Producing Post-Apartheid Space:
an ethnography of race, place and subjectivity in Stellenbosch, South Africa

by
YoungJun Yang

Thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University

Supervisor:
Dr Bernard Dubbeld

March 2015

Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Signature: _____

Date: March 2015

Abstract

Since the end of Apartheid, many scholars of South Africa celebrated democratisation and offered optimism for the end of racial segregation. Racial segregation, however, still exists in South Africa and in Stellenbosch each residential place is divided along skin colour lines. Such a pattern is far from the position of optimism and seems to suggest that race continues to manifest itself materially through space in Post-Apartheid South Africa, even if such segregation is not imposed by Apartheid laws. This thesis describes how different individuals, especially foreigners, enter historically designated racial areas - 'African', 'Coloured', 'White' – and are 'interpellated' into particular racial categories. It aims to grasp the process of abstraction at work when the attempt is made to construct foreigners in these racial categories, and how these individuals come to perceive South Africa. The study suggests that at the points in which the interpellation of race fails are precisely the moments in which we see the possibility for the formation of a truly post-Apartheid Subjectivity.

The thesis is cognisant of the particularity of place: focusing on Stellenbosch in the Western Cape necessarily involves engaging specificities of the historical construction of race that mark place in the present, especially in this province. Whilst the discovery of gold in the former Transvaal drove the exploitation of African mine workers and was important in the formation of race there, in the Western Cape the importance economically of the slave and later free labour of Coloured farm workers is important in grasping racial formations in Stellenbosch. At the same time, however, I present the case of an unemployed South African women who is unable to live in any areas previously designated by race, and through her tale, suggest that relationships between race and labour might be being undone, even as this undoing is fraught and not producing subjects who can feel comfortable in democracy.

Opsomming

Sedert die einde van Apartheid is demokratisering in akademiese kringe geprys en is die einde van rasse-segregasie met optimisme begroet. Rasse-segregasie leef egter steeds voort in Suid-Afrika en in Stellenbosch is elke residensiële area volgens velkleur verdeel. Hierdie verskynsel is alles behalwe 'n bron van optimisme en blyk aan te toon dat ras voortgaan om ditself op materiële wyse deur ruimte in post-Apartheid Suid-Afrika te manifesteer, selfs in die afwesigheid van segregasie deur Apartheid-wetgewing. Hierdie tesis ondersoek hoe verskillende individue, veral buitelanders, histories-gedefinieerde rasse-areas – 'swart', 'bruin' en 'blank' – binnegaan en 'geïnterpelleer' word in spesifieke rasse-kategorieë. Dit poog om die proses van abstraksie te verstaan waardeur buitelanders in rasse-kategorieë gekonstrueer word, en hoe hierdie individue Suid-Afrika beskou. Dié studie voer aan dat die plekke waar die interpellasie van ras misluk, die presiese momente is waar die moontlikheid vir die formasie van 'n ware post-Apartheid subjektiwiteit waargeneem kan word.

Hierdie studie is bewus van die spesifisiteit van plek: om te fokus op Stellenbosch in die Wes-Kaap vereis noodwendig dat daar ook aandag geskenk sal word aan die spesifisiteit van die historiese konstruksie van ras wat plek in die hede onderlê, veral in dié spesifieke provinsie. Terwyl die ontdekking van goud in die voormalige Transvaal die uitbuiting van swart mynwerkers gedryf het en belangrik was vir die vorming van ras daar, is die ekonomiese belangrikheid van slawe en later vry arbeid van bruin plaaswerkers in die Wes-Kaap belangrik om die formasie van ras in Stellenbosch te verstaan. Op dieselfde tyd bied ek die geval aan van 'n werklose Suid-Afrikaanse vrou vir wie dit nie meer moontlik is om in enige histories-gedefinieerde ras-spesifieke area te bly nie, en wie se verhaal suggereer dat verhoudings tussen ras en arbeid dalk besig is om te ontbind, selfs al is hierdie proses

vervaard en nie besig om subjekte te produseer wat gemaklik onder 'n demokratiese bestel kan voel nie.

Acknowledgements

It would not have been possible to complete this thesis without the help of many individuals. First of all, I would like to thank my family in South Korea, in particular, EunSook Oh, my mother, for all of her love and support.

I would also like to thank my supervisor, Dr Bernard Dubbeld. He urged and brought me from a practice of armchair sociology to an empirical study.

I greatly appreciate all the friends who helped in various ways. Professor Simon Bekker guided me to stay in the so-called white neighbourhood. Jantjie Xaba helped me to stay in the so-called African neighbourhood. Both friends also mentally cared of me when I suffered physical and mental difficulties in those areas. Kathryn Watt and Fernanda Pinto de Almeida did the editing for this thesis. If someone finds a beauty in the sentences, it is indebted to both friends. Additionally, all of the other individuals in South Korea I was helped immensely, SangHyup Lee, GeonPyo Park and HyunDo Kim.

Finally, this thesis would not have been possible without the help from those people I interviewed and stayed together. I especially appreciate and would like say "I love you all" to Elvis, Tanjiwe, Lee, Sera and Marie as well as hundreds of people living under the bridge. This thesis is all about you.

I thank all of you

Contents

List of figures and tables

Chapter One
Research problem and methodology

In this study, I am concerned with subjectivity in Stellenbosch, South Africa after apartheid. In particular, my focus is on how space interacts with subjectivity and how this subjectivity appears to perpetuate segregation, twenty years since the end of Apartheid. I use ethnographic fieldwork to describe the vantage point of "outsiders" to the history of racial classification and therefore to attempt to understand how racial segregation takes place in contemporary Stellenbosch. That is, places in post-Apartheid Stellenbosch can still be identified in terms of skin colour – as African, Coloured and White people live predominately in different neighbourhoods of the town. Therefore we should ask: is a new subjectivity being produced in each place that might disrupt the unity of place and race?

1.1 A new era of migration in South Africa

Like in many other colonial states (Fanon 1965)[1], residential spaces in South Africa were divided between the ruling people and ruled people, although this separation was intensified during Apartheid. During this later period, the people living in racially mixed areas, such as District Six in Cape Town and Sophiatown in Johannesburg, were evicted and these areas were forcibly racialised. Studies with a focus on residential segregation in South Africa, such

---

[1] "The colonial world is a world divided into compartments. It is probably unnecessary to recall the existence of native quarters and European quarters, of schools for natives and schools for Europeans; in the same way we need not recall apartheid in South Africa. Yet, if we examine closely this system of compartments, we will at least be able to reveal the lines of force it implies […] The colonial world is a world cut in two. The dividing line, the frontiers are shown by barracks and police stations. In the colonies it is the policeman and the soldier who are the official, instituted go-betweens, the spokesmen of the settler and his rule of oppression." (*Ibid*.:37).

as Mabin & Smit's (1997) and Parnell's (1993), emphasise its historical context, showing how the ruled people—Africans and Coloureds in particular – were excluded in decision-making processes about their residence before democratisation. Such studies also celebrate democratisation as the end of segregation, with Mabin & Smit (*Ibid.*:218) enthusiastically claiming that "[u]rban reconstruction in post-apartheid South Africa is an exciting prospect with new visions...to accomplish nirvana in South Africa's future".

Residential segregation, however, still exists in South Africa and seems to grow even stronger. In Stellenbosch, for instance, one of the satellite towns around Cape Town, the population in ward 12, 14 and 15 (which includes Kayamandi, a township) is almost exclusively comprised of Africans; ward 16 and 17 (which incorporates Cloetesville) is mainly Coloured, whereas wards 7, 8, 9 and 10 (Stellenbosch Central) has largely White residents (Census 2011). Such patterns are far from Mabin & Smit's 'nirvana' and seem to suggest that race continues to manifest itself materially through space in Post-Apartheid South Africa, even if not imposed by Apartheid laws such as the Group Areas Act.
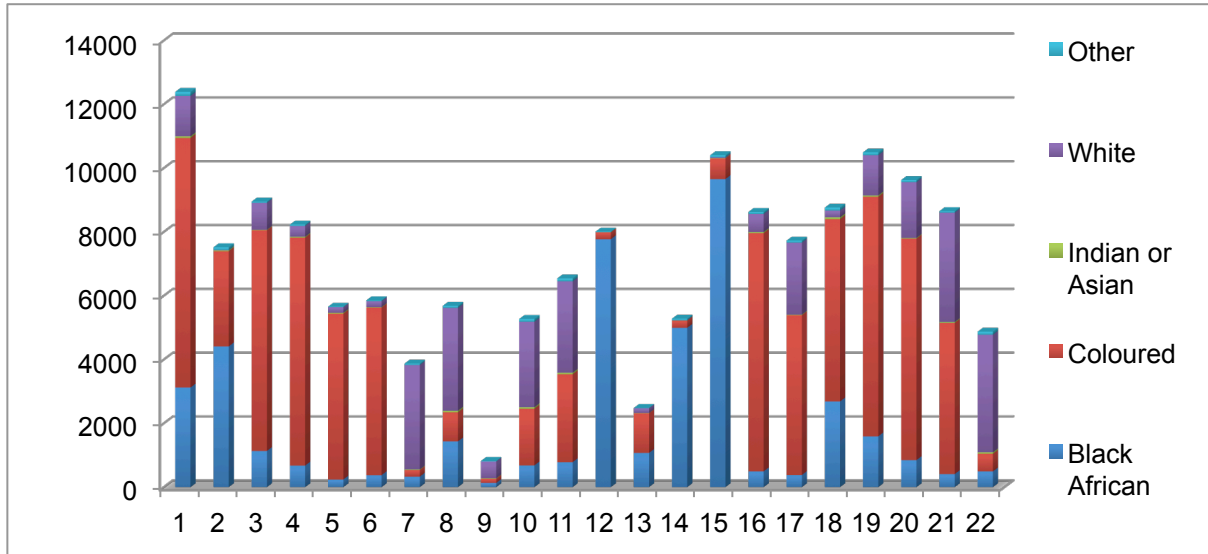
Table 1 The population group in Stellenbosch, by ward, 2011

The Group Areas Act (1950) defined places of residence by race and prohibited Africans people—Africans, Coloureds and Indians—from acquiring and inhabiting property in the city. This act built on pre-Apartheid legislation, especially The Native Land Act (1913), the Native Trust and Land act (1936) and the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation act (1946), which had restricted land ownership by Africans and Asians. One of the fundamental conditions of post-Apartheid society, therefore, is the abolition of the state's racial regulation and restriction of place. This freedom of mobility gave rise to migration in a way in which non-white population groups could move without government issued passes and settle in townships—which previously required passes—as well in former "whites only" places. The size of African and Coloured population in Stellenbosch has been rapidly increasing—and even a small percentage of the Indian population has grown – while the White population group has experienced some growth, with some fluctuation between 1991 and 1996.

The population change in Stellenbosch from 1970 (Census)					
Population Group	1970	1980	1991	1996	2007
African	293	6140	14754	17514	52153
Coloured	43,170	48,180	73,096	65,967	110,168
Asian/Indian	65	40	184	299	934
White	19,629	23,900	34,081	28,655	37,272
Total	63,157	78,260	122,117	112,434	200,527

Table 2 Population change in Stellenbosch

This increase in the African population does not only apply to Stellenbosch, as the influx of migrants is high in other South African cities. For instance, in Cape Town, even though the White population shows relatively slow fluctuation, the African group has increased about twice its number between 1996 and 2007. This pattern tends to follow a migration model known as 'labour migration', that in which people leave their rural homes and move to urban centres seeking employment (cf. Posel 2004, Collinson 2006, Ardington 2007, Crush 2001). Kok (2003) shows that former homelands areas, mainly the Eastern Cape, are a reservoir of migrant workers with migrants moving to the metropolitan areas which were previously restricted.

The population change in Cape Town (Census)			
Population Group	1996	2001	2007
African	644,181	916,584	1,219,981
Coloured	1,239,943	1,392,594	1,538,315
Asian/Indian	37,882	41,516	62,354
White	543,425	524,555	675,447
Unspecified	97,664	0	0
Total	2,563,095	2,893,249	3,497,097

Table 3 Population change in Cape Town

This freedom of mobility had implications not only for South Africans but also for foreign migrants, including those from other countries in the African continent[2]. Immigration was previously allowed for people who could be assimilated with the White population before the amendment of the Alien Control Act (1991). For instance, whilst 11.2% of 14,499 legal immigrants were African immigrants in 1990, 48.9% of 10,714 were African immigrants in 2004 (Crush 2008). These numbers suggest that racial restriction to migration and settlement had already disappeared. However, as we can see in the tables above and figure 1 below, population is still counted and classified by the four apartheid racial groups, and each ward in Stellenbosch still preserves its racial character. If African new comers had settled in previouly 'white' areas or previously "coloured" areas, a measure of integration may have achieved, or at least, place and race might have been delinked.

---

[2] It is hard to estimate the number of the migration of foreigners. In terms of the distribution of the recipients of temporary residence permits, Zimbabwe 15,628 (27.2%); Nigeria 12,210 (21.2%); Lesotho 2,706 (4.7%); DRC 2,601 (4.5%); Ghana 2,097 (3.6%); Malawi 2,047 (3.6%); Angola 2,039 (3.5%) and Cameroon 1,863 (3.2%) were the eight leading countries from the Africa region. Recipients from these countries received 71.7% of the temporary residence permits issued to nationals from the Africa region (Census 2011). However, regarding illegal migration, the number of undocumented immigrants is considered between three and six million (SAPS 2008).
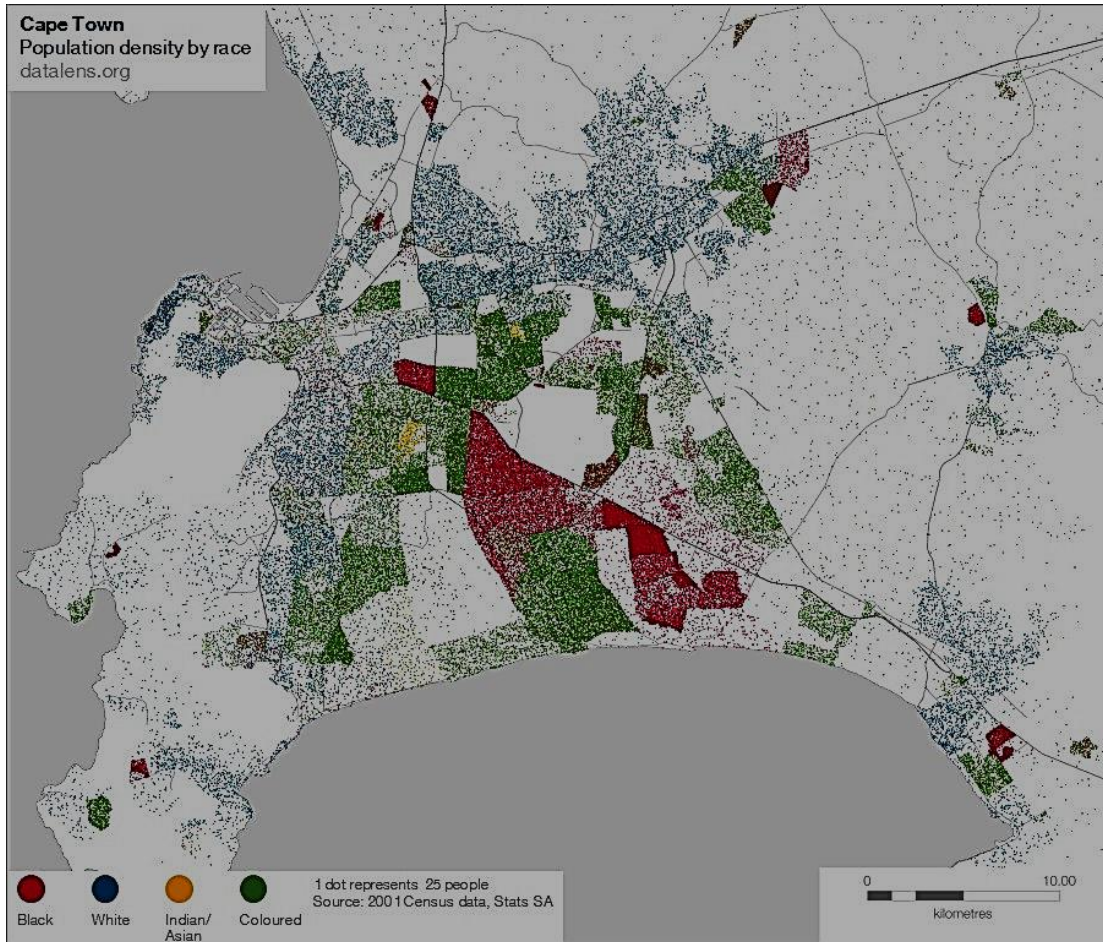
Figure 1 Greater Cape Town's Population density by race (Data Lens 2014)

However, there is a point here about another kind of integration, or settlement: between foreigners and locals in non-white, especially African, areas. In confronting the paradox in which the freedom of mobility was given but the place people settle is limited, this thesis examines perceptions of racially segregated spaces in order to account for the ways in which racial integration has not taken place and, in particular, the reasons why migrants settle in specific areas.

1.2 Stellenbosch: past and present

To examine contemporary racial residential segregation in Post-Apartheid South Africa, this study focuses particularly on Stellenbosch, Western Cape. In 2012, Helen Zille, then leader for Democratic Alliance (DA), ignited a public controversy on Twitter when she referred to Eastern Cape people flocking to the Western Cape in search of work as "refugees" (SABC, 2012). The reaction to Zille's comment was immediate - Jackson Mthembu, spokesperson for the ANC, asserted that "this is typical of the erstwhile apartheid government's mentality that resorted to influx control measures to restrict black people from the so-called white areas" (Mail & Guardian, 2012). This incident points to the differences between Coloured people and African people in the Western Cape and their claim of indigeneity as well as the long history of their separation.

Whilst the discovery of gold in the former Transvaal in 1886 drove the exploitation of African workers - not only South Africans, but also migrant miners from areas such as the former High Commission, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland as well as from countries further away including Mozambique, Angola, Zambia and Tanzania, the Cape Colony from the mid nineteenth century relied upon the labour of Coloured farm workers. This Coloured labour was strictly controlled by the state, as well as their place of residence and marriage (Wilson 2011; Harrington 2004; Crush 2001, Crush 1991; Yudelman 1984). Indeed, the origin of residential segregation in the Western Cape is part of a longer history of slavery and both English and Dutch Colonialism since the seventeenth century. In the Western Cape the wine industry became indispensable for the economy since the Dutch East Indian Company settled here in 1652 (Williams 2010; Worden 1994; Rayner 1986). Until the abolition of the slave trade in 1808, slaves were imported from East Africa, India and Malaysia, and the

15

population was comprised of native Khoi as well as European settlers, who arguably compose the ancestry of Coloureds[3], who form today 42.39% of the total population of Cape Town. This prevalence is more pronounced in Stellenbosch, which has been one of the poles of the Cape wine industry (See table 2).

Stellenbosch, the province of Western Cape, an area of about 21.5km², was established by Governor van der Stel in 1679, and it was the first colonial expansion in South Africa (Smuts 1979). The contemporary segregated landscape of Stellenbosch bears the mark of a long history of colonialism which Apartheid would elaborate in several ways. Firstly, colonial adaptation and development based on the slavery expanded with wine industry. Idas Valley, one of suburbs in Stellenbosch, had three farmsteads by 1682, and with the freeing of the slaves in 1834 the slaves were assimilated into society – that is, Coloured population - as an exploited labour force and resided in this area (Pistorius 2004). Secondly, industrialisation in the first decades of the twentieth century resulted in a higher demand for low and semi-skilled labour, which attracted Africans who had largely been migrating into Stellenbosch in the search for employment. Thirdly, Kayamandi as a location for the Africans was officially established in 1941 (Rock 2011). However, although Kayamandi was officially constructed in 1941, which does not mean African people did not live in Stellenbosch prior to this. In 1911 one census indicated only twenty-nine Africans in Stellenbosch (Drotske 1956 in *Ibid*.). Also, it is important to note that Africans living in Stellenbosch in the first half of the twentieth century were predominately men, because farms and factories relied heavily on

---

[3] Scully(1997:19) examines the history of cape slavery and coloured that "male slaveholders stifled recognition of their children born to slave women and did not incorporate these children into the slaveholding family. The child of a slave mother and slaveholder father tended to be placed within the social perimeter of the slave/Khoi family even while being half-sibling with the master's acknowledged children. Children of slave women and master, however, remained slaves, and came to make up part of the "coloured" population".

male labour and state legislation prior to Apartheid restricted the moment of African women (*Ibid*.:27).

The history of the Western Cape in general and Stellenbosch in particular point away from a conventional account of oppressing Whites and oppressed Africans towards a more layered account of racial oppression, where the Coloured population emerges as a subordinate group to Whites, where subordination is Coloured by a particular labour relation quite different from Africans on the Witwatersrand. Hellen Zille's perception of Africans as refugees emerges from the historical specificity of the Western Cape, which has been a long history of Coloured indentured labour. This specificity allows for African people to be perceived as 'refugee' or aliens and brings us an opportunity to rethink race and place as well as its attendant subjectivity. I will ask whether the contemporary racial segregation in Stellenbosch is a legacy of Slavery and Apartheid or if it has its own mechanism, in other words, if a subject is differently generated in each space after Apartheid. At the outset, I would like to examine two narratives of two visitors of Stellenbosch under Apartheid, and see how they describe this town in relation to their own racial position.

In 1951, Ms. Norah G. Henshilwood describes the everyday life in Stellenbosch.

> Once you have broken through the barrier of strangeness that assails the newcomer in Stellenbosch, you will find plenty of friendliness. A Stellenbosch Sunday has an atmosphere all its own. One can sense by the stillness that it is different from a week-day, even before the bells sound from the steeple. When the first peal rings at half-past nine there is no frivolously cheerful swing to listen to – it is more like Milton's description of the bell 'swinging slow with sullen roar'. For some unaccountable reason the bells seemed to me to be saying 'Bra-ma-put-ra' in their solemn tones, over and over again. (Henshilwood 1951:21)

Similarly, Ms. Joy Collier in 1959 describes the landscape of Stellenbosch in which she "can afford to smile since they have avoided the worst misfortunes, Stellenbosch is a jocund place".

