

*FRAMES OF DIGITAL BLACKNESS IN THE RACIALIZED PALIMPSEST CITY:
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS AND JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA*

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ABSTRACT

The United States and South Africa, exemplars of “archsegregation,” have been constituted within an arc of historical racialized delineations which began with the centering, and subsequent overrepresentation, of European maleness and whiteness as the sole definition of Man. Globally present and persistent, these racialized delineations have been localized and spatially embedded through the tools of urban planning. This arc of racialized otherness, ineffectively erased, continues to inform the racially differentiated geospatial, health, social, and economic outcomes in contemporary urban form and functions for Black communities. It is within this historical arc, and against these differentiated outcomes, that contemporary urban discourse and contestation between individuals and institutions are situated.

This historical othering provides not just a racialized geo-historical contextualization, but also works to preclude the recognition of the some of the most vulnerable urban community members. As urbanists and advocates strive to co-create urban space and place with municipalities, meeting the needs of these residents is imperative. In order to meet these needs, their lived experiences, and voices must be fully recognized and engaged in the processes and programs of urban co-creation, including in digital spaces and forums. Critical to achieving recognition acknowledging and situating contemporary digital discourses between local municipalities, Black residents, and Black networks within this historically racialized arc is necessary. In doing so, explore if, and how, race, specifically Blackness, is enacted in municipal digital discourse, whether these enactments serve to advance or impede resident recognition and participation, and how Black users, as residents and social network curators, engage and respond to these municipal discursive enactments.

This exploratory research is a geographically and digitally multi-sited incorporated comparison of Chicago, Illinois, and Johannesburg South Africa. Using Twitter and ethnographic data collected between

December 1, 2019, and March 31, 2020, this research layers digital ethnographic mixed methods and qualitative mixed methods, including traditional ethnographic, digital ethnographic, grounded theory, social change and discourse analysis, and frame analysis to explore three research goals.

First, explore the digital discursive practices and frames employed by municipalities to inform, communicate with, and engage Black communities, and, if and how, these frames are situated within a historically racialized arc. Second, identify the ways in which Black residents, in dual discursive engagements with local municipalities and their own social networks, interact and engage with the municipal frames centering on Blackness. Third, through ethnographic narratives, acknowledge the marginalized residents of the Central Business District of Johannesburg, South Africa as “agents of knowledge,” with critical and valuable knowledge claims which arise from their lived experiences anchored within racialized place and space. In doing so, support the efforts of these residents in recentering the validity of their knowledge claims in the co-creation of urban place and space. Additionally, in situating the city within a historically racialized arc develop novel frameworks, the racialized palimpsest city and syndemic segregation, through which to explore contemporary urban interactions and engagements.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

APRANET	Advanced Research Projects Agency Network
CBD	Central Business District
City	City of Johannesburg
FHA	Federal Housing Authority (US)
GMS	Growth Management Strategy
HOLC	Home Owners Loan Corporation (US)
ICRC	Inner-City Resource Centre
IHP	Inclusionary Housing Policy
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NSFAS	National Student Financial Aid Scheme
R	Rand, South African Currency, (approximately) R14:\$1 US Dollar
SA	South Africa
SDF	2040 Johannesburg Spatial Development Plan
TODA	Text Oriented Discourse Analysis
UJ	University of Johannesburg
US	see USA
USA	United States of America
Wits	University of the Witswatersrand

*One Doesn't Have To
Operate with Great Malice To Do Great Harm.
The Absence of Empathy and Understanding Are Sufficient.
-C. Blow*

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

1) INTRODUCTION

In order to realize the inclusive, representative, and responsive cities which urban planners and urbanists strive to reach in the future, the processes and policies of urban planning and municipal governance must fully engage the voices of residents who have been historically marginalized. Necessary to this is acknowledging the lived-experiences of all community members, specifically within an historically grounded context. Neither the contemporary city, nor its systems and structures, are static. Instead, each are reified daily as a dynamic summation of interactions and intersections of contemporary and historical geospatial, social, economic, and political discourses and contestations collapsed into the singular city. For the historically decentered, this is even more acutely experienced. As Melissa Harris-Perry adeptly posits that “the political and economic realities of marginal populations indicate the democratic and economic health of the nation ...vulnerable communities of black and brown Americans foreshadow the underlying problems likely to poison the US system” (Harris-Perry, 2011).

Through leveraging and joining emergent and disparate methodological traditions, in combination with emancipatory theoretical foundations, the broad goal of this research is to explore the ways in which interwoven historical racializations remain present in contemporary contestations of place and space between urban actors, specifically the triadic engagements between Black residents, Black communities (organizations) and municipalities in digital and non-digital space in Johannesburg, South Africa and Chicago, IL, United States. This is achieved through first, grounding and exploring the globalization of racialized hegemonic order. Second, exploring how these globalized constructions were localized into specific spatial, social, and political, economic urban forms and functions. Third, exploring the

contemporary discursive enactments of these constructs within governance in urban place and space. And, fourth, giving voice to the historically situated lived realities of the urban marginalized.

As a three-manuscript dissertation, each manuscript advances this research through each addressing one goal. First, to identify the ways in which historically racializations continue to emerge latently and explicitly within the digital discourses and social media framing practices of Blackness employed by municipalities to inform, communicate with, and engage with Black communities. Second, to identify the ways in which Black residents in dual discursive practice, with local municipalities and within their respective social networks, interact and engage with latent municipal frames of Blackness. Third, through ethnographic narratives, explore the lived experiences of individuals and coalitions within the Central Business District of Johannesburg, South Africa as they contest urban place and space. Through exploring each of these in turn, this research seeks to contribute novel vocabularies and frameworks necessary for both advocates and institutions to understand, explore and navigate contemporary and future interactions in the search for the representative, respectful and responsive city.

A. The Segregated Metropolis

Beginning with McKittrick's recovering of the undocumented experiences surrounding the slave-auction block in the town center in Green Hill, Virginia, in which she redefines the slave-auction block simultaneously as a material object itself, but, more critically, as the symbolic imaginary of the racialized and sexualized oppression across time, space collapsed into a singular entity. For those who move in its shadow daily, the auction block is dually embodied. It is simultaneously a physical entity, as well as a representation of the economically transactional processes which occurred upon it, including the wholly encompassing racial subjugation and bodily dispossession, under the hands of the white hegemony, that those who stood upon it endured beyond it. (McKittrick, 2006).

McKittrick's social and geographical interpretation of the auction block when extended to the urban environment, particularly the modern metropolis, reflects the city's physical form, in and of itself, but is also the manifestation of historically state-sanctioned/mandated subjugation of the Black lived

urban experience. In this way, the city is a racialized palimpsest of the social, physical, and economic racial dispossessions and marginalization which have occurred through and within it, across time collapsed into the finite.

From this theoretical understanding, when looking at the modern metropolis, specifically Chicago, IL, United States, (US) and Johannesburg, South Africa (SA), we see the persistent geographical scars of segregation, and Apartheid emblazoned across the urban landscape. As with McKittrick's recasting of the auction block, the city is not just its visible forms, it is also the unseen actions and forces which reconstitute the existing, and construct new, interwoven hegemonic systems, policies, and programs. Racialized segregation in the modern city is not limited to spatial ordering but also encompasses the racialized, multi-scalar economic, political and social differentiations, which through ineffective erasure continue to self-replicate and transform over time.

Urban segregation is a liability for future cities. Economically, the 2017 Metropolitan Planning Council Report, *The Cost of Segregation*, estimates that in Chicago alone, segregation in its current state precludes \$2,982 of incomes of Black citizens, costing the region, \$4.4 billion dollars, annually. The same report calculates that reduced segregation in 2010 would have decreased the homicide rate by 30 percent, saving 167 lives, \$65 million in policing, and \$218 million in corrections costs, as well as boost the real estate economy by \$6 billion (Acs et al., 2017).

The costs of segregation extend to access to public goods and services. Research undertaken in *Segregation and Inequality in Public Goods* found a negative inverse relationship, in the US, between segregation and local public expenditures on “roads, law enforcement, welfare, housing and community development.” As segregation increased, regardless of minority population, the predicted direct general expenditure decreased, between \$344 to \$941 per capita (Trownstine, 2016).

In Johannesburg, South Africa, the patterns, and scales of segregation, coupled with economic and social marginalization in urban form and function, are pronounced to an even greater degree. Nationally, the 2018 fourth quarter unemployment rate was 25.1 percent for all South Africans. However,

Black and White South Africans stand in sharp contrast—unemployment was 30.4 and 7.6 percent for Black and White South Africans, respectively (Orthofer, 2016). Similarly, a 2016 study noted that the racial disparities in wealth and income between Black and White South Africans remained a “legacy of the system of apartheid,” calculating that the top one percent of the South Africans controlled half of wealth, and the top ten percent controlling 90 to 95 percent (Orthofer, 2016).

The question then becomes if the geography of place and space is the local realization of hegemonic ordering, then how have two nations with differing political economies, cultural and social landscapes and histories arrive at similar outcomes in terms of the urban spatial form, economic and political structures in with regard to those who constitute the urban marginalized?

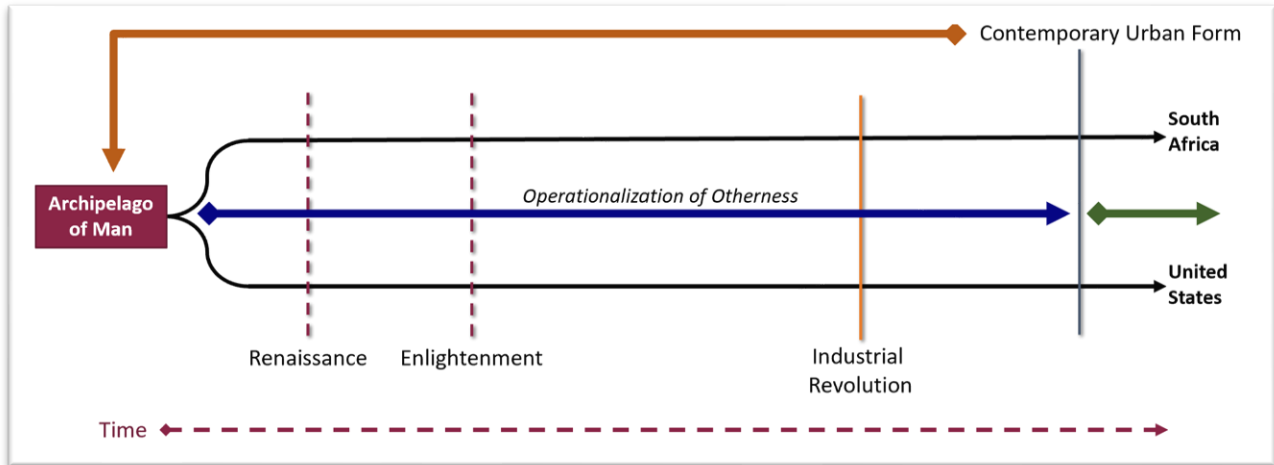
a. Two Lands, Deep Space

The response is “deep space”—transnational cultural movements which shift the definitions and conceptualizations of space, place and belonging (Smith, 2008). In Sylvia Wynter’s *Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom* (Wynter, 2003), she provides a historicization of delineations of otherness which would, and continue to, ground global and local cultural, social and spatial transformations.

Synthesizing Winnat, Quijano and Foucault, Wynter positions the “Renaissance humanists’ epochal redescription of the human outside the terms of the then theocentric” as the “big bang” for the creation of *Man1* which would “reground its secularizing own on a newly projected human/subhuman distinction.” In other words, prior to this, man was defined by his relation to his deity. In this realignment man defined himself within himself, and this interpretation became overrepresented as the sole classification of human. This representation of *Man*, and most importantly access to the accompanying rights, were centered in recognition by European nation-states (Wynter, 2003). This “classification of human communities through hardening constructs of race and gender...[through] the science of race and gender served as a basis for denying full and equal participation in the state. Rigid definitions of masculinity and femininity, and of whiteness and otherness...” (Harris-Perry, 2011). In

conceptualizing this historical process, one critical component in Wynter’s conceptualization, particularly as transnational Black feminism knowledge, is the fact that while, this theory can be used to examine race alone, it can also be extended to provide an examination of individual and intersecting identities, such as class, gender.

Figure 1: Historical Arc of Racialized Otherness



In this archipelago of racialized delineations, the subaltern other was “irrational,” state-less, and non-European. The African, American and Asian indigenous peoples would be forced into this classification. It is this designation as other/subhuman, which facilitated the “systemic stigmatization, social inferiorization, and dynamically produced material deprivation” (Gotham, 2000) of these peoples, which characterized the first wave of global colonization. Much in the same way that the McKittrick’s slave-auction block collapsed temporal and geographic social meanings, skin pigment collapsed the human/subhuman delineation throughout the 18th century.

Beginning the 19th century, the second realignment of the definition of human, *Man2*, coincides the scientific advancements to understand and control the natural world, during the Enlightenment. Within this second “enlightenment”, the *Man1* human/subhuman delineations, received further social and legal legitimacy endorsed by ersatz scientific discover on the innate biological definitions of the new concept

of race. This pseudo-scientific justification of social categorization indelibly designated Blackness, globally, as “racially inferior” (Wynter, 2003).

