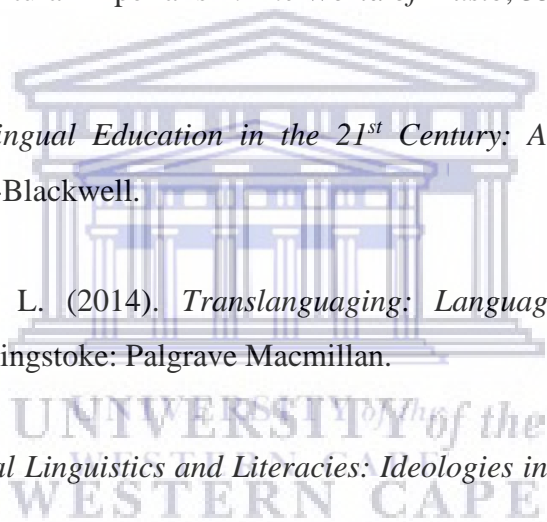
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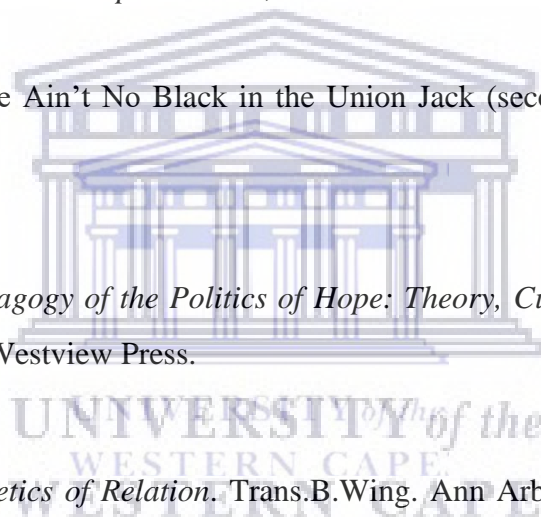
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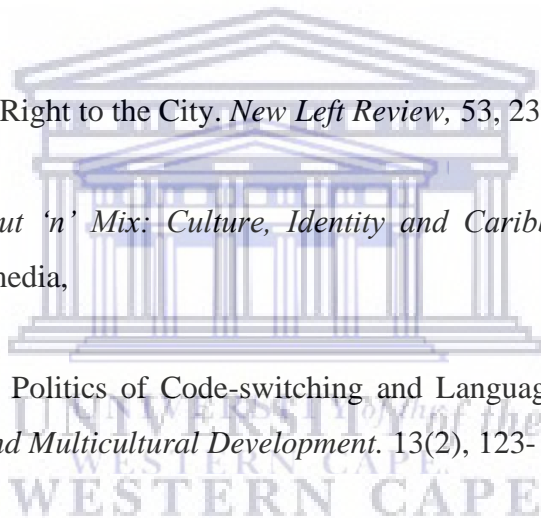
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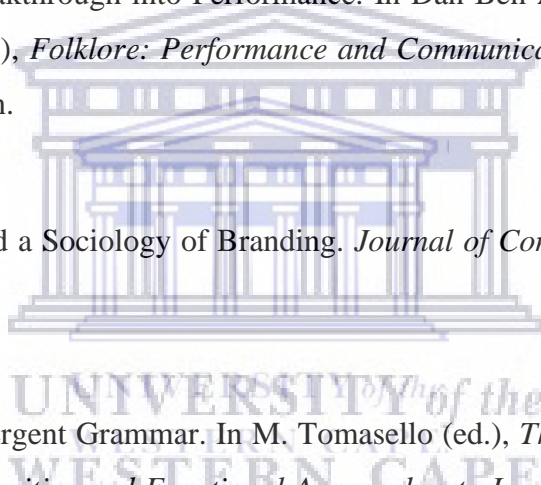
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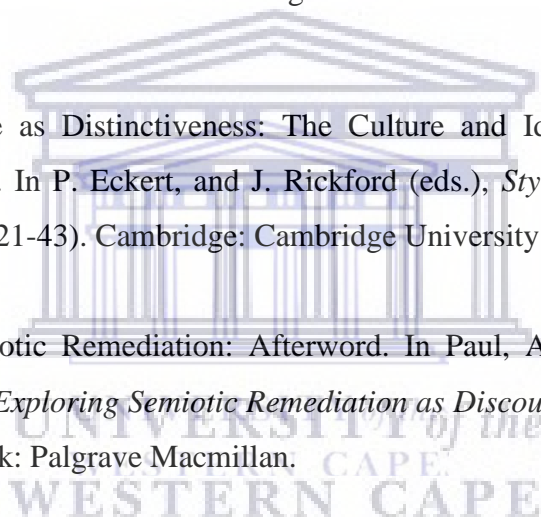
