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From Cradock, With Love:
Affective Substantive Post-Apartheid Citizenship for Women of Colour

Emily Elder, ELDEMI001

Supervisor: Professor Melissa Steyn

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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 the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

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Abstract

This qualitative case study examines conceptualizations of post-apartheid democratic citizenship. Drawing on in-depth, semi-structured interviews conducted in July 2009 with twelve voting age women of colour in the small town of Cradock in the Eastern Cape, it demonstrates how traditional theorizations are inadequate for understanding the substantive citizenship some small town women desire, live, and demand. Though the research design began with a traditional definition – that citizenship rests on the knowledge of and ability to engage with claiming rights – findings demonstrated the failings, and challenged the sufficiency, of this approach.

Listening closely to the voices of the women interviewed revealed the importance of emotion. Further, the ways that emotion emerged from these interviews illuminate an under-examined aspect of substantive citizenship: its *affective* dimensions. The affective issues that emerged were those of *perceived elite indifference* to the people, *conflicted feelings* about the post-apartheid state, racialized and gendered *hatred and hate speech*, and the women's hopes for an *ideal public life* based on *love and respect*.

Working from a race-conscious, post-colonial, feminist lens, I argue that while a rights-based approach to citizenship is necessary, it cannot fully encompass the complexities of post-apartheid substantive citizenship, especially for small-town women of colour. Considering affect leads to a more meaningful theory of citizenship, one that must rest on a *loving, political ethic*.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

Where do women fit in public life in post-apartheid South Africa? In what ways, if any, must traditional conceptions of ‘the citizen’ expand to encompass the historically specific circumstances fifteen years into South Africa’s democratic project? How, if at all, must these expansions consider women? While South Africa famously has one of the world’s most progressive Constitutions, female-bodied citizens (“women”) of all ‘racial’ groups find themselves caught between the post-apartheid transformation imperative and continuing deeply entrenched patriarchy. These values clash to produce a paradoxical relationship between women and South African public space.

As du Toit (2005) and Moffett (2009) argue, South Africa’s epidemic levels of sexual violence illustrate this paradox. The 2006 rape trial of (then Deputy-) President Jacob Zuma is the most famous incident involving hateful representations of women in the public and political sphere (Motsei, 2007; Moffett, 2009; Sesanti, 2009). The subsequent statements of Julius Malema, leader of the ANC Youth League, regarding the rape charge and the woman involved led to his February 2010 Constitutional Court conviction of hate speech (*SONKE v. Malema*, 2009). Clearly, misogyny is alive and well in South African public life.

From another perspective, however, love defines the role of women in the public realm. Comparing the construction of Albertina Sisulu with the political career of Pregs Govender shows how love – maternal in the first place, feminist and insubordinate in the second – structures the public lives of South African women. Albertina Sisulu, often referred to as MaSisulu, is the widow of Walter Sisulu, one of the fathers of the ANC, and is idealized as “a Mother to the Nation” (South African History Online, 2008). She occupies the ambiguous space of struggle heroine, often lauded for supporting their husbands, but rarely accorded

independent agency. The reality was much more complex; however, this patriarchal perception of ‘black’ women’s participation persists in most contemporary historical accounts, and in perceptions of a woman’s relation to public space.

In contrast, the career of Pregs Govender shows some of the perils women face in the public sphere. Govender is a gender activist, a labor organizer, and served for the ANC in national parliament. Her formal political career ended when she resigned in protest over the arms deal and then-President Mbeki’s approach to HIV/AIDS. In *Love and Courage: A Story of Insubordination* (2007), she relates some of the challenges and triumphs she faced as a woman in the ANC. The difference between the representations of these two strong, public women illustrates some of the complexities and contradictions South African women faced historically, and which continue to shape the post-apartheid transition to ‘non-racial,’ ‘non-sexist’ democratic citizenship.

This study aims to show how some voting age women of colour in Cradock, Eastern Cape, have experienced that transition. It draws on interviews conducted during the month of July 2009.¹ This small town is best known for the high-profile apartheid government murder of four leaders, called the Cradock Four, in June 1985, a case heard by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 1999. Struggle history influenced the selection of this town as research site.

Though the research design began with a traditional definition of citizenship – that citizenship rests on both the knowledge of and ability to engage with claiming rights – the findings challenged this very approach. Listening closely to the informants revealed their insistence on

¹ The broader case study is part of the Small Towns and Rural Transformation Project (STRTP) of the Intercultural and Diversity Studies Research Unit of Southern Africa (iNCUDISA).

the importance – even the centrality – of emotion and interpersonal relatedness in this, as in every, aspect of human life. Further, the ways that emotion emerged from the interviews demonstrate the importance of an under-examined aspect of substantive citizenship: its *affective* dimensions (Ahmed, 2004b, 2004c; Blackman & Cromby, 2007; Clough, 2007; Hemmings, 2005). Working from a race-conscious (Steyn, 2001; Frankenburg, 1993), feminist, post-colonial lens, I argue that while a rights-based approach to citizenship is necessary, it cannot fully encompass the complexities of post-apartheid substantive citizenship, especially for small-town women of colour. Considering affect leads to a more meaningful theory of citizenship.

The post-apartheid context requires a new way of imagining citizenship, not least because citizens are already claiming, desiring, demanding and hoping for new ways – not bounded or defined purely by rights – to relate to their government, their country, their communities, each other, and themselves. As feminist theory has shown us, the public and private are inseparably linked. Accordingly, the argument of this thesis rests on the premise that the emotional and affective dimensions of these new ways are important, perhaps even crucial to understanding this engagement. Most radically, I argue that this affective approach to citizenship must rest on a *loving, political ethic* (‘love ethic,’ hooks: 2000; ‘political love,’ Erasmus: 2009; Sandoval: 2000).

While the most obvious South African parallel to the affective turn is the philosophy of *ubuntu* – “I am because you are,” which defines the subject interpersonally (Mkhize, 2004) – as a foreigner I am reluctant to use the term. If my argument supports *ubuntu*, I welcome that, but will leave my (South) African readers to draw that parallel.

The questions I set out to explore were:

- How do (some) voting age women of colour in Cradock experience the post-apartheid transition to citizenship? What were their hopes? What are their realities?
- Are women in Cradock aware of their civil, social and/or political rights under the Constitution? How do they exercise or engage with these rights?

Further questions emerged during data analysis, provoking a change in research emphasis:

- What does *affect* offer to an analysis of substantive citizenship? In particular, how do perceived indifference, conflicted feelings about the post-apartheid state, hate, and love emerge from the transcripts, and expand conceptualizations of citizenship?

To address these research questions, I do the following. Chapter Two outlines some debates on citizenship, with special attention to South African, post-colonial and feminist approaches. In addition, it traces the recent “affective turn in social theory” (Clough, 2007), particularly some scholarly discussions on *love*. Chapter Three describes the conceptual and methodological approach of this thesis, including Cradock history and the presence of women of colour in Cradock during the struggle. Chapter Four demonstrates the failings of rights-based citizenship in Cradock, showing why the original framework for this research was inadequate to describe the real lives of my informants, and introduces the presence of affect. Chapters Five and Six deepen the analysis of affect, examining how and where hate and love speech (respectively) occurred in the transcripts, and showing how these are relevant for a discussion of citizenship and public life. I conclude with the case for affective dimensions of citizenship, including a *loving, political ethic*, in Chapter Seven.

I focus on women of colour for three reasons. One, women of colour in small towns are positioned as triply marginal citizens; therefore, their experiences highlight the degree to

which citizenship can be said to be substantiated. Two, these women tend to be neglected both in historiography, and in contemporary social and political science. Three, as Steyn (2001) shows us, ‘white’ perceptions of the transition, while emotionally charged and worth studying, come from a different dynamic – often a perceived “loss” of power and privilege – and therefore deserve separate analysis.

Another issue that must be addressed is why I use “of colour”, as it is not a South African term. I straddle a divide between North American terms and values and the South African research and academic context. “Of colour” is both the most personally comfortable, and the most spatially economic way to refer to the group. The post-apartheid flux in “racial” terminology poses problems for the radical researcher. While feminist research practices tend to preference informants’ “racial” self-identification, externally imposed apartheid categorizations indelibly marked peoples’ lives, and continue to shape material positions and lived realities. Therefore, recognizing these categories is one way to indicate some likely elements of an individual’s history and current position. Following Erasmus (2001), I place specific “racial” group terms in quotation marks to recognize their constructed and contested nature. I leave transcript quotations unpunctuated to facilitate reading. If quoting literature, I follow the author’s use. I acknowledge that I am working imperfectly with sensitive issues and within limitations. Further, though this project was explicitly interdisciplinary, a thorough exploration of each field drawn upon falls outside the scope of this thesis.

Chapter 2 – Incompletely Imagined: Citizenship Discontents

Feminist criticism unmasks the particularism hiding behind these so-called universal ideals which, in fact, have always been mechanisms of exclusion.

(Mouffe, 1989: 35)

This literature review includes key elements of the conceptual frame, discussed in more detail below under “Methodology”. This review addresses two clusters of issues: those defining and problematizing citizenship; and those contextualizing the affective turn in social theory, with an emphasis on love.

2.1 Critiques of Liberal, Rights-Based Citizenship

Liberal democratic theory assumes citizens’ basic equality and rationality, and accords each citizen identical universal rights (as explained by Gaventa, 2002). This implies that simply extending the franchise and rights to women is sufficient. However, feminist and critical thinkers have demonstrated how this is inadequate for contemporary citizens, given that the original citizen was a Western, white, propertied male, and that rights have been constructed, theorized, and legislated with this limited subject-citizen in mind (Gouws, 2005; Irigaray, 2000; Lister, 1995, 1997, 2009; Manicom, 2005; Mills, 1997; Mouffe, 1989; Pateman, 1980, 1988; Yuval-Davis, 1997). Irigaray (2000) argues that “[w]e have to rethink the model of subjectivity which has served us for centuries... so that we can abandon the model of a single and singular subject altogether... [this means] that the subject is at least two, man and woman, a two in relations that are not biunivocal.” (6) As Manicom (2005) highlights, in discussions of citizenship, “subjectivity” and the “subject” are not merely discursive and theoretical categories, but also describe one relation between the citizen and the nation-state:

we are individual subjects of our nation-state, and subject to its laws. This is a particularly complex relationship for women, given the exclusive history of citizenship and the tendency of nations to legislate female bodies, especially in their reproductive capacity (see below).

2.1.1 Post-Apartheid and (Substantive) Democratic Citizenship as Processes

Conceptualizations of citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa, which remain vibrant, begin with liberal, rights-based citizenship, including first-generation political, social and civil rights and some second-generation rights, such as health and especially socio-economic rights. These rights and the presence of democratic institutions to enforce them make up *formal citizenship* in a Constitutional democracy like South Africa. *Formal* citizenship, functioning democratic institutions, and free elections, however, are necessary but not sufficient conditions for complete citizenship to exist (Gaventa, 2002; Jolobe, 2009, interview). *Substantive* citizenship includes additional components. Most relevantly, not only must rights exist, but citizens must also have knowledge of, and the ability to actively engagement with these rights. “[C]itizenship is not bestowed by the state or by a set of legal norms, but is enacted in a set of diverse practices and spaces, and involves multiple identities and struggles around concrete issues.” (von Lieres and Robins, 2008: 50)

Along these lines, Erasmus (2009) explores how the South African Constitutional Court has found that continuing differential treatment along racial lines is in some cases not only acceptable, but also necessary for social justice and substantive citizenship. This demonstrates how “universal” rights maybe inappropriate, even unjust, in particular historical circumstances. Therefore, the equality and uniform engagement of marginalized citizens is

one crucial element of citizenship, as is the responsiveness of the state to the concerns of its citizens – particularly those who cannot offer economic capital to the state.²

Class disparity in South Africa brings the question of socio-economic development and/or redress into sharp relief. As Jolobe (2009: interview) says, democracy is a political system that regulates conflict, not an economic system to redistribute goods and resources; nor is capitalism designed to equal the economic sphere. Redress for the racialized working classes is restricted by the state's capitalist economic orientation (Chirwa & Khoza, 2005), and structurally outside of the limits of liberal democracy (Jolobe, *ibid.*). However, as Ntsebeza (2009, interview) and Jolobe (*ibid.*) indicate, economic redress and benefits are precisely what previously disadvantaged South Africans hoped democracy would provide. Working class history shows that the needs of economically marginalized people are met through collective action rather than benevolent rulers or management (Wallerstein, 2003), and, further, collective action is a core tenet of being human (Grossman, 1996). As Gaventa (2002) explains, "While the liberal versions of citizenship have always included notions of political participation as a right, extending this to encompass participation in social and economic life *politicises* social rights, through re-casting citizens as their active creators." (5) Therefore, post-apartheid and democratic citizenship are *both* historical moments at which South Africa has arrived, *and* contested processes with which South Africans engage. South Africans are actors in the ongoing project of creating and constructing the South African democratic nation-state – whether or not they are in fact "citizens."³

² The continuing "service delivery" protests are evidence of a real problem in this regard; however, they can also be seen as attempts to claim substantive citizenship (see next paragraph).

³ This is particularly relevant given recent xenophobia in South Africa, and since the Bill of Rights guarantees many rights on the basis of *residence* in South Africa, not South African citizenship per se. However, this thesis considers formal South African citizens, so examining this important question falls beyond the thesis' scope.

2.1.2 Feminist Critiques: Sexual Violence and other Impediments to Substantive Citizenship for Women

The need to consider rape as part of the daily reality of every woman in South Africa is one of the most pressing feminist issues within South African citizenship studies (du Toit, 2005; Moffett, 2009). Violence constitutes womanhood everywhere around the globe, but particularly so in South Africa. Du Toit (2005) states that:

South Africa's 'world record' rape rate relegates its women and children to second class citizenship... *Rape is a matter of political and public concern, because politics is about who wields power over whom, and rape (and its threat) is one of the multiple ways in which people with penises wield power over people without penises.* (253; emphasis mine).

The prevalence of rape and its threat, as du Toit notes, contribute to what she terms its “institutional ‘normalisation’” (*ibid*: 256), which includes a key element of the global mythology about this violent crime: that it is about sex. Research with sexual offenders shows that this is not the case: “A study of South African rapists revealed that only 5.9% gave sex (i.e. lust, or desire) as the *reason* for committing the rape (Burchell and Milton, 1991, p. 487). This indicates clearly that hurt, punishment and humiliation of the woman ... must be the driving force behind rape.” (*ibid*: 257). This “hurt, punishment and humiliation” are elements that link rape to torture, which is an indisputably political crime (*ibid*).

Smith (2006) implicitly supports this argument, outlining the high rates of sexual and family violence throughout Southern Africa, most markedly in South Africa. Her title – “*On the Sidelines Clapping*”: *Gender in Southern Africa* – encapsulates her argument, which is that women in this region are positioned as marginal citizens. The continual threat of bodily violence – in addition to the ongoing systematic, symbolic and social violence against the female-gendered subject – impede the realization of full, democratic, substantive citizenship for women. As Manicom (2005) asks, “What does it say about the meaning of the celebrated

constitutional guarantee of human rights, gender equality and non-sexism when a huge proportion of the population, predominantly female, lacks the effective right to dignity and bodily integrity?” (23)

To move from this specific manifestation to broader issues, there are differing approaches to the question of women’s citizenship. Feminism as a movement has been historically challenged for whom it includes as a woman, and whose rights and interests it therefore has considered. In the North American context, challenges from women of color (Moraga & Anzaldúa, 1981/1983; Hull, Bell-Scott, & Smith [eds.], 1982; hooks, 1990, 1999, 2000), as well as lesbian and working class women have shaped Second Wave feminism, which privileged white middle-class heteronormative interests, into Third Wave feminism. Third Wave thought broadens feminist power analysis from its narrow focus on patriarchy to include “intersectionality” (Crenshaw, 1991).⁴

Post-colonial, indigenous and African feminist and womanist writers have challenged Western/Northern feminist thought on the above grounds, and additionally interrogated the geopolitical dimension of power.⁵ This critique argues that Western/Northern (“developed world”) feminism acts as a (re)colonizing force as it attempts to define the concerns and realities of Eastern/Southern (“developing world”) women, and then to impose and dictate responses to these concerns.^{6,7} These tensions and debates have had repercussions for how feminist intellectuals rethink the “citizen”:

⁴ Third Wave thought also deconstructs the category “woman”, thus opening space for intersexed, trans-gendered, and “queer” individuals, and sometimes men, to organize under the feminist banner.

⁵ See especially Mohanty (1988) for a post-colonial critique, and Oyewumi (2002) for an African epistemological perspective.

⁶ This is a noticeably similar critique to that leveled at development work in general.

⁷ Muslim feminists have similarly problematized the assumptions of non-Muslim women about the realities and needs of Muslim women in general, particularly regarding the hijab and burka (c.f. Abu-Odeh: 1993).

Feminism has of course played a significant role in bringing about transformations in the 'classic-modern' citizenship project. It has exposed the masculinist and class-privileged normative subject of earlier versions of liberal citizenship; it has questioned and re-drawn the gendered designation of the public sphere, making visible and contestable the political regulation of the private sphere; it has promoted 'women' as an identity of gender difference, pushing the boundaries of inclusion in both the concept and the practice of citizenship. At the same time however, feminist conceptions and politics of citizenship have been increasingly challenged for their own exclusionary tendencies. (Manicom, 2005: 22)

Pertinent questions include: on what grounds has citizenship been offered to women, to which women is it offered, for what reasons, and what is the relationship between women and the nation-state? When women are accorded citizenship, for what purpose does that happen? (Manicom, 2005)

In some cases, particularly when nationalism is under construction, women have been politicized and mobilized as "mothers of the nation" (Ahmed, 2004c; Manicom, 2005). Especially when imposed upon women, this definition can reduce a woman to her reproductive function, symbolically trap her in the capacity of "womb of the nation" and then deny that she is a full citizen in whom rights are vested (as opposed to one who should be entitled to something for the sake of the children). This is not to argue away or minimize biological sex differences and the material consequences of both those biological differences and socially constructed distinctions – gender – attributed to biology (see Fuchs-Epstein, 1988).

In practice, a great deal of feminist thought has used the biological differences between women and men to argue for rights for women, and for the inclusion of women into public life on the grounds that we/they are essentially different and therefore have valuable input because, not in spite of, our differences. Irigaray (2000) advocates this different and equal

approach. She argues that the foundation of a truly equitable “civil coexistence” begins by reforming gender relations at the individual level, between one woman and one man.

According to her, gender is the essential “other” that produces inequality: because we do not understand or appreciate each other (as wo/man), we desire to possess the other. She suggests this dynamic undermines democracy: “If man’s dealings with woman are to be equal, he will have to face a culture of sexual desire and of coexistence in difference of which he, as yet, knows nothing. This requires a reorganization of the relationship between sensibility and intellect, between body or emotions and civil existence.” (Irigaray, 2000: 4-5).

