

Desire, Capital, Race, and History at K. Sello Duiker and
Ishtiyaq Shukri's Cape

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree.
It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from
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Desire, Capital, Race, and History at K. Sello Duiker and Ishtiyaq Shukri's Cape

“What if that little thing called individual preference is the sounding moment for racist desire...How can one disarticulate a personal preference from a racist attitude?” – Sharon Patricia Holland, *The Erotic Life of Racism* (2012)

“The desire to think beyond race is, however, a double-edged sword. It marks the ambivalent process of mobilizing against racism and yet working within—and against—established racial categories.”

– Grant Farred, “‘Shooting the White Girl First’: Race in Post-Apartheid South Africa” (2006)

“...as much as anything else the postcolony is a place of violence.”

– Ato Quayson, *Calibrations* (2003)

Introduction

Traits of post-independence disillusionment registered in African literature are apparent in the post-apartheid work of K Sello Duiker and Ishtiyaq Shukri. Duiker's *The Quiet Violence of Dreams* (2001) and Shukri's *The Silent Minaret* (2005), in particular, represent the aftermath of unfulfilled expectations in postapartheid South Africa by focusing on the existential problems of their protagonists at the intersection of desire, capital, race and history at the Cape. In scenes from *The Quiet Violence of Dreams*, the protagonist Tshepo experiences racism at Cape Town's gay clubs and bars, as well as the upmarket massage-parlour-brothel that he works for, a place initially brimming with the possibility of sexual and racial utopia. Disillusioned with the liberatory promise of a 'gay identity' and its unfulfilled expectations, he walks away from the predominantly white city centre, the wealthiest parts of the city, deliriously ambling his way to the outskirts of the city where the impoverished black majority live. Arriving in the township, a space where black people were forced to live during apartheid, outside of the central city and suburban districts that remain ostensibly white, he finds waste, dirt, and evil in the external world of the township that becomes indistinguishable from his mental world at times. The complex mixture of space and subject is the product of the historical racism, capitalist exclusion and the limits of desire that make Cape Town a hostile space, a sociality of exclusion. Identifying and analysing the processes and practices that produce the types of exclusion experienced by Tshepo, as well as the possibilities that arise from these situations, are the primary interests of this dissertation.

Investment in political futures and possibilities is equally important in *The Silent Minaret*. Issa, the protagonist, disappears while writing his Ph.D. on the history of the first 50 years of colonial contact at the Cape. Issa experiences continual psychic violence and exclusion that contributes to his reclusion and final disappearance. The central point of focussing on his thesis is to illustrate how his philosophy of history informs the political possibilities for those he leaves behind, such that they are able to challenge and subvert similar violence to some degree. The novel ends with Katinka, a fellow expatriate in London, sending a text message to Issa from her home behind the wall in occupied Palestine. This is something she "still does from time to

time” since his disappearance (Shukri: 273). The fact that she messages Issa from “time to time” registers “the disappointment of closure” (Andrew van der Vlies: 21). Following a tradition of postapartheid literature that refuses to foreclose novels whether with “despairing *or* hopeful” endings, *The Silent Minaret* offers Issa’s absence as an homology for thinking about the present (van der Vlies: 21). Katinka likely continues to experience the hope of reconnection with Issa, as well as a sense of disappointment or sadness in his continued absence. Furthermore, the reader is not fully certain whether these texts are being sent to an absent Issa’s phone or whether he has been replying, sustaining the relationship further. In their turn away from teleological narratives and disavowal of capital and whiteness, both these novels ultimately forego closures and hold out for ambivalent and queer futures.

Central to these questions of futurity are problems of racism and desire. My research is interested in both overt and covert racism. Thus, the first part of this work engages with the *Quiet Violence of Dreams* and what Sharon Patricia Holland calls “discretionary acts” (7). The aforementioned scenes speak of racist exclusion and most of the secondary literature on the text acknowledges such exclusion in relation to the historical legacy of apartheid racism and segregation. Discretion here functions as overt discrimination. There is another sense of discretion that is neglected in the critical literature. Namely, that discretion and racism work in quotidian fashion and ways that seem at odds with overt racism: “racist practices that each of us make in everyday decisions such as choosing someone to sit beside on the subway, selecting a mate or a sperm donor, or developing a list of subjects for an academic study” (Holland: 7). *Everyday* racism might not be overt, but it is no less constitutive of the structures of exclusion represented in these moments.

There is not yet a sustained reading of the moments Tshepo is *desired* (as opposed to being excluded) because he is black, or for what blackness represents as an object of desire¹. On the one hand, Arthur, an African American real estate investor scouting

¹ Ronit Frenkel and Andy Carolin attend to the stereotypes of hypersexual black masculinity in the novel in order to argue that the novel subverts these tropes. My contention is that this reading doesn’t attend to the myriad ways in which the desire for these stereotypes by some characters forms part of larger processes of racism, capital exploitation and spatial segregation in the novel.

Cape Town for investment opportunities, pays Tshepo to fulfil the sexual fantasy of a “real African man”, a script Tshepo refuses². Contrastingly, Peter, a regular client who is married, white, middle-class and ostensibly heterosexual, desires Tshepo because the latter’s blackness makes him invisible in Peter’s social world. Desire, a focus toward Tshepo, rather than a repulsion of or from him, serve to buttress racial distance and social segregation. The use of overt racism sits alongside the more subtle use of the legacy of racial segregation that is no longer politically and legally mandated, but is reinforced through “discretion”. My interest is in keeping with Holland’s search for the types of racist practice that mask itself as preference, as autonomy and autonomous from the easier-disavowed than demystified “racist-past”.

Sarah Nuttall has called for a turn away from thinking in narrow racial terms that limit South African literature to thinking through this racist past. She advocates a turn away from these concerns and towards “technology, markets, consumerism and

² The discussions around homosexuality, nationalism, imperialism and ‘Africanness’ are well rehearsed and are of only brief interest in this study. For robust discussions on the ‘homosexuality is un-African debate’ see Brenna Munro’s introduction to *South Africa and the Dream of Love to Come: Queer Sexuality and the Struggle for Freedom*, ‘Chapter 4: Nationalism, Homophobia and the Politics of “New” South African Nationhood’ in *Imperialism within the Margins: Queer Representation and the Politics of Culture in Southern Africa* by William J. Spurlin. Neville Hoad raises the question of Human Rights Discourse, authentic national or African identity and LGBT politics in South Africa in Chapter 4, “White Man’s Burden, White Man’s Disease”, of his book *African Intimacies: Race, Homosexuality and Globalization*. Hoad elsewhere speaks directly to the scene between Arthur and Tshepo that I analyse shortly, suggesting that it imagines postapartheid South Africa as a “site of an African diaspora, where a belated pan-Africanism rubs up against nationalism”, but notes how it is “often in the mode of sexual fantasy” (106). Here I argue that sexual fantasy in this instance is predicated racist and exploitative legacies of imperialism that require our intimate attention and our attention to its intimate manifestations.

I also use queer, critical and political theory not focussed specifically on South Africa. David Eng raises some of these questions around queerness and race in *Feelings of Kinship: Queer Liberalism and the Racialization of Intimacy*, by noting how in the U.S. context “queer liberalism does not resist, but abets, the forgetting of race and the denial of racial difference” (4); see pp. 34-41 for a critique of queer liberalism as a discourse that compartmentalizes questions of racial justice and queer identities. Similarly, Jasbir Puar spends significant portions of *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* addressing how homonormativity buttresses imperial interests and heightens racial Othering after 9/11. Finally, Jacqui M Alexander also offers a framework to think of gay sexual tourism, as well as to think about black capital in “Imperial Desire/Sexual Utopias: White Gay Capital and Transnational Tourism”, the second chapter of *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory, and the Sacred*.

HIV/Aids” as points of critical departure, as opposed to reiterating apartheid’s presence today (*Entanglement*: 154). However, holding onto the binary of Whiteness and the Other in postapartheid South Africa is useful when considering the difficulty of “going beyond” race without evoking race itself to locate and manoeuvre around its coordinates. In other words, “going beyond race” seems to be a contradiction. Furthermore, not to do so would be to ignore the material realities connected to race that are only deliberately avoidable in postapartheid South Africa— a problem addressed in the section “Real African Man: Racism, Progress and Blackness”. As Grant Farred notes: “blacks continue to live, materially in the time before (apartheid)” and thus South Africa is “philosophically non-racial, [but] economically racialized” (Farred: 67). The desire to move beyond race in the philosophical sense is arguably only achieved through the oversimplification of historical narratives of colonialism, apartheid and the transition into postapartheid South Africa. If, as Njabulo Ndebele describes his own intellectual and political “journey”, “‘Black’ and ‘African’” are pitstops towards “‘citizen and Human’”, then these novels and this dissertation takes a queer turn by deviating from this theoretical trajectory (16). The citizen and human represent enlightenment categories of thinking that David Scott admits are indispensable “to resistance of tyranny and domination”—perhaps the overdetermination of race in theoretical and political domains for Nuttall and Ndebele—as well as inevitably tragic in their utopian promise that disappoints “a relentless and unheeding sort of enlightenment thinking” in efforts to combat injustice (CM: 176). These novels illustrate that to think without race is to forego the possibilities of the utopian because of the attendant complicities with heteronormative, exploitative capitalist and racist practices. Here, to think beyond race is to uphold whiteness.

This problem can be thought through the fields of queer, critical race and postcolonial theory. Critics like Jasbir Puar, Neville Hoad, Jacqui M Alexander, David Eng and William Spurlin bridge all three fields and have questioned the role liberal and universal humanist discourse takes in entrenching imperial and colonial interests today. The first part of the dissertation explores how same-sex desire and utopian aspirations of sexual politics may partake in everyday racism. Ronit Frenkel, Brenna Munro, Andy Carolin, Meg Samuelson, Shaun Viljoen and Marius Crous, have variously focussed on “fluid identities”, same-sex sexuality and the

discontinuities of the racism of the apartheid past in Duiker's work. Most notably, Carolin and Frenkel engaged in a detailed reading of the liberatory possibilities of sexual autonomy in *The Quiet Violence of Dreams*. My contention is that these possibilities are circumscribed in ways hitherto unrecognised. Quotidian racism is explored in "Queer Desire, Racism and Everyday Segregation" and this analysis is made more expansive in the final section of Part 1, "Time, Self and the Ex-Centric". In this section we begin to widen the circle of analysis from Tshepo as an individual to the wider communities in the novel's representation of Cape Town. The connections that Duiker writes into *The Quiet Violence of Dreams* offer metaphors to think of how sexuality is bound to race and capital to buttress structures of whiteness.

When Tshepo is rejected from the gay clubs it is because of a colour line that circumscribes belonging and shapes inhabitable space in the image of whiteness. Sara Ahmed argues that the "alignment of race and space is crucial to how they materialize as givens" (121). Part II of the dissertation analyses how these novels depict ways of deviating from "given" trajectories and instead tread their own queer paths away from and in opposition to whiteness as the given social norm. In both novels Cape Town as representative of a colonial and neo-colonial city is white. Whiteness sustains itself by social and spatial exclusion of Others. In other words, they work together such that "the other side of the world", be it the Global South or the outskirts of Cape Town, "is associated with 'otherness'... [they] (in this case those not approximating whiteness) come to *embody distance*" (Ahmed: 121). Focussing on Tshepo's experience as the excluded other in "*The Quiet Violence of Dreams, Whiteness and Queering Impossible Space*", this section illustrates how the historical separation that occurs through policing space can be queered and undone. Much of this section reads the ways he navigates these limits.

If Tshepo is excluded, then it implies an exclusionary agent. When Tshepo is turned away, it is because "this embodiment of distance is what makes whiteness 'proximate'... the 'starting point'...whiteness becomes what is 'here'" and therefore determines "what is 'there' on the *other* side" (my emphasis) (Ahmed: 121). From the

confines of the psychiatric hospital that the novel begins in³, to the freedom of Hillbrow, freedom of movement is always negotiating proximity to whiteness. The representation of Cape Town's "gay village" then, requires a distinction between gay as whiteness and queer as that which deviates, is not proximate to whiteness⁴. Part I of the dissertation explores this dynamic through sex whilst Part II does so through Tshepo's movement across spatial boundaries and away from Cape Town's exclusionary centres. It is through queering his social trajectory that he is able to circumvent the exclusionary violence of the city. The novel thus complicates readings of same-sex desire not as radical in and of itself but as embedded in debates of belonging at the intimate, urban and national levels⁵. Part II explores how the queer represents a divergence from whiteness in so far as whiteness represents heteronormativity, capital accumulation and spatially-socially-politically centralising forces. In other words, "straight lines". The queer thus extends its hand toward the outside, the off centre, as opposed to reinforcing the straightening lines of whiteness.

³ There is only one article that treats Tshepo's time in the psychiatric hospital with the attention it deserves, particularly given the first third of the novel takes place there; the article is notably recent, published only in 2017: Penfold, Tom. "A Specific Kind of Violence: Insanity and Identity in Contemporary Brazilian and South African Literature". *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 43, no.5, pp. 1049-1067. Unfortunately, this dissertation is equally impoverished as the majority of the secondary criticism. I am, however, currently working on a conference paper addressing this problem in the context of Black Existentialism and Fanonian perspectives on Psychiatry. There are no doubt interesting Foucauldian readings of these scenes in the asylum in relation to Tshepo's resistance to inscription under psychiatric evaluation. There are connections to make with this work and Ato Quayson's reading of Dambuzo Marachera's *House of Hunger*, particularly addressing the role that psychic states of 'madness' play in articulating social, moral and material decay in the postcolonial nation; see Chapter 4, "Symbolization Compulsions: Freud, African Literature, and South Africa's Process of Truth and Reconciliation", in *Calibrations*, used primarily in the second part of the dissertation.

⁴ Here I use the term Queer as Munro does "to enable discussions of identities, practices, intimacies, or affects that do not fit into "regimes of the normal"—whether local or global—and to bring our attention to forms of stigma that are produced at the intersection of race, sexuality, and imperialism" (xix). Throughout the dissertation I argue that "regimes of the normal" are very much attached to whiteness in so far as homonormativity, upward mobility and social belonging are preserves of historically white populations as they are constructed in these novels.

⁵ Brenna Munro writes about the contests over gay identity in postapartheid South Africa, particularly in the context of the contestation of the indignity or commensurability of same-sex sexualities in African nationalist discourse. In the case of South Africa, "gay identity is, however, an inherently ambivalent symbol for nationalism" because of its attachment to global and therefore "foreign" identities (ix). The issues of gay identity in South Africa include both the liberatory possibilities of same-sex sexualities and identities after apartheid prohibition, as well as the racial exclusivity of gay and lesbian political organisation during and postapartheid.

The use of race here needs another qualification. Why whiteness, or blackness, as opposed to white or black? A paradox this paper thinks about is best stated by Holland when she says that “the catch 22 of race [is]: it renders theorizing about “it” impossible because it stabilizes identity for those who *impose* it and for those who work to *expose* it” (6). Thus, my persistent use of whiteness will be qualified continually throughout this paper in order to identify when and where it is imposed or exposed as complicit with capital exploitation, racism and exclusionary politics. In trying to illustrate how the economic and social privileges of white people, norms, values and institutions are both available to Tshepo as a black man in *post-apartheid* South Africa and unavailable to him because he is not white, there is a constant attention to how sexual desires, capital and history inform the degree to which he can belong or is excluded. These “non-racial” categories are inherently raced and thus, exposing the workings and processes of racism and of whiteness is often a work of identifying its impositions, its fixed barriers and limits. I try as much as possible to show whiteness and blackness to be forces that are working together, against and parallel with one another⁶.

