Chapter one

The colonial archives repertoire
Discursive power of archive in the face of forced evictions

> "They could evict us, take the houses and demolish them. But they can never take away our memories. Our memories will always stay with us […]. This suitcase will go with me, wherever I go."
> *Magdalene George, February 2015*

> "… the postapartheid is unimaginable without effecting a strategic invalidation of the modes of evidence of the colonial archive which enabled the violence of apartheid…apartheid was inconceivable without the apparatus of the colonial archive. The colonial archive provided apartheid with its multiple metaphors and strategies of demarcation and segregation…The modes of evidence specific to the colonial archive were not only the foundation on which apartheid was built but its very discursive condition. Apartheid was, we might say, entangled in colonial modes of evidence and born in the shadow of the colonial archive."[1]
> *Premesh Lalu*

Introduction

A suitcase full of memories. A story untold. Documented evidence of a struggle against the forced eviction from houses in which the pensioners where born. Mrs. George, Jerome Daniels, and Faeza Meyer, each of whom were

1 Lalu, Premesh: *The Deaths of Hintsa. Postapartheid South Africa and the Shape of Recurring Pasts.* Cape Town 2009: p.194-195.

evicted from different places in the greater Cape Town Area, insist on narrating what has happened in the eviction process themselves. The ways they organised themselves, formed committees, how they were framed and presented their court cases, and the ways in which police and Anti-Land Invasion Unit treated them – all these issues they are determined to raise awareness around by providing access to their narratives and the related material they have collected over the years. The arrangements of that material have formed archives that tell a different story to the official narrative of the particular eviction process. In this chapter I want to know, how can these archives be understood? What does the dominant discourse on forced evictions try to erase, what archives nurture the discourse and how can that what remains untold be read?

This chapter wants to find answers to this question and will discuss **memory**, **method**, **historiography**, and **epistemology** in relation to this question. The discussion and use of theory evolved out of the necessity to formulate what the people affected by forced eviction and criminalisation were expressing and narrating, their living conditions and the ways in which they accessed their memories on the one hand, and the mechanisms used by governments, business sector and media to undermine histories of eviction, removal, relocation, criminalisation and unequal access to the city, on the other hand. In this vein, this chapter starts from **Thinking archive with Derrida**, and continues with the discussion on **Coloniality and the Archive**. It then discusses and formulates answers to the relation between **The archive, institutionalisation and the making of memory**, and subsequently, between **Archive and method**. As its next step, the chapter thinks of the people evicted as archivists and will discuss their archives in the section **Thinking the *Forbidden Archives***. The aim here is to formulate an understanding of how their archives relate to the dominant discourse on forced eviction, while the concept of *forbidden archives* will become clearer as well. Through accessing and analysing the colonial archive, its ways to name and frame the *black* subject, the reciprocal relationship between **Coloniality and the Urban Development Discourse** will be illustrated and analysed. As the chapters last endeavour, **Imagining a third space**, in which epistemology can be critically reviewed, will point a way forward for building and formulating the approach this book will undertake.

As in many other works that evolve from an open decolonial perspective, questions of archive, methodology, language and the power to knowledge production are not only central to the study this book emanates from, but they function as a permanent critical voice that challenges, seeks reflection

and re-reflection, and that shatters normalised and dominant epistemologies that were/are complicit in the construction and reproduction of colonial/neo-colonial discourse. This perspective evolved out of the necessity to rethink orders of knowledge that were manufactured by the colonial regimes in order to maintain political, economic and cultural hegemony. Coloniality, then, is a power structure that accumulated and settled in the different layers and institutions of society, beginning with its most influential domain in relation to knowledge production, the academy. Considered further, not a single discipline could have been spared, on the contrary, some branches of the humanities and the natural sciences assumed an essential role as actual artisans of colonial discourse. Ann Laura Stoler alludes to "anthropology's longstanding complicity in colonial politics".[2] Indigenous peoples[3] as subjects - those whose study was so desirable-, were at the same time subjects of colonial rule, a condition without which the anthropological encounter would have been impossible. Wendy James points to this dependency when she asserts that, "there was little possibility of a European traveller knowing the people intimately in the pre-colonial period […] the situation of a lone European living for months or years in an ordinary village without a retinue was only possible when benevolent colonial administration was well-established".[4] Accordingly, the interconnectedness of colonialism and anthropology was thus implicated as a logical consequence. This remained the case even if in some instances anthropologists directly contravened colonial administrations and were accused by colonial officials of defending their informants against the colonial regime and acting as their spokesperson.[5] As certain as colonial administra-

2 Stoler, Ann Laura: *Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance*. in: Hamilton, Carolyn, amongst others (eds.): *Refiguring the Archive*. Dordrecht 2002: p.83.

3 Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues for using the term "indigenous peoples", underlining the "s" at the end: "Indigenous peoples" is a relatively recent term which emerged in the 1970s out of the struggles primarily of the American Indian Movement (AIM), and the Canadian Indian Brotherhood. It is a term that internationalizes the experiences, the issues and the struggles of some of the world's colonized peoples. The final "s" in "indigenous peoples" has been argued for quite vigorously by indigenous activists because of the right of peoples to self-determination." Tuhiwai Smith, Linda: *Decolonizing Methodologies - Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London and New York 2008: p.7.

4 James, Wendy: *The Anthropologist as Reluctant Imperialist*. in: Asad, Talal (ed.): *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*. London 1975: p.50.

5 Cf. Ibid.: pp.47-49, 69; and Asad, Talal (ed.): *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*. London 1975: p.15

tions employed anthropologists as advisors on the "Native Problem"[6], such as the *Union of South Africa* did officially after 1925[7], the formation and implementation of colonial discourse was co-supervised by anthropologists whose work benefited from and was informed by the colonial condition. But when we speak about *colonial discourse*, we will have to at the same time admit that the complexity of the colonial project's structures and mechanisms, aims and processes, allowed a certain multiplicity, albeit limited, of discourses to coexist. Nevertheless, we will need to inquire into the commonalities of these discourses, to understand whether a tangible leitmotif, or better to say, recurring themes of the colonial project exist. To that effect, Lalu's concluding statement (that heads this chapter) on the role of the colonial archive was chosen purposefully to indicate the suggestion this chapter makes: to include the question of archive as crucial to all layers of one's approach, and in particular, to the theoretical framing one's work adopts.

Lalu's work forms an important pillar in postapartheid theory that had an extraordinary decisive impact on the analysis of the colonial archive's discursive power in South Africa. Adam Sitze writes in his book review of Lalu's exercise into the operations of the colonial archive: 'But *The Deaths of Hintsa* is no ordinary text. It's a text that asks us to think twice – both more searchingly and more responsively – about what it is exactly that we want to know, insofar as our intellectual curiosity takes the form of a demand for historical knowledge'.[8] What in my view Sitze describes here is a general approach that seeks to not only re-read History and to scrutinise its function as a 'discursive condition', but to see this condition as preparer and organiser of the epistemological realities of the present: *History* here not as merely events of the past, but rather as discipline.

Thinking archive with Derrida

In the discussion about emergence and evolution of the archive, about its substance and structures, Jacques Derrida's exceptional deconstructivist response

6 Cf. Cape Times article. Mtimkulu, Abner: *The Native Problem*. May 30, 1924; Feuchtwang, Stephan: *The Colonial Formation of British Social Anthropology*. in: Asad, Talal (ed.): *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*. London 1975: p.95.

7 Cf. Ibid.: p.84.

8 Sitze, Adam: *History and Desire*. in: Safundi - The Journal of South African and American Studies. Volume 13, No 1-2. 2012: p.171.

appears as the most concrete, but also as the most essential one. Without claiming to have written a theory of the archive, he provides suggestions for a possible future theory. He argues that the substance/content of the archive are elected documents in a "privileged topology" that are housed in a residence/a "domiciliation". This domiciliation of documents then shifts from the representation of a private space and collection, to the manifestation of a public entity, and therefore, to the establishment of an institution that produces knowledge - its ultimate institutionalisation. The particularity of this institutionalised and released entity is that it is a limited structured corpus. Limit here is understood not as shortage but as active limitation – that unifies, identifies, classifies and brings together an arrangement of signs. This gathering together of signs Derrida articulates as "consignation", since it turns the different documents into a unit that is "a system or a synchrony in which all the elements articulate the unity of an ideal configuration".[9] This configuration does not allow heterogeneity, because, if it would, it would bring with separation and discordance inside the discourse that is constructed or that is aimed to be constructed.[10] This does not mean that not every archive bears inside a certain amount of heterogeneity. But what is unified, identified and classified, is at the same time systematically configured, which also means that it is named and structured. This "topo-nomology"« now becomes protected by the "archontic" principle of guarding the "arkheion"/the archive and, as such, gains authority and legitimacy through the law and right that enable its existence.[11] Further, what guards and limits the archive is neither structurally embedded in mysterious entanglements of society, nor is it coincidental or unintended. In my view, one of Derrida's key statements comes in an extended footnote, where he emphasises, "There is no political power without control of the archive, if not of memory".[12] It is this sentence in the only book that he ever dedicated fully to the question of archive, that I want to underline, and subsequently let breath.