2.2 Feeling Non-Traditional: Expansions on Citizenship (Recognition, Belonging and Social Inclusion)

Recognition has long been part of legal theorizing (c.f. Kelsen, 1941). However, in the era of the pluralistic society and multi-cultural citizenship, this old term has taken on a new meaning. For example, Levey (2006) suggests debates over how to celebrate Christmas in historically Christian-dominant countries such as Australia, Canada, the United States, and Great Britain are really about “recognition” or “acknowledgement” of religious minorities:

Symbolic recognition... is a powerful vehicle by which states represent their history and people. So it is not surprising that such a longstanding, popular, and evocative festival like Christmas should become something of a battleground over ethno-religious hierarchy, minority inclusion, and national identity in today’s multicultural states and societies in the Anglo sphere. (368)

Similar issues could be at the core of debates over cultural rights and practices, such as ritual slaughtering, in integrated urban South Africa. The problem of cultural and/or (minority) group rights is a notable issue in South African rights discourse (von Lieres and Robins, 2008).

While there are several fascinating aspects to this question,⁸ the debate that most impacts women is how cultural rights manifest in patriarchal practices such as polygamy. The ongoing media and popular uproars about President Jacob Zuma's wives and children illustrate how this country struggles to balance its rights-based Constitution with traditional practices, and its oppressive history with its newly pluralistic "rainbow-nation" identity. Importantly, culture is not static; as Garuba & Raditlhalo (2008) and Moon (1996) (among others) point out, 'culture' and 'cultural practices' are historically embedded and contingent. How can anyone be said to have one static culture, when so many people from "the overdeveloped world" (Gilroy, 2002: 252) have such high mobility that they can be said to be global rather than national citizens? The colonizing contact of these mobile individuals blurs notions of culture, as well as nation. This can lead to a retreat into traditional⁹ cultures. It is here that retrogressive manifestations of cultural rights can occur. Such debates on rights and cultural practices illustrate tensions that surround the gendered and the racialized citizen. For example, given that polygamy is a constitutionally protected practice, President Zuma's multiple wives become symbols in debates ranging from the question of female agency within polygamy to how many "First Ladies" the South African taxpayer must fund.

Mokgoro (1997) outlines a publicly perceived tension between *ubuntu* and the Constitution, and argues the South African Constitution seeks to entrench similar social values to *ubuntu*. This suggests an underlying question about whose values are recognized in the new South Africa; who will belong here? Indeed, "belonging" in the nation is another theme in citizenship literature (see Yuval-Davis, 2006), which seems of particular salience in this

⁸ For example, who counts as a minority (the most common context in which group rights are discussed) and what are implications of that? White Afrikaans-speaking people have insisted on this aspect of rights; in fact, it was a contested point in the negotiated settlement (Sparks, 1995). However, there remain issues about special protection for this group.

⁹ This notion of 'traditional' is highly problematic, especially when being used to organize against a perceived threat. Patriarchy tends to reassert itself in this regard, in the name of tradition. See Robins (2008) for several ways that rights intersect with culture for the purposes of political organizing.

period of South African history. Brown (2001) examines some of the challenges facing South Africa, given ethnic and tribal “nationalisms”, and argues for the need to “reconcile the demands of difference and national belonging... through ... a mutual involvement in a history of difference.” (767)

Saloojee (2003) offers the concept of “social inclusion” as a way to envision a truly participatory democratic society. *Social inclusion*¹⁰ theorizes a remedy for the oppressive power relations and unequal civic participation of its corollary, social exclusion. *Social exclusion*, as a phenomenon, is marked by the:

inadequate realization of rights... The link between social exclusion and citizenship then hinges for example, on the degree to which individuals from racialized and marginalized communities encounter structural and systemic barriers and are denied or restricted from participating [fully] in society. (Saloojee, 2003: 2)

Saloojee, like the South African Constitution, extends inclusion to *all* residents of a place, not just the “formal” citizens. Saloojee also offers a clear distinction between class and race equality, relevant at this time in South Africa’s history:

The struggle against class exploitation is not coterminous with the struggles against racial oppression and racial discrimination. What is required is a more subtle, more nuanced approach that understands the specificity of racism as a form of social exclusion and does not subsume it under the guise of exploitation. (Saloojee, 2003: 3)

This points to the complex and multi-faceted operations of racism as a form of social exclusion, both globally and in South Africa.

¹⁰ The Laidlaw Foundation, of whose “Working Paper Series” this paper is part, explains that the elements of social inclusion are: valued recognition of all people; human development (supporting people to use their skills to make a contribution to society that they and others will find desirable and valuable); involvement and engagement (the right supports to be involved in decisions regarding one’s own family, life and community); proximity (shared physical and social spaces in order to reduce the distance between people and to allow for social interactions); and material well-being (resources to participate fully in community life, including housing and an income).

2.3 Ways That Women Live Publicly: The Ethics of Care

To begin re-imagining public life, I arrive at the feminist stream of thought known as the ‘ethics of care.’ As the word ‘ethics’ implies, this thinking originates in philosophy, as well as developmental psychology. Care thinkers focus, broadly, on how women’s lives require different kinds of understanding, and draw on different resources and social positions, than men’s. Taken as a school, they argue that, like feminist perspectives on citizenship, notions of morality are limited by their definition by and for men; indeed, in these senses, mainstream thinking on morality and public life are inadequate (Baier, 1997; Gilligan, 1997; Ruddick, 1980; Tronto, 1995).

Gilligan (1997) outlines the moral development models and theories of “the men whose theories have largely informed [the dominant] understanding of development [and who] have all been plagued by... the problem of women... whose perception of self is so much more tenaciously embedded in relationships with others....” (549). She shows that women tend to conceive of the self in terms of interconnectedness or interrelatedness. This leads to a contextual morality: that is, a grounded, pragmatic sense of morality that considers the social locations of the participants in the moral decision (including injustices) and outcomes for all affected. This *differs from male moral models, which tend to stress individual rights and non-interference in the lives of others, in order that one’s own life will not be interfered with.*

Moody-Adams (1997), among others, has critiqued Gilligan. More complex morality would involve considering racialised, classed, and non-heteronormative (Steyn & van Zyl, 2009)

realities.¹¹ Govier (1997) and Baier (1997)¹² argue that trust is central in interpersonal and public life. Of especial relevance to my argument is the implication that all public life is built upon the precondition of trust in others, though this trust might be so assumed as to be invisible, or so absent as to require remark. Perhaps most usefully for public life, Ruddick (1980) theorizes that the conditions of motherhood create attributes that can be distinguished from other kinds of thought: *maternal thinking*. Drawing on the work of philosophers Weil and Murdoch, the broad virtue Ruddick posits is “attentive love,” which respects the particularity of the child.

I will return to love, but highlight here how Ruddick’s thought applies to public life. Ruddick asserts that “maternal practice is governed by (at least) three interests... preservation [of the child’s life], growth [of the child’s physical and emotional capacities], and acceptability [of the developed adult’s morality by the society in and for which it is shaped]” (589). These interests often conflict and the mother – like the state (I suggest) – must prioritize them in the best interests of the child (nation, or citizen). Integrating gender calls into question the foundations of political life, and citizenship: “To the extent that disciplines are shaped by ‘male’ thought, mothers and other women may feel alienated by the practices and thinking of their own discipline [mothering]. Correlatively, when thinkers are as apt to be women as men, thought itself might change.” (Ruddick, 1997: ft. 16, 601) I suggest that when politicians are as apt to be women as men, politics itself might change; when the citizen is embodied as frequently female or intersex as it is male, approaches to citizenship *must* change.

¹¹ This critique echoes the challenge to Western feminism from African and post-colonial feminists and womanists, which in turn complement the critiques of white feminism from Western-located feminists of colour. However, given the prevalence of motherism and maternal thinking in South Africa and my transcripts, these streams of thought are useful.

¹² Baier’s understanding of morality is predicated upon the same limited Western liberal autonomous citizen that so restricts the category of citizen. Unfortunately, her discussion ignores structural power and oppression, and presumes a more or less culturally homogenous society, though she does discuss the gendered dynamics of traditional contractarian moral theory.

Many authors have written of motherism as a progressive mobilizing ideology in the South African context (Cock, 1991; Cherry, 2007; Fester, 2005; Wells, 1993). Fester (2005) draws upon motherhood and Ruddick to think about citizenship in a South African context. She situates women within a social/community setting, and articulates one strand of public interest feminism:

Women's collective action spurred on by their roles as mothers has been characterized as motherism... What is common is that this type of women's activism has been inspired repeatedly and effectively by the women in their roles as mothers, their care for and defence of their children... Compared to the debates on motherism that have taken place in the West which focus mostly on the individuality and the private domain of mothers, much has been written about the power and strength of African women as 'Mothers of the Nation.'" (200-201).

She argues that motherism was a central mobilizing force for African women under apartheid in the Western Cape. In its application to public life, we see that mothering is not a "private" activity, but one that creates (births), defines (socializes), and extends (mobilizes) into the public realm (Ruddick, 1980).

2.4 The Affective Turn

Ethics of care thought can be seen as an intellectual ancestor of the 'affective turn,' in that it introduces interrelatedness as a consideration in cultural thought. As Hemmings (2005) reminds us, affect is not "new." Rather, cultural theorists seem to be returning to affect as a way to address three problems with social determinist theory. First, Hemmings argues, the deconstructed subject erases the body from theory; secondly, methodologically, theorists worry that neither quantitative empirical work nor textual (discursive) analysis capture the full extent of our social world; and third, that binary conceptualizations of "power/resistance

or public/private [do not] fully account for the political process” (550). Hemmings also historicizes ‘affect’, as she reminds us that many – often marginalized – theorists have been invested in emotion/affect, and have believed in the possibility of social transformation and justice. hooks (2001) makes a similar point about love, when she reviews the place of a “love ethic” in black insurgent intellectual life (see below).

Though the ‘affective turn’ is at times written about as though it is in opposition to the ‘discursive turn’ in social theory (c.f. Hemmings, 2005; Blackman & Cromby, 2007), this is neither necessary nor useful, as evidenced by other affective theorists. Cromby (2007) explicitly shows how discourse and various key elements of affective theory are intertwined, at least in critical psychology. Ahmed’s (2004a, 2004b, 2004c) writings on affect draw on post-modern, post-structuralist discourse theory. As Hemmings (2005) concludes, the political utility of affect for a critical/radical politics is “precisely to the extent that it is not autonomous [from social meaning].” (565)

As with any nascent theoretical field, there is not yet a consensus on the meanings of the terms “affect,” “emotion,” and “feeling.” Here, Blackman and Cromby’s (2007) definitions clarify these terms. For them, “emotions” are understood as what bodies (including brains) do with affect and feelings – how the physical body acts both instinctively and culturally to perform/demonstrate the individual’s emotive life. “Feeling” refers to “that which is... experienced through the body.” (5) This differs significantly from “affect,” which is understood to be an emotional “force” that “moves” (as Ahmed [2004a] also notes) through individuals, between people. Affect is a circulating process, that “for many scholars... *[undoes] the notion of a singular or sovereign subject*” (Blackman & Cromby, 2007: 6, emphasis mine).

Affect thus explodes the binary separation that plagues thought on citizenship and public life. Ahmed (2004a, 2004c) links emotion with both individual and collective identities, and explicates the pertinence of feelings in public life. She explores the role of emotion in creating the self/Other distinction in both the personal/individual and political/collective realms. Ahmed demonstrates the overlap between the construction of the 'white' individual body as a subject for/of love (and as a loving subject of the 'white' nation), and the 'white' national body as a collective to be loved and defended. She argues that, "*the emotional reading of hate ... works ... to bind the imagined white subject and nation together.*" (26, emphasis hers) Her key thesis is that emotions – particularly, here, love and hate – are central to the construction of individual, collective and national identities; that, far from being irrelevant to social analysis and to public life, emotions "*do things*, and work to align individuals with collectives – or bodily space with social space – through the very intensity of their attachments" (26, emphasis hers). From within South African critical psychology, Mkhize, Hook, Foster, and Gibson and Swartz (all 2005) argue the importance of emotions in public and community life, as well as the interconnectedness of human social subjects. They situate these discussions within liberation and Afro-centric frameworks. These authors all link to the ongoing debates regarding the public role and function of emotion. Pantti and van Zoonen (2006) show one way in which emotions "*do things*" in public, in their examination of media discourses in the Netherlands after two political murders (in 2002 and 2004). The authors discuss "*the emotional public sphere*", looking particularly at the media's role in educating and/or inflaming citizens' emotions, focusing on grief and rage due to politically-motivated killings.¹³ Pantti and van Zoonen argue that emotion, far from detracting from

¹³ This links to the South African freedom struggle, and the ways that collective funerals like that of the Cradock Four politicized a generation (Gertrude Fester, personal communication, 2009) and contributed to black political consciousness.

political behavior, contributes to and informs it. These authors examined emotion in the wake of violent political murders, but what of daily emotions? After all, citizenship is enacted daily, in often very mundane ways as individuals move through public space and improvise/create (Bateman, 1998) public life.

2.5 Feminist and Scholarly Conceptions of Love

Love has not been taken seriously in regards to democracy. It seems more academically acceptable to look at ‘negative’¹⁴ emotions (hate, pride, anger) rather than the more ‘positive’¹⁵ emotional spaces (love, care, mothering, spirituality); however, the authors below reclaim love as a subject of serious investigation.

hooks (2001) argues that love is best understood as a verb, a process that we consciously engage in. hooks offers us a set of concepts that underpin her version of love-ing. Echoing the ethics of care, hooks lists, “care, affection, recognition, respect, commitment, and trust, as well as honest and open communication” (5). Bauman (2001) bridges the supposed gap between love and reason. Love, in this formulation, inherently values the beloved, while reason would be likely to focus on the utility of the beloved for the ends of the self. Bauman (2003, 2001) values the ethical position of “love thy neighbour.” He argues (2001) that the economic argument in favour of dismantling the welfare state – “we can’t afford it” – pits reason (economics, utility) against love (humanity, value), and further implies that it positions

¹⁴ I put these value judgments in quotes because, following Jaggar’s (1997) analysis of “outlaw emotions”, I believe that emotions like pride, anger, and rage can be constructive. They show us when something is wrong, or unjust, and help us develop consciousness.

¹⁵ I suspect these ‘positive’ emotions/affects carry stigma because of their historically negative association with marginalized groups; even as a feminist I must admit a deep discomfort when I write about love/theorize about love. I struggle with myself to accept my own need to reclaim this territory as fundamental, central, *critical* to human beings, human lives, and to co-existence.

the latter as foolish. He argues against using reason as “a hide-out from the unspokenness of ethical demand and the unconditionality of moral responsibility” (*ibid*: 174).

Erasmus (2009) shows how love can be chosen as the consequence of political commitments. She combines Biko’s (2004) “critical humanism” with Fanon’s (1986) refusal of race and his belief in love, and adds Bauman’s (2001, 2003) understanding of love and ethics to show how political solidarity, predicated upon emotion and shared struggle, can move us past a simple reliance on ‘race’ as identity and unity. In short, Erasmus argues for the ethical necessity of the continued struggle against racialized exclusion and simplistic racial identities – and places that necessity squarely in the realm of love. Returning to hooks (2001) brings the question of love directly into conversation with the post-apartheid state and conceptions of citizenship, as she argues for a return to a ‘love ethic’ in ‘black’ lives and communities. She demonstrates the range of ways that love and self-love among ‘black’ people have been damaged by structural injustices such as slavery and the criminalization of impoverished people. She traces the colonial historical debate on whether ‘black’ people feel love. This was part of the racist dehumanization that ‘white’ people used to justify the violent illegitimacies of slavery and colonization, and which left wounds on the collective psyches and souls of people of colour worldwide. She then argues that, in the civil rights and black power movements, the more militant factions took centre-stage and the role of love suffered:

The ethic of love once evoked by visionary black leaders as the fundamental source of power and strength of our freedom struggle began to have little or no meaning in the lives of black folks, especially young people. Indeed, love was mocked – not just the love-your-enemies message of non-violent revolution spear-headed by Martin Luther King, but also the message of *building self-love*, healthy self-esteem and *loving communities*. (hooks, 2001: xxiii, emphases added).

Looking toward the future, Sandoval (2000) integrates major themes of twentieth century critical and subversive social thought into an “apparatus that is necessary for forging twenty-

first-century modes of decolonizing globalization. That apparatus is ‘love,’ understood as a technology for social transformation.” (2)¹⁶

2.6 Summary

This section has situated the current research within the most relevant concepts and debates about citizenship and affectivity. The next chapter introduces this project through a description of its methodology, including the conceptual approach taken.

¹⁶ For an application of Sandoval’s theory to education, see Brimmer (2005).

Chapter 3 – Methodology

The last chapter outlined some debates on citizenship, particularly from some feminist and post-colonial thinkers. This chapter discusses the methodology of this research, which is situated within these debates.

3.1 Positionality and Reflexivity

A researcher's positionality¹⁷ shapes data collection, particularly in qualitative research. Though my gender and 'race' obviously shaped my research, they were not necessarily limitations. While I do not believe that female identity is an automatic sisterhood, my relationships with women in Cradock rested on the fact that we are all women, and that I wanted to hear their experiences *as women*. As Reinharz (1992) says, "For a woman to be understood in a social research project, it may be necessary for her to be interviewed by a woman. Such a situation represents woman-to-woman talk, which Dale Spender and others have shown is different from talk in mixed-sex groups." (23) However, there are complicating factors:

Notwithstanding this [feminist] concern for mutual understanding, feminist interview-based research is unable to guarantee that the interviewee will not be misunderstood or rejected in the research process. For example, Catherine Riessman argued that women have to share cultural patterns in order to understand each other. Putting it succinctly, she claims that 'gender is not enough.' (Reinharz, 1992: 26)

While this is true, and the language and cultural differences in my research must be taken seriously, I would not have had the same relationships or access if I were a man, or if I were a 'white' South African.

¹⁷ For my definition of positionality, see Appendix IV.

I am a middle-class, 'white' Canadian woman, who speaks English as my first language. At the time I conducted my fieldwork, I had been in South Africa for five months. In line with the affective turn in social theory,¹⁸ I am attentive to how emotion shaped my research experience and knowledge production. Since affect is theorized to circulate between people and to thus call into question the integrity of the self/Other split (Blackman & Cromby, 2007), this both supports the principle of including the self in research,¹⁹ and of viewing affective and emotional processes as part of the research. One emotional dynamic for me was that being, or becoming, female in South Africa entailed adjusting to a more conservative and patriarchal society than Canada's, and hence influenced my research process. Further, and for example, while conducting fieldwork, I experienced sexual harassment. The symbolic research "field" thus took on a gendered, threatening meaning, especially after the interview and subsequent 'crime scene' tour with Fernanda; the *literal* fields she showed me were sites of gang rapes.²⁰ Experiences like these meant I never ventured far into "the field" alone. However, I recognize that my 'race,' my able-bodiedness, and my access to resources combine to keep me safer than many women in South Africa.²¹ My gender presentation is heteronormatively feminine,²² insulating me from homophobic violence.

¹⁸ See Ahmed (2004b, 2004c), Blackman and Cromby (2007), Clough (2007), Hemmings (2005), Sandoval (2000).

¹⁹ It is never separate, both politically as explained above, and literally, according to affect theorists.

²⁰ While I am a sexual assault survivor, this was not as much of an issue in my fieldwork as during transcription and analysis.

²¹ This nexus of 'race', gender and material privilege relates significantly to democratic citizenship, particularly as these three categories make people differently vulnerable to violence. See Chapter 2 for further discussion.