Another question about race is who or what is the Other of whiteness? Ato Quayson’s notion that postcolonial literature often engages the “*ex-centric*” and those “outside the sanctioned historical tellings of the nation” offers an important avenue for thinking about these novels’ focus on queer, black, poor, foreign and marginalised Others (76). These novels engage *ex-centric* figures by giving a narrative form to the “tragic loss, fragmentation, and the debris of interpersonal and social relationships” that accompanies colonial, postcolonial and in this instance the postapartheid Other that must contend with legacies of marginalisation (Quayson: 91; 96). These novels

⁶ This concentration on blackness and whiteness isn’t the layover of a parochial apartheid-centric reading that simply rehashes the obvious evidence of apartheid racism in the present. To think this is to miss the transnational dimensions of the whiteness of Cape Town’s gay spaces. For instance, Glen S. Elder’s ‘Somewhere, over the Rainbow: Cape Town, South Africa, as a “Gay Destination”’, the second chapter in *African Masculinities* ed. Robert Morrell and Lahoucine Ouzgane, and *Queer Visibilities* by Andrew Tucker clearly argue for thinking about the formation of Cape Town’s gay spaces as white as, at least in part, aspirations to Euro-American norms of gay identity and life, particularly white, male and upwardly mobile lives. Thus, to read for whiteness in this dissertation is to read transnationally as much as it is to read representations of the postapartheid nation.

not only focus on the present manifestations of whiteness but also, importantly, trace its legacies.

The Silent Minaret has been read by Neelika Jayawardane, Dobrota Pucherova, Jane Poyner and Cleo Beth Theron, as being concerned with how to navigate the historical continuities of this embodied difference in the postapartheid and post-9/11 present. In the section “*The Silent Minaret: A Philosophy of History and Queer Directions*” the argument focusses on Issa’s PhD and memories of his life as foundational to the epistemologies that the novel offers to the reader in order to critique the imperial processes that continue into the postapartheid and post-9/11 present⁷. Here the argument deepens Issa’s contention that history is not linear. The past is an ever present set of relations such that we both narrate that past for our present political possibilities as much as it limits our ability to use discourse to critique power. Issa’s own activism and militant sense of social justice are ultimately what leads to his disappearance. His own historical project reads for the processes that are used to dominate and marginalise both colonial and metropolitan dissidents. Reading for the ex-centric then, is reading for how “everyday life is constantly hedged round by the threat of violent negation” (96). This section engages with questions of how history shapes our understanding of truth and informs our action. Rather than to accept the

⁷I focus primarily on this document for my critique and for other readings of Shukri see the notes below. Critics like Poyner, Steiner and Jayawardane address Shukri’s work in the context of “global terror”, state surveillance and the genre of “World Literature”, particularly after 9/11. Jaya Shakira Kamlesh Madhvani and Theron critique multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism in *The Silent Minaret* and signal theoretical and literary turns away from strong forms of nationalism that are always exclusionary. While my reading of the novel has a narrow focus on Issa’s dissertation, Madhvani’s reading of the novel’s representation of London could offer good comparative frameworks for thinking about Duiker’s Cape Town because of Madhvani’s focussed treatment of different city sites such as the Home and Neighbourhood. See: Madhvani, Jaya Shakira Kamlesh. “The Representation of London in Ishtiyahq Shukri’s *The Silent Minaret: Home, Neighbourhood, Travel.*” *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature* vol.51, no.3, 2016, pp. 432-445. Frenkel, Cheryl Stobie and Pallavi Rastogi on the other hand, while aware of the international concerns of *The Silent Minaret*, think more specifically about South African Indian Identities and the novel in relationship to South African literature and what they think of as an ‘international turn’; an indication of a turn away from concerns about apartheid or postapartheid categories in South African culture. For the most extensive literature on this final line of inquiry see: Frenkel’s work on Shukri’s place in transnational and global turns in South African literature in the introduction to *Reconsiderations: South African Indian Fiction and the Making of Race in Postcolonial Culture*, “Introduction: Reconsidering Current Theory: Ishtiyahq Shukri’s *The Silent Minaret* and ‘South Africa in the global imaginary’”, as well as “Reconsidering South African Indian Fiction Postapartheid.” *Research in African Literatures* vol.42, no.3, 2011, pp. 1-16. Web.

teleology of imperialism Issa and his close friends and family choose alternative ways of being. If to be upwardly mobile is to walk a straight path, then their choices of downwardly mobile lives are steps in a queer direction (Derrick Higginbotham: 4). In keeping with the first part of my dissertation, I argue that this turn away from capital and whiteness is a queer turn. Sara Ahmed's work is paired with recent thinking on what the idea of "downward mobility", the choice to forego "straight lines" of capital and reproduction aimed at continual growth, might do for thinking about queer ways of thinking and being.

Quayson suggests that reading the literary is to acknowledge that "meaning is reciprocally determined by other discourses that lie outside the literary-aesthetic domain but with which the literary artifact is obliged to interact in order to make any sense at all" (xxiii). The pre-emptive or retrospective representation of an experience colours that feeling or action such that to think of an essence of truth in reality to which literature responds, mimetically, is to miss this continual exchange and filtering of meaning between different domains. To focus on the "everyday" in my dissertation then, something that can be grasped not only in the quotidian moments of the novel (what would make it quotidian other than that which we can recognise as everyday), is to borrow from Quayson the idea that "the social ... is always an object produced out of an interrogation and thus has to be *read for*" (Quayson: xxxi). This act of "reading for" is inherently queer in the sense borrowed from Munro in that it is constantly troubling the normative that presents itself as inherently stable.

*

In a homage to Armah's *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born* and *The House of Hunger* (novels both named by Tshepo), Duiker's black township, Nyanga, echoes the aesthetic of postcolonial failure through "muddy streets", "fetid with dog shit and urine", populated by "desperate, hopeless" people, neglected children and "emaciated", dead or dying domestic animals (Duiker: 572; 574; 578). Tshepo thinks that "perhaps we are not that different from the rest of Africa, our leaders are just better thieves" and that in "capitalism...someone has to be the underdog" or "maybe it is the stifling class system" that causes such decay (Duiker: 574; 575; 577). Tshepo starts to think from off-centre once he begins, finally, to leave the violence of Cape

Town. He is not only connected to the off-centre because he is black in a city that privileges white people and erases his presence where possible, but also because he explores the limits of consciousness and of sexuality at the end of the novel. When his mind can no longer articulate a vision outside of the decay of the environment it forces him to leave the city. He is variously indispensable to the maintenance of whiteness in his otherness at the same time that his autonomy is erased and he is anonymously other. I argue that the interplay of erasure and hyper-visibility in the novel makes Cape Town a site that offers a stark representation of broader histories of racism at work in the postapartheid and postcolonial imagination.

Most critics read the novel along racial, sexual, or allegorical lines of inquiry separately, with few addressing space and capital together. Tshepo himself does not fit neatly into any national allegory, nor engages explicitly in identity based politics and for the most part is engaged in labour or consumption as part of his development. My dissertation argues that Tshepo does not *think* of race and desire separately, does not *experience* racism and desire as separate, and that Cape Town is fundamental in understanding the alienation he experiences from his desired mode of being. His development points both to the power of personal choice to shape himself and the limitations that historically racialized space and capital impose.

Furthermore, my research both explores both *The Quiet Violence of Dreams* and *The Silent Minaret* by delving into representations of Cape Town in its resonances as “the Mother City” –the birth place of colonialism–by queering and critiquing the continuities of colonialism. I argue that to eschew upward mobility is to queer norms that are at once social, cultural and racialized.. Cape Town is portrayed as the initial site of colonial contact in South Africa and the precursor to refined models of imperialism in the 21st Century. Issa overtly connects colonisation, apartheid and contemporary imperialism, particularly by Euro-American state-corporate enterprise in the Middle-East. Cape Town is thus the quintessential site of this global matrix. Tshepo, on the other hand, experiences Cape Town as an anti-black city but develops through its traumas. Bound to his experience of the city is his developing sexuality and his awakening as a political subject. Both novels queer their worlds and diverge from whiteness through acts of “downward mobility”.

My reading of the intimacy and indeterminacy of racism through representations of Cape Town offers a way to think about the postapartheid, postcolonial and queer as sites constantly being made and remade, *everyday*. It is in enforcing the deployment of static and fixed readings of the social that they are inhibited from greater autonomy in the postapartheid, postcolonial present. The existential weight they bear is loaded because of the space and its history. Their different experiences of the Cape point to a fundamental need to deviate from colonial lines and the social scripts of whiteness. Whiteness is used to describe the legacy of white supremacy, particularly the socio-economic, political and cultural power still attributed to norms associated with the white characters and worlds in these works. The city is represented as a site for excavating the historical legacies of colonialism that challenge official narratives of history and locate our focus into the everyday making of that history. Thus, together these novels attempt to articulate forgotten and ignored histories but do so in two different modes that offer rich opportunities to explore off-centre epistemologies of postapartheid culture.

The potential for parochialism in this study is not lost on me. Therefore, my introduction has sought to connect my concerns to broader ones for postcolonial, queer and critical race theory, always assuming their interest in time and history. What manifests in the dissertation is how these novels resonate with common intellectual questions in these fields of study through thinking about the specific dynamics of South Africa's postcolonial, postapartheid experiences and criticism of these representations. The question of how autonomy and individuality map onto categories of space, race, and sexual identity dramatizes the contradictions of a "free" "post"-apartheid South Africa and "post"-colonial subject. The problem of how to live in a society that is metaphorically integrated but is still literally built along lines of division remains live. Thus, the effects of space and time on Tshepo and Issa's existential conditions are read as representing equally personal, social and political concerns of postapartheid and postcolonial cultures. Concentrating on these characters is a means of holding these broader concerns in mind.

Part I: Desire, Racism and Capital in K. Sello Duiker's *The Quiet Violence of Dreams*: Seeking the Ex-centric

Readings of K Sello Duiker's *The Quiet Violence of Dreams* have missed linking its erotic content to racism in important ways. Desire and racism have been two parallel or intersecting concerns but have not been thoroughly analysed as constitutive of each other. This chapter aims to read the politics of the erotic and its relationship to racism in the novel not as separate, but as the strange bedfellows they are. Firstly, the chapter starts by analysing the racist and segregated aspects of Tshepo's relationship with his client Peter. My view is that Peter chooses Tshepo because the fact that Tshepo is black allows Peter to uphold white heteronormativity. Secondly, my analysis complicates this black-white binary by reading the dimensions of blackness in an equally racially fraught coupling between Tshepo and an African American real estate investor, Arthur. His status as a capitalist and the market logics held by both Tshepo and Arthur, particularly, their ideas on temporality and "progress", dramatize the connections between desire, racism and capital. Finally, the chapter ends by analysing Angelo's (Tshepo's alter ego as a sex worker) desire for West, an Afrikaner male and co-sex worker. His desire for West opens him up towards others, transforming Tshepo and orienting him towards those at the margins of society, the ex-centric. It also indicates racism that sometimes contradicts these very gestures. The chapter finishes by making sense of his views on time as enabling some racist thinking and practices, as well as how these perspectives also challenges exclusionary practices. Thus, the novel foregrounds recognition of the ex-centric: those usually neglected from the national imagination.

The chapter traces how *The Quiet Violence of Dreams* narrates the emergence of homosexuality into postapartheid public culture and its attendant contradictions. Most notable is how the novel and my reading of it complicates desire, pleasure and individualistic sexual politics by attending to the racial politics of desire and pleasure. I argue that the novel shows how desire can often be constituted by racism.

Sexual desire is therefore not a private issue, at least not only, because it can itself perpetuate racism in the social world. Consequently, the novel illustrates how Tshepo experiences desire as simultaneously a liberating and limiting force. The novel ultimately offers a vision of postapartheid South Africa that weaves those at the margins of society, the ex-centric, into the national imaginary.

Queer Desire, Racism and Everyday Segregation

Queer is a fraught term to use when analysing *The Quiet Violence of Dreams*. Carolin and Frenkel strongly criticise queer or raced readings—so-called “identity politics”—and readings of the novel as a national allegory because they tend to side-line the explicit same-sex sexual content of the novel (35). They argue that Duiker “explores the multiple subjective aspects of male same-sex intimacies, embracing their fluidity and *indefinability* (my emphasis)”, moving to “locate the formation of same-sex public cultures, at least in part, in *intimate desire* and *sexual pleasure* (my emphasis)” (36). Here the “indefinability” of desire is ironically gendered (i.e. the problem at hand). Thus, this section both supports and repudiates their claim to some degree. On the one hand, the novel truly does engage with sexuality in explicit ways that necessitate a reading of these moments of “sex in the text” without reducing them to rehearsed political narratives. At the same time, my reading(s) of the novel in the following sections force us to think definitively about how racism imposes itself through desire and pleasure in *The Quiet Violence of Dreams*.

During Tshepo’s employment at Steamy Windows Peter becomes a regular client, but his first visit reveals much about racist desire. Peter seeks sex with men to escape the limitations of “respectability”: Peter laments being married and having three children, in other words he laments existing in a heteronormative framework (Duiker: 351-352). We should note three things about this encounter. Firstly, Peter doesn’t “think [he] even like[s] men” and when asked if he prefers men he “immediately” responds negatively, dismissing his desire as a matter of psychic survival, as “when you learn to be [his] age you learn to adapt” (Duiker: 351-352). He dismisses a pigeonholed orientation entirely. Secondly, his private (perhaps

clandestine is a better term) life is purposefully separated from his public life (this includes social, or sometimes domestic). Peter is expressly clear with Tshepo that he is at pains to keep his social status intact and thus goes to lengths to hide his meetings with Tshepo. Peter engages in same-sex sexuality at the same time that he upholds heteronormativity. This seeming contradiction leave Peter feeling his individuality is “compromised” (Duiker: 351)⁸. This compromise has additional psychological features that invite explorations of the idea of sexual identity and then race. Carolin and Frenkel use Foucault’s distinction “between sexual acts and desires on the one hand, and the public identities that are consequently shaped around these acts and desires” to argue against reading desire in *The Quiet Violence of Dreams* as allegorical for human-rights-based “public cultures” of queer identity (37). The public cultures in the novel, however, are about white visibility, upwardly mobile or middle class males, and are often found to be racially exclusive in Duiker’s Cape Town regardless of sexuality. The clandestine culture in *Steamy Windows* feeds into this exclusionary culture, but in subtle ways whilst also providing space for the exploration of circumscribed sexuality. The relationship between Peter and Tshepo serves Tshepo’s financial interests, meets Peter’s emotional and sexual needs and maintains racial segregation in the social world. This last point is because Peter uses the legacy of racial segregation in Cape Town to his advantage so as to remain as anonymous in his actions as possible. Tshepo asks Peter why he chose him and not “one of the white boys” who work at *Steamy Windows*, to which Peter replies:

“Because you’re anonymous. Your colour makes you anonymous, just another guy. The truth is, except at work I hardly interact with black people. It makes

⁸ I want to reiterate Leo Bersani’s point about sex and politics mentioned in the introduction:

“More precisely—and more to the point of an assumption that radical sex means or leads to radical politics—many gay men could, in the late ’60s and early ’70’s, begin to feel comfortable about having “unusual” or radical ideas about what’s OK in sex without modifying one bit their proud middle-class consciousness or even their racism.” (11)

Suffice to say that I borrow from the spirit of this critique throughout this dissertation, namely, that same-sex sexuality can masquerade as liberation whilst still enabling racism and exploitative capitalist forms of citizenship.

it easier to distance myself from these excursions of mine if I do it with a black guy.”

...

“I don’t understand. You could have gone for a woman.” (Tshepo)

“That would feel closer to cheating on my wife.” (Duiker: 352)

There are two reasons that Peter visits Steamy Windows outside of his need for sex and intimacy: race and gender. It is precisely his “colour [that] makes [Tshepo] anonymous” and therefore desirable for Peter. Similarly, because Tshepo is a male Peter is able to psychologically whitewash his conscience, at least well enough to continue to visit Tshepo. Peter’s ability to resolve the moral dilemma of cheating with the least guilt possible is enabled by the fact that Cape Town is racially segregated to such an extent that outside of Steamy Windows Tshepo is a non-being *because he is black*. It is in Peter’s best interests to uphold the status quo i.e. to avoid socialising with black people so that he can continue engaging in paid-for-sex.

Heteronormativity and respectability are maintained so as to facilitate same-sex sexuality such that racial segregation is itself ironically desirable. Thus, the ability to embrace the “fluidity” of desire is premised on differential distributions of social privilege and economic power in the case of Peter. Desire is both concretely connected to race and capital then and can thus be seen as constitutive of the social world. The choices he makes in “private” are therefore directly influential in the social world. The novel thus pushes for a queering of such a distinction between pleasure and spatial politics for instance.