How can we understand what Derrida is suggesting here? I suggest that this conclusion provides the essential answer to the whole inquiry underscoring the question. To control the archive, and therefore memory, means to

9 Derrida, Jacques: *Archive Fever*. Chicago 1995: p.3.

10 Ibid.: p.2-3. Derrida explains further: "In an archive, there should not be any absolute dissociation, any heterogeneity or secret which could separate (secernere), or partition, in an absolute manner". (p.3).

11 Ibid.: p. 2-4.

12 Ibid: p. 4.

control the ways in which history is perceived, but also, how it becomes reconstructed and imagined. Implied violences of the present can in this way be cut off from their historical background and reside as isolated conditions of the social, but not of the political. Dehistoricising then means at the same time a depoliticising of the event. We may take the German genocide on the Herero and Nama in Namibia as an example. It is impossible to read the catastrophe of the holocaust as a historical one[13], without taking into account the brutal manifestations of fascism within the German colonial apparatus. Put more clearly, the genocidal practices and technologies in both cases, the manner in which colonialists and leaders of the national socialist party viewed themselves, the racialised regimes in which they ordered, administrated and made law, and the epistemological foundations through which they rationalised their notion of superiority and their relationship to violence, are inextricably linked. Around three years ago, two of my students asked the whole group a carefully considered question after their presentation on the representation of colonialism in German history school books: "Did you, no matter in which country you went to school, had ever any lesson on colonial violence or, on colonialism in general?"[14] The answer of all of us, people who went to school in Germany predominantly, but also in the Netherlands, in Belgium, in France, in Greece and in Georgia, was no. Only one of about 32 in the seminar group explained that she had 3 lessons on colonialism in her High School in France, of which the first was on the British Empire, and two about the so-called French "protectorates". Interesting is also, that one of the students who went to school in Germany, had changed his high school 8 times, from the federal state of Baden-Württemberg to Nordrhein-Westphalen, and still, no lesson on colonialism, not to mention colonial violence. The historical records are simply not generated. The archive on genocide committed by Germans misses the period in which the original act itself began to take place.[15] The question arises as to how we should be able to look at one genocide, if another one that

13 Cf. Bogues, Anthony: *Empire of Liberty. Power, Desire & Freedom*. New Hampshire 2010: p.30,40.

14 Leutiger, Lea and Bräu, Miriam: Seminar *Introduction to Postcolonial Theory*. Otto-Suhr Institute of Political Science. Freie University Berlin. Session May 4, 2016.

15 Aimé Césaire's arguments about why the Holocaust is not an anomaly in European history and systems of thought and what he calls Hitlerism, are central to this understanding. Cf. Césaire, Aimé: *Discourse on Colonialism*. Originally published in Présence Africaine. Paris 1955.

took place only 26 years before (1904-1907), became silenced and erased. Amputated from their past, the holocaust and fascism are set free to be narrated as an anomaly in German history, or as the fabrication of a sick mind, that was Hitler, without whom the Jewish genocide is rendered unimaginable.

What remains is to look at the processes and political formations that led to the silencing and erasure and at the discourse that the present archival documents form, or conversely, to pose the question of how that what is absent can be understood. Through a focus on forced evictions in the Western Cape and by explaining the relation between dehistoricisation and depoliticisation, what becomes clear is that which neither government officials or media report speak about regarding eviction cases: forced evictions have a historical predecessor that comes in the forced removals that took place under colonialism, and later were highly systematised during apartheid. As we will see in chapter two, there is a deep political meaning to the fact that the pensioners of the District Six houses were evicted from an area that was built on a tiny island not declared *white* area under apartheid and therefore not subject to forced removals as was the rest of District Six. The evictions of these pensioners 18 years after apartheid has ended, must be read against the historical "technologies of power"[16] applied. Put differently, rehistoricised, forced evictions are not only a social issue, but a political one as well. It is interesting that in all eviction cases I have studied, the people affected were very much aware of the historical weight of the violence they were exposed to. It is not a coincidence that during the struggle against eviction from the District Six houses, one of the main slogans that was also painted on placards was, "Don't let history repeat itself". The connection between the past and the present is made almost automatically, because the residents know that they have to historicise what is happening to them, so as to release the issue of eviction from its intended isolation as a purely social phenomenon and move it into the centre of a political debate, to be able to discuss and dispute it publicly.

With reference to Sonia Combe, Derrida then raises awareness about the "repressed archive", or, with Combe's own words, about the *Forbidden Archive*. He uses the terms "repressed" and "forbidden" interchangeably as part of one concept, because an archive that is forbidden, is at the same time repressed

16 The term "technologies of power" in Foucault summarises the complex strategies, tools and methods of implementing and maintaining state power: Foucault, Michel: *Discipline and Punish*. London 1977: p.23.

and vice versa. And, what is repressed and forbidden is controlled by state power, distinctively, by its institutions and apparatus.[17]

Coloniality and the archive

"Coloniality"[18] can be defined as the new shapes that colonial knowledge production took/takes, the new artefacts that it designed/designs, and its new manifestations that are either visible, or remain hidden in the many layers of the institutional, academic, economic, political, juridical, and procedural, everyday. The archivisation of documents in South Africa for example has taken place, long before we could even think of a postcolonial critique of the archive, throughout the colonial and apartheid era. "South Africa's national archival system has its origins in the legislative and administrative mechanisms that regulated colonial rule, which saw extensive official and non-official record generation and keeping: by, among others, British colonial officials, missionaries, travellers, public figures, and scholars".[19] Colonial regimes articulated very well what documents were to be repressed and what circulated. Colonial publishing houses selected eligible documents, duplicated, circulated and catalogued them, and at the same time, destroyed those that were

17 Derrida looks at institutions and apparatus more closely. He continues and names "family or state law, the relations between the secret and the nonsecret, […] between the private and the public, whether they involve property or access rights, publication or reproduction rights, whether they involve classification and putting into order: What comes under theory and under private correspondence, for example? What comes under system? Under biography or autobiography? Under personal or intellectual anamnesis? In works said to be theoretical, what is worthy of this name and what is not?" (p.4-5).

18 See various conceptualisations of the term 'Coloniality' in Anibal Quijano's, Arturo Escobar's, Ramon Grosfoguel's, Walter Mignolo's and Nelson Maldonado-Torres's work. Cf. for example Cultural Studies. Volume 21: 2-3. 2007: Quijano, Anibal: *Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality*. in: Cultural Studies. Volume 21: 2-3. 2007; Escobar, Arturo: *Worlds and Knowledges Otherwise*. in: Cultural Studies. Volume 21: 2-3. 2007; Grosfoguel, Ramon: *The Epistemic Decolonial Turn: Beyond Political Economy Paradigms*. in: Cultural Studies 21: Volume 2-3. 2007; Mignolo, Walter: *Delinking: the rhetoric of modernity, the logic of coloniality, and the grammar of de-coloniality*. in: Cultural Studies. Volume 21: 2-3 2007; Maldonado-Torres, Nelson: *On the Coloniality of Being*. Cultural Studies. Volume 21: 2-3. 2007.

19 Archival Platform: *State of the Archives: An Analysis of South Africa's National Archival System, 2014*. Cape Town 2014: p.20.

declared undesirable.[20] Although political transition does not necessitate an automatic transition of archive, this does not mean that the archives of the postapartheid era did not negotiate a new form of institutionality, or instil change in the face of the new political formation within which they were engaged. Of course, the state of the archive is a different one under a dictatorship as the apartheid regime than under a parliamentarian democracy. But what I adopted from Lalu's argumentation is that the archives of the postapartheid could not set themselves free from the colonial archive, and that the colonial archive is continuing to reproduce itself through the documents archived in the postapartheid. This is clear in *The State of the Archives* report by the Archival Platform of the University of Cape Town which reveals how difficult it is to transform the colonial and apartheid archive, despite the fact that the transformation of the archives was been explicitly set as a political goal at the beginning of political transition in the early 90s.[21]

As an example, the monolinguality of archives in South Africa that Bhekizizwe Peterson writes about, does not only pass parts of itself on; it remains character and founding narrative of archive. To put Peterson's critique in context, "Except for a few cases, archives, and, in particular, public archives in South Africa, have been monolingual: they have embodied and voiced only the experiences and discourses of the successive white oligarchies that have governed throughout the twentieth century. The experiences and insights of Africans, women, workers and other communities were generally either ignored or criminalised, at times even banned and destroyed".[22] Monolinguality applies to language as well. The dominance of language itself with English and Afrikaans as *the* archival languages[23] forms another site of oppression and exclusion. The hierarchical power relationship between the language of the conquerors and the language of the vanquished, as Ngugi wa Thiong'o puts it,[24] remains intact. Keeping this complexity of coloniality and archive in mind, the focus in this book lies on the role coloniality plays in the formation of the present-day archive, on the determining of its limits, on its filters,

20 Cf. Stoler, Ann Laura: *Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance*. in: Hamilton, Carolyn, amongst others (eds.): *Refiguring the Archive*. Dordrecht 2002: p.91

21 Archival Platform: *State of the Archives: An Analysis of South Africa's National Archival System, 2014*. Cape Town 2014.