²² For a discussion of heteronormativity, and explorations of contemporary sexual identities in South Africa, see Steyn and van Zyl, (eds.), 2009.

3.2 Conceptual Frame: Post-Modern, Post-Colonial, Race-Literate Feminist

Feminism is both my academic (conceptual)²³ and my personal (positionality) stance; however, what that *means* is the subject of intense debate. As a feminist, I consider patriarchy and gender oppression to be structural – though not always interpersonal – givens. However, my feminism recognizes that gender intersects with all identity categories and axes of diversity, and that further, these intersections overlap and interact to produce what Crenshaw (1991) termed “intersectionality”.²⁴ Not all women experience identical gender oppression, while transgendered, intersexed and some male people are marginalized due to their gender.

My feminism recognizes that while gains have been made for many women, in practice white supremacist patriarchy has a hegemonic grasp on most forms of power in most places in the world. The lived impact on female-bodied and -identified people differs according to all of their identity axes (major factors being ‘race’ and class), as well as individual personality traits and choices. I acknowledge that all social actors are both constrained and enabled by a variety of structural realities.

My perspective on ‘race’ has become similar. I arrived in South African as a North American *anti-racist* feminist. Anti-racist theory states that power operates on three levels – individual or interpersonal, institutional/organizational, and societal – and holds that racism can only exist along with the power to oppress. However, Gilroy (2002) shows the limitations of anti-racism as an argument, Ahmed (2004b) argues that anti-racist declarations of “whiteness” can

²³ For my explanation of “conceptual framework,” see Appendix IV.

²⁴ For a discussion of the origins of and contemporary need to “re-think” intersectionality, see Nash, 2008.

reify 'white' power as they attempt to undermine it, and Eichstedt (2001) points out that anti-racism, problematically, defines people of color as lacking the institutional or social power to oppress.

I have, accordingly, shifted from an anti-racist to a *race-literate* (drawing on Steyn, 2001) or *race-conscious* (Frankenberg, 1993) position. Following critical 'race' theorists, particularly Erasmus (2008) and Steyn (2001), I understand 'race' as socially constructed. The anti-racist theory that power operates on multiple levels remains heuristically useful; however, its operations are more subtle and nuanced than anti-racist theory states.

Given the racialized transition of some forms of power in South Africa (most notably political), a Western conception of racial/ethnic "minorities" does not apply. It is not, for example, accurate to say that because 'white' people in South Africa are a numerical minority, they necessarily are discriminated against or require minority rights. Similarly, it is not correct to say that because 'white' South Africans remain in positions of economic and often social power, they are fully insulated from discrimination. Even by the above anti-racist definition, some 'black' South Africans have the power to operate as racists. A race-conscious or race-literate position recognizes that the social meanings accorded to pigmentation that are usually referred to as 'race' are always at play in social power dynamics. In many cases, this means recognizing the continued extent of 'white' dominance; however, unlike anti-racist theory, a race-literate position does not automatically assume 'white' supremacy as *the* default dynamic at play. Power is more slippery and complex than that, particularly in the context of a transition.

These intellectual and political positions form the foundation of my conceptual framework. This is not to argue for ‘color-blindness’ in social analysis or political policy. “Race” of course remains a relevant category of analysis (Erasmus, 2009, 2008), as its manifestations continually attempt to justify ‘white’ and other colonial dominance.

3.2.1 Conceptual Positioning on Citizenship

This project attempts to enhance rather than destroy a rights-based approach to citizenship; as Mouffe (1989) argues, rights remain important to democratic struggles, despite challenges to the liberal subject. As suggested in Chapter Two, I follow affective social theorists (such as Ahmed, 2004b, 2004c; Blackman and Cromby, 2007; Clough, 2007; Hemmings, 2005) to bring a radical, democratic (Mouffe, 1989) hermeneutics of love (Sandoval, 2000) to bear on citizenship. Inspired by my informants, I ask: what might it mean to reconceptualise the subject²⁵ – not the racialised subject, not the impoverished subject, not the feminine subject, but the subject as category – beyond the individual? What if we introduced fundamental interconnectedness into public life?

Both “civil co-existence” (Irigaray, 2000) and “social inclusion” (Saloojee, 2003) in different ways transgress the construction of self/Other, and national identity, to envision more humane societies. In this sense, my use of ‘*public* life’ and a ‘loving, *political* ethic’ include and reflect on but are not limited to notions of so-called “public” space or formal “political” participation.

²⁵ Here I use “subject” following Manicom (2005), both as individual subject in the socio-psychological sense, and the national subject in the subject-to-(subjected-by)-authority sense.

South African citizenship is a process. I consider the struggle itself and subsequent social movements – ad hoc protests and more formal civil society – to be acts of claiming “social citizenship.” Further, one’s relationship to the struggle still influences one’s ability to claim public space, at least in the form of political office (Kader Asmal, public lecture, February 18, 2010). This demonstrates the crucial importance of asserting women’s participation in the struggle, both in the interests of accurate history, and as part of the ongoing efforts to claim public space for women.

3.3 Methodology of Place: Town Selection

I chose Cradock primarily because of its struggle history (see Appendix I). Any thorough history of the struggle includes a discussion of Cradock/Lingelihle (sometimes misspelled as Inglihle or similar), often focused on the Cradock Four. The apartheid government murdered the Cradock Four – Matthew Goniwe, Ford Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicele Mhlauli – on June 27, 1985. These four men were involved with the United Democratic Front. Goniwe and Calata in particular were key organizers for the region, and founding members of the Cradock Residents’ Association (CRADORA). They were highly successful in answering the call to render the Eastern Cape townships “ungovernable” with Goniwe’s adaptation of Mandela’s neighbourhood organizing strategies (Mufson, 1990; Ntsebeza, 2008; Ntsebeza, interview, 2009).

The Cradock Four case was among the first heard by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, thus demonstrating its historical significance, and indicating its deep impact on the South African national psyche (Nicholson, 2004). However, while this event marks

Cradock in the history books and in the broader public eye, Cradock residents of colour more strongly identify with the struggle and the ANC as a whole.

Women were undeniably present throughout resistance to apartheid, both “as women” and in mainstream organizations. How their involvement was understood at the time (particularly by their male comrades), and how men and mainstream historiography tend to represent them now is controversial. While South African historiography sometimes uses gender as an analytical category, it tends: to exclude women from the story of the struggle altogether; to treat women’s presence and contributions as trivial, peripheral and/or supportive (unless they were major mobilizations such as against the pass laws); and/or to characterize individual women as exceptional when their support of their male partners/relatives evolved into a public role for the woman herself.

Although some researchers have claimed that “in all the vast literature of the uprising of the mid-1980s, there is scarcely a word written about the role played by women in this decisive period of the struggle,” (Cherry, 2007: 282) this is being rectified. As Britton and Fish (2009) show, women were present throughout all aspects of the struggle; indeed, such is the case throughout South African history (Gasa, 2007). Hassim (2006) explores the question of women’s organizations, and that of women and the ANC in exile (2004). Motherism as an ideology was one of the major mobilizing forces for women even into the armed struggle (Cock, 1991, cited in Britton and Fish, 2009).

Wells (1993) argues that the factors at play in black women’s organizing against pass laws (1913-1958) were more complex than either the political “romantic mystique” (1) or the “conservative ... [reinforcement of] traditional gender roles” (1), that such organizing is

sometimes attributed to. She states that these women's "actions [were] at the same time both militant and conservative" (2). Gasa (2007) and Fester (2005) outline similar tensions, while Cock (2007) explores how maternal thinking shaped women's relationship to peace-building and violent action in South Africa from 1983 to 2003.

These demonstrate that motherism was an important, if sometimes contradictory, mobilizing ideology for 'black' women. My informants revealed both motherist organization and maternal thinking (Ruddick, 1980) tendencies, the former in relation to their organizing – or, in Audrey's case, her felt inability to get involved with "politics" – during the struggle (see Chapter Four), and the latter in relation to their *ideal public life* shaped by a *loving, political ethic* (see Chapters Six and Seven).

Two of the widows remain in Cradock, Nyameka Goniwe and Nomonde Calata. I met both, and interviewed Mrs. Calata, as well as MaDaisy Bontsi who was the sole woman on the CRADORA executive committee. However, all women of colour were impacted by the struggle. Another informant's mother was either fleeing or absent for much of her childhood, while her father was based out of town for his employment and could not be present. Two more found themselves caught between the demands of the community strugglers and other, broadly care-giving, responsibilities. Many of the chapters in *Women in South African History* (Gasa, 2007) give a sense of the complex relationships at play for women in South African history. Especially the chapters written by Janet Cherry and Pat Gibbs outline specific struggle events, and the broad range of civil society/community organizing conducted by women in the Eastern Cape townships, including Cradock.

3.4 Research Methodology

I now turn to the technicalities of the research methodology.

3.4.1 Sampling and Informants

During research design, I conducted four interviews with key informants in Cape Town.

Snowball sampling was the primary selection method, relying on key informants to recommend others.²⁶ Key informants did not necessarily agree to be interviewed themselves, but were very helpful in facilitating access to other informants or to Lingelihle (though not to Michausdal: see below, “Limitations”). Several informants²⁷ physically took me to other potential interviewees, thus facilitating the interview. This thesis draws on a subset of my Rural Transformation Project interviews (see Table 1, Appendix V). They are twelve South African women of voting age, living in Cradock. The youngest was 18 and the eldest was 72.²⁸ All women had been born able-bodied, though Sister Helena lost her legs to amputation in her late 60’s. Nine of these women were ‘black’ and isiXhosa-speaking. The remaining three were ‘coloured’ and spoke Afrikaans as their first language. While most informants spoke or at least understood English, two interviews were in isiXhosa, and three others had some isiXhosa segments.

²⁶ For a visual representation of the snowball sample, see Appendix III.

²⁷ I am aware of the debates regarding the implications of what we call the people we interview (see, for example, Morse, 1991). I contend, however, that rather than worrying too much about what we *call* the people we talk to, it is more important to approach the individual person with respect, and remain conscious of the double-edged sword of power and privilege. Being a researcher does not equal automatic power, even when one is ‘white’. I use the term “informants” to demonstrate the awareness that these women *inform* my research: “Our theoretical analyses are interpretive renderings of a reality, not objective reportings of it.” (Charmaz, 2005: 510).

²⁸ Some ages were estimated, as I felt it would be rude to ask the woman directly.

The question of class in South Africa is difficult to assess, due to the differently racialized standards of living under apartheid, which continue today. My informants were all relatively fortunate. Four were self-employed: three owned their own formal businesses, and one young woman received some money from the government and had an informal business. One had formal employment. Three received government old-age pensions. One was a housewife and ran an informal *spaza* from her home. One was a student in matric. Two young women were seeking employment, as was the young woman with the informal business.

3.4.2 Ethical Considerations

I use pseudonyms for most informants and for every person who appears in my field notes. I use real names either if the individual wanted their real name used, or if their identity is so obvious from their position that it is impossible to conceal. Depending on language, my research assistant or I explained the project and obtained signed, formal consent prior to each interview.²⁹ Either the informant or Nomthandazo chose the location of the interview. These were always either a home or a workplace. Sound quality was more of an issue than confidentiality.

Some informants shared quite personal stories with me, usually women who knew me prior to the interview. One interviewee reported an increase in her depression after our interview, which she linked to opening up apartheid-era memories. For this reason, we did not conduct a second interview. It is my opinion that the ethics of emotion in research require greater

²⁹ See Appendix IV for the Interview Agreement Form and the Interview Schedules.

attention than they are given, as sharing painful stories impacts both researcher and participants.

3.4.3 Primary Data Collection: Qualitative, Semi-structured Interviewing

As this case study is part of a larger project, the interviews followed an existing schedule (see Appendix IV: Methodology), with added questions regarding voting, rights, and women's experiences. Interviews were semi-structured, with some questions tailored to the informant. In particular, I asked women I knew to have been active in the struggle for those stories.

3.4.4 Transcribing

Transcription was the most emotional part of the research, as it requires listening to the data with great attention. Reinharz (1992, 34-36) describes the "stress" feminist interviewers find themselves under, both during interviews and in the transcription process. I found some interviews very difficult to transcribe, and managing the emotional load of this work extended the transcription process by several months. I transcribed most interviews in detail, including dashes for shorter pauses and line breaks for longer one. I employed a contract transcriptionist and translator, who had a Master's degree in Languages from UCT to transcribe and translate all the interviews with a significant amount of isiXhosa, which were conducted by my research assistant, Nomthandazo Krawe.

When I transcribed respondents' words, like the feminist transcription process Reinharz (1992: 39-41) describes, I remained faithful to what they said, including grammatical errors or

mispronunciation. For example, when respondents referred to Lingelihle as “Lingelishle” (note the “sh” noise, which is not part of the correct pronunciation), I used the mispronunciation. This suggests something important about the continuing divides between ‘white,’ ‘coloured’ and ‘black’ communities: people have grown up down the road from a neighbourhood, and yet cannot correctly pronounce its name.

How I present my participants’ words differs from how I transcribe. While my transcripts include the informants’ exact words, with attention to the pauses, “um’s”, and other markers of speech, I edit quotations when I include them in papers, because leaving the quote unedited could be disrespectful to the respondent. Forbat and Henderson (2005) reveal that their respondents in two different projects felt surprise or concern about how their speech appeared. MacLean et al (2004) note that including every noise in quotes “did little but detract from the content of the interviewee’s words and, worse, made the interviewees appear less articulate than they actually were. This situation might be a particular concern with interviewees speaking in a second language.” (116) Quotes here have my transcribed line breaks, allowing for a clearer sense of the informant’s voice, and better reflecting emotion in their speech.

3.4.5 Limitations of Research

The usual caveats regarding qualitative research apply here (see e.g. Oakley, 2000). My sample size is small, and coincidental rather than “representative”. Further, the research site of Cradock is in some ways unique, and so theory that emerges from this thesis is specific. However, the goal was not generalizable, but deep and rich knowledge, rooted in women’s

particular lived experiences of their town. This tension between the goals of qualitative and the goals of quantitative research is part of my approach to “fieldwork” and “research,” which is shaped by my previous socialization into feminist social research methodologies (Reinharz, 1992; Oakley, 2000).

As someone who has conducted interview-based research before, with years of professional experience as a crisis counselor, it was not the process of interviewing that concerned me, but the political and ethical implications of my “outsider” status, both of researching “the Other” along so many axes of diversity, and the pragmatics of access. Pragmatically, I required an interpreter, preferably one who could facilitate access to informants and to the community. I was introduced to my research assistant through a friend’s aunt who lived in Cradock. This was an excellent, and necessary, choice; however, like all choices, it had drawbacks.

Because of the gap caused by a language barrier and the use of others throughout the research process (both interpreter and transcriber/translator), I am more distant from the isiXhosa interviews than those in English. Further, it meant that her contacts and comfort levels shaped my experience of Cradock. As a related result and limitation, I became more familiar with Lingelihle than with Michausdal: I had neither the budget to be able to employ a ‘coloured’ young woman to facilitate access to Michausdal in the same way, nor the foresight to realize I would need one. My ‘coloured’ respondents – by accident, not design – were based in town, not Michausdal.

Analytically, the greatest limitation is that, because the affective approach to citizenship emerged from my informants during analysis and was not part of the original research design, my interview questions and approach were not designed to evoke or explore emotion and affect. In places, therefore, my analysis of the transcripts is necessarily somewhat tentative

and interpretive. This is both a limitation and a strength, as this argument emerged from attention to informants' voices.³⁰

3.4.6 Feminist Research Ethics: Community Investment and Representation

Part of the ethical intention of this thesis was to return to Cradock with initial findings, to avoid being that “hit and run” (Reinharz, 1992) nightmare of feminist researchers.

Unfortunately, neither time, nor financial resources, nor intellectual property issues allow the kind of return I had hoped. I will return to Cradock with my findings, and will distribute the report written for the Rural Transformation Project.³¹ This links to the politics and ethics of representation. As per the concerns raised by Nagar (2002), I hope that my informants will recognize themselves in my writing.

3.4.7 Making Meaning: Analysis and Writing

Throughout the research process, I kept a journal and recorded field notes, academic notes, and emotional experiences. Making meaning out of the data was a constant tension between the dictates of ‘ideal’ academic process, and the emotional/affective results that emerged from the transcripts in a more creative, chaotic fashion.

³⁰ I am indebted to Buhle Zuma for pointing this out to me.

³¹ Due to intellectual property issues, I can neither distribute the transcripts back to participants, nor can I distribute my thesis.

Formal analysis occurred in phases. The first phase was coding and memoing during transcription, following best practices of qualitative researchers (Charmaz, 2005; Kvale, 1996; Wengraf, 2001), who recommend early and continued analysis. Second phase was an iterative coding process in NVivo, like that described by Erasmus and De Wet (2003). Transcripts were divided into four groups for staged analysis. In each group, individual transcripts were both coded by hand, and coded on NVivo, using codes based on the interview questions (such as “Rights” and “Voting”). Codes were reviewed at the end of each group (approximately every four transcripts), to ensure they were consistently applied and defined.

Two key analytical realizations emerged from this process. First, similarities based on generation/age, politicization, and by ‘racial’ group were noted. I especially consider the generational differences in analysis both because transition is a historical process that places informants in different relation to the lived realities of apartheid by virtue of their age, and because informants presented perceptions and/or hopes that opinions differ generationally. As I have argued above, the struggle still shapes citizenship and political life in South Africa. Similarly, memories and traumas from the apartheid era sculpt the affective space of Cradock, and the lived realities of these women differently depending on their age. I therefore discuss affect as it appears in the transcripts under the gross generalizations of “then” and “now.” I place these terms in quotation marks to problematize the idea that time divides into parcels. The lingering effects of hate demonstrate the limits of that approach.

The second major realization – reached through listening for “love” – was that a rights-based approach to citizenship was inadequate for this project, and that emotion and affect were the missing dimensions. Affect and emotion occurred in the transcripts in four ways. The first

and most obvious way is when the informant *named* the emotion, as in “I love people”.

Secondly, informants discussed *experiences* or *aspects of emotionality*. For example, when a woman expresses concern that vulnerable people are neglected through the state’s (lack of) residential planning, she is referring to care, an element of love. Third, women *demonstrated* emotion in non-verbal ways that circulate between the speaker and her witnesses. While this is an important way emotion transformed into affect, it does not appear significantly in analysis. However, finally, through the above process, affect *affected* the researcher: me.

3.5 Summary

This section has described the research process of this project, especially the conceptual approach, the methodological steps followed, and the analysis used. Chapter Four begins the argument by delineating the failings of rights-based approaches to citizenship for women in Cradock, and introducing the concept of affect.

Chapter 4 - “It Doesn’t Make you Feel *Right*”: Failings of Rights-Based Citizenship

This chapter summarizes findings on rights-based democratic citizenship in Cradock, to demonstrate why these approaches are inadequate for understanding women’s lived experiences. It introduces affect by considering informants’ *perceived indifference* of several groups to the peoples’ plight, and their *conflicted feelings* about the post-apartheid state.

