

# Master Thesis

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## **(Re)Producing identity tensions: an in- depth look at the integration and output of non-nationals in South Africa's cultural industries**

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**<https://csfaver.wixsite.com/nonnational>**

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## II. ABSTRACT

Christen Faver: *(Re)Producing identity tensions: an in-depth look at the integration and output of non-nationals in South Africa's cultural industries*

The purpose of this research is to investigate the socio-economic and associated political circumstances that inform the conditions of non-nationals participating in the South African cultural industry. This is in light of previous literature on cultural productions of diasporas but applied to the specific context of Johannesburg. The exploration is relevant in contributing to discussions surrounding the South-South migration, sustainable immigration and integration, gatekeeping practices, as well as providing arguments for more inclusive cultural policy making decisions. Central to this research are questions regarding barriers to the creative sector, the use of hybrid form and content in cultural productions of non-nationals, and the dichotomy between 'self-presentation' and 'other-presentation' of non-nationals in institutionalized spaces. The research is conducted using a multimodal discourse analysis and took place during a research internship at a Johannesburg-based emerging artists center. Primary analysis is in the form of nine semi-structured interviews (in-person and online) whereas secondary analysis examines the content of the creative products of each respondent. Findings show that the cultural production of non-nationals is affected the most by local market demands and financial considerations. There is clear evidence that respondents wish to assimilate their works into the local scene by using specific business strategies and aesthetic adaptations. Therefore, respondents do not wish to highlight themselves as 'others' in their 'self-presentation'. This posed a direct contrast to institutional framing techniques that highlight diasporic individuals in a tokenizing way. The logistics of migration and xenophobia prove to be the greatest challenges for non-nationals but despite this, individuals wish to remain in Johannesburg and continue working in the cultural industries.

**KEYWORDS:** Cultural and Creative Industries, South Africa, non-national, xenophobia, integration

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## VI. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ACMS</b>	African Centre for Migration and Society
<b>ANC</b>	African National Congress
<b>CCI</b>	Cultural and Creative Industries
<b>FNB</b>	First National Bank

# 1. Introduction

It is lamentable and disheartening to see that there is a continuous stream of reports on xenophobic violence in South Africa - such as a Congolese shop owner that was beaten in 2008 for being foreign and had his business property ransacked in 2019, or when over a 1000 Bangladeshi-owned shops were looted in 2020 (Misago, 2011; Ueda, 2020). Misago (2019) and Landau (2010) indicate that xenophobia "... has become a perennial feature in post-apartheid South Africa... [as] thousands of people have been harassed, attacked, killed or displaced because of their status as outsiders..." (p.57-58). Xenophobic violence can be understood as "any acts of collective violence targeted at... 'outsiders' because of their being foreign..." (Dodson, 2010, p.7). This points to the urgency of the situation and dire need to develop and clarify the narrative surrounding the conditions for non-nationals. Xenophobia has been preventing conscious efforts to foster progressive policies, regarding national identity, in contemporary South Africa

Concepts like the 'rainbow nation' indicate reformist qualities but underlying tensions prevail - attributed, in part, to the discrepancies in nation-building that has occurred under differing post-apartheid leaders. For example, the 'rainbow nation' concept was developed as a narrative during the Nelson Mandela era (1994-1999). This was a:

*"... paradigm that portrayed cultural diversity as an asset, [whereas] Thabo Mbeki's efforts at popularizing the still ill-defined concept of the African Renaissance, developed in conjunction with other African leaders, has opened up complex identity discourses about precisely who is considered an African" (Marschall, 2008, p. 16).*

Due to the top-down introduction of these paradigms, one may question how the framing of diversity is manifesting in the country's policy measures and cultural production – especially in the instances of individuals who do not align with, or are excluded from, dominant hegemonic identities in the country. This research aims to delve deeper into questions of the portrayal of national identities and the possibility for a homogenisation of arts and culture, by taking a bottom-up approach in considering the role of non-nationals in the Cultural and Creative Industries (hereafter CCI's) - leading to the research question:

**What are the socio-economic and associated political circumstances that inform the conditions of non-nationals participating in the South African Cultural and Creative Industries?**

These conditions are going to be examined with an emphasis on the barriers and obstacles that have formed around non-national creatives - such as a lack of cultural policy in support of non-nationals, integration issues in the CCI's, industry framing of non-nationals as 'others', xenophobia at home and in the workplace, and the manifestation of identity tensions (created by pressures to assimilate to the host culture) in cultural products. The sub-questions that will be addressed are:

- **What are the barriers to the creative sector that diasporic communities face in the South African context?**
- **Do diasporic communities utilize hybridity of form and content in their work to convey identity tensions?**
- **What are the noticeable differences between the 'self-presentation' and the 'other-presentation' of non-national creatives?**

These questions will be answered in the following sections that discuss the scientific and social relevance of this study, the conceptual and theoretical framework, methodology, analysis, results and lastly the limitations as well as further recommendations. The results will be discussed in relation to barriers and successes. The former explores law and governance, social barriers, the economics of exclusion, and cultural gatekeeping, whereas the latter discusses the controversy of tokenism and the opportunities perpetuated by what I have termed the "Johannesburg myth" – the idea that Johannesburg is associated with economic prosperity. These categories are arbitrary and overlap because they have been developed as terms of convenience, for the purpose of analysis. Categories can be reinforced or lessened based on the context of each individual case.

Research has shown that there is little information about non-nationals operating in the South African arts and culture scene (justifying the lack of contemporary sources in sections 1.1, 1.2 and 2) as will be discussed in the social implications of this study (Nyoni, 2018). This body of work stands as a reference for future South African cultural policy measures, non-national integration policies and brings to light current issues of nationalism - concerning its cause-and-effect relationship with xenophobia.

## 1.1 Scientific relevance

### 1.1.1 Diaspora in dialogue

This research builds upon the work by Nyoni (2018) on *Diaspora in dialogue: Zimbabwean artists in South Africa*, a work aimed at investigating “...the discourse around transnationality, migrancy and diaspora within the broader paradigms of post-coloniality and emerging identities in southern Africa” (p.411). This article will be considered as exploratory research due to the fact that it was conducted with three respondents - with Nyoni being a respondent himself.

This paper aimed at contributing a deeper socio-political paradigm within diasporic communities, in relation to the contributions of Nyoni (2018), by considering indeterminable links to national identity in how it contributes to local cultural capital and consumption patterns. National identities have been contested in works such as Chipkin’s *Do South Africans Exist?* (2007) pointing to South Africa’s potentially heterogeneous national identity. This poses a point of tension because the concept of a national identity alludes to a sort of hegemony, wherein some identities are still marginalised and “the homogenising effect of government planning... tends to erase variations in local history and iron out the differences [particularly] among black South Africans, reducing them to a series of “problems”” (Feyder, 2016, p.45; Dlamini, 2009). The paper will draw from Gramsci’s theorizations on hegemony - a form of top-down rule or oppression that is based on ideas and the subconscious, instead of direct force as ideology (Bates, 1975, p.351). Thus, this research aims to determine the extent to which the homogenizing effect of national identities are creating barriers in the production and consumption of cultural products because of hegemonies created and enforced through enculturation and acculturation.

Nyoni (2018), pointed out the use of hybrid art forms and themes within diasporic artwork as a way of grappling with and representing identity tensions, raising the sub-question:

**How do diasporic communities utilize hybridity of form and content in their work to convey identity tensions?**

Thus, informing the decision to perform content analysis of cultural products produced by each respondent.

### 1.1.2 Diasporas: Evidence of South - South migration

This research contributes to the academic debate surrounding the existence of African diasporas within Africa, as is justified by the statistics showing that 53% (13 million) of African migrants are received by other African countries (Crush, 2011, p.5). Initial research provided definitions of diaspora as “all forms of migration and dispersion of people” as well as the more general weakening of nation-states as a result of globalization (Bruneau, 2010, p.35). However, the matter is of greater complexity. Literature referring to the African diaspora has centered around the narrative of the slave trade but authors such as Koser (2005), Morcillo-Espina, King and Louw, (2014), and Bakewell (2008) have sought to alter the concept by developing research on African diasporas through examining a variety of contexts. The importance of understanding diaspora and migration in this study is because it is “... a valuable tool in development for its ability to illuminate some of the underlying political, economic and social issues within...” sending and receiving countries (Morcillo-Espina *et al.*, 2014, p.3). That being said, South African immigration and emigration remain a relatively unexplored topic “...due to the lack of official and discrepancies in data sources” (Morcillo-Espina *et al.*, 2014, p.4; Bailey, 2004). Similar findings were considered in the noticeable data discrepancies Crush (2011) discovered when visualizing immigrant statistics for South Africa (p.9-10).

There have been various breakdowns of the features that characterize diasporas and inform the term (Butler, 2001; Palmer, 2000), but this research draws on those accounted for by Safran (1991). These are: “dispersion; collective memory; alienation in the host country; yearning for return to the ideal homeland; commitment for the sake of the homeland; and ethno-solidarity” (Morcillo-Espina *et al.*, 2014, p.12; Safran, 1991). Categories are context-dependent and may not surface in every case (Palmer, 2000). In this research, the diasporas considered may be real or imagined - as is determined by the respondent. For this reason, the term ‘non-national’ has been used - as a catch-all for categorizing respondents. Morcillo-Espina *et al.* (2014) add the feature of associated victimization. This is not accounted for in examining the homeland setting but rather in terms of victimization through the repercussions of xenophobia in the receiving country. This confers with the definition given by Crush (2011) as “... all migrants of African origin wherever they live so long as they are outside their country of origin” (p.4). This will be further elaborated on in considering the social relevance of this study.

## 1.2 Social relevance

### 1.2.1 Cultural policy making

Cultural policy can be understood as “the range of activities that Governments undertake – or do not undertake – in the arena of ‘culture’” in order to create socio-economic development within the sector (Gray 2010, p. 222). According to Nawa and Sirayi (2015) “cultural policy has... developed into a serious area of academic inquiry but the context of South African cultural policy needs to be better examined (p.2). They believe that there has been an ineffective institutionalisation of cultural policy in South Africa due to a lack of integration into the “development nexus... a symbiotic phenomenon that could be measured on different scales like physical infrastructure, the economy and human relations” (p.1). It is further stated that in “... post-apartheid South Africa, the cultural dimension of culture is yet to be given serious consideration by Government and tertiary academic institutions alike” (Nawa & Sirayi, 2015, p. 3; Nawa & Ebewo, 2014; Sirayi & Anyumba, 2007). Since cultural policy has become a serious area of academic inquiry, and because there is a lack of institutionalisation of South African policies, there is a need to research these policies more extensively.

The cultural policy decisions for South Africa are published in the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage (1996) - a department produced primary policy document with implementation strategies for new legislation and policies. Part of this program is the Arts and Culture Task Group, which was originally appointed in 1994 (Nawa and Sirayi, 2015). The mandate for the task group is to make recommendations for the arts and culture sector that align with the ideals put forth by the White Paper (South African Government, 1996). This can be understood as non-racist, non-sexist and democratic ideals – aligning with the Bill of Rights which states that persons belonging to a cultural community have the right “to enjoy their culture... and maintain cultural... associations” (South African Government, 1996 p.13). Furthermore, the Department has a mission to promote “...diverse heritage... by valuing diversity...” (South African Government, 1996). Considering the multi-national demographic of the country, there should be a push to have an inclusive set of policies that facilitate both locals and non-nationals. To further support this claim, alternate evidence can be found in the White Paper wherein it states that “the international community has played and continues to play a major role in the reconstruction and development of South African society...” (South African Government, 1996).

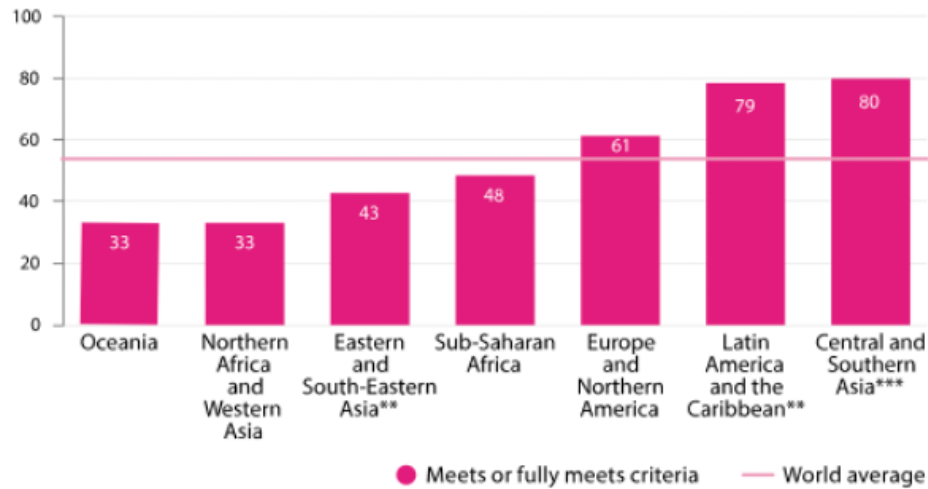
However, the publication aims to appeal for support in the cultural sector by creating policies that try to encourage foreign investment as “the imperative of the Ministry's policies for international relations is to maximise opportunities for [specifically] South African arts, culture and heritage practitioners and institutions to interact with the rest of the world” (South African Government, 1996). There is no real discussion of how non-nationals are contributing to the South African cultural sector and how this facilitation can be improved, making it clear that non-nationals have been overlooked as key contributors to the cultural economy and links to immigration requirements relating to the need for non-nationals to be forthcoming with an investment of personal skills and assets (see section 1.2.2.1 & 1.2.2.2). Interestingly there is a tension in the goals of the ruling political party’s national cultural policy and the goals of the Department, as the former indicates an objective to “...promote the development of a unifying national culture, representing the aspirations of all South Africa's people” (ANC, 1994). The term ‘unifying national culture’ indicates that there is an element of homogenisation in the arts and culture sector, due to the drive for a comprehensive national identity. This may serve to explain why there is a lack of policy supporting non-nationals as South Africans have been pushed to the forefront of the current cultural discourse. It is further stated that “the flow of international products into South Africa must be regulated in a manner that will benefit the people of this country, and specifically artists and those active in culture” (ANC, 1994). This could imply that there is restrictive regulation of non-national creative products. It was hypothesized that these Government-implemented factors would place barriers to the market that non-nationals are operating in.