Emerging from this period of Enlightenment, the scientific delimiters of race become carved into the spatial and social functioning of the modern metropolis. Today, it is the wounds from this racialized social and spatial carving from which the metropolis is still striving to heal.

B. Segregation and Apartheid in Urban Planning

The translation of *Man1* into *Man2* correlated with scientific discovery advancing the notion of Man’s conquest of nature and earth, as well as the pseudo-scientific notions of racial superiority and inferiority. In the urban environment, this scientific discovery led to the industrialization and concentrations of humans. This urbanization was in part due to the migration of Black American and Black South African workers to regions of economic growth and development. In South Africa, this migration was from tribal and rural areas to mining centers, such as Johannesburg. In the United States, this migration was from the rural south to northern industrial cities, including Chicago.

In both geographies, what followed was the local realization of racialized deep space executed through urban planning policy enacted through municipalities. In this way, professional urban planners served as social engineers ensuring the smooth and efficient ordering of space for capitalistic ends, via social control, racial exclusion, and the bodily dislocation and marginalization of those within its jurisdictional boundaries. Thus, in order to achieve inclusive and emancipatory cities, the historically racialized decisions enacted by municipalities at the local level, must begin through the tools of spatial ordering.

i. Brief History of Modern Planning and Race in The United States

During Reconstruction in the United States, residential segregation was enforced not through centralized legal requirements, but through private residential control and social agreements between residents supported through Federal government precedent and policy. For example, in the period prior to

1900, most Black Americans in Kansas City, MO lived in multi-ethnic neighborhoods. However, this tentative racialized balance changed during the first decades of the 20th century, particularly after the first world war and the Great Migration (Gotham, 2000).

As urban density and diversity grew, the new profession of urban planning sought to combat deteriorating urban conditions and ensure “social harmony.” Cities, such as Kansas City, began using zoning laws and racial ordinances to mandate social control and spatial order. While race-based zoning laws were deemed “unenforceable” by the US Supreme Court in 1917, land-use zoning laws were not. This led to differential zoning between predominantly Black and white areas. White neighborhoods were zoned as single-use residential, with minimum acreage and per capita controls. Conversely, predominantly Black areas were zoned multi-use with higher per capita limits in or near industrial corridors (Gotham, 2000).

Residential segregation in the period between the 1917 ruling and the 1948 Supreme Court ruling, nullifying restrictive covenants, coincided with a major residential expansion across the US. In this period, racialized spatial ordering on the local level was firmly entrenched by Federal funding and policy. Explicit US Federal housing policy, through the Federal Housing Authority (FHA), held “blacks [as] ‘adverse influences’ on property values,” coupled with the directive to not insure mortgages on homes unless they were in ‘racially homogenized neighborhoods’” (Gotham, 2000).

By 1939, supported by the FHA, which provided over one-third of new residential mortgages, the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) (Terry Gross, n.d.) had produced color-coded residential zoning maps. These maps drew red lines around “high” risk neighborhoods if a residence was within a floodplain, had numerous structures in ill-repair and were deemed “construction hazards,” or if it was “is detrimentally affected by occupant Negro families” (Gotham, 2000). Homes within these “red lines” were precluded from receiving Federal mortgage insurance. Without Federal insurance, this all but excluded access to mortgages for homes in these areas, regardless of a consumers financial standing, or payment history. These policies not only buttressed the development of the real estate industry, but

indelibly scripted American residential expansion with explicit designs of racial and community “harmony” centered on Black exclusion. Taken together, these laws not only directly impacted homeownership in the Black American community historically, but continues to undermine the transfer of wealth intergenerationally, limit residential mobility, and investment in K-12 education.

a. Brief History of Segregation in South Africa

As in the United States, racialized spaces in South Africa were an explicit component of colonization, first by the Dutch, then by the British. As in the United States, South African industrialization and rapid urbanization driven by economic growth coincided with the institutionalization of state-mandated segregation in the local urban environment.

In the first decades of the 20th Century, prior to Apartheid, South Africa nationally adopted, and locally implemented, laws which solidified racialization into every aspect of urban form and function. Including economically- the *Mines and Works Act* (1911); sexually- the *Immorality Act*, (1927); geographically- the *Native Lands Act* (1913), the *Native Trust and Land Act* (1936), and the *Native Administration Act* (1927); individual mobility– the *Natives Areas (Pass) Act* (1923), and the *Natives Consolidation Act* (1945); political – South Africa Act (1909), the Representation of Natives Act (1936).

However, leveraging “best practices” from European and American racialized social control, the National Party, in 1948, began the implementation an exhaustive list of comprehensively and fine-tuned exclusionary laws for Black Africans, Coloureds and Asians in relation to: job access and economic freedoms (the *Native Labour Act* – 1951); education (the *Bantu Education Act* – 1953); sexual expression (the *Prohibition of Mixed Marriage Act* – 1949); geography (the *Group Areas Act* – 1950); movement and social control (the *Natives Resettlement Act* – 1954); and political representation (the *Promotion of Bantu Self-government Act* – 1959). The perseverance of these laws, lasted until the end of Apartheid Government in 1994.

The legal basis for residential segregation ended over 55 years ago in the United States, and 25 years ago in South Africa. However, in terms of the modern segregated metropolis, the effects of these expansive and exclusionary laws have persisted well beyond their legal timelines and remain visible in the spatial, political, social, and economic, realities of Black Americans and Black South Africans.

Recentered in Black feminist theory, which recognizes the unique positionality “as agents of knowledge Black women draw [on] from their lived experiences, placed within a particular set of material, historical, and epistemological conditions, to anchor specific knowledge claims” (Brown, 2012), this systemic, multifaceted, and multilevel oppression and marginalization coalesces from stigmatizing shame and misrecognition. This “stigmatiz[ation] of Blackness” is purposefully crafted to ensure participation in, yet unequal full participatory access, to social, political, and economic freedoms granted by the nation. (Harris-Perry, 2011). Most importantly, stigmatizing shame creates barriers to full recognition in the democratic process.

This Hegelian view of democracy assumes that subordinated groups are primarily harmed by “a ubiquitous and deep-seated form of injustice, called ‘misrecognition,’ which consists of the failure, whether out of malice or out of ignorance, to extend to people the respect or esteem that is due to them in virtue of who they are.” Misrecognition is a matter of “institutionalized patterns of cultural value in ways that prevent one from participating as a peer in social life.” Rooted in political participation and theory, group misrecognition nullifies the social contract – “Misrecognition subverts the possibility of equal democratic participation” (Harris-Perry, 2011).

The exclusionary civic participation effects of stigmatizing shame and misrecognition when translated into the local urban context negatively impacts community investment as “neighborhoods [and the networks within them] are important municipal actors in local politics...,” through which the “spatial and economic allocations of investment, goods and services” are often discussed and acted upon (Trounstein, 2016). Continued through time, misrecognition and stigmatizing shame, and their impacts

on civic and political engagement amplify the persistent racialized forms and functions and negative outcomes for Black American and South Africans.

2) THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A. **Social Capital and Networks**

Black Americans and Black South Africans through the restricted residential and mobility options of state-mandated and state-sanctioned segregation were excluded for the social, political, and economic hegemonic networks, which connected other citizens and neighborhoods. Being situated outside of hegemonic networks of place and space impelled the creation of auxiliary communities and networks within which recognition and social capital, “investment in social relations with expected returns could exist,” and “actors ... deprived of opportunities to acquire human or institutional capital may form networks and forge a collective identity” (Lin, 2001).

Decentered and dislocated, Black Americans and South Africans created and maintained networks, subaltern counterpublics, which, in various forms, would serve as sites of social capital, culture and resistance. Malleable and dynamic, these counterpublics transformed with, and against geographically specific oppressions across space and time, and throughout the arc of racialized history, beginning from the Haitian Revolution, to freedom and emancipation movements throughout the African continent, and to the US Civil Rights Movement, and the Apartheid Resistances (Fraser, 1990; Neocosmos, 2006; Squires, 2002). The transformative abilities of subaltern counterpublics is reflected in contemporary discourse and contestations as Black digital counterpublics have arisen contemporaneously with the Internet as sites and sources of urban contestation and discourse.

B. **Community and the Digital Era**

In the last decades, the Internet has transitioned from a military and research tool to a consumer and economic platform to a medium of social engagement. The evolution of the Internet and related ecosystems has also transformed society, both in relation to each other, as well as to the technologies themselves. Since the wide-spread adoption of the world wide web, researchers have been trying to both

quantify and qualify its significance in, and on, society. The Internet dates to the development of ARPANET in the early 1980's (Emspak & Kim Ann Zimmermann, n.d.). While used mainly in government and university research in the formative days, much of what we consider the modern Internet, came into existence in 1993 with the release of code to audiences around the globe.

From 1993 until approximately 2004, the first iteration of the Internet dubbed "Web 1.0," was what could be described as the "read-only web" (Brian Getting, 2007). Web 1.0 was a static, business-oriented, e-commerce platform characterized by one-to-many communications. While peer-to-peer communications were facilitated, they were done in organization-based or thematic newsgroups, and chat rooms. In 2004, the second iteration of web, Web 2.0, which can be described as the "read- write web" (*The Birth of the Web* / *CERN*, n.d.) shifted from a one-to-many structure to a many-to-many structure “[characterized by] the growth of social networks, bi-directional communication, various ‘glue’ technologies, and significant diversity in content types” (Cormode & Krishnamurthy, 2008). Unlike Web 1.0, users could now not only consume news and information unidirectionally, but also create news through post, videos, and tweets, becoming prosumers, simultaneous producers, and consumers.

Web 2.0 revolutionized the Internet predicated on the assumption of the elimination of barriers to public discourse, free from traditional hegemonic structures. Situating this research in digital space enables insights into whether these assumptions are as valid as intended. This work provides insights into whether broader social and historical contexts in which municipalities and residents engage bleeds into digital space, or if traditional hegemonic structures and practices are being replicated in digital space.

3) METHODOLOGIES AND DATA COLLECTION

A. **Mixed Methodology**

From a methodological and analytic standpoint, analyzing the social networks of marginalized communities and their relationship with the city, either from a wholly quantitative or qualitative methodology, would be a much less arduous undertaking. However, as noted by Hollstein, the value of mixed method designs enables “the *selecting of individual cases* and *positioning* them within space while

shedding light on the *prevalence* of patterns of social action and network practices, the *conditions* upon which they rest, as well as the *consequences* they entail” (Domínguez & Hollstein, 2014).

As digitally situated research, as highlighted in her chapter for the 2014 *Mixed Methods Social Networks Research: Design and Applications*, digital ethnography is situated to explore multiple network factors, including: *network interpretations*: How individuals position themselves in relation to their social environment [network]; *network practices*: Exploring patterns of contact...[and] exchange patterns in networks; *network effects*: How networks matter and of what mechanisms and conditions figure in when producing certain network outcomes; and, *network dynamics*: Fluctuations or change in networks over time, but also fluctuation and change in networks in physical space.

As a fully-integrated digitally ethnographic mixed-methods study integrating “multistrand parallel design,” (Domínguez & Hollstein, 2014; Glaser et al., 1968), both quantitative methods and qualitative research methods will be simultaneously employed collecting data through traditional and digital ethnographic techniques, then employing descriptive statistical analysis. As a qualitative-qualitative mixed methods study using grounded theory coding approach coupled with social change and discourse analysis, and frame analysis to explore these moments of cultural and social production.

B. Digital Ethnography and Grounded Methods

Ethnographic research explores the practices and processes of culture and cultural production through a broad collection of methods and techniques, including participant observation, survey instruments, interview and focus groups. Ethnographic traditions center on research “from the field,” which enables firsthand insights into the moments of “what people do and say in particular contexts” (Hammersley, 2006). This research, unlike other investigative methods, can be a messy undertaking. This remains true when the ethnographic site moves to digital space.

Since the advent of the Internet, and specifically social media platforms, such as Twitter and Facebook, much attention has been given to “social aggregations that emerge from the Net when enough people carry on those public discussions long enough, with sufficient human feeling to form webs of

personal relationships in cyberspace” (Rheingold, 2000). Ethnographic research has gained a significant foothold through researchers such as Christine Hine’s work on virtual ethnography, and Robert Kozinets’ networked individuals and consocial ties (Hine, 2005, 2017; Kozinets, 2015). Within the span of ethnographic approaches and categorizations, the ways in which historical and contemporary racialization inform digital discourse and contestation best align with the definition of cultural politics which examines how cultural identities, representations and imaginaries are remade, subverted, communicated and circulated through individual and collective engagements with technologies (Coleman, 2010).

Grounded theory enables the “discovery of theory from data” (Glaser et al., 1968) from within novel field sites. Grounded theory, distinguished from other research traditions in that it engages “constant comparative analysis and theoretical sampling” (Dunne, 2011) through contemporaneous data collection and analysis. While literature review is a central facet prior to engaging in traditional research methods, the debate remains unsettled as to when and how to engage with this content within grounded theory, although Glaser and Strauss originally rejected doing so prior to grounded theory research (Dunne, 2011). When integrated with other methods, grounded theory coding absent pre-existing theoretical constructs provides data based information which when reintegrated into other methods supports the in process validation of data.