4.1 “Politics” and Democratic Citizenship in Cradock

When informants referred to “politics,” they were speaking about the struggle, not about party politics. Large-scale analyses of attitudes towards citizenship in South Africa reveal growing popular disillusionment with leadership (Mattes et al, 2000), as well as pressing social issues that reveal the gaps between Constitutional promises and peoples’ realities (Afrobarometer, 2006). As Cradock is part of South Africa, similar opinions and concerns are part of its social environment.³² Assessing the extent of these in Cradock falls beyond the scope of this study; however, informants’ thoughts and feelings below speak to these trends.

4.2 Knowledge of, and Ability to Engage with, Rights

I expected that the challenges accompanying gender and geographic marginality, and the continuing challenges of post-apartheid transformation, would combine to alienate women in

³² These analyses were conducted prior both to Jacob Zuma assuming the presidency and to the 2008/2009 global economic crisis. My research was conducted several months into President Zuma’s administration, and in the midst of the recession.

Cradock – differentially, along ‘race’, ‘class’, and age lines – from their democratic rights, both in terms of knowledge and in terms of ability to claim those rights. These expectations proved to be both correct and inadequate to describe my informants’ lived experiences of the transition to democratic citizenship.

I: What do you think about the Bill of Rights and that kind of political stuff that’s come in?

Mrs. Calata: I’m not so knowing about that. ...

I: Was there any education about that, that you saw go to the people?

Mrs. Calata: You see, there you come.

There you come.

There wasn’t.

None of that...

Because some people haven’t even heard

Of the Constitution. They don’t know – they hear of the Constitution but they

don’t know what is it. Some people don’t watch news,

Some people hear these things being said in a language that they don’t understand. ... I think

The government needs to educate the people so that they can be quite clear about what – when they say, “This is the Bill of Rights, and this is when it says like this, it means this,” you know?

(Mrs. Calata, ‘black’, 60)

Soon after this, her matric-level daughter says that in school they learn about the legislative process, but not the actual content of the Bill of Rights. Qamisa (18) reported that in her school they only learned about the right to an education.

This lack of emphasis from either community or state structures means that, for some, rights are not perceived as relevant to their lives:

I: So do you know your rights under the Bill of Rights of the Constitution?

L: Honestly, I’m not that deep on this, so I can’t lie.

No!

[Laughing] Not really. I can’t lie, so, no...

The way I have survived, I think – it’s not important for me, because it doesn’t work for me...

Because, what I think, if
I should have [known] that if it is important at least – by now I should have
known – something about it.

(Langa, 'black,' 27)

Some informants had received education on rights. One reported attending a two-day workshop from a visiting Fort Hayre lecturer. Another, the nursing sister, educated her (mostly female) clients on their rights, which suggests that she or someone in her organization has knowledge of these rights, and that at least some people receive some education on their rights as patients. Several times, questions about rights resulted in answers regarding children's rights, or about challenges to parenting styles, which suggest that these women have an unclear understanding of what rights exactly are, to what they pertain, and to whom they obtain. Further, though one might expect that schools would be a place where emerging citizens would receive education on their rights, younger informants consistently indicated that their schools do not teach about the Bill of Rights.

Nomfundo ('black,' 27) explains how the intersections between female gender, socio-economic marginalization, small town location, and 'race' compound challenges in implementing rights and democratic citizenship:

As for women, there's still a big gap...
But mostly there are those women who have done a tremendous job...
During the apartheid regime there were people who - fought
For this democracy to come. How many people [earn] from it?
And many people died
Fighting. But this work is hard.
Whatever they have fought for is not yet fought for, and our present government is
doing such a good thing, they are having good plans, but the problem is, how do we
implement this, and especially in the small towns that we are living in?...
You know, Emily, we have got very powerful offices about human rights.
Whenever someone talks to you like that you should go there, but it does not
happen! I mean, we are living in Cradock, miles away from Johannesburg, then
where are you going to go so that your voice could be heard? ...
Where are you going to – go and say, 'This is the problem that I have'? And human
rights need to be regimented [implemented.]

Then if you ever go to a farm and this – white man owns the land, he owns that people, not that he does, but – ‘I own you’!
And you, you - you *have* to kneel down whether you like it or not, so politics won’t help you. If you come with your clever mind, you are out of a job...
We are still living in that. There are those who say receive the fruits of democracy, but there are those who still say, ‘I don’t even know what democracy is!’

(Nomfundo, ‘black’, 27)

She demonstrates the crux of the issue for those with conflicted feelings, especially women for whom “the gap” remains. She acknowledges that the struggle was both painful and ultimately successful, that the government has good plans, and that rights are “powerful”. History persists, however, through racialized hatred, and a lack of choice for the most marginalized, here the oppressed farm workers. Further, some of the affective elements of public life emerge, as well as the seeds of concern for those more marginalized than the speaker, who deserve public care as part of a *loving, political ethic* (see Chapter Six).

One issue that emerges here is that of having accessible tools and systems. A citizen can enact her rights through formal complaints process, which requires *knowing* both her rights and how to access these processes. Structures must be geographically accessible, a challenge for citizens in small towns. Another way to enact rights, as Nomfundo says later, is to use newspapers and media to make her story and problem known. These require time, resources, and the cultural capital to engage with these structures. Given that many households in the Eastern Cape are female-headed and rural, many women simply cannot afford to travel to get their rights implemented.

Thus, if we assess citizenship using a purely rights-based framework, these women are not full citizens: they lack knowledge about their rights and access to formal engagement systems. This would mean that rights-based substantive citizenship does not exist in Cradock,

which as a municipal government centre is likely better resourced than other towns in South Africa. However, these women do not seem to define their citizenship as knowing their Constitutional rights.³³ Some, as we have seen, do not even believe that rights matter. Clearly, there are other factors to consider.

4.3 An Enacted Process: Claiming Social Citizenship

There are also informal means of claiming rights: collective organization and civil society engagement, often in South Africa referred to as processes of “social citizenship”. This shift occurred during the struggle years, when resistance was framed as social citizenship (Britton and Fish, 2009: 12). Hence the importance of understanding collective action in the South African struggle context when considering black women’s relationship to citizenship. While no informant talked about the responsibilities of citizens, the idea of claiming one’s rights emerged as struggle heroines discussed how South Africans “must be willing to do things for themselves” (Mrs. Calata) or “women should be empowered” (MaDaisy).

South Africa boasts a vibrant culture of collective organizing. Many of the women I spoke to are or have been active in community organizations of some kind. Audrey (53) is involved with Rotary, and has sat on the board of the Hospice. Mrs. V (50’s) has been involved with several projects for children and for the elderly, and sits on the board of a local community economic development project. Nomfundo (27) has been involved in various community projects, and in her paid employment prior to losing her job. Langa (27) used to be the Secretary of the Community Policing Forum, and is the sole breadwinner for a three-

³³ As discussed in Methodological Limitations, the post-fieldwork shift from rights-based to affective citizenship limits my argument in some ways.

generation family. Sister Helena (72) chose nursing as a community service career. Mrs. Nomonde Calata (60) was involved with the struggle, as the wife and stand-in for her struggle leader husband while he was in detention and as a “political widow” (see Ramphele, 1996) after his death. She now uses her catering business to give back to the women she works with, part of her commitment to community upliftment. MaDaisy Bontsi (64) sat on the executive committee of CRADORA with Goniwe and Calata, and (both “then” and “now”) organized “women as women.” MaNosipho’s (50’s) community engagements reveal complex conflicts and tensions, discussed below.

Younger and more elderly women who were not involved in the struggle, however, do not report the same levels of community engagement. In fact, these groups of women suggest a level of political hopelessness or disempowerment. Fernanda (20) is involved in social networks, though her political cynicism means she is not active in any formal structures. Qamisa (18) reported no engagement of any kind. Neither Mrs. S nor MaNcumisa, both *amakhulu* and pensioners in their 70’s or 60’s, reported active involvement in their community, either “then” or “now”. However, though generation and political positionality impact how or whether these women are engaged with their communities, civil society and community organizing is more prominent in their lives than are formal rights education and access to systems.³⁴

4.4 Beyond the Ballot Box: Arriving at Affect

Perceptions of government and elite indifference to the people are widespread in South Africa. The dominant feeling was that Cradock’s struggle involvement should have meant the

³⁴ There is a perception that ‘coloured’ people have weaker community structures, probably due to the national fiction that the ‘coloured’ community was not involved in the struggle. While the extent of involvement differed, this is not historically accurate.

town received development priority; the lack of that priority underpinned perceptions of government and elite indifference. That access to resources remains racialized and classed, and that this affects substantive citizenship, have already been established. This is what seems to be beneath peoples' conflicted feelings. These themes clearly emerged from the transcripts.

4.4.1 Perceived Indifference to Social Issues: The Government and the New Elite

Struggle history saturates Lingelihle, and pervades the social and emotional spaces of Cradock. This influences how residents relate to the new democratic dispensation, the ANC government, and ideas of citizenship (more below). Cradock is both a tragic and a hopeful place. Its tragedy lies in the gap between its highly mobilized struggle history and its despondent, alcohol- and poverty-saturated present. Particularly for impoverished women of colour in Cradock, life is a battle. There are few jobs, and persistent, deeply entrenched patriarchy: "Women are still not seen as *the* people." (Nomfundo, 'black', 27) Hope also lies in its history: there are many experienced organizers, and some excellent community development projects run by committed individuals.

Social issues in Cradock, as several of my informants pointed out, are no different from those in the rest of South Africa. Poverty, violence, and alcohol – all with gendered connotations (such as high rape rates, teen pregnancy, and HIV prevalence) – were the issues most mentioned. People from all demographics expressed concern about marginalized individuals. The elderly, children (particularly street/impoverished children), and displaced farm workers all figured in peoples' discourses, often in ways that showed an indignation or outrage at

continuing injustices and vulnerability (see Chapters 5 and 6). All demographics of informants, including youth themselves, link the lack of economic and social opportunities in Cradock to alcohol consumption and subsequent violence.

Informants perceive a lack of political will to address these issues. This is one way in which affect appeared in the interviews: a perception that the government, the emerging 'black' elite, and 'white' people are all indifferent to the plight of average South Africans of colour.³⁵ Informants did not display anger towards 'white' people. It was the government, rather, who they held responsible both for neglecting them and for the failings of social transformation.

As MaDaisy ('black,' 60) says:

We were struggling here. In Cradock, we were struggling here, but now – you cannot believe it. Maybe you see by yourself that – here we are still left behind. It is as if we are forgotten. But it's not, it doesn't make you feel *right*, After we struggled in this town.

Nomfundo links the government with the new 'black' economic elite. She shows how little she believes either group *cares about* rectifying the continuing disadvantage of the majority of South Africans:

The one who was premier of Gauteng, his wife is from Cradock and what are they doing, honestly speaking? She owns A shop in Sandton, can you imagine? Sandton in Johannesburg is one of *the* most expensive places. ... We've got people from those big places in parliament but – what are they doing? We don't want their money ... But if they could just send some investors to come and see Cradock, just to come and see Cradock to look and see what they can do for people living in Cradock just so that they can get jobs. You know? So that's the thing. ... The government is trying to bring in these programs, the government programs, but they are only for a short time period. They will collapse and what will happen after that? ...

³⁵ I am indebted to Thoko Madonko for this approach to indifference.

If maybe our current politicians would take these people seriously, or if they could put themselves into [those] shoes, you know? Because maybe we have that legacy of forgetting.

Once I am in this dream that I always dreamed for, then I tend to forget, but if ever they could really go an extra mile... and – go an extra mile honestly, speak for these people!

Nomfundo repeated similar sentiments multiple times. She felt that the government lacked communication with the average South African, and that it does not take people or their concerns seriously.³⁶

4.4.2 Conflicted Feelings: What's in a Vote?

An examination of how women of all ages spoke about voting revealed conflicted emotions. While conceptions of social citizenship focus on ordinary people working together to make their lives better, the dominant metaphor of democracy – casting a ballot – by its structure and nature denies collective agency and collective action. This limitation on imagining the structures and component acts of democracy might explain why people were educated on how to mark an X on a ballot, but not on the actual rights which citizenship entitles them to claim.

All of the 'black' women reported feelings of joy and happiness, gratitude to Mandela, and excitement about voting. Both MaDaisy and Mrs. Calata were explicit that they were struggling to get the vote. MaDaisy (60) said:

But in ninety-four, I was there when another white man who came to me and said sorry. 'I'm sorry,' Mr. [B.], it was Mr. [B.], 'I'm sorry for the way we treated you, but we couldn't do otherwise. It was – the way of living, it was our way of living. It was our work.' I said, 'No, I was not surprised.' Because I know

³⁶ This perspective is one I heard frequently in both Cradock and Cape Town.

Why I was
For what I was voting for.
Today we are voting, I'm going to do my X for the first time.
I told him, I told him, 'No, don't mind, I am not cross. You were working for
your children, I was struggling for my children.'

This sense of the vote as validation did not, however, echo consistently through all voices:

I said, 'I'm not going to go vote.' And a lot of people said, 'But you must go!'
You know, I've got my own will. I don't want to go vote, I won't.
And then they said to me, 'But yeah, then you're [not] going to be part of when
everything is fine" ...
I said, 'So?' I've got a right to be in South Africa, nobody can tell me that 'you're
not a South African because you don't want to go vote.' ...
I had to work it out with myself as a person, and I had to go sit and see – like
what's going to be the best for me...
But I must make my own choices. Nobody can *force* me to do something. But
eventually I went [to vote].

(Audrey, 'coloured', 53)

More succinctly, Fernanda stated, "I'll never vote." Her reasons for this are explored in Chapter 5; for the moment, it is enough to notice how this supports Mrs. V's assertion that many young South Africans do not know what life under apartheid was like, and therefore do not appreciate the vote. Qamisa, however, at eighteen the youngest respondent, was emphatic that young people do care about "politics," suggesting that the position of youth is complex and warrants further investigation and specific research.

4.4.3 Conflicted Feelings: "In the Middle", "Then" and "Now"

For some women, their ideal public life involves the space to choose and determine one's own reality. Some women experienced being "clean in the middle," as Audrey puts it, which was very difficult. Audrey and MaNosipho both experienced pressure from on one side the government and on the other side the strugglers. In Audrey's case, the government was her

employer, and the struggle pressure came from her staff and co-workers. She embodies maternal thought (see Chapter Six), as she was responsible for the lives of two hundred youth in the hostel where she was matron.

I had lots of fights with people that's involved with politics [the struggle], but they don't consider the children, and the children must eat, because I mean I'm working for two hundred children and how can two hundred children starve?...
When I signed my documents for the work, I swore I won't take part in any strikes or boycotts
You see?
So I actually swore, and whenever there was a boycott and the staff didn't come to work, I had to work alone for the two hundred children...
So, to be *honest* with you, that's why I said I didn't actually *want* to become involved with politics.
Because – I was actually clean in the middle
You know – especially when they started burning like schools and all that. I was there to protect the children. How can I protect the children and in the meantime I go with the agenda boycotts?
I was really feeling in the middle...
My name was actually on the list to be burned out...
And you see what really hurts me is that, you know, the staff that was working under me...
They were actually the people that was pressurizing me.
(Audrey, 'colored,' 53)

The similarity between the pressures put on by the Special Branches and the pressures of the struggle emerges from how Audrey goes on to speak of them:

I mean, if you just take the Special Branches – how many people they've killed...
Okay, fine – a lot of them was just brainwashed to do what they've done
You know
So you can't blame them necessarily because – he had his job, [but] ...
You've still got choices. One can't tell me, "Go kill Emily now" and I must do it because the next person is also killing. And I think that was actually what happened. People went *in* this political party...
Had forgotten they had choices in life.
I think a lot of people,
They said to me, "You know, you're not my friend because you're not interested in politics." I've got a choice.
I've got a choice.

She links the pressure from both sides to the pressure to vote, as this quote directly precedes her comments regarding feeling pressure from people.

MaNosipho's engagement with the struggle sheds light on the difficult position many South African women found themselves in "then" and how those continue "now". Because she did not attend struggle meetings and a relative was a suspected traitor, her house was burned. She then began to attend meetings to protect her family, at which time she was arrested and held in detention by the security police. As she relayed this story, MaNosipho wrung her hands in her jersey, communicating clearly the levels of anxiety and pain this story still held for her. Her family's status remains suspect, as she was born outside of Cradock and family members are thought to be associated with COPE; further, the people responsible for the burning remain in the neighborhood.

Nomfundo and Langa (both 27) face similar pressures, as they are thought to be COPE members. These young women said that if you are a suspected COPE member, you face personal harassment or loss of employment (one high school principal was dismissed, who was heavily involved with COPE in the town). They related that one home was targeted for vandalism, and that one of them was harassed to reveal whom they voted for by election officials as she exited the poll in the 2009 election. In short, Langa and Nomfundo show us that the pressure in Cradock is not just to *vote*, but also to vote ANC. Whether or not the "facts" in Cradock support their reports, they demonstrate a perception that one must vote in a particular way in Cradock to be free of harassment. This clearly has a negative impact on democratic freedom.

4.5 Summary

These stories demonstrate how rights-based conceptualizations of citizenship fail to capture on-the-ground realities in South Africa, and how small towns marginalize citizens.

Informants' perceptions of government and elite indifference, and conflicted feelings about post-apartheid citizenship, create an affective climate of disappointment, confusion, and a certain degree of hopelessness. This passes between individuals, and creates pessimism about the government, even about the nation itself.

How do these women suggest we re-imagine democratic citizenship? Put another way, what are rights supposed to *do*? What figured prominently is how these women *feel* about the post-1994 transition to citizenship. The next three chapters examine some affective dimensions that must be considered for a more nuanced comprehension of substantive post-apartheid citizenship.

University Of Cape Town

Chapter 5 – Speaking Hate in a Time of Democracy

Hate is not simply a means by which the identity of the subject and [their] community is established (through alignment); hate also works to unmake the world of the other through pain.

(Ahmed, 2004c: 58)

Given the historical relationship between *hate*, particularly *hate speech*, and democratic rights, this chapter examines how hatred and hate speech occurred in the interviews. This section uses Ahmed's (2004c) concept of an "affective economy." As she draws on Marx to argue, "Hate is economic; it circulates between signifiers in relationships of difference and displacement... That is, emotions work as a form of capital: affect does not reside positively in the sign or commodity, but is produced as an effect of its circulation" (44-45).

5.1 Defining Hate, and Establishing Relevance: "Then" and "Now"

Hate emerged as a strong presence in the transcripts, both in racialized form and as the misogyny of rape. Social contexts were saturated with hate "then" and remain so "now," with painful impacts on individual identities and public life. Ahmed critiques the usual approach to hate, arguing it is generally from the position of the hater, and suggests we ask, "[What is] the role of hate, as a social encounter between others, on the bodies [and persons] of those are designated as hated[?]" (2004c: 57)

The apartheid project was, at its core, racialized hate that created and policed the national body of citizens (see Ahmed, 2004c). While the formal system has been demolished, its repercussions remain. This contributes to large-level social mistrust. When hate circulates

economically between people on this broad scale, it impedes true social inclusion (Saloojee, 2003), and creates the conditions for widespread racial and gendered violence.