22 Peterson, Bhekizizwe: *The Archives and the Political Imaginary*. in: Hamilton, Carolyn, amongst others (eds.): *Refiguring the Archive*. Dordrecht 2002: p.31.

23 Ibid.: p.32.

24 Wa Thiong'o Ngugi in several speeches. Cf. speech in Cape Town, March 3, 2017.

in short, on its *arkheions*. Here coloniality, thus, is the articulation of the very colonial condition of the archive, its discursive place and apportionment of function.

The archive, institutionalisation, and the making of memory

In regard to the institutionalisation of the archive, it is not solely written and spoken text that constitutes the archival documents, but the formation and implementation of these texts, inside the different institutions of society. It is for example the content of a university lecture, or the texts that are chosen to be read in a seminar; it is the educational material with which the general teaches his soldiers; the printed or recorded instructions that security services receive; it is what is exhibited in libraries and in book shops; the guidelines on the base of which mass media accepts a documentary proposal; the historic records and written policies that influence the naming of buildings, streets, districts and cities; the academic concepts behind city planning, or the references, engineers, architects and city planners use when presenting their plans and maps; it is study reports and statistics with which politicians justify their policies; the imaginaries that are created through text and audio-visual record for pre-primary school children to see, think, judge, agree or disagree in a certain way; and so on. To archive is therefore to write and print, to audio-visually record, to publish, to hold a speech in a public context, to exhibit in a museum, to write law etc. The archive, then, can be both; it can hold a specific physical address, a *domiciliation* whose archival documents are gathered in one compact and enclosed space; or it can be documents that are accumulated by diverse institutions of society, forming a supra-spatial *domiciliation*. The power of the archive can thus be measured through the frequency to which it is referred institutionally or extra-institutionally. In this regard, institutionalisation holds two dimensions: on the one hand, it is the process from private to public of the archive itself, and on the other it is how documents penetrate, underwrite and configure the governmental, semi-governmental and non-governmental institutions inside the nation-state, and in so doing, force themselves unto general social, political, economic and cultural mindsets and agendas. This I imagine is what Derrida points to when he speaks about "archival violence" and the maturing of archive into law that as such cannot exist without its external playground which is the political sys-

tem through which it can memorialise, repeat, reproduce, and reimpress.[25] He further explains, "there is no archive without a place of consignation, without a technique of repetition, and without a certain exteriority. No archive without outside".[26]

At the same time, the technologies of archivisation differed in different historical time periods and progressed from handwritten letters and other texts to the products of telecommunication and digitalised print, amongst others.[27] But the creation of a dominant archive has always been about creating memory and about constructing and generating knowledge in a certain way. These processes of memorialisation and generalisation attempt not only an immortality of the archive, but also its omnipresence. In this regard, dominant discourse on forced evictions creates the social perception that evictions are a justified approach in order to enhance urban development. Here the relationship between discourse and archive is reciprocal, where discourse creates archive and archive creates discourse. And it wants this perception to gain omnipresence nationally. Through positioning a document in an archive, the way for it to become part of memory and history is opened. Put differently, it means that next to memorialisation stands its historicisation, respectively, its joining of history. As such, the document becomes primed as a reference, to be pointed to, and therefore, prepared to potentially become part of common knowledge: since its placement as a historical document facilitates its operation within a toolbox used to explain, rationalise, and justify the present. To summarise, a document placed in an archive gains historicity and in this way, evolves to a historical document that in the next step becomes equalised with what is called *historical fact*. The inscribing of *historical* and *fact* on a document positions its content as superior to other readings and narratives.

Simultaneously, in order to achieve omnipresence, the archive works to create absence. Absence as the antonym of memory is one of the key concepts inside the construct of the archive. What is absent stands in dynamic contradiction with what is present. As direct produce of power relations and dominance, archival documents in order to exist, repress their counterparts and their intrinsic paradoxes. Thereby, to disentangle the power relations behind archival documents, this facet of them must be illuminated, because, if looked at from this angle, each of them, in order to gain visibility, must at the

25 Derrida, Jacques: *Archive Fever*. Chicago 1995: p.7,11.
26 Ibid.: p.11.
27 Cf. Ibid.: p. 16.

same time silence. It is precisely this absence or the absent document, that evokes gaps in memory and remembrance, which in the worst cases lead to historical blackouts, as indicated in the discussion on the erasure of the German genocide on the Herero and Nama and the dehistoricisation of forced evictions in South Africa above. In summary, what becomes clear is that in order to be able to create dominant discourse, the repressive archive darkens, erases and replaces, and in this way, purposefully organises forgetting.

Referring to the South African *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* in a seminar on archive in Johannesburg, Derrida explains, "...the archive – the good one – produces memory, but produces forgetting at the same time".[28] To darken/to produce forgetting here means to illuminate certain historical events and events of the present everyday to the extent of them placing other events in their own shadows - an erasure "which produces forgetting by remembering".[29] Through this fading in the dark of certain other events, not the events themselves disappear, but their historical or present-day importance. Often certain events will be kept purposefully to function as alibi, testifying to the inclusiveness of the respective archive. But they will hardly be illuminated in the sense of allowing them space to unfold. Remaining in the dark, they are rendered present and absent at the same time. Entire series of events can hereby be rendered as irrelevant. Archival documents can therefore, as much as they function as providers of memory, be at the same time treated as tokens of absence. This does not mean that the absent documents do not exist. They surely do and their trajectories can be found in the households of people whose experiences and knowledge do not conform to the dominant discourse that tries to silence them. But they are not arranged in a way that provides access to them. Even though they constitute a permanent threat to the power that represses them, and although they feature the ability to seriously disrupt the official narrative, without accessibility in practical terms they do not exist. The only material that attests to their existence is the threat that they represent.

As we will see later in this chapter, people who were forcibly evicted keep all the records of their eviction process as a counter-narrative to what the

28 Derrida, Jacques: *Transcript of the seminar on Archive Fever at the University of Witwatersrand, August 1998*. in: Hamilton, Carolyn, amongst others (eds.): *Refiguring the Archive*. Dordrecht 2002: p.54.

29 Ibid.: p.68.

dominant archive on evictions propagates. They are ready to prove with documented evidence to anyone who approaches them that what happened was violent and unjust. That said, these records are to be found in their homes, thus they did not gain voice and they are not publicly accessible. To summarise, every archive that is created in order to generate dominant discourse, inhabits a dominant repressive character, even if it appears to be inclusive. Inclusiveness, therefore, stands in direct contradiction to its very nature. This is the quintessence of processes through which the making of memory succeeds, or, if seen optimistically, in which it is attempted. To end this section with Achille Mbembe's inquiry into the question of archive, "...the archive is primarily the product of a judgment, the result of the exercise of a specific power and authority, which involves placing certain documents in an archive at the same time as others are discarded. The archive, therefore, is fundamentally a matter of discrimination and of selection..."[30]

Archive and method

The imposed omnipresence of the archive can be seen as the main reason why it cannot be circumvented. Circumvention is not the aim in this work, too. What is pursued here, is the attempt to develop an awareness that pervasively challenges and scrutinises orders of knowledge and methodologies, which remained untroubled inside academic structures of approval and disapproval, of welcoming and refusal of certain meaning-making material. The question of archive, then, is not only the question of its documents and institutionalisation, of memorialisation and generalisation, but also of its methods. The manners in which data is recorded, classified, framed, and consequently turned into objects of representation are restricted. Scales of credibility and incredibility are inscribed upon them. Certain epistemologies and historiographies are more accessible than others, but also determined as more valuable than others.

The archive prescribes adequacy and inadequacy. It therefore pre-determines what is of scientific nature and what is not. Scientificity, in that sense, is occupied by formalisation mechanisms of the archive that serve adaption,

30 Mbembe, Achille: *The Power of the Archive and its Limits*. in: Hamilton, Carolyn, amongst others (eds.): *Refiguring the Archive*. Dordrecht 2002: p.20.

because they generate "schemas of reading, of interpretation and of classification"[31], in short, of method. Derrida mentions in this regard "…the norms of classical scientific discourse".[32] Research outcomes that are not formalised and assimilated in this regard, respectively, do not apply as legitimate forms capable of meaning making of the world, thus they cannot reach the necessary grade of credibility and validity to be read and used. Through these formalisation processes, legitimisation processes are initiated. In other words, what follows formalisation is in fact, legitimisation. The constructed product that evolves out of this legitimisation is the claim of *truth* in its various dimensions: historical truth, biological truth (I am thinking here specifically of the dispersion of scientific racism), psychological truth, sociological truth, political truth, and so on. It is these mechanisms of the archive that build the condition through which an academic discipline evolves into an institution itself.

To sum up, as unfolded in the past pages of this chapter, the archive governs over four columns, in every which it suppresses, aggresses, or, accentuates and values certain contents: memory, method, historiography, and epistemology. The disciplinary regime is born.