## 1.2.2 Immigration and integration

### 1.2.2.1 Sustainable development

Number ten of the United Nations 17 Sustainable Development Goals is to reduce inequality within and among countries and this goal has a subsection on the establishment of adequate migration policies (UNHCR, 2017), connecting to the importance of understanding the socio-economic challenges that individuals are facing when moving countries - legally or otherwise. As demonstrated in *Figure 1*, the data from the United Nations indicates that in 2019, 48% of countries located in Sub-Saharan Africa have “...met the criteria for having a comprehensive set of policy measures to facilitate orderly, safe, regular, and responsible migration and mobility of people” (UNHCR, 2017).





Note: Based on 111 countries with available data (as of 1 September 2019).

\*\* Data are available for less than 50 per cent of countries.

\*\*\* Data are available for less than 50 per cent of countries and for less than 50 per cent of the population.

Figure 1: Percentage of Governments reporting that they met the criteria for having a comprehensive set of policy measures to facilitate orderly, safe, regular, and responsible migration and mobility of people, by region, 2019 (SDG Indicators, 2021)

Figure 1 indicates that Sub-Saharan Africa is below the world average for adequate migration policy measures. The wider relevance of this study is that it is not bound to one region. It can be assumed that South Africa is included in the 48%, as is evidenced by the SDG “Goal Tracker” – developed by Statistics South Africa (Stats SA, 2019). According to the tracker there is insufficient data for target *10.7 Compassionate and Responsible Migration Policies* and *10.C Reduce Transaction Costs for Migrant Remittances*, as only 36% of the indicators for this goal have been covered (Goal Tracker South Africa, 2021).

For this reason, the study could contribute towards showcasing the shortfalls of the South African Government in terms of their immigration laws, overlapping with an examination of certain countries’ emigration regulations - as respondents discussed some of the policies in their home countries and how these helped or hindered the logistics of moving to South Africa. There is also a relation to the eighth Sustainable Development Goal which is to, in part, create inclusive economic growth (UNHCR, 2017; SDG Indicators, 2021). From this, it is arguable that immigrants contribute to economic growth, but legal issues could prevent this growth from being fair, sustainable and equitable - important due to the nature of internal African migration being

considered circular (repetitive) migration - leading to co-development of origin and destination countries (Crush, 2011). If Goal ten is not achieved, it diminishes the possibility of reaching Goal eight because ineffective migration policies can prevent job security, access to resources and encourage informal trading. The aim of this research is to help develop an understanding of the effects of immigration on non-nationals, with particular emphasis on their career. Therefore, it is necessary to point out the cause-and-effect relationship between (potential) economic growth and sustainable migration. This conversation is important in order to propose research-based foundations for migration and foreign policies.

#### 1.2.2.2 South African immigration laws

According to the Republic of South Africa's High Courts Commission (2021), the country "...cannot afford to grant permits for permanent residence to persons who are not seriously committed to immigrating to the country and to investing their assets, skills, knowledge and experience for the benefit of themselves and the people of South Africa." This is a questionable statement as it is difficult to objectively assess whether or not an individual is committed to integrating and investing in the country. Therefore, these laws suffer from a lack of clarity, general ambiguity and poor implementation. Furthermore, the need to integrate carries the same hegemonic ideals as was seen in the policy decisions of the Government (see section 1.2.1). That being said, further critiques can be made about the requirements set out by the Immigration Act (No 13 of 2002). The requirements to be eligible for immigration are as follows:

- *"The applicant must be of good character*
- *He / she must be a desirable inhabitant*
- *He / she must not be likely to be harmful to the welfare of the Republic of South Africa*
- *Most importantly - he / she must not follow an occupation in which there is already a sufficient number of persons available to meet the requirements of the country"*

(South African High Commission, 2021)

These requirements are determined and assessed by the Immigrants Selection Board (South African High Commission, 2021). It is difficult to determine how this anonymous legislative body conducts the decision-making process regarding their requirements. As was mentioned at the beginning of this section, these are unquantifiable. However, I would like to focus on the last point regarding occupation. The number of individuals who work in the CCI's is only recorded as early as 2015. Hadisi and Snowball (2017) provided research that "presents the first study of cultural and creative employment in South Africa using national-level data" (p.1). According to the SA Cultural Observatory (2021) "creative economy employment accounted for 7% of all the jobs in South Africa in 2017. This [equates to] 1.14 million jobs in South Africa related directly... to cultural and creative activities" and harks back to the interconnectedness between Sustainable Development Goals eight and ten. Therefore, according to the aforementioned criteria "he / she must not follow an occupation in which there is already a sufficient number of persons available" (South African High Commission, 2021), it is difficult to economically justify the immigration of individuals operating in the cultural sector because more than a million individuals are already filling these roles and is complicated further due to the "nobody knows" economic principle which relays that there is market uncertainty surrounding an artist and their cultural products, because measured success and valuation is indeterminable (Caves, 2000). This uncertainty finds its source in "the independence of the quality assessment of the object from (most) of its intrinsic properties" (Beckert, 2019). Therefore, it can be assumed that there is some difficulty in the application process for non-national artists to apply for the right to enter South Africa. For the purpose of this research, it is not assumed that these factors are preventative measures for immigration, as undocumented individuals are included in the respondent sample. However, this factor is highlighted in order to consider the very real barriers that immigration legislation creates, as it is necessary to have this understanding in order to examine how they are being complied with or negated. This holds social relevance as there is a need to be critical in determining if policy making and legislation is effective, as this is a major issue in that it directly impacts job creation and economic growth – more generally and within the creative industries – as well as affecting the nature of the South-South migration. Furthermore, migration is a perennially interesting topic as "international migration... has been a continuous and prominent characteristic of humanity and demographic change throughout the ages" (Chamie, 2020, p.231; Boghean, 2016).

### 1.2.3 Nationalism

Nationalism informs theories that will be explored such as in- and out-groupings and identity tensions. It is also relevant as a growing global social trend. Nationalism studies usually fall into a path-dependent paradigm in which territorial and national societal characteristics are amplified. This is usually "... decisive in discourses about stateless nations and minorities..." (Jakab, 2014, p.3). This study draws on Brubaker's (1996) foundation on the concept of the motherland with ethnonational and historical affiliations. These affiliations were self-determined by individuals participating in the study. Existing literature has a focus on neo-nationalism in the West, there is very little supporting the emergence of neo-nationalism beyond this - as needs to be further motivated (Ignatieff, 1993; Kaldor, 1996; Gingrich and Banks, 2006). This study supports the idea that neo-nationalism is not bound to the West and substantiates that neo-nationalism is chronological, as the newest form of nationalism, thus, applicable to Sub-Saharan Africa (Tiryakian, 1985; Smith, 1981). Smith (1981) further attributes neo-nationalism to decolonization as "... this caused an inward turning of these societies, loss of confidence, and the discovery of their own minorities and internal borders" (Jakab, 2014, p.5). This potentially links to the heightening of xenophobia due to a new national consciousness, since nationalism can be a "...destructive force - especially if it loses... civic meaning and becomes solely an expression of ethnic identity" (Lieven, 2006, p.8). Furthermore, "wealth redistribution conflict has become both the cause and form of manifestation of neo-nationalism" (p.7), linking to findings on the perpetuated narrative of resource theft, surrounding immigrants (Crush, 2011). Therefore, it was hypothesized that in this study, xenophobia would be locale-dependent and based on competition for resources, hence affecting employment.

### 1.2.4 Xenophobia

The role of race, ethnicity and xenophobia needs to be included in any discussion of non-nationals in the South African context. According to Ward and Liu (2018), the socio-historical conditionings of the nation may be related to the production of xenophobia. They stated that:

*"During apartheid, South Africa was arguably one of the most notable racialized states in the 20th century. This provides a concrete example to study race and ethnicity as a site of contestation, and to examine diasporic formation processes in terms of how these are mediated by issues of history, race, ethnicity, class, gender, and generation" (Ward & Liu, 2018).*

Many have been struck by the presence of xenophobia in South Africa. Reiterating the findings of Marschall (2008), South Africa has had a persistent identity issue - stemming, in part, from differing ideologies and discourses presented by top-down structures. Governing bodies are integral in this as there is mainstream emphasis on non-racial political ideologies – as can be seen in the African National Congress – and the multi-racial discourses in the Democratic Alliance (Ngculu, 2005). And yet, we are still faced with the pervasive issue of xenophobia. Contemporary examples of contested local identities can be seen in diasporic communities from other regions in Africa. South Africa has seen a sharp increase of immigration since the millennium and according to the *Migration Data Portal* (2019; Crush, 2011), some of the largest populations of immigrants residing in Southern Africa are nationals of Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Burundi (Crush, 2011). Outdated statistics showed at least 730,000 “...foreign-born African migrants from 54 different countries” are noted to be residing in South Africa (Crush, 2011, p.7). However, the validity of these numbers has been questioned due to a lack of accurate data (Crush, 2011).

From personal experience, though the day-to-day co-existence between individuals with different identification papers can be relatively peaceful, there are instances of disruption. This can be seen in the heightened xenophobic attacks in 2008 and 2019 - where physical violence was used on non-nationals (Reality Check Team, 2019). This sentiment is reiterated by the comments of world-renowned curator Simon Njami when he reflects on his own experiences stating that he has not visited all that many African countries but one factor he found most striking is South Africa's 'schizophrenia' in that "South Africans no longer know who they are... because of their [complex] history" (Cessou, 2016), thereby contributing to tensions between different national and cultural groups.

Table 1: Comparing the Diaspora's (Crush, 2011, p.15)

	South African Diaspora Outside Africa	African Diaspora in South Africa
<b>Sociodemographic profile</b>	White (> 80%), family, skilled, tertiary educated, professional,	Black (> 80%), individual (75% male), all skill levels and all education levels
<b>Main migration type</b>	Permanent	Temporary, circular, transnational
<b>Spatial distribution</b>	Concentrated in 6 countries	From 50 African countries but majority (90%) from the Southern African Development Community
<b>Integration</b>	High economic and social integration High rates of permanent residence and citizenship Qualifications recognized	Low integration and high barriers to permanent residence and citizenship High levels of discrimination and xenophobia Deskilling common
<b>Remittances</b>	Low in comparison to income	High in comparison to income
Source: Author's compilation		

Research by Crush (2011) indicated that diasporas in South Africa had low integration rates and high barriers to permanent residence, accompanied by high levels of xenophobia and discrimination (see *Table 1*), *indicating* a commonality of integration issues that non-nationals are facing. This research is paramount in understanding how xenophobic aggressions and micro-aggressions are affecting company and business settings in South Africa's CCI's and therefore, creating an institutional barrier for the dissemination of non-national cultural products.

The aforementioned topics inform the following sections in which the theoretical framework and methodology of this research are introduced, followed by the discussion and results. This paper will conclude by communicating the limitations and further recommendations of the study, as well as presenting concise takeaways.

## 2. Conceptual and theoretical framework

The following section introduces and explains the key concepts and theories. To begin, the nature of the arts and culture sector will be examined in order to contextualize the cultural products that will be analysed throughout this paper. Furthermore, key topics such as cultural capital, enculturation and acculturation are presented. Barriers to the art market will be discussed in terms of the role of the museum, gatekeeping, cultural cringe, and tokenization - in connection with diasporic art. Lastly, boundary work will be defined to draw attention to the identity formation process between individuals and groups.

### 2.1 Navigating the cultural landscape

#### 2.1.1 African art

Many African groups are steeped in a tradition of oral culture. It is for this reason "... that Africa's visual and performing arts assume such enormous significance" (Detroit Institute of Arts, 1996, p.7). African art has traditionally been analysed purely through style and form. This was a Eurocentric understanding of African art, as was influenced by Wagg's theorizations in the 1970s that there was a relationship between tribes as a cultural entity and sculptural styles (Detroit Institute of Arts, 1996, p.7). However, this has since been contested as "...ethnic boundaries have been found to be rather porous, meaning that substantial cross-cultural artistic exchanges have occurred... due to migrations..." (Detroit Institute of Arts, 1996, p.8). Furthermore, there are levels of acculturation (see 2.2) in contemporary African art and:

*"this process is always reciprocal, that is, there is mutual influence and change... One culture may be in a dominant position, the other mainly in a receiving position. Never, however, can the one culture... escape from the influence of the other"* (de Jager, 1971, p.138).

This poses an interesting concept in the South African setting with regards to dominant cultures and subcultures. It is hypothesized that the engagement between marginalized communities and dominant hegemonic communities will shape cultural and artistic outputs in a reflective way. Therefore, it will be interesting to examine how form and concept are at play in contemporary cultural productions, in relation to outdated art interpretations.

In a local context, the characteristic of South African art is diversity (Koloane, 2003).

However, this supposed diversity is not always realized due to institutional barriers caused by historical segregational practices. The lingering issues of colonialism in regard to artistic production and consumption in South Africa is summarized by Koloane's (2003) statement that:

*The visual arts discipline is a relatively specialised activity, which even amongst the white populace is to a large extent dependent on educational qualifications, class and the ambience of environment. The equipment employed by visual artists in the easel form of painting and sculpture is a standard form of equipment only available from authorised art supply stores. Most of the prescribed items are imported from European countries. Thus it is evident that the balance is tilted in favour of the affluent sector of the population... The power and control of these related institutions reside within the exclusively white personnel... the black African practitioner is entirely dependent on the white buyer or client..."* (p.119).

Prominent Art Director Mandla Sibeko perpetuated the "African art" narrative when expressing pan-African ideals in the *FNB Joburg Art Fair* (Ounejjar, 2018). At the same moment he admitted that only 11 other African countries have been exhibited at the Fair and is cause for concern - as the largest Art Fair on the continent fails to bring diverse representation to the table and thereby hinting again at the fact that diversity is not always realized. Sibeko highlights tensions in "African art" because it can pigeonhole art "... but on the other side it is our stories, it is our histories", thus introducing the discourse that has been built around African art by creative institutions and how these top-down practices are affecting artists (Ounejjar, 2018).

### 2.1.2 Cultural capital

Cultural capital is a Bourdieusian theory that can be understood as cultural knowledge that is "gained mainly through an individual's initial learning and is unconsciously influenced by the surroundings" (Huang, 2019, p. 45; Bourdieu, 2000). The value of cultural capital is context-dependent (Huang, 2019; Bourdieu, 1993b). "According to Bourdieu, cultural capital exists in three forms — embodied state, objectified state, and institutionalized state" but the objectified and institutionalized state are of the most important for this study (Huang, 2019, p. 46; Bourdieu 1986). The former can be understood as items that are "cultural products, that are associated with cultural capital; and an individual can acquire cultural capital through possessing them" whereas the latter is a form of certification that is exchangeable and comparable to certain standards (Huang, 2019, p. 46). Bourdieu was particularly interested in forms of capital and their contributions to class and the process of taste-making. For example:



*“Bourdieu shows that the ability to appreciate art, and possession of a taste for art, are closely connected to one’s education and class’ status. Middle-class people in these studies were far more confident than working-class people about approaching cultural products and cultural institutions. Bourdieu’s argument was that this was because they had acquired conceptual skills and social confidence from their families and their middle-class schools” (Huang, 2019, p. 153; Webb, Schirato & Danaher, 2002).*

These theories are important for later analysis of the barriers to the art market for respondents. Class distinction and taste formation play a large role in the institutionalized state of cultural capital. Therefore, this has an effect on the artistic cannon and determines the ‘acceptability’ of certain art styles and artists. Due to the fact that cultural capital is context-dependent, how marginalized artists may be affected by as cultural capital may be an important factor to consider as it is not only determined by the domestic setting - because in South Africa, and many other former European colonies, there is a strong element of ‘cultural cringe’.