Inter-group racial violence continues through speech. The power of the word is not a problem until it destroys (Keen, 1994). This thesis considers “hate speech” to encompass all discourses that “Other” any group, though the groups most important to consider here are those of ‘race’ and gender.³⁷ While hate speech is most evident when dehumanizing or violent, it extends to “ambivalent stereotypes” (Glick & Fiske, 2001) such as “Chinese people are good at math”. Assessing when hate speech occurs can be difficult (Ahmed, 2004c). The “impact rather than intent” criterion can act to obscure macro-structural social power relations in favor of micro-impact (N. Mkhize, personal communication, April 13, 2010).³⁸ However, balancing structural power relations with the impact of speech on an individual allows a more nuanced analysis of hate speech. Informants both reported incidents where they were targets of hate speech, and deployed hateful speech.

5.2 “Then”: Naming Hate

The structure of apartheid must be understood as hateful, and one in which people of colour were positioned as *both* hated – by the ‘white’ oppressors, as well as by each other – *and* haters – of “other” people of colour, and ‘white’ people.

³⁷ While sexuality is an important consideration, particularly in light of homophobic rape, none of my informants declared themselves to be gay, putting this out of the scope of the thesis.

³⁸ The Brandon Huntley “refugee” case is an example of how using exclusively “individual impact” assessment criteria in absence of understanding broad social power relations can skew decision-making. This case clearly violated the spirit of Canadian refugee law, and is expected to be overturned on appeal.

Each woman I spoke to had been differently impacted by the hatefulness of apartheid. The most extreme examples were the two women involved in the struggle. Mrs. Calata lost her husband first to detention, and then to murder. Prison guards tried to undermine family ties by denying MaDaisy access to her incarcerated son; in fact, they denied that he was even in the prison.

Ahmed (2004c: 53-54, 57) uses a famous Audre Lorde story to illustrate the impact of a hateful social encounter on a child's development of a sense of the 'black' self as hated. Mrs. V ('black,' 50s) has a similar story:

They used to have big fruits in that street, all fruits. So when we were young, we'd go there, ages nine, ten. And [one time] there was this *little* [white] girl, *beautiful* girl standing there. So we – we make a queue – we kiss this girl, all of us, because her cheeks, they were these cheeks when they were kissed – would turn red... and the little girl was laughing, you know, the child, a child is a child. And we saw a van – police van. And we saw the mother came out of the house, she was crying. [whispers] And they took us, all of us... to the police station. And the mother was crying!
You know, I think she phoned them.
But to be honest, I thought – like I thought she was crying because the police was taking us. I didn't know she was crying because we were kissing her kid, you know?
And she was lovely! How can you hate or blame the poor children? They didn't know. They didn't know!
So – we were taken there.
And then the parents were called so they could come and get us. The police wanted my mother to beat me. She said, 'Why? Anyone can beat her – if she was wrong. She didn't do anything wrong, she kissed just a little girl.'
But the police, shame, you know what I mean? So there were *those* who were politicians. There were *those* ones who were *not* politicians. Those who were not politicians, they *beat* their children. They wanted to please the whites, they wanted to please – the magistrate was *white* and the police were *white*, you know what I mean?

As a child, Mrs. V. internalized this experience, and felt that it marked her as hated. Luckily for her, the experience was somewhat mitigated by the fact that her mother was a "politician" and not invested in "pleasing the whites". It also demonstrates that people both internalized

and resisted the self-hatred of blackness; it shows how the struggle was resistance that can be understood as love for both self and community (see Chapter Six).

Audrey takes a different angle to hate. She suggests that the horrors apartheid state agents committed upon those who were engaged in resistance caused hatred of ‘white’ people.

But I was fine with it [the Group Areas Act].
I don't think I ever had bitterness.
I think later, yeah, it started later.
Before apartheid went out, then it actually started – *you started to hate people, you know, because – you went through a lot of pain.*
And especially when you saw your brothers and sisters and things, got involved with politics and what the police and that time the Special Branches done to them, you know.

(Audrey, ‘coloured’, 53: emphasis mine)

Here, hated people are ‘white’ and/or associated with the oppressive apartheid regime. Pain based on hate has created reciprocal hate. This illustrates Ahmed's (2004c) “affective economy” approach, as well as seeing hate from the point of view of “those designated as hated.”

One large-scale effect is, as hooks (2001) argues, that white supremacist systems damage(d) the abilities of black people to love themselves and their communities.³⁹ ‘Black’ and ‘coloured’ township life degenerated, social fabric shredding in the face of, and as a logical response to, the hateful system.⁴⁰ However, this created violence, as strugglers could turn with virtual impunity against those they perceived as traitors.

³⁹ This point is true for any oppressive system, so that patriarchy similarly damages women's ability to love ourselves/each other. White supremacist, capitalist, patriarchy creates the overlapping, interwoven oppressions that necessitate Crenshaw's (1991) intersectionality analysis.

⁴⁰ Purging the community of traitors was necessary for the struggle to succeed. I am indebted to Nomalanga Mkhize for this point.

That's where the the the - the burning of the - what they used to call the necklace?

It started here in Cradock...

And when [the] Cradock Four got burned then things went very bad in Cradock. Because - friends were no more friends, families stood up against each other, you know? You didn't know - must I *greet* you, must I *talk* to you? Ah - because people just started living their own lives, you know. And some people, there just was one thing on their mind: killing, politics, ah - burning.

People that had respect for themselves and respect for other, they turned out like, overnight they turned into – monsters.

(Audrey, 'coloured,' 53: emphases hers)

5.3 “Apartheid will never end in this place”: Daily Racism in Cradock, “Now”

While overtly violent racism may no longer be a feature of *this* town, daily racisms persist through hate speech and other “social encounters” (Ahmed, 2004c). Perceptions of these differ according to generation. Older women were more likely to minimize the persistence of racism in Cradock, whereas younger women clearly identified both ‘white’ racism towards them as people of colour, and black/coloured racism, as features of their daily existence. The quote that heads this section is from casual conversation with a ‘black’ South African woman, age twenty-nine, in Cradock. In line with the themes of the above section, Fernanda (‘coloured’, age 20) describes how she experiences racialized hatred, “now”: “These white people, they say we’re not racist, but you can see, man! ... The way they look at you and the way they talk to you, the way – they stand a distance from you, man! It’s like you a virus, man, and they going to pick something up from you.”

5.3.1 “There’s No Groups Here”: Older Women Minimize Daily Racism

Older women tended to minimize or gloss over continuing racism. In the case of the ‘black’/‘coloured’ division, older women would either not mention it or deny its existence, as

in the quote from Mrs. V that opens this section: “There’s no groups here. You know another thing in Cradock – I can be Xhosa, my grandmother is coloured. You can be – a coloured, your grandmother was a Xhosa, you know?”

Mrs. Calata’s life story proves this point. When the Population Registration Act came in, her father got the family classified as ‘coloured,’ although they are Xhosa. She therefore grew up in Michausdal, moved to Lingelihle when she married her Xhosa husband, Fort Calata, and then moved back to Michausdal after his murder, where she continues to reside. This shows how constructed and permeable the apartheid divide is between ‘black’ and ‘coloured.’

With white racism, older women either attributed it to a minority of people in the ‘white’ community, or seem to accept the current limited physical integration (positions that are not mutually exclusive).

You know, milk is pure, pure pure pure, but if I can take a drop of poison, that milk is no longer - good... it’s a few people that are spoiling all what we have, what we have [fought] for... but now everything is
It’s just like ah – to me it’s better than before. It’s better than before, really.
(Mrs. V, ‘black’, 50’s)

This idea was prevalent among women who lived in town, and perhaps had more investment in believing integration and forgiveness were working. Still, for these women, the perception was overwhelmingly that even if things are better now, they are not perfect.

For the older black women who lived in Lingelihle and who had not been ‘politicians’, “Umahluko mkhulu. [There’s a big difference],” because:

Siyakwazi ukuhamba nabo. Kwaye banongena nalapha kuthi kungabikho nto. ... Noba kusebankini. Siyambulela uTata Mandela.

[We can walk around with [white people] now. They can be in our company without risking anything.... Even in bank [queues]. We are grateful to Uncle Mandela.]

(Mrs. S, 'black', 70's)

These women did not express hope for deepened social integration. As they live in a 'black'-majority area, they do not need to interact with 'white' people in their daily lives in the way that both younger women and those who live in town do, and so perhaps are neither impacted by nor invested in the project of integration. However, MaNosipho (in her 50s the youngest of these three) suggested that she might prefer more inter-racial interactions: "I used to buy from white people. That was nice."

5.3.2 "Everyone is Racist, Man, Everyone is Raised in That": Younger Realities

Before I even started the tape recorder, Fernanda ('coloured', 20) said, "I'm a racist, I don't like black people." She went on to recount a wide range of racist perspectives, on 'white' people, elements of internalized racism about 'coloured' people, but especially on 'black' people: "They speak Xhosa, not all of us speak Xhosa. Now they'll like smile with you and talk with you, but when they turn their back, they will speak shit about you... They *buy* their degrees, Emily, they *buy* them... They buy licenses, they buy degrees and diplomas and stuff... They sleep their way [into jobs]."

Many older South Africans express the belief that the so-called "born-free" generation will end "social apartheid" (Audrey). Unfortunately, research suggests that this hope that is simply unrealistic. While young South Africans inherit progressive laws and some hopeful social structures, social contact remains marked by 'race': Dolby's (2001) excellent case study

shows how young South Africans imbue music, fashion, and other social practices with racial meaning.

Fernanda's hate speech suggests that Ahmed's (2004c) argument concerning how hate constitutes the 'white' racialized national body in Britain can be used to show this young 'coloured' woman's alienation from the 'black' racialized national body in South Africa. Further, young people from both "groups" talk about public spaces in racialized ways, problematizing the question of who belongs where, and illustrating the pervasive continuation of apartheid "divide and conquer" tactics. This strategy pitted 'coloured' and 'black' people against each other, putting 'coloured' people in the position of never being 'white' enough, but certainly wanting never to be 'black' (Adhikari, 2005; see also Erasmus, 2001). Fernanda says, "I always hear, no, a black woman got the job, or a black guy got the job... They say I'm not black enough."

5.3.3 "We're Not a Nation": Coloured Belonging in South Africa

Audrey ('coloured', 53) illustrates this difficulty, and articulates the pain accompanying it:

But I also think the colored people is ah,
We forgive easily
You know
And we go with the stream - we always in the middle you know
Because
We're not a nation
I mean, the blacks can say where they come and a lot of the whites can say
where they come from, but we're always in the middle.
You see
It's all the things that hurt
And like we - we were called bastards
You know? [laughs] They used to call us bastards because you mos now get you
also get different coloreds

And when you're fair of complexion and you've got straight hair they call you bastards
And that hurted me because - they actually tell you that you haven't that you aren't a - that you haven't got a nationality
You know?

Audrey substitutes nationality for 'race,' suggesting that the right to access public space – the right, perhaps, to belong in the nation – accrues only to those with an indigenous claim on the land. Though this link between nation and place of origin only came out in this one transcript, Adhikari (2005) shows that these complexities are characteristic of 'coloured' identities in South Africa, historically and contemporarily.⁴¹ Of further relevance for the topic of political and public life, he argues that this construction of the lack of indigeneity is a crucial element of negative identity – and source of shame – for 'coloured' South Africans. Thus, perhaps, it is unsurprising that Fernanda ('coloured,' 20) says, "I'll never vote. ... There's too many black people, man.... we'll never rule South Africa."

5.3.4 Younger Realities: Who Belongs in Which Public Space?

Younger women translated this "raised in racism" into a construction of space as racialized, thus problematically suggesting that only some bodies belong in some kinds of public space.⁴² At other times they acknowledge that it shouldn't be like this, that they don't want it to be like this; yet these are their realities.

The thing with black people, I don't like them. Or I don't like
The majority of them, because like they have this attitude, man.
[It's like] the country belongs to them.

⁴¹ The internalization of white supremacist thinking that underpins the "shade-ism" Audrey describes is also a theme of 'coloured' identities (Adhikari, 2005; Erasmus, 2001).

⁴² See Whitehead (2002) for further discussion of neighbourhood politics.

You must see when we go to Lingelihle... you must see how those people walk in the streets. They - expect the car to swerve out for them, because it's *their* road.

(Fernanda, 'coloured', 20: emphasis hers)

Fernanda also recounted stories of violent verbal and physical conflict between herself and 'black' people in Lingelihle, all occurring in the physical space of the road.

Lest it appear that this hate is only 'coloured', we must look at how young 'black' people speak of 'coloureds'. Qamisa's explanation of why she does not go to Michausdal shows the major themes:

No, why would I go there? The coloureds are very rude... They beat blacks. They scare. That's why I'm saying they are rude. They do not want blacks... It is not safe going to Michausdal because they invite you to a party and then they stab you. They kill you.

Qamisa ('black', age 18)

Every young 'black' person I spoke with in any depth – male, female, South African, 'other' African – expressed a mistrust of 'coloured' people. Their discourse on 'coloureds' was fearful and criminalizing, and thus stereotypical and dehumanizing, therefore falling under the definition of "hate speech".

Younger women also clearly identified some businesses in town as "white spaces." These informants freely discuss town as still quite racist, and could report daily acts of racism, such as how store clerks treated them (Nomfundo), or the atmosphere created in some "white" clubs by the music played (Fernanda). Nomfundo demonstrates how lack of recognition is understood as racialized and creates social exclusion. Further, she links this problem to the questions of access to redress for rights infringements (see Chapter Four):

Even *if* now I go to a shop
And then a white woman or a white man comes
They will be greeted with a very great and big beautiful smile. But who am
I? I am still that typical black woman that doesn't get that full recognition
as a human being, and I come for service! ...
So we are still living
In those things! And this is Cradock! Where are you going to – go and say,
'This is the problem that I have?'
(Nomfundo, 'black', 27, emphasis hers)

Her phrase, “that doesn't get that full recognition as a human being,” demonstrates the need for an affective approach to citizenship, as it extends the debates on political and legal recognition (c.f. Kelsen, 1941) to meet questions of belonging in the nation (Brown, 2001; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Ahmed (2004c) shows how incidents such as these are hateful acts, which *affect* persons and constitute certain bodies as hated.

Taken together, these stories illustrate continuing racial tensions and divides between 'black' and 'coloured' people, as well as between 'white' people and people of colour. Further, they suggest that ownership of the physical, public space of the nation is racialized. This in turn suggests that belonging in the affective space of the nation, the right to be part of the emotional national body, is a charged and contested issue requiring *affective* analysis.

5.4 Gendered Hate “Now”: Rape and the Pervasive Fear of Rape

Violent crime impacts all people in South Africa, and (as established above) saturates the public environment. Qamisa (18) said, “I hate Cradock... We are too much into politics... Around the community, at school, everywhere you go, there's violence. [I: And how is it like for you to be around that?] It is really bad.” Rape is a notably gendered type of violent crime, which happens (in Cradock as throughout South Africa) often very violently and in public

space (see Chapter 2). The understanding of rape as a gendered hate crime demonstrates how female gender positions women further from full citizenship:

The fact then that women are raped on a large and seemingly uncontrollable scale without the authorities taking a strong stand on all policy levels, translates for ordinary South African women into pervasive fear, systematic (contagious) humiliation, and incapacitation... She lives out on a daily basis her fear of being raped, of being both physically and mentally tortured, of being punished for her womanhood.... Her very body becomes conspicuous to her, the *reason* for which she may be tortured and killed.... It is vitally important to remember that the fear of rape is never 'only' rape – inherent in the act of rape is the threat of death itself, and this is so, even without the added (realistic) fear of contracting HIV/AIDS. In response to all of this... [a woman] *is careful not to provoke male disapproval or anger in most situations*. This seriously erodes all her considerable rights under the new Constitution.

(du Toit, 2005: 259-260)

For Mrs. V, rape occurs now that new people have come in from “faaaaaarr away farms,” and “the Transkei, the people from other places you know. ... Now it’s a lot of people... it’s not like before. It changes a little. I was not affected [by] that, but – as a citizen I stay in Cradock [town] – [but] the old people is raped. ... And when you see who is given the [safe] homes.... You know, it’s becoming Soweto or something.”

Mrs. V constructs rape as occurring because we don’t know each other anymore, because the newcomers don’t have the “respect” that people from Cradock have, and because the government doesn’t care enough about the needs of vulnerable people. Mrs. V was clear that a lack of community planning, and of attention to peoples’ needs, resulted in elderly people being placed in homes far away from town and increased their vulnerability. While it is factually untrue that rape occurs due to geographic location, and demonstrably false that sexual violence is mostly committed by strangers, it illustrates that some citizens equate high rape rates or certain rape occurrences with the lack of government attention to the needs of marginalized peoples.

Fernanda said, in an off-hand manner, “There’s a lot of raping in Michausdal and stuff.” Her tone suggested how thoroughly normalized this misogyny is for young people (and possibly older people) in Cradock. Directly after our interview, she took me on a crime scene tour of Michausdal, showing me the fields where young women she knew had been gang raped. Both Fernanda and a male informant who lived in Michausdal stated that rape and murder were common, and recounted stories of known rapists who were out free in the community. This differed somewhat from perceptions of Lingelihle. While Langa insisted that she felt safe in her area, and that there were no problems of sexual violence, Mrs. V’s above discussion makes it clear that at least the RDP areas of Lingelihle are linked to rape.

5.5 Summary

This section has examined the key themes in hate speech and stories of hateful occurrences from the interviews. It shows some ways these are relevant for thinking about public life and substantive post-apartheid democratic citizenship. Given the destructive potential of hate, its relevance for public life and citizenship is relatively easy to argue. What, though, is the relevance of love for the same theorizing? The next chapter addresses this question.

Chapter 6: “I want to be with people, I love people, you know?” *A Loving, Political Ethic*

We cannot effectively resist domination if our efforts to create meaningful, lasting personal and social change are not grounded in a love ethic... To give ourselves love, to love blackness, is to restore the true meaning of freedom, hope and possibility in our lives.

(hooks, 2001: xxiv)

Women in Cradock do not see themselves as powerless, despite their lack of knowledge of and inability to engage with their constitutional rights. They spoke “from the heart,” spontaneously raising the linked themes of *love and respect*. This section examines these in the transcripts to explore what implications these have for citizenship, arguing that love – for the self and beyond – is a radical, politicizing force (Erasmus, 2009; Fanon, 1952/1972; hooks, 2000, 2001; Sandoval, 2000). “Love” and “respect” appear, implicitly and explicitly, in the forms of: self-love as resistance; maternal love for one’s community and people; part of a non-racial South African identity; and finally implications for the national government.⁴³ I argue that these form an *ideal public life* informed by a *loving political ethic* that demonstrates the gendered and cultural inadequacy of unitary liberal subjectivity, and traditional understandings of citizenship.

6.1 Conceptualizing Love: A Politicizing, Political Force

Rights-based citizenship as currently understood is woefully inadequate for all women, and many marginalized men (Irigaray, 2000; Lister 1997, 1998, 2009; Mouffe, 1989; Mills 1997; Wallerstein, 1983). Affective theorists bridge what Sandoval (2000) calls “academic

⁴³ Though these divisions are employed here for heuristic purposes, in practice and in discourse they are linked. Love circulates between the self and the beloved object in a cyclical, affectively economic process.

apartheid of theoretical domains” (67) in an effort to better describe and understand human lived realities (Ahmed, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c; Blackman and Cromby, 2007; Clough, 2007; Hemmings, 2005; Hardt, 2007; hooks, 2000, 2001; Sandoval, 2000; Wissinger, 2007). Love arrives on the political scene – as an antidote to hate, possibly, but certainly as an underutilized and under-theorized realm: “‘love’ is redefined as a mode of social and psychic activism” (Sandoval, 2000: ft. 24, 189).