The three main disciplines at stake in this process are history, with the archive as its primary instrument and source; and anthropology and sociology, with method as their starting point that instructs not only the pole position of the research, but also the ways in which the researcher sees, frames and discusses. Method displays also the very domain that raises the most questions and debates in anthropological and sociological discussions.

In his critique and analysis of Josef Hayim Yerushalmi's work that attempts to place psychoanalysis as a Jewish science, Derrida points to objectivity as one of the "classical norms of knowledge, of scholarship and of epistemology which dominate in every scientific community". He explains further that in Yerushalmi's work these classical norms are defined as, "the objectivity of the historian, of the archivist, of the sociologist, of the philologist, the reference to stable themes and concepts, the relative exteriority in relation to the object, particularly in relation to an archive determined as already given…".[33] Building on this argument, Derrida asks for a critical engagement with artificial and coerced distance that necessitates in order to be

31 Ibid.: p.36.
32 Ibid.: p.41.
33 Ibid.: p.51.

treated as "scientist" or "researcher", must create distance in relation to the subject onto which he or she looks. In emphasising the importance of this distance, I argue, the subject is created as object, which serves a certain research outcome, a certain analysis or discourse. Through this exploitative use, a power relation is indicated that implies a specific situation of violence. Especially when the subjects are already exposed to violent power relations in their personal history or everyday life or both, this exploitation constitutes a reproduction of violence, not as the same violence that is inflicted on the subjects, but as its continuation, and as, what we can recall here, epistemological violence. It can be helpful at this point, to draw on Susan Sontag's discussion of photography as a potential violent tool: "to photograph people is to violate them, by seeing them as they never see themselves, by having knowledge of them they can never have; it turns people into objects that can be symbolically possessed. Just as the camera is a sublimation of the gun, to photograph someone is a sublimated murder…"[34] Here, Sontag opens up an important angle from which we can look at objectivisation differently. What is interesting here for reflecting on method in the context of this work is not so much the analysis of the camera use itself, but the fact that Sontag critiques its objectification of people whose experiences are now available to be "possessed". Drawing on Sontag's notion, the evocation of a vertical and therefore unequal power relation between researcher and researched should be critically rethought. Besides, the preconditioned exteriority in scientific discourse cannot be understood if treated separate from its colonial history. Distance and objectivity in the process of studying Others went hand in hand with governing over them. Anthropologists, missionaries, and travellers, who were either tolerated or supported by the colonial regimes to study the subject that they were colonising, positioned themselves inside this exteriority from which they constructed indigenous populations as exotic and/or inferior. The exterior position was not the only precondition for racist othering processes, but it provided a platform to strike out for one's argumentation. Edward Said points his finger at this exact matter when he says that "…it is anthropology above all that has been historically constituted and constructed in its point of origin during an ethnographic encounter between a sovereign European observer and a non-European native occupying, so to speak, a lesser status and

34 Sontag, Susan: *On Photography*. New York 1977: p.14-15.

a distant place…".[35] To recall what Heidi Grunebaum emphasised in one of our conversations,[36] it is to turn the relation of African peoples treated as empirical data and Europeans theorising *them* upside down, through disrupting the epistemology that makes this relation possible.

Thinking the forbidden archive

In its own terms and conditions, the colonial archive holds, as any other dominant archive, several reciprocal relationships to society. One of these relations can be active opposition; another one can be passive disagreement. It is important to consider how this applies to the ways in which people who stand on eviction lists are being framed by the official narrative and the final eviction that is itself not being approved by all members of society that stay silent. Silence is often the result of the feeling of powerlessness that does not let people imagine that their active objection could possibly have an impact. So silence does not necessarily mean approval. On the other hand, through the sometimes conscious, sometimes subconscious positioning of single people or social groups against memorialisation and historicisation processes that dominant discourses generate, certain spaces attempt to be created, for narratives that differ from the dominant ones to gain voice. To this effect, I suggest that in the face of present-day forced evictions of low-income residents in South Africa, small counter-archives are being built by the people affected, allowing for their stories not to be swallowed by systematic processes of criminalisation and marginalisation. With Combe's words and as illustrated above, the erection of "forbidden archives"[37] as an accumulation of the material of repressed histories, represents the manifestation of a visible opposition towards the dominant discourse's claim for totality and total truth. Counter-narratives, respectively, *forbidden* narratives try to hold against, them being described and categorised to the benefit of the dominant discourse's credibility. Furthermore, I would like to illustrate how justification and rationalisation models are directly being drawn from the colonial archive's repertoire.

35 Said, Edward W.: *Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Interlocutors*. in: Critical Inquiry, Volume 15, No. 2. 1989: pp.211-212.

36 Conversation with Heidi Grunebaum. March 2014.

37 Combe, Sonia: *Forbidden Archives*. Paris 1994.

In the context of the bigger research project this chapter is woven into, I delved into present-day forced evictions in the Western Cape province of South Africa and into the joint structures that are erected by government officials and the commercial sector in order to create a specific dominant discourse that justifies and rationalises the everyday reality of forced evictions and what is named "relocation". Here I encountered Mrs. Magdalene George, a 77-year-old woman, who was forcibly evicted from the house in which she lived 33 years, during apartheid and until 2012. I myself met her the first time when I went to knock on her door, after I had found out through a former neighbour of hers, who was similarly evicted, that she was currently living with her grandson in Kensington. I was surprised with how openly and warmly Mrs. George received me, after I had told her the reason for my visit. Without knowing me, she sat down introducing me to what she had experienced and what had happened to her and the other families, who were evicted from the houses in Pontac-, Aspeling-, and Nelson Street in District Six. After these first 10 minutes had passed, she asked me to wait, only to come back with a little suitcase - one of the old leather sort that I had only seen in movies. Before she opened it, she explained that her children and grandchildren always tell her to just throw the suitcase away. She said that they would tell her, "Mama, why do you still keep this? This struggle is over. Just throw it once and for all away". She then continued, "But I don't. I keep all of it, and I don't even know why. And now you are coming here, knocking on my door to ask about what happened". She smiled.

The suitcase was filled with every possible newspaper article on the case; with pictures of the resident's struggle against the evictions; with handwritten letters that the residents wrote to city officials and the South African Heritage Agency; with letters that they received from their lawyers; and with the printed judgment of the Western Cape High Court that granted the permission to evict. Every single time we met, Mrs. George went to get the suitcase, while always telling me that it would not be any problem to photograph or scan the documents, as she would be happy that somebody came after "all this" to dig deeper into the case. My role as a researcher was less important to her. She did not receive me as the academic rescuer that has come to listen to her story, a story that nobody else wanted to listen to. On the contrary, Mrs. George had told her story to many journalists, filmmakers, and activists. In fact, a whole documentary film was made that included this particular case

of eviction by filmmakers from overseas.[38] She didn't need my presence to be reminded of the immense time and effort she and her former neighbours had invested in the struggle against the eviction.

I suggest it was more the presentation of her archive to an unknown listener that allowed her to access her memories from a different perspective than during the peak of the struggle. Of course, some of the documents archived in the suitcase I could have found access to differently, especially the newspaper articles and the court judgment. But it was precisely the manner in which Mrs. George presented them, one after another, with full patience and concentration, and with her particular postures and vocal pitch that opened up the possibility for understanding the actual experience of "all this". In one of our meetings in May 2014, she reminded me that she had always told me about some missing pictures that she could not find. She then said victoriously, that she had found them, and added, "You must have them. You don't need to make copies, just have them. Because I know you can use them. What can I do with them?"

The last time we saw each other she said almost victoriously, "They could evict us, take the houses and demolish them. But they can never take away our memories. Our memories will always stay with us". I asked her what she would do with the suitcase, as she told me about her plans of moving from her Grandson's house and live together with her son in a bigger house down the road. She assured me that "Of course I'll take it with! This suitcase will go with me, wherever I go".

Another instance of what I would like to introduce as a manifestation of a *forbidden archive*, I came across through Jerome Daniels. A father of six children, Daniels together with his wife, took part in the occupation of RDP houses (Reconstruction and Development Programme houses built by the state) in Symphony Way/Delft. This occupation took place after a member of the City of Cape Town Mayoral Committee had sent letters to about 300 low-income families mostly living in backyards of other people's houses. In this letter, the Mayoral Committee member granted the permission for the occupation of the RDP houses and promised to take full responsibility for this encouragement. The experience of their eviction, their continued struggle and life on the pavement in Symphony Way, and their relocation to what is called a Temporary Relocation Camp (TRC), I elaborate on in the next chapter.