> Stellenbosch has not grown, like many other towns, to a size too large to be loved or comprehended. From an elevation such as Papegaaisberg it is spread out beneath the eye, complete, like an old-fashioned map, with its streets, trees, gardens, and river, and the spire of the 'Moederkerk' marking like an arrow both the heart of the town and the nucleus of the original settlement founded in 1679 by Simon van der Stel whose name and arms it bears. (Collier 1959:7)

It is also interesting to discover the contemporary existing places in Stellenbosch she speaks of, for example; "In Dorp Street were some of the finest of the oaks that line the avenues and give the village its nick-name of 'Eikestad". The oaks in Dorp Street were not only roadside trees, but also "these trees delighted, and continue to delight every visitor". Ida's Valley was the space of hospitality, "which was regarded as a cardinal virtue and no traveller was refused a bed or a share of whatever food was available, and the farming community were also fond of feasts and junketings". Indeed, Stellenbosch was the space in which "if a farmer feels merry or gay and has a slave who can strum a little on the violin, dancing is indulged in. If the young ladies like to dance a minuet without shoes or barefoot….that does not matter if only they are jolly". She did not forget to mention about 'the slaves' who "often entertained their masters by playing the ramschenko, an instrument of three strings stretched over a calabash, which gave a pleasing if melancholy sound".

These are perceptions of space by two visitors of Stellenbosch fifty years ago. They both write in the climax of Apartheid from the perspective of 'whiteness', who is allowed to navigate different spaces in Stellenbosch. Their everyday life and perceptions are limited to the ruling class enjoying the exploiting value by Apartheid. In their perception, 'non-white' people are either invisible or they only exist as a form of entertainment. These perceptions

became an object of resistance by African people who were excluded in the place and even invisible in Apartheid regime. Their perceptions, however, bring us another question: can we subsume Coloured people and African people as well as any other races as one subject, "non-white"? At least, even if they, non-white people, were invisible in two females' everyday life, struggled against apartheid regime as one resisting subject, we still need to explain why Coloured people and African people remain residentially segregated.

Figure 2 Contemporary Stellenbosch divided by race

That is, Post-Apartheid Stellenbosch place can still be recognised by skin colour – in Idas Valley and Cloetesville mainly coloured people stay, in Stellenbosch central and east Stellenbosch such as Karindal, Jonkershoek white people stay and in Kayamandi exclusively Africans people stay. Therefore, we should ask that what new subjectivity is being produced in each place that might disrupt the unity of place and race?

19

1.3 Literature review

The literature review articulates three theoretical positions that form the base of my study. Firstly, studies on spatial segregation in South Africa are reviewed. Secondly, political economy of spaces and Marxist perspectives on spatial segregation, especially in Apartheid, are reviewed. Thirdly, recent interpretations of spatial segregation as a global phenomenon, including the influence of neo-liberalisation and the effects of 'fear discourse' are discussed.

1.3.1 Explaining spatial segregation in South Africa

Contemporary spatial segregation in South Africa has been regarded as the inheritance of Apartheid (Maylam 1995; Mabin & Smit 1997; Nuttall 2004). This socio-spatial division in South Africa started from the legislation of the "Segregation" in 1894, and throughout the apartheid regime spatial segregation intensified. "Sanitation" was a mechanism which colonialists first invoked to justify the establishment of segregated locations that facilitated the control of urbanised African workers (Parnell 1993:488). The historical fact worth noticing is that the urban planning for townships changed during 'late apartheid', as the urban planning professional grew and new schools of urban planning were established in the country. Throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s, the pace of urbanisation continued to accelerate; a 'positive' urbanisation strategy was embraced, which recognised that urbanisation was inevitable and could be used positively to enhance the quality of life of all South Africans (Mabin & Smit 1997:208).

Christopher (2001) has demonstrated that segregation patterns in South Africa remain exceptionally high and rapid integration may require government intervention. Even though for the first time in the present century South African cities have become markedly

less segregated in an inter-census period, and historically White areas seem to be integrated at the slowest rate (*Ibid.*:463). It is less clear, however, whether Christopher's conclusions hold ten years after his study was completed.

1.3.2 The political economy of racial segregation

Revisionist political economists such as Wolpe and Legassick were justly famous for analysing the segregation and apartheid eras. Legassick (1972) argued that political power and racial ideology were used to divert the mining surplus from metropolitan appropriation to develop farming. That is, apartheid was a political device to secure a supply of African labour and to distribute it for reducing the cost of social welfare and social control of workers could be minimized for the white state. Wolpe (1972) extended this argument by distinguishing between a political economy of segregation that depended upon cheap labour supply straddling two economies[4] and an Apartheid period that sustained what had become an unworkable system economically through brute force. In both analyses, capitalist relations of production depended on racial segregation to secure the supply of labour, and a considerable state apparatus to legally assert and enable this segregation.

The strength of these approaches lies in the way they establish the relationship between capitalism, state, and race. However, the emphasis on mining limits the political economy of race and space to the dynamic of that region. Moreover, their accounts privilege

---

[4] Wolpe (*Ibid.*:443) explains that the development of capitalism's dominant mode of production has been inextricably linked with two modes: "[F]irst, the capitalist mode of production in which the direct labourers, who do not own the means of capitalist production, sell their labour-power to the owners of the means of production who are non-labourers[…]Second, the mode of production in the areas of African concentration (particularly, but not exclusively, the Reserves) in which land is held communally by the community and worked by social units based on kinship (the enlarged or extended family)".

the state and thus do not really explain how race and capitalism interact if not through the state. Although the state still plays an important role in determining contemporary place through such as urban planning its capacity to determine racial segregation in the absence of racist laws appears uneven at best. We could thus question whether the concept of "state apparatus" is still appropriate after Apartheid, and indeed whether "interpellation" of subjectivity requires the state to recognise it (Althusser 1971) .

Thus, while my ambition is to consider how state, race and capital interact in the contemporary segregated landscape of Stellenbosch, I argue that these revisionist Marxist analyses do not offer us entirely adequate conceptual tools.

1.3.3 Neoliberalisation and Discourses of Fear

Saskia Sassen (2001), analysing contemporary spatial segregation, considered socio-spatial division in cities such as New York, London and Tokyo through the concept of a "global city". Sassen (2006) argues that a "global city" is a new type of city that emerges within neo-liberal economic change and this new city is formed by two types of workers: the core worker and peripheral, mainly foreign, workers. Residential spaces are equally into spaces for core workers and for peripheral workers, and this is a result of globalisation of production and labour movement. Sassen's intention was to clarify how globalisation of economy influences city and space, but excludes the state. Richard C. Hill & June Woo Kim (2000) criticise Sassen for implying western-centrism and neo-liberal ideas, as Sassen's "global city" is only one example of a Western capitalist city and that such focus ignores the role of the state in developing cities such as Seoul and Tokyo.

22

As Hill and Kim argue in their case of Sassen, the concept of "global city" is limited in its ability to explain cities in the third world. Sassen (2006) focuses on the relationship between the world economy and cities, therefore her approach is likely to focus upon economism, and to have a neo-liberal character – her view might overlook internal dynamics such as why migrant workers settle in specific areas and not others.

Furthermore, unlike Sassen, it is difficult to conclude that foreign immigration is mainly a result of globalisation or neo-liberalisation. The abstraction of foreign immigration in Sassen's argument misses how immigrants perceive their home country—and its imagined place in the global political economy of opportunity—how they leave their home country, and how they come to perceive their new country. In short, Sassen's abstract misses the particular character of immigration in different circumstances, and how this character will influence the everyday life of immigrants and indeed, of 'natives' in the country to whom immigrants have moved. However, Sassen's "de-nationalising of time and space" ignores those questions, and globalisation becomes a priori fact which determines migrants' experiences.

Another contemporary reading of spatial segregation is one that puts emphasis on discourses of fear. Caldeira (2000) shows how fear against crime is generated, and how "talk of crime" infiltrates into everyday life and promotes the construction of exclusively fortified enclaves in the Brazilian city of Sao Paulo. Following Caldeira, Lemanski (2001) argues as well that three key similarities between the apartheid and post-apartheid city: use of fear, insider-outsider exclusionism, and spatial re-settlement. With sudden post-apartheid potential proximity of races, citizens have emulated the fear-management strategy they previously witnessed the state operating, that of socio-spatial exclusion and segregation. However Lemanski does not make clear the difference between spatial segregation during and after

23

apartheid. By focusing on the concept of fear, this analysis overlooks changes in industry, in labour and also in spatial segregation. Lemanski did not analyse, for example, how "many rural people are now neither workers nor peasant nor a hybrid of the two, but an underclass with an uncertain future, or 'footloose' labour (Breman 1996 cited in Bernstein 2004:205)

Based on these studies, I foreground the following premises in my study: (1) South African society between Apartheid and Post-Apartheid is different, therefore contemporary spatial segregation's mechanism should be reexamined based on the new contexts of new subjectivity - What is the difference between these two forms of spatial segregation? And how is a subject produced within/by space? (2) certain Marxist analyses privileged the state as a conductor of capitalism, but it less clear that this is the case in contemporary Stellenbosch: the challenge is how to retain an analysis of capitalism that is able to capture current dynamics without making use of worn-out analytics ; (3) Although there are echoes of global discourses of neo-liberalisation and crime talk in local contexts, our analysis has to take the local, with focusing on Stellenbosch, South Africa, context extremely seriously to produce an adequate analysis.

1.4 Methodology

The methodology of this study follows the concept of '*defamiliarisation*' employed by Viktor Shklovsky (1965). His definition of art emphasises the performance of a subject, that is, the writer. This definition is based on his claim that the when human perception becomes habitual, it becomes automatic. Such automatism of perception implicates on our seeing of an object several times but not grasping it in its entirety. A writer should find the unseen part of an object, as this for Shklovsky, is art:

The technique of art is to make objects "unfamiliar", to make forms difficult, to increase the difficulty and length of perception because the process of perception is an aesthetic end in itself and must be prolonged. Art is a way of experiencing the artfulness of an object: the object I not important[5] (*Ibid.*:18)

He introduces Leo Tolstoy's work as an example of defamiliarisation. According to Shklovski, Tolstoy defamiliarises the idea of flogging by not naming the familiar object:

"[T]o strip people who have broken the law, to hurl them to the floor, and to rap on their bottoms with stiches". […] Just why precisely this stupid, savage means of causing pain and not any other – why no prick the shoulders or any part of the body with needles, squeeze the hands or the feet in a (leg) vice, or anything like that?*(Ibid.:20)*

The familiar act of flogging is made unfamiliar both by the description and by the proposal to change its form without changing its nature. By doing so, the writer and the reader can grasp the thing and its surface.

Shklovski's technique of defamilirisation and his emphasis on the practice of the writer are familiar to the Social Sciences. The terms of such an experience, performativity, interaction, practice, and everyday life have been widely used in various studies. Anthony Giddens's "agency", E.P. Thompson's "history with subject", Pierre Bourdieu's "social action" point to the methodological impact of the movement toward practice. Bourdieu (1999) proposes to sociologists quoting Spinoza:

"Do not deplore, do not laugh, do no hate – understand". There is no point in sociologists adopting Spinoza's precept if they are unable to put it into practice. But how can we offer readers the means of understanding – which means taking people as they are – except by providing the theoretical instruments that let us see these lives as necessary through a systematic search for the cause and reasons they have for being what they are? How can we give explanations without pinpointing

---

[5] Since 'defamiliarisation' is a work of exposing an unseen part of an object, it would be recognised "difficult".

individuals? How can we avoid making the interview and its analytic prologue look like a clinical case preceded by a diagnosis? (*Ibid.*: 1)

Bourdieu's urge to practice resembles Shklovski's defamiliarisation a process through which he tries "to offer the accounts that men and women have confided to us about their lives and the difficulties they have in living those lives, and tries the reader to adopt the *comprehensive* view that the scientific method both requires of and grants to us"(*Ibid.*:2). Indeed, Bourdieu's work or any other contemporary sociologists who focus on practice have imparted unseen objects and reality beyond distorted perceived thing by mass media, culture, and any other socio-cultural bias. However, this perspective bears a limitation of nominalism as it has been criticised: both the literary and social science practice stress on perceived thing between thing in itself and perceived thing, that is, thing for itself – in their perspective reality is a sort of fixed one, and the reality is only recognised only a process of abstraction.

Therefore their ends are always disputable in a way in which a writer's status such as middle class's perception was reflected or specific interviewees could not represent their whole class, which is the so-called 'crisis of representation'. Indeed, Terry Eagleton (1999)'s scathing critique of Spivak is remarkable: "post-colonial theorists are often to be found agonising about the gap between their own intellectual discourse and the natives of whom they speak". This critique is not only against a group of post-colonialists, but also against analyses emphasising representation, which take the reflexive interview as methodologically sufficient for understanding social conditions. That is, a researcher and a research object are always divided, and the research object becomes a product of the researcher as long as the researcher tries to represent the research object although the self hopes to impart a reality through reflexive interview including describing the author's individual feeling.

I suggest defamiliarisation as a breakthrough against crisis of representation. The main object of sociological transfiguration proposed in 'defamiliarisation' is to defamiliarise subject as well as, of course, object at concrete level. This is not the same as emphasising, abstractly, the flexibility of subjectivity and its constant creativity, as those whose privilege the reflexive interview imply. The utility of defamiliarisation is that it remains at this concrete level, asking about what we can learn from seeing the encounter between researcher and researched subjects who do not share the same historical background and context when they encounter each other for the first time. Shklovski's approach is valuable because it also recognises the dialectical change in "the thing in itself" through the process of defamilarisation, and thus stresses the importance of events as key moments rather than narrative and description as such. To place the researcher as a stranger to defamiliarise objects, and thus to defamiliarise herself or himself is not only a methodological specific manipulation, but also a way in which every researcher has faced and would face it. This condition that when a researcher went into the field for research the researcher defamiliarise around him as well as himself is not a sort of new discovery.

What is encouraged instead is forming a 'rapport' between a researcher and research objects/subjects, a rapport that is claimed to eliminate inconsistencies. Sociological transfiguration of defamiliarisation, on the contrary, acknowledges and works with this inconsistency and difference. A researcher also acknowledges the fact that "he is a wanderer who comes today and stays tomorrow rather than who comes today and goes tomorrow" as Simmel (1950:402) said.[6] However, the researcher must not behave like a magistrate who reads out a decision, and does not have to regard herself or himself an observer or a judge,

---

[6] Simmel gives an example of Italian cities for explaining the objectivity of stranger. For instance, most medieval Italian cities such as Florence *signoria* enlist their chief magistrates, *podesta* from the outside (Waley 1952; Jones 1997).

even though many social scientists have done it. In this perspective, the researcher faces his or her own objectivity as a result of a dialectical confrontation between subjective differences, as

> [o]bjectivity is by no means non-participation (which is altogether outside both subjective and objective interaction), but a positive and specific kind of participation – just as the objectivity of a theoretical observation does not refer to the mind as a passive tabula rasa on which things inscribe their qualities, but on the contrary, to its full activity that operates according to its own laws, and to the elimination, thereby, of accidental dislocations and emphases, whose individual and subjective differences would produce different pictures of the same object. (*Ibid.*: 404)

Redfield and Tomaskova (2003) propose this defamiliarisation in a way in which the tradition of ethnography compares with the condition of exile as represented in Eastern European literature such as Ewa Thomson and Milan Kundera as well as Vladimir Nabokov. As both have created traditions of representing culture at a distance, be it the lost homeland or the "field", the exile is attached to a home land and the ethnographer is attached to the field. These two figures form an inverted pair, with the ethnographer as a kind of voluntary exile and the exile as an involuntary ethnographer: for both exile and ethnographer are temporary foreigners.

As a South Korean researcher who does share the same historical background with my informants, I conducted my fieldwork in four different places/neighbourhoods of in Stellenbosch: Idas Valley, Karindal, Kayamandi and Slabstown. The first three neighbourhoods have outlived colonial and Apartheid era, and the last place has been recently settled. I lived in Idas Valley for a year, in Karindal for seven months and in Kayamandi for five months. I examined these places in detail and I researched what concrete events happened since the East Asian man moved into each space. Interviews with residents in each space were conducted as well, but it was only conducted when some 'unfamiliar' things

happened rather than based on pre-formulated questions. In each space I was confronted with unfamiliar events: in one occasion I was robbed, on another I was stabbed; I encountered a shovel stuck on my house door. I will describe those events as they changed my own subjective experience, and the ways in which my move into those spaces also affected the lives of my informants. Among them, a Zimbabwean newly married couple who rented a room in the same house I moved into and who were evicted in the same day.

I also participated in religious ceremonies every Sunday, events in which I played an important role, as I shall describe in the following chapters. The difficulty that arose from my fieldwork was how to interpret these inconsistencies. I placed the inconsistencies, contradictions and antagonism as condition *sine qua non* to the maintenance of these segregated spaces, as Lukacs (1971:184) wrote on totality, as "only when the theoretical primacy of the 'facts' has been broken, only when every phenomenon is recognised to be a process, will it be understood that what we are wont to call 'facts' consists of processes". Therefore, this study highlights a process of subjectification and thus objectification of the researcher as well as main informants as time goes by and as space changes.

Chapter two
Dialectic of two migrants: Subjects being interpellated

My aim in this chapter is to provide an analysis of post-Apartheid subjectivity by drawing upon the journey of two migrants with different historical backgrounds: one of them is from Zimbabwe seeking a job in South Africa; the other is an international student from South Korea. They meet each other for the first time in a house in Kayamandi as renters moving in the same day. In this chapter I describe each man's journey until that point. The Zimbabwean's journey begins in Mbare, a suburb of Harare. In his journey, he was robbed of all his possessions, had to sleep under a bridge without protection from the elements, and had to rent a barbershop as a home. In the South Korean student's journey, he becomes a 'ma se poes', "Jacky Chan", and a capitalist in the sphere of both abstraction and experience. My description of their journeys allows me to analyse what I identify as a particular process of subjectification in Post-Apartheid South Africa.

Such a process reveals how race, class, and "place of origin" are reflected in individuals, and also how the subjects learn to recognise one another. I will examine how, through this process, these two individuals form a subject against racial classification: how they become and realise themselves as something against existing racial category – African, White, Coloured and Indian/Asian in South Africa, and particularly in Stellenbosch. Lastly, my chapter will show how both the Zimbabwean and the South Korean men are produced as strangers missing their home and negative patriarchic subjects in post-apartheid South Africa, but this strangeness takes specific racial and class forms.

2.1 Discussing subjectivity: from Lenin to Althusser and Adorno

When Vladimir Lenin (1970) declared "all power to the soviets" in the famous *April Theses*, and defended the revolution by the soviets, most people, including Mensheviks thought he was deluded. They had just abolished the Russian tzar system, identified as Feudalism based on agrarian production, and thus believed that Russia was preparing for a bourgeois revolution in the terms of traditional Marxism. That is, Lenin's *Theses* ignored the historical development stage that traditional Marxism believed to be necessary for the revolution. Traditional Marxism's main instance is that there is the real – class struggle – beyond the human, and that history progresses through class struggle, and thus that the subject is formed only by this process. Lenin challenges this view by claiming that the subject bestows an authority to history, finding thus a revolutionary subject: the agrarian proletariat. A change in structure would result from a change within the system, that is, from a subject within structure.

I ask several epistemological questions following Lenin. The first is, if we agree that the Post-Apartheid moment can be seen as the age of migration, how is the migrant formed as a subject? Second, what is the real in post-apartheid South Africa, can a revolutionary subject be formed, and, moreover, how is subjectivity possible in an age which saw the dissolution of the Soviet Union and in which Marxism appears to be an old-fashioned ideology? In other words, what kind of post-apartheid subject is born out of the struggle against apartheid and racism? What does the story of the migrants tell us of this subject and its difficulties? Here, I am trying to explore the answer through articulation of two theoretical streams: Althusser and Adorno.

Althusser (1971) examines why a revolutionary subject, which was possible to Lenin, cannot be formed in capitalism, in other words, he explains why workers do not carry out a revolution by elaborating on his unique concept, that of "hailing" or "interpellation":

> As a first formulation I shall say: all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects, by the functioning of the subject[...]I shall then suggests that ideology 'acts' or 'functions' in such a way that it 'recruits' subjects among the individuals (it recruits them all), or 'transform' the individuals into subjects (it transforms them all) by that very precise operation which I have called interpellation or hailing, and which can be imagined along the lines of the most commonplace everyday police (or other) hailing: 'hey, you there!". Assuming that theoretical scene I have imagined takes place in the street, the hailed individual will turn round. By this mere one-hundred-and-eighty-degree physical conversion, he becomes a subject. Why? Because he has recognised that the hail was 'really' addressed to him, that 'it was really him who was hailed' (and not someone else) (*Ibid.*:173)

In order to maintain social domination under capitalist society, as we can notice, the capitalist mode of production must ensure reproduction carried out by manufacture production, investment in infrastructure and production of skilled labour as well as production of its knowledge. However, for Althusser, the most important thing is the workers' mind, will and thought, in which she or he should go to the work place and work hard – the commitment to work must exist. This ideology as a belief system produces a subject in capitalist society through the mechanism of interpellation. That is, this ideology bestows upon us a symbolic name, and by that we become subjects who think and behave within the boundaries of this ideology. The relationship between a subject and a system is reversed by Althusser, and by doing so, the emergence of a revolutionary subject becomes impossible. Apart from Althusser's pessimism in which the subject's positivity toward social change is refuted, I suggest that his theoretical pressupositons are relevant to the conceptualisation of race as ideology, and using his theory of interpellation, I will elaborate on how an individual is constructed a racialised subject.

In addition to Althusser, another important attempt to break away from a mechanical idea of the working class as a revolutionary subject was brought by the Frankfurt School. Capitalism was theorised as not only responsible for economic oppression but having its form of domination entrenched in the structure of social life itself. Hence, these scholars follow the question formulated by Lukacs (1971:2): "how far is commodity exchange together with its structural consequences able to influence the total outer and inner life of society?". To understand the formation of such a subject, Frankfurt scholars like Horkheimer and Adorno draw on psychoanalysis[7]. They did not apply psychoanalysis to produce an interpretation of society, however, but used psychoanalysis as a conceptual bridge between an individual subject and a particular form of society, following Erich Fromm who "felt that individuals were never entirely isolated from their social situation. The real task was to supplement and enrich the basic Marxist framework, which Fromm accepted as a given" (Jay 1973:92).