### 2.1.3 Cultural cringe

The term ‘cultural cringe’ was developed by Philips in the 1950s in an Australian context and “the term has come to refer to Australians’ inherent lack of faith in their own culture, often at the popular level. This is divorced from the originally intended meaning, which was explicitly linked to ‘high’ culture” (Hesketh, 2013). Cultural cringe is also described as “... a deep dependence on imported judgments and tastes” (Connell, 2013). Arguably, the notion of colonial forebears being linked to ‘high culture’ is a paradigm that has developed in a multiplicity of ex-colonial nation states. Despite the time that has elapsed since independence, individuals are no “... less receptive to overseas ideas, products and fashions, or more inclined (or better equipped) to subject them to critical analysis or to provide local alternatives to them” (Hume, 1993, p.14). Thus, decolonization may be underway but there has not been a full-force override of accepted hegemonies and cultural paradigms. One should be critical of this statement, since its origins are in 1993, but there are still lingering sentiments of this mentality to-date. This was seen in the works of Hountondji (1997) who coined the term ‘extraversion’ and can be understood as “being oriented to external sources of authority”, especially when it comes to scientific, journalistic and educational practices (Connell, 2013). Hountondji (1997) believed that this is a structural problem, a result of colonialism and neo-colonialism and their influence on the global economy of culture (Connell, 2013). This is not a recent phenomenon as African intellectuals have extensively discussed the relationship between cultural production and the colonial legacy. This

can be seen in examples of p'Bitek's *Africa's Cultural Revolution* (1973) and *Song of Lawino* (1966), as well as Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o in *Decolonising the Mind* (1986). Formal 'Cultural Revolutions' have been launched as was seen in the first Republic of Guinea with the leader Sékou Touré in 1958 – aiming to validate indigenous cultures in the decolonisation process (Oyler, 2001). Mazuri (1973) elucidates the aesthetic dualism that exists and how "... there is the coexistence [in Africa] of two artistic universes drawn from vastly different cultures, which have yet to coalesce... into a new distinct phenomenon" and so there continues to be a conflict between traditional African and Western cultural products (p.32). However, this is not solely a two-way tension as "... each African country has more than two aesthetic worlds since each nation consists of several ethnic groups with their own civilizations" (Mazuri, 1973, p.32). The internalized conflict poses a very real threat to cultural consumption practices and to product legitimization and evaluation. Therefore, the internalization of foreign ideals could potentially create further barriers to entry in the cultural industries.

## 2.2 Enculturation and acculturation

When an individual is relocated there is a necessary period of integration. In part, this is a practical readjustment to a new setting and way of life but there is also a level of socio-cultural readjustment, as cultural practices and norms differ across regions and locales. This socio-cultural integration can be understood in two different processes - that of enculturation and acculturation. These paradigms will be explored in the following section in order to examine how non-nationals may be encouraged to traverse cultural norms in South Africa - relating back to the predicted homogenisation that is occurring across the cultural sphere. Sun, Hoyt, Brockberg, Lam, and Tiwari (2016) believe that "acculturation and enculturation are processes that racial and ethnic minorities engage in daily" (p.618). The former can be understood as "the array of psychological changes that occurs when members of a minority group adapt into a mainstream group" whereas the latter can be understood as "the process by which individuals are socialized into their cultural heritage" (Sun *et al.*, 2016, p. 618; Berry, 1994; Kim, Atkinson, & Umemoto, 2001; Yoon, Langrehr, & Ong, 2011). Two differing frameworks in which to understand these processes have developed. The first is the unidimensional model which believes that "...rejection of one's culture of origin was considered to be an unavoidable consequence of adopting values and customs of the dominant culture..." (Sun *et al.*, 2016, p. 618; Gordon 1964). The other model is Bidimensional which "... conceptualize(s) adoption of mainstream culture and socialization into one's heritage culture as independent processes...[and] many

studies confirm that individuals can hold two (or more) cultural orientations to different degrees” (Sun *et al.*, 2016, p. 618; Flannery, Reise, & Yu, 2001; Lee, Sobal, & Frongillo, 2003; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). For the purpose of this research a more Biodimensional approach will be taken in understanding the development of cultural practices for non-nationals. This is because there is reason to believe that a nuanced approach to understanding the enactment of culture is acceptable. This also aligns with the study’s postmodern approach to analysis. The process is summed up concisely by T.S. Eliot (1949) when stating that:

*“The culture which develops on the new soil must therefore be bafflingly alike and different from the parent culture: it will be complicated sometimes by whatever relations are established with some native race and further by immigration from other than the original source. In this way, peculiar types of culture-sympathy and culture-clash appear”* (p.62).

Eliot presents the conflicting ideas of “culture-sympathy” and “culture-clash”. An example of this topic was seen in Serge Attukwei Clottey’s installation and performative piece entitled “Softening Borders” in which he uses objects to examine displacement and migration. This piece was exhibited at the group exhibition *Radical Revisionists* (Houston/Now, 2020). The combination of artefacts presented the idea of the individual carrying the cultural signifiers of their country of origin with them and the role of objects when trying to assimilate in new spaces (Houston/Now, 2020). There is a clear interaction between objects as carriers of culture and the way in which culture is performed. The interaction of these objects can be considered as contributing to either culture sympathy or clash, in how their symbolic value relates to the host culture. Furthermore, there was a line of yellow collages installed along the building’s lobby wall, “... evoking a Yellow Brick Road” (Glentzer, 2020). Ergo, the journey of migration is paramount in presenting a holistic narrative in the development of cultural dynamics. Next, barriers to the art market will be explored.

## 2.4 Barriers to the art market

### 2.4.1 The role of the museum

The role of institutions is being questioned. Current contemporary art spaces such as the Zeitz MOCAA, a contemporary art museum in Cape Town, have been criticized in reviews indicating “the museum’s corporate and commercial ties and [how some] consider the institution elitist and out of touch with local communities” (O’Connor, 2018). The commodification and performative use of diasporic individuals by museums and galleries should be analysed as current trends show that the market for this type of art in the South African cultural sector is smiled upon, “however, this inclusion largely ignores or suppresses any distinctive features... that might allude to [individual] diasporic origins and practice” (Leeb-du Toit, 2011, p.177). The commodification of diasporic communities can be linked to the colonial logic of ‘extraction’ (Cimini, 2018). Other issues with the colonial conceptualization of African art and culture is “the widespread and stubborn misrepresentation of [it being]... static, bounded, and primitive...” which is confounded with “the continued neglect of the historical study of African art...” (Nyamnjoh, 2019, p.3; Peffer, 2005, p.70). Therefore, there is a need to break away from colonial understandings of art in order to better understand arts and culture in the South African context. This may prove difficult because more research is needed in order to better develop a new paradigm and framework in which to conduct research on South African art and this project is a start in deconstructing taken-for-granted practices. The tension between institutions and individual players in the art market should be challenged regarding tokenism, carrying out an activity to prevent criticism (Sherrer, 2018), and representation because:

*“... talk and text about minorities, immigrants, refugees or, more generally, about people of colour, of Third World peoples and nations, also have broader societal, political and cultural functions. Besides positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, such discourse signals group membership” (van Dijk, 1992, p. 88).*

This sentiment is also seen in the work of Connor (1973) in stating that ethnic identities are most often “other-defined” relying on group reflexivity in developing ethnic consciousness (p.3). Therefore, this theory will be examined in the representation of minorities and diasporic communities on a micro-level in the South African art world, considering first how artists present themselves compared to their ‘other-presentation’ in a public sphere. The opportunity to conduct

research at an internship for a Johannesburg-based emerging artists center allowed dual examination of the 'self-presentation' of the artists in residency and 'other-presentation' at the level of the institution. Additionally, interviewing creatives that are not tied to a corporate entity allowed alternate perspectives on traditional commercial practices - providing the space to explore the possible tokenization of diasporic communities and how individuals are responding to this market. The role of institutions will be elaborated on in the next section on gatekeeping.

### 2.4.2 Gatekeeping

Fundamentally gatekeeping can be understood as the inclusion or exclusion of certain arts and creatives. One example is that of critics, who uphold principles of the field by allowing cultural works to be discovered and regulate entrance to a cultural field. This is because reviews provide information and signal the value (or lack of) of a product/artist in an uncertain market. Therefore, gatekeepers can be understood as cultural mediators (Jansen & Verboord, 2015). These individuals usually operate in fields that are characterized by turbulence, large supply, demand uncertainty and a lack of unequivocal quality standards (Jansen & Verboord, 2015). It is then necessary to have cultural mediators as they form a selection process for this large supply. "Mediators perform highly different and often distinct activities according to their particular contributions in the (increasingly) vertically differentiated process of cultural production" (Jansen & Verboord, 2015, p.1). They help develop careers, reputation as well as discerning cultural tastes and consumption patterns (Jansen & Verboord, 2015).

Museums contribute to gatekeeping practices as they serve to legitimize cultural consumption practices. Another important form of gatekeeping is that of creative fairs, festivals and competitions. One important example is that of the annual *FNB Joburg Art Fair*. According to the Director, "its main purpose has been to celebrate African art, [and] to really bring together the industry" (Ounejjar, 2018). The terminology used by referring to 'industry', is a telling indication of the relationship between investment and the art world in terms of mediators and their expected returns.

### 2.4.3 Diasporic art

Diasporic art can be considered a 'hot topic', especially in terms of the African diaspora in European contexts. A classic example is the work of Yinka Shonibare CBE who "examines race, class and the construction of cultural identity through a sharp political commentary of the tangled interrelationship between Africa and Europe..." (Cohan, 2020). Another example can be seen in the work of Omar Victor Diop, a Senegalese artist who, in *Project Diaspora* (2014), "recalls the historic figures of the African Diaspora by posing as them" (The Art Genome Project, 2015). Bentcheva (2020) explains this as the topic invites:

*"... discussions into identity's social, political and psychological dimensions, [thus] diaspora has... become an attractive trope in curatorial practices... most visibly, it has been mobilized via contemporary art exhibitions to address the agency of marginalized ethnic groups"* (p.29).

Another example in the local context can be seen in Zeitz MOCAA's exhibition *All Things Being Equal* which attempted "to give shape to the plurality of African identities and visual languages" but only had artists from 12 out of 54 African countries (O'Connor, 2018). This included individuals from South Africa, Benin, Egypt, Ghana, Madagascar, Nigeria, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Gabon, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (*All Things Being Equal...*, 2017). Therefore, it can be assumed that there is still a lack of representation in the gallery space as most of the artists were from either French or English-speaking backgrounds.

An example of how diasporic communities can connect their multicultural identities through artistic practices can be seen in the instance of the Chinese Camera Club and the influence of Chinese photography. Chinese formal techniques inspired their landscape photography in Johannesburg (Corrigall, 2015). The use of Chinese visual conventions such as monochrome and calligraphy superimposed onto a local setting was how these individuals used visual tools to navigate their dual identities. The analysis of artwork by diasporic communities should not assume a direct correlation between identity or biography and the cultural product because:

*"art historians attempting to make the link between a work of art and the attitudes of the day, or the "zeitgeist" of a particular society, often fall in the trap of "circularity of interpretation". "The historian reads into them what he already learned by other means, or what he believes to know, and wants to 'demonstrate'"... it is erroneous to assume a straightforward correlation between artworks and the feelings and mentalities of the society that produced these artworks"* (Feyder, 2016, p.69-70; Ginzberg, 1989).

Therefore a discourse analysis was deemed for cultural product interpretations in order to determine if diasporic identities affected cultural production, if at all.

## 2.5 Boundary work

Symbolic boundaries relate to the creation of social stratification and inequality. These boundaries “are the lines that include and define some people, groups, and things while excluding others” (Lamont, Pendergrass, & Pachucki, 2015, p. 850). These theories are informed by sociologists such as Bourdieu, Epstein and Zerubavel (Lamont *et al.*, 2015). Objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to - and unequal distribution of - resources (material and immaterial) and social opportunities. Conceptual distinctions are made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices and even time or space. Boundaries may be more or less permeable which means, in certain contexts, boundaries can be crossed - temporarily (integration) or permanently (assimilation). Boundary work will assist in the understanding of group formations along national and cultural identities. Tölölyan (2007) suggests that “when possible, diasporic communities seek integration without assimilation... by policing their own communal boundaries and encouraging endogamy and bilingualism, [and] strict adherence to tradition...” thus, indicating a relationship between enculturation, acculturation and boundary work (p.650). Furthermore, culture is considered a form of symbolic behaviour, drawing on the concept of symbolic interactionism - largely developed by the ‘Chicago School’ (Turner, 1988). It supposes that the interaction between self and others is a key process in meaning-making and the production of signs and symbols (Redmond, 2015). These “... ways of life of the members of society, or of groups within a society” will allow for the acknowledgement of existing differentiations between groupings in the South African landscape (Itulua-Abumere, 2013, p.1).

Identity formation can take place on a societal-level as well as an individual-level. Referring again to symbolic interactionism in terms of the development of a complex network of all possible relationships (positive and negative) that people/groups of people enter into with each-other and how they are maintained across time and space. In social psychology there is a differentiation between identity theory and social identity theory - concerning the micro and macro identity formation process respectively. The categorization process in social identity theory and the process of salience present in both theories are key to this research (Stets & Burke, 2000, p.224). Salience is considered to be contextual and therefore, helps with the development of differentiation between in- and out-groupings (Stets & Burke, 2000, p.229). This

is important in order to examine how cultural, or group identities have been categorized and differentiated in this context.