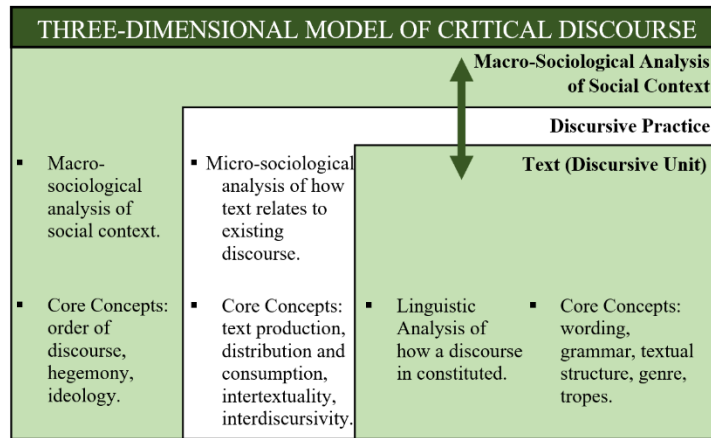
With a grounded theory approach, this research uniquely engages in the simultaneous collection and analysis apart from existing literature, however, the moments of culture and cultural production which are studied arise from a novel intersection of Black feminist theory, urban planning, and social network theory. The aim to explore how race is enacted in urban discourse in digital will guide the selections of field sites, both physical and digital. Digital data, specifically Twitter posts, will be coded contemporaneously using a grounded theory coding from tweet data to construct topical insights from the field. Through social discourse analysis and frame analysis, discursive practices and frames will be explored within the Black feminist social theory matrix.

4) ANALYSIS

Linguistic analysis explores the social construction of reality through language by situating ideological transmission and social meaning in the enactment of words, individually and collectively. This research will engage social discourse analysis and framing analysis to explore the constitution, production, dissemination and enactment of ideas, particularly racialized histories within contemporary contestations.

In complementing ways, discourse analysis and framing analysis are both “preoccupied with how ideas, culture, and ideology are used, interpreted, and spliced together with certain situations or phenomena in order to construct particular ideative patterns through which the world is understood by audiences” (Lindekilde, 2014). Leveraging both analytical techniques leads to insights into which ideologies are embedded in the ideative and constitutional patterns enacted by municipalities, their contextualization, how audiences interpret these patterns, and, how audiences then engage or disengage.

Figure 2: Dimensions of Critical Discourse Analysis



Discourse analysis looks specifically at the ways in which socially contextualized text creation, production and dissemination embody specific ideas and ideologies. See Figure 2. Using Fairclough’s dimensions of social change and discourse analysis and Hazleton’s public relations strategies provides insights into how ideologies are enacted through specific discursive practices, such as interdiscursivity or

intertextual chains, the integration of external and preceding texts into individual tweets (Fairclough, 1992; Hazleton, 1993).

Unique to Fairclough’s framework of analysis of discursive practice are guidelines of analysis across discourse practice, text analysis and social practice analysis which are to be concurrently applied, see *Table 1*. While the distinct characteristics of the sample dictate which dimensions are most prominent, it is critical that “during analysis there is a constant alternation of focus from the particularity of the discourse sample, to the type(s) of discourse which it draws upon, and the configurations of discourse types to which is oriented...analysis should show features, patterns and structures which are typical of certain types of discourse, restructuring, tendencies...and ways of using these conventional resources which are specific to the sample,” noting that the “analyst will want to likely focus upon a small number of them” (Fairclough, 1992).

Table 1: Dimensions of Social Change and Discourse Analysis

Fairclough Dimensions of Social Change and Discourse Analysis		
Discourse Practice	Text	Social Practice
Intertextual Chains	Interactional Control	Social Matrix of Discourse
Interdiscursivity	Cohesion	Orders of Discourse
Manifest Intertextuality	Politeness	Ideological and Political Effects of Discourse
Conditions of Discourse Practice	Ethos	
	Grammar	
	Transitivity	
	Theme	
	Modality	
	Word Meaning	
	Wording	
	Metaphor	

Also unique to Fairclough’s framework is situating analysis within a social matrix of discourse, necessary to “specify the social and hegemonic relations and structures which constitute the matrix of this particular social and discourse practice” (Fairclough, 1992). Black feminist theory which recontextualizes the urban as constituted through globally racialized delineations.

Table 2: Overview of Framing Analysis Core Task

CORE FRAMING TASKS		
Diagnostic Frame	Prognostic Framing	Motivational Framing
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The identification of a problem and the attribution of blame and causality. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The proposed solution to the identified problem. The indication of strategies, tactics and goals. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The indication of a rationale for action—registers of motives for action

As described by Lindekilde, “discourses are always socially embedded, and a text is always shaped by and reshapes existing discourses,” following situating text within broader social and hegemonic structures and theories, explore the ways these collective dimensions are used, “to mobilize supporters and demobilize adversaries vis-à-vis a particular goal” (Lindekilde, 2014). Frame analysis then explores how themes and topics constituted through discursive practice are enacted with, for, or against specific audiences. *See Table 2.*

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**CHAPTER II. FRAMES OF BLACKNESS IN THE RACIALIZED PALIMPSEST CITY:
DIGITAL DISCURSIVE AND FRAMING PRACTICES OF BLACKNESS IN
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, AND JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA.**

ABSTRACT

This research, as an incorporated comparison, explores the contemporary digital discursive practices and frames of Blackness in municipal social media, situated within the transnational Black feminist social matrix, in the of City of Johannesburg, South Africa, of Chicago, Illinois. This comparison is achieved through applying integrated qualitative mixed-methods, including digital ethnography, grounded theory, social change discourse analysis, and frame analysis to four months of Twitter data collected from the respective cities between 2019 and 2020. Two primary research findings included, first, six latent frames used to enact Blackness for this time period. Four frames spanned both geographies: Black Achievement/Excellence, Personal Identity, Syndemic Segregation, and the Racialized Palimpsest City. The Opposition frame was enacted only in the City of Chicago, while the Problematization frame was present only in the City of Johannesburg. Second, with regard to using social media as a tool of broad resident engagement absent historical “isms,” contradictions exist in the discursive practices meant to democratize resident engagement and existing hegemonic structures of control.

1) INTRODUCTION

Fundamentally, the city represents the “closest” unit of government to the resident which has comprehensive administrative control over placemaking policies, regulations, and laws, including housing, transportation, economic development, and community development, as well as intersecting dimensions of safety and quality of life, including public health, policing, and environmental protections. As such, the city serves an important role as the site of discourse and contestation of belonging and community for all community members. Over time, as the broader avenues of technological connection

and communication have evolved, particularly social media, so too have the tools available for local municipalities to engage residents in governance, as well as residents in digital advocacy for urban place and space.

While these tools themselves can be objective mechanisms, they are enacted from, and within, broader social, political, and economic matrices derived from historic and contemporary choices centered on racialized otherness, geographically embedded over time. As such, the contemporaneous engagements, including digital discursive practices, between urban actors which occur within and through these spaces, either physically or digitally, do not occur on a *tabula rasa*, a clean slate, but instead are enacted from within, and onto, this amalgamated racialized history.

The ineffective erasure of these racialized histories which remain present in the municipal digital discourses and practices meant to democratize governance can contribute to individual and collective misrecognition—a state which precludes full participation in the processes of governance, even digital participation. Defining recognition and, more importantly, misrecognition in the processes of democracy, Harris-Perry derives her recognition scholarship from the central Hegelian philosophical concept of *Anerkennung*—that is, “mutually affirming recognition that allows citizens to operate as equals within the confines of the social contract” (Harris-Perry, 2011). For Harris-Perry, the interlocked concepts of misrecognition and stigmatizing shame are central to the state’s revocation of the Black citizenship.

The Hegelian view of democracy assumes that subordinated groups are primarily harmed by “a ubiquitous and deep-seated form of injustice, called ‘misrecognition,’ which consists of the failure, whether out of malice or out of ignorance, to extend to people the respect or esteem that is due to them by virtue of who they are” (Harris-Perry, 2011). Misrecognition is a matter of “institutionalized patterns of cultural value in ways that prevent one from participating as a peer in social life” (Harris-Perry, 2011).

In creating misrecognition, stigmatizing shame produces barriers to full recognition in the democratic process. When this shame is perpetuated through state mandate, it “violates the foundational social contract of liberal democracies,” which, through “misrecognition[,] subverts the possibility of equal democratic participation” (Harris-Perry, 2011). The “stigmatiz[ation] of Blackness” is purposefully

crafted to ensure participation in, yet unequal, full participatory access to, social, political, and economic freedoms granted by the nation.

Critical to achieving full recognition is an understanding of the ways in which historically grounded enactments, and continued contextualizations, of race based in these historical misrecognitions continue to emerge, either explicitly or implicitly, in contemporary discourses as barriers to full recognition within the urban place. The United States and South Africa, as exemplars of “archsegregation,” have been constituted within a racialized evolutionary arc, which began with the conceptualization, and centering, of race within European whiteness. This arc of racialized otherness, historically embedded within urbanity, continues to inform differentiated geospatial, health, social, and economic outcomes in contemporary urban form and functions for Black communities.

As exploratory research, the goal of this work is to explore the discursive practices and framing of municipalities in contemporary digital discourses in Chicago, Illinois, United States, and Johannesburg, South Africa, and to identify the latent constructs and enactments of race which form this shared historical, transnational delineation of Blackness. The use of mixed methods of digital ethnography, grounded theory, social change discourse analysis, and framing analysis will give voice and vocabulary to the contemporary embodiments of race which are underpinned within historically racialized systems, structures, forms, and functions.

This research leverages an incorporated comparison structure derived from international studies, based on the notion that organizations are continually evolving. As such, the “goal is not to develop an invariant comparison of more or less uniform ‘cases,’ but to give substance to the historical process (whole) through comparison of its parts” (McMichael, 1990) – in other words, “trying to have a ‘fixed perspective’ on a system that is admittedly in motion...” (Leitner, 2007).

In this way, this research seeks to explore how contemporary enactment of Blackness in municipal digital discourse (fixed perspective), in two disparate locations, can be arrived at from a singular ontological delineation of Blackness, the localization of this definition through the same tools of placemaking, albeit through differentiated historical processes. Prior to exploring frames of Blackness

used in contemporary municipal discourse, the globalized evolutionary arc and processes of localization from which the contemporary is derived must be situated. This research (1) begins with an exploration of the contemporary role of social media in municipal communication and resident engagement, and how digital identity and place have been previously explored; (2) grounds the production and dissemination of a singular global delineation of Blackness as racialized other; (3) describes how this definition, using the professional mechanisms of urban placemaking, has been used to localize Blackness as the racialized other; and (4) examines how connecting through differentiated historical processes gives rise to the dimension of incorporated comparison of Blackness in Johannesburg and Chicago.

A. Social Media and the City

In the nascent days of the Internet and digital media, these platforms were heralded as the “great equalizer,” with the goal that digital engagement, absent physical interaction, would erase “the prejudices associated with assorted ‘isms’: sexism, racism and classism” (Ebo, 1998). Within this framework, local municipalities adopted these technologies as opportunities to transform citizen engagement, primarily through creating a “well-informed” public through enhanced access to municipal services and information and “bottom-up” democracy (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2003).

The ability of governments, at all levels, to “interact with citizens ‘where they are’” (Mossberger et al., 2013) was seen as democratizing access to the processes of governance. In Web 1.0, websites and web-portals were launched to provide access to civic information; however, dialogical interactions remained scarce, with these tools only providing unidirectional communications.

Web 2.0, characterized by the proliferation of social engagement and content creation applications, such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc., enhanced the potential of governments to engage in symmetric discourse with residents. Local municipalities launched accounts envisioning socially mediated digital space as a place to combine “technology, social interaction and content creation,” and in so doing leverage the knowledge of the masses in co-creating the urban.

Globally, through Web 2.0, municipalities had a more effective means through which to push and pull information between resident and government. Chicago and Johannesburg capitalized on the applications of Web 2.0 as early adopters of social media. The first tweets associated with official Twitter handles for the City of Johannesburg and the City of Chicago were March 2012 and May 2009, respectively.

As municipalities like Chicago and Johannesburg have adopted social media, interest has increased in how these technologies are being enacted. Research into municipal social media falls into two broad categories. The first examines municipal digital and social media production and engagement practices (Lev-On & Steinfeld, 2015; Nica et al., n.d.). As Mergel commented, this potential has often gone unrealized, with one-way representation remaining the most common interactions (Mergel, 2013). Even when two-way symmetric capabilities are available, information continues to flow primarily from government to resident (Brainard, 2011). The second research area focuses on the content created on social media. Early research focused on linguistic analysis, such as hierarchical clustering of words, word count, and frequency to identify thematic and topical associations, as well as the ways in which language changed during specific events (Steinfeld & Lev-On, 2014). Subsequent research explored municipal content through sentiment analysis, positivity or negativity, which, while providing additional insights into the overall tenor of digital communications, was limited in critical ways—discursive practices such as sarcasm, metaphor, or implicit references, and most significantly, the ability to situate discourse content and intent within broader social and political identity and ideologies (Steinfeld & Lev-On, 2018).