Drawing on Freud's reading of the myth and based on a certain interpretation of Homer's Odyssey, Horkheimer and Adorno (1997:1) understand Western history as a process whose goal is to "disenchant the world, to dispel myths and to overthrow fantasy with knowledge". They see the problem of modern society as beginning with the age of the myth, and look into the ways in which the myth incorporates contemporary problems. "Just as myths already entail enlightenment, with every step enlightenment entangles itself more deeply in mythology" (*Ibid.*:8).

In line with these assertions, I will explore how two migrants are interpellated by capitalism and racial classification, and how they are formed as subjects drawing upon the

---

[7]For classic Freudian psychoanalysis, the myth is a form of representation of unconscious libidinal impulses. For Freud, the analysis of the myth can reflect a universal instinctual life. Freud formulates the Oedipus complex in 1910 drawing from the Greek myth of *Oedipus Rex*, in which a child develops a sexual impulse towards his mother and a murderous wish against his father.

33

traces of myth in their journeys. Through these two journeys, I will look into the ways in which migrants relate to post-apartheid society and its promises of disenchantment of difference.

2.2 Elvis: from Mbare to Kayamandi

In August of 2007, a 25 year old Zimbabwean man named Elvis Mafuwa decided to come to South Africa from Mbare, a township of Harare, where he and his family had lived for a long time. Such migration pattern from Zimbabwe became common since inflation started to threat the country's economy since 1999. The justification behind immigration to South Africa is related to economic opportunities. Scarcity of resources such as food, water, and shelter made it hard for people to stay in Zimbabwe and lack of employment exacerbated these difficulties[8] (Idemudia, Williams, Wyatt, 2013). Elvis felt he was becoming a burden to his family. He was living with his retired father, his mother and his five year old daughter, who Elvis supported financially even if her conception was, in his words, "a mistake in sperm". Two of his siblings had already left to South Africa seeking jobs. Since his father, Bob, had just retired after being a school teacher for 45 years, his family was living off Bob's pension – he received a government monthly pension equivalent to 150 dollars and received a grant of about 30 dollars from a Zimbabwean social security agency.

Before the crisis in Zimbabwe, Elvis was in a good position as he had secured a position in a bottling company for four years since he graduated from high school. He was,

---

[8] See several articles dealing with the Zimbabwean crisis: Sachikonye (2002) argues that why the crisis had come although Zimbabwe was amongst the top four more industrialized countries in Sub-Saharan Africa; Raftopoulos (2006) examines the Zimbabwean crisis in a way of the left, and the challenges for the Left.

indeed, middle class[9] and perceived himself as such until the company asked him and his colleagues to work only twice a week. He claims he was paid about three "nillion" Zimbabwean dollars but, in his words, this amount was insufficient even to afford a loaf of bread. When he heard that the company was not in a position to even cover the cost of materials used to manufacture their product, he came to the conclusion that his country was ruined. Every person he knew was having the same problems: they had to struggle to live through the crisis, and there were no jobs. He finally decided to move to South Africa, as he could fit the requirement for getting visa and look for better opportunities.

Elvis invested all his savings in buying a traveller's cheque for R2000. He had to present a financial statement to get a visitor's permit which he had planned to change for a work permit or refugee status while in South Africa. When he informed his parents that he had plans to go to South Africa and that he had already got the visa, his parents questioned how their youngest son would live. They thought South Africa was a "bad country" well-known for its xenophobic attacks against Zimbabweans.[10] They eventually accepted that Elvis should go move to South Africa since "they could do nothing in Zimbabwe". His father let him go with the warning that "you are going there, but at your own risk". Bob's fatalistic attitude towards Elvis' journey in South Africa will be discussed later in this chapter.

---

[9] On Zimbabwean class issues cf. Bond (2001) examines the consciousness of working class in Zimbabwe on democracy and nationalism movement; Moore (2003) determines Zimbabwe's triple crisis as Primitive accumulation, nation-state formation and democratization in the age of neo-liberal globalization.

[10] Cf. Time Magazine (2008) 'Zimbabweans fleeing South Africa' reports Zimbabweans in South Africa have cowered in fear as xenophobic mobs; Misago (2010) particularly analyses a xenophobic violence of May, 2008 against foreign nationals in South Africa.
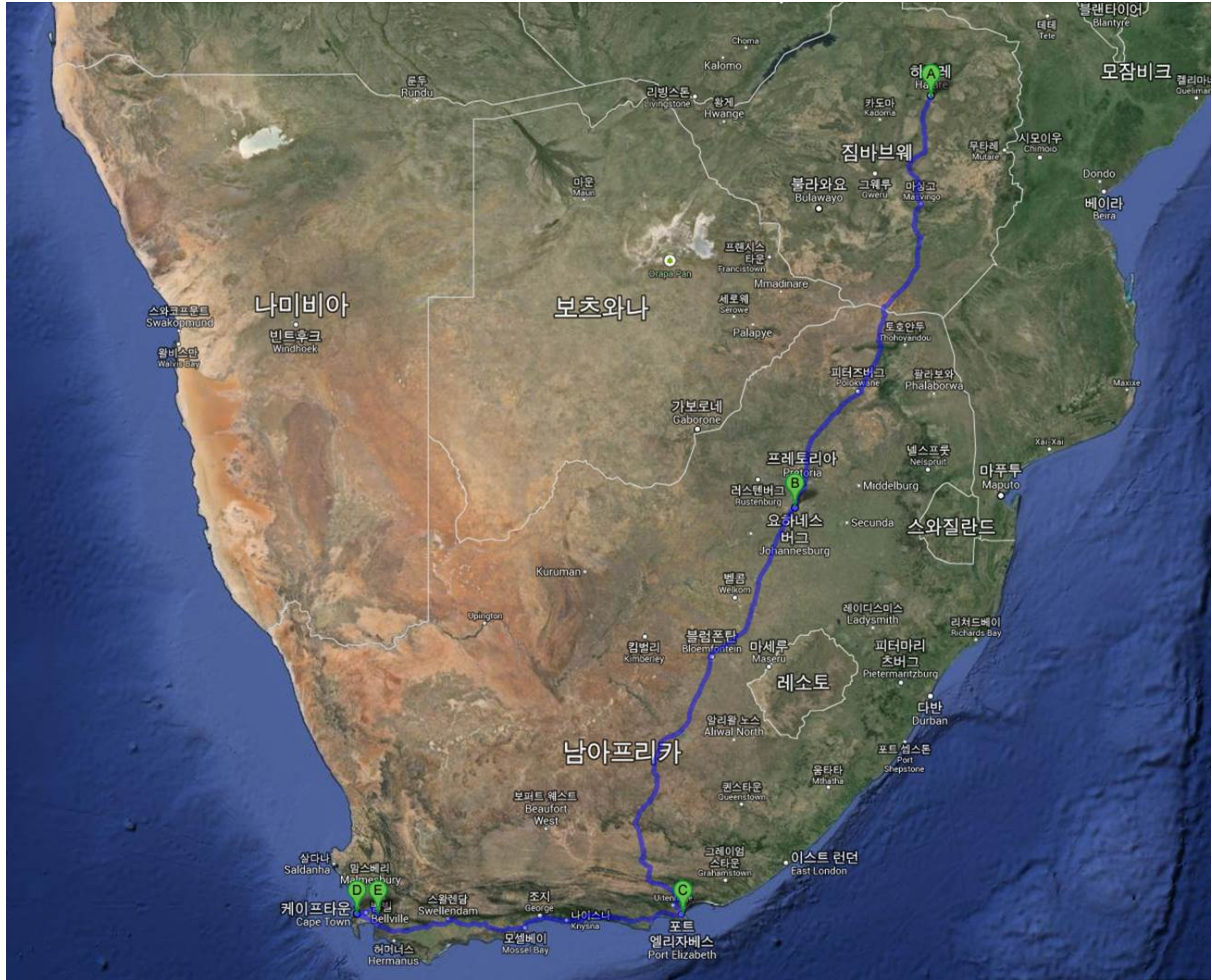
Figure 3 Elvis' Journey

The journey was crowded with people. Some were migrants like Elvis, and some were informal traders between Zimbabwe and South Africa. Elvis passed through an old border town, Mzingwane between Zimbawe and South Africa, which lies north of the Limpopo river. This town was busy with cross-border trading. The sale of agricultural produce in South African market was a viable livelihood strategy for the traders (Mutopo, 2010). Elvis met these cross-border traders and bought some food from them. As well as he might talk to them about South Africa and Zimbabwe. Since Elvis carried a traveller's cheque he believed he could cross the border with "better dreams" than the cross-border traders.

36

Finally, he had arrived in Johannesburg, regarded as the economic capital of sub-saharan Africa.

When Elvis arrived in Johannesburg, he had to speak in English in order to communicate, and he for the first time he started to concretely feel he was in a foreign country. He could already speak English fluently, a language which he learned in high school, but the fact that he couldn't communicate in Shona was a challenge. However, he felt people in Johannesburg were kind and helpful and advised him to go to the Eastern Cape. He went Port Elizabeth, where "everybody was looking for a job". The city was not as buzzling as Johannesburg; Elvis met a fellow Zimbabwean who was also trying to get a job there, but who decided to go to Cape Town for it had lots of work opportunities due to a variety of restaurants.[11] Elvis had to make a decision since he was running out of the money he brought. He had to travel again, this time from Port Elizabeth to Cape Town.

On arrival in Cape Town, he felt that the place was more developed than Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg. The appearance of buildings was different and people were more energetic. Elvis dreamed he could finally find a job. He would have to first find a shelter but having only R700 left it meant he could not go to a formal hotel. He found shelter under a bridge where he met many people from different countries, like Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. For Elvis the bridge was just a temporary shelter while he tried to find a job and then affording a more permanent place. But the others he met there were living there permanently. They lived there and received food provided by South Korean missionaries. During his short stay under the bridge, Elvis also received food from these

---

[11] The population of Nelson Mandela bay in which P.E located was 1,152,115 and the unemployment rate is 36.6% while Cape town's population was 3,740,026 and the unemployment rate is 23.9% (Census 2011)

missionaries. He told me it was the first time he had ever seen Asian people in his life. Despite the food, and the relative protection from cold and wind, Elvis was unable to see the bridge as a permanent place. When somebody living under the bridge told him that he could get a room for rent in Khayelitsha for R700 a month, his remaining income, he decided to look for accommodation in the township.

Elvis's experience in Khayelitsha[12], one of the biggest and most violent townships around Cape Town, was short and cruel. When he was walking around searching for accommodation he got robbed by a group of men who approached him with a gun and a knife. Elvis said it was clear from their accent and by the use of isiXhosa that the perpetrators were South Africans. Fortunately, they did not physically harm Elvis but left with Elvis's blanket, cellular phone and his remaining R700. Ten of the country's major gangs are there, a place which struggles with high incidence of murder, rape and violent assault (Mail & Guardian 2004). Such fact did not influence Elvis's perception and behaviour so he considered living in Kayelitsha. He had never experienced being threatened with a gun before, even though he had heard several times that it was dangerous place to go to. He started to develop a deep fear, and to question if the men who were asking for empty rooms to rent would in fact be associated with robbers. Elvis reported this incident to the police and asked to investigate those landlords, but the police could do nothing. Elvis's experience of crime in Khayalitsha filled him with fear and made him feel estranged from South Africa as a place, to the point that he believe he could never be comfortable in this country. Three weeks had passed since he had left Zimbabwe.

---

[12] The population of Khayelisha is 329,002, 99.49% is Africans, 96.77% use Xhosa as a first language, and the employment rate is about 30% (Census 2011)

He walked to the train station in despair. He did not have job or place to stay, he could not bath and had everything stolen from him, including small coins he was going to use to phone his father in Zimbabwe. At the train station he was fortunate to meet some people who offered him a few coins. With these, he called his father in Zimbabwe. His father's voice through the phone was warm but full of worries. "How are you doing there? Son, you can come back here anytime you want". As soon as he heard his father's voice he cried. He knew he could not return to Zimbabwe. He decided to return to the bridge and he hoped to receive food donations.

The formation and development of the city creates new transitory places which has new characteristics – for instance, subway, bus rank, airport, ATM and so on which are designed for mobility and transition. Marc Auge (1995:80) calls those places as "non-place" which does not have enough implications to be considered as "place" due to its trait of transience – Auge (*Ibid.,*:77) proposes that "a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place". Bridges may be included in the category of non-place in modern ages because bridges are not considered as places of dwelling, but they are in between what Auge calls places and non-places.[13] People with a range of backgrounds live under the bridge, this non-place, with no other place to go. Some people who regularly donate food to those who are living under the bridge suggested to Elvis that he should join their church, and one of these volunteers offered to help him find a job in Stellenbosch. It was Elvis first time in Stellenbosh for him. He found work in a restaurant as a dishwasher, working for four days a week, and would go back to the bridge with R400, which was enough to restore in Elvis some sense of hope.

---

[13] Marc Auge's the concept of 'non-place' will be discussed in next chapter.

Elvis lived under the bridge for three weeks, and during this time he did many kinds of work. He was picked a few times to offload truck cargos in exchange for food or coins. He was once hired as an extra for shooting an advertisement of MTN for fifty rands. Elvis believed that he differed himself from others living under the bridge for he perceived himself as different from others. Once he got a permanent job, he thought, he would send money back to his parents in Zimbabwe, he would marry a good Zimbabwean woman, and would finally go back to Zimbabwe with money. For him, the place under the bridge was like a "flytrap", a place in which his idea of himself could be permanently assimilated with being under the bridge. He thought he should find a proper place as soon as possible in order to prevent this identification with the place (a condition which will be discussed more in-depth later). Enjoying an employment rate relatively higher than Cape Town (Census 2011), Stellenbosch seemed to be a more suitable place for Elvis. He had a small amount of money, and he was counting on the same luck he had when he got the previous gigs.

Stellenbosch was an "ordinary" town for Elvis in that the residential areas were divided by race like other places he had seen in his journey – also it was because his hometown, Mbare itself and Harare as a colonial city had a long history of migration and ethnic/spatial exclusion (Yoshikuni 2007): Kayamandi is a African township; Idas Valley and Cloetesville are Coloured neighbourhoods. Since Elvis arrived lately in Stellenbosch, he had to sleep in the Caltex garage where he met a Zimbabwean man who advised him to find a shelter in a barber shop in Kayamandi. It was a shack, it smelled bad, it had bugs, did not have a stove, and the rent was R200 per month, which he accepted considered it had access to water and sanitation. Elvis cleaned the place and ran a cable for light. He stayed here for three months.

Elvis finally got his home in South Africa, and he luckily got a job earning R500 weekly. He moves out of the barbershop and into a shared house in Kayamandi, at R650 per month. And then he moved into the third different house in Kayanmandi at R650 where he stayed for two years. Interestingly, whenever his salary was raised the rent fees were raised. He had to find other places to stay in the same price range since his expenditure increased almost as much as his salary. As time went by, his parent became old, his daughter grew up and Elvis met a girl who he wanted to marry and who he had to be able to support. But even f he worked very hard he could not get out of Kayamandi, and his housing conditions were not getting better. He needed a breakthrough.

Elvis decided to get married to a Zimbabwean woman called Tanjiwe, who was introduced to him by her brother. Since she also had a job, Elvis believed they would be able to find a better place to stay, a place in which they could start their married life. As good luck would have it, a preacher in his church showed them a house. The house was at Mayano Street in Kayamandi, which was built in Apartheid era.

Figure 4 A house built in Apartheid era in Kayamandi

After 1994 many migrants came into Kayamandi seeking for jobs in Stellenbosch, but the houses of those new comers were generally of an inferior quality. Elvis's house in particular was much older – it had a flush toilet, a dining room and it was not so noisy inside. The house had four bedrooms, one was exclusive to the landlady, a Xhosa woman called Sera, the other one was for her grandson's use, while the other two were empty. The landlady proposed R1200 per a month to rent a bedroom. Even though this amount was almost twice his last rent, he could now afford it since he could share the cost with his wife.[14]

---

[14] There are is growing number of materials on Zimbabweans in South Africa. For instance, Siziba (2014) discusses how a power relationship is produced by linguistic capital through ethnography on Ndebele and Shona-speaking Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg. Worby (2012) focuses on strategies of social disconnection across the Zimbabweans in Johannesburg based on the question that "what are the ethical implications and consequences of not forwarding one's address or cellphone number, or of not replying to calls and letters?". Landau and Freemantle (2010) explore the migrants'

On august 30 in 2013 he moved into the room at Mayano Street. There was a guy who rented last empty room. His name was YoungJun, that is, me, who was doing Masters in Stellenbosch University.

2.3 YoungJun: from Idas Valley to Kayamandi

In August 2011 I decided to go to South Africa for doing my masters. Unlike Elvis my status was not such precarious: I had a job, my parents had their own jobs and my country, South Korea, had a stable economic status comparing with Zimbabwe and South Africa. I had finished my undergraduate course in Sociology in Seoul, South Korea and I was working in an IT company as a novice marketer. It was quite a good job for someone interested in working in an office, with relatively good salary. I knew, however, that I would be socially dismissed in the company and thus society. The company was too competitive, especially for somebody who did not have any specialised skills and knowledge. Although my position in the company was not bad, I felt the need to take the risk and to avoid a predictable and inevitable path. My decision to come to South Africa was influenced by the difference in tuition cost between the two countries: in South Korea this option would have cost me about ten times the amount I would spend in South Africa. The fact that only a few people had the experience of studying in South Africa was also significant to my choice.
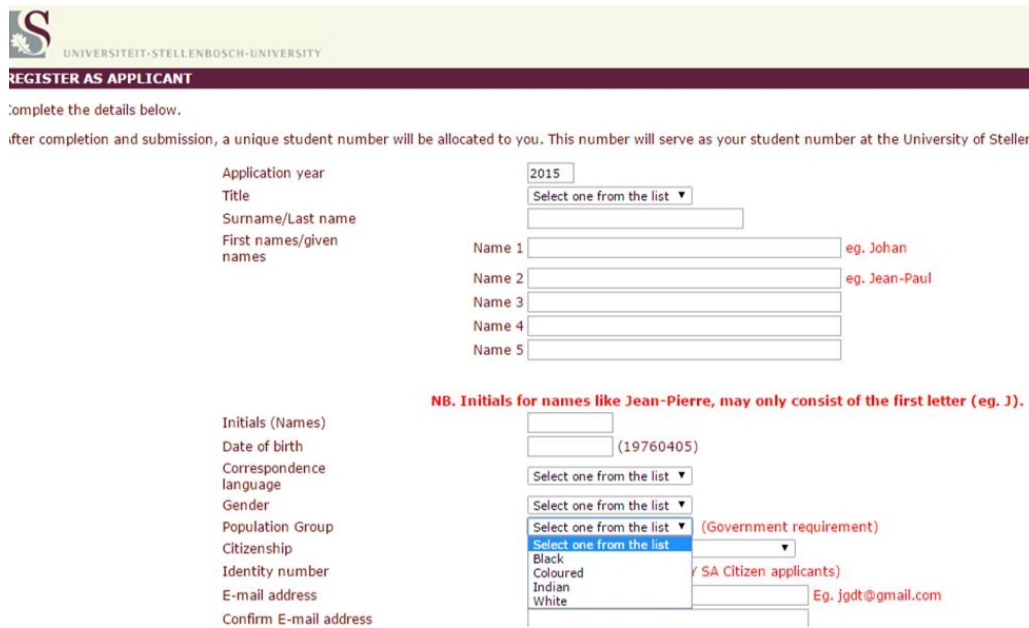
Since I arrived Stellenbosch, I stayed at a university dormitory for international students for about three months before I had to move out at the end of my contract. The waiting list for the dorm was long and the fees were higher than I had anticipated, about

strategies in Johannesburg against new South African nationalism, a restrictive immigration regime and xenophobia.

R5000 per month. I was told later that it would take me over six months to get allocated in one of the dorms, and so as much as I would prefer to stay in a dorm, I had to find another place to stay. Without any idea of Stellenbosch property market, I searched for information on the Internet until I found a room for R2000 per a month in the neighbourhood of Idas Valley, about 40 minutes walk from campus.

Although there were other choices, the reason why I chose to stay in Idas Valley was it was the so-called coloured area. Whilst the registration process in the university, I had to complete and choose one category between Black, Coloured, Indian as well as White in population group box (See below figure 5). As there was no exact category for me, I ticked 'coloured' as I obviously did not perceived me as not African, White nor Indian. The only left category was Coloured. Interestingly, since the registration, whenever I visited the administration office, the admin person spoke to me in Afrikaans – "Goeie môre. Wat kan ek jou help?", and then, they corrected in English after noticed I was not Coloured and they justified it "because you enrolled as Coloured". They did, nonetheless, speak Afrikaans even after seeing me. That is, somehow my skin colour had some apprent similarity with Coloured people's skin colour in their recognition. One admin person working in student accommodations actually believed that many students "like me" were "currently staying in Idas Valley". I started to get curious about that classification and so I decided to stay in Idas Valley.

Figure 5 Stellenbosch University registration window

Idas Valley is a suburb of Stellenbosch, with an area of about 2.1km², backed by the Simonsberg Mountain. The south-facing valley floor is enclosed on each side by lower hills. The valley had three farmsteads by 1682 and is exemplary of the patterns and processes of colonial adaptation and development that have formed the Cape Winelands landscape. (Pistorious 2004). Idas Valley's racial composition is predominantly Coloured, Afrikaans speakers, more specifically: 8,224 of Coloured residents, 404 Africans, 38 Indian/Asians and 61 Whites (Census 2011). When I moved there, I did not speak Afrikaans. So going out and playing guitar and singing was one of my favourite tools for establishing intimacy with neignbours. It was as if I was introducing myself this way, as if I was saying "hello, I am here, I am from South Korea, and want to be your friend", a way to affirm my existence. Children approached me with an interest in my songs at first. Sometimes they sang to the sound of my guitar. I finally introduced myself and asked their names: James, Sarah, Esmeralda, and so on. Over ten children were there. During the introduction of each name, one kid introduced

another kid as "ma se poes". When I repeated that name, they laughed, and then they started to call me by that name. Girls, boys, babies, kids in Idas Valley started to call me "ma se poes". I just guessed that it had some kind of funny meaning, and it took me a very long time to notice its meaning was "a mother's vagina". I always smiled whenever they called me "ma se poes". When I asked just once to my colleague about its meaning, then she told me "it's a very, very bad word. So do not use it'. That incident itself exposed our relationship. That is, irrespective of the meaning, the meaning of 'ma se poes' disappeared, only the letter 'ma se poes' itself was part of our relationship.