The formation of national identities is a theme that can be noticed quite prominently in contemporary African Art. Since “the ten-year anniversary of South Africa's democracy in 2004 [it] has prompted a number of art exhibitions within the country and abroad, which engage issues of memory, heritage, and identity” (Marschall, 2008, p. 12). According to Astrup Fearnley and Museet (2020) artists such as South African-born Lebohang Kganye have incorporated this in their work by raising the question of: Who owns the land? Ergo, contributing to the conversation around nationhood and the idea of membership. Everts (2020) points to the fact that the creative scene holds the potential to navigate identities “in a place between cultures”. Everts (2020) believes this to be possible because artists “...hold several emics within them. They are pioneers, recreating histories and allowing it to flow through different paths never questioning its different authenticities, because... all is possible. They are the... answer to our globalized multicultural world”. An emic can be understood in relation to cultural anthropology as the study of a culture “... in terms of its internal elements and their functioning rather than in terms of any existing external scheme” (Emic, 2021). Thus, there is a potential creative solution in traversing boundary work through cultural outputs, thereby quelling tensions through products that legitimate a multiplicity of “authenticities”. This form of legitimization is important since the majority of nation states are ethnically heterogeneous and increasingly so since “... migrants from an increasingly diverse array of non-European-origin countries have been concentrating in a shrinking pool of prime destination countries” (Czaika & de Haas, 2014, p. 351; Connor, 1973). However, one should be wary of how the diasporic experience is ‘packaged’ as Hall (1989) indicated that there is often an imposed “imaginary coherence on the experience of dispersal...” (p.224).

These sections have discussed at-length the potential implications in how taste-making and gatekeeping have affected, and informed African diasporic art through factors such as cultural cringe, symbolic interactionism and the commodification of diasporic narratives. There continues to be a clash between Africa and the West – resulting in a lack of diversity and is further affected by enculturation and acculturation. In order to understand how this will be examined one must introduce the necessary methodology.



# 3. Methodology

## 3.1 Research methods and design

### 3.1.1 Research methods

This research was undertaken with a qualitative mixed methods approach. The primary analysis was conducted through semi-structured interviews and secondary analysis was done through content analysis. These were understood in combination with each other using multimodal discourse analysis. Qualitative analysis was chosen as this best enables the evaluation of the artworks themselves, as well as the stories and family histories of the artists that have made them. Interviews were semi-structured in order to allow changes depending on the context of the experiences of each respondent, giving them the space to communicate their lived experiences and broader personal and family history. A combination of in-person interviews and online (Zoom) interviews took place. Although authors such as Irvine, Drew and Sainsbury (2012) have indicated that it is "... traditionally advised that the telephone mode is not well-suited to the task of qualitative interviewing – primarily because the lack of face-to-face contact is said to restrict the development of rapport and a 'natural' encounter" (p.87). Online interviews were necessary due to accessibility issues caused by the COVID19 pandemic. Additionally, technological changes in the form of video calling have enabled a more natural rapport online. Therefore, objections to physically distanced interview practices are becoming less relevant.

Interviews were conducted with nine respondents and accounted for the primary data. The demographic proved to be quite broad, as respondents came from a variety of different backgrounds. This can be seen in the different nationalities conveyed in the respondent demographic table (see *Appendix A*). Two further interviews were conducted which provided contextual information but are not fully analysed because the respondents did not meet the sampling criterion (see 3.1.1). This was due to the fact that a large portion of the research was done through a research internship at an emerging artists center in Johannesburg, which led to some individuals at the company volunteering and insisting on being interviewed because of their wishes to contribute to this project. Ultimately, indicating that the public were receptive to the research and the topic at hand. The results from these contextual interviews influenced the research design as new topics were introduced that proved to be relevant to the main research question. Content analysis allowed this research to ascertain the key themes and discourses,

whereas interviews helped to understand the context of these works and to what extent the identity of the artist have contributed to this.

A set number of cultural products were not predetermined at the outset of this research. This was because respondents differed greatly in their career timelines and prominence in the CCIs and so, the body of works produced differed from one individual to another. One example was seen in a respondent who was a musician at the start of her career. She only had two songs officially published on *SoundCloud*, an online audio streaming service, but had been participating in live events for a few years previously. Other respondents were at the peak of their careers having practiced for the last 30 years and have recently achieved success - such as being featured on the renowned national TV show - *Top Billing*. The relevance of a cultural product did not have criteria from the outset, as no prior research could be done on the current projects of each creative - this being largely attributed to a lack of online presence and the importance of 'release culture' for new collections. 'Release culture' is my original research which indicated that creatives like to metaphorically "keep their cards close to their chest" before publicly unveiling a new project – in order to generate 'hype' ahead of the release date. Interviews proved that not all artists felt like their works fitted in the narrative of topics discussed, such as migration, xenophobia and tokenism. Therefore, the selection of cultural products in this research was voluntary and determined by research participants.

### 3.1.2 Research design

A multimodal discourse analysis was used because this approach "... looks at multiple modes of communication such as text, colour and images... it is a method of discursive analysis that looks at..." how modes interact to create semiotic meaning (Blommaert, 2021). This was inspired by Nyoni's (2018) "...belief that personal narrative and self-reflexive dialogue regarding art-making... hold the potential to produce a deeper philosophical insight into the increasingly diasporic human condition..." (p.410). Additionally, both the style and form of the artistic medium was considered because they "are inseparable in any process of meaning making" (Pauwels, 2013, p.250). This can be seen in the example of Zimbabwean artists using mixed media as the concept of cultural hybridity was explored by "... symbolic language emphasized by this play on materiality" (Nyoni, 2018, p. 419). The decision was further informed by the fact that respondents were not only fine art practitioners (see *Appendix A*). The final data set included individual case studies on fine artists, musicians, sculpturists, fashion designers and cultural event managers. These occupations all form a part of the CCIs but differing career

trajectories needed to be acknowledged in order to understand how they affected respondent experiences and the resulting cultural products (see 3.1.1). Similar sentiments have been indicated by The Detroit Institute of Arts (1996) who indicated that "... to appreciate African visual forms for their aesthetic appeal only – as most stylistic studies do – seems too restrictive and self-serving and robs the art of its meaning, or essence" (p.8). Thus, there is an interaction between the analysis of the interviews and the cultural products.

The research strategy takes both a phenomenological approach as well as a series of individual case studies. The decision to take this approach was because it is believed that the singularity of an individual's case should be studied holistically to communicate local knowledge (Astalin, 2013). It is paramount to include both methods in this research approach, so as to have a multi-dimensional understanding of the subject matter as well as fully recognizing the artists behind the work.

Phenomenology can be understood as not "... providing definitive explanations but [rather]... raise awareness and increase insight about phenomena", such as integration and cultural productions (Astalin, 2013, p.119). The goal of this research was to describe the situations and experiences that non-nationals are facing and so, a phenomenological approach was deemed fitting. Again, indicating the necessity of qualitative research in this instance because phenomenology "... seeks to build a holistic, largely narrative, description to inform... understanding of a [socio-cultural] phenomenon" (Astalin, 2013, p.118).

This research uses discourse content analysis for the visual analysis and a thematic analysis for the participant interviews. The decision to consider discourses around cultural products was because symbolic attributes could not be ascertained by the researcher alone. This is based on symbolic interactionist theory which stipulates that meaning is constructed through the interactions of multiple individuals (Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill, & Bristow, 2016). This thesis is based partly on the ideas of Foucault (1991) and his studies on postmodernism because of the research's aim to voice marginalized views (Saunders *et al.*, 2016; Chia, 2003). In- and out-groupings contribute to current power dynamics that this observational study will highlight, further contributing to the agency that respondents are given in the narrative that is told, both verbally and visually. In addition to this, postmodernism considers there to be no 'true' way to describe the world as this is decided by the collective, ultimately being influenced by the establishment of a hegemony (Foucault, 1991). Therefore, there is a constructivist epistemology at play. Constructivism is a meta theory that "... maintains that individuals create or construct their own new understandings or knowledge through the interaction of what they already believe and the ideas, events, and activities with which they come into contact" (Ultanir, 2012, p. 195).

Furthermore, “the central principles of this approach are that learners can only make sense of new situations in terms of their existing understanding... linking new ideas with their existing knowledge” (Naylor & Keogh, 1999, p.93). Ergo, it should be acknowledged that the role of the researcher is not separate from the data collection and results (see 3.1.4).

An abductive approach was taken but for analysis specifically, a deductive approach was taken in order to ascertain “... the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis [that] come from the data” (Patton, 1980, p. 306). This decision was informed by the explorative nature of this research and the theory modification that will occur in relation to Nyoni’s (2018) work (Saunders *et al.*, 2016, p.153).

There was a need for reflexivity due to the fact that patterns and themes are often driven by the positionality of the researcher. Patton (2002) suggests three elements of reflexivity in terms of self-reflexivity, subject reflexivity and audience reflexivity (Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009). Self-reflexivity was used with greater emphasis as we were encouraged to create monthly blogs while in the field. To follow the progression of self-talk and analysis - these can be accessed on the *Innovative Research Methods* website [<https://innovativeresearchmethods.org/portfolio-christen-faver/>].

This is contemporary research, considering “the relaxation and eventual abolition of apartheid-era influx control regulations in the late 1980s and early 1990s, South Africa's towns and cities-previously defined as white reserves are [only now] frequented by a diversity of visitors and inhabitants” (Marschall, 2008, p. 13). Therefore, the timespan can be considered as the last 20 years.

### 3.1.3 Sampling

A cross-sectional, snowball sample was used. This was because nationality can be a sensitive topic (see 3.1.6). Therefore, within the research company and with outside participants, initial respondents were asked to refer any further candidates. To determine if the respondent’s interview could form part of the results, they were asked where they were born and the logistics in coming to South Africa - to determine if they met the criteria of being a non-national. All respondents, bar one, had lived in Johannesburg at one point or another. There was a further commonality as all respondents had operated out of Johannesburg-based companies or events at some point in their careers. Participants were also selected based on their involvement in the creative industries (see *Appendix D*). This was considered to be any creative industry outlined by Throsby’s (2008) concentric circles model - as outlined in *Figure 2*.

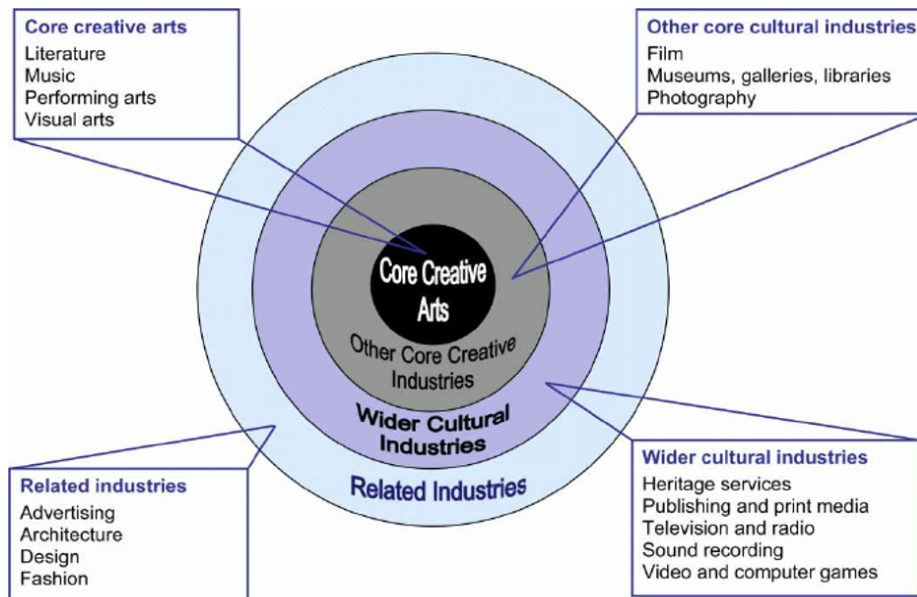


Figure 2: Throsby's (2008) Concentric Circles

### 3.1.4 Operationalisation

The thematic analysis took place by coding interview data with Atlas.ti and suggested links between key themes were examined through the production of mind maps (see *Appendix B*). Coding was done manually and key words seen on the supporting website (see section 3.2.5) were done with Otter.ai's automatic coding [<https://csfaver.wixsite.com/nonnational>]. These codes were operationalized by assigning concepts with associated variables, as is outlined in *Appendix C*. The correlation of these codes and supporting themes were aided by the co-occurrence table (see *Appendix D*). Discourse content analysis of the cultural products of each individual was formed by asking respondents how they would relate their products to key themes of this study. This was done with targeted questions addressing what topics and themes the individual engaged with or tried to represent through the work. Interviews were semi-structured through the production of an interview guide and lasted between 45 minutes to an hour (see *Appendix E*).

### 3.1.5 Validity and reliability

The internal validity of this study was affected by selection bias, as can be seen in the use of a snowball sample. The external validity was not high because the selection process was not randomised (Bryman, 2016). Furthermore, it could be argued that the experimental setting was altered due to the nature of an interview, especially when occurring on company grounds. Due to the form of this study as a research internship, five out of the eleven interviews may have been affected as there was not complete privacy at their place of work, preventing the extent to which candidates were willing to be vulnerable about their personal life.

Part of the decision to do a discourse analysis of the cultural artefacts - instead of purely symbolic - was to ensure credibility in how the object is meant to be interpreted. Whittemore, Chase and Mandle (2001) point to the need to ensure accuracy in interpretation of participant meanings, therefore, indicating a need for discussion-led analysis for this data source. Reliability was ensured through the use of the interview guide, supplemented by the use of recording devices and transcriptions of the digital files.

Some methodological choices that strengthen the findings of this research are the diversity of the respondents in that they are unique – coming from different industries and careers (see *Appendix A*). This research can legitimately say something more general about non-nationals in the cultural scene and is not bound to one socio-economic grouping. Thus, an array of recommendations can be made to improve the industries, as a whole.

### 3.1.6 Positioning

In an article on a recent form of protest art in Camps Bay, South Africa, called #WeSeeYou a reporter stated that he can “...imagine the last thing you want is a white, middle-class man writing approvingly about your work [because of] the potential for being patronised, misunderstood or having your message derailed...” and in some ways, I carry the same sentiment in writing this thesis (Roper, 2020). Although I am aware of my position in society and understand the implications of being white and middle-class in the context of South Africa, some may criticize me for being an outsider to the topic or for being ill-equipped to understand the issues at hand. However, for once I feel as though I am an insider because I have grown up as a part of a diasporic community. Being displaced comes with many changes and challenges. It is here where I think that my lived experience will exceed the capabilities of other researchers in understanding the psychology of the struggle to be associated with 'us' and/or 'them'. This

research is not only academic but also a personal quest, if you will, to understand the social dynamics of a place I call home.