In researching enactment of digital identity, Tillery examined predictors associated with when members of the US Congressional Black Caucus enacted racialized discourse within Twitter posts (Tillery, 2021). Most recently, research in the linguistic analysis of digital municipal communications has incorporated discourse and framing analysis, specifically in police departments, to explore the depictions of race and gender within criminal justice (Sever et al., 2021; Walby & Joshua, 2021). Walby and Joshua examined the frames for, and of, minorities and women in the digital communications of Canadian police departments. Their research identified three frames, Mythical, Expert, and Ordinary. In each of the

frames, significant contradictions existed between frame presentation and enactment versus reality. For example, the Expert frame underrepresented women, while the frame itself, through textual and media depictions, overrepresented the use-of-force and other antagonizing tactics which were at odds with the principles of community policing professed by the departments. In the Ordinary frame, police were framed as “just regular people,” and while the representation of multicultural identities increased, this was correlated with an identity “fetishization” to communicate progressive topics of culture, empowerment, and reform.

Extending the exploration of latent framing practices to the context of the central municipal administration enables the exploration of the ways in which the most citizen-proximal units of government acknowledge the lived experiences of residents and, thereby, through recognition or misrecognition, advance or diminish the contract of government. The emerging scholarship of discourse and frame analysis in digital communications allow insights into the intended and unintended enactments of language situated within the socio-historical contexts in which they are created. This work, like previous criminal justice research, explores the social and ideological framing practices of Black identity in local municipal digital discourse, but in two novel ways: first, through focusing on the municipal central administration, particularly the primary elected official charged with setting administrative political and ideological policy and goals and voice of the city, the mayor; second, through leveraging Black feminist theories as the theoretical and analytical social matrix.

2) THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

The selection of Black feminist theory is necessary in identifying a unified departure point sufficient to capture the othering of Blackness transnationally. The use of Black feminist social matrix also provides a malleable framework through which to holistically encapsulate the political, economic, and social intersections of Blackness that would become engrained in the urban form and function. The production and global dissemination of this construction of the racialized other provides the framework

through which to understand the integration of race into contemporary urban discourse and contestation, as well as its ineffective erasure.

A. **Black Feminist Theoretical Foundation**

This research engages Sylvia Wynter's syncretization of the works of Winant, Quijano, and Foucault. In her transnational theory, she pinpoints the Renaissance as the "Big Bang" for racialized otherness—which served to "reground its secularizing own on a newly projected human/subhuman distinction" (Wynter, 2003). It is in this desacralizing transformation that man removed himself from irremediable subjugation to the supernatural. In doing so, *ManI* positioned himself as the master of all that is terrene—replete with the rights and privileges to manipulate and bend all things earthly to meet his whims and desires.

In this transformation, *ManI* imbued himself with self-evident rights and earthly dominion. Full access to these rights, however, were only granted through recognition by the European nation-state, particularly in European-born racialized whiteness and maleness—placing this identity at the center of a racialized and gendered archipelago. Those outside of this identity were othered and dispersed throughout the archipelago in accordance with their proximity to these delimiters.

This definition of *ManI* was exported globally through the European's colonialist and imperialist imperatives, and as the volume and variety of interactions with non-Europeans increased, these delineations between Man and the Other hardened. As a result of this hardened definition, this Eurocentric conception of *ManI* became overrepresented not just as the definition of Man, but as the definition of human itself. As such, all non-Europeans were categorized as the subaltern Other—nonhuman. It would be through this ontological delineation of the racialized other, specifically as non-human, which would cast Africans and those of African descent with "systemic stigmatization, social inferiorization, and dynamically produced material deprivation," (Wynter, 2003) globally.

By the Enlightenment, these definitions, ever present and persistent, had been transmitted through the global scale via the economics of circulation, slavery, and colonialism. These delineations were

reinforced by the erroneous, pseudo-science of race from which the “innate biological definitions” would legitimize racist and racialist categorizations that would permanently designate blackness as inferior. During the Industrial Revolution, the confluence of the operationalization of racialized otherness, the emergence of the “modern metropolis,” and the profession of planning would indelibly inscribe these constructs of race into the very existence of the urban (Dunne, 2011; Lindekilde, 2014).

B. Operationalizing Urban Blackness

As Feagin highlights, “the geographical patterns of the twenty-first century United States [and South Africa] demonstrates the impact of this [racialized] oppressive past.... These racially segregated areas...are not recent creations but have been shaped by white decisionmakers’ actions over a long period of time” (Feagin, 2018). In other words, the dimensions of racialized urbanity in which, and through which, contemporary actors engage are the direct outcomes of explicit and implicit racialized choices made historically through the present.

The translation of the globally present delineations of Blackness presented by Wynter into a racialized spatial ordering of the modern metropolis, worldwide, was hastened by changes in the character of urbanity at the turn of the 20th century. This historical localization would be precipitated by changes due, in part, to changes in the global economic order coupled with the advent of the profession of planning. In the United States and South Africa, particularly, the shared spatial tools of High Modernist planning were used to holistically and indelibly segregate Blackness within the urban fabric. An incorporated comparison with Chicago and Johannesburg explores the contemporary digital enactments of Blackness with respect to a singular shared definition of Blackness, localized through the same tools of urban space and placemaking, despite distinct asynchronous operationalizations and historical contexts.

Chicago, Illinois, and Johannesburg, South Africa, have well-documented histories of racialized policies shaping the local urban landscape. While differently operationalized, since the 1920s these municipalities, within their respective national histories, have taken segregationist spatial planning and

order to its most “radical and comprehensive forms,” in what Carl Nightingale defines as archsegregationist (Nightingale, 2012) to operationalize and maintain white hegemonic control.

High Modernism as racialized spatial ordering deployed against Black residents in South Africa and the United States arose from the alignment of multiple dimensions. First, urban transformation was driven in part by massive sub-national demographic shifts by in-country migrations of Black peoples from rural/agrarian regions to urban cores of manufacturing and mining in the United States and South Africa, respectively (MacDonald, 2006). Second, rooted in racialized otherness, a social crisis centered in the pathologization, and criminalization of urban Blackness was grounded in the mere proximity of Blackness to poor urban whites. This would “make black people themselves into a constant problem that has been observed, analyzed and solved” (Harris-Perry, 2011), thus justifying the continued subjugation of Black populations to racialized authoritarian high modernist planning and policies—for the benefit of (white) Man.

Seeded in the “grand plans” of Le Corbusier, Wright, and Howard, globally urban elites saw racialized urban planning as a means of “radical reconstruction of cities to solve not only the urban crisis of their time, but the social crisis as well” (Fishman, 2016). The technological developments of the global Industrial Revolution were bolstered by Man’s belief in the linear trajectory of economic achievement and natural science discovery. High Modernism sought to encompass all of human activity within technological efficiency and prowess with “sweeping vision of how the benefits of technical and scientific progress might be applied—usually through the state—to every field of human activity” (Scott, 2016).

While social change was seen as inevitable, High Modernists sought not to halt the flux but to “design a shape to social life that would minimize the friction of progress” (Scott, 2016). To realize this, both countries adopted the same inherent racist and racialist land use and reform policies from Europe, “most notably restrictive covenants, public support for liberal home mortgages, large investments in public housing and energetic slum clearance” (Nightingale, 2012).

In the United States, where the federal government failed to exert direct oversight, the control and subjugation of Black Americans was executed under the guise of “states’ rights,” and in the interest of

capitalism, particularly the real estate industry, which gave tacit and explicit control of Black lives to the state and local jurisdictions. The US federal government advanced these efforts through racialized policies, intentional investment, and divestment to create, maintain, and expand a physically, socially, and economically segregated society for the betterment of white man.

In South Africa, the Native Lands Act (1913), the Native Trust and Land Act (1936), and the Native Administration Act (1927); the Areas (Pass) Act (1923), and the Natives Consolidation Act (1945) enacted locally established similar limitations on Black African residential choice, and individual mobility. This geographic isolation and immobility would be used to advance the subsequent economic, social, and political isolation of Black residents through modernity.

South Africa's Apartheid State became one of High Modernism's "great state-sponsored calamities of the twentieth century" (Scott, 2016). Given Nightingale's categorization of the scale and scope of South African and US racialized spatial ordering as archsegregation, a critical interpretation can only extend Scott's designation of "20th century High Modernist calamity" to the United States and the Black American experience.

Within the exemplars of national archsegregation, Chicago and Johannesburg were, and continue to be, uniquely positioned in that these two cities put in place the "most elaborate systems of city-splitting." The same High Modernist policies of mass relocation of Blacks from Chicago's downtown, under the auspices of slum clearance in the 1920 and 1930s, would similarly be used to divide Johannesburg along racial lines in the 1930s, but would also reemerge as total exclusion during the Apartheid Regime (see Figures 3 through 6, from Nightingale, 2012). Most significant, Nightingale notes, the systems enacted by these two municipalities "survived internal conflict between whites in two complex industrial societies...that experience unprecedented in-migration of people of color. Most stunningly of all, they achieved their greatest victories during the very climax of the era of decolonization" (Nightingale, 2012).

Figure 3: Density Black population, Chicago, 1930

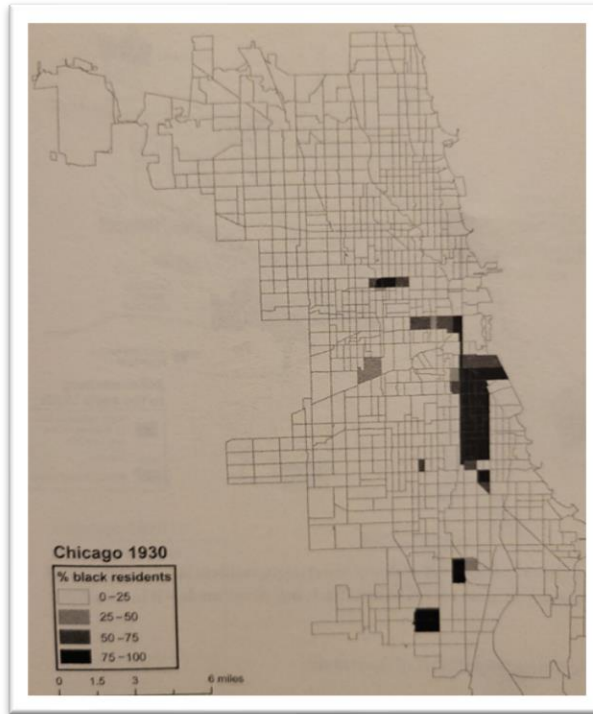


Figure 4: Density Black population, Johannesburg, 1930

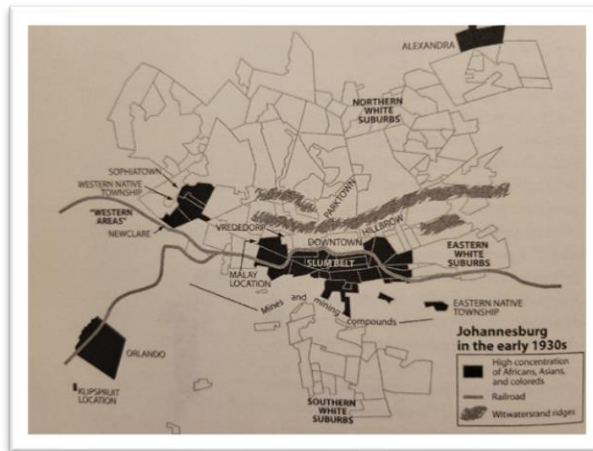


Figure 5: Density Black population, Chicago, 1970

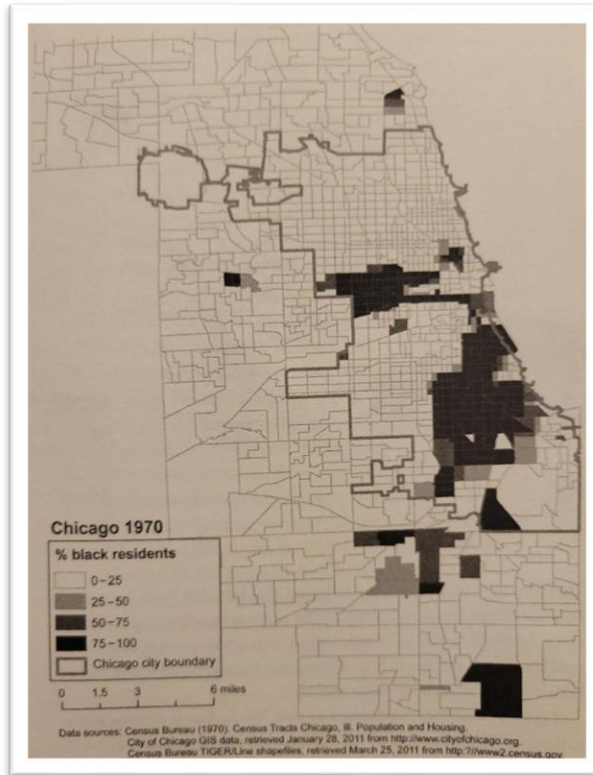
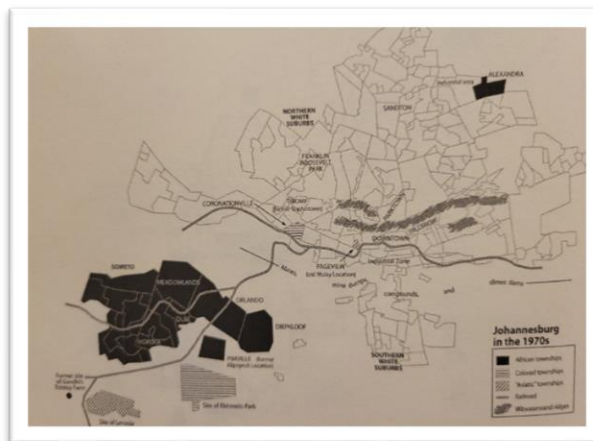


Figure 6: Density Black population, Johannesburg, 1970



Despite being nearly 60 and 30 years removed from segregation and Apartheid, respectively, the ineffective erasure of state-based racialized misrecognition, reified across time, ensures that contemporary US and South African cities remain the grounded in historical High Modernist racialized decisions. While

some Blacks in the United States and South Africa have experienced improvements in overall conditions, the disproportionately political, economic, and social marginalization of Black residents are the persistent remnants of historically state-mandated and state-sanctioned racial subjugation.