Baderoon's (2014) work on 'ma se poes' is particularly relevant in understanding my experience, even her conclusions differ from mine. Baderoon explores the history of the expression 'ma se poes' drawing upon *Unconfessed*, a novel about slavery in South Africa written by Yvette Christianse in 1826. The word "poes" appears as a linguistic symbol to brutally represent the african female in the novel:

> They too ker when she was old enough to cry for a life that already had full memories, and … she had to work … on a farm for a man who had no wife, and it does not matter that she knows what it is like to be ridden like a horse or milked like a cow…We are women who are horses. We are poese up to our chins (Christianse 2007:320 in *Ibid.*:96)

As Baderoon sharply notices, through slavery african women's body was abstracted as "poese up to our chins" to justify acts of sexual violence, and the term has been generalised in contemporary South Africa as a swear word in public sphere.[15] Interestingly, this word based on women's body can also be used by men to assert their dominance over other men (Raditlhalo 2005 in *Ibid.*). So, then, is it possible that the term 'ma se poes' was

---

[15] The common South African swear words "naai" (both "to sew" and a crude term meaning "to have sex"), "moer" (matrix or womb), "poes" and "doos" (literally "bag" but also a vulgar word for vagina) are ubiquitous on the streets of Cape Town. (*Ibid.*:102)

used by the kids in Idas Valley as a trial to establish their dominance over me? However, as I mentioned above, to form a relationship needs a minimum possibility of reciprocal action, but I did not catch the meaning although the kids might know. This impossibility of communication – or impossibility of establishing a relationship based on power – will be discussed later part of this chapter.

In addition to this incident, I was perceived as a Chinese man. When I first came to Idas Valley many people approached and shouted "Jackie Chan! Show me Kung-Fu". Somebody once bowed with left hand over right fist as in kung-fu movies – a kind of greeting that is not familiar to a South Korean person. It seemed all East Asians were abstracted as Chinese in their perception. That is, my body, my racial skin colour was bestowing me the identity of Chinese although I did not perceived myself as a Chinese man. This social recognition to which the individual has no control of and body is well expressed in Fanon:

> Look at the nigger!...Mama, a Negro!...Hell, he's getting mad…Take no notice, sir, he does not know that you are as civilized as we. […] the handsome little boy is trembling because he thinks that the nigger is quivering with rage, the little white boy throws himself into his mother's arms: Mama, the nigger's going to eat me up." (Fanon 2008:86)

I frequently insisted that I was a South Korean, but they were not exactly interested in finding out what being South Korean was. My existence as I perceived it and my existence as they perceived it were in severe discordance. However, as Fanon, this discordance made me obsessed with the idea that I was a South Korean man refusing to pass as a Chinese man. Whilst what made Fanon felt "where shall I hide?" against the boy was to be interpellated as Other, as exotic, as dangerous, as alien, what did make me deny being a Chinese? Didn't I share something with them who recognised Chinese is Jacky Chan and the humour in it?

In October of 2012 I was mugged and stabbed by three unknown men outside the public library in the middle of the day in Idas Valley. The men took my Ipad. Before that, I did not have any fear of living in Idas Valley. For instance, I had often walked to campus in the afternoon carrying my Ipad. After I was mugged, however, I started to feel unsafe for the first time. The talk of crime such as "walking with Ipad is stupid" or "never walk alone during the night" started to have an influence on me. Teresa Caldeira (2001)'s study of Sao Paulo spatial segregation is an appropriate example of how the talk of crime produced segregation in the city through security, and this interpretation has been used to understand the expansion of the gated communities in South Africa. Before I was mugged, however, the talk of crime was not influential. I frequently did "dangerous" things, such as walking in the night. That is, I assumed that the pre-experience of fear has the priority than the discourse of crime.
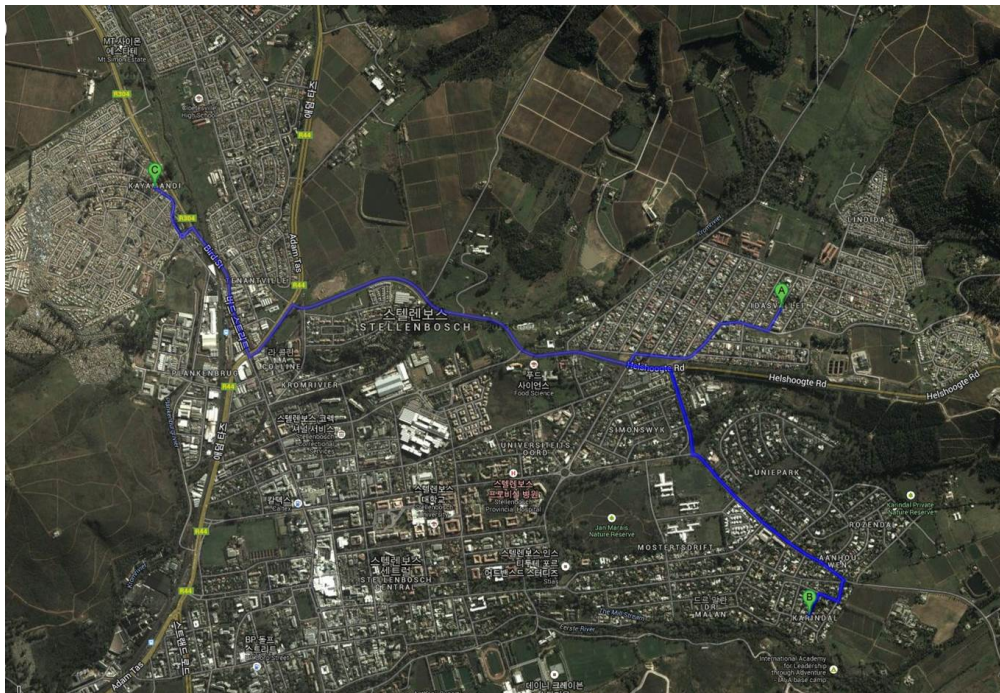
Figure 6 YoungJun's Journey

I never went back to Idas Valley since I moved out. After my experience there, I came to perceive that place as not my place. After living in Idas valley I moved into Karindal

by R3000 per a month known for being a White and safe place. Karindal was very different: people enjoyed jogging and the landscape was beautiful. I found it strange that there was no communication on the streets and no relationship between neighbours. It was also interesting that taxis, which were the primary mode of transportation for many people in Idas Valley did not come to Karindal at all. People in Karindal do not need to take the taxi as they all have access to private cars.

In January 2013 I experienced something in Karindal that made the differences between the different areas I had lived in even clearer, and also made me deeply aware of my own subjectivity. One morning I saw a spade stuck in my landlord's house front door. Evidently somebody had tried to open the door using the spade. I thought it was a very symbolic experience, and one of the scariest experiences I have ever had. There are four features of this experience which explain its intensity. Firstly, the burglar used a spade, which is not only an object, but also a symbol which points to the means of production of workers. Secondly, the spade turned out to be stolen from the next door neighbour, ie. the burglar did not even possessed the means of burglary. Thirdly, the landlord was generally regarded as part of the upper class, or as a capitalist considering his possession of property. Lastly, I started to consider myself as a member of the upper class as I was the target of under class, worker or burglar. This final point became a source of severe anxiety since I had always thought of myself as being on the side of the poor worker: I studied marxism, I was a passionate student activist in South Korea and had a good relationship with Korean trade union, The Korean Confederation of Trade Unions[16].

---

[16] The relationship with the union began when huge demonstration against South Korea-US Free Trade Agreement (FTA) emerged in 2006, South Korea. At the time I was a chief reporter in the university newspaper. It seemed as the dispute between the free marketeer and the protectionist at first so that I planned to run a special feature named 'David Ricardo and Karl Marx say Korea-U.S. FTA'.

I found this perception of myself to be deeply problematic, and it was as though I was invisible in Karindal, as if I was not one of white people. Not unlike my experience in Idas Valley, I frequently went out and played the guitar while singing, but nobody saw me or stopped to sing along. Although I constantly claimed my existence, it seemed like nobody sensed my existence. This lack of existence came to me as a structural insult worse than 'ma se poes'. The realisation of myself needed the existence of the other, but there were no others nor were there places in which people could interact. In Idas Valley, I could interact with the others in the taxis which frequently came from and went to the town. Even if I was called 'ma se poes', people in the taxi felt my existence and talked about my guitar, my singing and my country, South Korea, and then, I could see myself reflected in them. However, as I mentioned before, there were no taxis in Karindal. I could not interact with anyone.

This experience in Karindal had an impact on my mental status much more than my experience in Idas Valley. I could not sleep well, and even the sound of the wind woke me up. I caught myself shouting in the streets, inside my room and many other places. My fear considered me as upper class, yet at the same time, I actually was not one of them, I was an invisible presence. This internal contradiction between being abstracted as upper class and being nothing made me a stranger. I decided to leave South Africa as soon as possible. But I still had to stay in Stellenbosch for finishing my masters. My last destination in Stellenbosch was Kayamandi. Leaving Karindal I moved to a room in Kayamandi paying R800, and at my arrival I met a Zimbabwean man called Elvis and his wife Tanjiwe who were moving in that same day.

I recruited both groups who had pro and con: A lot of controversy and heated debate on FTA themes was created, and I wrote all of it the article. People in the union as the con many helped, and they set value on my scheme. Since then I have long had a good relationship with them.

2.4 Forming Subjectivity: Elvis and YoungJun

What I tried to demonstrate so far was the making of a contemporary epic adventure drawing upon two migrants' journeys. What I am going to do here is to examine what subjectivity they have formed drawing upon the journey in South Africa – how language, crime, talk of crime and problem of identity as well as capitalism were perceived for them, and, in turn, what subject they were produced in South Africa and Stellenbosch comparing with their home countries.

In their journey, Elvis and I are continuously interpellated from specific race and class as well as patriarchic ideology. Language, crime as well as problem of identity hail them to transform into specific subject. The first interpellation was hailing from South Africa. When they realised that they had to leave from their home country, Zimbabwe and South Korea, they found themselves as precarious subjects both in relation to the state and millennial capitalism. Here, their interpellation was not caused by the state but it was felt when the state did not guarantee their status anymore. They formed subjects to struggle out of the state. Their hailing from South Africa, not their country, asks us that we have to conceive the state as the subject which interpellates individuals in an Althusserian sense loses control. In particular, Elvis' decision to leave to South Africa was hailed from the family which was considered one of ideological state apparatuses in Althusser (*Ibid.*,:143). That is, he became a subject who had to do something for the family as a son and father who supports his parents. My hailing was more explicit that my country, South Korea was relatively stable, but I had an anxiety whether I would be socially dismissed, and then, I decided to come out of the country rather than asking to the country. Both migrants, I suggest, were already formed as precarious subjects in millennial capitalism before coming to South Africa.

51

However, in South Africa, they were hailed in different ways: while Elvis was hailed as a labour force who was continuously seeking for a position within a competitive labour market, I was hailed as absorbed in the racial categories in advance. In the process of university registration I was confronted with specific racial categories – Black, Coloured, Indian and White. This process previously announced a sort of rupture that there was proper category for myself, such as East Asian. Rather, a right to choose one racial category amongst them was bestowed upon me. It is possible to say that I decided to be a Coloured person through my decision to stay in Idas Valley. However, I soon realised that I was not allowed to be a Coloured person. The children's insult "ma se poes" interpellated me as different race, not a Coloured. Although I did not catch the meaning of "ma se poes", by reacted, smiling, I answered them that I was not the Coloured person, that is, I was the different subject with coloured people who could appropriate react. The mugging reconfirmed this, and then, I decided to move out from Idas Valley. As a matter of fact that I was sometimes called 'Chinese' or 'Jacky Chan', since I had a similar skin colour as well as other phenotypically similar traits Was this a reaction against recent China's economic intervention on African countries?[17] Although I lastly denied the interpellation to be a Chinese man in Idas Valley through moving out, I might be assimilated or, at least, shared some sense of displacement.

In Elvis Journey, he was hailed to be part of labour reserve. He continuously tried to seek a job but he failed. Whenever he could not get a job, he moved the place. Unlike me that who frequently moved out of a place when confronted with the racial form of hailing, Elvis consciously sought a job through wandering the place in South Africa. The ideological apparatus that implemented Elvis's hailing was the family waiting for him in Zimbabwe. In

---

[17] To understand contemporary Chinese economic intervention and its reaction in African, See Moyo (2012), Alden, Large, De Oliveira (2008), Large (2008), Alden (2005),

particular, when he lost everything in Khayelitsha, the appearance of his father reinforced the bond with his family in Zimbabwe, a family he had to support. He could not escape from the hailing as well as the system he has to work for, even though the system did not offer any employment. In my journey, the problem of labour seemed not to be explicit unlike in Elvis's story. It was obvious that my interpellation from South Africa and Stellenbosch was caused by the fact that I perceived myself as a precarious labour. However, Elvis had to struggle with the competition in labour market, while it seemed that I was not. This, I suggest, is class-related, as a petti-bourgeois white-collar worker, I appear not to be so precariously subjected to labour market laws. This difference between Elvis and I in respect of labour will be discussed in chapter four.

Even if Elvis' and my sufferings – Elvis's being mugged in Khayelitsha, staying under the bridge, my being condemned by kids, being mugged in Idas Valley and so on were, of course, physically difficult things, the anxiety around these events had more complicated inner dynamics. My suffering in Karindal explicitly delivered this dynamics. The spade stuck on the door was not physical threat nor direct menace. Maybe it was directed at the landlord. However, I perceived the spade as a dangerous threat once the spade asked me existential questions, such as: who was YoungJun in Karindal, Stellenbosch, South Africa? Although I regarded myself as a Marxist who was on the side of poor people, the spade hailed me a capitalist, more explicitly, a White person who stayed in the so-called white area. The matter of relationship with other people in white area was not important. Only to be in the racialised place I was hailed to be white or not to be. Elvis was also questioned his own existence when he was under the bridge. Continuous failure to get a job as well as being mugged hailed him under the bridge. Under the bridge he could live anyway depending upon the missionaries'

53

donation.[18] That is, he faced a decision whether he would escape from the family in Zimbabwe by staying under the bridge or not. However, he ultimately left that place.

The problematic thing is that for both Elvis and I being interpellated formed problematic subjects against South Africa and Stellenbosch. I call this a contemporary myth-making process. To be sure, I am not saying it is as positive term, rather, I am saying that a negative and patriarchic subject negates the place. The moment I identify this as a hero's epic was when I was listening to Elvis's story with an atmosphere similar to that of listening to a campfire story: we were drinking beer, his face was filled with confidence, his tone was triumphant, and whenever I showed any signs of surprise he was looked very satisfied with himself. This could be applied to me, as well. When I went back to South Korea for a period of time during my fieldwork, the tale of my life in South Africa quickly spread among his friends and colleagues, and it had the effect of a myth. People talked about how many times YoungJun got into troubles, what he had been through, and how he would be a better person after experiencing so many things and going through so many events. We may find an ancient image to compare to this contemporary myth-making process. Like Homer's odyssey, the myth speaks of an adventure in the unknown world, having as a starting point the comfort of home.

> He said, and greedy grasped the heady bowl,
>
> Thrice drained, and poured the deluge on his soul.
>
> His sense lay covered with the dozy fume;
>
> While thus my fraudful speech I reassume.
>
> 'Thy promised boon, O Cyclop! now I claim,
>
> And plead my title; Noman is my name.

---

[18] It will be discussed in next chapter on under the bridge whether to be under the bridge is hailing from ideology or not.

By that distinguish'd from my tender years,

'Tis what my parents call me, and my peers.

…

What hurts thee, Polypheme? what strange affright

Thus breaks our slumbers, and disturbs the night?

Does any mortal, in the unguarded hour

Of sleep, oppress thee, or by fraud or power?

Or thieves insidious thy fair flock surprise?

Thus they; the Cyclop from his den replies:

Friends, Noman kills me; Noman in the hour

Of sleep, oppresses me with fraudful power.

If no man hurt thee, but the hand divine

Inflict disease, it fits thee to resign:

To Jove or to thy father Neptune pray (Watson 1876:139)

In a story between Odysseus and Polyphemus the giant in Odyssey by Homer, we may witness how human radical reason gets a triumph against the world of myth. Adorno and Horkheimer (1949) differently interpret this myth by focusing on a character of linguistic indication – by saying, thus determining himself Noman, '*udeis*', Odysseus preserves his being, that is, the modern capitalist subjectivity is based on a sort of hypocrisy that self-preservation is self-negation. Elvis and my journeys were fully constituted of self-negation process. Althusser's hailing is not just a once-off event, but it was comprised of various processes of hailing and failure and re-hailing. Their journeys began to negate their existence, Elvis-in-Zimbabwe and YoungJun-in-South Korea, and, in turn, ideology in South Afirca hailed them as labour reserve and racialised subjects. However, the hailing continuously failed along with the places they passed and vice versa. This whole process constructed them

as modern subjects who distinguished South Africa and Stellenbosch as the world of myth, which could not fully recognised. And, like the mythic heroes in Homer's epic, they were waiting for returning to their home with the promise of becoming the (their) father.

Finally, South Africa and Stellenbosch as the geological place is transformed into the space filled with threats, and does not recognise them in both Elvis and my perception, and they become divided subjects from individuals, like the modern Odysseuss in the world of myth. Is this just a result of contingency? Or is it just anxiety in a foreign country, something most foreigners might suffer? This chain of events points to a characteristic of post-apartheid subjectivity that the subject is not tied with the place in which he is produced. They just moved in and out with anxieties. Unlike in colonial and Apartheid eras, in which certain groups of people were tied to specific places by law, today people are not tied to the place anymore, and, thus, places filled with bitter realities is abstracted into the mythic space, from which they can leave if they want to, as Elvis and I did.

This crisis of the subject in relation to place denies traditional revolutionary subject. In terms of traditional Marxism, revolutionary subject is not only the working class, but the space itself is considered as *a priori* substance in which self and space are interwoven. However, in post-Apartheid subjectivity the self and the space are not tied *a priori*, they are instantly fragmented. I will show more in-depth how the subject and the space are fragmented in chapter four, drawing upon the encounter between Elvis and I in Kayamandi.

Chapter Three
Dialectic under a Non-place

In October 2013, I attended the funeral of Peter Steinberg. He lived 43 years. Nobody exactly knew why he had died, but most believed it was caused by tuberculosis, a common HIV/AIDS complication. He had lived under a bridge between Kayamandi and Cloetesville since he was 20 years old, and he died there. His funeral was held twice. The first time was in a house in Cloetesville in which Peter's aunt stayed; the second was held in an apostolic church to which he had never gone. I had never met Peter alive, as I had never met the people under the bridge in Stellenbosch. In the first event, people who lived under the bridge with Peter were singing chants around his dead body, and a South Korean missionary was leading the funeral service. The second funeral was led by a preacher, an Afrikaans speaking Coloured person, like most people under the bridge, in the apostolic church. Everyone talked about how nice he was and how helpful he was to everybody living under the bridge. A lady and a young boy cried during another man's speech about Peter's life. This lady was Marie Sakati, 45 years old, and Peter's girlfriend for about 25 years. The boy was her son, but not Peter's. Her face was swollen all over and had old scars which appeared to be the result of regular wounds inflicted by a knife.

Figure 7 Peter's graveyard

My purpose in this chapter is to analyse this 'ordinary' but seemingly invisible place under the bridge and to consider how subjects are formed there. These places — or non-places — I will argue, are important to understand post-apartheid subjectivity. In chapter two I tracked Elvis' journey from Mbare to Stellenbosch. In his narrative, a place under a bridge nearby Khayelitsha appears to be the only solution to the problem of accommodation, as Elvis had lost everything. His initial perception was that the people living there were hopeless

58

and powerless and simply depended on donations as means of survival. Elvis regarded himself as a better person against the people under the bridge in the sense that he could get out of the place and go to a "better place". As we shall see in the next chapter, the 'better place' that Elvis found did not yield security for him and his wife. Before looking into what happened to Elvis, I will turn to the people under the bridge.

Gordyntjiedorp, Slabstown, was a place referred by the people living there as simply "under the bridge". It is located between Kayamandi and Cloetesvile, in Stellenbosch. There are two ways out of Stellenbosch in the direction of Cape Town: one is to drive along road R304 and another one is to drive along road R310. This bridge, which is at 100m length high level road, is a part of the R304, one of the most important arteries for mobility in Stellenbosch. As many car drivers go to and come from Stellenbosch to Cape Town prefer to use N1, this small bridge is mostly used early in the morning and in the evening. The Cape Town Metro railroad is located next to this bridge and it is visible to those dwelling under the bridge.

This bridge may be one of the best examples of Marc Auge's (1995:107) concept of a "place of non-place".

> [I]f a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place, […] spaces formed in relation to certain ends(transport, transit, commerce, leisure), and the relations that individuals have with these spaces" (*Ibid.,*:77)

Auge contrasts place and non-place such as "the realities of transit with those of residence or dwelling; the interchange with the crossroads; the passenger with the traveller". Even though this concept of non-place is not a inflexibly opposite concept to place, as Auge mentioned "in the concrete reality of today's world, places and spaces, places and non-places

intertwine and tangle together", the question I ask, following Auge's argument is: this entanglement of place with non-place specific of our contemporary form of space? And also, how does non-place take a particular form in modernity? To answer these questions, I problematize the specificity of the place under the bridge and what its implications.

In the context of Peter's funeral, as described in the beginning of this chapter, I argue that, (1) even though Peter lived for more than two decades and died under the bridge, his funeral was held in Cloetesville, even in a Church he had never been to; and (2) in addition to the funeral held at the church in Cloetesville there was another funeral led by a South Korean missionary, but he could not lead the 'formal' funeral service in the church; and finally (3) Marie's life story. By drawing upon their narratives, I will offer an interpretation of the people under-the-bridge[19].