### 3.1.7 Multidisciplinarity and interdisciplinarity

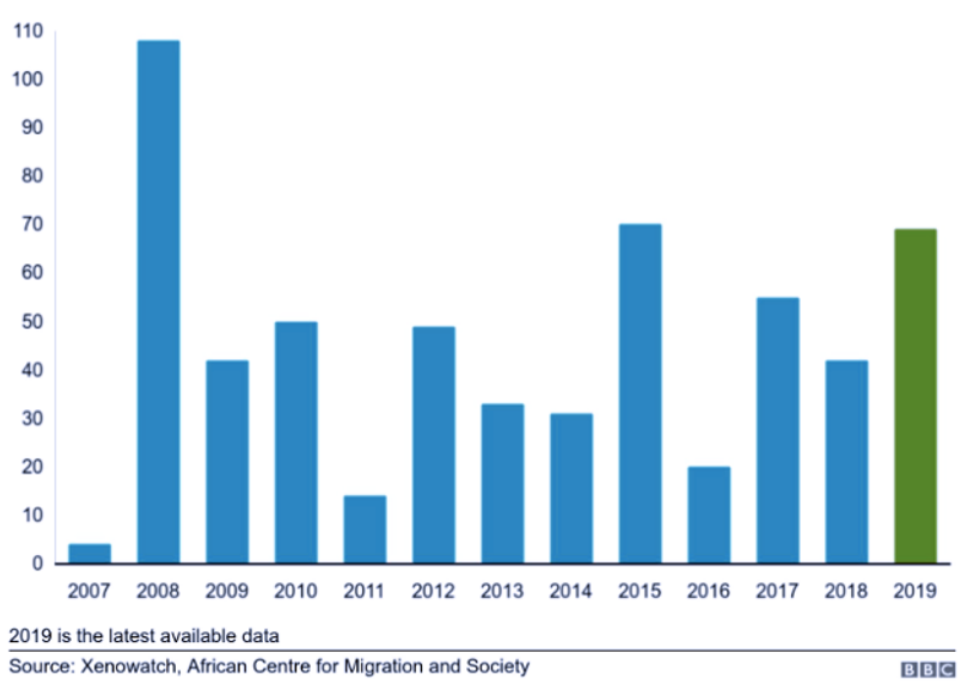
The main area in which an interdisciplinary approach was taken was in how the theory was developed. For this topic, it was planned to use a mixture of sociological and visual-cultural study theorizations to accurately answer the research question. This was due to the various areas that are expected to connect to the art of displaced communities. Sociological theory informed subareas of my research such as what constitutes multicultural and ethnic identities in this context, boundary work in the production of in- and out-groupings, as well as the production and enactment of xenophobia. The sociological approach was considered in the form of thematic analysis whereas visual studies allowed for discourse and content analysis. The study takes a qualitative mixed methods approach because of the combined use of content analysis and semi-structured interviews. In order to ensure that each method could be properly represented, the written article was supplemented with a website. The multimedia content of some of my respondents cannot be properly appreciated in an academic text. Therefore, a website enabled the sharing of some of the cultural products of respondents, as well as their stories. The multidisciplinarity of the cultural products themselves needed a platform on which all could be communicated in the light in which they were meant to be shared. The majority of the analysis is enclosed in this academic text but some key insights on the respondents and their cultural products can be found on the website [<https://csfaver.wixsite.com/nonnational>], allowing readers a visual and interactive mode with which to engage with the subject.

### 3.1.8 Research ethics

There are several important issues with working with diasporic communities, most importantly: xenophobia and illegal immigration. Tension between South African nationals and outsiders has been an ongoing problem. As mentioned in the introduction, there have been multiple xenophobic attacks that have happened over the past few years. According to the BBC “the South African government does not collect data on attacks or threats against foreign nationals”. However, the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS) has monitored these attacks across South Africa since nineteen-ninety-four. Its “Xenowatch tracker collates media reports as well as information from activists, victims and observers” (Reality Check Team, 2019). As can

be seen in *Figure 3*, the highest levels of xenophobic violence have been in 2008, 2015 and 2019. It is difficult to determine the reflective nature of these statistics without them being measured internally. When in Johannesburg some undocumented talks with locals indicated that 2020 has also seen high levels of xenophobic violence, however, a large portion of incidents are not reported or highlighted in the media. That being said, it can be expected that publishing work on diasporic communities may pose a threat to those individuals and their safety.

Some diasporic individuals may fall under the label of 'illegal immigrant'. These individuals may have committed offenses that are punishable by law, such as lack of registration or identification. Therefore, these individuals may be further threatened by the publication of this research due to legal issues.



*Figure 3: Threats, attacks and killings against foreigners in South Africa (Reality Check Team, 2019)*

These points make it clear that it is key that the identities of the research participants be protected. However, there is an issue with the nature of the research that may be an obstacle in the anonymity of the artists. Due to the fact that this research made use of product analysis, this can be considered a form of evidence that can be used to determine the identity of the artists. This especially posed an issue for artists that are accessible online or gaining momentum in the



local art scene. Some may argue that by being in the public eye these artists are already incurring a risk, however, my concern is placing these artists in the narrative that will be constructed through this research and the adverse effects this may cause. It is for this reason that no links to a creative's social media or web pages will be incorporated into the written thesis or on the website. More generally, the names of respondents have been omitted and locations that have been discussed will be referred to in broad terms so as to protect the whereabouts of respondents. Furthermore, the audio recordings, forms and other documents created or collected as part of this study are being stored in a secure location on a password-protected computer and will be destroyed within ten years of the initiation of the study.

## 4. Results

The following chapter will analyze and discuss the research findings according to the respective research questions. This segment is divided into barriers to foreign nationals – which will be explored in relation to law and governance, social, economic and gatekeeping. This chapter goes on to present the unexpected findings of opportunities for non-nationals in the form of tokenism and the “Johannesburg myth”.

### 4.1 What are the barriers to the creative sector that diasporic communities face in the South African context?

#### 4.1.1 Barriers

Barriers that affected participant's entry into the CCI's were discussed in relation to a broad range of influences, as their ability to perform in the workplace could not be separated from various overarching structures. For this reason, the following section examines social barriers as well as the effects of law and governance and gatekeeping. Some topics relate to the wellbeing of the creatives, including enculturation, acculturation, xenophobia and border regulations. Other topics deal with the barriers that are integrated into the operations of the creative industries, such as sanctions and trade and gatekeeping.

##### 4.1.1.1 Social

Social barriers are negated through enculturation and acculturation. Conscious and unconscious moves towards integration were seen through the adoption of languages, adopting cultural norms and using creative resources to supplant themselves within the community. Despite this, every interviewee spoke about first or second-hand xenophobic acts. This supported Morcillo-Espina *et al.*'s (2014) discussion of the feature of associated victimization as a part of identifying diasporas. This association is real and is discussed in relation to class and location.

#### 4.1.1.1.1 Enculturation

When discussing the journey to 'acceptance' in Johannesburg it became evident that the use of languages, such as Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana, Ndebele, English and regional slang were key in cultural assimilation. One respondent, not used as primary data, was insightful in mentioning that if non-nationals speak "indigenous languages from South Africa, it makes them more acceptable". There is evidence to suggest the form of enculturation that respondents underwent was adopting new languages as a part of the socialization process. Two coping mechanisms to avoid microaggressions towards outsiders presented themselves, this was the use of English or practicing indigenous languages.

One Malawian respondent said that they preferred to stay in areas wherein he could express himself in English. Four out of nine respondents indicated that they preferred to speak in English and one of those respondents did not speak any of the official African languages. However, this presents an issue in itself as one respondent felt ostracized for speaking English and another expressed that "you do get... a lot of aggression from people... if you don't speak an African language" and so, the individual tries to speak Zulu or Tswana. Another contributed to this by saying "I find it very difficult when you speak English around Xhosa people because they don't want to associate with you". A Nigerian respondent expressed his aversion to assimilating through language because he does not "have a head or an ear for languages". Therefore, he avoids going to certain places and communicating because of experiencing the same aggressive behaviour that the previous respondent indicated. He expressed his embarrassment when using the wrong greeting for the context - when trying to get a taxi. He stated that the driver:

*"just flared up and he was so angry. And... I wish [others] could... have said something to the taxi driver... [because he] shouldn't have gotten this angry because [I'm] a foreign national - who doesn't even understand the ways and culture of the other... but from that day... it made me to also distance myself from many of them".*

Another individual also expressed that "... there's... that fear" as a motivation for "... teach[ing] [themselves] how to speak South African languages". This indicates a form of hegemony wherein Eliot's (1949) ideas of culture-clash and culture-sympathy are evident because of differing attitudes to adopting host cultures and their norms.

#### 4.1.1.1.2 Acculturation

Psychological changes used to adapt to mainstream groups and pre-existing hegemonies was seen particularly in respondents who had moved to South Africa from the ages of five and below and ascribed to cultural norms. Three respondents expressed having issues integrating with social groups both in their country of origin and in their new place of residence. Five interviewees indicated that their multiplicity of identities resulted in comments such as “you don’t seem Zimbabwean” or “are you Zimbabwean? [or] Are you Xhosa?” because of their assimilation into new cultures - these comments indicating nationalistic attitudes based on group identities. This serves as a justification for the Biodimensional approach in understanding acculturation, since each case was particularly nuanced in how they communicated and practiced their identity.

One respondent indicated that there is power in social media as a tool to adapt to mainstream groups as it allows you to present a narrative of connectivity to your surroundings - ergo negating negative attitudes towards outsiders. They used the example of the Instagram profile [@everydaypeoplestories](#) (see *Figure 4*) which is run by a Kenyan photographer. According to the respondent “he’s... managed to establish himself as a mouthpiece for South African faces... his audience is huge as a result”. Therefore, there are opportunities to utilize cultural capital, technology and strategically use images to supplant oneself, in a real or imagined way, both as a local and into the local scene and ultimately foster a cultural exchange. This confirms the Detroit Institute of Art’s (1996) indication that African art tends to be porous because artistic exchanges are commonplace - the result of migration.



Figure 4: Cedric and his Instagram [@everydaypeoplestories](#) (Nzaka, 2021)

Another artist indicated the necessity to include recognizable scenes in fine art. Thus, moving away from their representations of Malawi in order to have their work accepted into the South African art market.



*Figure 5: Artwork by respondent produced for a Malawian art market*

They expressed how something as simple as the style of housing depicted can affect buyers' attitudes. An example can be seen in the progression of their work illustrated in *Figure 5* and *6*. The former an illustration of a rural town in Malawi and the latter one of Johannesburg. Thus, imagery and symbolism can be used to adapt to hegemonic attitudes. This will be explored in further detail as both a socialization and business tool (see 4.3.2).





*Figure 6: Artwork by respondent produced for a South African art market*

#### 4.1.1.1.3 Xenophobia

Xenophobic experiences were expressed in relation to class and location. Location can be considered in two ways. Firstly, it was considered in relation to the different areas within Johannesburg and secondly, stereotyped in relation to groupings based on regional ethnicities. Areas within Johannesburg that were discussed were areas such as Jeppestown and Alexandra. Jeppestown is located in the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality and has become dilapidated – as has much of the city center because of the development of up-market suburbs. Alexandra is also located in the Metropolitan area and is commonly known to residents as a ‘township’. One individual from Alexandria said that they had to move out of the area during the 2008 attacks and carry fear with them because “... it keeps coming back”.

The understanding of xenophobia as area-specific presented a discourse of classism. One individual stated that “most of the people who are victimized are in poor areas and they are victimized by poor people”. Another indicated that their level of privilege prevented them from encountering xenophobia and they would avoid ‘township’ areas - as they believed they would experience aggression in those localities.

Area-specific xenophobia based on ethnicities was seen in how one respondent felt most threatened in areas with a high concentration of Zulus. This rhetoric was reiterated by another whose view was that xenophobia is the result of “tribalism” and “Afrophia”. One example of the development of in- and out-groupings based on regionalism was seen in the distress of one individual who struggled to connect with individuals upon arrival in South Africa. They stated that:

*“When you go to the South African black kids, they’ll be like, “what are you doing here? You’re not supposed to be here, you’re supposed to be hanging with your foreign people”. And when you go to the foreign people - the African people from different countries - they’ll be like “you need to chill with your own people from Zimbabwe””.*

Additionally, this illustrates how there is not a pure dichotomy between “local” and “foreigner” but rather a multitude of inclusionary and exclusionary practices. Thus, regionalism is context-dependent, having the ability to take on different meanings. One story that resonated was that of an individual who was deported. This came up when discussing the lack of cohesion between different African nationalities. The story goes as follows:

*“... it still clings... to my heart. There was an incident when I... got arrested... for not having valid documents... so we were taken away by this police station - it's called number four here in Hillbrow... long story short, we get taken from the detention center Mandela... So, we board the buses there, straight up onto the border town of Musina... from there, we're supposed to... exchange... to the Zimbabwean transport. So it was these... vans... fully loaded... we were squashed inside... there was a local policeman... pushing everyone... he's trying to speed up everyone... he picks up [a] stone... he threw it... [and] it hit me... so, my question was... does he does he have like that feeling of resentment towards his fellow African brother to the extent we can throw a stone... like it's some animal?”*

Alternatively, there was clear communication regarding acceptance in the workplace. This was believed to be the result of artistic sensibilities. One respondent expressed that “the art community... in Johannesburg is quite accepting of foreign nationals”. Another stated their gratitude that they had never been profiled in their workplace and found it a very welcoming environment in comparison to the negative experiences they had beyond company walls. Indicating, once again, that xenophobic practices can be linked to class and in this instance potentially relating to job security and earning power - as hostilities may be based on rhetoric surrounding resource competition.

#### 4.1.1.2 Law and governance

Multiple respondents mentioned struggling to get access to documentation due to the cost and Government inefficiency. The logistics necessary to move to South Africa were unique to each individual as border regulations were reliant on the relations between their country of origin and South Africa, at the point in time they wished to emigrate. Some individuals had greater ease - as a Malawian respondent was able to seek asylum in order to gain entry.

Respondents that experienced the greatest difficulty in this regard were Zimbabweans and those born without a birth certificate and consequently, no identification document or passport. One respondent stated that “getting a passport in Zimbabwe is very difficult, it’s very expensive. Even if you have the money it [can] take like three to four months... I had to bribe someone to get my passport...”. Corruption and Government inefficiency was a common theme. A Malawian indicated that they had tried multiple times to apply for a passport but felt disillusioned by the systems that have been put in place. A Nigerian respondent felt the same disillusionment because of the believed necessity to use bribery as an attempt to gain access to documentation. The expense was the other major motivator for illegal immigration. One individual indicated that they could not afford the prices of a visa and a passport because they were ZAR3000 and ZAR1000 respectively. The cheaper option was to “border hop” but additionally, they had to pay an individual that could help them cross the Zimbabwean border - showing them the shallowest parts of the Limpopo river and how to avoid crocodiles. The respondent collected the money by lying to family members and a “side hustle”. Current border regulations provide few options for safe migration if the financial cost cannot be accounted for. Beyond the crocodiles, there are also scammers at the border towns that will pretend to help you on your journey but take everything you have “... leav[ing] you in your undergarments”.