What then is indefinable about desire in this text? “Intimate desire” and “sexual pleasure” are undoubtedly connected to social structures of exclusion that have their roots in the apartheid construction of space. It is difficult to justify thinking about desire outside of the racist social practices within which these interactions take place. The psychological compartmentalisation that Peter engages in so as to render Tshepo a non-being at the same time that he is desirable connect his psychic life to the social life of racism in postapartheid space. Clearly, desire operates within a psycho-spatial,

racially compartmentalized world. Whiteness offers a fluidity that blackness does not: Peter can enjoy same-sex pleasures anonymously without the reality of being anonymous in centres of social power. Tshepo's blackness does not allow him to navigate the heteronormative and white world Peter has access to, yet serves as sexual labour in order to maintain this order. Tshepo represents how blackness is exploited to uphold white heteronormativity whilst being simultaneously disavowed.

Disavowal of the black body as person requires Peter to psychologically compartmentalise his action akin to the distance between himself and Tshepo as racially different in public space: both processes render whiteness respectably visible and the Other anonymous. Peter's position that sleeping with a woman "would feel closer to cheating on [his] wife" is ambiguous because it suggests an acknowledgement of guilt while it delegitimizes their interaction as outside the boundaries of cheating and, therefore, outside the proscription of what is thinkable as a prohibited act (Duiker: 352). Tshepo's race and gender are thus the prophylactic for a guilty conscience in a sense, the repository of negated feelings and actions. The double-bind of this disavowal is that Tshepo needs the money whilst Peter needs the contact for them to materially and psychically sustain themselves respectively. There is a dependency on each other for psychosexual and material wellbeing as much as there is a dependency on racial segregation in order for the relationship to work. Thus, it is clear that desire is heavily imbricated within legacies of racism and racially segregated practices.

Peter's complicity in racism points to the importance of connecting desire and social reality. Later in the text Peter acknowledges this problem during a moment of intimacy between himself and Tshepo only for them both to ignore it:

"The truth is I have become lazy, complacent. It's an English South African thing...

Ignore it, it will go away. Back in the old days I learned that hating Afrikaans was a convenient way of suggesting you condemned the government without having to do anything about it. It was a cop-out because while the Boers took the blame we, generally, took advantage. That was how things were. You did as little as possible"

I stroke his stomach. It is hard and has a few ridges. He still looks good for a Guy his age. (Duiker: 413)

Note that Tshepo makes no judgement or evaluation of this claim. Rather, he admires Peter's body. Tshepo's gaze on the white body symbolizes its social visibility and, simultaneously, Tshepo's silence in the face of his own anonymity, his own strategy of ignoring what Peter says. One way of explaining this would be to argue that Tshepo cannot challenge Peter because he provides him with a regular income. This may be true but the novel itself doesn't give any indication that Tshepo reflects on this comment. Other interactions with clients, however, such as that with Arthur, illustrate how Tshepo is willing to challenge or at least think through race. Duiker's portrayal of explicit racisms contrast with these more understated ones, masquerading as desire. It is important to recognise this because what looks like something positive—the expression of same-sex sexuality in the text—can also mask what is otherwise a more subtle and entrenched form of social segregation. In this sense, celebrating the “freedom” of desire can mystify social relations. The novel asks us to analyse the more subtle, quotidian forms of racism that uphold social inequality and racial segregation in postapartheid South Africa.

There are moments, for instance, where Pucherova, Munro, Carolin and Frenkel highlight racism in the text. For example, Carolin and Frenkel argue that the novel subverts the depiction of black male sexuality in its colonial tropes. The subversion is through “Tshepo's embodied subjectivity and his earlier admission that he has a ‘small shy penis’” (Duiker 91). This statement by Tshepo easily sits aside others that trade on racial stereotypes and do not necessarily represent a complete turn from racist colonial and apartheid tropes. Chris for example, Tshepo's roommate who along with his gang friends from prison brutally rapes Tshepo, is depicted as stereotypically violent and predatory as a coloured man⁹. Bernard Fortuin notes that members of the coloured community protested against a local anti-drunk driving campaign that used coloured male prison-gangsters to trade on the trope of prison rape as potential punishment for drunk drivers. The campaign “perpetuated the

⁹ Coloured here is a specific cultural community in South Africa.

stereotype that men of colour were criminal and threatening” in the same way the novel represents Chris as this figure (Fortuin: 129). Furthermore, this section has also pointed to the less visible but no less important forms of racism in the novel. These tropes are part and parcel of the exclusionary nature of Peter’s world and the novel’s public gay culture.

This is clear when Tshepo begins to inhabit Angelo, his work pseudonym and alter-ego that functions to transform his views on both sexuality and race. It is, for example, a matter of course when reflecting on his clients Angelo asks, “Where are all the black men?” (Duiker: 440). Then again, when he becomes increasingly alienated as Angelo, becoming Angelo-Tshepo, he emphatically states that “gay-friendly places are still a white male preserve” and that “as gay men (of colour) we don’t stand as equals” and are “in awe of white men” (Duiker: 556)¹⁰. This simultaneous orientation towards white men while being rejected by them in a public (gay) space, is the inverse of Peter’s desire-exclusion logic, which is desire for invisibility rather than visibility. The overt and subtle racisms uphold these exclusionary structures in ways that do not cancel each other out in the brief moments that challenge these stereotypes.

In the next section, I look at how blackness is viewed and how Tshepo and Arthur, both black characters, deploy racist practices in their own way. However, before this I want to provide a scene where the novel challenges whiteness as the dominant desirable gay aesthetic, even if it deploys the hyper-masculine as desirable. Tshepo’s desire for Chris mixes physical and emotional attraction and thus diverges from the optical nature of desire that has thus far been so problematic. When Chris returns to their apartment after a run Tshepo admires and desires his “amber skin, his muscles tight and twitching”, his “sensual presence”, “powerful arms and strong but elegant neck” (Duiker: 219). This mixture of qualities walks the line of portraying Chris in the usual repertoire of physicality that is attributed to coloured men, and with it the hint of danger, as well as offering “elegance” and “sensuality” as part of his masculinity. Furthermore, Tshepo also finds it “hard to ignore” Chris’ personal qualities: “do-or-

¹⁰ Despite this, I note how Angelo excuses this racism in the name of a desire for whiteness in the final section of Part I.

die resolve”, “his laugh” that reveals “the depth of his humanity” in rare moments of vulnerability and the allure of “being sucked in by his charm, his presence” (Duiker: 220). Rather than exclusively optical or raw physical descriptions, the novel uses this moment to give depth to the dimensions of desire beyond the racist optics already addressed. When Chris finally rapes him, and fulfills the negative stereotype about coloured masculinity, which I address later in the chapter, it is important to consider that this stereotype has these other dimensions to it. Again, my point here is to emphasize that there is no clear-cut line between the overt and subtle forms of stereotyping and racism in the novel that suggests they are subverted.

In this section I’ve tried to make a case for thinking about desire in the novel as complicit with and constituted by racism. First, I attempted to illustrate how desire upholds heteronormativity and racial segregation. My purpose was to point to the understated, as opposed to clearly marked acts of racist desire. Then, I argued that Tshepo deploys these practices in his own way, thus challenging any simple notion of racism in postapartheid South Africa as a white-black Manichean struggle. Finally, I’ve suggested that the novel’s construction of racism and of racial others is not only optical. The following section explores racist tropes between black characters and the logic embedded in the idea of progress that challenges *blackness* as a universal signifier. This challenge has implications both for the way Tshepo and Arthur see one another, as well as the way in which they view and interact with the historical legacy each brings to the conversation. This analysis will then lead us to the final section where I think about how Tshepo’s historical and temporal frames impact his view on his social and ethical obligations to those who are marginalised, whilst also engaging and using racism to enable desire as his alter-ego, Angelo.

“Real African Man”: Racism, Progress and Blackness

When Thabo Tsehloane reads *The Quiet Violence of Dreams*, he conceives of it as a national allegory and engages with the ways that the novel represents autonomy in relation to the continuities of restrictive racial and racist practices. He asserts that

the novel attempts to represent the “basic human desire” to overcome “limitations, imperfections and restrictions” and, although he uses “the human” in the general and unraced ways rejected in the introduction of this dissertation, he highlights the importance of autonomy as a central concern of Duiker’s novel (Tsehloane: 89). In other words, he centres the question of how to act against racial, capital, and historical “limitations” and “restrictions”. This section addresses limitations and restrictions placed upon Tshepo’s bodily integrity and autonomy by the capitalist logics of Steamy Windows. This includes the various sexual and racial fantasies that clients attempt to fulfil through the use of Tshepo’s body.

Initially, working at Steamy Windows provides financial and psychological benefits, such as the space to explore his sexuality and control what acts he will or will not perform as part of paid sex work. However, this freedom is restricted because Tshepo’s body is always subject to scripts imposed upon it by clients. When a gay couple arrives in hopes of having penetrative sex, Tshepo refuses this request because it is a boundary he is not yet willing to cross. This refusal indicates the degree of autonomy he has over his labour. They proceed to engage in oral sex together and the couple engage with him as if they are all in a “gay porn video” by using contrived sexual talk (Duiker: 415). This leaves Tshepo “feeling empty, like a whore”, rather than “feeling like a psychologist, a confidant, more than anything else” (Duiker: 415). There are two important points to note about this scene. The first is that because the clients use him to fulfil their sexual fantasy scripts, even when he refuses certain kinds of service, he is still cannot refuse sexual scripts he dislikes or that cause discomfort. His autonomy in Steamy Windows has this ambivalent quality more generally. Secondly, speaking to his distinction between his work and the work of a “whore”, there is a desire for respectability that seems to be a product of his relationship to Steamy Windows as an *establishment*. There is thus an attachment of status to capital, regardless of its nature, such that Steamy Windows is respectable by virtue of being an institutionalised business. In other words, sex work is respectable so long as it is sanitised and regulated by capital within a brick and mortar shop. When Tshepo is called to meet an African American investor at an exclusive hotel nearby, the questions around the relationship between the control of his body and capital is complicated by the various deployments of blackness in the scene. It is

particularly complex because Arthur, the client, is an African American seeking a “real African man”.

Arthur is a real estate investor from Washington D.C. who is scouting for business opportunities in Cape Town. The use of Washington D.C. as his city of origin and political capital of the U.S. coupled with his capital interest in land symbolically represent both the reaches of American capitalism, as well as Cape Town as a site within its arm’s length. It also connects African American identity to this symbolic order, so that national and geographic boundaries shape different forms of blackness. The setting for their interaction is at the Mount Nelson Hotel, which is queerly figured as having both a “grand and intimidating” aesthetic, as well as security guards in “comical colonial uniform” (Duiker: 416 and 422). The ambivalence of the setting evokes the multiple layers of racial, capital and historical signs packed into this short scene. The symbolic economy at work links American capital, colonial histories, aesthetics, and African American identity. This imbrication of race, capital and history is unpacked in the rest of this section.

Arthur’s immediately invites Tshepo to the bedroom and begins to ask leading questions designed to elicit responses to fit his racial fantasies of a “real African man”. These include questions about Tshepo’s ethnicity, asking “what tribe he is from”, as a means to interpolating Tshepo into his fantasy of “a real African man” (Duiker: 417). There is clearly a distinct difference for Arthur between the tribal African Other and the modern African American. The colonial discourse that Arthur uses to exoticise Tshepo’s body is registered as dehumanising. His internal response to Arthur’s tribal question is to be “irritated”, naturally, as he notes how the imagination of the African Other used here employs a register reserved for animals, tribe being synonymous with “breed” in the way Arthur uses it (Duiker: 417-418). This scene can be read to prompt readers to consider the potential complicity of black subjects in racist practice: Arthur interpolates Tshepo by appealing to colonial and apartheid discourse on black men as hyper-masculine (as well as implied hyper-sexuality) to stoke his fantasy. Arthur proceeds to ask more questions trading on racist images of Africans that are also inflected with an ignorance about homosexuality in Africa. For instance:

“So what’s it like being gay and black in South Africa?”

“I’m sure nothing different to being gay and black in America.”

“Yes, but Africans are so... How should I put it? You’re expected to be manly, aren’t you?” (Duiker: 417-418)

Arthur uses an exceptionally uninformed view of the diversity of African masculinities in his fantasy by thinking that Africa is homogenous. This concept of Africa subsumes national, linguistic, ethnic, religious, cultural, political and social difference under a single sign that is code for “black”. His racist attitude of blackness as a single entity also thinks of “African” masculinity as stereotypically “manly”. His use of a heteronormative masculinity renders “gay” and “African” a contradiction. The presumed contradiction illustrates how heteronormative assumptions and racism mutually constitute one another. Tshepo exercises his autonomy by speaking back to Arthur’s Othering suggesting a connection between their experiences as black men. However, Arthur maintains a difference based on his American identity and thus disavows the African in African American, in so far as he sees strong cultural differences. In other words, Arthur’s proximity to the West, to capital, and whiteness is what differentiates one type of blackness from another.

American citizenship is the distinguishing factor of who is “really” black, who is Other in this interaction. In a sense, Arthur’s sexualisation of Tshepo makes the American somewhat of an “honorary white” since he is black but not the African Other, “not like them”. Paradoxically, while in the United States Arthur would come to embody distance, to use Ahmed’s term introduced earlier, as that which is not normative, not proximate to whiteness. This exchange illustrates how national context is important for thinking about race because in this scene Tshepo embodies distance in Arthur’s mind because the latter is an African *American*. His identity as an African *American* capitalist, coupled with the fact he is being housed in the aesthetically colonial Mount Nelson Hotel, means that whiteness isn’t necessarily dependent on *being* white in a phenotypic sense. Capital and certain types of citizenship can thus by proxy constitute whiteness.

Their interaction proceeds to raise questions about race more explicitly, as after Tshepo returns from the bathroom they dialogue about racism, blackness and progress. Arthur and Tshepo’s discussion about the transnational differences of

blackness and citizenship raise questions about how being black in America as opposed to being black in South Africa—or even in the West and Africa more broadly speaking— means having more or less access to capital respectively. In this instance, Arthur as an American is invested in the idea that America represents “progress” and capital thus, difference in citizenship is conflated with historical difference. Arthur, for instance, asserts that Africa is “still way behind” in terms of infrastructure, capital and culture (Duiker: 419). The implication is that he is black in a way that is modern and therefore not African. This implication echoes colonial narratives that asserted an ontological difference between the less evolved African and the advanced European, the use of which is an aspiration to whiteness. Arthur’s concept of modern seems to be in terms of material and technological progress: progress is “air conditioning, fast food and easy access” (Duiker: 419). The modern is thus linked to the power of capital to grant material comforts. Tshepo, on the other hand, offers an alternative concept of progress that is more humanistic in that “real progress” is to become “better people, inside” (Duiker: 419). Tshepo’s concept of progress is attached to what Africa offers by way of “opportunities” to be better people (Duiker: 420). These two competing concepts of progress raise questions about the value of capital accumulation versus ethics. Tshepo does not define what goodness is but by the end of the novel his choice to be downwardly mobile is a choice to live a life that attempts to include the marginalised and care for the neglected.

Arthur might experience the privileges of whiteness in South Africa as an American, but he is denied those same privileges in America. Arthur says that “to be black in America is different than being black in Africa” because Tshepo “belong[s]” whereas African American “metabolism... moods... and the way [African Americans] socialise” makes them feel like “guests in [their] own country”, even though someone like Arthur may feel in part “as American as the next white American” (Duiker: 421). A paradox exists in that Arthur simultaneously asserts that he belongs to Africa but is not African given his views on African masculinity as homogenous and different from being gay and black in America. Another paradox exists in that he believes that America is the pinnacle of “progress”, yet it is still racist and inhospitable to black people. His assertion that he feels “as American as the next white man” implicitly recognises that he is not perceived as an equal citizen to the next white man. This belief however, does not square with the fact that white Americans are not native to

America and therefore if Arthur feels that he does not belong in the same way as “the next white American”, then belonging cannot be about geographical origins that produce particular “metabolism(s)”. Tshepo says as much when he points out that “if anyone should lay claim to America” based on Arthur’s thinking, both in terms of geographical belonging and the historical dispossession of those who “had nothing”, “were nothing” and “were like property”, then it should be “Native Americans” (421). When Tshepo highlights other American suffering by comparing the African American experience of slavery to the Native American experience of colonialism, genocide and slavery, he is challenging Arthur to think outside his own concept of racial identity. Arthur’s narrow vision of blackness has already been used to justify racist Othering of the African body and elision of the Native American experience of suffering under white American rule. Thus, the novel offers up a critique of narrow concepts of national and racial identity by thinking about the differences of blackness in terms of its proximity to whiteness and within the boundaries of nationhood.