---

[19] The reason I use the expression people – under – the – bridge is a variation of Heidegger's unique term being – in – the – world. His term in itself is dialectical because an existence is not only influenced by the world, but also the existence sees the world, that is, the existence abstracts the world – each term is parallel in the formation. However, both expressions are somewhat different in terms of specificity. Heidegger's being implies an existence at present, that is, general human subject, whilst the people indicate a specific group who are staying under the bridge. In both prepositions, this difference becomes clearer. Heidegger's 'in' implies a relationship between two entities, but 'under' abstracts a specific relationship between the people and the bridge. People under bridge are not stayed in bridge, but under bridge, which means we have to explore an implication of "under" as well. Moreover, previous 'the – world' indicates one world and maybe all worlds, whilst the – bridge means a specific bridge.

Figure 8 On the bridge, the left is Kayamandi, the right is Cloetesville

3.1 A lady under the bridge

Slabstown is one of the many informal settlements[20] around Stellenbosch. Its name derives from the material most dwellings are made of: cardboard, slate and slab. It is estimated that there are twenty-eight houses (Stellenbosch IDP, 2010), and I counted roughly fifty during my visits. This gap might be due to the method with which the municipality based the number of dwellings, which differ from the definition of household, i.e. while the number of dwellings was 26, and the households are actually 53.[21] The number of dwelling units was also difficult to estimate due to the fact that there are some units in which people share one roof but the rooms are totally independent as to accommodate different households. To determine the head of household was even more challenging. It was usually unclear to my informants whether there was a person responsible for the decision-making process of the household. Rather, to determine the main provider seemed to be an easier task at first, but it became less clear as anyone could be the provider of food at a particular time. The fifty

---

[20] Informal settlements imply that areas where groups of housing units have been constructed on land that the occupants have no legal claim to, or unplanned settlements and areas where housing is not in compliance with current planning and building regulations. (UN 1997)

[21] I followed the definition of household by the Statistics South African Census metadata (2012:13) as "a group of persons who live together and provide themselves jointly with food or other essentials for living, or a single person who lives alone".

61

households add up to roughly a hundred people living there, collecting garbage, begging in the streets and eventually selling illicit drugs like *mandrax* or *tyk* for a living.

Nobody could say exactly when Slabstown was established, but Marie remembered it was about She could not remember exactly when her family – her mother, brother, sister, nephew and niece – started to wander and beg for a living in Stellenbosch. And they settled in Slabstown where the municipality provided a 'rondavel' for squatters.[22] She remembered that her family was one of the first groups who settled in Slabstown.

Figure 9 A dwelling in Slabstown

---

[22] However, any dwellings in Slabstown did not look like a rondavel in typical nor it was hard to trace the appearance of rondavel.

As Marie describes, the origin of an informal settlement is not a 'natural' process. Ballard(2004) suggest that providing a space for squatters, like the "rondavel" in which Marie's family settled, was a strategy for keeping white people's 'comport' place by the government. For instance, Onder-begraafplaas and Bo-begraafplaas in Jamestown, Slabs and Transition Camp in Devon Valley, Schopieshoogte, La Rochelle and Mandela City in Klapmuts, Langrug in Franschhoek, and Slabstown between Kayamandi and Cloetesville started to grow with Stellenbosch municipality's 'aid', and are still growing. Amongst these informal settlements in Stelllenbosch, the location of Slabstown is peculiar. Although the municipality classifies Slabstown is a part of Cloetesville (Stellenbosch IDP 2011) there are several difficulties in classifying Slabstown as belonging to Cloetesville. Fifty three households in Slabstown are Coloured people so that we may be able to say Slabstown is culturally and racially closer to Cloetesville[23]. And geographically, Slabstown is exactly between Cloetesville and Kayamandi. However, Peter's funeral and, as we shall see, his life, complicate any cultural affinity between Cloetesville and Slabstown and suggests that the latter space produces a different form of subjectivity.

When Marie's mother passed away in 1991, her family was fragmented. Marie was a single parent and she did not have the capacity to work as she had never trained any skills for work in her life. She met Peter and moved to Cloetesville, where they stayed with Peter's parents and family. Marie's life in Cloetesville was not exactly happy. The family shouted and always mean to her, besides they were physically abusive to her children. She wanted to be free from her new family as well as the kind of oppression that she was subjected, mainly because she depended on that family for housing, food and money.

---

[23] The population group of Cloetesville is coloured 13555, black African 930, indian or asian 50, white 750, other 105, and their mother tongue is Afrikaans. (Census 2011)

> "…They were constantly beating up my children and I was not happy. Family was not right. It was not nice to stay with other people, as they shouted and were mean…".

The moment of realisation for Marie was when she ate a loaf of *vetkoek*[24]*,* unaware of the fact that it was rotten, and then subsequently threw up. This episode reminded Marie of whom she considered to be her real family and of the place under the bridge. When she was in Slabstown she did not care whether bread was rotten as she believed she had a strong stomach – now she could not eat it anymore. This experience made Marie realise how she had adjusted to the life in Cloetesville, in which she had access o fresh food at the price of living with a family she did not like. After the *vetkoek* episode, she saw two possible paths: she would be with that family in Cloetesville or move back to Slabstown. She opted for the latter and, interestingly, Peter followed her. Their destination was a place not so far from the house in Cloetesville, underneath the bridge where nobody could see them. As she felt the shadow of bridge reign around her, she felt free. She and her children were free from an oppressive family. Her ethnic home did not matter anymore. She could eat rotten *vetkoek* without throwing up at all. She did not need to care about everything which she had to do when she was in Cloetesville.

---

[24] Fried bread in Afrikaans

Figure 10 Marie Sakati

Marie might have become somebody like Benjamin's *flaneur* when she ran away from the place in which she felt oppressed. Indeed, it was like 'the signal of the revolutionary event' Benjamin described. Benjamin described *flaneur* quoting Baudelare:

> An observer is a prince who is everywhere in possession of his incognito,'.If the flaneur is thus turned into an unwilling detective, it does him a lot of good socially, for it accredits his idleness. He only seems to be indolent, for behind this indolence there is the watchfulness of an observer who does not take his eyes off a miscreant. Thus the detective sees rather wide areas opening up to his self-esteem. He develops forms of reaction that are in keeping with the pace of a big city. He catches things in flight; this enables him to dream that he is like an artist. (Benjamin 1973:40)

Marie's existence could be divided into three parts. The first is the one before her move to Cloetesville. The second is the time she spent in Cloetesville, and the third, when she left that house. Even if Marie had stayed in the place under the bridge before she moved into Cloetesville, we could say it was like the *observer* rather than the *flaneur* to use Benjamin's distinction. However, through the moment of rotten vetkoek, she begins to see the landscape around her, and she takes her eyes off the image of 'normal' family. Her moment to become the *flaneur* is close to De Certeau's description of how

65

> [t]he ordinary practitioners of the city live "down below" below the thresholds at which visibility begins. They walk – an elementary form of this experience of the city they are walkers, Wandersmanner, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban "text" they write without being able to read it. These practitioners make use of spaces that cannot be seen. (De Certeau 1984:93)

Marie's decision to go back to the place under the bridge, "living down below", was an attempt to change the space around her. Her story might have been concluded here. As Mbembe and Nuttal (2004:361) suggest, though, this neglects the fact that striating openness and flow in the city depend on a whole series of rules, conventions, and institutions of regulation and control. So we have to turn back to her life after the decision of moving to Slabstown.

Marie realised that she could not accept Peter's family in term of a sense of belonging, which she might think her family. This borderness is exposed by the funeral we attended. Even if Peter's relatives were staying in Cloetesville in a 'ordinary' house with two bakkies and a chicken coop, Peter did not spend most part life in that place. And yet, his life was connected to Cloetesville, in his aunt's house and the church. His death exposed some traits of the subject of a non-place. People under the bridge are strongly connected with Cloetesville at the same time in which they feel alienated from Cloetesville.

Marie didn't live a happy life back in Slabstown. The people under the bridge were not nice and still are not nice to her, they seemed to be constantly fighting about little things, very small things such as who ate more bread than others, who smoked more, or who gathered more empty bottles. She could not understand, but she started to do the same things, and fought in the same way over small things. She suffered miscarriages three times. Of all her pregnancies, only one came to term, and that was not Peter's child.

> "He was not my husband. We just stayed together here…He beat me up everyday hence we were not married… I loved him, but when he started beating me up I was not happy as he was beating me up everyday"

One day he came into their shack. Marie said "he was already far gone" but which she meant he was intoxicated with something such as liquor or drug. There was neither rhyme nor reason about his talk, but he obviously seemed to reproach her for his spoiling life. And then, he drew a knife on her face, and repeatedly hit her with the handle of the knife. She admitted in Stellenbosch hospital almost died. When she looked at her face in a mirror she was snatched from the jaws of death, her was fully scarred.

She came back to Slabstown from the hospital. Nothing had changed. Whipped women as much as her were many in Slabstown. Peter came back to their shack soon from jail, and stayed together as usual until he died – fought with other people about small things, Peter sometimes beat her, and without dreaming any escape. After Peter's death, Marie still lives in Slabstown. She hopes that her son becomes rich and can uplift her. But it seemed that she did not such believe it could be. In the meantime, she hopes for larger donations the South Korean missionary. Her typical day takes the following course.

08:30 rising

08:30 ~ 11:30 drinking a half bottle of wine she picked up yesterday, smoking cigarette ends she gathered yesterday

11:30 ~ 12:00 having "brunch" which is crumps of bread with a slice of cheap miscellaneous ham

12:00 ~ 13:30 having a nap

13:30 ~ 18:00 gathering empty bottles in Kayamandi with a group of people

18:00 ~ having supper of maize pap which was received in Kayamandi, and drinking wine left about 1/3, sleeping when she becomes intoxicated

Her day is simple, slow and has a limited use of spaces. I attempted to capture how Marie divided up Stellenbosch spatially, according to her movements:
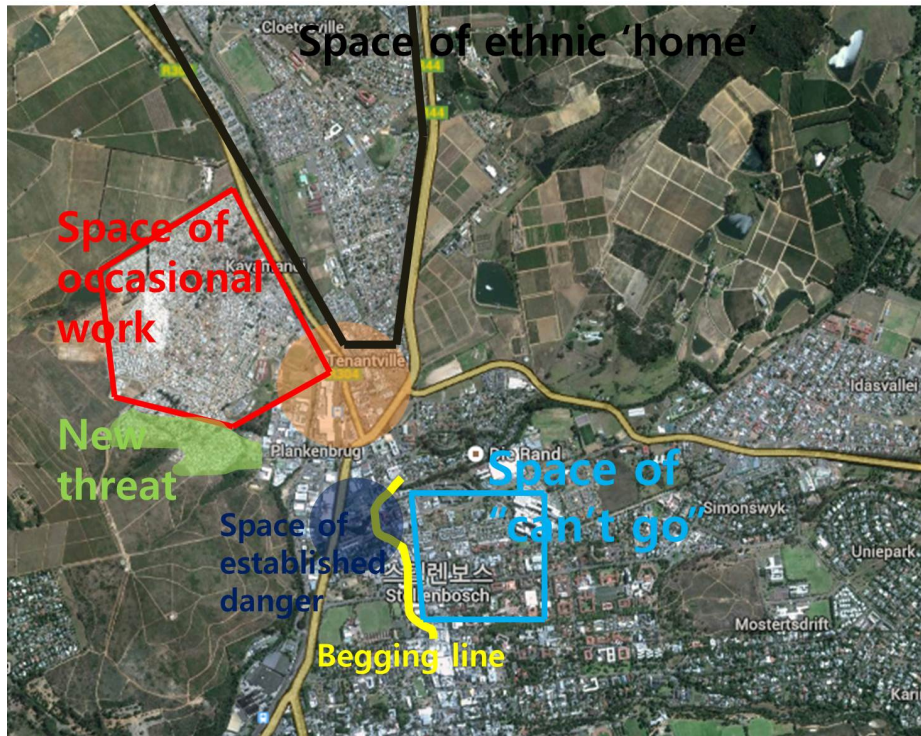
Figure 11 Spaces around Marie

The above map indicates the different spaces Marie navigates in Stellenbosch during the day. Cloetesville (black line) is the space of Marie's ethnic belonging. Kayamandi (red line) is the space of work: she worked casually in recycling, gathering garbage, empty bottle and cigarette ends. She often gathered random objects in Kayamandi and I tried to find a pattern of her work. She went to Kayamandi when she needed cigarette ends. She didn't

experience any racial hostility in Kayamandi. But she did not like Enkanini (green area) – She perceived Enkanini[25] a sort of threat by new comers.

> "You can come to Slabstown anytime. It is very safe. But do not go to Enkanini. It is dangerous, very dangerous. We were mostly born here, but they were not."

Kayamandi and Enkanni are both African townships but only the latter was considered a dangerous place. There was no particular group of new comers Marie was scarred of in Enkanini, she had never experience any form of violence there. The reason why she developed this perception of Enkanini is unclear, but her hostility was toward a place she was not familiar with. While Kayamandi had existed since her birth and it had been part of her space, Enkanini had only emerged five years ago. This produces a serious paradox in that Marie as well as other under-the-bridge people live an 'invisible' existence, but even for her the unknown world of Enkanini worked in the same way as for Elvis and me, who abstracted South Africa as a 'the world of myth' in the previous chapter.[26]

Moving away from the vicinity of Marie's settlement towards central Stellenbosch, this move produces further categorizations of space. The space she dislikes the most is the taxi rank in Stellenbosch Central (dark blue area). Some of the people living under the bridge sold drugs in the taxi rank. It seemed like Peter did it as well. She seldom begged for money near Stellenbosch University (yellow line) never going to close, as she would risk being escorted out by the security guards. The university, including student residences, were the "no go" spaces in her perception.

---

[25] About 10,000 people stay in Enkanini, mostly Black Africans from the Eastern Cape. It emerged in 2009 (before that there was nothing in its place) and has experience dramatic growth in the last five years.

[26] Her perception on two places brings us new dimension that there was something different beyond ethnicity or race. But I will not deal with Enkanini in this thesis.

Her space was very limited to Slabstown and some other places in Stellenbosch, but she rarely went to Cloetesville. The spaces around her are limited so that her time is also limited, or we may see her space and time as abandoned. She slept under the bridge, hung out with people under the bridge, and she smoked cigarette ends, drank wine and ate bread. Other people's lives there were not too different from Marie's.

> "Sometimes staying with a family is okay, it has its disadvantages and advantages. I rather stay alone as family likes to bother you. I do not like to stay with family and its lots of problems, I'd rather stay alone, less stressed and it is better for me. Staying alone you are free and can do whatever you want".

For Fiona Ross (2010), poor people, residents of The Park, a squalid shantytown on the outskirts of Cape Town, have a hard life due to poverty, but they seek to create respectable lives. They see the possibilities of living respectably with stable families, decent work and enduring social relations in their everyday life. Ross finally declares that "[g]endered spatial rules are…embedded in local conceptions of respectability – *ordentlikheid* – and manifested in gossip and sanctions linked to women's visibility and mobility. *Ordentlik* women stayed close to home" (Ross 2010:61). However, Marie's existence negates Ross' idea of poor women rather than to be subsumed into the world of gossip and sanctions as well as to stay close to home as a fixed form. It seems obvious that Marie's existence negates, or at least would not live in Ross' world.

Figure 12 The entrance of Slabstown

3.2 A Korean missionary under the bridge

I met Lee SunMin, a South Korean missionary, under the bridge. I approached him earlier on Facebook when he was asking for donations for Slabstown. Since there were relatively few South Koreans in Stellenbosch[27], they already knew about the new South Korean student who came to the Sociology department. He told me of this place under a bridge between Kayamandi and Cloetesville and asked me to help him in his mission. At the time, however, I was staying in Idas Valley and did not want to visit Slabstown[28]. He frequently asked me to visit Slabstown, and I finally could not refuse after I settled in Kayamandi – that is, I always

---

[27] According to South Korean Student council at Stellenbosch University, south Korean students in Stellenbosch University were about 40, mostly postgraduate students in theology department, and only six of them were staying in Stellenbosch

[28] Actually, my space in Stellenbosch at the time was limited to the path between Idas Valley and Stellenbosch University, and I was avoiding going anywhere else.

71

had to use the bridge when coming from and going to the university. When I visited the bridge on a Sunday, he was doing the service. Surprisingly, he was speaking Afrikaans even if with some difficulty. To speak Afrikaans for South Koreans is considered economically irrelevant. I had never met any South Koreans who could speak Afrikaans, and thus it was quite surprising. Kim's Afrikaans reminds us of the study by Comaroff and Comaroff (1991) of old missionaries who believed missions accomplished through linguistic act – they were convicted that to deliver the Word of God through kind conversation. Before we track the journey of Lee in South Africa, we may begin with his service or "revelation".

Mission and missionaries have been interpreted as an agent of colonial invasion and domination. In particular the invasion conducted by Spanish *conquistadores* such as Cortes, Pizarro as well as Columbus since the age of discovery, conveys an image of destruction of indigenous culture and colonial domination as well as indigenous genocide. Robert Moffat (1846) and David Livingstone (1857) might be a typical example of this image. In their perception on Africa, Africa is an object of enlightenment, and thus, civilisation with Christianisation and commerce.[29] However, Comaroff and Comaroff (1997) focus on the missionary as a subject who has a specific social background as well as a product of contradictory processes. As petti-bourgeois who belong to a dominant class, but dominated by much upper class, they came to Africa in which they could really construct a God's country, and still cultivate a countryside landscape in contrast with the industrialised urban spaces in England, and moreover, as libertarians, to develop industry, in particular,

---

[29] A characteristic of the mission in Africa is well crystalised in a book review on Livingstone (1857) written in 1858 that "…In course of time Mr. Livingstone became convinced that Bibles and preaching were not all that was necessary. Civilization must accompany Christianization; and commerce was essential to civilization; for commerce, more speedily than any thing else, would break down the isolation of the tribes, by making them mutually dependent upon and serviceable to each other" (cited in Book Review in Harper's new monthly Magazine, February, 1858)

agriculture against slavery trade. We could question how a Korean missionary attempts to form a place within a non-place.

Lee came to South Africa for the first time in 1989 in a business trip. He had lived under profound anxiety, something he attributes to the fact that life in South Korea was too competitive. He graduated in a not so well-known university and whenever he tried to start a business partnership he felt could not get any funds due to *hak-beol* (학벌), Korean academic cliquism[30]. He also felt he did not have any professional expertise, so this inequality was felt much harder. At that stage, in 1991, China and South Africa were not "open" yet. He, however, as others did at that moment, felt those countries could be a land of opportunity. He chose South Africa over China as he had visited South Africa so there was something familiar about it. The other reason is that, according to Lee, there were too many South Koreans immigrants in China already. He decided to leave for South Africa with a vague idea of his future plans.

He arrived in South Africa with the belief that he could make money, but he could not speak English fluently nor did he have proper skills to enter the job market. He registered for courses at UNISA and started to learn accounting, law, English and so on. Whilst he was taking the courses, he decided to apply for Theology, and to join a mission in South Africa. His decision was not exactly inspired by a call of the Holy Spirit.

> "The reason I came to South Africa was for earning money, but even this idea was vague. I drank and smoked, but here, in South Africa, smoking and drinking were not so good (laughing). Don't you agree? Here is not like Seoul where, when the night comes, people's eyes lighten up, everything happens and we drink till dawn. It is not like that in South

---

[30] 김상봉 (2004) argues Korean cliquism and how social subjectivity is produced in South Korean society, 박소진 & 박병영 (2004) examines how primary students in South Korea are forcing to do private tutorship for surviving in cliquism , 문상석 & 염유식 (2010) show the pressure of young people in South Korea and their degree of happiness.

Africa. Then, naturally I went to church because I was bored and South Africa had good theology courses. Besides, there is no aspiration in South Africa. It seems they have a dream, but it is empty beyond the dream. I wanted to be a resource for them, unlike I was in South Korea".

Lee's perceptions of both South Africa and South Korea are remarkable.[31] When he describes that there is no aspiration (기준)[32] in South Africa, comparing with South Korea, is implicated in his belief that in South Africa people don't have the desire to improve or develop themselves. Korean academic cliquism, as he mentioned, was a bad effect of the [ambition], but he regarded this necessary even though its implications to society could be bad. Here, I suggest, we could find resonance between Lee, who wants to be a resource and Marie who wants to stay alone. Lee finally starts his mission under the bridge in 1996. I now turn to this point.

3.2.1 Actual service

I had never seen Lee's service before that date. Lee asked me to participate in it by singing and playing the guitar. Let me describe the landscape of under the bridge on that Sunday.

9:00AM, people under the bridge did not wake up yet as well as Lee did not come. People drank quite a lot last night so that Esmeralda and Sharon are sleeping outside with an empty Tequila bottle, which they might have got from Kayamandi's tourist quarter: every

---

[31] I will discuss his perception on place, time and space of both countries in the late part of this chapter.

[32] 기준 is translated in English as 'standard' or 'criterion', but 'aspiration' might be more appropriate word in this case.

Saturday night there is a party there[33]. In a corner, a couple, John, "the pig" and Kay "the Bakkie" warm their hands over the fire. I noticed they were smoking mandrax[34] as I approach them a bit closer. They seem to feel uncomfortable, but do not stop smoking. As soon as I approached the fire a group of dogs follow me. The dogs did not bark to me anymore. Rather, they even wagged their tails following me. Actually, reminding they didn't barked to me at the first time as if they would protect against alien's invasion on their place it was surprising.

Since Slabstown was settled about 20 years ago this landscape was not much changed so far I was starting to be nervous with the idea that I had to wake people up with my singing. Since the first time I came here I sing a song in preparation for the service – Lee asked me to play a guitar with singing for the service and I accepted. I knocked Albert, "the Sardine", door who has a guitar although he does not know how to play it he just enjoys keeping a range of different objects in his shack. He walked out with his guitar even I did not ask yet, and we smoked my cigarettes together with small talks such as "have you had breakfast?".

I sat and started to sing songs such as well-known pop numbers – Frank Sinatra, Bob Marley, Louis Armstrong and so on or sometimes Korean songs as well since I do not know any gospel songs or Afrikaans songs. However, people came out little by little when my voice filled in their place as the service is about to start. It does not matter what my song literally meant. Only the behaviour to sing some melody implies a notification of service starting. When I showed disapproval of singing pop-song by saying "I think to sing pop song

---

[33] Actually, young people in other place such as Khayelitsha, frequently came and enjoyed the party in the quarter, but "other people's" visit is not allowed anymore an year ago as most say high crime rate in Kayamandi is caused by these other people.