38 Kleider, Alexander and Michel, Daniela: *When the Mountain meets it's Shadow*. Germany 2010.

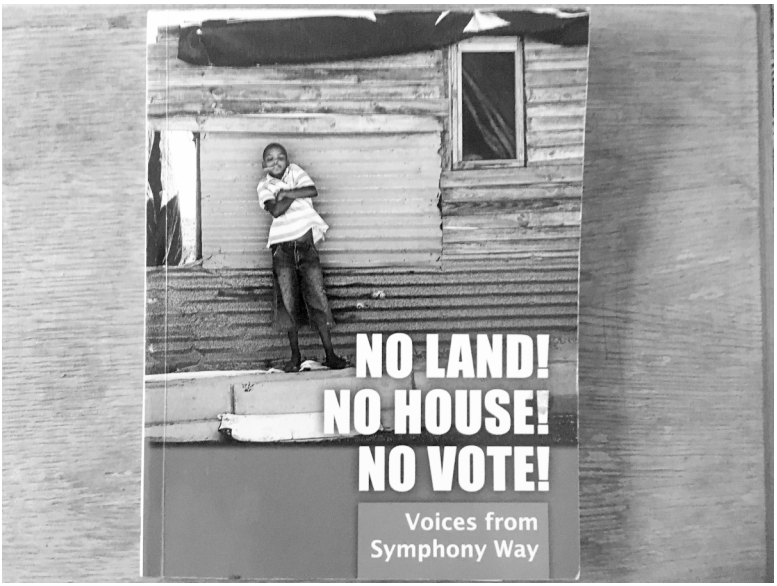
Mrs. Magdalene George at the stoop of her house in Pontac Street, District Six, from which she and her family were forcibly evicted in 2012 ; and images of the community's protests against their forced eviction

However, what I would like to focus on here, is a DVD that Daniels gave me the last time we met, where he had saved "all the pictures and films of the whole struggle on the pavement". Daniels was cautious with "researchers", as he had seen many times how they run into Blikkiesdorp (the TRC they were relocated to) to observe, to interview, and to take pictures. Knowing that his mistrust was justified in the face of research that instrumentalises the interviewed /observed /photographed subject for career purposes, I was grappling with my responsibility, when he handed over the DVD with a proud undertone in his voice. In that moment I was hoping that he could sense my pride as mirroring his own. This pride for a community with whom I tried to imagine myself; a community that I see as having tried to live differently in light of a social condition that is equal with "bare life"[39]. I also realised that

39 Agamben, Giorgio: *Homo Sacer: Souvereign Power and Bare Life*. 1998.

Daniels had just handed over an archive that contained documents which did not represent an adequate repertoire for the dominant discourse on forced evictions and relocations. Inadequacy in relation to a discourse is one thing, the other is to represent the paradox, the antonym of what is attempted to be constructed as total truth.

This book was written, compiled and edited by members of the Symphony Way Shack Dweller's Movement. It contains 25 narrations of the struggles and views of 25 different families who were part of the occupation and following struggle for dignified housing. Cape Town 2011



I suggest that it was this same logic in which Faeza Meyer wrote a diary of their struggle against their eviction from the Tafelsig fields in Mitchell's Plain. Having lived as backyarders for most of their lives, people came together to occupy two empty fields and build structures they could finally call a home of their own. Day to day, all documented with the exact date, Meyer provided her account of the happenings: their encounters with the police, with the Anti-Land Invasion Unit of the City, of their belongings being taken away, of how the children would cope with the rough circumstances, and of their hopes and

fears. Not only the diary itself, but also the way she had to hide and protect it to make sure it would not be taken away together with other belongings is a meaningful example of a forbidden archive that has to survive in order to tell the story of the people evicted – a story that will contradict the official narrative of the City. When I met Meyer in February 2014, she explained that she is working with a professional writer to publish the diary, as she wants to tell the truth about what happened in Tafelsig. She then emailed me the diary to be able to use it for this study.

When I first encountered Combe's concept of the "forbidden archive", I realised how much it was applicable for different struggles against authoritative conditions that different social groups experience and define as unjust. These archives are constructed as part of what we might call counter-lives that the people affected by the specific violence are living. Having to outlive a forced eviction causes a restructuring of the whole social and economic conditions one is living under, but also has a deep emotional and psychological impact. One has to create a whole new life and ways of dealing with and withstanding the powers to whose subversion one is exposed. Thus counter-life can be defined as this new life that is fully shaped by standing in opposition to those powers and the dominant discourses they create. Therefore, emphasising these archives does not mean to read them as the revelation of absolute truth, but rather to receive them as a creation of space of the ones marginalised in the story to represent their histories themselves.

Coloniality and the Urban Development Discourse

To now draw a line to the first discussion in this chapter, we will have to look at in which ways dominant discourses that try to schematise low-income residents of an area, are constructed through making use of the colonial archive's ideological repertoire. This repertoire that governmental officials, different journalists, and representatives of the business sector resort to has a lot to offer. In order to be able to define and categorise the everyday life of the labelled residents, their habits, attitudes, worldviews, social network mechanisms, and what is seen as their abilities and inabilities, a specific stigmatising scheme of the past becomes activated. Urban planning is part of a specific politico-economic project that excludes and marginalises the majority of society, not only from specific city spaces, but also from the very imaginaries of a world-class city. The logic of profit and investment, in short of the

market, determines whose life is superfluous and whose is not, who must be silenced, displaced and rendered invisible and who is conducive to the desirable city that is placed on rivalry and competition for capital investment. Forced eviction of residents to make space for new development projects, the "cleaning" of city spaces of people who do not hold the acquired social status, and criminalisation practices that business sector, media, and city governments fabricate, become justified against the argument of city improvement. Further to this, city improvement has become an authoritative slogan under which violent urban control policies become implemented and rationalised.

In the following chapters, I look at how low-income residents in different areas of the Greater Cape Town Metropolitan Area are positioned as the opposite of what forms the Urban Development Discourse: that is to say cleanliness, safety, liveability, investment and profit. What concerns me at this point however is that this positioning is particularly possible, because of an archive that defined people - who it categorised as *black* and *coloured* in opposition to *white* – as idle (therefore not profitable), as dirty (therefore not clean), as criminal (therefore a threat to society), and as not willing to integrate in the dominant and authoritative cultural system (therefore an obstacle to liveability). The Urban Development Discourse reproduces concepts of the human that were central to colonial and apartheid discourse. It draws on metaphors about urban cleanliness, public health, hygiene, and valuable life that have a longer history of circulation and an enduring life, reproduced in documents of power and policy making, long after the end of apartheid.

Except for the label "criminal" that supervened later and especially with the beginning of official apartheid in 1948, J.M. Coetzee shows in his analysis of what he titles *White writing: On the culture of letters in South Africa*[40], that this specific argumentation recurs in the letters and other writings of early figures of colonialism at the Cape. Anthropologists, traders, officials, and other European travellers, missionaries and other settlers (outlined by Coetzee as "travel writers"[41]) – wrote accounts in both Afrikaans and English language. Many of these accounts became documents of the colonial archive. They comprise

40 Coetzee, J.M.: *White writing: On the Culture of letters in South Africa*. New Haven 1988.

41 Ibid.: p.23 – Coetzee takes account of letters and other texts of Jan van Riebeeck, Ten Rhyne, Peter Kolb, Anders Sparrman, Johan Schreyer, O.F. Mentzel, C.F. Damberger, Francois Valentijn, Francois Leguat, John Ovington, William Dampier, Christopher Fryke, Georg Meister, Volquart Iversen, Johan Nieuhof, amongst others. see p. 16-19.

documents that were produced throughout the years, from the first handwritten letters after Jan van Riebeeck's arrival until the late 19th century, forming what Coetzee determines the "Discourse of the Cape".[42] With the racialised regime in which the colonial archive was produced in mind, Coetzee highlights idleness as a key argument inside the frame of this discourse. The discourse proved efficient for the colonial and later apartheid authorities to systematically inferiorise the created Other and rationalise all sorts of racial and exploitative policies, so that it became reproduced throughout the centuries and especially during the years of official apartheid. The *Van Riebeeck Society* as an important example, which was founded by John X. Merriman among others (a former prime minister of the Cape Colony), reprinted and recirculated many of the travel reports and other writings that formed the discourse.[43]

Since the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, decolonial theories remained focused on how texts produced by dominant narrators play a key role in constructing actual colonial discourse. Generally speaking however, within most texts that are written from a white supremacist point of view the writer insists on, and repeatedly emphasises, the inferiority of the "backward", "lazy", "indolent", "stupid", "uncultured", "savage" etc., Other.[44] The inscription of these labels on *black* subjects implies their construction as living

42 Ibid.: p.16, 17, 18, 22.

43 Examples of reprintings of the Van Riebeeck Society: Sparrman, Anders: *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, 1772-1776*. Reprinted in 1975; Schapera, Isaac (ed.): *The Early Cape Hottentots. Writings of Olfert Dapper, Willem Ten Rhyne and Johannes Gulielmus de Grevenbroek*. Reprinted in 1933; Mentzel, O.F.: *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope*. Reprinted in 1944; Valentijn, Francois: *Description of the Cape of Good Hope with the Matters Concerning*. Reprinted in 1975.