Duiker thus engages with big questions about blackness and marginality, or the ex-centric. The parochial and narrow focus on American blackness forecloses the possibility of transcultural, transnational and transracial solidarity. Arthur’s selective and narrowly focussed identity politics forecloses solidarity with Native American others in this instance. Tshepo’s astute interrogation of blackness is sustained throughout the novel and also opens possibilities, creating networks of belonging among other forms of excluded blackness. For example, he admonishes his black South African friend Mmabatho for expressing xenophobic sentiments about African migrants in South Africa as bad for the nation and finds a home among them by adhering to a radically inclusive ethic (Duiker: 346; see Pucherova, pp. 938-939 and Higginbotham, pp. 16-17). At the same time however, Tshepo also engages in his own myopic thinking on blackness and being African. For instance, Tshepo has a subtly cynical and somewhat dismissive attitude when he listens to Arthur talk about slavery. Tshepo’s internal dialogue registers how “every time they speak about slavery, you’d think it was only yesterday... it has branded their memory”, as if Arthur represents all the postures “they” can take on slavery and race (Duiker: 420). His cynicism is not about the effects of slavery, but rather about the importance of memory and, particularly, memories that seem to him impractical and unproductive for the present. Hence, Tshepo also suggests that in some sense, Arthur should move

on and “celebrate the past” in the sense of having “survived” it (Duiker: 421). Here Tshepo suggests that to focus on the pain of slavery, to have an emotional relationship to historical injustice will just “weigh you down” and thus advocates for a disavowal of the past, at least in a partial sense (Duiker: 421). The dismissal of Arthur’s pain enacts a violence of its own and points to the problems of Tshepo’s own selective ways of engaging with histories of racial violence.

The selective memory Tshepo advocates for here is evident in his own thinking. He thinks of the “humiliation” and “suffering” of American slavery as opaque and believes he cannot “appreciate enough their experience” because he is a “free-born African” (Duiker: 420). He mentions that apartheid “can’t even compare” with that type of suffering, but does not think of slavery as part of South African history (Duiker: 420). As a result, because of his selective historical thinking and disavowal of local histories of slavery, Tshepo is unable to register the possibility of a historically-based solidarity. It is likely that his notion of progress, internal progress, plays a role in this disavowal. In other words, the idea that Arthur should let go of the pain is based on Tshepo’s suggestion that “I have suffered” should become “I have survived”, a form of linear “inner progress”. At the same time that his disavowal of capital for inner progress offers a way to think beyond the exploitative relations of capital, it also opens up the possibility of a historical elision that forecloses solidarity with Arthur in this specific instance. There is a sense that whilst Tshepo’s critique of progress challenges the idea that capital accumulation defines superiority—who is “ahead”—the logic of “internal progress” also risks elisions of the historical workings of colonial and slave capital animating the present. If anything, in so far as Tshepo critiques upward mobility and prefers a queer turn toward personal development, Arthur’s queerness consists of his refusal to embrace the internal progress narrative.

This section has illustrated how global capital nests in racist desire and the privileges of citizenship that grants black Americans a proximity to whiteness when outside of the boundaries of the US nation-state. In turn there are also ways that privileging interiority and self-development elides historical injustice. The ambivalence of this critique—American prejudice meets a certain kind of self-stylisation within South Africa—suggests that it is difficult to tease apart the component terms of racism resulting in slippages that render the black subject complicit with quotidian racism.

In other words, blackness, in the novel, has more than one form and varies in its iterations, such that blackness can be complicit in oppressiveness. We can think of blackness in relation to its manifested proximity to whiteness by attending to the various subversions of and slippages into the racist practices that the novel identifies and that this section opens to critique. The next section continues to engage with questions about race and racist desire, by exploring how the idea concept of “sexual preference” as it relates to orientation is a way to underplay the degree to which sexual desire is imbricated with racism and the logic of the market.

Time, Self and the Ex-Centric

You mustn't get confused about the sex, hey? Sex is always the same whether you do it with a man or a woman, it's just a matter of choosing. How do you say again? Preferences.

Karel a.k.a Kalahari West

(Duiker: 323)

This quote reveals the ideological framing of sex work at Steamy Windows that attempts to mask the ways in which gender (and race) inform “preference”. The speaker is a young Afrikaans male named Karel, who works under the pseudonym West or Kalahari West and, although not much older than Tshepo, is an experienced sex worker. The idea that gender is incidental and is “just a matter of choosing” is at odds with the previous sections of this dissertation that argue “preference” is *always* historically constituted. Here West’s statement raises three related problems. Firstly, preference and the power to choose must contend with the demands of the client. Even when Tshepo refuses to perform anal sex with clients, for instance, the previous section illustrated how he is objectified and racialised beyond his control as part of the demands placed on his labour. The client’s preferences take precedence over his own. Secondly, Tshepo is treated as a fetish object, as discussed in earlier sections and thus the client’s preference for Tshepo is often rooted in a mystification of

objectification or racism. Arthur treats Tshepo as racial fetish, Peter uses Tshepo to uphold respectability and the couple interpolate Tshepo into their pornographic fantasy. Finally, the rhetoric of choice obscures the importance of thinking about the connections between sexuality, sexual rights and racism, and the limits imposed on autonomy. Take as an example Tshepo's assertion that the stigma of homosexuality as unnatural and un-African is a "watered down" version of what is "authentically African culture"¹¹ along with the fact that still inhibits his sexuality (Duiker: 329). Despite his personal beliefs culture clearly informs how his "preference" is or isn't expressed. Ultimately, if the ideology of "preference" obscures the workings of the market logics of Steamy Windows, then it does so by denying the ways that desire is always open to the influence of oppressive sexual and racial norms.

The novel represents diverse sexual, racial and gendered dynamics and so this statement by West in Steamy Windows, as part of Tshepo's introduction to the brothels ideological scaffold, nests the seeming "openness" of desire and its possibilities within the market commodification of sexuality. A central question is that of how *access* to resources enables consumption. Arthur and Peter choose Tshepo based on their capital advantage and ability to demand Tshepo to perform the roles they want of him, to varying degrees of success, in ways that use racism and heteronormativity to their advantage. Other workers must also conform to client demands in oppressive ways. Hence, Karel is fired from Steamy Windows because of a dispute with a client over payment. Sean, the owner, summarily fires Karel because he protests against this unjust treatment and thus poses a threat to the foundational market logic of Steamy Windows. While other workers must also conform to perform particular sexual scripts, the novel focusses on the racial dimensions of Tshepo's experience and thus draws a distinction between the workers as an equally exploited class group, but differentially exploited according to race. This illustrates that Steamy Windows can only accommodate its utopian visions and liberatory possibilities within the constraints of the market.

¹¹ This is not a quote from the text and instead mark's my pragmatic use of the term in order to facilitate an open approach to what "African culture" might mean.

Before pursuing my next point there is an important formal quality of the novel to mention. Tshepo adopts the moniker of Angelo when he begins working at Steamy Windows and this ultimately becomes an alter-ego. The novel is divided into sections headed by the names of the characters who are narrating each part. The narrative for Tshepo becomes the narrative of Angelo while he works at Steamy Windows and returns to Tshepo once he leaves Steamy Windows and Cape Town. There is a distinct ideological difference between Tshepo and Angelo. The following scenes follow Angelo's thoughts and ideas on "progress" that are distinctly different to the notions of "progress" that Tshepo uses to challenge Arthur in the previous section. Angelo's desire for intimacy is shown to rationalise racism in the name of his love. Thus, the following section indicates how, in some sense, Tshepo-Angelo holds multiple beliefs of "progress" that contradict and inform one another. Ultimately, it is through the racism and exploitation that he experiences as Angelo that he sheds the beliefs that seem to uphold racist norms.

After Karel is fired, Angelo goes to visit him at his family home on a farm outside of Cape Town. There he begins to re-evaluate his life as Angelo. This reflection has ambivalent politics, but is ultimately part of a circular development that ends with Tshepo leaving Steamy Windows and gaining a greater sense of autonomy. At the farm however, Angelo displays disconcerting views on historical injustice by thinking about apartheid and colonialism through romantic and pastoral metaphors: "They also love the land... it is also their home" he says, thinking about Afrikaners (Duiker: 475). Despite his unease with the Afrikaner role in apartheid, his love for Karel is used to rationalise historical injustice. In a sense, this is a repetition of his earlier suggestion that Arthur transforms his view of the past to be "future", as opposed to "past" oriented. This particular reflection on the land and belonging is disconcerting because it sits alongside an incidence of racism that Tshepo witnesses in the farm town centre that Karel ultimately rationalises because "you can't turn away from your people, even the ones that don't know certain things" (Duiker: 479). The intimate connection between West and himself prompts broader historical and social reflection that opens the possibilities of connection across historically racialised divides at the same time that it sits uneasily alongside continued racism.

The idea of sexual preference, as critiqued above, aids this type of historical racism because it attempts to sever desire from histories of violence. The use of multiple narrators in the novel, including the Tshepo-Angelo dialectic, has been used to argue that multiplicity centralises individual pleasure above rigid sexual categories and also that the commodification of all workers' bodies at Steamy Windows undermines the idea that exploitation and desire are necessarily tied to race in the novel. Carolin alone and then with Frenkel respectively argue that:

Through the multiplicity of perspectives that structure the novel, Duiker deconstructs the validity of rigid sexual categories and recovers the pleasures and ambiguities of individual experiences from the periphery of sexuality discourses. (Carolin, 50)

Claims that the commodification of bodies is related unquestionably to race are undermined by the fact that the significance of racial classifications is mitigated when both Tshepo (265) and West (292) are described in terms of the particulars of their bodies and the size of their penises. (Carolin and Frenkel, 46)

Consider this view with the quote from West in mind. If we ignore gender as irrelevant to the "pleasures and ambiguities of individual experience", then it's true that for West it seems to be the case that rigid sexual categories don't matter. However, "pleasure and ambiguity" cannot be decoupled their embedded racial context, for the very pursuit of pleasure often seems to be constituted by a desire to fulfil racial fantasies. They also trade on the individual's ability to buy these experiences in Steamy Windows as well as the barriers of the exclusionary gay clubs and bars that police racial boundaries through selectively accommodating white gay men. Tshepo is treated terribly by staff at one bar and rejected at a club by a bouncer because of racism. Thus, despite the fact that racism in these places is acknowledged in the articles, these critics still contend that because all the workers are commodified that the question of race isn't always at play. This, however, trades on the assumption that whiteness isn't itself raced: a contention I have thus far argued against by noting how whiteness centres itself as social norm by making blackness Other.

In one sense though, it is possible to concede that the use of multiple narrative perspectives does dispense with simplistic notions of gender and sexuality. For instance, even though Arthur expects Tshepo to be manly, Sebastian, one of his co-workers, fully identifies as a “sissy, queen” and therefore “queens” (my usage) masculinity (Duiker: 448). Sebastian also says that the men that seek him are perhaps not interested in simple gender binaries and that “perhaps they want someone who can resolve the differences between the two sexes... a woman who ejaculates like a man. Or a man who can be penetrated like a woman” (QV, 448). Carolin notes at least four different perspectives on gender and sexuality, including the quote used as the epigraph to this section (Carolin: 49-50). It is in this regard that we differ most notably, for the reasons outlined in the previous two sections. Sebastian identifying as “queen” does subvert heteronormativity when compared to Arthur’s assertion that manliness is tied to heterosexuality because Arthur is unable to think of African and gay compatible, along with gay and manly as compatible. To reiterate another point about race, Peter’s fluidity and lack of rigid gender preference pivots on the moral logic he uses to justify sex with Tshepo that depends on racial segregation in the social world. Therefore, I agree with Carolin and Frenkel that sexuality in *The Quiet Violence of Dreams* cannot be reduced to a “coming out” narrative (as is argued by Munro) or that there is a necessary relationship between fluid sexuality and representable political constituencies (40). However, this is not only because Tshepo’s sexuality is rendered with “ambiguity”, or overt racism, as they acknowledge, but also because there is no relationship that is not raced, even when racism isn’t obviously present.

There are also incidences in the novel where multiple perspectives cannot reconcile other conflicts neither, such as class tension. At one point Tshepo rooms with a recently released prisoner, Chris, and begins to develop a romantic and sexual infatuation with Chris. Despite Tshepo’s longing and initial acts of friendliness between the two, the relationship turns violent as Chris becomes increasingly hostile to Tshepo’s world view and what Chris perceives as an air of superiority based on class distinction. Even though they come from differently classified apartheid racial groups, it is still class that Chris focusses on as his main bone of contention. Chris, accompanied by two fellow gangsters he met in prison, ultimately rapes Tshepo in an act of domination. During the build up to this act it is what he perceives as Tshepo’s

middle-class sensibilities that infuriates him the most. In order to prove to himself that Tshepo is “not as good as he pretends” Chris abuses him, intimidates him, steals from him, and connives his way into Tshepo’s position at their work as a waiter (this is what spurs Tshepo into working at Steamy Windows) so as to provoke Tshepo to “break” his moral codes (Duiker: 279; 278). Thus, the class conflict between them is violent and remains unresolved.

Additionally, when Chris and his friends rape Tshepo one of them remarks that Tshepo is now “nice and wet”, which makes an analogy of this same-sex rap as an act of sex between “man” and “woman” (my usage) (Duiker: 281). This challenges the idea that gender and sexual fluidity is necessarily a cause for celebration and implies that the imposition of rigid sexual-gender binaries exist sits alongside more self-made types of gendering. After taking Tshepo’s job Chris thinks that Tshepo “doesn’t think he’s better anymore”, indicating how Chris’ perception of class-based superiority is important and that by doing “what I had to” to make Tshepo lose his job and to then get that job, Chris enables his own upward mobility (Duiker: 278). There is therefore an ambivalence to the question of class that only focussing on Steamy Windows does not fully address the myriad ways in which race, class and sexuality operate through the novel. Ultimately, multiple perspectives both open and foreclose potential non-racial class solidarity and potential non-violent fluid gender and sexual categories. In some sense, as outlined above, they can actually function to illustrate the limitations and social forces that inhibit the types of self-made sexual and gender freedom that has been read into these scenes. Thus, they place the focus on the impositions of the social and cultural world on the individual, as opposed to highlighting individuality per say.

Is there a category of action, sex, which is not also complicit in racism or sexism or exploitation of power dynamics? The text resists being read as a celebration of desire and the individual unmarked by limitations of racism and capital. In turn this pushes us to think about the correlate search for community and connection to others through these limitations. Some promises for such connections exist in thinking about sex in desexualised ways at different points in the novel. Karel, for example, thinks of sex as “a way of communicating, a way of saying things” (Duiker: 323). This moves us away from thinking of sex in terms of individual pleasure and more in

terms of relationships with others. Towards the end of the novel Angelo-Tshepo has sex with a man that “is not making love” but “a process of communicating” through a series of mystical experiences (Duiker 594). The man encourages him to move to Johannesburg and there he becomes Tshepo again and meets with men for intimacy and to connect with others to re-envision the world. Thus, his exploration of sex as communication pries open the grip commodification has had on his sexuality.

Cheryl Stobie argues that these scenes of mystical conversion position Tshepo as a messianic figure because at the end of the novel Tshepo has clandestine communication with a cabal of powerful men while he works at a children’s’ home, thus portraying Tshepo as straddling both power and marginality, and being a steward for the next generation. Stobie argues that this grants Tshepo “the mantle of [a] superior being, black gay male, a key member of a shadowy but mystically endowed group of illuminati” that “runs the risk of endorsing patriarchal, phallogocentric and misogynistic attitudes and practices” (134). It is certainly true that the novel ends with a strong masculine resolution to the problems raised in the novel and this does exclude woman and non-gender conforming beings from the novel’s vision of a different world. Notwithstanding the gendered exclusion, the novel importantly signals a drift away from individual desire towards a nonetheless collective vision that seeks some form of inclusion beyond the capital and racist logics Tshepo must contend with. Hence, when throughout its length the novel gives voice to marginal figures—the sex worker, gay and, particularly, black gay and bisexual characters, Rastas, mystics and mythical beings, ex-convicts, people the township, the African migrant in Hillbrow, and neglected children (addressed more robustly in Part II)—it is a gesture towards de-centering the individual and reaching out to the marginalised, even if in an ambivalent manner at times. Thus, my reading departs from the idea of sexuality as being more about individual pleasure than collective problems in the novel.