[34] One of them was unfortunately recently arrested (Eikestad Nuss 2014)

in the service is not appropriate", Lee did not care about it. His answer was that "to do some behaviour for the service is the important but meaning is not".

When I started singing people slowly got closer, and Lee arrived with a group of Asian people – they were South Korean Christians who came from a church from which Lee receives financial aid. They were shocked to see such miserable conditions in Slabstown. Someone started to prepare food, another person took photograph which I assume would be shared on the Internet under the caption "poor Africa", and would be used as a way to get more help. Lee indicated he wanted me to stop singing and started to preach in Afrikaans. Nobody from South Korea could understand the preaching but they joined the service, at time nodding in approval. When Aria prayed – Lee sometimes asks Aria to pray since "she is one of the people who can enthusiastically pray" everybody joined the service. That's when dogs that started to reach for the food interrupted it. While Lee preached about how to live under such poor conditions with God's grace, dogs noticed the food being displayed and grabbed it. One person shouted "*kry af*", another shouted "damn dogs", and then, nobody would remain quiet. I even heard someone say "*ma se poes!*".

Figure 13 The donation landscape under the bridge

This situation was so funny I chuckled. Didn't the dogs just expose a truth about this service and, thus, about this place? Beyond the atmosphere of the sacred and symbolism of the ceremony, beyond the Afrikaans preaching, the Asian donors and the songs I was playing, there was food. And the dogs exposed it. We may think of it as Marx (1977:131) did when he said "religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people". That is, we may conclude that there is an issue of material need beyond the dimension of consciousness. The South Korean missionary came to Slabstown and made donations so that this place could be colonised by the mission, and consequently the place would depend on South Korean help. At least, we may say the mission has formed this place into a sort of specific space.

77

But instead of questioning if the South Korean mission is an attempt to colonise South African places, I suggest that this question does not explain entirely how this place came to be, it is not specific enough to explain the formation of Slabstown.

3.2.2 Lee's contrast of time and space

As we saw Lee's perception of the two countries above, Lee's decision to study theology and to become a missionary was based on his ambivalent feelings towards South Africa and South Korea. In his perception, the time in South Korea was faster and filled by various events till the dawn whilst the time in South Africa was relatively slower with rare events. In particular, his changed behaviour of drinking and smoking does not only indicates his taste, but also implies the change in time as well as the relationships he establishes– actually the space we feel drinking and smoking is delicious is when we share intimate moments. However, his other description on both two countries is more complicated:

> "[M]y children hadn't experienced South Korea. We visited it once to renew our visas and that was their first time. They took the subway but they didn't enjoy travelling underground. After five months we went back to South Africa, and already at the Johannesburg airport one of my daughters said, "I like it". I asked what, and she said, "I can see grass". There are mostly apartments in South Korea. A road from one place to another is mostly grey and even the buildings are grey. We can only see grass in some artificially constructed park".

These images of both countries appear when he talks about South African universities, how South Africa had been waiting for "their" aid to be fully developed. While he elucidated why he came to South Africa, he frequently mentioned the quality as well as the reputation of South African universities. We may get contrasting images in his description, in which South Africa is portrayed either as in need of financial and religious aid from South Korea (as we already seen in the landscape of donations with the dogs) or as a place with good universities

in terms of quality and reputation. Other South Korean pastors who are studying or studied here also emphasize the quality of South African universities. In 2012 Pastor Oh, who leads one of biggest churches in South Korea, was under scrutiny when his PhD dissertation in North-West University in Potchefstroom and was under investigation for alleged plagiarism (쿠키뉴스 2013; 크리스천투데이 2013). Independently of the result of this investigation, Korean pastors, according to Lee, "worry about the suspicion on the quality of South African universities, in particular, in relation to theological education. Many good pastors who lead churches in South Korea come to South Africa to study so that we hope the suspicion is put to an end".

Unlike typical interpretations of missions, Lee's perception of South Korea and South Africa is problematic as much as his status is precarious. We can organise his perception on both countries:

South Africa	South Korea
Leisure – rare events	Busy – frequent events
Feeling slow pace	Feeling fast pace
Colourful (grass)	Grey tones (apartment)
Needs aid	Able to offer aid
Good education	Severe competition by education
Nature	Technologically advanced

Table 4 The missionary's perception on South Africa and South Korea

His perception on both countries is quite visible and well recognised. When he described South Korea, South Korea was crystallised a typical, as we often imagine,

urbanised and industrial society – filled by grey toned high risings in which everybody is pressed for time and contended with each other, but can afford to offer donations to Africa. However, South Africa had lots of positive images green grassed in Lee's perception although South Africa suffers some problems such as inequality. Maybe, we could think both countries are a sort of fantastic complementary cooperation as a group of volunteers thoroughly shouted "Africa needs God" (The Times 2008) or "Save the children in Africa" (Save the Children).

Even if it seems that Lee is a subject between two different places finely conducts a positive role as well as carves out a life for himself. He could not have a good job, could not go to a prestigious university, and when he finally thought he could not have any vision of the future in South Korea, he came to South Africa, in which he could enjoy leisure slow time apart from South Korean busy time. He could see green grass, could get into a good university and bring emotional and financial aid from South Korea as a missionary.

This may be criticised in a way in which Harvey (2001:24) criticises the capitalist system itself, i.e. that it is caused by "capitalism's insatiable drive to resolve its inner crisis tendencies by geographical expansion and geographical restructuring". However, even if Harvey provides the way to rethink contemporary Africa and its relativity with the world in terms of capitalism analysis, Harvey does not propose a causational process of an individual subject in capitalist society, and, thus, cannot answer against the discipline which believes that subject has a relative autonomy from the social domination of capitalist society. As the subject between both geographical places, Lee brought the calling from the God which mediated the both places as well as the divided subject in the places. When I asked him to plan to go to South Korea, his answer was firm and simple – "want to go, I hope having the plan, but there is nobody in South Korea call me (laugh), and I have to work here. Who can

do this except for me?" His perception of work does not only imply employment, but also the calling in a Weberian sense (1998). As Luther created the ambiguous term '*beruf*' for labour as well as the calling of God, his divided subject in two places are integrated, or at least being seen, through God and through the mission under the bridge. The background of his contradictory images needs to be traced in South Africa's spatial specificity.

3.2.3 Treadmill of Time

In the time Lee spent in Stellenbosch from 1994 to 2013 he experienced moving houses about ten times, roughly every two years.

Order	Place	Residential period	Rent	Others
#1	A three bedroom house, Die Rand	1994, for six months	R350	Staying alone, his wife was staying in Cape Town
#2	One bedoom flat, Prince Park	1994 ~ 1996, 2 years	R600	Staying with his wife and their first child. Moved out as the second child was born.
#3	Two bedroom flat, Die Twee Pieke	1996~1997, 2 years	R800	Most rental houses had a regulation that families with more than two children, the number of rooms had to be two or more
#4	Three bedroom house, Die Boord	1997~1999, 3 years	R1800~ R2400	Staying with family plus two nephews from South Korea
#5	Three bedroom house, La Coline	1999 ~ 2000, 2 years	R1800	Staying with three nephews
#6	Five bedroom house, Somerset West	2000 ~ 2001, 1 year	R4000	Started a lodge business for Korean students
#7	Three bedroom house with an	2002 ~ 2005, 3 years	R4500	Staying with his mother, who died

	outbuilding, Paradyskloof			after a year
#8	Newly built three bedroom house, Paradise club	2006 ~ 2009, 3 years	R6000	Security problem
#9	Stayed in South Korea for five months for renewing the children's visa			
#10	Three bedroom house, Somerset West	2012 ~ present	R4500	During five months he visited in South Korea, the rental fee in Stellenbosch increased dramatically

Table 5 The missionary's moving history

At the first glance, his house as well as the rent becomes bigger and higher every two or three years, which seems to follow the growth of capitalist economy. However, we already know that he wants to go to South Korea although his and his family's life and experience in South Africa is being longer than in South Korea due to his feeling of estrangement. Two years is a relatively short amount of time to establish relationships with others, but he felt the need to move. We may find a model of spatial exclusion in contemporary capitalist society drawing upon Lee's process. Postone (1995) proposes that the dialectic of social domination in capitalist society is exerted by time, which is a new form of time and that emerged in modern capitalist era:

> The peculiarity of the dynamic – and this is crucial – is its treadmill effect. Increased productivity increases the amount of value produced per unit of time – until this productivity becomes generalised; at that point the magnitude of value yielded in that period, because of its abstract and general temporal determination, falls back to its previous level. This results in a new determination of the social labour hour and a new base level of productivity. What emerges, than, is a dialectic of transformation and reconstitution: the socially general levels of productivity and the quantitative determinations of socially necessary labour time change, yet these changes reconstitute the point of departure, that is, the social labour hour and the base level of productivity. (*Ibid.,*:289)

Postone does not provide an empirical study as evidence to his theory, but I suggest that Lee's case shows a spatial reconfiguration in relation to the treadmill effect. In Lee's moving history is related to a periodic increase of rent:

> "The rental fee annually increases by 5% to 10% even though the income is not raised accordingly. Thus, no matter if the family or church gives financial aid, the financial status would be bad by residence time. At the moment, if there were cheaper houses available we would move there. The reason is that usually after two or three years I we move out, before owners raised the rent. They usually don't raise the rent at the first or the second year. The price gap comparing with surrounding areas show that. For instance, if my rent was R4500 and the next house was R6000, they could not raise the rent due so if we move out, they can easily raise the rent"

After 1994 and in particular from 1999, prices of staple commodities in South Africa increased dramatically. The residential property market entered a boom phase at this period as well. For instance, between 2000 and 2006 real middle-segment houses on average increased roughly 17% annually.[35] (Burger & Van Rensburg 2008). A quantitatively analyse the cause of property prices increase in post-Apartheid South Africa is beyond the scope of this project, but the pattern that I recognise is once the rents increase, renters move to a new property. The income level did not increase as much as property price, and the underclass that does not possess adequate work felt this more seriously. The cause of ever-increasing price follows the rule of treadmill effect, as Postone argues, this treadmill effect appears in geographic and spatial levels.

What are the effects on the subject of this treadmill effect? The subject continuously moves as the property prices increase, and thus, they cannot settle. The subject nonetheless is not directly ruled by the movement in prices – the subjectification process is not simply

---

[35] In particular, the property price in Stellenbosch more rapidly increased. And it seems to be caused by increasing population by migrants from each place in SA, in particular Eastern Cape, but rare residential building construction. That is, this inconsistency between supply and demand would be another study.

continuous and passive. Lee's history shows he attempts to develop autonomy in relation to the property market. He did not just move in and out by the property price, rather, he vigorously acted against property prices as we can see in his moving history. During the period between #3 and #4, he had three children and the property prices visibly started to increase. His reaction was to connect with South Korea, and forge resilience against increasing ever-increasing rent.

> "My two nieces came to South Africa at that time, my older brother's daughter and my older sister's daughter. They were middle school students, who came to South Africa as exchange students with the intention to studying English. Accordingly, their parents gave me the money for the support of them. Even though I should have cared for my nieces as their uncle, I did not have a good income so I accepted a stipend from their parents from South Korea. Even though the rental increased my nieces paid for it so that we could afford their lifestyle".

As another nephew came to South Africa, Lee started a small accommodation business for South Korean students in Somerset West, who were about five.[36] After a year he handed the business to his sister, who had also moved to South Africa, and moved back to Stellenbosch. Every two years or so, Lee moves with his family to different towns as he has trouble developing a sense of belonging to one particular place. Lee becomes a wanderer, who is swallowed by the contemporary capitalist treadmill. It is not surprising that Lee and Marie, wanderer and *flaneur*, find each other under-the-bridge: one is a missionary who gets and gives donations from South Korea, and another one is the mission's beneficiary, and yet, they both depends on the space of under-the-bridge.

---

[36] The reason why he rented the house in Somerset West was that "Stellenbosch is a limited place. When I want to find a house, I look it up on newspaper, but it is already full. Furthermore, since former renters usually leave their rooms to next renters, outsiders cannot take rooms easily".

3.3 Building Post-Apartheid subjectivity in a non-place

Marie, Lee and the place under-the-bridge differ from the typical image of ghetto and missionary - the place as a supply depot of labour but the place in which people have a kinship with each other in the ghetto, and produce their own sub-culture against mainstream. In traditional Marxist thought this dialectic is mediated by labour. The bridge, however, is obviously not the supply of labour but rather the space is abandoned by labour. People under the bridge show us an instance of existence in which someone makes the decision to stay outside the norm, or work, or family. Marie achieves existence outside the family through negating to stay in normal place and deciding to live under. When she felt confronted by her own body, she used this experience as a metaphor to the ways in which she had adapted to family life, and started to imagine herself as a resisting subject against her family.

So far, she was an instance of the master-slave dialectic: she becomes a realised slave against an oppressing master, the family. In traditional Hegelian dialectic, she must have struggled with the family for attaining her position. However, she decided to negate the structure itself through leaving the place, and wandered around the place staying under the bridge. The narrative would have ended when she decided to get out of her house and realised herself as a subject who changes its own circumstances, but after moving back under the bridge, she became an invisible subject. She has no enemy or master to resist anymore, and does not have any desire to change. She finally becomes a non-subject of non-place as an individual around nothing.

At some stage I approached Lee to suggest that the people living under the bridge could be trained as workers, they could produce something to be exported to South Korea. This is not aligned with my own practice, neither as a Marxist nor as an objective researcher,

85

but I was touched by that cruel landscape. He answered that "they cannot work since they are not healthy. Most people are living with TB, HIV and AIDS. They can't do simple physical work. Healthy young men sell drugs rather than work. Actually there is no job, as you know". Then, he is trying to be a resource for them leaning in the calling from God. While nineteenth century missionaries had a concrete perception of Africa and their country to build the world of the God against the industrialised one, Lee continuously wanders through places in the treadmill of time, and does not have a fixed perception of the places. His life depends on non-place rather than places. That is, like Marie, under the bridge becomes outside the place Lee could live. However, it is doubtful that this non-place is a space for emancipatory politics.

Chapter Four
Between Fatherhood and the lotto: constructing subjects in a Stellenbosch township

The house in Kayamandi where Elvis and I met is owned by Serra, who is 49 years old. Her children have all returned home recently for a holiday; most of them are women except for Samuel and me. They are utterly absorbed in talking about their various experiences in a different province. Their mother, Sera, is smoking with a glad smile, sometimes nodding, sometimes poking at her daughters' nose. The noisiest one is Vuyokazi who is the eldest daughter. She has stayed alone in Johannesburg since her husband died two years ago. She worked as an assistant to a marketer in a company, but recently resigned as she felt her boss put too much pressure on her to work hard; she is seeking another job at the moment. Next to Vuyokazi, Sera's only son Samuel is fiddling with his Blackberry. As he is a teenager talking to his friends on Facebook is the most fun thing for him; he occasionally shakes off his mother's loving touch with an annoyed air, but his eyes are filled with joy because he lastly saw his mother 6 months ago. She is talking about her friend, John who was just thrown out by Sera and was hit with a mop ten minutes ago when he tried to come into the home. Vuyokazi and John are childhood friends, and John has flirted with her since she came back to Kayamandi for this holiday. Sera is talking, her spittle flying, saying she would never accept him as her grandson's father whilst her daughter is enthusiastically advocating for him. A woman who occasionally interferes in their talking is the second daughter, Jongiwe. She is embracing a six year old girl named Khethiwe. Since Jongiwe's workplace is in Cape Town, she and her daughter are staying in Guguletu, one of the surrounding townships. She frequently visits her mother's house with her daughter, so she and I have become acquainted. Khethiwe comes running to me, grabbing my hand she takes me by her mother, then, sits

between us. Jongiwe divorced her ex-husband three years ago.[37] She did not want to talk too much what happened to their marriage. I just heard that her ex-husband was unfaithful to her whilst he stayed alone in Pretoria to go to university. Her first son stays with his father at the moment. Sera's youngest daughter Nobomi who is a college student staying in Cape Town, but she had not yet returned from a date with her boyfriend. And I am there, half sitting next to Khethiwe. (Cited from my field note, 12.24.2013)
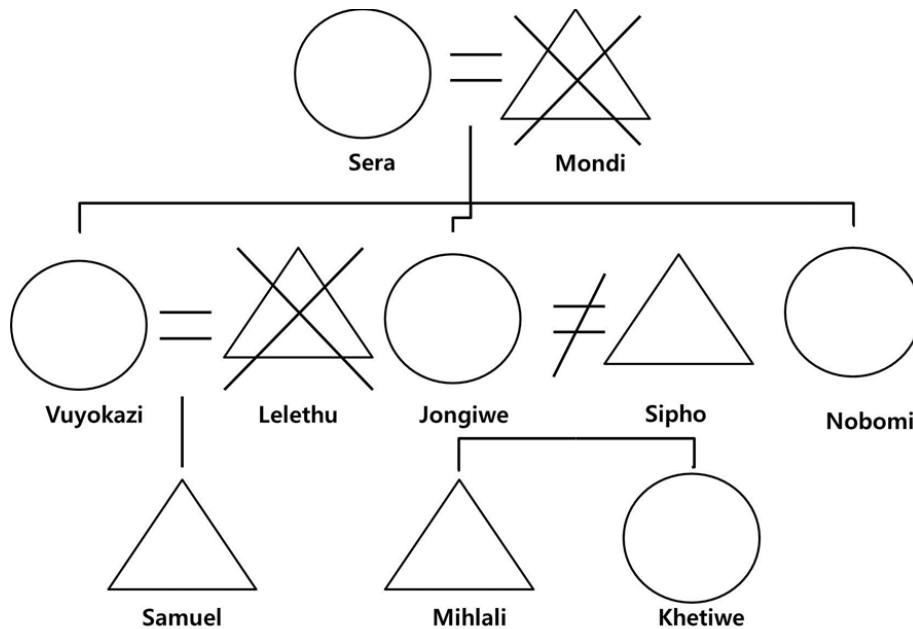
Figure 14 Kinship Diagram of Sera's family

Two months ago two Zimbabweans named Elvis and Tanjiwe were here as well. Where are they at the moment? Why was I accepted to sit in the home but they were not? How was I

---

[37] Jongiwe's Ex-husband, Sipho went to Pretoria to get a university diploma, and Jongiwe financially supported him in Kayamandi. At the same time she was pregnant. However, Sipho met another girl in Pretoria, and got married to her although he had the wife. Jongiwe said they did not register the marriage so that she could not insist on her right.

included in Sera's family, and why were Elvis and Tanjiwe excluded? Maybe, we are confronting an essential mode of post-apartheid subjectivity and spatial segregation in Stellenbosch? My purpose in this chapter is to scrutinise how Elvis and I had been formulated their subjectivity differently, and how one was allowed to stay, but another one was evicted. During both journeys to Kayamandi, Elvis and I had finally formed their subjectivity as being a father who would finally go back to their home. They could not form a revolutionary subject because they were did not belong to the place from the beginning. When there was a threat such as robbery, they chose to leave the place rather than acting against the threat and the threat became mythologised as a campfire. However, it was not adequately explained yet why some specific people can live in a specific place but some people cannot. We will see what exactly happened to both Elvis and I.

There are some debates on subjectivity around how a subject forms. In other words, this is about that how an individual becomes a subject around a society – how an individual is subsumed into a social order. Following Descartes (2009), a subject is formed when an individual realises that she or he has human reason, and it is legitimated through divinity - a subject is behind every category including race and gender as well as class.[38] Indeed, the Cartesian philosophy had been a basis of Western subjectivity (that a subject can understand and manipulate the world) until Nietzsche deconstructed this western subjectivity so that the

---

[38] Descartes discusses a discovery of subject which is precedent from everything in part four of Discourse on the Method (*Ibid.*: 14). He uses a methodological manipulation for this: "I thought I needed to do the exact opposite—to reject as if it were absolutely false everything regarding which I could imagine the least doubt, so as to see whether this left me with anything entirely indubitable to believe". Consequently, he supposes that "nothing was such as our senses led us to imagine", then, he rejects "as unsound all the arguments I had previously taken as demonstrative proofs", even he decides "to pretend that everything that had ever entered my mind was no more true than the illusions of my dreams". Lastly, he finds that "I am thinking, therefore I exist".

feeling of guilt or conscience forms a subject, and thus conscience is an instinct of cruelty[39]. Following Nietzsche, Foucault (1977) asserts that a subject is a false structure generated through disciplinary power. He does not deal with a subject who conducts power, but power produces a subject. In his study there are not precedent subject and object, rather he traces how subjects and objects had been formulated through historical processes. In this way the Cartesian subject is decentralised by Foucault. Butler (1999) develops Foucault's subject through her own concept of performativity, writing that "gender is not a fact, the various acts of gender create the idea of gender, and without those acts, there would be no gender at all". Butler replaces "doing" with "being". If she is to be believed we may say that rather than there being two genders, many genders can exist and are currently oppressed. Mitchell (2012) fully complies with Butler's subject; to Mitchell the difference of race, or we can say a subject, is not precedent, but racism is primary producing race rather than the other way around. That is, racism itself is built upon a discourse of origins whilst race is a beginning of the discourse rather than an origin of racism. And Mitchell admonishes that "insofar as a race (or race talk) is thought of as the cause of racism, one is engaged in what is called an etiological myth intended to explain a name or create a mythic history for a place or family" (*ibid.*:27).

Whilst these discourses accomplish the deconstruction of Cartesian subject and elucidate how the modern subject is produced, they cannot say who and what bring about the change, as well as how the change is brought about. Therefore, their codas are always subversively short tempered and without an understanding of how structures might be transformed. This is relevant to contemporary South Africa, where various problems still

---

[39] Nietzsche (2004:81) argues that "it is not, as is generally believed, "the voice of God in man" it is the instinct of cruelty turned back upon itself after it can no longer discharge itself outside"

exist despite the political emancipation that came in 1994. Nobody can say exactly which the subject leads the change. May we ask again on a subject and its dynamics which can bring the change in post-apartheid South Africa?