44 Cf. Merriman, Archdeacon: *The Kafir, The Hottentot, and the Frontier Farmer – Passages of Missionary Life*. London 1853: p.28; Dart, Raymon A.: *Racial Origins*. in: Schapera, Isaac (ed.): *The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa*. London 1937: p.23-24; Dapper, Olfert: *Kaffraria or Land of the Kafirs*. originally published: Amsterdam 1668. in: Schapera, Isaac (ed.): *The Early Cape Hottentots. Writings of Olfert Dapper, Willem Ten Rhyne and Johannes Gulielmus de Grevenbroek*. Cape Town 1933: p. 45; Rhyne, Wilhelm Ten: *A Short Account of the Cape of Good Hope*. originally published: Schaffhausen 1686. in: Ibid.: p.123, 125, 127, 139; Marais, J.S.: *The Cape Coloured People 1652-1937*. Johannesburg 1962: p. 6,8, 79, 84, 153; Elphick; Richard: *Kraal and Castle – Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa*. New Haven and London 1977: p.205; Kidd, Dudley: *Savage Childhood – A Study of Kafir Children*. London 1906: Preface, p.6, 116; Comaroff, Jean and Comaroff, John: *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*. Colorado and Oxford 1992: p.275.

beings without social value, and thus without history. This constructed historylessness of indigenous peoples produced one of the most central arguments of a rationalisation model that denied them the free use of their native land. Okwui Enwezor argues that, "These distinctions, [the ontological and epistemological distinction between the settler population and the indigenous populations – quoted from Edward Said], which lie at the root of the colonial project, worked on the premise of two inventions: one, the ontological description of the native as devoid of history, and two, the epistemological description of the native as devoid of knowledge and subjectivity."[45] Historylessness, then, implied not only the disqualifying from what was imagined as civilisation, but also from humanity.[46] A discourse that was at the same time founding narrative of the Cape Colony, because it composed a framework, setting the European in his *righteous* place of the sovereign over the *inferior black* subject. It dictated this form of engaging as the only possibility of defining oneself in the encounter with that Other. As Stoler stresses, "'Whiteness' was a palpable obsession" [47], based on the "Calvinist ethic of racial purity" as argued by Enwezor.[48] Whiteness is therefore not only a position but also a perception. The self and the demarcated community are *perceived* as superior. A concept that was set free to manifest itself as cultural, epistemological and economic predominance. Later the emergence of lower-class settlers, also termed as "poor whites", was also seen as a threat to the notion of white superiority and supremacy, so much so that they were treated as no longer part of *white* community, bringing forward the racist argument that they could only be poor because they must have "crossed racial boundaries"[49]. As part of othering processes that were so fundamental to the establishment of colonial apparatus and to the creation of the dichotomy that were the superior "us"

45 Enwezor, Okwui: *Reframing the Black Subject: Ideology and Fantasy in Contemporary South African Representation*. in: Oguibe, Olu and Enwezor, Okwui (eds): *Reading the Contemporary: African Art from Theory to the Marketplace*. London 1999: p.382.

46 Tuhiwai Smith, Linda: *Decolonizing Methodologies - Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London and New York 2008: p.25.

47 Stoler, Ann Laura: *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power – Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley and Los Angeles 2002: p.13.

48 Enwezor, Okwui: *Reframing the Black Subject: Ideology and Fantasy in Contemporary South African Representation*. in: Oguibe, Olu and Enwezor, Okwui (eds): *Reading the Contemporary: African Art from Theory to the Marketplace*. London 1999: p.379.

49 Sibanda, Octavia: *Social pain and social death: poor white stigma in post-apartheid South Africa, a case of West Bank in East London*. in: Anthropology Southern Africa, 2012, 35 (3&4): p.81.

and the inferior "them", lower-class settlers were hustled into the camp of the undesirable Other. As superiority was newly acquired, it had to be secured and made incontestable. This entailed the rejection and silencing of what would disprove the discourse/the representation of whiteness. It also presupposed a militarising of the spaces of encounter between the *white* self and the racially distinguished Other.

These positionings administered the relationship between new and old inhabitants of the Cape, legitimising the hierarchical society that was later so well-established. It is almost an ordeal to read through the writings that construct the discourse, as they disclose a very bare and normalised racism that became systematised, for it was propagated in all settler ranks, beginning with the first Commander of the Cape, Van Riebeeck, who insisted that the Khoikhoi were "by no means to be trusted but are a savage set, living without conscience…"[50], as well as a "dull, rude, lazy, stinking nation"[51]. Furthermore, this quote of a missionary and superintendent of the *London Missionary Society in South Africa* introduces us to the specific pejorative tone with which *black* subjects were pictured and racist conceptions were pronounced, multiplying the discourse far beyond mere governmental propaganda:

> "In the year 1800, when Mr. Anderson went among the Griquas they were a herd of wandering and naked savages, subsisting by plunder and the chase. Their bodies were daubed with red paint, their heads loaded with grease and shining powder; with no covering but the filthy Kaross over their shoulders, without knowledge, without morals, or any traces of civilization, they were wholly abandoned to witchcraft, drunkenness, licentiousness, and all the consequences which arise from the unchecked growth of such vices."[52]

Jean and John Comaroff contemplate more specifically how missionaries took ambitious agency in the systematising of racist conceptions.[53] As for racism, its history did not begin only with colonialism. It much more constitutes a system of thought, a discursive formation that was embedded in the canon

50 Elphick; Richard: *Kraal and Castle – Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa*. New Haven and London 1977: p.88.

51 Ibid.: p.96.

52 Philip, John: *Researches in South Africa*. Cape Town 1828. cited in: Marais, J.S.: *The Cape Coloured People 1652-1937*. Johannesburg 1962: p.33.

53 Cf. Comaroff, Jean and Comaroff, John: *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*. Colorado and Oxford 1992: p.216.

of European philosophy, placing settler colonialism only as one station on its itinerary.[54]

My point of departure here is the same as Linda Tuhiwai Smith when she argues that,

> "Views about the Other had already existed for centuries in Europe, but during the Enlightenment these views became more formalised through science, philosophy and imperialism, into explicit systems of classification and 'regimes of truth'. The racialization of the human subject and the social order enabled comparisons to be made between the 'us' of the West and the 'them' of the Other. History was the story of people who were regarded as fully human. Others who were not regarded as human (that is, capable of self-actualization) were prehistoric. This notion is linked also to Hegel's master-slave construct which has been applied as a psychological category (by Freud) and as a system of social ordering".[55]

It is not a coincidence, for example, that Winston Churchill saw himself backed by a secure discursive platform, when he proudly proclaimed that, "I do not admit for instance, that a great wrong has been done to the Red Indians of America, or the black people of Australia. I do not admit by the fact that a stronger race, a higher grade race […] has come in and taken its place".[56] As Arundhati Roy has pointed to, this is not the statement of an ordinary person; it is racist propaganda uttered by a head of state,[57] the same man that later was handed over the Nobel Peace Prize by the *Norwegian Nobel Committee*.

About 200 years before Churchill's strategic speech that was part of the colonial and imperial propaganda of that time and continues to be repeated

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54 The discussion about the relation between philosophy that evolved out of a European sociality, racism and the argument that concepts of otherness and racism are intertwined with the development of that philosophy and as a result, with Western policy making, touches on a very complex matter. The elaboration of this perspective is content of many academic writings and discussions within decolonial/postcolonial studies. The chapter's brief introduction into racist notions of enlightenment thinkers was necessary to anchor racist thought in the broader philosophical context it was produced in.

55 Tuhiwai Smith, Linda: *Decolonizing Methodologies - Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London and New York 2008: p.32.

56 Churchill, Winston to Palestine Royal Commission, 1937.

57 Cf. Roy, Arundhati: *Come September*. Speech in San Francisco. September 29, 2002.

as a mode of argumentation, the author of *The History of England* and Enlightenment philosopher David Hume, who clearly influenced Adam Smith's political and economic philosophy[58] and let us not forget was also referred to by Immanuel Kant as having interrupted his "dogmatic slumber",[59] philosophically framed what he articulated as the naturally intrinsic inferiority of "Negroes…to the whites".[60] Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze underlines how Hume's racism remains part and parcel of his thought up until to his death in 1776, ahead of which Hume re-emphasises his racist thoughts that he had originally conceptualised between 1748 and 1754 in his essay *Of National Characters*.[61] It was at about the same time, when Francois-Marie Voltaire composed his racist notions, with which he became one of the central thinkers of polygenism in France and all over Europe.[62] I am deliberately jumping here in this very unconventional way from Enlightenment - not only with Hume and Voltaire, but

58 Cf. Smith, Adams: *The Death of David Hume. Letter to William Strachan*. November 9, 1776; Rothbard, Murray N.: *Economic Thought Before Adam Smith – An Austrian Perspective on the History of Economic Thought*. Aldershot 1995; Library of Economics and Liberty – *David Hume*.

59 Brown, Joel Nathan: *Kant, Derivative Influence, and the Metaphysics of Causality*. Dissertation. Syracuse 2012: p.16; Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: *Kant and Hume on Causality*. 2013.