This ambivalence is best thought about in terms of the aforementioned transitions between Angelo and Tshepo, which track the move from a focus on the individual pleasure of the self to thinking about the ex-centric. As noted earlier, Tshepo is initially opposed to the narrative of “material progress” in his interaction with Arthur. However, as Angelo he advocates for a selective historical memory when it

comes to issues of colonial and capital oppression: he asserts that people “don’t stop to wonder whether slaves or unionized labourers built... [the] Inca shrines, the pyramids... or any other remnant of the old world” and therefore we shouldn’t be so focussed on the legacy of apartheid (Duiker: 474). He thus subsumes oppression under the sign of “material progress” by suggesting that the cultural tendency to disavow historical injustice suffices as an argument against historicising the present¹². Angelo proceeds to romanticise “the early pioneers” and “the buildings, the railways... and other marvels of infrastructure they brought to this land, the progress”; and as an afterthought he acknowledges the “cost– it undermined the inward progress of African culture” (Duiker: 475). This juxtaposition of “material progress” and “inward progress” is a deviation from the opposition Tshepo maintained to “material progress” prior to Angelo assuming narrative lead. The implication is that “inner progress” is no longer more important than “material progress”. Yet, it ironically repeats the contradictory assertions Tshepo makes earlier regarding Arthur’s continued remembrance of slavery. It is only after he returns to Cape Town that Tshepo-Angelo begins to acknowledge the present legacy of the violence of the past. Thus, at the same time that novel is at pains to represent marginalised people in its later stages, through Tshepo’s openness towards the Other (covered in more detail in the section “The Quiet Violence of Dreams, Whiteness and Queering Impossible Space”), it simultaneously has moments where Tshepo and Angelo’s ahistorical thinking align and ignore racism, contradicting their gestures towards Otherness.

One way to think of these contradictions is as a critique of aspirations to whiteness. The change in perspective correlates to the changes in name: Angelo signifies a Euro-Centric world view whilst Tshepo signifies an Afro-Centric one—an ex-centric perspective. Holland addresses this dichotomy as one where “those who order the world, who are world-making master time—those animals *and humans* who are perceived as having no world-making effects—merely occupy space” (Holland: 10). Thus, when he adopts the posture of justifying colonial violence he takes on the name

¹² Compare this to Tshepo’s response to Arthur earlier in the novel. Tshepo is opposed to privileging material progress while Angelo is comfortable in justifying oppression in the name of material progress.

of Angelo to imbibe a world-making identity and assert his place in the now. When the plot returns to being narrated by Tshepo it represents a change in his ideological outlook on “progress” and thus, by the end of the novel, he has rejected the capitalist logics of Cape Town and migrated to Johannesburg to work in a children’s home. One way to conceptualise Tshepo’s move to Johannesburg is through Derrick Higginbotham’s notion of downward mobility addressed in the introduction. Downward mobility represents a queer turn away from the reproductive, straight logics of capital and “material progress”. Angelo fully (Duiker: 440-445) emerges as the narrator earlier in the text after Tshepo chooses to engage in anal sex and in so doing to be invested in individualistic pleasure, wherein he “forget(s) everything” he means “to anyone” or himself while in the throes of sexual pleasure (Duiker: 443). This ecstatic moment of self-shattering has no relation to a political or collective outlook and isn’t, as Leo Bersani notes, in any way necessarily connected to radical politics (11). When Tshepo becomes Angelo through this self-shattering there is a brief reprieve from racial awareness.

Angelo’s identity is based on individual choice and preference but is shattered when he experiences various levels of racism within this community, which remind him that market logic is bound to racism. Tshepo on the other hand is most acutely aware of race and capital and its exclusionary effects (Duiker: 457-464). When transitioning out of Steamy Windows and Cape Town, Angelo-Tshepo goes to Nyanga and is reminded of his blackness even more so than when he is pushed to the outside of the gay-white-community because of racism. This social segregation is mirrored in the city architecture that places Nyanga far outside of white capital. This moment shatters Angelo’s ability to ignore the racial inequity produced by capital and makes the ideological and spatial violence of his historical elision untenable. Angelo becomes Tshepo as the former is no longer able to ignore the racial dynamics hidden by the ideological gloss covering Steamy Windows’ market logic. Thus, the reality of material abjection and racist spatial segregation undoes the ideological alter-ego, Angelo. This split also challenges a simple linear bildungsroman style-narrative of development Angelo takes. Through this circular character development, the changes in narrators illustrate a queering of his aspirations to whiteness and a focus on the ex-centric. It is a turn away from the individual to the collective.

The development of Tshepo through Angelo and back to Tshepo again indicates not only a split self but also a queer movement that resists “straight directions” in the sense that Sara Ahmed attributes to the heteronormative subject “for whom to follow a line might be a way of becoming straight” (16). Tshepo’s deviations from narratives of upward mobility by dropping out of his postgraduate studies, his exploration of different states of consciousness, engaging in sex work and his mystical experiences are all forms of queer development. Queer development here occurs through the disorientation of violence, of finding his sexuality and leaving Cape Town, he is able to arrive at a queer place. He does develop, but the circularity of this change refuses a narrative of development that privileges the normative or assimilation. Rather, he turns towards the ex-centric through his development and deviates from whiteness both physically and psychically. This new sense of disorientation is different from the self-shattering moment earlier because the disorientation results in an expressly political turn towards marginalised others. Despite the painful process of disorientation, Ahmed argues that these “losses can be converted into the joy of a future that has been opened up” and indeed, the second Chapter explores this future in more detail (Ahmed: 20). Tshepo opens his world to connect with the figure of the migrant, children and the black majority, the ex-centric. Thus, *The Quiet Violence of Dreams* prompts us to embrace the disorientation of a different social and political order, with all its attendant remnants, and think about postapartheid South Africa by reorienting us to the nation through its margins.

Part II: Queer Directions: History, Space and the Ex-centric in *The Silent Minaret* and *The Quiet Violence of Dreams*

The Silent Minaret and *The Quiet Violence of Dreams* orient our thinking about representations of history, space, and the ex-centric in queer directions. The intimate racisms explored thus far are embedded in the historical contexts of these novels, particularly their representations of race and capital at the Cape. I argue that *The Silent Minaret's* protagonist, Issa, represents the Cape as a site that is rich for contemplating a philosophy of historical representation. This philosophy offers an interpretative framework that reads the formal and conceptual treatment of history and time as the foundation of the political horizons that appear in each text. Issa's PhD thesis on the history of the early Cape orients the reader in multiple directions, refusing straight answers about concepts of truth, subjectivity and politics. Together, Issa and Tshepo orient us toward historically and spatially marginalized populations. They focus on acknowledging and cultivating relationships with those who fall to the peripheries of society: the ex-centric.

This orientation eschews the normative frameworks of each novels respective world. Thus, both texts share an ex-centric political orientation, in their own right. These re-orientations away from the normative are established through moments, experiences and social contexts of instability and the recognition of contradictions that make life impossible for each protagonist. For example, Issa's choice of a life in exile from post-apartheid South Africa, is influenced by his philosophy of history, one that recognises the persistence of colonial logics in the post-apartheid present. Yet, his movements between the U.K., Palestine and South Africa, reveal the persistence of this problem, rather than alleviating it. Duiker's text is reliant on instability: socio-cultural and personal traumas, an errant trajectory and multiple, non-normative states of consciousness. Together these texts represent a fragmentary experience of space and time, suturing the past and present, the north and south, in ways that

refuse neat ontological distinctions between the past and the present, especially because of the persistent social forms caused by colonialism

His PhD thesis on the early Cape recuperates the idea of mixed and hybrid social formations that have been erased by the fixed ideological, social and spatial borders of colonial, apartheid and post-9/11 methods of anchoring white socio-economic power. Issa suddenly disappears in London while writing his PhD after trying to intervene in a police raid on a local mosque that is housing refugees from Afghanistan. Kagiso, his adopted brother, comes to London to search for Issa and even though he never finds Issa, he is powerfully transformed by Issa's memory and work. Issa's life stands as an example to Kagiso who chooses downward mobility over capital opportunities because of Issa's commitment to a politics that rejects the marginalisation of politically weak demographics through legal and political practices of policing difference, as well as the cultural forms and historical practices that obfuscate histories of violence. One way this manifests is in Issa and Kagiso's refusal to let their respective histories and cultural memories be figuratively whitewashed and literally erased from the history books: a practice that enabled apartheid and white supremacist rule. These practices, insofar as they continue in the post-apartheid worlds of Shukri and Duiker, are in the short-hand, referred to as whiteness in certain parts of this section. Whiteness is the discourse that both Issa and Kagiso challenge through their work, bringing the importance and foundational contributions of marginal populations to the fore, where they have been excluded in pursuit of political and cultural power, masquerading under the rhetoric of objectivity. Revising these whitewashed histories is the central practice of Kagiso and Issa's political work. . The most salient critique in *The Silent Minaret* revolves around reconciling our notions of the past with the present in ways that recognize its pertinence to our political moment, which differentiates it from Tshepo's vision of the self as severed from the past—such as from slavery, for example. The novel pushes us to recognize and undo the present manifestations of the colonial, apartheid and global violence that is accompanied by the normalisation of whiteness as a social standard, especially when critique and change seem impossible.

Issa's historical work and political opinions in the novel indicate his disappointment with postapartheid national culture and its failure to reduce racial inequality, as well

as his concern with the emergence of apartheid-like government and 21st Century imperialism across the globe. Firstly, he is disillusioned with a South African nationalism that denies, or attempts to deny, the presence of the racist structures of the apartheid past through such institutions as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Secondly, he is disillusioned in a post-9/11 U.K. where similar racial profiling, policing and control of movement used against Muslims at the Cape during the 17th Century and of non-whites during apartheid is repurposed for suspect “Muslim” Others. Issa’s dissertation and Neelika Jayawardane’s reading of *The Silent Minaret* both recognise the strong resonance between the extradition of political dissidents or suspected political threats from the metropole to ‘dark zones’ in both recent past and the present: consider the removal of 17th Century political prisoners from Indonesia to the Cape because of the threat, real or imagined, that they posed to colonial control with the ‘secret renditions’ of suspected terrorists in the 21st Century—terrorists being short-hand for those who have a “suspect ancestry” (Jayawardane, DB: 55). Issa, through his thesis and refracted through perceptions of him by other characters, reflects on the possible political futures that hover on the horizon in the face of this persistent form of policing. His disappearance asks the reader to recognise that the historical work that Issa does, while important, is not sufficient for the types of freedom desired.

Thus, at times, there is a sense of despair that the hope of a political freedom promised in the past is increasingly untenable at a global level¹³. The continual deferral of freedom is represented well in the notion of a ‘South Africa *in transition*’ in search of *transitional* justice i.e. the fruition of the promise of a “new South Africa”, a promise loaded with indefinite anticipation and its attendant

¹³ I’m cautiously employing ‘post’ prefixes here and recalling Anne McClintock’s critique of the post and postcolonial specifically because of the “the historical rupture suggested by the prefix post- [that] belies both the continuities and discontinuities of power that have shaped the legacies of the formal European and British colonial empires (not to mention the Islamic, Japanese, Chinese and other imperial powers)” (12). Here, my argument is that *The Silent Minaret* registers the general obsession with post prefix’s in much the same way as McClintock, as indicative of a “widespread, epochal crisis in the idea of linear, historical progress” (10). My suggestion is that the novel’s treatment of history and time allows us to hold ‘the continuities and discontinuities of power’, imperial, colonial and national, in view albeit in fragmentary ways such that it resists totalities that elide important historical differences at the same time that it attends to historical and geopolitical traces of the similar workings of these powers across more than one national or temporal border.

disappointment. This problem is well recognised by David Scott who argues against the notion that “historical truth is justice”, especially when thinking about justice in nations undergoing social and political transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic state i.e. from apartheid to postapartheid(OA: 150)¹⁴. Scott suggests that when historical truth is assumed to be the foundation of “moral accountability that prepares the ground for *reconciliation*” it is used to disguise the continuities of the material and social injustice experienced under the past regime (OA: 150). Issa’s philosophy of history opposes simple narratives of transition and so does the fact of his disappearance. Hence, the novel challenges notions of a “new” South Africa or “post” apartheid nation and advocates for attention to the continuities of the colonial and apartheid processes of domination. This challenge in turn influences Kagiso, who initially “compromises” his creative vision to secure funding for his revisionist documentary film that critiques whiteness. To revise, in this context, means to rediscover and redress historical accounts that have excluded views that challenged the political and cultural narratives enabling whiteness and white rule.

Issa’s dissertation refuses the transitional narrative and instead advocates for thinking of past injustice as ongoing in the present, *as well as* recognising that some injustices are no longer operating and that change is possible. One way to think of this is to think not of history-as-truth, as “objectivity” about the past, but rather of history as constructed and therefore amenable to present politics. This point of view recognises, as Dipesh Chakrabarty does in his study of the relationship between history, objectivity, time and truth, that “the plurality that inheres in the “now,” the lack of totality, the constant fragmentariness, that constitutes one’s present” suggests that the present can be constituted by the past, for instance, as it is not whole but fragmentary: it is never wholly a present (243). This truth can hold that the past is both different and indistinguishable from the present depending on your measurement of difference. Consider that political and legal segregation in South Africa no longer exists, for instance. Yet, at the same time, the social world demonstrates the persistence of the influence of that legal and political past.

¹⁴ I use two of Scott’s books in this dissertation and will therefore use the abbreviations OA and CM to differentiate between his *Omens of Adversity* and *Conscripts of Modernity* respectively.

Furthermore, I argue below that this fragmentariness also applies to subjectivity. Issa's character is narrated through his friends and never by himself. Through memories of him and through the work Issa leaves behind after his disappearance, his life is represented as a series of fragments that alter the political choices of his friends and family. Hence, when Kagiso chooses to reject capital funding on the premise that he use a famous white narrator for his revisionist documentary film, it is the result of Issa's work on history and the way his subjectivity shapes Kagiso. There is no single historical truth or essence of a subject, an essential kernel to a subject that *is*. "Truth" is also *not* sufficient for justice, in so far as the novel conceives of it.

The liberal constitutions of South Africa and the U.K. that enshrine the rights of individuals simultaneously, but not in the juridical sense, exclude racial others from their social and political orders. The narrative of a "smooth transition" out of apartheid has a "normative role in *advancing* a liberalizing transformation" (Scott, OA: 151). The liberal "post" state or liberal metropolitan society masks its anti-Other, in this case its whiteness, through historical whitewashing: the erasing of cross-cultural connections from history or the privileging of the concerns, feelings and views of the previous white minority rule in the case of South Africa. Issa and Kagiso question the history-objectivity discourse that enables this erasure. The benefits of the "transitional truth narrative" include upward mobility in that it accepts rhetorical, as opposed to social and economic justice, for instance. Hence, one way in which the novel portrays this problem is the manner in which Issa, Kagiso and their friend Katinka (and Tshepo does this as well in Duiker's novel) all choose to forego their proximity to whiteness, particularly upward mobility, and support, love, and advocate for those marginalised by the liberal regimes of the novel.