Linking hooks’ (2000) emphasis on “care,” “attention,” and “responsibility” with Ruddick’s (1980) “attentive love,” a broader conceptualization of love emerges. Bauman (2001) links love – as a phenomenon of co-existence –with ethical obligation to each other; Baier (1997) similarly emphasizes how, practically and daily, we trust each other – a form of social love – for the continuation of our lives. Erasmus (2009) positions struggle and solidarity as acts and types of love. Sandoval (2000) offers love “as a technology for social change” (2).

Following the above theorists, I conceptualize love as an active, reasonable choice, a political process, a learned (not necessarily innate) way of approaching the Other (any Other, as well as the Self) with compassion, respect, and honesty about both the positive and negative aspects of both self and other. It implies a commitment to other human beings by virtue of our shared humanity. For these reasons, I posit love as both a political choice and a politicizing force. My argument begins with the premise that the self-loving individual is the foundation from whence love springs, and moves upwards through more abstract, broader levels of love until it arrives at the national implications of this *loving, political ethic*.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ While this loving politic could easily be conceptualized as extending beyond national borders, the focus on citizenship bounds the geographic scope of this argument. Both the concept of social inclusion (Saloojee, 2003) and the South African constitution, however, extend this politic to non-South African citizens residing in South Africa.

6.2 Self-Love: Foundation for a Healthy Nation

Trauma interrupts self-love (Herman, 1997). The dignity-stripping, dehumanizing processes of colonization and apartheid were certainly traumatic. Many social theorists and mental health professionals assert that self-esteem, another name for self-love, is the key to a healthy ability to draw boundaries, foster the growth of another, and nurture the community and nation (Fanon, 1952/1972; Hook, 2004; hooks, 2001).

Erasmus (2009) suggests and hooks (2001) states that healing 'black' communities requires a return to the "love ethic" that visionary 'black' leaders have always championed. hooks (2001) quotes Cornel West: "A love ethic has nothing to do with sentimental feelings or tribal connections.... Self-love and love of others are both modes in increasing self-valuation and encouraging political resistance in one's community." (5) The anti-apartheid struggle was collective action, composed of individuals acting in such "self-valuation," among them MaDaisy Bontsi and Mrs. Nomonde Calata. This discussion aims to show how resistance⁴⁵ was one way of valuing and loving the 'black,' female self under apartheid, and how that self-love resulted in politicization.

The seeds of political consciousness could be sown when one was quite small. Mrs. Calata ('black,' 60) remembers how she and her sister would resist when they were still children:

Whenever we go [to] work with my mother's
Place, at my mother's work – and then when the white people are not there,
we will – like
Pretend - we are the white people
And we will – we will sit at the table and - drink with their glasses

⁴⁵ This is a term used in domestic violence counseling, to describe the tactics that the abused party engages in to either push back against or to minimize the violence they experience.

And you know and *jump* on the bed and, you know, sit on their chairs without – because when they are there, we can't do those things.

In context, this story serves as evidence of her political consciousness prior to marrying her late husband, community leader Fort Calata. For her, these were acts of resistance against white supremacy.

MaDaisy was very involved in the struggle, sitting on the CRADORA executive committee and organizing “women as women.” Her resistance to the anti-apartheid structures continued while imprisoned.

When I was detained, I wasn't sharing with people, I was staying in a cell alone. I was alone in a cell for the whole year.
There where I was staying alone I wouldn't see other people, I wouldn't talk to them.
I was separated from the people, when they're outside I'm not outside, when they are inside I'm outside, but *when* I am outside I mustn't come near them.
...
I stayed there for a year. when I was nearly finishing the year, I think it was - the eleventh month before my discharge from detention, they told me to go to other people, I can stay with other people. I said, no, I don't want to. I am alright here...
I asked them why did you keep me alone and now all of sudden you want me to go to other people...
Some other day they brought me a *big* book, and said to me, *read* this book.
And I asked them, why?
No this book is for your rights.
I told them, whose rights, mine?
They said, 'Yes.' ...
I said, 'No,' I told them, told them, I said, 'I don't want nothing coming from you. I won't do anything from you.'
So it was so – tough there.

(MaDaisy, 'black', 60)

Her story demonstrates the fundamental interconnectedness of people, through how important it was for her to be around other people. Yet, despite that need for others, her political convictions – fed by and springing from her self-love – kept her resistance strong. We see here how MaDaisy's self-reliance allowed her to nourish her determination. She goes on to tell about talking back to the wardens within the prison, and ensuring that the security forces

knew of her defiance. This “speaking truth to power” was an act of valuing herself, a refusal to be cowed or intimidated into silence.

And there was another policeman of the security police who always told me that, ‘When we detained you, we are going to throw you away from your children and you will rot in jail.’

When I came out in nineteen eighty-nine...

I met him [this security policeman] and I told him that, ‘Here am I. Good morning!’

I told him, ‘Are you still saying that I will rot in jail? I am out of jail today.

Friday night out of jail. What are you saying?’ He couldn’t answer me.

Those people have done some thing[s],

Cruel things to us.

(MaDaisy, ‘black’, 60)

In part because of her battle with the security forces, she maintained her sense of self. Here we also see how children were central for fuelling her struggle, which brings us to motherism and maternal thinking as political forces.

6.3 Maternal Love: The Impetus for Community Organizing

Loving one’s children, or the children in one’s community, was a significant reason that South African women mobilized and supported the struggle (see Chapters 2 and 3). Many informants spoke about wanting to protect and care for children, both “then” and “now”.

MaDaisy, for example, shows how concern for children mobilized the individual mother and mothers as a group:

They [the Special Branches] were so harsh, man. I’m telling you.

Then they come in the house, we - were living in four-roomed houses, you know, with my children and my sister staying with me, my other children sleeping on the floor. When they come in, you know, come and kick the children up, and I became so cross, I kicked them out.

I: *You* kicked them?

D: I throwed them out.

[shared laughter]
Because they were big men...
So I wasn't a very *easy* person, I always struggle with them and fighting with them.
[laughs] ...
But we as women,
We were - supporting our children - always supporting our children.
(MaDaisy, 'black,' 60)

MaDaisy embodies a fierce maternal impetus. She refused to give up organizing women "as women" even after multiple detentions, partly because of intrusion into her family; her son and husband were also detained. Despite the criticisms of essentialism feminist thinkers have levelled at motherism and the ethics of care, MaDaisy clearly situates her struggle – which was, as Wells (1993) argued, both radically political and traditionally gendered – within her role as a mother. The ethical sense MaDaisy displays suggests Gilligan's (1997) contextual morality.

Nomfundo also discusses the importance of caring for children in the community, suggesting a sense of collective responsibility for nurturing a child's spiritual and emotional growth:

You know, I went out at Matthew Goniwe [high school],
Teaching learners, Grade Eight and Grade Nine...
I wanted each and every learner to give me the background about themselves. And it was so hurtful because – there are families in Cradock, the child-headed families - in Cradock! ...
We see those things on TV and we think, 'No, it happens in Johannesburg, Cape Town.' We never heard that it happens here.
And it *does*!
What are we doing about it? ...
Do we honestly think that those children will have a very bright future?
They don't. ...
You are a mother, you are a father, and you - you have to do your own homework, you have to help your your siblings with their homework and definitely something is going to miss
And it's going to be yourself, because - you have to show your love to them, and - actually at the end of the day everyone needs to be loved.
And the love that you are giving to them, are you getting something? No.
(Nomfundo, 'black', 27: emphasis hers)

Audrey ('coloured', 53) illustrates a more abstract aspect of Ruddick's (1980) maternal thinking: "We didn't have a lot of worldly things – but the respect and the love and the respect for other people, that's what we really inherited from [my mum], and I'm proud of that." This shows how mothers inculcate values that govern interpersonal interactions, and hence extrapolate to the political realm as citizenship virtues (Ruddick, 1980). Further, Audrey explicitly links respect, love, and public life, with her distinction between "respect," "love," and "respect for other people." Other women spoke about love in terms of the fundamental interconnectedness between people, suggesting that it is an intrinsic part of these women's ideal social fabric:

You know, my hobby - that is my hobby. I love people no matter what,
So I cannot say there is any place that I will not go to! [laughing] Really! ...
I go everywhere! Everywhere, you know....
As I said, my hobby is people. If you can take people away from me, I will die, I think.
I want to be with people, I love people, you know?
(Mrs. V, 'black,' 50's)

Lest we be tempted to dismiss these voices as merely those of older generations, Nomfundo ('black,' 27) also invokes "love and respect."

For me, living in Cradock – in as much as each and every town has its own ups and downs – but for me it's – satisfying. It is.

Interviewer: And so what are your favorite things?

N: Geez. The quietness of it.
More actually in my street – yeah. Round about six o'clock – Lingelihle is not, there's no noise. Particularly in *my* street....
That's what I love about it. And secondly we still have that
I can still say – to my neighbour, I can ask for *whatever*. That is, there's still that piece of respect and love
For each other that ...
If I need help, I know that I can just jump to Emily and say, 'Emily, please help me on this,' without asking why and what, whatever. So – that's what I love. Honestly, by this I I – I love it.

Love appeared here in three ways. First, Nomfundo echoes and extends the voices of Mrs. V and Audrey by emphasizing the role of “respect and love for each other” between neighbors in an ideal public life. Secondly, she states that she “loves” this in her community, implying that creates reliance and trust. Lastly, she extends love to her neighborhood, joining emotional with physical space.

Taken together, these voices describe an ideal public life, based on a loving, political ethic. First, we hear that emotion circulates between people, creating affect. Secondly, this is valued and important in these women’s lives. Lastly, that affect is experienced spatially. It saturates and creates place, in this case represented by the neighbourhood, and also dissolves separations between people: “I cannot say that there is any place I will not go to!” (Mrs. V).

6.4 Ideal Public Life “Now”: Love After the Transition

Women spoke of hopeful, as well as critical, themes in relation to Cradock “now”. They mentioned an increased individual sense of humanity, and regaining their dignity. Love appeared as a healing action, drawing people together as South Africans. Women also spoke of empowerment and self-reliance, and indicated hope that South African national identity can include togetherness. These all relate to increasing respect and love, both for individuals and for women (or South Africans) as a group.

6.4.1 Individual Healing

Both Audrey and Mrs. Calata responded to questions about the post-1994 transition with personal feelings. Mrs. Calata speaks about herself through collective experience, indicating

that, despite the persistence of racism, the transition has resulted in an increased humanity being attributed to ‘black’ people in Cradock:

So I would say there is a lot of change, there is a lot of change...
I say it’s much more I would say that we we – I feel it’s much more like
We can feel that are – human now.
Yeah, we can feel that we are human now.
That’s how I can shorten it, we are treated as human beings, you know?
No longer that side as if we are wild animals.
(Mrs. Calata, ‘black,’ 60)

Audrey (‘coloured,’ 53) indicates that the transition, particularly her ability to return to the street where she was born, and where the home from which her grandfather was relocated under the Group Areas Act still stands, gave her “dignity back.” She invokes again the discursive trope of “nationality” to stand in for race (see Chapter 5), and speaks of racial integration, of living together, as an *ideal*:

The thing that made me proud
Is to move back to town
And to come stay in the same street where I was born – and
That my neighbours [are] other nationalities and we can live in peace.
I think it really made me humble – and I’ll say I got my dignity back, you
know?

6.4.2 Love Draws South Africans Together

Audrey goes on to speak of love as something she gives freely, across color lines, and that people are surprised to receive.

With all that *we* went through
We’ve forgiven each other – and we live in love and unity now.
And I think that made me really proud to be a South African...
The *experience*, just the whole thing drew people to each other.
Some people, now, with the business you can see still keep their distance.
And some people are even *surprised* - when you take them and hug them.
And even when you tell them you love them
You know?
And I think through *all* this, people has realized that – you’ll always get people
that think with their minds
But I think what a lot of people realized that – it was necessary to move from
your brain to your heart

And to really make peace with yourself so you can live with other people
And see – the the the other nationality as a *person*
And don't see colour.

Later, she raises similar themes when asked to describe Cradock as a town:

You'll always find a small group that will still be racist
Ah still want to do things on their own
But – I think we're very lucky to live in Cradock
Because there was a lot of forgiveness and there's a lot of love
And I think that's very important.

(Audrey, 'coloured,' 53)

Her contextual uses suggests two themes: that love is linked to a non-racial “togetherness” (lack of segregation); and that non-racialism *should* be part of South African national identity. Separation here is explicitly linked with “racist” behavior, and opposed to “forgiveness” and “love.” Further, that kind of behavior is positioned as a relic of the apartheid past. In the new South Africa, she implies, we “work together”. This suggests a democratic ethic of “civil coexistence” (Irigaray), suffused with the South African element of racial reconciliation.

As we have seen in Chapter Five, young women of colour sometimes speak racial hatred that seems to directly contradict this dream of a non-racial South Africa. However, Fernanda shows her true desire for South Africa: “My understanding of [after] apartheid, I always thought [after] apartheid was that we don't see each other's colours anymore, we just see each other as equal individuals. I think that should have changed, but it's still the same. It's still, 'you're white, I'm black, you're coloureds, we don't mix.' It's not supposed to be like that.” There is, then, a hope for the histories of separation to end. A call to political love is the order of the day.

6.4.3 Empowerment “Now”: Developing Group Self-Reliance

The impulse for collective struggle remains necessary, in large part due to the incompletely realized hopes from the struggle. This, as MaDaisy and Mrs. Calata make clear, is the case for ‘black’ women in Cradock.

If the women can be ... empowered, maybe...
If you can just go around and check *all* the people that you can do something for yourself:
You can draw your money by yourself, you can write your letter by yourself, or read your letter by yourself.
You know?
But ...
If you can be empowered by somebody, and
I will take you five you women, and teach you how to bake cakes and all that sort of thing, birthday cakes, wedding cakes and all that,
So that we can do for ourselves, and not go to town and buy birthday cake, you know, a wedding cake, a celebration cake.
(MaDaisy, ‘black’, 64)

Mrs. Calata also emphasizes that women must develop self-reliance, as individuals:

There’s still a lot of women are struggling, ne?
And that can’t take themselves out of the situation, ne?
I will make an example maybe about myself
As a woman
Who had to raise children all by herself
Who had to look after – it all, the house, and the children, and myself.
I sort of – I *know* that there’s no one who’s going to come up and help me
With whatever. So I started to think that I *must* do something for myself...
So, the only thing I can say is if you are in a difficult situation is... say, the only person who can take me out of this situation is myself, and standing on my shoes, and trying to do something about it.
(Mrs. Calata, ‘black’, 60)

Self-reliance does not stop at the individual level for these politicized women.⁴⁶ They demand that women empower themselves, rather than wait for either the male head of the household or the patriarchal state to save them.

A specifically democratic empowerment emerges from the next generation of women:

⁴⁶ I am indebted to Buhle Zuma for this point.

Nomfundo ('black,' 27): Even for me, personally, ne.
Because we – first and foremost, Emily...
We have to bridge that gap...
What happened happened, and we have to put it in the past, but how do we deal with the future? That's the most important thing. How do we deal with this? ...
Because the democracy is not operating on a vacuum it has to be – somewhere, it has to start somewhere, and who are the people that are supposed to do that? *We* are the people who are supposed to do that. ...
Langa ('black,' 27): That's true. We have to deal with it. We cannot wait for them to do it for us, we have to do it, because if we've got the chance to do it.
We have to do it.

These young women suggest the next theme of self-love, “now” – empowering the self to advocate for development and to remobilize and organize for the next wave of action: an active claim on citizenship.

6.5 Love at the National Level: Does the Government Care?

But will the government care enough to listen? Community, love-facilitating spaces are *not* what the government is building for impoverished families through what was the Rural Development Program (RDP). This impedes service access, and suggests a distinct lack of love, in the form of care. Informants criticized the government for this lack of love/care, as seen above in Chapters 5 and 6 (re: sexual violence); further, both farm workers and elderly people appeared in discourses as vulnerable groups of people for whom the government must show more care and consideration. hooks (2001) describes a drive through the physical communities of black America:

The desolation of these places where love was and is now gone is just one among many signs of the ongoing crisis of spirit that ravages black people and black communities everywhere.... Our collective crisis is as much an emotional as a material one. It cannot be healed simply by money. We know this because so many of the leaders who preach to us about the necessity of gaining wealth and status, are as lost, as disenabled emotionally as those among us who lack material well-being. (4)

hooks' observations can be supplemented by saying that this "collective crisis... cannot be healed simply by" poorly constructed RDP houses. She is very careful to note that poverty does not necessarily equal lovelessness. She states unequivocally that "[n]o matter what our class, black people who worship money are not interested in a love ethic." (*ibid*, 12) In South Africa, this emotional and visionary bankruptcy is perceived to apply to many in political power and the emerging black elite (see Chapter Four).

As seen in Chapter Four, most citizens are ignorant of their rights; it could be argued that the lack of government education means they are being kept in ignorance. Further, the formal structures in place effectively disempower many citizens. These do not point to a loving relationship between the state and the citizen. Though the government, especially the President, is set up as a patron or patriarch, a relationship of true care between state and citizen is not characterized by ignorance and structural disempowerment, but by knowledge and communication.

Nomfundo: [sighs]
For me personally, wena, Emily, I think if
If the government really could
Listen to the people on the ground...
If they could really – lend their ear to the people on the ground, *listen* to how
people *feel*. For example,
They say we will build houses for the people and they build the houses for
the – are those houses - *good* for the people? ...
See? So all of these if they could *come* to the people because for me
democracy that is – that is what democracy is: *listen*.
To the people because they come to us when they need our votes,
They listen!
Then after that – what do they do?
They should come again and say, 'guys, we built the houses, are they
good?' ...
For me, it's just, yeah, with those unemployed, those better jobs and stuff,
but it starts from the ground:
Listen.

People want to feel heard by their government. It is not just the jobs, but what they represent (see Chapter 7), and the recognition appropriate communication would accord to the average South African citizen. Nomfundo suggests one concrete way that the government could love its citizen-subjects: “listen.”

Again, citizenship is not just a relationship between the state/government and its “citizen-subjects” (Sandoval, 2000). Citizenship is also enacted, lovingly, through collective organizing and group empowerment. Women can organize again, and take up the popular slogan, ‘aluta continua.’ The Bill of Rights provides tools for such organizing; formal structures are in place to claim those rights and to hold the government accountable. Knowledge and collective organizing are all that is required, with a good solid dose of love and commitment. South African women have shown that they are more than capable of mobilizing. The force of a loving, political ethic is enough to shift the tide even of epidemic levels of gender-based violence and galvanize a society into action.

6.6 Summary

This section has taken the idea of love and examined first what women mean by this, and secondly how and why that might be relevant to discussions of public life and of citizenship. Assuming my premises hold, what links exist between these ideas of loving, and the themes and challenges of new, non-racial, democratic citizenship in a post-apartheid South Africa? The final chapter argues for an *affective* approach to substantive democratic citizenship. It focuses particularly on the radical potential of a *loving, political ethic*.