60 "I am apt to suspect the negroes to be naturally inferior to the whites. There scarcely ever was a civilized nation of that complexion, nor even any individual eminent either in action or speculation. No ingenious manufactures amongst them, no arts, no sciences. On the other hand, the most rude and barbarous of the whites, such as the ancient GERMANS, the present TARTARS, have still something eminent about them, in their valour, form of government, or some other particular. Such a uniform and constant difference could not happen, in so many countries and ages, if nature had not made an original distinction between these breeds of men. Not to mention our colonies, there are NEGROE slaves dispersed all over EUROPE, of whom none ever discovered any symptoms of ingenuity; though low people, without education, will start up amongst us, and distinguish themselves in every profession. In JAMAICA, indeed, they talk of one negroe as a man of parts and learning; but it is likely he is admired for slender accomplishments, like a parrot, who speaks a few words plainly." Hume, David: *Of National Characters*. Original text published in 1748 and revised in 1754. in: Library of Economics and Liberty– *David Hume*.

61 Cf. Chukwudi Eze, Emmanuel: *Hume, Race, and Human Nature*. in: Journal of the History of Ideas. Volume 61, No.4. October 2004.

62 Cf. Voltaire, Francois-Marie: *Of the Different Races of men*. in: Voltaire, Francois-Marie: *The Philosophy of History*. Original text published in 1766. New York 2007.

also with Kant's essentialisation of the "Negroe" and "white race"[63] in mind - and the use/misuse of Friedrich Hegel's Master-Slave dialectic, to Churchill's racist propaganda, in order to show the scope within which European racism as a discourse was built and propagated historically. It is important to keep this in mind, as it exposes how white superiority as a self-perception was not merely fabricated in the colonies in order to exploit land and accumulate capital, but rather how it had been theorised in Europe and become a system of thought deeply rooted in the European imagination. Most notably, it determined how Europe positioned itself towards the world.

This is vital because European colonialism targeted the African continent almost simultaneously with the beginning of Enlightenment, and thus needed this conceptualisation of racism for its project. However, it also had to turn racism into a more practical instrument that was necessary in order to create an emotional and social distance to undermine the settlers' ability to identify with the ones they had come to subjugate and displace, so that a discourse could be formed that rendered the brutality with which oppression was exercised as normal. Oppression of that "sub-human" or "non-human" did not have to be opposed or questioned, because it was not imagined as wrong. Colonialism as a project, in order to rationalise its concept of superiority, its occupation of land, its imposition of what it determined as valuable life, and its modes of production, needed to advance racist discourse to the propagation of scientific racism, releasing it to become attached to the settlers' imagination. Superiority from here on was rendered a scientific fact but at the same time remained an enduring desire.

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63 Kant, Immanuel: *Of the Different Human Races*. Original text published in 1777. in: Bernasconi, Robert and Lott, Tommy Lee: *The Idea of Race*. Cambridge and Indianapolis 2000: pp. 8-22. This text shows how Kant thought of race particularly, and how in general, read together with Hume's text, the essentialisation of race and notions of purity that arouse out of enlightenment were articulated and framed at that time: „...Negroes and whites are clearly not different species of human beings (since they presumably belong to one line of descent), but they do comprise two different races. This is because each of them perpetuate themselves in all regions of the earth and because they both, when they interbreed, necessarily produce half-breed children or blends (Mulattoes). Blonds and brunettes are not, by contrast, different races of whites, because a blond man who is the child of a brunette woman can also have distinctly blond children...I believe that we only need to assume four races in order to be able to derive all of the enduring distinctions immediately recognizable within the human genus. They are: (1) The white race; (2) the Negroe race; (3) the Hun race (Mongol or Kalmuck); and (4) the Hindu or Hindustani race." pp.9-10, 11.

Interestingly, it was Hegel with his above mentioned "Master-Slave" dialectic, also referred to as "Lordship and Bondage" concept, who saw this desire as so great that it would arouse a "struggle to the death", in which the master neurotically imposes himself as the predominant and powerful over the slave, without recognising the impossibility of his desired lordship. Superiority in Hegel's concept is impossible, because those who are expected to acknowledge it are oppressed and therefore not free to provide for it.[64] Looking at exactly this desire for superiority, Coetzee also emphasises the comparison being made of *black* people and animals such as hogs, turkeys and cattle,[65] which is a different way of picturing the them as "savage", a label that I argue can be seen as the predecessor of the label "criminal", in that it serves the same rationalisation model, not in the sense of what it aims at, but how it is used to justify certain policies or economic decisions. If to label a people as "savage" served to justify the notion of superiority of the settlers' community on the one hand, and the physical violence that took the highest rank of imaginable brutality on the other hand; today, to label a social group as criminal, or potentially criminal, is used to discredit and to construct as undesirable in the face of its created paradox, that is conformity. The modes of argumentation in this process are informed by colonial classification and propaganda. Lalu explains in this regard: "The end of apartheid has been declared without a sufficient critique of colonial conditions of knowledge that enabled a modern system of segregation. The colonial process of disciplining subjects has not sufficiently shaped the critique of apartheid in the direction of setting the scene for an epistemic break from that past."[66]

Another emphasis stressed in white supremacist writing concerned the areas and social architecture in which indigenous peoples lived. After having tried to forcibly throng them into ways of living that were approved by Europeans, for example in terms of land cultivation, water aggregation, family structures, the construction of houses, as well as religious affiliation[67], complaints about what was perceived as their inability in this regard were spec-

64 Cf. Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich: *Phenomenology of Spirit*. Delhi 1998: pp. 111-119.

65 Coetzee, J.M.: *White writing: On the Culture of letters in South Africa*. New Haven 1988: p.12,13,15,16.

66 Lalu, Premesh: *The Deaths of Hintsa. Postapartheid South Africa and the Shape of Recurring Pasts*. Cape Town 2009: p.268.

67 Cf. Comaroff, Jean and Comaroff, John: *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*. Colorado and Oxford 1992: p.200, 238, 272, 279.

ified in different reports and other texts and accordingly archived.[68] To provoke the constructed dichotomy of the "civilised" European and the "savage" indigenous, a whole - what we may name Architecture of Othering, was positioned against indigenous peoples' habits and cultural artefacts. European clothes, houses, furniture, commodities, churches, etc., served not only as objects of utility, but also as objects of that very othering.

This is not to oversimplify the plurality of forces and present the settlers community as a homogenous entity. Gender and class inequalities within the social landscapes of colonial society must not be ignored. The same applies for the different ruling camps within the colonial apparatus, distinguished by Comaroff and Comaroff into three separate groups[69] that were the British, with state colonialism as their ruling model; the Boer, whose model can be characterised as settler colonialism; and evangelists and other missionaries, who propagated what they called "civilising colonialism", a system of thought that was fixated on turning what it determined as "savage" into "noble" workers and believers. Each camp had particular approaches and interests, which often stood in direct contradiction to each other and later led to what is called the *Great Trek* of Boers into the interior of the country away from British rule and eventually to the Anglo-Boer wars.

That having been said, fixed sets of racially coded aesthetics were framed to build the common normative of the social and spatial, and any performance outside of this frame was determined as barbaric and inhumane.[70] Since the much-desired sameness as the core aim of the "civilising" mission was impossible to realise, otherness was demonised and presented as the unaesthetic, irreconcilable paradox that had to be subjugated. In addition, in the inspecting eyes of the settler, the *black* subject was always seen as a potential slave[71] and thereby as an object that now had to prove the extent of its usefulness.

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68 Cf. Elphick; Richard: *Kraal and Castle – Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa*. New Haven and London 1977: p.195, 203, 206; Marais, J.S.: *The Cape Coloured People 1652-1937*. Johannesburg 1962: p.80, 81; Coetzee, J.M.: *White writing: On the Culture of letters in South Africa*. New Haven 1988: p.19.

69 Cf. Comaroff, Jean and Comaroff, John: *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*. Colorado and Oxford 1992: pp.198-207.

70 Cf. Coetzee, J.M.: *White writing: On the Culture of letters in South Africa*. New Haven 1988: p.22; Rhyne, Wilhelm Ten: *A Short Account of the Cape of Good Hope*. Originally published: Schaffhausen 1686. in: Schapera, Isaac (ed.): *The Early Cape Hottentots. Writings of Olfert Dapper, Willem Ten Rhyne and Johannes Gulielmus de Grevenbroek*. Cape Town 1933: p. 123.

71 Ibid.

In fact, the *black* subject was deprived of its humanity through being reduced to a sheer body without mind and consciousness. This is clear for instance in the statement by physician of the *Dutch East India Company* and member of the *Council of Justice* Wilhelm Ten Rhyne who argued that "…whoever wishes to employ them as slaves must keep them hungry, never fully satisfied…"[72] Further to this, distinctions were made between *black* peoples regarding their grade of obedience and potential assimilation. J.S. Marais writes in his racist account of what he introduces as the history of "The Cape Coloured People", that the colonial missionary Van der Kemp "found the Hottentots[73] much easier to influence than he had found the Xosas. The latter still had their Chiefs, and their tribal institutions were still intact. The Hottentots had already lost, or were rapidly losing, both. They were, therefore, ready to listen to the exposition of a new way of life and to accept the missionaries as their leaders."[74] This degrading narration, not as a random incident but as discursive practice, again nurtured the European's sense of superiority[75] and functioned as a truncheon with which *black* peoples could be reminded of their lesser value[76], always indebted to the colonists who brought civilization, believe in the right faith, are clean, hard-working, know how to make profit and how to create a liveable life.