This question requires that we bid farewell to two attitudes. Firstly we must bid farewell to affirmation of capitalism. For instance, Posel (2010) tries to construct post-apartheid subjectivity as a "race to consume" through historical investigation on the struggle for apartheid regime. She quotes Smuts Ngonyama, leading spokesperson for the South African government and the ANC: "I didn't join the struggle to be poor", thus the liberation struggle was not only for the democracy, but also for the liberation of the economy. That is, African people were denied the possibility to consume during Apartheid, they express the freedom of post-apartheid through consumption. So for African people, the difference between Apartheid and post-apartheid is the possibility of consumption, and this shapes their subjectivity. However, Posel's subject immediately confronts a difficulty that it confines capitalist structure itself as she noted that "if blackness was produced as in part a restricted regime of consumption, the politics of enrichment could readily adopt the discourse and symbolism of emancipation" (*ibid*.:173). That is, her concept, race to consume, is confined in the world of consumption, therefore, cannot say the subject after the consumption.

Secondly we must bid farewell to postmodern place. In Mbembe (2004:374) Johannesburg is described that

> [I]n the wake of the collapse of apartheid (an insidious form of state racism), the collage of various fragments of the former city are opening up a space for experiences of displacement, substitution, and condensation, none of which is purely and simply a repetition of a repressed past, but rather a manifestation of traumatic amnesia and, in some cases, nostalgia or even mourning.

Actually, Elvis and I in Chapter Two, and Marie and Lee in Chapter Three are very akin to Mbembe's subjects and place as he said that "blacks and whites have become

91

wanderers among its ruins. But the play of intervals enables everyone construct his or her own story of Johannesburg and form memories of place. This is an experience of fragmentation and of permutations that may never achieve coherence" *(ibid.:*404). Although his description of Johannesburg might be exact and somewhat true, it does not tell us how the place could be transformed. Moreover, his work is closer to a painter's than that of a scientist – every inner dynamics for changing future is subsumed to the world of superfluidity which he paints. Therefore, in this chapter I will firstly argue how a subject, in particular, a post-apartheid subject who comes from overseas (an impossibility under the restrictions of the apartheid regime) is formed in a place. And secondly I will discuss the possibility of the subject transforming space.

4.1 *"Sweet Home"* in Stellenbosch [40]

Located off route R304 Kayamandi is one of the suburbs of Stellenbosch, its area is about 1.54 km². Kayamandi was officially established in 1941 as a 'black location' for African farmworkers. However, this does not mean Africans did not exist in Stellenbosch before 1941. Rock (2011) breaks down Kayamandi's history into four general stages: The first stage was from approximately 1900 to 1941 and covers the origins of Kayamandi which was characterized by its development from an isolated population of farm workers to the first black area by 1918. The second period spans from 1941 to 1953, during which Kayamandi was established and expanded. The period from 1953 to 1980 represents the third stage of Kayamandi's history which was characterized by an increasing number of restrictions, especially in terms of family housing and the deportation of women. The final stage of

---

[40] Kayamandi in isiXhosa is translated to 'Sweet Home' or 'Our Home' in English

Kayamandi's evolution dates from 1980 to the present. Kayamandi's contemporary racial composition is predominantly Bback African isiXhosa speakers – 23,312 Africans, 1,146 coloureds, 126 Others, 41 whites and 20 Indian/Asians (Census 2011)

As I have previously described, my final destination in Stellenbosch was Kayamandi. Although I had a mind to understand the places in Stellenbosch through literally staying in each place, it was also by confronting the difficulties which was produced in each place, that is, whenever I suffered the difficulties I moved in and out from the place for coloured people to the place for white people, and from the place for white people to the place for African people. To pick up my story from Chapter Two, I found a room to rent in the house owned by Sera. The house had four bedrooms of which my room was the smallest, though it was decent for a bachelor such as me, and cheap at R800 per month. I had grown tired of preparing my own supper and eating alone so I asked to eat supper with the family each night, and Sera accepted my offer of R300 per month for this additional benefit. The person who introduced me to the house had said "she would be like you mom and this house would be like your home". For Sera, my stay appeared to be reasonable and without difficulties.

Elvis and Tanjiwe moved into the house the same day as me. Since they rented a slightly bigger room than mine, they paid R1100 per month, and they did not consider asking Sera to prepare their supper. Elvis had a wife who would prepare warm food for him, and he would cook for her as well. They were simply delighted to have a 'normal' kitchen in which they could cook, and a 'normal' parlour in which they could sit and eat. Before moving in, they had stayed in Kayamandi for about six months. As they had both lived in 'a location' in Zimbabwe, staying in Sera's house reminded them of their home. Tanjiwe preferred to stay in Kayamandi comparing with the Stellenbosch central:

"Kayamandi was a nice place because I don't like to stay in town, the town is a quiet place and I'm used to staying in the location because I was born in the location, Mutare. We have a location like Kayamandi. In towns it will be quiet, no noise. So I fitted in well in Kayamandi".

Their previous house was also located in Kayamandi, mostly black Zimbabweans lived there, as they hoped to stay with familiar people and create a sense of home. However, the house in itself was not like their home; although it was not an informal settlement it did not have kitchen, parlour and toilet. The shabby concrete house had four small rooms in which Thirteen Zimbabweans lived. Even though Elvis and Tanjwe was a newlywed couple they had to stay with Elvis' cousin who was looking for a job in South Africa. Every miserable room always stank vilely because people were forced to cook their food inside them. The noise from each room was wretched, another a couple's moans would testify to their sexual happenings. In other rooms, noises would tell of violence happening in them. These noises made privacy impossible. Living in Sera's house gave them the opportunity to live as they desired for the first time since they left Zimbabwe, even if they were not the owners of the house.

However, as I have already mentioned, Elvis and Tanjwe were evicted after just one month. One day when I came back from university, the room they had stayed in was empty. They could not afford to get another room so they had to return to the shabby concrete house with the stench and the noises. If I am writing a novel, it is as if I already concluded the ending without a decent description. However, as a sociologist, my concern is how I analyse why they were evicted but I was not. A difficulty of the discussion is that most of the narrative can be regressed into individual level - we may easily conclude that I felt sorry for their misfortune, and may condemn the owner's heartless. However, this was not my purpose from the beginning –to discuss subject and subjectivity one must engage with how through

circumstance is transformed into a subject that has a specificity – also I must keep every stakeholder's dignity including the owner. Therefore to avoid misleading the reader I will focus here on events which I witnessed and suffered through, rather than on interviews and literature. There were three mythic and symbolic ceremonies that subjectified Elvis and I differently, they were: supper, washing and the lottery.

4.2 Supper and prayer

During this time my lifecycle became quite routinised: waking up at 7AM, going to university, coming back home at 8PM, having a supper at once and then after short break going to bed. The supper was prepared by Sera, which was mostly her home food such as maize pap. By the time I got home, the others had usually already eaten their supper. Sera and Samuel ate together in advance and left mine in the fridge; while Elvis and Tanjiwe cooked their own meal. Gradually, Samuel started to wait for me so he could have his meal with me. It was not always, but he started to feel familiar with me as if I was his brother. He liked to talk about his hobby, cycling– how it was fresh and stylish, about girls in township – how they were sluts, and, how 'white girls' were kind and chaste[41] –, and about his future – how he would achieve success in his life. We laughed together, and I advised how he could be successful, although I was not even sure of my own success. I gave him advice on how to work towards getting high grades by explaining the habits of South Korean students, and sometimes talked to him about my own work, haranguing him with my difficult theories. Sera

---

[41] About township boys' perception, see Bhana, Deevia, and Rob Pattman. (2011): they propose that, through an interview with young Africans, aged 16 to 17 years in a poor township, the girls' ideals of love are tied to their aspirations towards middle-class consumerism whilst the boys' love investments were focused on farm girls from rural areas which were constructed as virgins with little investment in commodification.

seemed to become satisfied with the relationship between Samuel and me, and seemed to want Samuel to learn something from me. One illustrative conversation between us went us follows:

> Samuel: (Watching a news about the South African economy) I dunno why the South African currency is weak. It's really problem in South Africa.
>
> Me: Do you think the currency is the problem? As the news announcer said?
>
> Samuel: Eh?
>
> Me: The weak currency can be the chance of developing economy.
>
> Samuel: Why? Even my school teacher said it really seriously.
>
> Me: Well, let me tell you the thing. What is the weak currency? Simply, which means other country's commodities, well, goods such as car, cell phone, fridge' price would increase.
>
> Sera: Yes, yes, my cousin wants to buy a car, but it's really expensive.
>
> Me: However, on the other hand, which means our commodities' price would decrease.
>
> Samuel: what? All stuffs are still fucking expensive.
>
> Me: Listen, I meant, overseas, foreign country. Because they can buy cheaper prices due to the weak currency
>
> Sera: Yes
>
> Me: There is the answer. Which means South Africa can export more goods to overseas, which would bring about the growth of the companies since they would sell much more their products, and they would need the labour. The new employed worker would get the money.
>
> Samuel: Oh!
>
> Me: This is very basic economy. Haha. I don't believe it, though. I am a sociologist.
>
> Sera: (Hitting Samuel's head) Listen carefully! You should learn from him.
>
> Samuel: I know, I know!

After a short time of living in the house, Sera too started waiting for me to come back home. As soon as I came in she would bring me a warm food and pray over our supper. Since I had come to South Africa, nobody had prayed for me or over supper, and I usually had supper on my own. When I told her that that hearing her prayer was the first such experience I had in

96

South Africa, she seemed to be surprised and took on the responsibility of praying for me as if she had to pray for her child. However, her attitude towards supper and prayer generated a discord soon.

On one basic level, the relationship between Sera and I was that of owner and tenant. This relationship was abstracted through the formation of contract every month. And I always asked a receipt for the rent that I paid every first day of the month. I asked for two pieces of receipt: one was for the room and other one was for the supper. She wrote:

"I, Sera Ngubani, received R800 for October rental from the renter, YoungJun Yang"

on a piece of paper, and signed on it. There was no problem in the first month. However, she showed discomfort giving the receipt since next month. When I gave her the rent money, her face looked subtly displeased. Her experience of this discomfort about the receipt, and the kind of professional relationship I was insisting on, was concretely manifested as the signature that she forced her grandson to sign on it rather than she sign it herself. This was problematic as the subjects of the contract were quite obviously Sera and me. She, however, was explicitly denying the relationship by the negating her role as signatory. She did not even count the money.

Me: Here it is, R1100 . R800 for the rent and R300 for the food. Please count whether it is exact.

Sera: (hHesitantly) oh, oh, thank you.

Me: Can I have the receipt please?

Sera: Oh, I can't write well. Sam? Sam!

Samuel: why?

Sera: Write your name on the paper, and sign it

Samuel: Is it ok if I do it?

Me: Uhm…ok. You may do it.

4.3 Water and Fire

I could not receive the receipt from her from then. However, it did not mean she hated receiving money from me. She frequently asked for money for various things such as electricity, airtime, firewood and petrol to braai –Sera sometimes prepared a braai, and asked me to make the fire for the braai. But I had never made the fire before so that she used to grumble it. These requests from her were indeed natural as if she was my mother so that I could not refuse it. But Elvis and Tanjiwe's situation was different to mine. A conflict between Sera and Elvis was anticipated from the beginning. Elvis and Tanjiwe were introduced to the house by a believer in the church that they went to. As soon as they moved into the house, Sera was offended that she had not heard (or not listened) that the renter was in fact a couple. Elvis and Tanjiwe swore nothing would happen, and Sera accepted it without saying anything. While everything seemed to be solved on that first day, the conflict soon re-emerged around the issue of water.

There was a laundry space in the backyard of the house with a small water pipe. Tanjiwe had washed their laundry by hand although there was a washing machine in the house, which I also used. She used this space to do washing on average twice in a week, and each time took about two hours to finish the wash. She made all the clothes thoroughly wet in advance, rubbed them with washing soap, and then rinsed them in clean water. Drops of sweat stood on her brow after the wash. Whilst a young wife washing for her family might have looked beautiful, it looked to me like quite hard work and unequal with her husband's chores When I asked Elvis why he did not do washing he simply answered that every wife in Zimbabwe must do washing as it is the way of Zimbabwean culture[42], a sentiment with which

---

[42] Meintjes (2001) explores that how washing machine as a symbolic object is integral in the construction and negotiation of women's 'proper' roles and relations in Soweto, South Africa.

his wife agreed. She said hand washing was cleaner than washing machine. Even though just three months had passed since they had married, it seemed they were already completely adapted to the roles of father and mother. Even Elvis seemed to consider the water untouchable. Interestingly, this ceremonial washing generated a problem as a form of money. Sera sometimes grumbled to me about their washing complaining that they used too much water, and the money for water was included to the rent.

I on the other hand, washed my clothing myself. As I did not much care about my sanitation I only washed clothing when reminded. Rather, Sera cared about the sanitation, for instance, when I had to present a seminar at the university soon after moving into the home I ever brought the poster to home for pasting it on my door. She seemed to admire seeing the poster, but she did not like my humble look which I put on in the seminar as if it was a shame to her, and seemed to take a sort of responsibility for my appearance. Since then, in particular, she frequently changed and washed my bed sheet, and sometimes took in my washing. This was in contrast to her treatment of Samuel who she forced to wash his own clothes and, of course, he had to take in his washing as well, she justified this saying that "men have to do housework, and should learn it when young". I however, was exempt from this education in housework.

My concern here is about the formation of a relationship around water. Interestingly, the fire and water are not just symbolic metaphor here, but a concrete matter of mediation. As a mythological symbol, water is not only considered a sort of purification, but also a (re) birth and mother. Campbell (2008:232) notes that

> [T]he female water spiritually fructified with the male fire of the Holy Ghost is the Christian counterpart of the water of transformation known to all systems of mythological imagery. This rite is a variant of the sacred marriage, which is the source-moment that generates and regenerates the world and man.

Through the water, that is the rite of washing, Elvis and Tanjiwe determine their marital relationship. The water implies the rebirth of their relationship and thus as they gaze at the future they wish to live together. However, the relationship is not a dyad, but a triad because there is another mother, Sera. She actively asserts her existence as mother who owns water. The water also mediates another relationship, that between Sera and me.

Figure 15 The backyard with the dryer

4.4 The Lottery

Elvis liked to speak boastingly of his achievements in South Africa. He had a "fucking great" job as a hotel valet, and he bought a car for R4000 some days before. It was a second hand 1990 year Volkswagen Chico. He loved this car even if the front door could be opened only

from outside, and opening the back door required an iron skewer something, and it was sometimes was overwhelmed by smoke. He also told of meeting and marrying his "very beautiful wife" Tanjiwe, in South Africa. She had had a child in Zimbabwe and her baby had become his responsibility, but it was okay for him. In any case he had fathered a child who he said was born by a "mistake of sperm" in Zimbabwe. Going out with me to buy a Chinese-made fridge to send home to his parents in Zimbabwe, Elvis said to me "YoungJun, South African men don't have a right to be father"

> Me: (laughing) Why do you think like that?
>
> Elvis: (seriously) See me; I have a job, car, and pretty wife. Even we are going shopping for a Christmas gift for my parents as well.
>
> Me: Yup, you got great success in South Africa. I sometimes wonder how you achieved this success.
>
> Elvis: You know what? The reason why I got the job in South Africa was that South Africans are lazy.
>
> Me: Ah?
>
> Elvis: We Zimbabweans work like dogs, have loyalty, but South Africans do not.
>
> Me: Tell me more…
>
> Elvis: The reason why they cannot get jobs is they are lazy. If they get the money they drink or use drug, and then, they do not come next day to work.
>
> Me: Really?
>
> Elvis: Ja. So, white people hire us because we work hard.

Interestingly, Elvis had more intimacy with his employers, mainly "white people" than with black South African or coloured South Africans. Tanjiwe had a similar perception of South Africans, but the differences between each group of people were more obvious.

> Tanjiwe: South Africa is a nice country, but sometimes they are racist
>
> Me: Could you tell me about your experience?
>
> Tanjiwe: Like us, we work with South Africans and instead of taking our breakfast together, Zimbabweans, South Africans and Malawians. We see South Africans in their own corner.

Me: In your workplace?

Tanjiwe: In our workplace. There will be a South African group, a Zimbabwean group, most of the time the Malawians and Zimbabweans they will mix.

Me: Even if they are all the same Africans?

Tanjiwe: Yah. We are all working at the same place and we are taking our breakfast at the same time then South Africans will be sitting at a table of five or ten alone. Then us Zimbabweans and Malawians will mix.

Me: Really?

Tanjiwe: Yah.

Me: Are there any whites?

Tanjiwe: No, we are only black people there. The white person is the owner of the place.

Me: What do you think of South African people?

Tanjiwe: I think they are short tempered and most of them use drugs. And the white people here. Most of the whites, I like white people they understand when you have a situation. And take your situation as their own situation.

Me: What situation?

Tanjiwe: Like if I have a problem and if I went to a white person telling him/her the problem they can understand better than other people.

Sera, on the other hand, perceived the foreign migrants as exploiting South Africa for jobs. In her thinking, the reason South African men could not be fathers and why South African men gave up the role of father was caused by foreigners who came to South Africa seeking jobs. Her daughters were single mothers and the domestic infidelities were caused by the foreigners. Interestingly she considered life better before 1994:

"Life before 1994 was better. Apartheid was terrible though. So many guys in Kayamandi just eat and shit, but their wives are working hard like dogs. I don't know why. But many foreigners come here for money while South Africans have no job as well".

However, I was not part of those who 'exploited' South Africa. Rather, I was an abstracted fortune, although I was also one of the migrants. I was planning to return South Korea on the28th of December 2013 to write up my thesis; Sera asked me not to go on three

occasions, indicative of her strong intimacy towards me. Nine days before I left, Nobomi, Sera's youngest daughter, knocked on my door:

> Nobomi: (knock) hi there
>
> Me: Hey, what's up?
>
> Nobomi: When is your birthday?
>
> Me: 22, October. Why are you asking?
>
> Nobomi: which year?
>
> Me: 1982. Why?
>
> Nobomi: (running out) thank you!

I followed her, and then I witnessed her and her mother marking my birth date on a lottery ticket. It was quite funny and made me embarrassed.

> Me: Haha. Why are you writing my birthday on the lotto?
>
> Sera: (seriously) you are a fortune.
>
> Me: Am I?
>
> Sera: Yes, you are.

To understand the relationship between xenophobia and labour we might borrow from Postone's analysis of modern anti-Semitism. Postone (2006) argues that the origin of modern anti-semitism is a contemporary form of anti-capitalism. In Germany of the late 1920s and 1930s, Jewish people, he argues, were abstracted as an abstract labour, that is, as capital, and anti-Semitism was a result of anti-capital sentiment, but this whole chain of processes was under capital's social domination[43]. That is, modern anti-Semitism which culminates in a holocaust is not the same as the anti-Semitism that had long existed in Europe.

---

[43] In this case, anti-Semitism is said 'vulgar anti-capitalism' because it is actually a form of social domination through capital.

Modern anti-Semitism was a reaction against alienation of capital, but projected an abstract process onto a concrete group. This abstraction process is specified as 'zombie-making magic' in Comaroff and Comaroff (2002). The Comaroffs explore how migrant labour becomes thought to be evil under neo-liberal capitalism through zombie-making rite in South Africa. That is, "zombie-making magic was a practical response to the unfamiliar: specifically, to the physical depredations of underground work and to the explosion of new forms of wealth amid abject poverty" (*ibid.*: 796).

This perception is unveiled in both Elvis and Sera. Elvis determines himself as a labour with which he can properly provide for his family, comparing himself to black South Africans. Whilst Sera perceives migrants, including Zimbabweans, as people who exploit South African labour. The absence of labour as a product of capital's movement is projected onto particular people who appear to have some money. This xenophobic conflict is not aggravated by a capitalist, but the problem of labour is centred on the conflict as Postone theorised. However, Elvis and Sera's conflict also provides a thing which Postone and Comaroff miss, that is how the conflict for labour is represented at individual dimension.

As one of the Nazis' anti-Semitic policies was the anti-miscegenation laws, the conflict for labour is abstracted and represented as an anxiety of being a father. Elvis expresses victory in that he deserves to be a father, but South Africans do not. His hostility is against workers rather than against a capitalist regarding traditional Marxism which considers 'Class struggle' as a main dynamics in society. As a mother, Sera manifests the same hostility in thinking that her daughters single parenthood is the result of the newcomers.

I pose that this conflict over labour is the essential reason Elvis and Tanjiwe were evicted? We may conclude that a place is transformed into the space of conflict to struggle for labour, and thus is geographically and sociologically segregated. However, this conclusion is too

short tempered that to design a struggling subject who cannot escape from the social domination by capitalism is already dealt with in previous chapters.

Unlike the Comaroffs' argument about making labour evil through zombie-making magic, a possibility to produce a new subject is discovered through the magic of the lottery. From the beginning, my concern was that why am I not seen as an exploiting foreigner? I shared very few similarities with members of my host family in terms of race, class, gender and culture. A fact compounded that I had very limited free time to form a relationship with people due to my strict adherence to my routinised schedule. However, an authority of son and reserved father is bestowed on me through the rite of the washing, the treatment of the contract and sharing supper. These "doings" form a "being": YoungJun in Kayamandi, the only East Asian in the township. This reminds us of Butler's performativity that doing is precedent to being. Paradoxically, this does not mean that structure determines subject. I was accepted by the community, but I intended to leave soon and did. I did not return to live in Kayamandi, when I came back to South Africa I found lodging elsewhere. However, the lottery is symbolised as a dimension of probability. Through the rite of being written my birth on the lottery, I am reborn as a subject who can chose whether I would form this place heterogeneous space or not.

I am finally crystallised as a contradictory subject. Obviously, I suffered a division of subject – my gaze was towards the future to be a father in South Korea, but my body was in South Africa. I tried to figure it out through disenchantment this place as the world of myth, in turn, I determined myself a human reason against the world of myth like Odysseus in Chapter Two. However, through the process of rite, the house in Kayamandi is re-enchanted as the space of magic. However, this space of magic does not only make a zombie, it creates the possibility to construct a dialectic of hope. Between the future and the present the new

subject is produced through the lottery. As the lottery, I am a result of circumstance, but also gain a probability to change the circumstance. Thus, racially segregated xenophobic place has the probability to transform into the space of synthesis, in which families and neighbours are not determined by Apartheid racial categories. Such 'creolisation' in Kayamandi might not be in my future, but it is a probability that this will eventually happen in South Africa.