Spatially, the Theil Index (H-score), measures “the spatial distributions of different [racial] groups among units in a metropolitan area” (US Census Bureau, Summary File, 1980, 2000, 2018). This measure ranges between zero (completely integrated) and one (completely segregated). To understand the Theil Index, imagine two adjacent neighborhoods of 50 Black residents and 50 white residents. If all 50 Black residents resided in one neighborhood, and all 50 white residents resided in the second, with no integration, the Theil Index would be one. If in the same neighborhoods, 25 Black residents and 25 white residents lived with equal distributions in both neighborhoods, the Theil Index would be zero. In Chicago, the 1980 and 1990 multigroup (all racial categories) scores were .549 and .496, respectively, meaning that for all racial categories the distribution of races over geography became more integrated (US Census Bureau, 2016). When examining Black residents specifically, despite a greater degree of change, from .751 to .687, the H-score remained 38 percentage points higher compared with all races combined (US Census Bureau, Summary File, 1980, 2000, 2018). In Johannesburg, the least segregated metropolitan region in South Africa received a 2018 H-score of .570 (StatsSA, 2019).

Racialized spatial segregation is only one symptom of the interwoven racialized systems and structures historically enacted in the United States and South Africa. While the populations of Black residents in Johannesburg and Chicago are different—Chicago has a Black population of 30 percent, while Johannesburg has a population of 76 percent—when exploring which residents constitute the economically, politically, and socially marginalized, Black residents disproportionately remain the most precariously positioned. Following Guinier and Torres, Melissa Harris-Perry adeptly posits that “the political and economic realities of marginal populations indicate the democratic and economic health of the nation,” and that “vulnerable communities of black and brown Americans foreshadow the underlying problems likely to poison the US system” (Harris-Perry, 2011).

Economically, in 2017, the US unemployment rate for Black Americans was at seven percent, more than double that of white counterparts (3.3 percent). In additional economic terms, the cost of physical segregation, as detailed by the 2017 Metropolitan Planning Council Report, *The Cost of Segregation*, estimates that in Chicago alone, segregation in its current state precludes \$2,982 of income for every Black adult. Spatial segregation alone costs the Chicagoland region an estimated \$4.4 billion, annually. The same report calculated that a reduction in racialized segregation in 2010 would have decreased homicides by 30 percent (167 lives), saving \$65 million in policing and \$218 million in corrections costs, as well as boosting the real estate economy by \$6 billion (Acs et al., 2017).

In South Africa, segregation and marginalization in urban forms and functions are pronounced to an even greater degree. In the final quarter of 2018, the unemployment rate was 25.1 percent for all South Africans. However, the rate between Black and white South Africans stood in sharp contrast with unemployment at 30.4 percent for Blacks and 7.6 percent for whites (StatsSA, 2019). A 2016 study highlighted that the wealth and income disparities between Black and white South Africans remained a “legacy of the system of apartheid,” and calculated that the top 1 percent of South Africans control half of the wealth and the top 10 percent control 90 to 95 percent of the wealth (Orthofer, 2016). Nationally, in 2015, Black Africans accounted for the largest percentage of people living below the lower-bound poverty level (R647/month, \$46/month), with 44 percent for men and 49 percent for women (Statistics South Africa, 2017).

The legacy of these racialized enactments continues to impact the political and social policies of the respective cities, as both are attempting to address historical spatial segregation through neoliberal initiatives aimed to address urban issues while better situating themselves within the global urban fabric. Beginning in the 1990s, both cities began neoliberal pathways which have accelerated their transition from industrial centers to global financial centers. Today, the neoliberal pathway encompasses the dual, yet often opposing, logics of “bottom-up” and “citizen as consumer” provision of public goods, against the globalizing economic impacts of being, and sustaining as, “world-cities” (Spatial Development

Framework 2040, n.d.; US Census Bureau, Summary File, 1980, 2000, 2018; Brenner & Theodore, 2002).

Partly through public-private partnership, the City of Chicago adopted the “community-centered” Solutions Toward Ending Poverty (STEP) to eliminate the interwoven and ingrained factors underlying poverty, specifically “segregonomics” (Rooks, 2020); i.e., the fact that white asset building, historically and contemporarily, is derived through asset capture from Black and Brown communities (Nettles, 2021). Similarly, the City of Johannesburg’s 2016 Spatial Development Framework (SDF) was designed to balance the global infrastructure with local community development with an aim of “urban structure for economic growth, job creation, and poverty alleviation” (Spatial Development Framework 2040, n.d.).

3) METHODS

Within linguistic analysis, text as the analytical unit reflects the role of language, which serves as a vehicle of, and for, ideology, “meaning that they may or may not deliberately aim to maintain or transform power relations within a given social institution or domain” (Lindekilde, 2014). In the municipal sphere, this can take varied (and at times contradictory) forms, such as advancing emancipatory discourses and policies that challenge hegemonic power structures within systems, and structures that reinforce the same hegemonic power structures.

Through a shared ontological root, discourse analysis and “frame analysis [are both] preoccupied with how ideas, culture, and ideology are used, interpreted, and spliced together with certain situations or phenomena to construct particular ideative patterns through which the world is understood by audiences” (Lindekilde, 2014). In this way, both techniques explore the dialogic structures and practices of the social constructions of the world, particularly in moments of change or contestation with discourse analysis examining construction, and in enactment of framing analysis.

Performing exploratory research with the intent of identifying latent frames present in contemporary digital discourse required layering of multiple techniques (digital ethnographic techniques and grounded theory) to first identify, and then code, the topics discussed by the municipalities. Discourse

and frame analysis were then layered to explore general municipal discursive practices, latent frames, and enactment of these frames.

Within digital field sites, the tweets collected were coded using grounded theory for text topics and quasi-grounded theory for public relations strategy. In this way, the coding, especially for text topics, was considered as a separate methodological process removed from presuppositions of theoretical constructs to provide in-process validation of the presence of topics and themes. Only after completion of the coding were the tweets reintegrated into the theoretical construct to explore the presence of text topics along dimensions of Blackness. Those were present were then identified and explored using discourse and frame analysis.

Through explicitly denoting the intent of the layering, the coupling of ethnography and grounded theory has methodological roots dating to the works of Locke and Ambler-Hutchinson (Goulding, 2005; Locke, 1996; Wilson and Hutchinson, 1996). Traditional ethnographic techniques center on participant observation to explore culture and cultural production and collect data from the field, in a natural environment. The emergence of digital ethnography has followed suit in conjunction with the growth of the Internet as both site and source of culture. Posts collected from Twitter for analysis enable participant observation in a uniquely unbiased way. Asynchronous collection of publicly available Twitter posts ensures that participants' behavior, and the emergent codes and themes are not influenced by the researcher (Dunne, 2011; Lindekilde, 2014).

Within the parameters of digital ethnography, this research extended the methods discussed by Sommer in using grounded theory to code digitally multimodal data (Sommer, 2020). Grounded theory is distinguished from other research traditions in that a separate strand removed from the literature enables “discovery of theory from data” (Glaser et al., 1968). Data codes emerge only from the text or data that is present in the data set, and not a theoretically constructed preset list. In this way, data coded through grounded theory, when reintegrated into analysis, provides in-process validation.

Using manual coding protocol in line with Steinfeld (Steinfeld & Lev-On, 2018), each tweet in the corpus was manually coded for two factors—first, public relations strategy, and second, text topic.

Within each factor, categorical levels were created using a quasi-grounded method as a grounded approach, as it is “not focused on testing a hypothesis from existing theoretical frameworks but develops a new ‘theory’ grounded in empirical data collected in the field,” and “... demands that data collection and analysis occur concurrently” (Dunne, 2011).

To ensure coder reliability, two blind recoding cycles were undertaken. The first cycle involved recoding the first 100 tweets from the combined corpus and determining if the coding between the first and second cycles remained consistent. A second cycle selected 25 tweets, randomly, from the respective corpora to ensure, again, that coding was consistent.

A. Public Relations Strategy Factor

Broadly, descriptive analysis of the cross-tabulations of the public relations strategies which were used to enact specific and collective topics provided insight into the differences in strategies, and goals used by municipalities to communicate messages to various audiences.

The preliminary public relations strategy levels were adapted from the public relations taxonomy of symbols and text established by Hazleton. The original taxonomy included facilitative, informative, persuasive, threat and punishment, promise and reward, cooperative problem solving, and bargaining (Hazleton, 1993b; Lee & Cho, 2018). An additional seven factors emerged from the data through grounded coding.

From Hazleton, bargaining occurs through “two-way asymmetrical in that participants are likely to have incompatible goals and information withholding...characterized by contrasting symbols which differentiate groups, such as ‘we’ and ‘they.’” By contrast, cooperative problem solving is characterized by the use of the same symbols of “we” and “they,” but used as an inclusivity technique designed to engage the audience in collaborative action or open exchange of ideas.

In addition to persuasive, which is defined by its use of non-neutral language to appeal to the public’s values or emotions to reflect issue importance or organization stance, two additional factors emerged. First, promotion, was subdivided into three levels: promotion-mayor, promotion-

city/department, and promotion-community. Second, values, were also subdivided into three levels: core-values, mayor-core-values, and city-core-values. The aim of these factors and levels is not to drive specific physical or digital behavioral outcomes, but to establish or reinforce alignment with a person or organization.

Hazleton's coercive factor, defined as those which "involve the exercise of power, threats and promises to obtain compliance presume audience resistance and control of audience outcomes" (Hazleton, 1993) included two levels: promise and reward, which denote communications that use resources, including compensation, to control an outcome; and threat and punishment, which leverage fear as a motivation to control the outcome (Hazleton, 1993; Page & Hazleton, 1999).

The last factor to emerge from the data was power. While promise and reward, and threat and punishment, both enact forms of power, their statements were conditional "in pursuit of a specific outcome." In defining power, the conditional implication was removed, and the intent was not to solicit a response but to reinforce the innate power of the municipality or mayor.

Through the grounded coding cycles, the final lists included 14 public relations strategy levels for the City of Chicago, and 16 for the City of Johannesburg (see Appendixes A and B). In each tweet, the corpus received no more than two non-repeating levels. Of the 842 tweets in the Chicago corpus, 801 were coded for at least one public relations strategy level. Of the 814 tweets in the Johannesburg corpus, 810 were coded for at least one public relations strategy level.

B. Text Topic Taxonomy Factors

The text topic coding process replicated the techniques used for public relations strategy factors and levels. Tweet text topic levels were created by using a grounded approach with a preliminary list of topics levels identified during a cursory review of non-research period tweets. The preliminary list included broad topic levels, such as housing, transportation, and income and equity, as well as subtopic levels, such as transportation-public, government-administrative, and gender.

The final topic level lists included 67 levels for the City of Chicago and 51 levels for the City of Johannesburg (see appendixes C and D). Each tweet received up to three non-replicated levels. From the City of Chicago, 754 of 801 tweets received text topic codes; from the City of Johannesburg, 747 were similarly coded.

C. Frame Analysis

Frame analysis, in line with methods undertaken by Walby and Joshua (Walby & Joshua, 2021), described previously, was performed to understand how race and racialized issues were framed within the municipal corpus. As such, a subset of the corpus was identified through identifying tweets coded with text topic “person of color-Black” and with tweets resulting from keyword searches for “Black” and “African American”; geographic locations of high Black populations, such as the west and south sides of Chicago and the townships of Soweto and Alexandra; and text topics levels aligned with issues pertinent to Black urbanity, such as housing, policing, and community development.

Following coding and validation checks, discourse analysis was applied to specifically examine the construction of social reality—the ways through which ideas and ideologies are constituted through text creation, production, and dissemination within a broader social context (Norman Fairclough, 1992b; Lindekilde, 2014), complemented by frame analysis to explore how constituted ideologies, frames, are used “deliberately to mobilize supporters and demobilize adversaries vis-à-vis a particular goal” (Lindekilde, 2014).

Within the discourse literature, Foucault was instrumental in expanding the discourse of discourse by contributing the intersections of discursive, political, and social constructions of power (Fairclough, 1992; Waitt, 2010). However, while grounded in Foucault’s literature, Fairclough’s text-oriented discourse analysis (TODA) social change and discourse analysis framework is a critical departure from Foucauldian discourse analysis. Specifically, these limitations centered on Foucault’s limited “linguistic and discourse analysis of real texts,” as well as his decentering of social contestation. The use of Fairclough’s social practice analysis depends on critical readings of discourse through situating it within

“the [broader] social and hegemonic relations and structures” (Fairclough, 1992) in which it was constituted, in this case, Black feminism.