Kagiso and Tshepo both share this queer trajectory of foregoing the potential gains of upward mobility to invest in creating relationship with, and orienting their political energies to, the ex-centric: black voices, abandoned children, foreigners and the forgotten stories of history. I employ two senses of "queer" throughout this chapter. One is the idea of "the queerness of downward mobility" in so far as it resists the reproductive logic of capital (Higginbotham: 4). This idea is connected to the second sense of queer where to walk the social line, the reproductive logic of

heteronormativity, which in these novels is constitutive of whiteness, is to accept whiteness as “what is ‘here’, a line from which the world unfolds” and therefore the Other, blackness for instance, “comes to *embody distance*”, that which deviates from the line (Ahmed: 121). Tshepo’s move away from the Cape to explore one of its ex-centric black townships and his move to Johannesburg helps him find a sense of belonging that develops out of the disorientation that whiteness produces. In so far as “the disorientation affected by racism diminishes capacities for action”, his deviation from the lines of whiteness, the rejection of the objectifying and erasing gaze explored in chapter one, reopen his capacities for action (Ahmed: 111). If blackness is *embodied distance*, the cluster of qualities that make Tshepo anonymous for Peter (who is his regular client from Steamy Windows; their relationship was analysed in the section “Queer Desire, Racism and Everyday Segregation”) then whiteness is hyper-visibility. Tshepo not only chooses to turn his eyes away from the line of sight that objectifies him, but also to refuse to focus his sights on whiteness as well. Building on the ideas of multiple directions that we see in *The Silent Minaret*, the rest of the chapter focuses on how Tshepo queers the lines of direction that Cape Town offers him, the lines of whiteness.

The recognition of the past as present and the move away from linear concepts of both time and social mobility is central to both novels. *The Quiet Violence of Dreams* represents Cape Town as a space haunted by colonial logic, thus further illustrating ways in which the spectre of the past continues to render blackness and queerness, in its various forms, ex-centric. The present is possessed by this colonial logic.

Possession, in its resonance as having but also being animated by a spirit, is evident in Duiker’s township—the quintessential space of the ex-centric, as it is located on the peripheries of the city space, both its social and economic centres. The haunted city is, at least for its protagonist Tshepo, a place that is impossible to live in and belong. This haunting is what causes Tshepo to leave the city. Ultimately, both Duiker and Shukri’s novels view of the Cape encourages movement away from it, whether to escape to another city, country or conscious state. It is, existentially, uninhabitable for these protagonists, although central to their sense of self beyond the Cape. This sense of self emerges as some form of political consciousness and orients these protagonists in an ex-centric, queer direction.

The Silent Minaret: A Philosophy of History and Queer Directions

The Silent Minaret presents the Cape as a site from which to rethink the values placed on whiteness and the spatial dimensions of difference-making. The novel also explores these values through the disappearance of Issa and the search for him conducted by family and friends. Issa leaves South Africa to go to the global North and pursue his doctorate. After he disappears, the story is as much about those who search for him as it is about finding out what happened to him. The novel shifts between South Africa, Palestine, and the UK, the apartheid and colonial past, as well as the post-9/11 present and is thus constantly redirecting our spatial-temporal orientation. The move places a high value on the intellectual capital of Euro-American academia and knowledge. However, from the vantage point of this privileged space, Issa reorients his focus back to South Africa and “backward in time” to rewrite the history of the Early Cape and to imagine how that racially and culturally hybrid society could be understood and used to reimagine the present and future. Issa’s perspective on the south shifts when he travels north. Similarly, his perspective of the UK changes as he contemplates the history of the Cape. These interchanges demonstrate the connectedness of these spaces. Coupled with queer history, these worlds are shown to be familiar in ways that require us to consider our social, political and cultural orientation from the one vantage point, in conjunction with the other. This spatial interchange reorients our notion of the present, as well.

It is by “going south” that the novel rethinks global modern politics. Issa’s experience of apartheid and the racialization of Muslims after 9/11 solidifies the importance of the Early Cape as “universally and eternally pertinent” (Shukri: 65). This history is pertinent for two related reasons. Firstly, Issa asks us to consider how our politics is responding to the present yet in constant conversation with history. Secondly, how can a revision of the history of the Early Cape as a world of “cross pollination and intermingling”, “whitewashed” by apartheid historians, help us think through this moment (Shukri: 67)? Issa strongly opposes notions of national and racial purity that

justify imperial logic and the authoritarian state control that upholds whiteness¹⁵. He thus connects historical narration and racism, to the control of space. His movement south-north-south and his concept of the present as embedded in the past, a refusal of linear or teleological temporalities, is an embracement of queer sociality. The multidirectional model for sociality implies a questioning of the ideological underpinnings of exclusionary politics that serve the interests of colonial and capital interests. It is in the aid of the present that these questions remain pertinent.

His politics assumes that the present is not overdetermined by history, but also does not equate his revisionist history with the power to undo the biopolitics of the state. On arriving in the U.K., he is detained at the airport because of his “suspect ancestry”, which suggests that “no matter what part he might play in ‘correcting’ these erasures by re-inserting different, revisionist accounts of history, and no matter what degree of access he has to language and education” he remains Other (Jayawardane, DB: 55)¹⁶. This experience is one of many disorienting experiences he has as the result of his *given* identity. At the airport he is one of many “bodies that do not “follow the line of whiteness” who are therefore “‘stopped’ in their tracks”

¹⁵ This also applies to the novel more generally. Katinka, one of Issa and Kagiso’s friends who is living in London when Issa disappears, was disowned by her far-right family for her anti-racist politics. When she travels to Cape Town at the birth of the new nation, she relishes in the moment between the lowering of the old South African flag and the hoisting of the new one:

“...a sublime, ‘at last’ moment, everybody suspended between the eternity that had passed and promise of what was yet to come...She felt the uniformed, straight lined, saluting little girl she once was step out of line, throw off her badges and run towards this stateless moment...If she had to spend an eternity anywhere, it would be right here, now, in this moment.” (222)

Jayawardane reads this moment as one of “endless, limitless, possibilities” that unfortunately come to a close, but nonetheless a moment that points to the novel’s opposition to the limitations of the nation state (NC: 5). I mention this here because I am largely in agreement with her reading, but want to point out that it is linearity that is resisted in this moment. The vertical image of ascendancy of the ‘new’ nation represented by the flag pole is undesirable. Her deviation from that “straight lined” little girl saluting Afrikaner nationalism is broken. The temporal linearity of colony to nationhood is rejected in favour of the potentiality of the suspended moment, the eternal now. Hence, to forego these lines, to eschew the flag pole, is to choose not to ‘uphold’ the ideal of ascending to the various ideals—racism, nationalism and ‘progress’— that have hitherto been shown to align with or buttresses whiteness.

¹⁶ I use more than one article by Jayawardane and distinguish between them in the following way: “Disappearing bodies.” is “DB”; “‘Forget Maps’: Documenting Global Apartheid and Creating Novel Cartographies in Ishtiyag Shukri’s *The Silent Minaret*.” is “FM”; “Learning the Cartography of Terror: South African Literature in the Post-9/11 American Classroom.” is “CT”.

(Ahmed: 160). His sense of alienation and disorientation grows in the UK as he witnesses the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as the mounting racial profiling and hostility towards Muslims in the UK. Katinka, his friend from South Africa, reflects on the last night she saw Issa: because of the emotional weight of seeing the invasions on TV, she retrospectively acknowledges that he “was clearly disoriented” (Shukri: 64). The juxtaposition of her clarity and his sense of disorientation reveals the contingency of actions in such moments of crisis. There unfair expectations she places on herself to have determined Issa’s vulnerability compounds her sense of loss and certainty of herself and others. The moment foregrounds the tragic and personal dimensions of larger political and social events. His disappearance, his inability to be reoriented in the novel, as well as its context—where he runs from his home to intervene in the mosque raid—imply that politics in moments of crises are always contingent, open to tragedy, especially when they deviate from the prescribed social lines.

There are also, however, positive political opportunities that arise from this moment of disorientation. Where Issa is disoriented and cannot resituate himself, those close to him are thrown by his disappearance but find their own sense of direction through their search for him and from the example of his life. After Issa disappears Kagiso travels to London to for search him. He explores the neighbourhood and places Issa frequented or might have visited, but finds Issa’s room to be the most intriguing and productive place in terms of searching for Issa, revealing who he was and what he thought. Kagiso is exceptionally attached to Issa, particularly because prior to his disappearance they had grown apart and he longs to reconnect, to reconcile with Issa, a feeling heightened by his absence. This identification with, and desire for, the disappeared, the absence that animates his own sense of self places history and memory in direct relation to the transformative experience Kagiso has searching for Issa. When Kagiso arrives at Issa’s home in London he “look[s] around the cell-like room”, that appears “cleared of all personal belongings... abandoned... but to him is full of Issa” (41). What appears as lack is loaded with meaning shaped by the ordering of things, such as books, furniture and photos, revealing Issa’s personality—“spartan, monastic... steely confidence, his intense good looks” (Shukri: 41-42). Subjectivity is shown to be as much about that which is proximate to a subject and

the shape of the space that they inhabit as it is about what can be articulated by or about them. The subject is known through things and through others too.

This is important because it is the beginning of the novel's way of constructing relations to others. The more flexible the concept of the self is, as opposed to a rigid notion of the self as a coherent and singular entity, the more open it is towards existing in relation to others, space and objects. This openness has its more sinister corollary where border profiling of Muslims illustrates how the collapse of subject-object distinctions can be destructive: Issa may have been imprisoned by the state under suspicion of terrorism, for example; we are never certain. Nonetheless, the novel uses this notion of the subject to establish a politics of contingency rather than fixed identity and makes historical world events intensely meaningful at an intimate level. Kagiso explores Issa's library that includes volumes of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's reports, which triggers a memory of how one of Kagiso's colleagues described the TRC as a "stage-managed whitewashing" that "castrates our (black) leaders and diminishes our suffering... to assuage liberal guilt" (Shukri: 103)¹⁷. The movement between national archive, familial anxiety and social memory collapse the differences between nation, family and the social world, rendering them so unstable that they become obsolete. In this sense, it queers borders between the personal, social, national and international. These statements also reject epistemological claims on the idea of "truth" as a set of politically neutral claims of "pure knowledge". This scene, along with Issa's thesis, hold knowledge to be deeply politicized and as having no necessary relationship to any notion of material justice in the case of the TRC's role postapartheid, for instance. As Kagiso read another volume of the TRC reports he finds "his own (family) name in print, there in black and white", which elicits the "first indication of mortality passing through him like a cold wind (Shukri: 111). It is in his relationship to Issa that Kagiso comes to recognize the past as intensely imbricated in his own future, his own mortality. The scepticism of "truth" sits alongside a concrete sense of the seriousness of political commitments.

¹⁷ Notwithstanding the masculine figuration of nation (castrated), this point serves to underscore the collapse of personal memory, social voice and historical document into one another therefore consolidating all these narratives within Kagiso's narrative voice.

It is in this recognition that Kagiso revises his own commitments in his work as a documentary film maker.

Prior to Kagiso's arrival in London, he is making a documentary partly about the erasure of the Baralong, the Black Watch, from the history of the siege of Tuang. Here Colonel Robert Baden-Powell is known for having survived a long siege, but Kagiso's ancestors were written out of this history because of the promise of land for their services, land which they never received. This intergenerational narrative passed down "from the mouths of [Kagiso's] forefathers into the ears of their descendents" (sic) represents a forgotten history that challenges the epistemic privilege of the written and colonially authorised versions of history (Shukri: 25). Claims to the land are thus intimately tied to historical claims and practices of sanctioning. Thus, when the funders ask him to use a well-known white South African man to narrate the documentary to secure the funding, the request poses a political problem insofar as it means Kagiso will acquiesce to the notion that whiteness "will bring authority and a dignified stature to the film", repeating the very erasure of black voices that his film opposes (Shukri: 176). Kagiso withdraws an offer to Lindiwe, a black female narrator without the same social capital as the white male narrator, so as to secure this funding, but feels personally and politically compromised as a consequence. His encounter with "Issa's revisionist bibliography" spur Kagiso to rethink his "compromised" political vision (Shukri: 176). Ultimately, he chooses to forego the funding, to choose the queer path of downward mobility, to participate in a politics that refuses the erasure of black voices. He no longer allows himself to "be bullied into having our history narrated by old white men" and this political act is an essential part of the novel's historical philosophy (Shukri: 183). Kagiso's political turn, his reorientation challenges racial hierarchies of epistemic value. Through his counter-narrative *and* the positioning of a black voice to narrate history, he refuses to embrace whiteness as the epistemological norm. The "our", those peoples displaced and dispossessed at the Cape and from there the rest of South Africa, thus becomes a figure of the present: a figure that can articulate history and thus act in the present. The substance of this action comes from the absence that Issa's disappearance creates.

The strongest moments of political transformation, of resistance to strategies of whiteness emerge in these personal moments. If we consider Issa's disappearance as the result of the existential weight he feels from the connections between colonialism at the Cape, apartheid, the West Bank barriers and global targeting and policing of Muslim Others, then we can also use these scenes with Kagiso to see that "transcendence lies in private moments of crossing over to the unknown other through love, hospitality and friendship" (Pucherova: 939). One way to think about the existential weight Issa feels is as whiteness, in all its attendant economic and socio-political features as racism, capital exploitation and military occupation. Concomitantly, the solution meant to alleviate this pressure is represented as intimacy that reaches out to Others. This simple formulation seems exactly that: too simplistic. Kagiso certainly does not undo the structures of historical oppression through his political turn. It nonetheless attends to the power of personal relationships in the face of wholesale and immediately structurally inalterable contemporary conditions. Furthermore, the novel offers us a sense that despite the tragedy of his disappearance, Issa, in his example to others, also multiplies political possibility. It is both politically pessimistic and optimistic, at the same time.

Furthermore, Issa's body as objectified by the state overdetermines his individual autonomy to the point of his disorientation. These effects are not reversed even though the "lies (of history) are exposed and acknowledged" through his work (Pucherova: 940). We can think of Kagiso and Issa's discursive interventions as partial realisations of a world view and way of being that attempts to question the power of the whiteness. They are not sufficient for freedom from the power of the state. Jayawardane notes that his disappearance suggests the possibility of 'secret rendition', at the same time that it could be a means to use "disappearance as a site of protest", to circumvent the "documenting machinery of the nation state... as a quiet act of insubordination" (DB: 49-50). Whatever the cause of his disappearance, if anything is clear, then it is that the historical critique and awareness of the state is insufficient to effect the types of structural redress Issa's thesis addresses. It suggests, perhaps, that in the face of such a powerful state, to vanish is some kind of political victory—as ambiguous and ominous as that disappearance may be.

Indeed, as this section goes on, I argue that moving out of the lines of visible norms—such as protest as an act of visibility—is part of the queer turn these texts take. They are not nihilistic in their refusal of the norm either, even when that refusal is not a grand gesture of revolution. It is not clear that Issa’s protest is as quiet as Jayawardane suggests either. We should consider how Issa influences Kagiso and, how in his influence does not remain quiet and on an individual level, but creates an extended community of dissidents. The people around him or close to him find immense personal and political meaning in extending his vision into their lives. Even if it is only Kagiso who is making an obviously public contribution towards “exposing and acknowledging historical lies” through his documentary work, Issa’s disappearance still has profound positive effects on all of their personal lives. Furthermore, insofar as Issa haunts the lives of those close to him, the effects of his ghostly presence are not unequivocally malignant nor indicative of nihilism, total despair and powerlessness. We can read both Jayawardane’s and Pucherova’s statements as true, but also point to the positive effects Issa has on the lives of others close to him. Hence, Pucherova’s connection of historical, transnational and intimate relationships between characters is important, but it is also not exhaustive of the problem.

We should return to Issa and Kagiso’s relationship to complicate it further. The novel addresses the initial ideological differences between Kagiso and Issa that underlie the reason they have been so distant. It is because of a rift that traces back to their university years in Cape Town. This reading anticipates much of what I think is true of *The Quiet Violence of Dreams*: that Cape Town represents the continuation of the social domination of whiteness. Issa and Kagiso go to different universities in Cape Town and this shapes their ideological views in different ways. Kagiso attends the “the prestigious white liberal University of Cape Town”, which is housed in the predominately white “Southern Suburbs” of the city, and Issa “the University of the Western Cape, the intellectual home of the left and the most radical in the Country” (Shukri: 27). It is at UWC that Issa engages in student politics and the armed struggle against apartheid, whilst Kagiso lives an apolitical existence at UCT. This ideological distance is spatial and deeply personal, intimate, as Kagiso notes that, despite growing up together in the same house as brothers, their respective lives at “the ‘Ivory Tower’” and “Bush College” is when “they had grown apart” (Shukri: 86).