Conclusion

In October 2014, CapeTown hip-hop group, Dookoom recently released a song titled 'Larney Jou Poes', and it soon sparked controversy whether it is a hate speech toward white people or not[44]. Dookoom's frontman spits into the camera in the music video:

> *Farmer Abrahams had many farms*
> *And many farms had Farmer Abrahams*
> *I work one of them and so would you*
> *So let's go burn 'em down.*

In their interview with the local press (City Press, 2014), they claimed that the song is a reaction to the Western Cape farm worker strikes in 2012[45]. They explicitly clarify this song is against that "Basically, the corporate world. Capitalism. Anyone who is a larney – who identifies with capitalism. It's a universal thing: Fuck the boss" (*ibid*.). And their reaction against capitalism is projected onto "larney" as the specific 'evil' agent of capitalism when he repeatedly belches "Larney Jou Poes". The term 'larney' literally indicates a white man, and it was from Isicamtho (a South African urban argot) lani(e) 'white man', of unknown ultimate origin; perhaps related to Malay rani 'rich' (Oxford Dictionary). With these formulations, Dookoom understands contemporary South Africa as a relation between exploiting larney and exploited others. They make clear that this relation of exploitation has

---

[44] Civil rights group AfriForum has laid a complaint with the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) about the song (Times Live 2014)

[45] Cape Farm workers strike began on August, 2012 in a way in which they wanted wages of R150 a day and a coherent land reform programme (Mail & Guardian 2013). The forms of protest were road blockades and burning vineyards, and two men were shot dead by the police during the protest (Daily Maverick 2013). As a result, the Labour Minister has announced that the new sectoral wage determination for farmworkers has gone up from R69 to R105 per day (SABC 2013).

107

long history and even in Post-Apartheid nothing has much changed embedded with racial classification that White and Black as well as Indian:

> *Bra, remember, you came here in 1652*
> *You a skollie too*
> *You were fokken sentenced with a convict crew*
> *You robbed and screwed the natives*
> *Now who's the savage?*

Indeed, many reviews on Dookoom's song are consistent with that interpretation of contemporary South Africa – in particular, Lloyd Gedye's short brief explicitly expresses this point that "It's clear slavery and apartheid are still alive and well in South Africa; they are just obfuscated with the language of democracy now" (The Con 2014). Dookoom and its supporters present a picture that this is how capital looks in South Africa today – as if the effects of apartheid inequality (and inequality from the beginning of colonialism in 1652) have not been addressed at all - or even more precisely, that some of the mechanisms that produce inequality, such as the ownership of property, have not changed hands and therefore that apartheid as mechanism for producing racial inequality is still active. And race is featured in ownership and property relationship within old forms of racial classification – white *larney* and black *slaaf*.

Elvis, Marie, Lee and Sera as well as my own experience, however, indicate a rupture of this old racial classification. First of all, Elvis and I both try to survive being left behind by millennial capitalism by coming to South Africa, in a journey we hoped we offer us the means to improved circumstances. In the racialised places in South Africa and Stellenbosch we respectively traversed, neither him nor I could not be subsumed into taken-for-granted modes of racial classification. My being called 'ma se poes' in Idas Valley, and

being robbed there, as well as witnessing the spade in Karindal, might be juxtaposed with Dookoom's 'Larney jou poes'. I was not a capitalist, and I did not have speak Afrikaans or understand the local context and history, however, in these white and coloured places, I was imprisoned in the category of race and it caused an anxiety for me. My experience, in turn, makes it possible to question whether I could be assimilated into Apartheid's racial classifications. I was an Asian, from South Korea, however, my Asianness does not share same historicity with the category of "Indian/Asian" in South Africa which has own historical specificity based on colonial era[46]. I was, rather, a product of Post-Apartheid, which allowed me to come to South Africa, not a descendent of slavery or migrant labour to gold mines during Apartheid. Therefore, my existence within different places in Stellenbosch signalled a rupture - although I was interpellated in different ways, including as a 'ma se poes' and as a 'larney', I was unable to recognise these hailings and thus unwittingly accepted the racial subjectifications they entailed, without even fully inhabiting these categories. Instead, I began to understand my journey in South Africa in mythic terms, as a subject who was able to define his place, however even this reached a limit when South Koreans I told of my tale constructed me as a mythic hero. Despite these difficulties, I was eventually invited into the family in Kayamandi through a chain of rites, and through this, I experience the hope that even a place as racially marked as Stellenbosch might be creolised and through this, transformed.

---

[46] Chinese and Japanese people were certainly in some way in South Africa during Apartheid, even if with only small populations. Accone (2004) traces the story of chinese family in South Africa from the early twentieth century to the first years of the twenty-first. Individually, its title 'All under heaven 天下' is very interesting title because 天下 can literally be translated in English as "under heaven". My usage of 天下 as an east asian as well as a south korean is actually very limited. In my perception, 天下 implies the earth, that is, everything within the world so that only ancient heroes in china (cf. the romance of three kingdoms) used such word, 天下 which their desire to accomplish and rule was projected. On the other hand, 天下 indicates china itself as well. South Africa in Apartheid might be the different 天下 the chinese family had never imagined for them.

Marie represents the opposite of my experience. Whilst my experience suggested a future within the structure of the family, between South Africa and South Korea or elsewhere, Marie denied the family as a possible source for the escape from racial subjectivities. Her decision to escape from the family in Cloetesville, which was mediated by the rotten vetkoek did not only negate the family itself, but also disclaimed the place, Cloetesville, which supposed expressed her race and ethnicity. While living under the bridge is being in a 'non-place', Marie transforms it into a place which portrays the debris of racialised spaces, a kind of emancipation for racial subjectivity whose significance exceeds what appears to be an abode only for street people and beggars. Marie's experience is a different kind of refusal of racial interpellation from that of mine, although I cannot sure whether she will be able to sustain this refusal, and accomplish the refusal of race that living under the bridge promised. Indeed, this uncertainty of non-place is exposed in Lee, the missionary. Lee may be the most contradictory one amongst the individuals. Lee portrays a grotesque combination between Marie and me. He does not try to redeem people under the bridge, rather, he affirms people under the bridge and under the bridge itself. He does not even hide the fact that his existence relies on under the bridge, but does not exploit them either.

Elvis and Tanjiwe are not interpellated by Dookoom's hiphop. I was explicitly hailed as 'larney jou poes' but I was able to refuse, and in so doing suggest that East Asia might play some role in a story of subjectivity which has privileged Euro-America and Africa until now. Marie by contrast, refused not only the categories summoned by Dookoom, but any affirmative subjectivity. However, Elvis and Tanjiwe suggest a different kind of relation with racial subjectivity: they do not recognize it, but have no active refusal either. They remain in a segregated place, Kayamandi, do not attempt to assimilate into an "African identity", do not complain, but only expect to go back to Zimbabwe whenever fortune may allow. Muyeba &

Seekings (2010:18) hopefully anticipate the deracialision of place in South Africa through interviews with people living in Delft South or Tambo Square – two neighbourhoods in Cape Town – even if Coloured and African people do not have shared histories or place attachment or other ties prior to becoming neighbours in these new neighbourhoods, racial toleration increased and prejudice reduced and race-neutrally interacted – and thus, they conclude that the persistence of racialised identities does not seem to be associated with enduring racial division. However, Elvis and Tanjiwe show up as a new form of racial identity which could not be subsumed into racial category – African, Coloured, Indian and White. Although they are African as well, they have to struggle with Africans in South Africa and their different relations to the labour market and the state ,which is mediated through racialised place.

Bibliography

Accone, D. (2004). All under heaven: The story of a Chinese family in South Africa. New Africa Books.

Adorno, T. W. (1997). Dialectic of enlightenment (Vol. 15). Verso.

Alden, C. (2005). China in Africa. Survival, 47(3), 147-164.

Alden, C., Large, D., & De Oliveira, R. S. (2008). China returns to Africa: A rising power and a continent embrace. New York: Columbia University Press.

Ardington, C., Case, A., & Hosegood, V. (2007). Labor supply responses to large social transfers: Longitudinal evidence from South Africa (No. w13442). National Bureau of Economic Research.

Auge, M. (1995). Non-place. Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity.

Baderoon, G. (2014). Regarding Muslims: From slavery to post-apartheid. Wits University Press.

Ballard, R. (2004). Assimilation, emigration, semigration, and integration:"white" people's strategies for finding a comfort zone in post-apartheid South Africa'. Under construction:'Race'and identity in South Africa today, 51-66.

Benjamin, W., & Hoare, Q. (1973). Charles Baudelaire: A lyric poet in the era of high capitalism (p. 55). London: nlb.

Bernstein, H. (2004). 'Changing before our very eyes': agrarian questions and the politics of land in capitalism today. Journal of Agrarian Change, 4(1?2), 190-225.

Bhana, D., & Pattman, R. (2011). Girls want money, boys want virgins: the materiality of love amongst South African township youth in the context of HIV and AIDS. Culture, health & sexuality, 13(8), 961-972.

Bond, P. (2001). Radical rhetoric and the working class during Zimbabwean nationalism's dying days. journal of world-systems research, 7(1), 52-89.

Bourdieu, P., & Balazs, G. (1999). The weight of the world: Social suffering in contemporary society (pp. 507-513). Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Burger, P., & Van Rensburg, L. J. (2008). Metropolitan house prices in South Africa: do they converge?. South African Journal of Economics, 76(2), 291-297.

Butler, J. (1999). Gender Trouble. 1990. New York and London: Routledge.

Campbell, J. (2008). The hero with a thousand faces (Vol. 17). New World Library.

Christopher, A. J. (2001). Urban segregation in post-apartheid South Africa. Urban studies, 38(3), 449-466.

City Press. (2014). Why is Dookoom so angry? [Online]
http://www.citypress.co.za/news/dookoom-angry/ Accessed: 01, November, 2014

Collier, J. (1959). Stellenbosch Revisited. University booksellers and publishers (pty) ltd, Stellenbosch

Collinson, M., Tollman, S. M., Kahn, K., Clark, S., & Garenne, M. (2006). Highly prevalent circular migration: households, mobility and economic status in rural South Africa. Africa on the move: African migration and urbanisation in comparative perspective, 194-216.

Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. L. (1991). Of revelation and revolution, volume 1: Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. L. (2002). Alien-nation: zombies, immigrants, and millennial capitalism. The South Atlantic Quarterly, 101(4), 779-805.

Crush, J. (2001). The dark side of democracy: migration, xenophobia and human rights in South Africa. International Migration, 38(6), 103-133.

Crush, J. (2008). South Africa: Policy in the face of xenophobia. Migration information source, 2.

Crush, J. S., Jeeves, A., & Yudelman, D. (1991). South Africa's labor empire: A history of black migrancy to the gold mines. Westview Pr.

Daily Maverick. (2013). Western Cape protests: Bloody hands in private security firms? [Online] http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-11-19-western-cape-protests-bloody-hands-in-private-security-firms#.VFtA5vmsXLU Accessed: 01, November, 2014

Data Lens. (2014). Mapping South Afric: Racial Devides. [Online] http://datalens.org/post/35117601723/mapping-south-africa-racial-divides Accessed: 06, November, 2014

De Certaue M. (1984). The Practice of Everyday Life. Berkeley: Univeristy of California Press.

Descartes, R. (2009). Discourse on the Method: Of Rightly Conducting One's Reason and of Seeking Truth in the Sciences. The Floating Press.

do Rio Caldeira, T. P. (2000). City of walls: crime, segregation, and citizenship in Sao Paulo. Univ of California Press.

Eagleton, T. (1999). In the Gaudy Supermarket. [Review of the book A Critique of Post-Colonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present.] London Review of Books, 21(10), 3-6.

Eikestad Nuss. (2014). CRIME IN BRIEF. [Online]

http://www.eikestadnuus.co.za/articles/articledetails.aspx?mode=news&id=110852 Accessed: 11, October, 2014

Fanon, F. (2008). Black skin, white masks. Grove press.

Fanon, F. (1965). The wretched of the earth (Vol. 390). Grove Press.

Foucault, M. (1977). Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison. Random House LLC.

Harington, J. S., McGlashan, N. D., & Chelkowska, E. Z. (2004). A century of migrant labour in the gold mines of South Africa. JOURNAL-SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF MINING AND METALLURGY, 104(2), 65-72.

Harvey, D. (2001). Globalization and the spatial fix. Geographische revue, 2(3), 23-31.

Henshilwood, N. G. (1951). Stellenbosch Days. A. A. Balkema, Cape Town

Hill, R. C., & Kim, J. W. (2000). Global cities and developmental states: New York, Tokyo and Seoul. Urban Studies, 37(12), 2167-2195.

Jay, M. (1973). The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research.

Jones, P. (1997). The Italian City-State: From Commune to Signoria: From Commune to Signoria. Oxford University Press.

Kim, S. B., & 김상봉. (2004). 학벌사회: 사회적주체성에대한철학적탐구. 한길사.

Kok, P. C. (2003). Post-apartheid patterns of internal migration in South Africa. HSRC Press.

Landau, L. B., & Freemantle, I. (2010). Tactical cosmopolitanism and idioms of belonging: Insertion and self-exclusion in Johannesburg. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 36(3), 375-390.

Large, D. (2008). Beyond 'dragon in the bush': the study of China?Africa relations. African Affairs, 107(426), 45-61.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). The production of space (Vol. 142). Blackwell: Oxford.

Legassick, M. C. (1972). The Making of South African" native Policy", 1903-1923: The Origins of Segregation.

Lemanski, C. (2004). A new apartheid? The spatial implications of fear of crime in Cape Town, South Africa. Environment and Urbanization, 16(2), 101-112.

Lenin, V. I. (1970). The April Theses. Progress Publishers.

Livingstone, D., & Arrowsmith. (1857). Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa: Including a Sketch of 16 Years' Residence in the Interior of Africa, and a Journey from the Cape of Good Hope to Loanda on the West Coast: Thence Across the Continent, Down the River Zambesi, to the Eastern Ocean. Murray.

Lukacs, G., & Lukacs, G. (1971). History and class consciousness: Studies in Marxist dialectics (Vol. 215). Mit Press.

Mabin, A., & Smit, D. (1997). Reconstructing South Africa's cities? The making of urban planning 1900?2000. Planning Perspectives, 12(2), 193-223.

Mail & Guardian (2004). Khayelitsha is SA's worst trouble spot

Mail & Guardian (2012). ANC furious at Zille for refugee comment [Online] http://mg.co.za/article/2012-03-21-anc-furious-at-zille-for-refugee-comment Accessed: October, 11. 2014

Mail & Guardian. (2013). Western Cape farm protest: Journalist's car set alight.   [Online] http://mg.co.za/article/2013-01-09-farm-protests-journalists-car-set-alight Accessed: 01, November, 2014

Marx, K. (1977). Critique of Hegel's 'Philosophy of Right'. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.

Maylam, P. (1995). Explaining the apartheid city: 20 years of South African urban historiography. Journal of Southern African Studies, 21(1), 19-38.

Mbembe, J. A. (2004). Aesthetics of superfluity. Public culture, 16(3), 373-405.

Mbembe, J. A., & Nuttall, S. (2004). Writing the world from an African metropolis. Public culture, 16(3), 347-372.

Meintjes, H. (2001). 'Washing Machines Make Lazy Women' Domestic Appliances and the Negotiation of Women's Propriety in Soweto. Journal of Material Culture, 6(3), 345-363.

Misago, J. P. (2010). May 2008 violence against foreign nationals in South Africa: Understanding causes and evaluating responses. Forced Migration Studies Programme.

Mitchell, W. J. T. (2012). Seeing through race. Harvard University Press.

Moffat, R. (1846). Missionary labours and scenes in southern Africa. J. Snow.

Moore, D. (2003). Zimbabwe's triple crisis: Primitive accumulation, nation-state formation and democratization in the age of neo-liberal globalization. African Studies Quarterly, 7(2), 1-19.

Moyo, D. (2012). Beijing, a boon for Africa. The New York Times, 27.

Municipality, S. (2010). Stellenbosch Municipality: Integrated Development Plan 2010. Stellenbosch Municipality, Stellenbosch.

Municipality, S. (2011). Stellenbosch Municipality: Integrated Development Plan 2011. Stellenbosch Municipality, Stellenbosch.

Mutopo, P. (2010). Women trading in food across the Zimbabwe?South Africa border: experiences and strategies. Gender & Development, 18(3), 465-477.

Muyeba, S., & Seekings, J. (2010). Inter-racial attitudes and interactions in racially-mixed low-income neighbourhoods in Cape Town, South Africa. Centre for Social Science Research.

Nietzsche, F. W. (2004). Ecce Homo: How One Becomes what One is; The Antichrist: a Curse on Christianity. Algora Publishing.

Nuttall, S. (2004). City forms and writing the 'now' in South Africa. Journal of Southern African Studies, 30(4), 731-748.

Parnell, S. (1993). Creating racial privilege: the origins of South African public health and town planning legislation. Journal of Southern African Studies, 19(3), 471-488.

Pistorius, P., & Todeschini, F. (2004). Idas Valley as an example of the cultural landscape of the Cape Winelands (South Africa).

Posel, D. (2004). Have migration patterns in post-apartheid South Africa changed?. Journal of Interdisciplinary Economics, 15(3/4), 277-292.

Postone, M. (1995). Time, labor, and social domination: A reinterpretation of Marx's critical theory. Cambridge University Press.

Postone, M. (2006). History and helplessness: mass mobilization and contemporary forms of anticapitalism. Public Culture, 18(1), 93.

Raftopoulos, B. (2006). The Zimbabwean crisis and the challenges for the left. Journal of Southern African Studies, 32(2), 203-219.

Rayner, M. I. (1986). Wine and slaves: the failure of an export economy and the ending of slavery in the Cape Colony, South Africa, 1806-1834. Duke University.

Redfield, P., & Tomaskova, S. (2003). The Exile of Anthropology. The Concept of Foreign. Ed. Rebecca Saunders. New York: Lexington Books.

Rock, D. (2011). The location shall be called Kaya Mandi: a history of Kaya Mandi (Doctoral dissertation, Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University).

Ross, F. C. (2010). Raw life, new hope: Decency, housing and everyday life in a post-apartheid community. Juta and Company Ltd.

SABC (2012). Zille defends Twitter comment [Online]
http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/16f2a1804a98750381a78b16e9a045de/Zille-defends-Twitter-comment-20122103 Accessed: 11, October, 2014

SABC. (2013). Farmworkers' minimum daily wage increased to R105. [Online] http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/931df1004e6e5653b2b8fa7da4cd6ad7/Farmworkers-minimum-daily-wage-increased-to-R105-20130402 Accessed: 01, Nobember, 2014

Sachikonye, L. M. (2002). Whither Zimbabwe? crisis & democratisation. Review of African Political Economy, 29(91), 13-20.

Sassen, S. (2001). The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo. Princeton University Press.

Sassen, S. (2006). Territory, authority, rights: From medieval to global assemblages (Vol. 7). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Scully, P. (1997). Liberating the family?: gender and British slave emancipation in the rural Western Cape, South Africa, 1823-1853 (pp. 93-7). Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Shklovsky, V. (1965). Art as technique. In L. T. Lemon & M. J. Reis (Eds. and Trans.), Russian formalist criticism: Four essays. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press. (Original work published 1917.)

Simmel, G. (1950). The sociology of George Simmel (Vol. 92892). Simon and Schuster.

Siziba, G. (2014, July). Language and the Geo-Politics of (dis) Location: A Study of Zimbabwean Shona and Ndebele Speakers in Johannesburg. In XVIII ISA World Congress of Sociology (July 13-19, 2014). Isaconf.

Smuts, F. (1979). Stellenbosch, three centuries. Stellenbosch Town Council.

South African Police Service (2008). Annual report.

Statistics South Africa. (2012). Census 2011.

Statistics South Africa. (2012). Census 2011: Meta Data. Statistics South Africa.

The Con. (2014). Jou Past se Poes. [Online] http://www.theconmag.co.za/2014/10/13/jou-past-se-poes Accessed: 01, November, 2014.

The Times. (2008). As an atheist, I truly believe Africa needs God. [Online] http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/opinion/columnists/matthewparris/article2044345.ece Accessed: 11, October, 2014

Time (2008). Zimbabweans Fleeing South Africa [Online] http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1808958,00.html Accessed: 11, October, 2014

Times Live. (2014). AfriForum submits hate speech complaint against rap group Dookoom. [Online] http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2014/10/15/afriforum-submits-hate-speech-complaint-against-rap-group-dookoom Accessed: 01, November, 2014

United Nations. (1997). Glossary of Environment Statistics, Studies in Methods, Series F, No. 67, New York.

Waley, D. Mediaeval Orvieto (Cambridge, 1952). I9, 40(70), 16.

Watson, J. S. (Ed.). (1876). The Odyssey of Homer. G. Bell.

Weber, M., & Parsons, T. (1998). The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism. Roxbury Pub..

Williams, G. P. (2010). Free and unfree labour in the cape wine industry, 1838 - 1988. The comparative political economy of development : Africa and South Asia..

Wilson, F. (2011). Labour in the South African gold mines 1911-1969 (Vol. 6). Cambridge University Press.

Wolpe, H. (1972). Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid 1. Economy and society, 1(4), 425-456.

Worby, E. (2010). Address unknown: the temporality of displacement and the ethics of disconnection among Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg. Journal of Southern African Studies, 36(2), 417-431.

Worden, N., & Crais, C. C. (1994). Breaking the chains: slavery and its legacy in the nineteenth-century Cape Colony. Witwatersrand Univ Pr.

Yoshikuni, T. (2007). African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe: a social history of Harare before 1925. African Books Collective.

Yudelman, D. (1984). The emergence of modern South Africa: State, capital, and the incorporation of organized labor on the South African gold fields, 1902-1939. New Africa Books.

문상석 & 염유식. (2010). 학벌과 불행: 한국청소년의 주관적 행복도. 현대사회와 문화, 31(단일호), 73-102.

박소진 & 박병영. (2004). 연구논문: 학벌경쟁 사회의 사교육 소비-서울 지역 초등학생의 사례. 사회발전연구, 9(단일호), 49-84.

쿠키뉴스. (2013). 오정현 목사 "박사 학위가 뭐기에" 논문 표절 사과. [Online] http://news.kukinews.com/article/view.asp?page=1&gCode=kmi&arcid=0007017254&cp=nv Accessed: 01, November, 2014

크리스천투데이. (2013). 오정현 목사, 6 개월 자숙하고 박사학위 내려놓기로

[Online] http://www.christiantoday.co.kr/view.htm?id=262130 Accessed: 01, November,

2014