To identify emergent frames, each tweet, and tweet group, was iteratively read for transitivity, theme, modality, metaphor, interdiscursivity and manifest intertextuality, and presupposition, as outlined by Fairclough, and analyzed for common textually similar elements (Fairclough, 1992). Groups identified through this level of analysis were then analyzed for their collective framing tasks (see Table 3), which “serve to identify the constituting building blocks of a particular frame” (Lindekilde, 2014).

Table 3. Fairclough Dimensions of Social Change and Discourse Analysis

Discourse Practice	Text	Social Practice
Intertextual Chains	Interactional Control	Social Matrix of Discourse
Interdiscursivity	Cohesion	Orders of Discourse
Manifest Intertextuality	Politeness	Ideological and Political Effects of Discourse
Conditions of Discourse Practice	Ethos	
	Grammar	
	Transitivity	
	Theme	
	Modality	
	Word Meaning	
	Wording	
	Metaphor	

Twitter posts from the verified accounts of the City of Chicago (@chicagosmayor) and the City of Johannesburg (@CityofJoburgZA) were collected for a four-month period between December 1, 2019, and March 31, 2020. The dates were selected to ensure consistency within the respective corpora by capturing only one mayoral administration. In May 2019, Lori Lightfoot was inaugurated as the mayor of Chicago and the first Black Lesbian Mayor of a major US metropolitan region. In Johannesburg, Geoff Makhubo was inaugurated on December 4, 2019, following the unexpected resignation of Johannesburg Mayor Herman Mashaba on October 21, 2019.

Existing theory provides no clear-cut guidelines for the selection of sample size for qualitative research. As this research used mixed methods, the length of time was selected to ensure that it was “large

enough to allow the unfolding of ‘new and richly textured understanding’ of the phenomenon under study,” but small enough so that the ‘deep, case-oriented analysis is not precluded’” (Morse, 2000; Vasileiou et al., 2018). To sufficiently capture both dimensions for analysis, 10,472 tweets were collected over a four-month period using *rtweet* package in R (Kearney, 2019).

In the four-month data collection period, 9,632 tweets from @CityofJoburgZA, (92 percent) and 840 from Chicago, @chicagosmayor (8 percent) were collected. Given the corpora imbalance, a 10 percent day-based stratified sample was applied to the City of Johannesburg tweets, resulting in a corpus of 992 tweets. An additional 178 tweets were removed, as their text-based content was not codable, resulting in a corpus of 814. A combined corpus of 1,654 tweets were used for analysis.

Finally, for frame analysis, a subset of 84 tweets was identified from the combined corpus based on tweet topics which aligned with Black identity, and potential intersectional issues, including public safety and policing, housing, civil unrest, income and equity, income and poverty, violence, and community economic development were identified.

4) RESULTS

A. PR Strategies Level

a. Chicago

For the City of Chicago, 94 percent of tweets (801) received a primary public relations strategy code. Of these, 84 percent (679) also received a second public relations strategy level code. Over the 18-week data collection period, 1,472 public relations strategies levels were coded for the entire Chicago corpus.

Within the City of Chicago corpus, the five levels with the highest total count accounted for 1,120 of the overall total—in other words, 35 percent of the code levels accounted for 76 percent of the total strategies employed. As a percentage of the tweets, the five highest levels represented 40, 33, 27, 24, 15, and 11 percent, (respectively, persuasive, informative, promotion-mayor, facilitate, promotion-city, and promotion-department. On the other end, threat-punishment, bargaining, and promise-reward, combined,

accounted for approximately percent of the total coded levels. In addition, the power level represented just over percent of the total coded levels.

With respect to time, the top five public relations strategies remained relatively consistent throughout the research period; however, a few weeks of divergence occurred. The first peak was in weeks two and three, when a marked increase in persuasive tweets regarding two significant city events occurred. The first event, *#InvestSouthWest*, involved a city-led financial investment program in the south and west sides of Chicago; the second event featured announcements on the return of the Chicago Public Library Sunday service hours, specifically framed as a mayoral-led accomplishment. The second peak coincided with the promotion of mayoral activities in securing federal resources, federal policy commentary, and Black History Month statements. The third peak was in week 15, when a marked increase in persuasive, facilitative, and informative tweets occurred as the City began communicating about the COVID-19 pandemic.

b. Johannesburg

For the City of Johannesburg, 810 of the 814 (99 percent) were coded for a primary public relations strategy. Of these, 41 percent (332) were also coded for a secondary public relations strategy, for a combined 1,142 public strategy levels coded over the research period. For the City of Johannesburg corpus, the top five levels (31 percent) accounted for 75 percent of all levels coded within the corpus. As a share of total tweets, the five highest levels, represented at 34, 23, 23, 15, and 11 percent were, respectively, for informative, persuasive, service, promotion-city-department, and facilitative. In this set of data, the levels of bargaining, promise and reward, value-core, and value-core-mayor were the least coded within the corpus. Power as a public relations level was used in approximately 5 percent of total coded levels. Unique to the Johannesburg data set, service and service-advocacy accounted for 23 percent of total strategies employed. In weeks three through six, a marked decrease correlated to the festive (holiday) season. More variance occurred in the frequency of which public relations strategies

were engaged; more and higher peaks and troughs were recorded, as compared with data for the City of Chicago.

B. Text Topics

a. Johannesburg Twitter Topics

For the City of Johannesburg, 747 (92 percent of the total) received a primary code, 179 (22 percent of the total) received a secondary code, and 22 (2 percent of the total) received a tertiary code. The 10 most frequently coded text topic levels (20 percent of the total) accounted for 84 percent of the total topic levels coded: utilities, electricity (14 percent) and water service (6 percent); transportation-streets and roads (13 percent); public health issues related to COVID-19 (13 percent) and public health in general (4 percent); municipal-administration (8 percent) and municipal-fiscal (4 percent); public safety (4 percent); and arts and culture (8 percent). Over time, the text topic patterns that emerged included the peak count of COVID-19 in week 17, followed by municipal administration topics in week 11, arts and culture, and electric-utility in weeks 7 and 2, respectively, followed, by general public health in week 13.

b. Chicago Twitter Topics

For the City of Chicago, 754 (90 percent) of tweets received a primary topic code, 514 (61 percent) received a secondary topic code, and 193 (23 percent) received tertiary codes. The top 10 text levels coded (15 percent) accounted for 58 percent of the total levels coded for the project time. Most notably, nearly half of these text levels were related to COVID-19. After COVID-19, the next most common text topic levels, each with 6 percent, were income and poverty, and equity and inclusion. Tweets related to cannabis, community economic development, and youth each represented 4 percent, with national politics, gun violence, and city governance representing 3, 2, and 2 percent, respectively.

As seen in the Johannesburg corpus, distinct troughs and peaks emerged when the text topics were evaluated over time. COVID-19 as a topic emerged beginning with week 14 and peaked in week 17.

In the weeks before COVID-19, tweets discussing income and inclusion were the dominant topics in week 13.

5) ANALYSIS

This research, up to the current point, has broadly explored municipal discursive practices in disseminating specific topics across public relations strategies for the cities of Johannesburg and Chicago. Further analysis will center on the constitutive and ideational aspects of the municipal tweets derived from social discourse analysis and frame analysis situated within the social matrix of Black feminism.

A. Discourse Practice

Fairclough defines discourse practice as the “real instances of people doing or saying or writing things” (Fairclough, 1992). In this practical definition, he employs a framework of dimensions of discourse practice, including conditions of discourse, interdiscursivity/manifest intertextuality, and intertextual chains through which to examine their individual and collective constitution.

The Twitter platform enforces genre-specific tweet structures, such as 280-character tweet maximums and indexing using hashtags. Beyond structure, both accounts situate their ethos, the constructed self, as representative, or as an extension, of the mayor. In both timelines, tweets written in the first-person, without quotations or citations, were generally restricted to the voice of the mayor, as Chicago’s twitter handle has historically referenced the mayor and not the city, for example *@mayorrahm* and *@mayordaley*. Chicago, however, uses first-person voice more frequently than does *@CityofJoburgZA*. For *@chicagosmayor*, the first instance was documented on the second day of data collection; for Johannesburg, the first instance occurred on the 54th day of the research period.

Despite Twitter production and dissemination managed by City of Chicago marketing and communication staff, tweets not written in the mayoral first-person remained authorially unattributed, in a manner which nominalized, or backgrounded, the animator (staffer). Not only did *@chicagosmayor* enact the mayor’s voice ethos with greater frequency, it also showed greater adherence to the maintenance of this ethos throughout the discourse. The City of Johannesburg exhibited more co-collaborative production

and dissemination practices. In addition to Mayor Makhubo, 15 distinct digital signatures were included in approximately 50 percent (385 tweets) of the corpus.

Additional differences in the dimensions of discursive practices centered on account tenor, through formality, politeness, and interactional control. Interactional control, the “distribution of turns, selection and change of topics...etc.,” within a corpus, while ensuring discourse organization, most importantly, “...embod[ies] specific claims about social and power relationships between participants” (Norman Fairclough, 1992). Johannesburg exhibited more engagement with resident-initiated discourses and therefore less interactional control. In this regard, service and service-advocacy text topic levels accounted for approximately 25 percent of the City of Johannesburg’s Twitter timeline.

Finally, Johannesburg exhibited higher levels of conversationality and textual positive politeness, defined as “the desired to be liked, understood, admired” (Fairclough, 1992). Compared with 21 instances for Chicago, the Johannesburg corpus included 98 instances of the words or phrases “please,” “thank you,” and “kindly.” Employed in tweets, these practices are generally undertaken to present an image or identity of power symmetry between the municipality and resident.

A core feature of social media platforms is the ability to directly engage with, as well as transform, content created from other users. The modes through which Johannesburg and Chicago achieved this varied along dimensions of intertextual chains, the “series of text types and the transformations it enters” (Fairclough, 1992), and manifest intertextuality, how that external text is incorporated. Chicago enacted intertextuality through a higher use of media and URLs, which represent a broader diversity of sources—570 instances of media and URLs representing 327 distinct sources. On the other hand, Johannesburg, to a greater degree, incorporated user created content. Of the Johannesburg tweets, 37 percent incorporated external tweets, of which 10 percent were exact retweets with no additional transformations.

B. Frames

“Discourses are always socially embedded, and a text is always shaped by and reshapes existing discourses.” Situating enacted discursive frames within broader social and hegemonic structures and theories enables the exploration of frames “to mobilize supporters and demobilize adversaries vis-à-vis a particular goal” (Lindekilde, 2014). Through an evaluation of the constitutive and task orientations of the tweets within a Black feminist social matrix, six frames emerged. Four frames emerged in both municipalities: Racialized Palimpsest, Syndemic Segregation, Personal Identity, and Black Achievement/Excellence. Separately, the frame Opposition was only present in tweets from Chicago, and Problematization was only present in tweets from Johannesburg.

- *RACIALIZED PALIMPSEST CITY*

The racialized palimpsest city is defined herein as an urban form in which historical racialized forms and functions remain politically, socially, and institutionally legible, and most critically, the legibility of this historical discourse alters and/or undermines new discursive content and context. The notion of the racialized palimpsest city is rooted in Katherine McKittrick’s *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle*. McKittrick connects the materiality of an auction block in the town center of Green Hill, Virginia, to the broader racialized and sexualized oppression it also represents. Today, the auction block, as with many confederate memorabilia, is a historically racialized object which bleeds into contemporary urban discourse. The auction block is not only a material object, but for those who interact with it daily, it is a representation and reflection of the forced bodily subjugation to white hegemonic structural economic, racial, and sexual control (McKittrick, 2006).

As with the auction block, the contemporary city is simultaneously an objective physical entity, as well as the embodiment of the full history of racialized and sexualized economic, political, and social dispossessions and subjugations enacted upon, through it, and by it, collapsed into a singular entity—similar to those who must walk in the shadow of the auction block in Green Hill, VA. It is this singular

physical and symbolic form from which, through which, and on which, actors contest and define the city today, for tomorrow.

Broadly, all four frames shared by both the municipalities reference the racialized history of the respective cities. The context, voice, as well as implicitness and explicitness of these contextualization comprise one dimension of frame categorization. However, distinctly, the Racialized Palimpsest frame designates those tweets which specifically and overtly referenced historically rooted individual or collective experience within the city. Through explicit representation, tweets served the diagnostic task of “identification of problem or attribution of blame” (Lindekilde, 2014a), and the amplification of racialized palimpsest issues. The problems attributed are systemic and generational inequality and disinvestment. The two presumed goals for these tweets are first, core value alignment between the municipality and audience; and second, provision of discursive intertextual reference points for other tweets and frames that rely on presupposition.

- *SYNDEMIC SEGREGATION*

Racialized spatial forms are one consequence of historical and contemporary decisions made in support of white hegemonic order and control. As noted, archsegregation taken to the extremes, while centered in physical segregation, in Chicago and Johannesburg, has been pervasive and persistent because of its simultaneously enacted social, economic, and political exclusion and marginalization. These systems and structures are not enacted independently but are interconnected and additively harmful. To define these processes and their interactions, syndemic segregation is defined as a consequence of the racialized palimpsest city; built on the notion of racism as a public health issue is the inseparable and interconnected systems and structures of racialized political, social, and economic, and spatial segregations, grounded in marginalization and misrecognition, which have additively negative outcomes for members of a community (Woodard, 2019; Singer, 2009). Critically, the definition rests upon the reality that the dimensions, interactional dynamics, and scales of syndemic segregations reflect the specific racialized palimpsest histories and politics of the specific geographies of nested jurisdictions. The

dimensions of syndemic segregations often intersect health and wellness, environmental concerns, education, employment, housing, sexual violence, and public safety.