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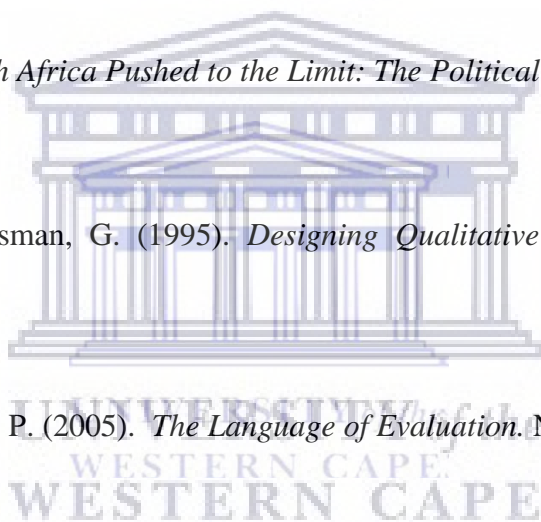
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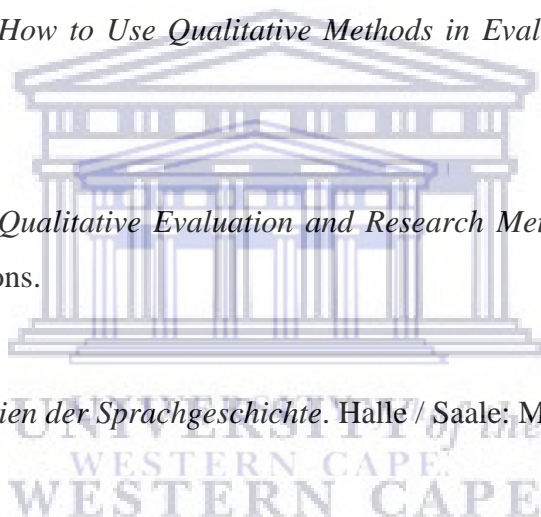
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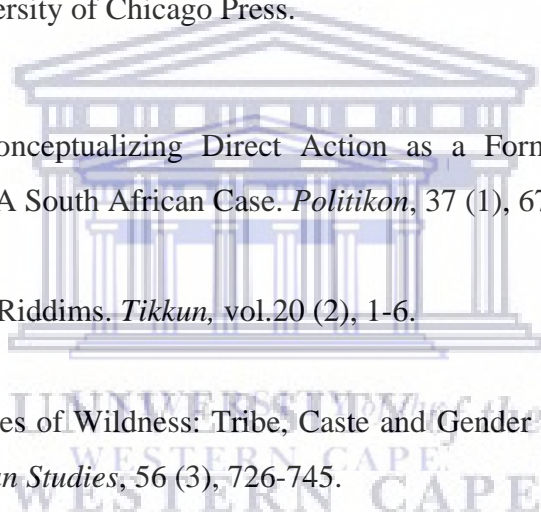
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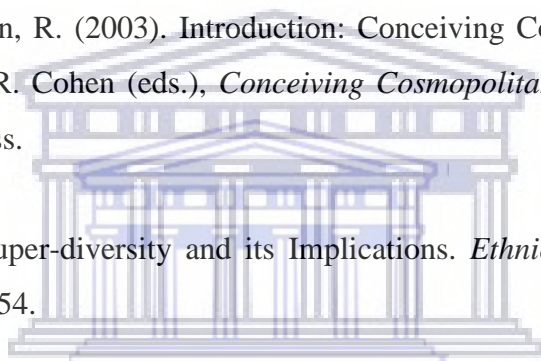
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APPENDICES