Similar modes of argumentation are used today within the Urban Development Discourse, again serving to render low-income residents as undesirable, through pointing to their areas as neglected, unliveable and unprofitable neighbourhoods, while ignoring the historical formation of inequality whose material basis was produced systematically. To blame low-income residents for their living conditions and narrate the unequal distribution of wealth as direct consequence of their inabilities, is part of a historical discourse that applied the same argumentations to *black* communities. From the technologies of the archive, with the archive itself as their very nurturing base, dominant discourses learn how to silence in the face of what they aim to highlight. Absence as the antonym of memory comes to its full use in order to repress what

72 Ibid.

73 Racist and degrading term for Khoi and San people.

74 Marais, J.S.: *The Cape Coloured People 1652-1937*. Johannesburg 1962: p.144-145.

75 Superiority as a term for a concept that is part of the racialised regime through which colonialism and apartheid were possible, appears in many different writings of the colonial and apartheid era. Cf. for example: Marais, J.S.: *The Cape Coloured People 1652-1937*. Johannesburg 1962: p.264, 282.

76 Cf. Ibid.: p.107.

must not be said. Michel Foucault halts at this mechanism thoughtfully, when he stresses that "The manifest discourse, therefore, is really no more than the repressive presence of what it does not say; and this 'not-said' is a hollow that undermines from within all that is said".[77]

Residents of whole areas can be marked as superfluous and obstacles to the state of development that the area would take without them. The superfluous body, once appointed, can be policed, removed, replaced. The ways in which they are looked at, their living conditions interpreted and the reasons for their discursively constructed non-conformity are presented to the public, are direct descendants of colonial and apartheid narration, and archival presentation. The Urban Development Discourse, as many other discourses in the postapartheid, holds a genealogy that can be traced back to that very authoritarian condition. The production of knowledge inside discourse receives its validation through this verifying with the past. This recycling process of the colonial archive blurs the contours of time periods distinguished as the colonial past and the postapartheid, as they both present a homogenous epistemological material and discursive condition.

Imagining a third space

What else emerges through the nature of the relation between dominant violent discourses and the people who, affected by the violence of those discourses, create counter-archives? As we have seen, people affected by politico-economic violence[78] become Archivists of the Repressed. The reason is, as I have discussed under the section Forbidden Archives, that "the people" demand to be able to narrate their histories themselves. Counter-life, counter-archive, counter-narrative, all are concepts that evolve out of the necessity to access memory, narrate it through a tool (writing, filming, speaking, amongst others), and make it accessible to the public. Accessing one's own memory and analysing the ways in which discourse has been created historically, shapes

77 Foucault, Michel: *Archaeology of Knowledge*. London and New York 2002: p. 28.

78 Politico-economic violence I define as a category of violence that in itself entails various forms of violence. As long as it is politico-economically motivated, it can include physical violence, discursive violence, institutionalised violence, amongst other forms. Politico-economically motivated is all violence that serves to maintain an economic status quo, profit, or governmental interests.

our perception and analysis of the present and alters our imagination of how our future should look like.

At the same time, counter-lives, counter-archives, and counter-narratives lock the archivists - the ones who archive as a social response to what dogmatically categorises and defines them - into the mechanisms and dynamics of the dominant discourse. One might ask, and how does that take place? I suggest the answer is, through the fact that writing of one's own history becomes underscored into a sphere of discourse and anti-discourse, of dominance and opposition to dominance. Consequently, this reduces any possible interaction to the status of a response, rather than to an independent strategy that can stand for itself. This I see as a part of the "discursive violence" that Michel Foucault describes and tries to conceptualise, one that generates a perpetual captivity inside a sphere that includes us all, people affected by political-economic violence, archivists, artists, activists, and researchers.

What I then propose to include in one's approach in the context of critical humanities research, is to try to think of a third space. One that does not imperatively stand outside the sphere of dominant discourse and anti-discourse - because the authoritarian condition it has to relate to is real - but rather one that points towards a space that it determines as imaginable. The new imaginaries of method that are created this way, will still be influenced by the described duality, but they at the same time inhabit the opportunity to give birth to something new.[79] Having this serious challenge in mind, I follow Depelchin when he underlines that, "The question is how to move away from the

79 Works that inspired this book in relation to new imaginaries of method: For *Memorializing the Past*, an analysis of the discourses that are constructed through and with the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Heidi Grunebaum created in a long-term process an archive of interviews, films etc, that she at the end refused to use for the final text. Without employing personal narratives of people, she decided to precisely concentrate on the evolution, use, and mechanism of the discourses themselves. Grunebaum, Heidi: *Memorializing the Past: Everyday Life in South Africa after the Truth and Reconciliation* Commission. New Jersey 2012. In *What is Slavery to me*, Pumla Dineo Gqola examines slave memory and its impacts on negotiating identity in present-day South Africa. She analyses contemporary artistic expressions that she reads as mirrors of a past that have not been dealt with in the official narrating of history. She does not use interviews or any text, photographs or films of the colonial archive. Instead, she treats art as statements and data, just as we will see in chapter five, V.Y.Mudimbe suggests. Gqola, Pumla Dineo: *What is slavery to me? Postcolonial/Slave Memory in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Johannesburg 2010.

embedded practices of policing knowledge, how to prevent the sterilisation of knowledge (history), and instead to allow it to become emancipatory."[80]

Conclusion

Tracing back and analysing the creation of historical discourses and their relations to present-day conditions and policies, evolved out of a very material necessity. It is not possible to ask questions about politico-economic violence of the present, without looking at how this violence was made possible historically. Dominant discourses of the present that favour and produce unequal power relations between different subjects of society cannot be read without taking into account the archives that nurture them. The postapartheid archive could not set itself free from the colonial and apartheid archive. Whiteness as colonial and apartheid discursive practice lends many of its contents including framings, metaphors, and rhetoric to the Urban Development Discourse of today - one that is in turn facilitating the South African middle and upper classes in both government and business sector, with new old arguments and techniques. This is also one of the reasons why as a discourse, whiteness became perpetuated and functions as both a nurturing base for interconnected discourses, while at the same time standing on its own to form a complete and coherent discourse in itself. Further, the colonial archive operates as a source of rationalisation and justification of politico-economic violence; a use and manifestation through which the postcolonial condition inherits aggressive neocolonial features. Forced evictions of low-income residents in the Western Cape and the criminalisation and removal of people who become screened and determined as not holding the acquired social status from certain city spaces are as much unthinkable without the backing of the colonial archive's epistemological construct of superiority and inferiority, as the massacre of the striking miners in Marikana is without colonial technologies that were designed to force enslaved people, and later workers under apartheid, back to work under the most horrific conditions. Otherwise we would not be able to explain how the British *Lonmin* mining company could have been supported by the South African Police as well as by high ranked government officials, when before the killings its agents announced that all miners would be dismissed if they would refuse to return to work tomorrow. I am pointing

80 Depelchin, Jacques: *Silences in African History*. Dar Es Salaam 2005: p.1.

to this example only to explain why I conclude that the colonial archive and colonial technologies of power become reproduced through different governmental and non-governmental institutions, a manifestation that I marked as coloniality. But in order to render them an isolated social condition, forced evictions become dehistoricised and thus depoliticised. Collective memory is being navigated away from recognising the links between forced removals of the past and forced evictions of the present. We are as much facing a colonial condition of the postapartheid archive, as we are facing a colonial condition of memory.

But the absent documents on forced evictions are not non-existent. They are stored in the households of the people affected, always ready to become presented. It was the particular readiness with which Mrs. George, Jerome Daniels, and Faeza Meyer presented their archives that serves as testament that they did not create them not to forget, but rather to ensure that there will be access to their narratives on the struggle and the violence inflicted on them. And as put forward by Derrida, it is the political power that needs to control memory in order to maintain itself, as to control memory is to control the ways in which the links between history and the present become established. Aware of this relation between the political power that governs over them and the control of memory, even if they do not phrase it like that, people affected by forced eviction create their own, repressed archives, and readily share them with the public.

As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, the academy could not have been spared. The interconnectedness of the colonial project and the humanities was based on a reciprocal relationship from which both gained. Objectivity as the normative measure the study of the Other required and that determines the grade of scientificity of a work until today, derives from this relationship. Therefore, epistemology and in particular, method, must be critically revised and rethought as a constant process in humanities research that also allows for new methodologies to evolve. The limitation the duality of discourse and anti-discourse brings with must be thematised to enable ways out of this sphere. In this context, the comprehension of formations of forbidden/repressed archives can be central, as these archives form a tool to try and write one's own history towards a more inclusive reading of the past and the present and thus stand for themselves without necessarily forming a response to the dominant discourse. At the same time, and this is where that duality prevails, they oppose a violent discourse that uses an undignified repertoire in order to maintain discursive hegemony. The use of method in this regard

requires high sensibility, since as much as the researcher's aim might be sympathetic; it is the research process itself that holds a capability to reproduce the violence inflicted on the subjects.