This issue is a legal limitation and an obstacle when entering and progressing within the CCIs. One individual stated that there is little room for career mobility because without documentation “your job is to work under someone” in the informal job market. Another contributed to this conversation in their view that being an artist allowed them to create work for themselves because most non-nationals are not formal job seekers because “... we would not be employed easily...” without documentation, and so, they look directly for cash-buyers. Thus, legal processes and border regulations are preventing respondents from successfully entering the formal creative market as job opportunities within institutionalized spaces or applications for exhibitions require valid identification papers and a bank account for secure payments – a resource that is not available to those who cannot provide identity documents and residency permits to the financial institutions.

#### 4.1.1.3 Gatekeeping

Gatekeeping can be understood in relation to nationality being a barrier to entry in the CCIs and tastemakers affecting the success of non-national creatives through the act of in- and out-grouping.

An obstacle that was brought up is the limitations of not being able to apply for certain grants or competitions because applicants had to be South African Citizens. One example given was the *ABSA L’Atelier* - a fine art competition - and another in the fashion industry, being the *SA Fashion Week: Talent Search*. This type of exclusionary practice was rationalized by some and their understanding of resource scarcity feeding into the rhetoric surrounding non-nationals whereby they are indicated to be ‘stealing’ job opportunities, therefore, it is necessary for institutional bodies to discriminate based on nationality. However, this prevents resources from being allocated to the multitude of migrant workers in the CCIs.

One company that produces streetwear and facilitates events with the purpose of connecting individuals in the fashion, film, the arts and music industries, was interviewed. One of the founders communicated that initially people would not want to come to their events or want to collaborate with them because the two founders are from Zimbabwe and Spain respectively. In order to better integrate, a decision was made to collaborate with South African creatives for the majority of their projects, therefore, only 20% of their partners are foreign. However, they still received comments from clientele saying things such as “why should we buy into a brand that is not originally South African?” It was indicated that the business took the most strain when the public discovered it was not locally owned - which resulted in locals

boycotting the store and proved to be frustrating for the company - since their argument is that they are investing in the country as well as fostering success for local talent. This is achieved through their business model wherein they represent creatives and give them a platform, providing management and publicity, without charging commission. Here is a clear example of in- and out-grouping on the basis of nationality. 'Outsiders' have to frame themselves, as a part of their 'self-presentation', as in connection with or in service of the community in order to garner acceptance. Furthermore, the need to have the majority of their employees be local can be considered a form of gatekeeping that harms the prospects for non-nationals seeking support and representation.

#### 4.1.2 Opportunities

Despite the insurmountable evidence that there are very real challenges for non-national creatives operating in South Africa, many were thankful for the opportunity to be in South Africa because they believed themselves to be in a better position in having left far-greater challenges presented by their home countries. This was due to the perpetuation of what I have termed the 'Johannesburg myth' and South African trade relations.

Due to the large influx of migrant workers and the finite amount of housing and financial resources available, respondents were asked to comment on if they thought that the 'myth' perpetuated that Johannesburg is a city of wealth, jobs and opportunity holds true. A respondent expressed that this line of thinking is not uniquely international but even internally people flock to Johannesburg because "everyone... connects to that idea that... Johannesburg is like the place you come... [if] you really want to propel your career, if you really want to make it". Two respondents used the rhetoric of "looking for greener pastures" - insinuating that job and economic prosperity is synonymous with Johannesburg. An increase in wealth was the discourse built around the proposed benefits of emigrating, whereas the negatives were highlighted in a social context. Clearly the former outweighs the latter as only one out of nine respondents indicated a wish to leave South Africa.

The economic opportunities in this regard were confirmed in the words of one individual saying that "you can always make money from art. You can sell in the streets, you can sell in flea markets, you can always make a plan - which is a difficult thing in other [African] countries, because there is no economic fluidity". Another related this idea to the Sesotho name for Johannesburg - 'Egoli'. Although this term originated in light of the gold rush it has assimilated a new connotation with respect to regional wealth-creation. One individual described this

phenomenon as a “scramble for South Africa”. The effect of this being diminished opportunities, in conjunction with a stagnant economy over the last decade, because congestion is burdening South Africa and her cities (Taylor, 2020). Therefore, it can be predicted this perpetuated myth will continue to encourage the South-South migration despite limited and diminishing economic opportunities. There is a strong consensus that more aid needs to be made available for immigrant workers so as to enable sustainable growth for the city of Johannesburg - which may help in easing tensions due to resource-competition with locals.

Monetary aspects were also considered in relation to the opportunities of an international market and diverse clientele base. International trade is logistically more accessible in South African than in countries such as Zimbabwe. One individual stated that South Africa has fostered good trade relations in the post-apartheid era, considering the historical effects of sanctions on Zimbabwe and their removal from the Commonwealth. Although this is more applicable to trade in general, it was believed that foreign affairs were negatively affected - which diminishes the willingness of international institutions to be open for collaboration. Thereby, contributing as a factor in the continued South-South migration.

## 4.2 Do diasporic communities utilize hybridity of form and content in their work to convey identity tensions?

Nyoni’s (2018) research suggested that there is a preference for diasporic artists to use mixed media in their artistic endeavours as the hybridity of form can be tied to hybrid (multinational) identities. This claim is not supported by the findings of this thesis, as half of the creatives surveyed currently use mixed media but not with the intention of representing hybridity – rather to convey what respondents indicated a contemporary aesthetic (see section 4.3.2.1) and because of financial constraints. One respondent expressed how they needed to learn how to improvise and go beyond their comfort zone - using acrylic on canvas - because when you do not have those materials, you need to find a way to produce a creative product without the need for outside funding. Three of the fine artists started incorporating a hybrid approach to their medium by using mixed-media and found objects - such as plastic bags or SIM-cards. Ergo, the motivation for incorporating hybridity is financially and not conceptually motivated.

Nyoni (2018) is guilty of what Bentcheva (2020) indicates as being that “contemporary art all too readily stress[es] the itinerant background of the artists in order to explain how “dwelling in displacement” shapes artistic sensibilities” (p.31). There was little to support the

idea that the national background of the respondents in any way shaped their creative output. All bar two of the respondents did not subscribe to this notion. The exception was a fashion designer whose latest collection draws on influences from Zimbabwe. Here hybridity can be seen in the combination of Zimbabwean cultural objects and colonial influences on fashion. This fusion is further aided by incorporating a minimalist design to appeal to the local contemporary market. A range of these influences are depicted in *Figure 7*, these were shared as part of the mood board, a curated visual presentation used to convey an idea, for the upcoming collection. Westernized clothing, that can be seen in the family photos of the designer, will be combined with colours from a popular juice concentrate in Zimbabwe called *Mazoe* and similar hues seen in the ruins of the heritage site Great Zimbabwe. The respondent believes that this hybridity will allow the effects of colonization on her heritage to be addressed through producing a cultural product that educates the South African and international audiences.



*Figure 7: Respondent's mood board inspired by Zimbabwe*



The second exception was the choice of one fine artist to incorporate masculinity as a theme in his artworks (see *Figure 8*). This was inspired by the theme of financial security - something that the individual was able to achieve through their move to Johannesburg. The individual expressed how they saw their father "... shrinking as a man" during the economic crisis in Zimbabwe, when he was retrenched. In this instance, there is an indirect utilization of hybrid content in their reflections on manhood navigated through time and space, though not explicitly related to the national background of the artist.



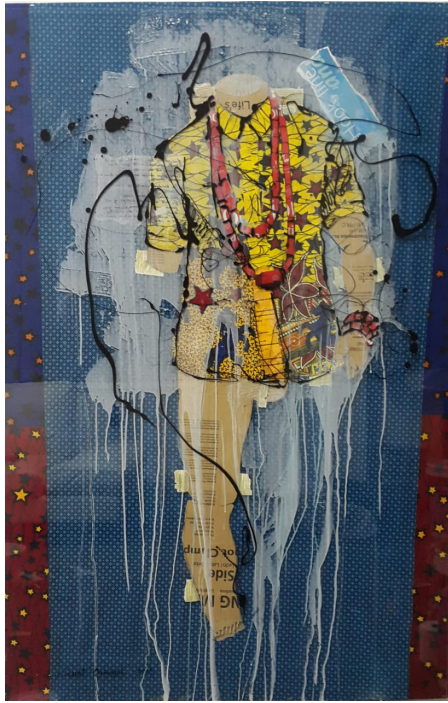
*Figure 8: Painting entitled "Conversations of a Man"*

## 4.3 What are the noticeable differences between the ‘self-presentation’ and the ‘other-presentation’ of non-national creatives?

This research shows findings that align with those of Bentcheva (2020), who states that the framing of mobility is a curatorial strategy. None of the respondents incorporated mobility in their cultural products, therefore countering the argument in Nyoni’s (2018) research. However, the implied notion of curatorial strategies introduces the idea that there is a tension between the ‘other-presentation’ by institutions, which results in tokenization, and the ‘self-presentation’ of creatives, who produce with the aim of marketability and not to speak on behalf of the diaspora.

### 4.3.1 Tokenism

Tokenism was discussed in relation to exploitation and extraction. It made many respondents uncomfortable as was summed up by one respondent saying that “stigma plays a big role” when you say you are from Zimbabwe. This then affects power relations between creatives and institutional bodies as the respondent discovered they were being undervalued, in terms of pricing and exploited in how ‘other-presentations’ were positioning them. Therefore, they evaded questions of nationality because they were worried that “... being labelled as Zimbabwean... could tarnish the[ir] quality of art”. Extraction was also seen in the fashion industry because the company “... go[es] into a collaboration, not knowing what we're getting into... [and] after the events... we find out... they were just using us because we are foreign”. Furthermore, “fashion houses...hire people because they just want to be seen to have... an African person in [their] group”. A musician reported that they are made to be a spectacle when it becomes known that they are a foreigner, relating to the logic of ‘extraction’ in being used for the qualities they possess. They further indicated that event curators sometimes use their nationality as a marketing technique because there is a rhetoric that being a foreigner makes your cultural product “special” and buyers want to see “Africa packaged in a certain way”. One of the fine artists involved in this research produced a piece in relation to the concept of tokenism and extraction, as seen in *Figures 9-11*. They indicated that the series of artworks dealt with how locals treat foreigners as mannequins and carton boxes. The concept behind this is that “they’re treated without any form of feeling... [and] being used when it benefits...” others. Therefore, ‘other-presentation’ can be exploitative.



*Figures 9-11: Untitled artworks by respondent on the subject of tokenism*



### 4.3.2 Marketability

There was a clear difference in the 'self-presentation' of artists and institutional expectations. One respondent made it clear that they knew they had the talent but struggled to grasp the aesthetics of contemporary art that would allow them entry into galleries in the area - meaning that they had to develop their artistic production in accordance with dominant tastes of local gallery owners. Thereby, introducing a counter argument to Koloane's (2003) statement that South African art is characterized by diversity. From this, it was indicated that there was a level of cultural capital that needed to be exercised in order to 'elevate' a cultural product in order for it to meet industry standards – to sell and exhibit. Therefore, 'other-presentation' is reliant on conceptualization. This was seen in the music industry with one individual commenting that in an oversaturated market an artist will not make it if they "... do not know their why". Seven respondents were willing to bridge the gap between how they saw themselves as artists and industry-imposed frameworks. This was because they viewed the industry as a monolithic and immovable institutional body that needed to be contended with in order to succeed financially. This is understandable as seven respondents expressed that they had experienced economic hardships in their country of origin and three were dual jobholders when entering the CCI's. Findings differed from Nyoni (2018) in the way that the motivation behind those respondent's creative products was to produce something that would sell and not products that told the story of "dwelling in displacement". The economic aspect of the product was held in a higher regard than its conceptualization because respondents were either under financial strain, trying to make the CCIs their main form of income or relied on to send remittances to their home country. One respondent shared how when a large portion of their family in Zimbabwe died from Tuberculosis, they were left as the sole-breadwinner and moved to South Africa in order to provide for his brothers. Another indicated that they started a car washing business but was not happy and so threw everything they had into making art. It was paramount that they could support themselves through making art – motivating them to create pieces that were guaranteed to sell. One individual stated that they were "... producing according to demand". Monetization was dealt with by interviewees in either taking a more contemporary approach, producing products that were neutral in their message or subscribing to the idea of an 'African aesthetic'.



#### 4.3.2.1 A 'contemporary feel'

Six respondents indicated that they adapted their artistic style when moving to Johannesburg. Three respondents indicated the subject matter that was popular in Zimbabwe, Malawi and Nigeria was "... depicting scenes... township scenes... mammas there selling vegetables [at] the market" with a photo-realistic style. When approaching institutions in Johannesburg, the artists were encouraged to change their style because they were told that their artwork was not "going to work". Another stated that they "... couldn't really fit in because [their] work wasn't contemporary [and] very naive". Thus, they were reliant on their colleagues that already had experience selling artwork in South Africa to help shape their "art concept" - as it was believed that this would help in propelling their career. These artists described how they had to "realize what is contemporary" through interaction with other local artists and developing their cultural capital by learning about the artistic canon - to use for stylistic references. Another described the importance of materials and using palette knives instead of paintbrushes in order to mimic a 'contemporary feel'.



Figure 12: Artworks by respondents - produced outside of South Africa

Artworks produced by some of the respondents before and after they moved to Johannesburg can be seen in the collection of images in *Figure 12* and *Figure 13*. There is a stark stylistic difference in terms of the colour palettes used. *Figure 12* engages with subject matter such as rural scenes and has muted tones, while *Figure 13* shows the adaptation to a more abstract and expressive style with bold and bright colours. The visual similarities in this collection of images clearly indicate the prevalent tastes in the Johannesburg art market, thus indicating a hegemony in creative outputs and again countering the arguments of Koloane (2003) - especially considering that each artwork has been produced by a different artist.



*Figure 13: Artworks by respondents - produced inside South Africa*

#### 4.3.2.2 Neutrality

In contrast with Nyoni's (2018) findings, three artists did not wish to communicate any sort of message with their cultural products but wished for them to be as neutral as possible and be valued purely for being visually appealing. One individual "... tr[ies] to avoid it as much as possible". They further indicated that they felt that there are a lot of artists that are already exploring the identity tensions of what it means to be a Zimbabwean in South Africa, so for them they "... do something that is neutral". This would be evidence in support of Nyoni (2018), however, this claim is an outlier as little from this research can be used to verify this claim. Perhaps discrepancies could be explained by fluctuating trends – as artists move away from oversaturated subject matter – as well as the time difference between Nyoni's (2018) research and my own. Neutrality was seen in how another respondent indicated that they did not want to produce anything "too ethnic" or "Afrocentric" because they feared that this would prevent the international market from resonating with their work. They went so far in saying their reluctance to ascribe recognizable features or racial attributes to their figures because they wanted their work to be as "neutral" as possible, see *Figure 14*.