Their respective proximity and distance to the promises of whiteness—the upward mobility of a prestigious education, its social and spatial centrality in the Southern Suburbs and an apolitical life—determines and adversely affects their ability to relate. This distance is only ever bridged once Issa disappears and Kagiso goes to the UK to search for him. It is in reaching for him in another space and time that these ideological problems and its attendant personal rift can begin to be resolved. The interplay between periphery and centre allows the relationship of interdependence between the two to emerge as opposed to celebrating whiteness as desirable norm. Deviation from the straight social lines of heteronormativity, upward mobility and consequently respectability is also part of a reaching out to and being with the Other.

This turn to the Cape as a site of modernity and the necessary attention to the politics of relation incumbent on such a reading resonates with *The Quiet Violence of Dreams* too. Pucherova compares *The Silent Minaret* and *The Quiet Violence of Dreams* by “focusing on the figure of the foreigner”, arguing that “these novels remind us that nations are generally created by excluding those outside their border” (Pucherova: 930). Both novels bear this out and as such compel closer attention to subjects and space. Rita Barnard asserts that “Apartheid... clearly represents an extreme and therefore starkly illuminating instance of the territorialisation of power” along racial lines (6). The persistence then of colonial violence is obviously written into the architecture of Cape Town. The first chapter argued that desire isn’t necessarily free from racism and that racist desire shapes space to exclude racial others in Duiker’s Cape Town. Barnard suggests that reading South African postapartheid space through a Foucauldian lens allows us to see that “material structures are simultaneously ideological structures” and that they may be “domains of control (in that they effect an ordering of boundaries)” (Barnard: 5). The next section fully articulates this idea further in the context of *The Quiet Violence of Dreams* by addressing the way in which whiteness controls space. But, before turning to Duiker let me make a few remarks reiterating my reading of the politics of *The Silent Minaret*.

In the case of *The Silent Minaret*, Katinka leaves the comfort of the UK when she falls in love with Karim and migrates with him to his home in Palestine. While in London, she hears of the death of her mother—she is estranged from her family for

many years at this point because of their ultra-right-wing views and opposition to the end of apartheid at the time. When she hears of her mother's death, she goes to wait outside Karim's apartment on the pavement, even though he is not at home, because it is "*his* pavement", "*his* building" (my emphasis) (Shukri: 210). The fact that she sees him as having a place, possessing that space, gives us the sense that Karim belongs in a city and state that is otherwise suspicious of and unwelcoming towards his "suspect ancestry". This personal reimagining of who belongs where illustrates the malleability of thinking about social space through acts of love. She eventually moves to Palestine, behind the wall, to marry Karim, and this act is another instance of her giving up an otherwise privileged position as a white woman in the metropole to follow love, even to a "horrendous" situation (Shukri: 242). Her desire for Karim juxtaposes that of Peter and Arthur's for Tshepo: Katinka's desire does not trade on but rather in fact opposes the deployment of racist desire¹⁸. In this sense, Katinka takes a queer trajectory in rejection of whiteness as desirable.

Issa and Kagiso have a similarly anti-exclusionary politics, and thus both deviate from the path of upward mobility. Issa leaves the comfort of his academic pursuits to intervene in a police raid of a mosque that is housing Afghan refugees who are fleeing from war in Afghanistan. The pursuit of "truth", in a way, is valuable in so far as it helps to combat violence against vulnerable people. His disappearance is brought about by his desire to intervene in the heavily armed policing of Otherness in the UK, a state apparatus that disavows the state's own complicity in the very destruction that forces Afghan migration in the first place. Similarly, Kagiso chooses to forego the upward mobility available to him and rather opts for a political stance that is economically and socially risky but is a historically and ethically responsible way of finishing his documentary. Thus, he deviates from the respectable channels of production and chooses contingency as opposed to certainty. In each instance, these characters forego the scripts of their "place" in society and venture down personal and political avenues that attempt to reach out to, or to live with, the ex-centric and

¹⁸ For instance, Katinka stops seeing a friend of hers because of her "sexually-charged references" and Orientalist racism (Shukri: 220).

the marginalized¹⁹. Understanding their positions allows them to make conscious personal choices that are politically inclusive gestures and actions, within their variously limited individual contexts.

Such a reading of these characters has pedagogical value when used to facilitate an understanding of our present-past relation and the multidirectional movements made possible by recognizing these relations. In another article on *The Silent Minaret*, particularly on teaching the novel, Jayawardane remarks on the real effects that such a novel produces in the political consciousness of her classroom. For, rather than stopping at sympathy for the Other, Kagiso, Katinka and Issa represent an ethic of engagement by foregoing the comforts of disavowal. Issa's disappearance, as I argued earlier, profoundly shapes those closest to him and similarly can move "the reader beyond guilt or abjection" (CT: 244). The memory of Issa pushes his friends towards questioning the politics of nation, of identity, of terror and of the Other. Jayawardane reports that this example spurs her students "to know what they can do", illustrating how an awareness of history can turn the informed subject into unknown political directions (CT: 244). Reading Issa's philosophy of history and recuperating the histories of the dispossessed, de-privileging the self-constituting subject and engaging thinking-through-networks can make the reader and "Issa's friends, too, reflect on the impact of his life after he is gone" (Jayawardane, FM: 20). Furthermore, the novel questions distinctions between the past and present, the centre and periphery, and colony and metropole by representing them as nodes in networks of exchange. The value of deviating from simplistic "straight line" strategies of thinking and the attendant possibilities of queer social, spatial-temporal and political ethic, also informs my reading of *The Quiet Violence of Dreams*.

¹⁹ The connections to Afghan refugees or Palestine, through Karim, as well as the novels acknowledgement of the Othering of Muslims has been read as gestures away from narrow nationalist and religious affiliations. Rastogi, for instance, characterises *The Silent Minaret* as part of a turn away from apartheid and nation toward international horizons and furthermore that this should be read as part of an archive of 'South African *Indian Literature*' or as focussing on "Muslim issues through a global lens" (18). While I think the novel expressly eschews such national and straightforwardly identity based affiliations and therefore disagree with Rastogi on the characterisation of this literature as "Muslim or Indian South African Literature", we both read the novel as ultimately privileging the importance of "Other-centeredness" in an effort to go "beyond the West" and normative nation as the privileged site of critique (27).

This next reading focusses on the movement of Tshepo through Cape Town where the city is hostile in its constant dispossessions and displacements, yet is simultaneously the ground for Tshepo's own development and subsequent move towards new possibilities in Hillbrow, Johannesburg. The Cape as a place to think from remains influential in both novels, yet ultimately is only a lens through which to see the possibility of or the need to redirect our thinking away from whiteness as social value. The politics of belonging, the antithesis of being dispossessed, displaced and disoriented, remains an important question for Tshepo in the present.

The Quiet Violence of Dreams, Whiteness and Queering Impossible Space

Issa's philosophical rationale is shaped by his focus on the history of the Cape. The Cape represents the birth of colonialism in the South African imagination and also the continuation of colonial structures in these texts. The city's symbolic value is as a colonial city, "the Mother city". The biological metaphor favours understanding colonialism as the genesis of the nation. As such, the mother city represents the deepest site of racism and capital, and the attendant displacement and dispossession of local people and those taken as slaves and indentured workers from colonial territories elsewhere. *The Silent Minaret* points both to the political and personal power in knowing histories of oppression. The same is true of *The Quiet Violence of Dreams*, with the significant difference being that these histories are more concretely written into the space represented in the latter novel. What *The Silent Minaret* and *The Quiet Violence of Dreams* share in this respect is imagining Cape Town as an impossible space for a politics of hope, at least without moving away from it. They also share the idea that the Cape can act as inspiration for developing a political consciousness that counters colonial and capitalist violence.

By the end of *The Quiet Violence of Dreams* Tshepo returns to Johannesburg, his city of origin, a move that attests to the impossibility of Cape Town as a location that he can live and thrive in. In Johannesburg, he can invest in a politics of futurity and hope by caring for the children at a group home, as well as prudently accruing

additional financial capital without having to subjugate his body and psyche to the work of *Steamy Windows*. His financial gain and his dedication to civil society suggests both a repudiation and a reliance on the systems of capital in Cape Town and this change is part of what is explored in this section. After experiencing racism, incarceration in a psychiatric hospital and prison, rape, betrayal, robbery and abandonment, the final scenes in Cape Town take place in the abject space of the township. The township as a temporally layered space of dispossession, displacement and place of territorialized disempowerment seems “designed to increase a sense of alienation” and serves as a moment where Tshepo questions the ideological scaffold of capital that produces a space like the township (Barnard: 7). He, as with Issa, finds himself extremely disoriented. The townships of Cape Town represent a dense site of intentionally constructed opposition to the world of *Steamy Windows* and the “gay village”, the white spaces of Cape Town’s city bowl that exist as the inheritance of the dispossession and displacement effected by early Cape colonialism. Thus, the colonial time that bleeds into the present is modified by the intense and conscious segregation of apartheid.

Cape Town represents a city divided into peripheries and centres. “Cape Town is very white”, as Tshepo says, and he claims that “the influence of European traditions is inescapable... (some places) don’t even feel like you’re in Africa. And this is what they call progress, the obliteration of any trace of the native cultures” (559-560). Tshepo refuses such a vision as constitutive of a desirable future²⁰. Indeed, as a future at all. Rather than thinking of temporal accumulation, of time recurring and thus offering the possibility of addressing the violence of the past as present, the teleology of progress is a disavowal of a history of violence and a politics of relation, enabling the erasure of racial Others. Heidi Peta Grunebaum argues that the naming itself—“Mother City”—“recalls the world creating and destroying power of colonial toponyms”, producing a myth of white origins embedded in the “business of the everyday where the haunting remains of disavowed histories and foreclosed futures return” (166; 168). The “world creating and destroying” agent is inevitably the white,

²⁰ He is deeply opposed to racial or ethnic nationalism of any kind. However, here whiteness is both racial, heteronormative and capitalist and not simply racial.

colonial male. The trope of the mother implies an antecedent fertility and availability for sex that can result in having a child. This availability does not imply a choice by the potential mother either. Furthermore, for the land to be “fertile”, ready and waiting for colonial plantation, the indigenous populations need to be erased politically or literally. The gendered metaphor of the city as mother implies a racial distinction of the power of the father, who is inevitably in the colonial situation at the Cape, European and in the context of Duiker’s Cape, it also signifies whiteness.

Thus, the mother city as a metaphor is both raced and gendered, with the implication that the white, heterosexual male agent determines the trajectory of the space at the exclusion and erasure of both black and, more broadly, female agency. Anne McClintock likens the “imperial act of discovery”, the rhetorical precursor to colonisation– discovery being a denial of the already existent people of the supposedly “virgin” land– to baptism, the naming of the child under the father’s sign and not the mother (29). The reference here serves to underline that the mother in “mother city” is a colonial sign that is always about the continuation of the patriarchal line. Motherhood is a symbolic vehicle for securing the possessions of white men, including her eventual erasure. The mother city is thus, at its core and in terms of its reproductive logic, the reserve of whiteness and heteronormativity, which always implies the ascendancy of the white male and thus an enmeshment of the two categories. In this case, I focus on how Tshepo, as a young black man, is not welcome in this space and is pushed to the periphery or at least barred from the full agency available in white, male spaces.

The situation is more complicated, however, than a simple peripheral existence for Tshepo. He fulfils scripts that allow him a proximity to whiteness that is denied to other black people, at least for a time. Tshepo’s border-crossing has been read as a sign of apartheid’s structural limits changing, particularly in literature, and this is no doubt true. Meg Samuelson reads Tshepo’s wandering to show that “the borders segregating the apartheid city are erased by the footsteps of our narrators” and “at the same time, they urge us to revisit past urban worlds” (255). The idea of a border between the past and present has already been questioned in the previous sections. Therefore it can both be true that the “footsteps” of the narrator tread paths previously foreclosed and that the “footprints” of the past remain nonetheless. If

these worlds can be stepped into a “new” present, then the “footprints” of the past can be thought of as resisting being blown out of view by the winds of change. Nonetheless, let us revisit these spaces to explore these dynamics.

Tshepo manoeuvres around boundaries of race, class and sexuality, but this idiosyncratic movement also comes at the price of alienation from others and at times himself. The line he walks is a queer one, in the sense that he deviates from the scripts of whiteness, heteronormativity and upward mobility—all linked categories. We can think back to the first chapter when Tshepo challenges the notion of homosexuality as un-African, or black male sexuality as hyper-masculine, to see his resistance to well-trodden lines of symbolic meaning. When Tshepo is rejected from the gay clubs and the central city, kept out of his apartment by his unhelpful and hostile housemate, he wanders away from the familiar, yet hostile central city space.

His path is also queer in that because it is “off-line” and thus unknown. Tshepo has no easily traceable line to orient himself and so finds himself travelling “a road silently long, its name only known by the madness driving me to walk” (Duiker: 569). Such an indecipherable rationale points to the very undoing of the idea of borders and crossing borders because of its deviation from a decipherable social vector. The idea is that a politics outside of the centre, a queer politics, challenges “race and sex”, and here capital and sexuality as well, as “not only indistinguishable and undifferentiable from each other” but as “a series of temporal and spatial contingencies that retain a stubborn aversion to being read” (Puar: 206). We experience the township scenes as a set of relatively indecipherable experiences of abjection where its narrative significance and role in the development of Tshepo is only fully apparent when he moves to Hillbrow. Even there his sense of belonging isn’t dependent on a fully coherent and translatable relation to the people he is close to. For instance, when Tshepo is living in Hillbrow he says, “I walk out and hear dark-skinned beauties rapping in Lingala or Congo or a French patois that I don’t even understand” (Duiker: 605). Understanding is not a requisite for being welcoming to those who are different. Thus, this illegible path is also evidence of the “paradox of the footprint”, to use Ahmed’s phrase, to know that “lines are both created by being followed and are followed by being created” (Ahmed: 16). The act of movement outside of the centre is ultimately creative action.

His rejection of these scripts then also turns his attention away from whiteness as his goal. Ahmed's notion of queerness as stepping off the straight lines of society and Higginbotham's idea of downward mobility as queer, means that when Tshepo leaves Steamy Windows and Cape Town he embraces a queer path. So, the new path he treads is queer in its deviation from heteronormativity, especially as heteronormativity as caught up with whiteness. He thus treads a new path to be walked by those that follow him. I don't want to imply that because he is walking through the township, it is a queer sexual space, although it might be in places and in some senses²¹. But it is queer in the sense that it is a deviation from the centre: the centre of the city, the centre of safety, security, comfort, i.e. whiteness as the straight social line.

We can further explore movement by briefly reflecting on transportation in the novel. Tshepo is driven around or walks when at leisure in the centre of the city, or while serving clients, for the most part. These cars symbolise individual power and the dominant mode of transport of the affluent. By contrast Tshepo gets to the township of Nyanga on the train. Thus, these vehicles represent both spatial, social and ideological differences between whiteness and blackness in the novel. The train is a transitional symbol in the sense that it signifies a connection between what is distant and what is near. The townships are kept at the "end of the line" so to speak, and they are proverbially speaking the "wrong side of the tracks". This mechanical metaphor maps onto a biological one that also places the township at the end of the body: "the train (that) takes [Tshepo] into the bowels of the township" (Duiker: 572). Here the township serves as a scatological space of the social body that highlights its distance. The metaphor is a biological and territorial symbol of difference. The train signifies the management of distance between the populations of cheap black labour that serves the central white city. It also serves to signify temporal distance as the black worker must rise earlier than those at the centre of the city and arrive home later.

²¹ The township is queer perhaps in its deviation from the respectability and capital associated with whiteness. Higginbotham makes the point of thinking about the phrase 'being on queer street' and "that queer can characterize those who do not fit in a world that prizes economic growth and upward mobility" (2).

The ex-centric population in the township is also an exhausted population: ex-centric in spatial terms and exhausted by the additional demands of white capital on the time and energy of the black populations that serve it. As noted by Barnard, “from the point of view of black South Africans, the train was clearly a tool of oppression, indispensable to the maintenance of residential segregation and to the exploitation of labor” (7)²². Here I am focusing specifically on the black township, as opposed to the coloured township, because of the specificity of the novel²³. Ultimately, the train represents a tool of exclusion in this novel. It is not only hostile in its realist representations of the city but also with its magical and supernatural imagery. Tshepo finds the central city also haunted by “dragons, black spirits that look like stingrays” (Duiker: 570). If whiteness is something that is possessed, then the central city is represented not in terms of having something as such, but rather as being animated by the spirit that dispossesses Others. Tshepo’s expulsion or repulsion from the city centre is a literal movement away from an unwelcoming zone to a zone of the unwelcome, the abject periphery.