Chapter 7: Why *Affective* Citizenship?

It is love that can access and guide our theoretical and political *movidas* – revolutionary maneuvers towards decolonized being.

(Sandoval, 2000: 141)

A focus on affect certainly does draw attention to the body and emotions, but it also introduces an important shift. The challenge of the perspective of the affects resides primarily in the syntheses it requires. This is, in the first place, because affects refer equally to the body and the mind; and, in the second, because they involve both reason and the passions... They illuminate, in other words, both our power to affect the world around us and our power to be affected by it, along with the relationship between these two powers.

(Hardt, 2007: ix)

This chapter concludes the thesis by examining the concepts of the *ideal public life*, based on a *loving, political ethic*, and showing that these, taken together, necessitate an expanded understanding of citizenship for the post-apartheid state: an *affective* substantive citizenship.

7.1 An *Ideal Public Life*, Based on a *Loving, Political Ethic*

The liberal democratic vision of equal subjectivity and citizenship assumes a homogenous society that does not resemble the one we actually live in. It is nevertheless based on a fundamentally sound ideal – that of true equality between persons (Mouffe, 1989). The trouble is that the Enlightenment definition of who *counted* as an equal person was flawed (as argued above), and subsequent democratic struggles have achieved only partial corrections:

In order to pursue and deepen this aspect [equality and freedom for all] of the democratic revolution, we must ensure that the democratic project takes account of the full breadth and specificity of the democratic struggles in our time.... How, in effect, can we hope to understand the nature of these new antagonisms if we hold on to an image of the unitary subject as the ultimate source of

intelligibility of its actions? ... It is indispensable to develop a theory of the subject as a decentred, detotalized agent, a subject constructed at the point of intersection of a multiplicity of subject-positions The new rights that are being claimed today are the expression of differences whose importance is only now being asserted, and they are no longer rights that can be universalized.... Universalism is not rejected but particularized; what is needed is a new kind of articulation between the universal and the particular.

(Mouffe, 1989: 35-36)

Going beyond rights allows a deeper, more nuanced exploration of some women's discourses on political and public life. Even as they reveal the pains that they have undergone, they are implicitly speaking from a *loving, political ethic* that more closely resembles feminist political thought – maternal thinking, the ethics of care, and a love ethic – than it does traditional political discourse.

Informants' discourses were often underpinned by an *ideal (of) public life*, which is only partially described by either formal or substantive rights-based citizenship. Feminist thought has thoroughly discredited the binary division between private and public, or personal and political. So too is the division between the individual and the environment under examination. Eroding this distinction is a key contribution of affective theorizing. In this spirit, "public life" is person-centered; it encompasses how an individual moves through *all* areas in their world. It is not attached to a spatial division arbitrarily demarcated as "public" or "private" by the walls of a home. It draws on Irigaray's (2000) argument that civil co-existence is the basis for full democracy, including substantive citizenship, and that a necessary precondition is the reconstruction of the domestic and intimate relationship between (in her formulation) a man and a woman. This critique of patriarchal intimate inequality ought to be read as extending to same-sex and multiple-partner relationships. Egalitarian, domestic relations⁴⁷ thus are the foundation for democratic life.

⁴⁷ Irigaray's discussion problematically poses these as heterosexual.

However, in the collective, communal cultural groups that constitute South African society, a focus on the domestic partnership or the nuclear family – while crucial for women’s citizenship in the face of the gender-based and sexual violence epidemic in South Africa (du Toit, 2005; Moffett, 2009) – is too limited. Informants clearly indicated that, for example, how people are treated in public spaces like the municipal offices and clinics is important to their ideal public life. They stated that whether vulnerable groups such as children, farm workers and the elderly have access to “true,” not merely “political,” freedom is a measure of how substantiated citizenship is, for every member of South African society.

While “social inclusion” (Saloojee, 2003) captures this dynamic, I want to take it further to argue that democratic citizenship becomes experientially defined. Attention to the affective components of a broad “public life” honors the fabric of lives and of communities. These then become central to the definition of citizen, which in turn strengthens civil society – through inclusion and participation – and thus renders the nation itself more vibrant and sustainable. What I am proposing is a re-imagination of the category “citizen,” based on *presence*, rather than absence or opposition through “Othering”: the bodies and minds who (co-)exist in a space become the citizens of that space. A loving approach to citizenship, further, demands that experiences enacted in public life recognize and demonstrate care for those with whom we civilly co-exist.

I have shown how histories of hate persist in Cradock.⁴⁸ It is thus unsurprising that some women, of all generations, display a certain reluctance to be hopeful about democracy. They do not want to be pressured to vote, especially not to support a certain party; rather, they want

⁴⁸ It is reasonable to believe this holds true for many, if not all, South African communities, though proving that assumption is beyond the scope of this sample.

their social environments to support the complete realization of their right to political freedom of choice.

But *why* do they want this? Because they want to feel safe in their homes and in their communities; they want to belong and to be included. They want to live with other people in their communities in a manner that allows them to claim the “love and respect” for each other that they truly value and wish to exemplify. Their voices call for a public life that considers *affectivity*, in the sense of human inter-connection and inter-dependence. While I remain reluctant to use the term (see Chapter 2), they suggest a reinvigoration of *ubuntu* that acknowledges the equal humanity of women, and includes individual rights. These women articulate a *loving, political ethic* that is the particularized universality, localized to Cradock or perhaps South Africa, that Mouffe (1989) suggests will underpin the postmodern transformation of the modern democratic ideal, and create a radical democracy.

What this means in practice, I will leave to others; however, here I offer some thoughts. A *loving, political ethic*, like “social inclusion,” (Saloojee, 2003), brings the key concepts of democratic, substantive citizenship into the community and broadens them to move beyond the state/citizen divide. The South African Constitution already does this: the South African Bill of Rights applies to actions between private actors’ interactions, not merely those between the state and the citizen. This public ethic tasks not only the state, but each citizen with the responsibility – with the *requirement* – of finding ways to value each others’ lives, and to make the lives of disadvantaged and advantaged alike meaningful.

As long as young black people – *particularly women* – keep seeing public evidence that devalues their lives, post-apartheid citizenship cannot be said to be fully substantiated. Including a loving, political ethic into public life would mean taking South African women’s lives and concerns as seriously as men’s. This is rarely, if ever, the case in South African political and public discourse; again, we need only look at Julius Malema’s conviction on hate speech against women – in direct contravention to the Constitution – and his continued presence in the public realm to see how meaningless the term “non-sexist” is in South Africa.

7.2 Why *Affective*, Substantive Citizenship?

The only thing is –
Hey, Cradock is hurting me in a way!
I’m not concerned about myself, I’m concerned about the community at large. Especially the people in Lingelihle. People are suffering very much. If only the change can come that they make work available for people in Cradock, that would make me a very very happy person.
If only that can happen,
Because I know how these people of Lingelihle were committed to the liberation of this country.
I know.
I was running around with them, so I know.
I know that they were expecting – if we are free, they will be well-looked-after. Not in the sense of like getting money for free, but to develop Cradock so that there can be work for the people living in Cradock.
I know for a fact that the people here are not lazy for work, but there is no work.
Where can they go to?
You know?
If only that can happen – then I’m definitely sure that everybody here in Cradock will notice and see the liberation in Cradock.

(Mrs. Calata, ‘black,’ 60)

Mrs. Calata speaks for the people of Lingelihle, who may represent the majority of black South Africans. She alludes to their *expectations*, or their *hopes*, for what freedom, democracy and the new South Africa would hold for them, and suggests how disappointed people are. Here, these hopes and disappointments are socio-economic in nature. However, as hooks (2001) says, the “collective crisis” cannot be solved with money (4), or at least, not

with money alone. “Work”, as Mrs. Calata represents it, is not only about the economic ability to consume – people do not just want “money for free” – but is a metaphor for self-reliance and active participation in the capitalist nation.⁴⁹

As Chapter Four demonstrates, a purely rights-based approach is clearly inadequate: Langa tells us that, if rights were important to her life as a South African, she would have known something about them by now. People are disappointed not only because their material circumstances remain the same, or even worse, than under apartheid, but because they do not *feel* better; because their hopes, perhaps barely even articulated, were really about how they would be treated, how people would live together, and what the government would do for them once they were citizens. Part of this, in a developing and deeply racialized nation, is indeed material, and government interventions are required to rectify the persistent structural inequalities in South African society. However, socio-economics is not enough.

Audrey suggests the way forward: “I think what a lot of people realized that – it was necessary to move from your brain to your heart.” Affect asks what rights are *supposed to be for*, and then answers that question by placing the answer squarely in the realm of interpersonal emotional circulation. The “synthesis” (Hardt, 2007) required for an affective approach to substantive citizenship thus throws into question the criteria for good governance, and the role and responsibility of government in a nation. While traditional political theory offers certain responses, the emphasis on affect requires a paradigmatic shift in thinking on governance, in response to the similar shift it demands in orientation towards citizenship. What might it mean for this *loving, political ethic* to guide public life? What might be the implications for governance? Might the state be then required to be *maternally attentive* and

⁴⁹ I am indebted to Buhle Zuma for this point.

innovatively responsive to its citizens' needs, while *disclosing* (all from Ruddick, 1980) its true intentions and real capacities in *open and honest communication* (hooks, 2000)?

People need to feel belonging, and dignity. Citizenship is *more* than rights; rights are the vehicles for implementing recognition of peoples' inherent dignity and humanity, and in turn, the purpose of that is to make us all feel loved, included, respected – *seen*. Particularly in the post-apartheid state, where individuals have such intense associations with the idea of “South Africa”, it is imperative to consider peoples' emotional histories. There are clear ways that emotion and associated currents circulate between people that (create conditions that) directly impact public life, and would enhance the social fabric: *trust, inclusion, and respect*. We have already seen how this latter is discursively and conceptually associated with *love*. In order for all citizens to be able to contribute to this new South Africa, and to the ideal public life that these women wish to build, citizenship must be conceptualized as *affective*.

One of the problems with most democratic discourse on citizenship is that its dominant metaphor is the ballot box, a formal, private ritual which ignores the historical reality that marginalized people have only ever been successful in their struggles *when they organized collectively*. Further, this elides the political science discourse, and the lived realities, that emphasize *civil society – i.e.: collective action – as a key determinant of full citizenship*.

Why this disjuncture? It reflects the individualist conception of the liberal democratic citizen.

Affect offers a discursive, theoretical, and *felt* way out of this binary, and a language and theory that embraces and describes our emotional realities. Human selves are constituted both by our language and our emotions (Cromby, 2007), as well as our “Others” in

community. We are saturated with love, hate, and many other emotions. For these reasons, I see affective substantive citizenship as a theoretical necessity.

7.3 Summary / Conclusion

Mainstream democratic theory does not capture the real needs and conditions of peoples' lives. Citizenship, in particular, can no longer be understood only as a rights-mediated relationship to the state, especially in today's South Africa. The idea of "citizen" must move from the court to the street and from the street to the heart, but in a *constructive* rather than a destructive way. The "service delivery" protests in South Africa show the relevance of an affective economic analysis in public life; they express the continuing frustration and disappointment of the vast majority of South Africans. Affect *is* creating issues at all levels of political life. The *ideal public life*, informed by a *loving, political ethic* leads us to a gender-inclusive conceptualization of the *affective citizen*. I argue that affective citizenship is one theoretical needle that will help unstitch the fabric of "the fully rational, liberal individual," that so plagues political thought and public life. I call for a synthesis of individual rights with the interconnected, collective, emotional realities described by the concept of affect. An emphasis on the radical, political potential of love will enhance and advance ongoing democratic and social struggles towards decolonized individual and collective citizenship in the twenty-first century.

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Appendix I: Cradock as Field

This provides further details about Cradock.

I.1 Small Towns, Spatial Transformation and Citizenship

Since apartheid was a project centered on constructing the racialized national body, notions of citizenship suffuse most aspects of the new South Africa. Discussions of spatial transformation, then, are similarly about equality in public life. This is especially noticeable in Saff's (1994) distinction between the "desegregation" and "deracialization" of space in South Africa. As Saff outlines it, "deracialization" describes a process whereby physical, residential spaces are "grayed", while access to amenities (such as services, clinics, and recreational facilities) remains segregated: "the urban poor nevertheless remain excluded from the fruits of desegregation" (Saff, 1994: 378).

This question of access is also one of substantive citizenship. Ntsebeza reflects this when he says that, "People... are starving and of course at that level you ask yourself, what does *citizenship* mean for these people? But it means that South Africa is *still* segregated. There are places that they cannot go to. There are places that they were *not* allowed to go to - politically because they were black. But today they *can not* - they are allowed - but they cannot go there because they don't have the resources you know to go to these places. So there is that question mark you know about citizenship - there are still problems." (Ntsebeza, 2009: personal communication).

That the same problem is raised by two separate people fifteen years apart suggests that as Christopher (2005) indicates, spatial transformation is happening only gradually. In this context, Saff (1994) seems almost prophetic when he says, "In the post-apartheid state the class (as opposed to racial) dimensions of this struggle are likely to become more overtly pronounced, with access to urban space based on wealth rather than racial criteria becoming *the* defining characteristic of South Africa's cities." (377, emphasis in original)⁵⁰

⁵⁰ The Small Towns and Rural Transformation Project through which I conducted my research investigates the extent to which this description applies to smaller, less urbanized areas.

While the situation in Cradock tallies with the above observations, the conflation and replacement of “race” with “class” as the primary explanatory category for persistent social inequity in South Africa is overly simplistic and inadequate. As said in Chapter 2, the lived realities of “race” are both more tenacious and more subtle than one would hope. In addition, focusing on only one of these as ‘the source’ of oppression in South Africa further obscures patriarchy as a similarly pervasive system of marginalization, thus contributing to the persistent invisibility in South African social and public discourses of women’s gendered requirements for substantive equality.

I.2 Cradock and the Eastern Cape Province: Contextualizing and Historicizing Citizenship

Cradock remains polarized along apartheid-era racial divisions, as well as along contemporary class and racial lines. The urban layout reflects the Group Areas Act,⁵¹ though the formerly “white” town is indeed “graying” (Saff, 1994) according to wealth. Communities and social groupings remain somewhat racially polarized, though informants of all ages reported some change in this. However, while there are individuals who cross racial boundaries in their personal and professional lives, it remains accurate to say that for the most part, the experience of living in Cradock differs significantly, depending on which area you live in. Since those areas remain racialized along their apartheid-era designations at least in social discourse – “town” is perceived as white-dominated, though graying, Michausdal is “the coloured area” and Lingelihle is “the (black) location” – it is fair to say that perspectives on public life in Cradock remain racialized.

I.2.1 Eastern Cape Province: A History of Conflict

The area now known as the Eastern Cape Province has been historically contested. Into this region starting in 1820 the British plunged their first settlers to the Cape Colony. They entered an already-tense region, where Afrikaanders had fought amaXhosa over cattle and territory. The British settlement and transition to pastoral life – with its focus on cattle -

⁵¹ See Appendix II: Map

reignited the ongoing warfare in the area. Starting in 1821, conflicts over cattle and borders were frequent in the area, with full-scale war happening on at least two occasions (Sparks, 1993). The Inxuba Yethemba (Great Fish River), upon which Cradock is located, was one of the central battlegrounds in this protracted conflict, which in partnership with the influx of Christian missionaries to the region resulted in deep damage to the amaXhosa governmental system and traditional ways of life (Vernal, 2004; Mager, 1999; Jolobe, 2009: interview).⁵²

Throughout the colonization process, missionaries fought spiritual and cultural battles, thus unsurprisingly aligning themselves – in at least the minds of the African peoples whom they encountered, if not in their self-image – with the British colonial power (Vernal, 2004). Marsden (1986) argues that the clergy, particularly in the person of Reverend Calata (d. 1985), played a role in shaping Cradock itself.

I.2.2 Cradock and Eastern Cape Province: Economically Underdeveloped

Poverty and economic underdevelopment also characterize the Eastern Cape's history since white colonization. Missionaries used agriculture in an attempt to “civilize” the amaXhosa, sometimes employing, enslaving or indenturing Khoisan and other so-called ‘coloured’ people as preferred assistants in this culturally and economically destructive endeavor (Vernal, 2004). This historical positioning set the scene for the divisions between ‘black’ and ‘coloured’ peoples, which was exploited and intensified by the apartheid regime (see Adhikari, 2005).

During the apartheid era, what is now the Eastern Cape province was parts of three broad polities: “white South Africa,” the Ciskei homeland, and the Transkei homeland.

Employment opportunities were for the most part clustered in the major urban areas of “white South Africa” and therefore the homeland areas ended up feeding their employable men and

⁵² While some argue that this damage ‘destroyed’ Xhosa culture and that the English ‘conquered’ the amaXhosa, I side with critical indigenous theorists (c.f. Armstrong, 1985; King, 2003; Menchu, 1984) worldwide who simultaneously recognize the damage inflicted upon their cultures by colonialism, and also point to the struggles of indigenous peoples to reclaim their cultural and ethnic identities. I will therefore not argue that the groups referred to collectively as “the Xhosa” were conquered, despite the very real defeats suffered in these wars. While in the Western and Eastern Cape provinces of South Africa indigeneity is mostly linked to the Khoisan peoples and not other African peoples, colonization damaged and dispossessed all African peoples living in what is now South Africa.

women to urban centers. This undermined the family structure of the amaXhosa, as well as individual families (Manona, 1980).

These economic migration tendencies are well documented in many areas of South Africa. For example, businesses in Port Elizabeth in “white South Africa” were fuelled by both the labor and the spending power of the black workers clustered in “locations nearby” which is why consumer boycotts were powerful strategies used during the struggle years (Mufson, 1990). Further, while one might be forgiven for thinking that services would be more accessible for all people in “white South Africa,” in practice development accrued to white people first, Indian people second, “coloured” people third, and black people rarely. Apartheid laws and security force harassment posed great barriers for service access (Sparks, 1993).

The Eastern Cape economy reflects this segregated history. Cradock itself was always in “white South Africa,” the area dynamics are relevant; the Eastern Cape province remains under-developed as a whole, yet because Cradock was not part of the former homelands, it does not necessarily receive development priority from the government (*Inxuba Yethemba Local Economic Development Strategy*, March 2009). This historical development dynamic remains in place. Infrastructure in the Eastern Cape is for the most part lacking, as neither the apartheid nor the homeland governments developed these areas (Waddell, n.d.). The new South African government inherited a financially challenged country in 1994 and continues to battle to build the economy (Sparks, 2003).