*Figure 14: Painting by respondent that wished to create an individual without identifiable features*

#### 4.3.2.3 The 'African aesthetic'

A tension existed in addressing the existence of an 'African aesthetic'. There was evidence to support an institutional demand for associated cultural products. One respondent, who did not meet the sampling criteria but is a credible source – based on their reputation in the local and international art scene - stated that “a lot of galleries just buy just anything that looks like an African representati[on] - that has a certain look, that works - they'll take on, not even blinking an eye”. They further indicated that some “people [in the cultural industries]... don't necessarily have a passion for African art but they want to, you know, be popular in the sense of having African art”. However, this reiterated the difference in 'other-presentation' and 'self-presentation' because respondents did not wish to ascribe to this notion of an 'African aesthetic'. Yet, they felt pressured to conform in order to be represented in the industry. Two respondents indicated that they had been told by industry officials to “go back to their roots”, implying the need to incorporate an Afrocentric visual language. The respondents found this comment particularly obsolete having grown up in South Africa, ergo another reference to nationality-based tokenism.

However, there is an unspoken aesthetic hierarchy evidenced by the fact that two alternative respondents were turned away from institutions because of their subject matter focusing on rural African cultures. It is difficult for creatives to navigate this space when simultaneously being told to be more and less 'African'. Within these four respondents, two of them expressed how insulting it was to be told to be “more African” because it is an indeterminable label. To them, an African cultural product is something that is created by someone born on the continent and should not be associated with any aesthetic quality. This then has a homogenizing effect on all cultural products produced on the continent. Everts (2020) indicated that cultural products have the potential to legitimize a multiplicity of “authenticities” and identities but it is clear that industry demands are preventing this. Existing literature concurs when indicating that approaches to decolonization through 'Africanizing', in the arts and literature, have sought to present an African authenticity without taking into account the broad range of influences and historical complexities - resulting in a stagnant conceptualization of Africanism (Brizuela-Garcia, 2011). A clear example was one designer involved in Africa Fashion International who felt pressured by the institution to push the monolithic “African fashion narrative”. Evidencing the tension with 'self-presentation' and 'other-presentation' as the designer considers themselves “not... typically African... not colourful... full of prints...” - see *Figure 15* - and so, they have incorporated this feedback in their new collection (see mood board) because of industry-pressures.





*Figure 15: Fashion items pushed to carry more of the 'African aesthetic' in Fashion Week Joburg (Mazibuko, 2020)*

## 4.4 Relocating the “Periphery”

Institutional framing to change the rhetoric around the diaspora from marginalized to transnational, relating back to the role of tokenism and colonial extraction, may be explained as “... part of wider curatorial efforts to raise the profile of the so-called “peripheral” modern and contemporary art scene...” (Bentcheva, 2020, p.38; Raijii, 1994). However, findings indicated that South African-only creative exhibitions and grants prevent the development of this new rhetoric - as non-nationals continue to be institutionally marginalized - as well as the lasting effects of cultural cringe. Cultural cringe was evident when two respondents made comments such as “Zambian parents prioritize this... Westernized way of showing up in the world” and “... if you come from the UK, people in South Africa... will always see you as superior”. This mentality has been ingrained as was seen with a respondent who said that “if you’re working in Nigeria as an artist, you do want to be recognized in foreign countries... it’s traditional in our culture... to want to leave the country [and go to the United Kingdom or Canada]... [it’s] how most people are recognized to be successful”. This success is considered relative because “... people in Nigeria that buy art, not because they love art but because they know loving art is a fashion... because important people in [Western] society... love art”. Neo-colonialism in the form of cultural cringe is incredibly prominent as four respondents remarked on the prominence and esteem of Western influences.

Industries may be attempting to raise the “periphery” but creatives feel that they are very much on the edge. The “periphery” is continually digested as the norm in the hierarchy of contemporary arts and culture. In part, this is perpetuated by the limited possibilities for traditional career mobility that still remains in African countries. One Zimbabwean expressed that “... you can[not] really say you are a professional artist in an economically struggling country” because there is a necessity to make your business lucrative in order to elevate your career, motivating their wish to move into the international art market and step away from Zimbabwe. Another indicated that due to issues such as lack of internet access and electrical power outages, musicians cannot monetize their YouTube videos in the same way that is possible overseas, because locals do not have the resources to provide similar streaming numbers. Therefore, there continues to be a power dynamic between the West ‘and the rest’ because neocolonialism has resulted in uneven technological developments and market possibilities, thereby preventing career mobility. Findings indicate that institution’s use of framing and ‘other-presentation’ have had little success in altering rhetoric and leveling international hierarchies because of unequal access to resources.

## 5. Limitations and further recommendations

### 5.1 Limitations

The most important limitation to acknowledge is that there is a possibility for confirmation bias within this research due to the fact that this research was carried out at an institutional level. Examining barriers to the art market for the marginalized diaspora cannot be fully comprehended as respondents had reached some level of success by gaining reputation and have been represented by some form of institution. However, considering that eight interviewees were labelled as “emerging artists” it allowed for a certain level of accuracy in discerning institutional obstacles. This justified doing research through less established institutions and not those such as the Zeitz Museum of Contemporary African Art - with larger contemporary collections. Research has shown that Zeitz MOCCA, located “...in a historically conflicted city still seething with inequality, many people have questioned the museum’s corporate and commercial ties, and consider the institution elitist and out of touch with local communities” (O’Connor, 2018), allowing for a clear discernment of ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ with regards to gatekeeping. Three interviews were conducted outside the confines of the workplace in an attempt to rectify and reduce this bias and diversify results. In light of this, the data is not correlational as it cannot be assumed that the lived experience of one individual or community is representative of a whole. This research is a proficient start in exploring South African immigration and emigration, specifically to the city of Johannesburg. However, generalizability of the results was limited because of the aforementioned lack of data sources (Morcillo-Espina *et al.*, 2014; Bailey, 2004).

The data was further affected by the strengthening of international borders as a result of the COVID19 pandemic (Chamie, 2020). It is inarguable that changes in travel restrictions around the December period limited this research due to the fact that this research was conducted in the first quarter of the year. Announcements made by South African President Cyril Ramaphosa indicated that there would be harsher restrictions, to Level Three and then Adjusted Alert Level Three, from mid-December (Nkgadima & Turner, 2021). These restrictions lasted well into February. As is evidenced by Crush’s (2011) research into returnee culture, many individuals would have gone to their country of origin for the December holidays and would have been unable to come back. Thereby, limiting the pool of respondents that were directly accessible - although somewhat negated by technological advancements. Thus, it can

be recommended that further research be done post-COVID19 in order to make discernments based on new migration patterns. How the pandemic will alter border permeability in the future still stands as a prominent question? Perhaps 'vaccine passports' will stand as an added obstacle in the category of law and governance for the continued South-South migration of the diaspora.

This research was not able to extensively consider the development of the artistic styles of non-nationals before and after moving to Johannesburg because of practical issues. Respondents who had particularly difficult journeys were not able to bring their cultural products across the border. This then affected the possibility of doing an in-depth visual analysis of existing artefacts.

## 5.2 Further recommendations

Further research should be done in order to examine 'other-presentation' from the perspective of gatekeepers and institutional representatives. The data provided is one dimensional as the question was considered solely from the perspective of creative individuals and not the business structure as a whole. The problem of institutional framing – in regard to marketability, tokenism and commodification – was only understood as interpretations of how individuals saw themselves in the industry, as well as previously relayed information. Therefore, there is space to further understand the intentions of institutions when working with non-nationals.

Nawa and Sirayi (2015) were correct in saying that "... there has been a lack of effective institutionalisation of cultural policy in South Africa" (p.1) because there continues to be no discussion of how non-nationals are contributing to the South African cultural sector and how this could be better facilitated. The omission of non-nationals from exhibitions, competitions and financial aid spoke in accordance with this. There is an argument to say that existing opportunities should be for nationals but by expanding set requirements, there is the possibility of raising the prominence of the Johannesburg art scene and developing its marketability as a diverse cultural hub – potentially providing positive spillovers. It is recommended that further research explore the intangible benefits in how non-nationals are potentially contributing to the cultural capital of Johannesburg, thereby justifying Government and institutional investment.

Art and migration are potentially expansive subjects and this research only considers one aspect. Thus, there is a call for research in order to further identify other considerations important to these topics.



## 6. Conclusion

This research began with the ideas, based on existing literature, that there was a connection between cultural production and diaspora. Evidence based on this study showed that this was not the case. Production was affected by local market demands and financial considerations. Respondents were willing to use strategies that would align with the needs and wants of the South Africa public and their institutional bodies. These came in the form of business strategies and aesthetic adaptations. Business strategies were seen in company quota systems to encourage transactions with nationals - at the expense of non-nationals. Aesthetic adaptations included using bright colours, abstract subject matter or neutral subject matter, in order to cater to the tastes of South African buyers and attempt to foster the look and feel that institutional representatives were seeking. As a result of these aesthetic adaptations, there is a homogenisation of cultural products. Artists were concerned with the economic viability of their creative products and less so with the conceptualization because of socio-economic pressures to either provide for family, in the form of remittances, or to ensure the financial viability of their chosen field of work.

The most concerning overarching barrier for non-nationals was xenophobia as all respondents were able to relate experiences in regard to this topic. This was navigated through integration in the form of cultural practices – particularly the adoption of local languages – as well as through imagery and symbolism. Creatives used techniques such as depicting recognizable local scenes or framing themselves as “mouthpieces” for local citizens.

The one area in which findings were similar to that of Nyoni (2018) was in regard to hybridity of form. Half of the fine artists produced work that incorporated an array of mediums and enjoyed experimenting with form. However, this was for the purpose of marketability and further evidences that integration is a key motivator for non-nationals operating in the local CCI's.

Social barriers and issues regarding law and governance indicate that there has not been sustainable development because there is a lack of opportunity for safe and responsible migration. Although only three respondents immigrated illegally, the stories of these respondents were harrowing enough to call attention to the wellbeing of these individuals. Greater efforts need to be made to facilitate secure South-South migration in a way that is not detrimental to the host community. It became clear that Johannesburg is becoming ‘tired’, resulting in reduced opportunities for all. Perhaps part of the solution is in diminishing job-competition and providing resources to the increasing number of non-nationals (as was

indicated in Crush's (2011) findings regarding the number of immigrants since the millennium) lies in developing some of the other major cities in South Africa. This could be achieved by fostering the CCI's in those areas. The industries need to become decentralized if there is any hope of sustainable job creation and heterogeneous cultural goods. It is suggested that cultural policy could aid in these efforts.

The movement towards integration, through enculturation, acculturation and adopting local tastes, contradicts existing literature as respondents did not wish to differentiate themselves or call special attention to their nationality - ultimately negating the 'diversity' narrative. This was because of a fear of tokenization and the adverse effects of nationality-based stigmatization. This introduced the existing tensions between 'self-presentation' and 'other-presentation' because creatives sought to blend in, whereas institutions wished to make nationality central in how 'others' are framed and marketed – because of the institutional aim of changing rhetoric surrounding diasporas. It is predicted that until existing rhetoric becomes more positive, there will be a continued trend of integration and homogenization.

Despite the communicated challenges most respondents wished to remain in South Africa. Even if it is not the life they had envisaged – as was seen in the perpetuation of the "Johannesburg myth" – respondents firmly believe that there are existing opportunities because of their willingness to adapt.