This journey connects him with an otherwise invisible black population as far as the novel represents the city. Shane Graham reads Tshepo’s meandering as the search for a figurative home, “a sense of connection to the past and a larger community” where his experiences have thus far left him with a sense of “uprootedness and alienation”, especially in central Cape Town (123). Alienation and uprootedness are the predominate feelings amidst the decay, death and abjection that litter this scene. There is an ironic juxtaposition of the city centre and the township in that although Tshepo has been rejected from the centre, so to speak, it is still understood as better in its whiteness. At the city centre “inside the station there is light and safety” whilst at Nyanga “the station is small and dirty” (Duiker: 572). There is thus an absolute

²² Barnard also notes that the train doubled as a meeting place for anti-apartheid organisations and trade union movements. However, this double does not appear in these novels, thus making the train primarily a sign of segregation and dispossession. It may also indicate a diminished sense of political mobilization amongst the disenfranchised in postapartheid South Africa.

²³ There is nonetheless a similarity in that both the black and coloured township are measured against the wealth of historically white suburbs. A reminder here that whiteness is not merely a racial marker but a term denoting a proximity to economic, social and political advantage that clusters with the racial notion of whiteness. They are all connected, and this becomes specifically clear as this section continues.

material, as opposed to affective difference between the racially segregated parts of the city in this scene, and Tshepo really never finds a home in Nyanga, although his disorienting experience there does sharpen his perception of Cape Town as a place. The polarisation of space through metaphors of darkness and dirt indicates the architectural construction of racial difference that still shapes the public institutions of the city. The logic of Peter's choice to sleep with Tshepo because he is black and therefore anonymous is dramatized in its more public and large-scale implications in this moment. The centre is populated by "trees", "security guards" and the streets are "full of cars" whereas Nyanga's are "fetid with dog shit and urine", populated by a group of women who have "gather(ed) around a horse that must have dropped dead there", wielding "long, dangerous-looking knives, carving up the horse... arguing about its entrails" (570-572). Here the abundance of the city clashes with the starved and rotting aesthetic of the township where death is a matter of course and far removed from the optics of the white city. Tshepo soon encounters a woman who threatens to eat him because he is disturbing her "magic" (Duiker: 573). Tshepo is thus considered an outsider and, presumably, because of this is threatened with the prospect of being literally consumed. The township is yet another uninhabitable and hostile space in Cape Town. The overall tone is of progressive mental, material and social decay, yet Tshepo finds the township to be a space for productive ideological reflection as well.

This abject space, importantly, does not fully overdetermine and overwhelm the subjects of the township. Tshepo reports that the people are "fresh and clean" which "amazes" him as they emerge from "such dingy and dilapidated little shacks" (Duiker: 573). This distinction between people and place defies surface readings of the township and resists the idea that the space completely overdetermines people there. The juxtaposition of the black township space as abject, and the black body as fresh and clean, allows for reading agency and the refusal of ontological entrapment that otherwise represents the black body as scatological. This resistance at least refuses complete objectification while it points to a trope of blackness as dirt that seems to stick, given Tshepo's need to remark as such. The role Tshepo plays in this scene is as a spectator because despite his destitution early in the novel he is largely middle-class and thus this scene shouldn't be read as indicating a racial solidarity that cuts across class lines. This is perhaps why he finds himself "drifting into

delirium” experiencing the “township as a maze”, a set of coordinates he is unable to navigate or root himself in (Duiker: 573). Thus, he is distant from the people in the township who are at home in the hostile environment. This distance is typical of the abject as “underneath the surface decay” there is something “intoxicating, mesmerizing” (Duiker: 573). There is an allure to the decay and opacity of the space that resists him, sustaining his disorientation. No one speaks to him except in hostile terms and thus he remains an outsider. This untranslatability places him in a double-bind of alienation: he is not rooted in this space simply because he is black, and he is also rejected from the city simply because he is black.

Shortly before he leaves for Nyanga, Tshepo is humiliated at a local gay bar, unwelcome because he is black. Tshepo says, “[it is] when we leave the sanctuary of our utopia at work (Steamy Windows) we become pigments in a whirlpool of colour. In the centre is lily white. On the edges of the whirlpool the other colours gather like froth and dregs” (Duiker: 458). The message is thus that outside of capitalism’s need for the labour of black bodies, in Steamy Windows for instance, there is no accommodation for racial others. Yet, this hostility is not so much a rejection, but a consolidation, a pull towards the centre of whiteness. In other words, the black other must orient their own being and goals towards whiteness as its telos, they must gather around the white centre. The train functions to bring the social world toward and for the white centre, whilst maintaining ontological distance, unable or unwilling to accommodate the abject subjects, the “froth and dregs”. This dynamic is more evident when Tshepo questions his place in Steamy Windows itself, which is supposed to function as a utopia in the city bowl. Tshepo questions his belonging by noticing the racial dimensions of class in Cape Town.

The question of access is both racial and economic. This is clearly raised when Tshepo reflects on the types of black people who enjoy the gay clubs and bars. If they have access it is because “they were all dressed... and spoke with a certain accent, *sophisticated... acceptable*” (my emphasis) (duiker: 459). Here, sophisticated and acceptable are codes for assimilation to whiteness. Proximity to the habits of respectability—whiteness in other words—are passports and is “why the bouncer didn’t hassle them at the door” (Duiker: 459). The threshold of belonging in these spaces rests on the ability to “be” white and, in the Cape Town context, this

unquestionably has an implication of class privilege. Even then, ethnographic research of the Cape Town gay village has revealed that race and capital are related but that capital advantage certainly doesn't cancel race as a barrier to entry. While class distinctions between white gay men is significant, informants and legal action have indicated that "coloured and black African queers, no matter how 'well dressed', risk being excluded from clubs simply because of their skin colour" (Andrew Tucker: 148-149). The racial barrier to entry in these spaces sets them within the "development logic of Cape Town as a modern colonial/Apartheid city" where those who purchase labour are white and those who work are "black' of all shades" (Grunebaum: 169). The Brotherhood in the workplace is purportedly colour-blind in its ideological commitments but, as Viljoen points out, "racism exposes that sentiment (non-racialism) as fraudulent, as just another ploy to keep up efficient production and profits" (51). How else can we read the scene where Sean, the straight white owner of Steamy Windows, haggles with a client over Tshepo's worth because he is "one of our most sought-after stallions", referred to as a "*black* stallion" barely a moment before (Duiker: 357). There is a clear value on his racial difference.

Despite this, Carolin and Frenkel argue that the fact that all the workers are commodified undermines the idea that the "commodification of bodies is unquestionably tied to race" (45-46) (this is a reiteration of the points made in the earlier section "Time, Self and the Ex-Centric"). To say that this link is not necessary ignores the overall scheme in which these transactions take place, as evidenced in my first chapter. In this scene it ignores the specificity of the slave-block styled haggle, as well as the idea that there are unraced bodies, that whiteness isn't itself a raced category. As highlighted in the first chapter, there are histories that the commodification of the *black* body buys into. Capital exploitation trades on these histories differentially. To deny this is to commit to the questionable politics of disavowal that *The Quiet Violence of Dreams* as well as *The Silent Minaret* call us to challenge.

It is the disavowal of histories of exploitation that is the biggest obstruction to changing the racist practices and structures of the "Mother City". As noted by the historian Grunebaum and the fictional historian Issa, the more complex social formations of this now "lily white" centre were white-washed during apartheid. There

is also the sense that his migration enables alternate ways of being. Comparatively, both novels focus their critique of capital on its centres of power and make us acknowledge a disavowed past, disrupting belief in the logic of progress, the *past* as passed. It is through being rejected from the centre that Tshepo “feel(s) cornered”, feels his “blackness” and awakens to realise that he has “always felt it” (Duiker: 459). Similarly, it is in the English metropole that Issa finds himself alienated most acutely. However, whereas Issa’s disappearance leaves the question of the metropole and its possibilities for being open-ended, Tshepo’s experience forecloses the possibility for him to navigate and survive the violence of the Cape, forcing him to move elsewhere.

By the end of the text, we have encountered both the triumph and tragedy of postapartheid space. Shane Graham reads Tshepo’s experience as a critique of the “exclusionary citadels” constructed during apartheid and continued in postapartheid South Africa that necessitate the continued search for “safe autonomous zones of self-determination” (121). It seems that Tshepo is allowed degrees of autonomy depending on the space he is in. The process of becoming increasingly more autonomous culminates in Johannesburg in this case, where his investment in the future through the children’s home and financial prudence is reflected in a sense of well-being in which Tshepo identifies his “greatest treasures” as those that are within him (Duiker: 609). This turn inward might suggest a disavowal of the “external” project of constructing a safe place. In this regard, the novel doesn’t resolve Cape Town’s violence, as much as it suggests that a move towards difference. Hillbrow, as a site of dense Otherness, offers a better change of creating safer autonomous zones because of its “African” qualities. The inward turn thus suggests that Tshepo is now secure enough to reach out. What this points to is Cape Town as an impossible space for his sense of belonging. His disorientation from the centre of whiteness makes him reach out beyond the boundaries of nationality, race and age. It is not necessarily that Johannesburg is without such spatial segregation. After all, Hillbrow as a space of different African migrants suggests that the Othering of foreign nationals necessitates strategic alliances across differences. Yet, the racial overdetermination of Cape Town suffocates Tshepo’s idealist impulses and contrasts with Hillbrow where he comes to believe that “perhaps the future of mankind lies in each other, not in separate continents with separate people”, espousing a new utopian ideal (Duiker:

608). This utopian vision is also cautious as it is well informed by the limitations Tshepo has already experienced in Cape Town.

Hence, it is both optimistic and tentative. Nonetheless, with this utopian vision in mind, Tshepo envisions a society that is led by “Africans, the Enlightened Ones” (Duiker: 584). It is never very clear what this means, but it follows a rejection of old apartheid racial categories. Most importantly, it is informed by finding a new home, a new space. Meg Samuelson reads Hillbrow as a space allowing what Cape Town could not: when “Tshepo leaves Cape Town for Hillbrow, he finds belonging (a home) in Africa *by welcoming* (offering hospitality to) the foreign languages” (my emphasis), the people he encounters (252). Hospitality is thus achieved through the pain of disorientation and the experience of finding a home amongst those who are also disorientated, in this case the African migrants in postapartheid South Africa (See Pucherova, pp. 938-939 and Higginbotham, pp. 16-17). Disorientation lays the foundations for Tshepo’s eventual reorientation and grounding in Hillbrow and therefore enables previously unavailable ways of being.

Queer Conclusions

This dissertation has illustrated the quotidian workings of racist desire and its relationship to capital as structured by history. The downwardly mobile turn of the characters in these novels queers an otherwise hopeless present, offering political and existential alternatives to this despair. This queer movement is useful for thinking across the transnational, long historical, and cross-cultural scopes of these two novels that do not limit them to their context of production, coming out of postapartheid literary culture. Their futurity is one of lateral and inclusive rather than vertical and exclusive possibilities. If nothing else, these novels queer the discourse of what it means to belong in postapartheid South Africa and nation more generally. Neil Lazarus argues that simple national narratives of inclusion tend to mask the material disparities between those who can belong and those who cannot. For instance, the idea that democratic South Africa automatically enshrines universal Human Rights *and* attempts to be authentically *African* casts a wide net of affiliations that are at best imagined as tenuously connected. Here, the belief that “we are all South Africans *together*” is a “dematerializing” gloss on postapartheid whiteness as outlined in this dissertation (Lazarus: 620). It is within this context then that these novels diverge from the prominent national discourse by complicating notions of belonging that neither rely on assimilation to whiteness nor retreat to equally narrow notions of blackness. This queer turn opens the question of belonging to a wider, more inclusive array of national, pan-African, diasporic and queer subjects. However, as explored above, such a deviation results in a myriad of contradictions.

Same-sex sexuality in the *Quiet Violence of Dreams* offers a metaphor for thinking how desire can simultaneously uphold whiteness and deploy racism, yet still provide the means for transgressing repressive cultural norms and expanding political horizons. However, the freedom it grants Peter, Arthur, and Tshepo is not evenly distributed and resists an easy reading of these characters as equally queer, *together*. Thus, Scott’s cautious use of the universal is similar to the tentative and fleeting moments of utopia found throughout *The Quiet Violence of Dreams*. The constraints

of the racist structures of the city that are at once social and spatial are particular instances that shape the form of the contingently “universal” questions.

Ultimately, the text reminds us that security is temporary and thus Tshepo finds he “must think ahead” and secure a “nest egg” (Duiker: 355). The metaphorical futurity of the “nest egg” and the children’s home deserve cautious celebration, especially because of its connotations with birth and rebirth. What else can we make of Tshepo’s injunction to follow the “Africans, the Enlightened Ones”? The novel remains ambivalent in its stance towards capital, to nationalism, to racism, to history and the possibilities of a hopeful future. It is in its grasping from one failed utopianism to the next—Steamy Windows to the Enlightened African— that the novel holds onto “loose ends”: the queer hopes for utopia that are not ever fully realised nor foreclosed (van der Vlies: 10-11). This tension between the utopian and its disappointment animates the final comparison in this dissertation.

In his book *Cruising Utopia*, the late José Esteban Muñoz argues for two critical and interrelated foundations that constitute the queer. Muñoz says that “queerness is primarily about futurity and hope” and “queerness is always on the horizon” (11). In the introductions I asserted that Katinka’s oscillation between hope for Issa’s return and the disappointment of hope produces a “loose ending” to *The Silent Minaret*. There is a refusal of a conclusive end. Katinka has moved to Palestine to marry Karim at this point and in a queer move has left the proximate (whiteness) for the “there”. This move though, as an act of love, also embraces the queer in its futurity and orientation towards love and an unknown and likely unstable future. She has stepped well off the right-wing path of her upbringing. However, even though the novel remains open-ended, the queer paths are not always positive, despite being hopeful. She e-mails Kagiso describing how time stagnates in Palestine and creates “the sinking feeling that today will be like yesterday, and tomorrow will be like today” (272). She goes on to say that the “eight-metre high wall” that encloses Palestinian territory creates a sense of inescapable helplessness (272). The wall blocks out the horizon. Yet, “after all the years searching in unlikely places, there is contentment of being at home, in the most unlikely place”, a queer place, if you will (272). This queer feeling of being in a strange place yet being at home, coupled with feelings of

helplessness and entrapment, exemplifies the ambivalence that accompanies the queer as read in this dissertation.

Contrastingly, Tshepo does not find utopia but certainly finds a better life. Tshepo finds that in Hillbrow, amongst the forgotten and ostracised, his “horizon is broadening” (Duiker: 607). At the end of the novel there is a tension between his sense of apocalyptic doom, “the terrible disasters that await us”, and the “great changes [that] await us” (Duiker: 607; 608). The ambivalence at the close of the novel refuses any desire for conclusive narrative ends. Perhaps the most positive embracement of his queer, downwardly mobile journey shines through in the notion that “in choosing less we get more” (Duiker: 609). Thus, despite the ambivalent endings of both novels, these final pages offer a reading of the queer in these novels that points to their ultimately contradictory, strange, unlikely, but productive conclusions.

The Silent Minaret is also characterised by temporal uncertainty and optimism. The novel ends with Katinka sending a text message to Issa from behind the wall in occupied Palestine. This is something she “still does from time to time” since his disappearance (Shukri: 273). The fact that she messages Issa from “time to time” registers “the disappointment of closure” (van der Vlies: 21). Following a tradition of postapartheid literature that refuses to foreclose novels whether with “despairing or hopeful” endings, the form of *The Silent Minaret* offers Issa’s absence as an homology for thinking about the present (van der Vlies: 21). Katinka trusts in hope but also continues to experience disappointment and sadness in his continued absence. Furthermore, the reader is left wondering if Issa will return or not. This unravels the idea of closure and leaves us with another loose end. In their final moments, both novels hold out for ambivalent and queer futures that resist simple narratives of teleology and closure.

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