The Syndemic Segregation frame reflects a prognostic task. Without referencing specific histories/events, tweets in this frame provides strategies and tactics to combat contemporary issues of syndemic segregation issues, including poverty, housing, or economic development. For the general public, the goal is persuasion. However, those who are allies, or have had a lived experience, can without explicit reference situate the text in racialized history, the frame employs an in-group/out-group “we” collective, which advances the values alignment and cooperative problem-solving and enhances a reading of municipal/resident democratization.

- PERSONAL IDENTITY

In this frame, racialized histories are explicitly or implicitly referenced and fall within two categories: personal statements and language. Personal statements provide first-person accounts of syndemic segregation or racialized palimpsests. Language was used to signify core value alignment and cooperative problem solving, without using inclusive explicit “we” language. This was also a direct messaging to others who share the same language—serving as a signal of value alignment.

- OPPOSITION

In this frame, conceptions of Blackness and dimensions of syndemic segregation were used explicitly in opposition to US federal policy and initiatives. This frame connects to the cooperative problem solving public relations strategy through use of “we” and “us” to create value alignment. However, the “them” is the Trump White House and federal administration policies. This frame was used to reinforce value alignment between the municipality and residents. The Opposition frame drew on presupposition of political opposition, specifically, Republicans, in heavily democratic Chicago.

- *BLACK ACHIEVEMENT/EXCELLENCE*

This prognostic frame is built on negative historical or contemporary presuppositions of Blackness. These tweets undermined negative presuppositions with historical Black community achievements and Black community leaders to combat historical and contemporary syndemic segregation.

- *PROBLEMATIZATION*

This diagnostic frame, similar to Black achievement, was built on negative presuppositions of Blackness. However, unlike Black achievement, this frame reflects and advances these presuppositions centering on Black criminality and lawlessness. While not mentioning Blackness textually, the presupposition of race was dually enacted, first, by the use of shared language directly targeting specific audiences, particularly the use of isiZulu; and second, through imagery—the only images presented of people in police custody were Black. The goal of this is stigmatizing shame, socially enacted yet individually felt shame, meant to induce a global self-identity reevaluation, which can be used to enforce group norms and values (Harris-Perry, 2011).

6) DISCUSSION

Through further analysis of the constitutive similarities and dissimilarities, the frames can be paired based on the definition of discursive characteristics and framing goals. Black Achievement/Excellence and Problematization are centered in negative presuppositions of Blackness; Black Achievement challenges these conceptions, while Problematization reifies them. Personal Identity and Opposition are centered in an “us versus them” rhetoric. Oppositional tweets reflect “I am with you,” while Personal Identity reflects “I am you.” The Syndemic Segregation and Racialized Palimpsest frames reflect historical racialized harm. Syndemic Segregation, without direct reference, relies on inherent knowledges to reach its audience, while the Racialized Palimpsest frame explicitly details historical harms to engage broader audiences.

Fairclough's discourse tendencies of democratization provides a way to contextualize some of the ways in which discourse practices and framing practices come together. In line with the insights into the framing practices of Canadian police departments, presented by Walby and Joshua's research, the discursive and framing practices of the City of Chicago and the City of Johannesburg exist in a state of contradiction. Generally, social media technologies and platforms were adopted to increase citizen engagement and participation. In addition, Chicago, for instance, employs the Personal Identity frame designed to align administration actions and policies in support of core identities of marginalized residents, particularly with regard to race, gender, and sexual orientation. However, this is done through traditional discursive practices denoted by tight interactional control and limited intertextuality which reflect highly hegemonic and differentiated power.

The City of Johannesburg, similarly, enacts discursive practices contradictorily. The City exhibits democratization through symmetric interactional control, and informality, including the use of language, particularly isiZulu, to align along racial dimensions while simultaneously enacting racial frames that use problematized Blackness to mobilize resident behaviors. However, this is contrasted with the frame of Problematization only within the Johannesburg corpus. Language can democratize and align along values and identity; however, it can also direct frames towards specific audience members. In Johannesburg, the hashtag “*#BuyaMthetho*,” which has a direct translation from isiZulu to “Return the law,” was associated with 21 tweets in the Johannesburg corpus. Of these, seven were associated with arrests, including guns, drugs, and weapons charge arrests in greater Johannesburg; all seven included images of the criminals, all of whom were Black. This enactment stands in contrast to the hashtag *#waronpotholes*, written in English, as a means to get residents to report pothole locations.

7) LIMITATIONS AND CONCLUSION

The turn of the 20th century brought forth the profession of planning localized global delineations of race into the spatial, social, political, and economic ordering of cities. By the 1920's, Chicago and Johannesburg begun enacting similar Eurocentric segregationist spatial planning tools and policies to their

most “radical and comprehensive forms.” With High Modernist precision, these localities would become exemplars in the use of physical isolation to undergird comprehensive systems of economic, social, and political marginalization and subjugation of their respective Black populaces.

Currently, again leveraging similarly rooted development policies aimed for poverty and segregation abatement, the persistence of these historic realities, ineffectively erased, are still writ large in their respective spatial forms, but also in the broader and interconnected political, social, and economic structures and systems which create the lived experiences of their most marginalized residents.

This research used mixed-methods digital ethnography, coupled with quasi-grounded coding, social change discourse, and frame analysis, within a Black feminist social matrix, to examine the latent and explicit ways that racialized histories of the respective cities continue to inform and influence digital municipal discourse surrounding Blackness, based on the data collected from four-months of tweets from the official Twitter accounts of the City of Chicago, Illinois, United States, and the City of Johannesburg, South Africa.

During the research period, four shared frames emerged: Racialized Palimpsest, Syndemic Segregation, Personal Identity, and Black Achievement/Excellence. Separately, the frame Opposition was only present in tweets from Chicago, and Problematization was only present in tweets from Johannesburg. In addition to frames, contradictions emerged in the discursive practices of both municipalities with regard to the emancipatory practices of resident engagement and access and hegemonic control.

Broadly, it is necessary to explore the differences in rhetoric and practice, in the same way that Equal Opportunity Employment statements may diverge from hiring practice. Most critical in the analysis is that these are latent frames which emerged in disparate tweets throughout the research period. At its core, misrecognizing residents, even digitally, inhibits their full participation in the processes of government. While both cities enact an ethos of the mayor, their platforms are operated by professional staffs of multiple members. The presence of these frames over time reflects latent collective individual or institutional constructions of race. For “inclusive” municipalities, contradictions in frames, as well as

discursive practices, can indicate mixed, or flawed, messaging reflective of internal inconsistency or intended enactments, which can ultimately influence resident recognition, participation, and inclusion.

The use of grounded theory within a limited time frame limits the generalizability of this research. As such, this research can, and should, be replicated across identities and geographies to understand which frames are used by municipalities, as well as the gaps and contradictions in state-based misrecognition of marginalized communities, if present. For urbanist and social justice practitioners, understanding the frames and discursive practices underlying their daily discursive practices with municipalities, particularly when enacted contradictorily, provides points of contestation and accountability in their resistances against traditional hegemonic control.

Finally, development of this work established vocabularies of syndemic segregation, in acknowledgement of the interwoven and additively harmful racialized dimensions of the lived experiences of Black residents, and the racialized palimpsest city. In connecting the Black feminist work of Wynter and McKittrick, these vocabularies provide a historical and transnational contextualization through which to explore not just discourse but the broader contestations of space and place.

Because of the exploratory nature of the research, the fact that social media remains a significant component of municipal communications and resident engagement indicates that a more expansive study must be undertaken. While the present study is a snapshot of two municipalities in one frame of time, more investigation is warranted across national and subnational geographies. Alternate implementations of this research can yield a plethora of understanding, temporally or geographically. A repeated study of Chicago and Johannesburg can provide additional insight into the pervasiveness of these themes. Longitudinal studies can provide insight into the changes in prevalence in themes against the backdrops of changes in urban demographics and audiences.

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9) APPENDIXES

Appendix A. **Public Relations Strategy Levels, Chicago**

- A. bargaining
- B. coop_prob
- C. facilitate
- D. informative
- E. persuasive
- F. power
- G. promise_reward
- H. promo_city_dept
- I. promo_community
- J. promo_mayor
- K. threat_punish
- L. value_core_
- M. value_core_city
- N. value_core_mayor

Appendix B. **Public Relations Strategy Levels, Johannesburg**

- A. bargaining
- B. coop_prob
- C. facilitate
- D. informative
- E. persuasive
- F. power
- G. promise_reward
- H. promo_city_dept
- I. promo_community
- J. promo_mayor
- K. service
- L. service-advocacy
- M. threat_punish
- N. value_core_
- O. value_core_city
- P. value_core_mayor

Appendix C. **Text Topic Levels, Johannesburg**

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ access_ability ▪ access_econ ▪ access_general ▪ arts_cult ▪ bus_affairs ▪ bus_comm ▪ bus_comm_tech_sector ▪ bus_econ_dev ▪ cannabis/drug ▪ city_admin ▪ city_fiscal ▪ city_gov ▪ civil_unrest ▪ comm_econ_dev ▪ comm_engagement ▪ comm_gen ▪ econ_city ▪ econ_nat ▪ education ▪ employment ▪ equity_ao_inclusion ▪ food ▪ gender ▪ housing ▪ immigration ▪ income_equity ▪ income_poverty ▪ infrastructure ▪ jhb_geo_CBD ▪ jhb_geo_citywide ▪ jhb_geo_informal ▪ jhb_geo_north ▪ jhb_geo_south ▪ jhb_geo_suburbs ▪ jhb_geo_west ▪ legal_general ▪ legal_reform ▪ lgbtq ▪ library ▪ nat_resource ▪ other ▪ parks ▪ ph_covid 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ph_general ▪ ph_sanitation ▪ poc_black ▪ poc_latino ▪ policy_gen ▪ policy_local ▪ policy_nat ▪ policy_state ▪ politics_local ▪ politics_nat ▪ politics_state ▪ pub_saf_ ▪ pub_saf_community ▪ pub_saf_policing ▪ seniors ▪ sports_rec ▪ srvc_social ▪ tourism ▪ trans_air ▪ trans_all ▪ trans_alt ▪ trans_public ▪ trans_streets ▪ urban_planning ▪ utilities_electric ▪ utilities_loadshedding ▪ utilities_other ▪ utilities_waste ▪ utilities_water_srvc ▪ utilities_water_sust ▪ violence_crime ▪ violence_gen_comm ▪ violence_gun ▪ weather ▪ youth
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Appendix D. **Text Topic Levels, Chicago**

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ access_ability ▪ access_econ ▪ access_general ▪ arts_cult ▪ bus_affairs ▪ bus_comm ▪ bus_comm_tech_sector ▪ bus_econ_dev ▪ cannibis ▪ chi_geo_citywide ▪ chi_geo_downtown ▪ chi_geo_north ▪ chi_geo_south ▪ chi_geo_west ▪ city_admin ▪ city_fiscal ▪ city_gov ▪ comm_econ_dev ▪ comm_engagement ▪ comm_gen ▪ econ_city ▪ econ_nat ▪ education ▪ employment ▪ equity_ao_inclusion ▪ food ▪ gender ▪ housing ▪ immigration ▪ income_equity ▪ income_poverty ▪ legal_general ▪ legal_reform ▪ lgbtq ▪ library ▪ nat_resource ▪ other ▪ parks ▪ ph_covid ▪ ph_general 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ph_sanitation ▪ poc_all ▪ poc_asian ▪ policy_local ▪ policy_nat ▪ policy_state ▪ politics_local ▪ politics_nat ▪ politics_state ▪ pub_saf_ ▪ pub_saf_community ▪ pub_saf_policing ▪ seniors ▪ sports_rec ▪ srvcs_social ▪ tourism ▪ trans_air ▪ trans_all ▪ trans_alt ▪ trans_public ▪ trans_streets ▪ urban_planning ▪ utilities ▪ violence_crime ▪ violence_gen_comm ▪ violence_gun ▪ weather ▪ youth
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CHAPTER III. BLACK RESIDENT ENGAGEMENT AND CONTESTATION OF MUNICIPAL DIGITAL DISCURSIVE AND FRAMING PRACTICES OF BLACKNESS IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, AND JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA.

ABSTRACT

This research centers on Black users connected to the verified Twitter accounts of Chicago, Illinois and Johannesburg, South Africa, situated within a novel triadic analytical framework between urban actors, specifically Black residents, Black networks (community), and local municipalities. This work connects to existing research which used social change and discourse analysis and frame analysis to identify, through a Black feminist socio-historical social matrix, six latent frames of Blackness employed by these municipalities in their contemporary digital discourse: Racialized Palimpsest, Syndemic Segregation Interventions, Black Achievement/Excellence, Problematization, Opposition, Personal Identity. As an incorporated comparison, leveraging qualitative and quantitative analyses, this study uses Twitter data collected between December 1, 2019, and March 31, 2020, specifically the 84 tweets which constituted the previously established frames, to explore the engagement modes of Black users in direct digital discourses with municipalities, and their respective social networks, with regard to topics and frames of Blackness. The primary findings which emerged from this research were, first, a pattern of racially differentiated engagements with regard to the latent frame, and their constituting tweets, based on the frame's dimensions of constitution and enactment goals. Second, in relation to their individual user networks, these racialized responses demonstrated the influence these users had as curators and influencers when transmitting municipal tweets into digital Black subalterns.