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# Appendices

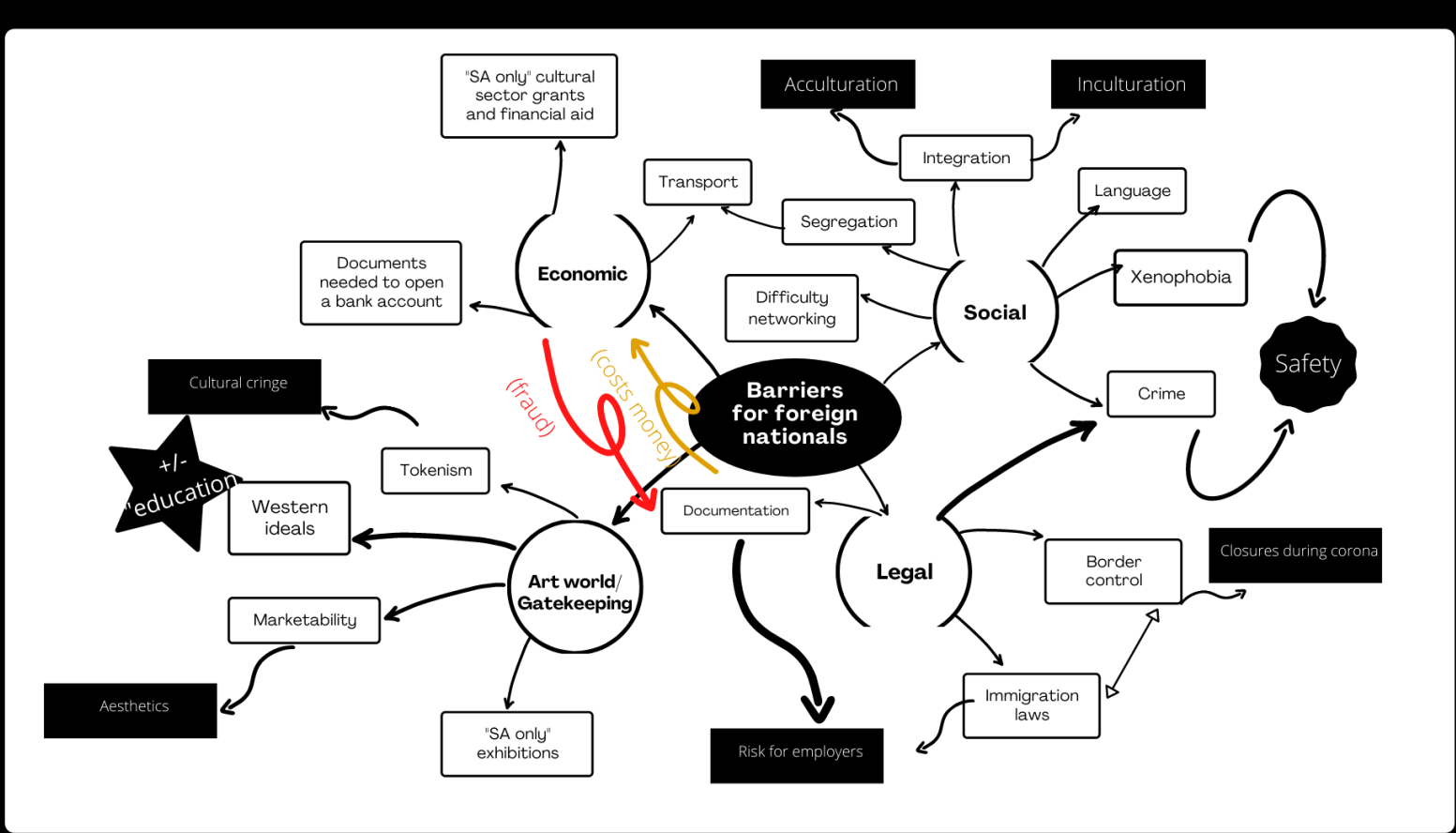
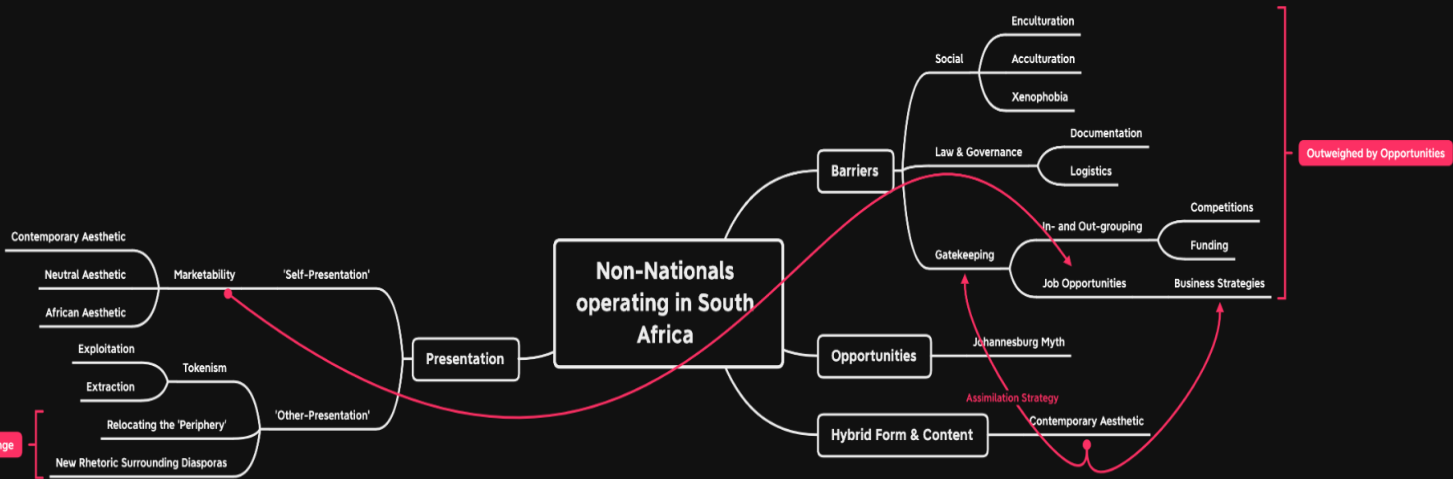
## Appendix A

### Respondent Demographics

<b>Respondent</b>	<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Industry</b>
<b>Respondent A</b>	Zimbabwean	Fashion
<b>Respondent B</b>	Zambian	Music
<b>Respondent C</b>	Malawi	Fine Arts
<b>Respondent D</b>	Nigerian	Fine Arts
<b>Respondent E</b>	Zimbabwean	Fine Arts
<b>Respondent F</b>	Malawian	Fine Arts
<b>Respondent G</b>	Zimbabwean	Fine Arts
<b>Respondent H</b>	Zimbabwean	Fine Arts
<b>Respondent I</b>	Mozambican and Zimbabwean	Fashion

# Appendix B

## Mind maps of key concepts



## Appendix C

### Operationalization of key concepts

Concept	Variables
Enculturation (Integration)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Living situation → locals or immigrant communities</li> <li>· Languages spoken → foreign or local</li> <li>· Indicates feeling of acceptance</li> <li>· Explains how the individual adapted to new environments</li> <li>· Indicates an adoption of the dominant culture's habits</li> </ul>
Acculturation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Expresses tension over national identity</li> <li>· Expresses tension in how they enact their national identity</li> <li>· Mentions successful instances of cultural assimilation</li> <li>· Mentions successful instances of cultural integration</li> <li>· Mentions "feeling South African"</li> <li>· Draws on cultural norms and practices</li> <li>· Expresses how they interact with locals</li> <li>· Considers themselves to be "local"</li> <li>· Has family members from South Africa</li> </ul>
Xenophobia (Agree)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Mention of aggressive behavior based on nationality</li> <li>· Experienced animosity</li> <li>· Mention of feeling unsafe</li> <li>· Mention of ethnic profiling</li> <li>· Mention of experienced stigmas/stereotypes based on country of origin</li> <li>· Mention of hiding cultural/national identity in general or in a specific setting</li> <li>· Explains personal definition of xenophobia</li> <li>· Indicates areas where they experienced xenophobia</li> <li>· Explains the type of people that carried out xenophobic acts</li> </ul>
Xenophobia (Disagree)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Indicates no personal experiences with xenophobia</li> <li>· Cannot answer any questions regarding xenophobia</li> <li>· Mention of welcoming attitudes</li> <li>· Indicates feeling of acceptance</li> </ul>

Gatekeeping	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Mention of exclusion to professional spaces</li> <li>· Mention of exclusion to participate in cultural event</li> <li>· Indicates need to change creative style</li> <li>· Refers to a cultural institution</li> <li>· Indicates industry expectations</li> <li>· Indicates company expectations</li> <li>· Indicates client expectations</li> <li>· Mention of career management</li> </ul>
Economic exclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Relates issues to money problems</li> <li>· Mentions financial constraints or pressures</li> <li>· Gives an example when money prevented the individual from participating in an activity or event</li> <li>· Mentions the term “breadwinner”</li> <li>· Mention of economic stability</li> <li>· Mention of income</li> <li>· Mentions a time where they could not afford to buy the materials needed to produce their work</li> <li>· Mention of informal job market</li> <li>· Relates informal job market to legal issues</li> <li>· Work priced lower than it should be</li> <li>· Mentions being a dual-job holder</li> </ul>
Cultural cringe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Indicates need to change creative style to suit Western norms and market</li> <li>· Refers to opportunity outside of home country</li> <li>· Indicates standards to which creator compares cultural product</li> <li>· Mention of western ideals</li> <li>· Mention of countries in Europe or the Americas</li> <li>· Reference to the “international market”</li> <li>· Mention of colonial formal education</li> <li>· Knowledge of European history of arts and culture</li> <li>· Reference to European art canon</li> <li>· Reference to “contemporary art” market</li> <li>· Relates contemporary art to Westernized techniques/styles/subject matter/influences</li> </ul>
Migration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Communicates the physical act of moving countries</li> <li>· Mentions feelings about moving countries</li> <li>· Mentions motivations for moving countries</li> <li>· Mentions terms such as migrate/migration</li> <li>· Indicates migration trends</li> </ul>

<p>Johannesburg Myth</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Describes country of origin as “poor” or in “poverty”</li> <li>· Uses previous point to justify move to South Africa/Johannesburg</li> <li>· Indicates a preference for living in Johannesburg</li> <li>· Compares opportunities in different South African cities</li> <li>· Describes ideas/concepts/narratives surrounding Johannesburg</li> <li>· Provides evidence of increased living conditions or career opportunities once moving to Johannesburg</li> <li>· Describes the opportunities and pitfalls in moving to Johannesburg</li> </ul>
<p>Law and Governance</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Talks about South African Government/political leaders</li> <li>· Talks about Government/political leaders in country of origin</li> <li>· Mention of border control</li> <li>· Mention of legal documents: passport, ID, birth certificate</li> <li>· Indicates any form of policing</li> <li>· Direct reference to police officers and detention centers</li> <li>· Indication of deportation</li> <li>· Mention of crime and illegal activities</li> <li>· Mention of asylum</li> <li>· Mention of sanctions</li> <li>· Mention of the Commonwealth or other political/legal bodies</li> </ul>
<p>Hybrid Form &amp; Content</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Uses mixed media in their cultural productions [form]</li> <li>· Indicates the reason for using a range of materials in their work</li> <li>· Indicates that there are multiple influences informing their work [content]</li> <li>· Uses a mixture of techniques in their cultural productions that can be traced to various cultures and communities</li> <li>· Indicates an intention to draw on different aesthetics [content] and/or cultural designs/products as their influence [form]</li> <li>· Incorporates stylistic [form] or conceptual elements [content] from both their country of origin and country of residence</li> </ul>

Marketability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Indicates who their target market is</li> <li>· Mentions a business strategy</li> <li>· Indicates market demands</li> <li>· Indicates prevalent tastes</li> <li>· Differentiates between what “sells” and what does not</li> <li>· Individual experiences an increase in success (prestige or sales) and proposes how this was achieved</li> <li>· Indicates and explains their “brand” or artist statement</li> <li>· Indicates a correlation between stigmas surrounding national identities and how this can affect the reception of their cultural product</li> <li>· Mentions Personal Relations [PR]</li> </ul>
'Self-Presentation'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Describes how they wish for their work to be received by the public</li> <li>· Explains artist statement/brand</li> <li>· Explains their motivation for producing a certain piece</li> <li>· Indicates the type of companies they wish to work with/be associated with</li> <li>· Examines intended meanings behind actions/cultural productions</li> <li>· Indicates desired clientele</li> <li>· Mentions how they position themselves</li> </ul>
'Other-Presentation'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Expresses industry expectations that they have experienced</li> <li>· Talks about narratives or frames that have been imposed on them</li> <li>· Gives examples of how their work has been marketed and in what manner</li> <li>· Expresses pressures to change themselves to fit industry expectations</li> <li>· Disagrees with how their work has been presented by others</li> <li>· Told what African art/fashion/music should look/feel/sound like</li> <li>· Told to incorporate more African and/or national cultural elements to their work</li> <li>· Pushed to exhibit “mainstream” elements in their work</li> </ul>

Tokenism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Nationality is used as a marketing tool by others</li> <li>· Experiences a company/individual wanting to work with them because of their nationality</li> <li>· Indicates feelings of “being used”</li> <li>· Gives an example of “being used”</li> <li>· Respondent is told by gatekeepers/institutions to “go back to their roots”</li> <li>· International narrative pushed on the respondent – in their own words</li> </ul>
In- and Out-grouping	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Indicates a time where they were told who to (or to not) socialize with</li> <li>· Indicates group acceptance</li> <li>· Indicates rejection or refusal from a group of people</li> <li>· Describes a set of individuals as a group/community</li> <li>· Groups themselves with a particular nationality</li> <li>· Groups themselves with a particular ethnic group</li> <li>· Groups themselves with a particular socio-economic social stratum</li> <li>· Experiences descrimination</li> </ul>
Cultural Exchange	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Uses a fusion of cultural forms/themes in their creative products</li> <li>· Indicates that there needs to be an exchange of ideas/techniques/norms/concepts between countries in general</li> </ul>
Crime	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Mentions illegal activity</li> <li>· Indirectly refers to illegal activity</li> </ul>
Investment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Envivo code for “investment”</li> <li>· Respondent discusses a need for better resources or infrastructure</li> </ul>



# Appendix D

## Code Co-occurrence Table

	Other- presentatio n' Gr=16	Self- presentatio n' Gr=21	Acculturati on Gr=10	Crime Gr=3	Cultural Cringe Gr=17	Cultural Exchange Gr=4	Economic s of exclusion Gr=31	Enculturati on Gr=14	Gatekeepi ng Gr=41	Hybrid Content Gr=10	Hybrid Form Gr=15	In- and Out- Grouping Gr=15	Investment Gr=3	Johannesb urg Myth Gr=15	Law & Governance Gr=32	Marketabili ty Gr=40	Migration Gr=3	Tokenism Gr=7	Xenophobi a Gr=30	Xenophobi a (disagree) Gr=14
Other- presentatio n' Gr=16	0	4	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	5	0	3	0	0
Self- presentatio n' Gr=21	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	5	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0
Acculturati on Gr=10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Crime Gr=3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Cultural Cringe Gr=17	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	1
Cultural Exchange Gr=4	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Economic s of exclusion Gr=31	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	1	1	2	1	2	0	0	1	0
Enculturati on Gr=14	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Gatekeepi ng Gr=41	2	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	3	9	0	0	1	0
Hybrid Content Gr=10	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hybrid Form Gr=15	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
In- and Out- Grouping Gr=15	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0
Investment Gr=3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Johannesb urg Myth Gr=15	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Law & Governance Gr=32	0	0	1	2	1	1	1	0	3	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Marketabili ty Gr=40	5	5	0	0	2	0	2	0	9	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Migration Gr=3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Tokenism Gr=7	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Xenophobi a Gr=30	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Xenophobi a (disagree) Gr=14	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0

## Appendix E

### Interview Guide

\* Adapted ahead of every interview

- Please could you tell me a bit about yourself. Let's start with your biography, where were you born and how did you end up here in Johannesburg?
  - o Logistics and process of coming to South Africa
- There's no doubt that you consider yourself to be an artist, tell me a bit more about how you came to know and make art?
- LAE is known as a place for emerging artists – in your own words, do you consider yourself to fit under this label? Are you an emerging artist? And how do you think the art world perceives you as an individual in the industry?

\*Only applicable if works at LAE

- As XYZ, do you think there is a certain element of your style that can be attributed to your heritage and your background?
- South Africa is huge, have you noticed any regional differences in the art industry? What does it mean to be an artist in Johannesburg specifically?
- Xenophobia has been a huge issue for a number of years. [Have you had negative experiences?] Have you noticed any hostility between South African artists and artists from other African countries – for example Zimbabwe or Malawi? These can be artists you know or things you have heard in the news?
- Coming back to xenophobia, in your opinion, are there different attitudes depending on where people are from? For example, Lesotho and eSwatini are

technically different countries, but are these individuals resented more or less than say when a Zimbabwean is argued to have “taken your job”?

- How competitive do you think it is to make it as an artist in South Africa?
- Has your art or your style changed since coming to South Africa and how so?
- Some of the people you work with are not South African, do you think their style of art is different to yours?
- In my research I have come across the idea that international/diasporic artists use a lot of mixed media and hybridity in their art. Have you noticed this? Do you feel this to be true? How does that compare to your own work?
- In a way, on the opposite end of the spectrum there is an element of tokenism for cultural institutions representing non-nationals. Have you ever experienced this?



**IDENTITY  
TENSIONS &  
NON-  
NATIONALS**