Visuals concerned the media analysis in Chapter Six

(a.) News article on poaching of the fishermen in Hangberg

(b.) Original version of Hartley's Facebook post and recontextualized version of the Sentinel News (community newspaper that write about the three communities in Hout Bay: Hangberg, Imizamo Yethu and the Valley)

(c.) News article on the violence and evictions in Hangberg

a.)

b.)

UP FOR DEVELOPMENT: Residents fear they may be forced to move after the city announced it's intention to develop the land it bought directly below their homes in Hangberg, Hout Bay.

'WON'T GO': Khoi herbalist and Dallas resident Xoma Aobi with his horses Moonlight and Prince which are kept at his Kindy Farm where he also grows his herbs.
PICTURES: CANDICE CHAPLIN

Threat of fresh conflict in Hangberg

'I won't move – they can kill me'

SOYISO MALITI

TROUBLE is brewing again in Hangberg, with a group of informal settlement residents threatening "another bloodbath" if the city continues its plans to move them to make way for a block of 72 apartments.

The angry residents say they are the "first inhabitants" of the area, known as Dallas, which looks down on to Hout Bay harbour, one of the city's finest views.

Still fresh in the minds of authorities and residents alike are the 2011 violent clashes between metro police and residents of Hangberg, which led finally to the signing of the Hangberg peace and mediation accord. Hangberg resembled a war zone as police shot at residents with rubber bullets, who in turn pelted them with stones after the removal of people from shacks in the area.

The city said at the time that the illegal structures were built on fire breaks and had to be removed.

Several people were injured, including police officers.

New Dallas's Khoi residents are warning that they'll flout the peace treaty.

Xoma Aobi, 40, who was born in Hangberg, said: "I don't know about others, but this will have a long-lasting negative effect on me and the legacy of the Khoi. I have more to lose if they move us out, but there will be a bloodbath before that happens. I'm not going to move, they can kill me."

Aobi, recognised as Dallas's first resident by the community, had harsh words too for the peace and mediation forum, established in Hout Bay in 2011

with 30 members, but which he says now has only eight members.

He claimed it's been turned into "a puppet" by the city.

Aobi grows herbs on his smallholding in Dallas, and says he has been working the land for decades. Now he says his home is being threatened.

He accused the city of "exploiting" residents through the forum.

Warren Abrahams, a former forum secretary general, added his voice, saying residents had definitely "not been consulted properly."

He said the city planned to move the 10 families to another nearby area called Diamond, while developments took place.

But instead of moving back afterwards, when the time came for Diamond to be developed, the families would be moved again.

According to Aobi, all the elders of the 10 families were born on the Dallas land.

While the city says it has had "repeated and on-going consultation" with the residents of Dallas, they say the last time they had any meeting was when the accord was signed in 2011.

Tandeka Gqada, mayoral committee member for human settlements, said the city had earmarked land on which the Dallas residents would be accommodated, and that the plans would go ahead.

"Addressing its critical housing need in Hangberg, the city's human settlements directorate has acquired land and commenced with precinct planning as per its mandate and integrated development plan," she said.

"Community residential units (rental stock) will be built on two sites owned by the city where the families of Dallas are currently residing in informal structures," she said, adding that there was a critical need for housing in Hangberg.

"The two sites earmarked for development have the necessary zoning in place for development to commence immediately."

Gqada also noted that the temporary resettlement area is "within 100m" of where the residents are living.

Solly Malatsi, spokesman for mayor Patricia de Lille, said the forum was an "elected and representative structure of Hangberg" elected after extensive community consultation.

The city, province and SanParks were working with the forum to "deliver on commitments as part of the order of court on this matter".

The establishment of the forum, and its work, was regarded widely as "an example of successful community intervention".

Malatsi added that there were a number of significant positive developments taking place in Hangberg, particularly in respect to housing.

"These are part of our commitments as contained in the peace accord," he said.

In an apparent reference to the Dallas residents, Malatsi added that there was always a minority element in any community which would do its "utmost to derail positive developments for their narrow political or other interest".

But the residents insist they cannot "leave" their roots behind.

Helen Abrahams, who had been a Dallas resident for 30 years, said she "can't come to terms" with the city's decision.

"We're the first inhabitants and are Khoi. We seem to be getting the short end of the stick again," she said.

Attempts to contact forum co-ordinator Mabel May for comment proved unsuccessful.

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ROOTS: Long-term residents Warren Abrahams, left, and Virginia Davids.

c.)