The Inxuba Yethemba municipal government has plans for development in the region, as evidenced in its Local Economic Development Plan (2009). Cradock is a regional hub. It has economically vibrant projects and prospects, though these seem to benefit predominantly the middle classes. Due to a growing tourism industry, trucking, and continuing strong agriculture in the area – including game farming – it seems to be a place where middle-class white people go to escape city living. However, working class people continue to struggle, due to the lack of industry or factories that could supply low- or semi-skilled job opportunities. The closing of the railway station and decline of the railroad in the nineties damaged black men’s economic prospects, according to Nomfundo. While both government- and community-driven economic development projects are underway, development is not reaching those on the ground who most need it. However, strides have been made in Cradock

regarding development; the bucket system has been eradicated, and the majority of people have access to basic living amenities

I.3 Cradock as Research Site

I.3.1 Town Demographics

This demographic information is from the 2001 South African National Census, and the 2007 Community Survey. This is dated and incomplete information; however, it is the best available, as there will not be another census until 2011. As shown by Table 1,⁵³ as of the 2001 Census Cradock has 31 291 residents, of whom about 16500 are female and 14500 are male. In terms of “population group,” (i.e.: ‘race’) the majority are “Black African” people (19657) residing for the most part in Lingelihle (18114), followed by “Coloured” people (8642) who reside mostly in “Cradock” (we can assume in Michausdal, but this cannot be known from the Census stats). “White” people almost all live in Cradock (2962 of 2971), though nine white women live in Lingelihle. The twenty-one “Indian or Asian” persons all live in Cradock.⁵⁴

The Community Survey reports a drop in residents and households in Inxuba Yethemba municipality from the 2001 Survey – from 60 296 in 2001 to 48 399 persons in 2007 (Statistics South Africa, 2007b: 7). This is surprising, as interviews and observations in Cradock – both in Lingelihle and in town, though less so in Michausdal – indicate the opposite. Inxuba Yethemba Municipality extends beyond the town itself, so regional factors, including the trend of conversion from small-scale agriculture to game farms,⁵⁵ may influence these statistics.

⁵³ All tables drawn using the 2001 Census Community Profiling Database.

⁵⁴ Based on the date of this census and my interview data, it is fair to assume that these twenty-one persons are all of the prominent Tam family, who are South Africans of Chinese ethnic origin. Though respondents report an increase in South Asian immigrants to Cradock, this is a relatively recent trend, unlikely to be included in this census.

⁵⁵ A marked trend, according to Professor Lungisile Ntsebeza of the Department of Sociology, UCT who is running a project on this very issue (2009: personal communication).

Table 1
Statistics South Africa
Descriptive - South Africa by Province and Municipality
Population group by Geography by Gender
for Person weighted

Black African		
	Male	Female
Cradock	858	685
Lingelihle	8389	9725
<hr/>		
Coloured		
	Male	Female
Cradock	3695	4104
Lingelihle	400	443
<hr/>		
Indian or Asian		
	Male	Female
Cradock	9	12
Lingelihle	-	-
<hr/>		
White		
	Male	Female
Cradock	1356	1606
Lingelihle	-	9
	14707	16584

31291

University Of Cape Town

Table 2 illustrates the language distribution in Cradock. This is relevant to a discussion of public life because South African ethnic groupings and divisions occur along language (linked to tribal), as well as “racial”, lines. Afrikaans is the predominant language in Cradock (including Michausdal), while in Lingelihle it is isiXhosa. The English-speaking community is for the most part “White” and living in town, though most “White” people speak Afrikaans as a first language. Most “coloured” people speak Afrikaans as a first language.

Table 2
Statistics South Africa
Descriptive - South Africa by Province and Municipality
Language by Geography by Population group and
Gender
for Person weighted

Afrikaans	Black African		Coloured		Indian or Asian		White		
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
	Cradock	69	72	4061	3671	3	-	1444	
Lingelihle	60	57	392	358	-	-	3	-	870

English	Black African		Coloured		Indian or Asian		White		
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
	Cradock	3	6	18	3	9	6	155	
Lingelihle	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	6

isiXhosa	Black African		Coloured		Indian or Asian		White		
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
	Cradock	601	744	24	21	-	-	6	
Lingelihle	9644	8323	51	42	-	-	-	-	18060
									31205

I.4 Overview of Cradock’s History

Cradock’s history can be understood in five grossly over-generalized historical epochs. *Pre-struggle* was apartheid South Africa, which in the interviews seems to start with the Group Areas Act of 1950 until 1981, when Matthew Goniwe was released from his first term in prison and returned to Cradock. “*The struggle*” years extend from Goniwe’s return to Cradock

in 1981 until Madiba's release in 1991, with a key turning point in 1985, when the apartheid government murdered the Cradock Four. Their mass funeral was also an important moment. Ntsebeza (interview, 2009) says that the struggle in Cradock tapered off around 1987, after the murder of the Cradock Four, which removed the community's leadership. 1991 marked Madiba's release from prison and began "*the transition*," which ended with the 1994 first fully democratic South African election. Fourth is the current *post-apartheid era*, of "freedom", "transformation," "democracy," and the "new South Africa." Finally, informants imply a "*future*" period, when their hopes are (at least somewhat more) realized.

I.5 Summary

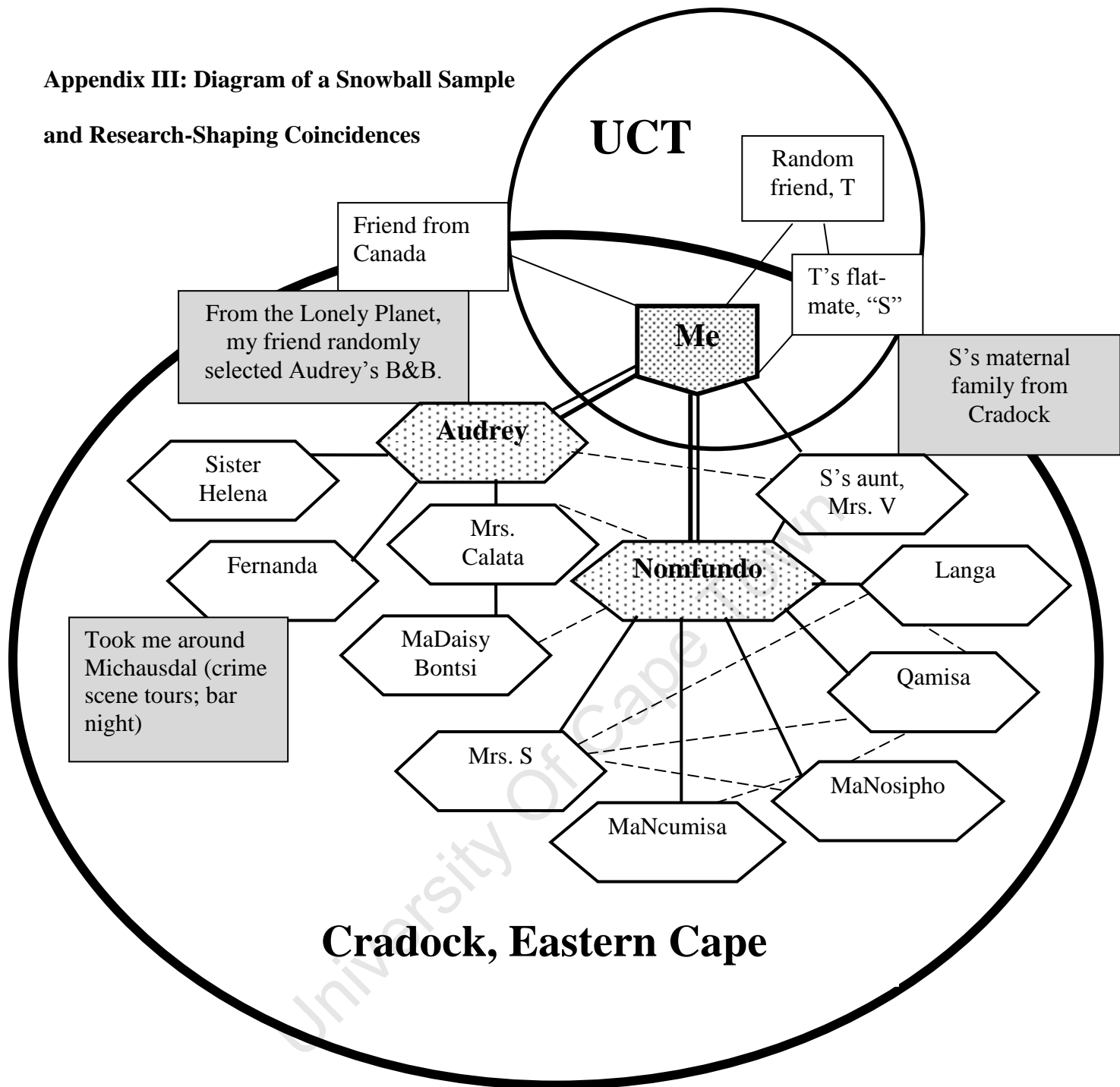
This appendix has sketched the demographic and physical research "field" of Cradock, Eastern Cape.

Appendix II: Cradock Map



⁵⁶ Thanks to Vincent Zungu for this map of Cradock.

Appendix III: Diagram of a Snowball Sample and Research-Shaping Coincidences



Legend:

<p>Non-informant who influenced research</p>	<p>Relevant non-interview fact that shaped the research</p>	<p>Strong relationship that may continue beyond research. Characterized by love.</p>
<p>Informant</p>	<p>Introduced me to informant; all also existing relationship</p>	
<p>Key Informant</p>	<p>Relationship between informants whom I did not meet through each other</p>	

Appendix IV: Methodology

This section includes pieces of the Methodology that had to be cut due to word count.

IV.1 Definitions: Reflexivity, Positionality, and the Conceptual Frame

The term “positionality” appears frequently in feminist and other critical research, but is rarely defined. I do so briefly here. Everyone occupies multiple social positions; often, these are relations of power. Our performances of these social positions – conscious and not – fundamentally influence the research process.⁵⁷ Reflexivity, then, refers to the conscious, politicized theorizing of one’s multiple positions (the total of which make up one’s positionality), specifically as they permeate the research process. The dual challenges of positionality and reflexivity are the constant struggle to make relations of power visible, and to locate the self within these power relations. Feminist, critical and social justice-oriented thinking on research sees reflexivity as necessary, but not sufficient, for emancipatory research (see eg. Charmaz, 2005; Oakley, 2000; Reinharz, 1992; Tuiwhai Smith, 2005).

The conceptual framework is the skeleton of the research project. Seibold (2002), using Neiswiadomy’s (1998) definition, says that “a conceptual frame [is] ... a linking of ‘concepts selected from several theories, or from previous research, or from researcher’s own experience.’ A conceptual framework is seen as an impetus for the formulation of theory.” (4) A conceptual frame is held up by a series of what Wengraf (2001: 40) calls the “primary conceptual axioms” which are the posts and jousts of the frame. Mini-arguments join each knowledge-point to construct the framework upon which the overall argument of the project

⁵⁷ In an upcoming paper, Professor Melissa Steyn and I explore the micro-politics of my whiteness as it played out in some moments during my research process.

is built. This metaphor seems to me to be particularly relevant to inter-disciplinary approaches to research, which include most feminist research. One key joust of *my* conceptual framework is that like life, research is best approached as a process. It is messy, and despite our best attempts to impose structure, it remains unpredictable. For these reasons, I am suspicious about approaches to knowing that assert that we only “uncover,” rather than also create, knowledge in our research. As Bateson (1998) shows, every encounter we have is an unscripted one, particularly those that go beyond the conventional bounds of our own culture and/or understood daily life.

IV.2 Coincidence in the Research Process

Coincidence indelibly shaped my research. On both trips, I lived in a B&B run by Audrey, a ‘colored’ woman, a well-known local figure. My April traveling companion randomly chose this B&B out of the Lonely Planet. This coincidence proved to be possibly the most useful factor in my research, as Audrey was both one of my respondents and a key informant. Further, I found my research assistant, Nomthandazo Krawe, because the housemate of a friend of mine in Cape Town happened to have family in Cradock. He introduced me to his aunt, who then introduced me to Nomthandazo.

IV.3 Key Informants in Cape Town

During research design, I conducted four “key informant” interviews. The first was with “Kate,” a young white American woman who had done work in the Eastern Cape. I then interviewed Professor Lungisile Ntsebeza (UCT, Sociology) on the topic of Cradock. Prof.

Ntsebeza was in prison with Matthew Goniwe, one of the Cradock Four. He influenced me to study Cradock, and his personal knowledge has shaped my perspective on the town.

Associate Professor Lauren Van Vuuren (History) conducted her Honours research in Film and Media Studies in Cradock.⁵⁸ Lastly, I interviewed Associate Professor Zwelethu Jolobe (UCT, Politics). This contributed greatly to my understanding of the concepts of citizenship and democracy in the South African context. It was in subsequent (unrecorded) conversation with him that the link between “love” and urban planning first emerged. None of my attempts to recruit female South African feminist key informants bore fruit; however, Nomalanga Mkhize conducted her doctoral fieldwork in Cradock for a year. She has given feedback and conceptual input, and has influenced this research.

IV. 4 Table 1 - Informants

Inf.	Pseudonym	Age	"Group"	Occupation	Area They Stay
Inf 1	Audrey	53	Coloured	B & B owner / caterer	“town”
Inf 2	Mrs. V	50's	Xhosa	shop owner	“town” / Lingelihle
Inf 3	Nomfundo	27	Xhosa	Unemployed	Lingelihle
Inf 4	Langa	27	Xhosa	Self-employed	Lingelihle
Inf 5	Fernanda	20	Coloured	Unemployed	Lingelihle
Inf 6	Mrs. S	70s	Xhosa	Pensioner / grandmother	Lingelihle
Inf 7	Qamisa	18	Xhosa	Student	Lingelihle
Inf 8	MaNcumisa	60's	Xhosa	Pensioner	Lingelihle
Inf 9	Mrs. Calata	60	Xhosa	Caterer / political widow	Michausdal
Inf 10	Sr. Helena	72	Coloured	Nursing sister	“town”
Inf 11	MaNosiphopho	40s	Xhosa	Housewife	Lingelihle
Inf 12	MaDaisy	64	Xhosa	Grandmother / ex-struggler	Lingelihle

⁵⁸ She and a team interviewed the widows of the Cradock Four, which is available in documentary form under the title “We Tell Our Stories The Way We Like.”

IV.5 Cultural Communication Patterns: Making Sense of Teaching Stories

One analytical challenge I encountered with some of the ‘black’ women is that they speak in teaching-style stories. I noticed it most particularly with Mrs. V. Because of this, I was not always sure exactly what point she was trying to illustrate. Is her story of kissing the little ‘white’ girl’s cheeks’ *actually* about: the innocent kids (‘black’ and ‘white’), the racist ‘white’ mother who called the police, the sadistic ‘white’ police who wanted the innocent ‘black’ children beaten, the ‘black’ parents who did or did not beat their children to satisfy the ‘white’ people, the fact that this has now changed, the fact that her nephew did not believe that this incident could have happened, or all of the above?

IV.6 Small Towns and Rural Transformation Project Interview Schedule

Conduct a 5-10 minute ‘warm up’ discussion with each person about their biographical background.

- Where were you born and raised?
 - Did you move away at any point?
 - What do you do for a living and how did that come about?
1. Tell me about this town. What is happening here?
 - What is it like to live here?
 - What do you like about living here?
 - What are the things that people complain about here?
 - What are the major problems here?

2. Has anything changed in this town since 1994? If so, what has changed?
 - Do people like these changes?
 - How is this town coping with this change?
 - What has changed for you, your family, your community?
 - [What do you know about your rights under the new Constitution?]
 - [What did you HOPE would have changed that hasn't?]
 - [What HAS changed that you are really pleased about?]

3. Would you describe this town as a single community?
 - What are the groups in this town?
 - Does everybody know each other here?
 - Who are the ones everybody knows?
 - Are some groups associated with certain parts of the town?
 - [What is your community? How are you involved in that community, and/or in the wider town?]

4. Have relationships between groups in this town changed in the last 15 years? If so, how?

5. Are you aware of groups in this town that dislike each other?
 - Is there conflict in this town?
 - Are there friendships across different communities in this town?

6. Are things better or worse in this town than it was prior to 1994?
 - In what ways?
 - Is this true for all parts of the town?

- What is the most changed or transformed place in the town?
7. Can you tell me one or two stories that would illustrate some of the things we have spoken about transformation in Cradock?
8. What areas are included in your town?
9. Mention 3 or 4 places in your town that you feel most / least comfortable in?
- Why do you feel comfortable/uncomfortable here?
 - Where do you never go? Why?
 - If you could change something about this place what would it be?
 - What are you really happy with in this town?
10. How town is connected to other places?
- What do you know about folks from places further down the road / in the area?
 - Do people visit those places?
 - Is this small town different to cities? In what way(s)?
 - Do you think this is a small town? How would you define it?

IV.7 Interview Agreement Form

I, _____ (name), agree that I am participating willingly and voluntarily in an interview with Emily Elder on this day _____ (date) at _____ (place).

I understand that these interviews form part of a research project on “Rural Transformation” for INCUDISA at the University of Cape Town.

I understand the rationale and nature of the research and I understand the costs and benefits of my participation for myself.

I understand that I will participate in one one-hour interview.

I understand that iNCUDISA may use the information from these interviews.

I understand that I will be given a pseudonym and that my identity will remain anonymous, as far as is possible.

I understand that the interview will be recorded so that iNCUDISA may more accurately reflect my views in the report.

I understand that my interview transcripts will not be shared with other participants.

I understand that iNCUDISA will share the findings with me. I understand that I need to give Emily my phone number so that iNCUDISA can contact me when the findings are available. I also understand that the findings will not be available immediately.

I understand that I may discontinue my participation at any stage of the research.

I understand and agree to the above terms and conditions.

Signature (Participant) _____

Date: _____

Signature (Researcher) _____

Date: _____

Appendix V- A Lessening of Love?

MaNcumisa and MaNosipho both stated that “love” and “respect” were social values in the past, which are now gone. MaNosipho (black, late 40s) said plainly, “There is no respect now.”

MaNcumisa: Into endicinga ukuba ayikatshintshi kukuba kusanqabe umsebenzi for abantwana bethu, befundile. Okwesibini, siphelilewe luthando singabantu abakhululekileyo.

[Translation: What hasn't changed is that jobs are scarce. Our children struggle to find employment even though they are educated. Another thing is that, there is no love among people.]

Interpreter; Kodwa sasinalo oluthando?

[Translation: We used to be loving people?]

MaNcumisa: Olukhulu.

[Translation: In a great way.]

(MaNcumisa, 'black,' late 60s)

Initially, I found this surprising and confusing. Surely, they are not saying social life and values were better under apartheid? Mokgoro (1998), however, describes a discursive tendency to see rights and the constitution as having eroded traditional ethics in South Africa, thus explaining the high crime rate. This article then goes on to argue that, in fact, the constitution does the exact opposite – it attempts to formalize the values of *ubuntu*, thus linking them inextricably to the South African national identity and making them a basis for public life. It is possible that these two women were drawing on this discursive theme; however, because of the language barrier in both interviews (one which was entirely in isiXhosa conducted through an interpreter, and the second had chunks in isiXhosa through an interpreter), as well as the unexpected shift to focus on affect, I did not explore these statements in the interview. However, these contextual uses of “love” and “respect” are significantly different from the other appearances of these terms.

While I do not wish to argue against my own point, it must be admitted in support of the amaKhulu's views that the youngest women – Qamisa (18) and Fernanda (20) – did not use the word love, or invoke many of the themes of “the loving political ethic.” Rather, these women – as discussed above (see Chapters 4 and 5) – displayed deeply conflicted feelings and hate speech, not even one generation into full democratic dispensation in South Africa. This very fact points towards the urgency of re-imagining citizenship.