1) INTRODUCTION

As urbanists strive to create cities which reflect and respond to the needs of all residents, meeting the needs of the most vulnerable is imperative. As elaborated by Melissa Harris-Perry, "the political and economic realities of marginal populations indicate the democratic and economic health of the nation," and that "vulnerable communities of black and brown Americans foreshadow the underlying problems likely to poison the US system" (Harris-Perry, 2011). Necessary to achieving urban environments which are inclusive of all residents, the lived experiences and voices of the historically and contemporarily

marginalized need to be fully engaged in the processes and programs of urban co-creation, at all levels and modes of communication, including municipal digital spaces and forums.

The full engagement of marginalized voices is predicated on the full recognition of their agency and personhood across all social, economic, and political spheres. As Hegel notes, full recognition enables “citizens to operate as equals within the confines of the social contract” (Harris-Perry, 2011). Misrecognition, either through intent or lack of empathy, is the failure to “extend people the respect or esteem that is due to them in virtue of who they are” (Harris-Perry, 2011).

Misrecognition, when racially motivated, is enacted through stigmatizing shame. While shame is an individually felt emotion which induces a global self-identity re-evaluation used, positively or negatively, to enforce group norms and values, stigmatizing shame is the conscious “select[ion] of certain groups, marking them of as ‘abnormal’ and demanding they blush at what and who they are” (Nussbaum, 2004). Collectively, stigmatizing shame and misrecognition “prevent one from participating as a peer in social life” (Harris-Perry, 2011). When these are enacted as state-mandated or state-sanctioned imperatives, it “violates the foundational social contract of liberal democracies...subverting the possibility of equal democratic participation” (Harris-Perry, 2011).

For Black residents, this stigmatization has been purposefully crafted to ensure participation in, yet unequal full participatory access to, the social, political, and economic freedoms granted by the nation. When enacted by the local municipality in any form, misrecognition serves as a barrier to public participation and translates into unequal “spatial and economic allocations of [municipal] investment, goods and services” (Trounstine, 2016).

Over time, intentional misrecognition and stigmatizing shame on the local level becomes ingrained in the very spatial, economic, political structures through which the city exists. These structures without effective erasure are reified daily, and the historical spatial, economic and political harms which were ineradicably embedded in the urban fabric which continue to inform and influence the lived experiences of Black residents. In this way, the city reifying historical harms acts a racialized palimpsest, which I define as an urban form in which historical racialized forms and functions remain politically,

socially, and institutionally legible, and most critically, the legibility of this historical discourse alters and/or undermines new discursive content and context.

This definition is grounded in Katherine McKittrick's *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle*. McKittrick connects the contemporary physical presence of an auction block in the town center of Green Hill, Virginia, to the broader historical racialized and sexualized oppressions which occurred through it and on it. As such, the city, as a racialized palimpsest city, also is both material and symbolic – historical objects and space bleeding into and altering the discursive readings of the contemporary (McKittrick, 2006).

The racially differentiated outcomes of this racialized palimpsest city intersect with multiple health, social, economic and political dimensions, including the unequal “spatial and economic allocations of [municipal] investment, goods and services” (Trounstein, 2016). Syndemic segregation is defined as a consequence of the racialized palimpsest city, built on the notion of racism is a public health issue, is the inseparable and interconnected systems and structures of racialized political, social, and economic, and spatial segregations, grounded in marginalization and misrecognition, which have additively negative outcomes for members of a community (Woodard, 2019) (Singer, 2009). Critically, the definition rests upon the reality that the dimensions, interactional dynamics, and scales of syndemic segregations reflect the specific racialized palimpsest histories and politics of the specific geographies of nested jurisdictions. The dimensions of syndemic segregations often intersect health and wellness, environmental concerns, education, employment, housing, sexual violence, and public safety.

The city is the most proximal unit of government to the daily lives of residents with the most comprehensive administrative control on the economic, spatial, physical well-being of its residents spanning multiple dimensions of citizen welfare including housing, public health, transportation, education, and community development. As such, the physical and symbolic city often becomes the site of discourse and contestation of place and space. Just as technological innovations have enabled the expansion of the city into the digital realm, these digital forums have become new sites of municipally-centered discourse and contestation. In other words, as technology has advanced residents contesting

syndemic segregation within the racialized palimpsest city have engaged digital publics, including municipal publics, as sites of urban contestation.

Centered in this construction of racialized urban place and space, previous research (Woodard, unpublished) sought to identify through frame analysis, the latent frames in which Blackness, and dimensions of Blackness, were enacted in digital space in as either construction or destruction of historical misrecognitions in order “to mobilize supporters and demobilize adversaries vis-à-vis a particular goal” (Lindekilde, 2014) .

Within the triadic framework between Black residents, Black networks and municipalities within a historically racialized context, the goal of this research is to explore these latent municipal frames of Blackness, from the perspective of the Black resident, specifically examining (1) the ways in which these frames (and the individual tweets which constituted them) are interacted and engaged with, and (2) how these tweets and frames were then transmitted to other actors within the racialized palimpsest city.

To situate this analysis, this research (1) Explores Black digital social networks as technological advancements within the historical arc of Black publics and counterpublics which, due to racialized exclusion from dominant social capital networks, serve as sites of recognition and resistance under white hegemonic social, political, and economic control. (2), Provides the historical arc of racialized otherness used to weave racial subjugation into the foundation of urbanity, and which due to its ineffective erasure continues to inform the contemporary city. (3) Situates, within this historicity, a novel triadic analytical framework, through which the exploration of contemporary digital interactions and engagements between municipalities, Black residents, and Black Networks are enacted.

2) BACKGROUND AND THEORY

A. **Publics and Counterpublics**

The discourses of Black resistance in colonized lands expanded in the wake of the Haitian Revolution (Neocosmos, 2006, 2010), however, excluded from these white hegemonic networks of social capital, Black resistance networks, counterpublics, enclaves and satellites have existed throughout the history of white hegemonic control across the global. Historically, these dominant networks, first

outlined by Habermas' notion of "the public," noted that participation was contingent on— in idealized economic terms, "ceteris paribus" – all other things being equal. However, as noted above Habermas' own notion of misrecognition undermines this notion, and when critically evaluated within the historical arc of racial exclusion and subjugation makes participation of the racialized "other" all but impossible. The very notion of participation in the public as equals within a system constructed in inequality, speaks to the overrepresentation of European whiteness and maleness within the dominant public sphere.

Black Americans and Black South Africans¹ through geographic isolation, restricted physical mobility, and restricted access to education and employment were precluded from participation in the social, political, and economic hegemonic networks which connected other citizens and neighborhoods. Nan Lin notes in his extensions to social capital theory that when "actors [are] actually deprived of opportunities to acquire human or institutional capital may form networks and forge a collective identity" (Lin, 2001). Black peoples globally formed these networks of support and communication, which also as noted by Lipsitz, "generate[d] a spatial imagery which favor[ed] public cooperation" (Lipsitz, 2011). In other words, excluded from hegemonic social capital, individuals created separate networks and communities relying on their geographic closeness and shared culture, reinforced through repeated social and cultural interactions, to meet their individual and collective needs.

These publics, for Black people, served, dually, as sites of full recognition and participation, as well as sites of resistance. Nancy Fraser conceptualized the subaltern counterpublics as publics of, and for, those who have been decentered and marginalized from the dominant public sphere (Fraser, 1990; Squires, 2002). Catherine Squires further refined the subaltern counterpublic to reflect the divergent conditions and goals under which various networks operate. Enclaves appear hidden to the dominant hegemony, a necessary feature to ensure survival. Satellites, separate from other publics, by choice, have

¹ With regard to Black, and Blackness: I am employing the American colloquial definition, "of African descent" to collectively identify both African Americans and Indigenous Black South Africans. Given the differential structural treatment of Coloured in South Africa, I note that while systemic and structural oppressions of Blacks people and Coloured people often overlapped and intersected, the divergences necessitate giving space to those specific lived experiences in subsequent works.

sporadic engagement in dominant discourses. Conversely, counterpublics engage in direct contestation and discourse with hegemonic publics (Kuo, 2018; Squires, 2002).

Not only have these publics operated on the same scales as the oppression, experienced across local, regional and national levels, but have also transformed and evolved in concert with the changing structures and nature of oppression and subjugation. As access to digital space, particularly social media platforms, have increased historically marginalized and decentered communities have adopted these technologies and spaces as opportunities to have voice, counter negative discourses, and create self-determined narratives without gatekeepers or mainstream media, “Twitter provides digital place for people to congregate around interests and issues” (Grimes, 2017; Kuo, 2018). Racialized digital counterpublics, as enclaves, worked to “engage in debate with wider publics to test ideas and perhaps utilize traditional social movement tactics” (Squires, 2002). While digital access and representation are not completely democratized with regard to the dimensions of geography, class or age within Black communities, the presence of Black Twitter in both the United States and South Africa shared and independent realities of digital enclaves of Black identity and digital resistance to white hegemonic control.

As Hill’s research notes, Black Twitter “operates as a digital counterpublic that enables new and transgressive forms of organizing, pedagogy, and ultimately resistance”(Hill, 2018). In the United States, *#BLM* gained voice and strength in Black digital enclaves before being entered into digital discourse, and into offline space. Similarly, *#FeesMustFall*, in Johannesburg had similar origins within peripheral racialized enclaves before transforming broader discourses digitally and non-digitally (Beukes, 2017; Bosch, 2013; Kuo, 2018).

Research on the production of Blackness in digital spaces, digital spaces as sites of resistance, and representations of Blackness in digital spaces in the United States and South Africa are extensive (Kvasny & Hales, 2009; Maragh-Lloyd, 2020; Schumacher, 2020; Steele, 2017), however, there exists a significant gap in the literature with regard to how Blacks respond to representations of Blackness as constituted, produced and disseminated by institutions of state, specifically municipalities, through which

they are seeking recognition, and against which they are contesting place and space. This exploratory research begins to fill that gap by exploring the ways in Black digital users, specifically in Chicago and Johannesburg, respond, interact, and engage with these municipal frames of Blackness.

B. Situating Geography

The global presence of interconnected and geographically specific digital sites of resistance attest to the shared and respective lived experiences, tools and mechanisms through which Blacks seek geographical place and space. Broadly, contemporary Chicago and Johannesburg are arrived at from the enactments of the same set of spatial tools and policies, in the same and offset time periods, overlaid onto the same definition of racialized otherness, within distinct national histories. As Melissa Harris-Perry states, “the political and economic realities of marginal populations indicate the democratic and economic health of the nation,” and that “vulnerable communities of black and brown Americans foreshadow the underlying problems likely to poison the US system” (Harris-Perry 2011).

In terms of populations of Black residents in contemporary Johannesburg and Chicago are vastly different - Chicago has a Black population of 30 percent, while Johannesburg has a population of 76 percent. However, in evaluating which residents comprise the economically, socially, and spatially dislocated, a mutual overrepresentation of Blackness emerges, in conjunction with similarities in the political and legal tools and mechanisms used to redress it.

Contemporarily, Chicago, Illinois and Johannesburg, South Africa are both firmly entrenched in neoliberal pathways of globalized development, which since the 1990’s have accelerated their transformations to financial and service global centers from their industrial and mining past (City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, 2016; *U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts*, n.d.; *US Census Bureau, Summary File 1980, 2000, 2018*). Currently, their respective neoliberal pathways encompass a broad set of “intellectual streams, policy orientations and regulatory arrangements that strive to extend market mechanisms, relations and discipline...to an ever expanding spectrum of social activities” (Pinson & Journal, 2016).

In 2020, through public-private partnership, the City of Chicago adopted the “community-centered” Solutions Toward Ending Poverty (STEP) to mitigate historical “segregonomics” (Rooks, 2020; *STEP*, n.d.), or the fact that white asset building has been historically funded by asset capture from Black and Brown communities (Nettles, 2021). Similarly, Johannesburg’s 2016 Spatial Development Framework with an aim of “urban structure for economic growth, job creation, and poverty alleviation” (Spatial Development Framework 2040, n.d.) sought to balance the global infrastructure with local community development, partly through public-private provisions of affordable housing. These contemporary municipal remedies speak to the persistent spatial segregations and dimensions of racialized harm which persist in both cities despite being nearly 30 and 60 years removed from state-mandated and sanctioned racialized segregation.

The Theil Index (H-score), measures “the spatial distributions of different [racial] groups among units in a metropolitan area” (US Census Bureau, Summary File 1980, 2000, 2018). The Index ranges between (0), complete integration, and (1) complete segregation. In Chicago, the 1980 and 1990 multigroup (all racial categories) scores were .549 and .496, respectively, meaning that for all racial categories the distribution of races over geography became more integrated. When examining Black residents specifically, the change from .751 to .687 remained 38 percentage points higher when compared to all races combined (US Census Bureau, 2016). In Johannesburg, the least segregated metropolitan region in South Africa received a 2018 H-score of .570 (StatsSA, 2019).

Spatially racialized segregation is only one symptom of the interwoven racialized systems and structures historically enacted in the United States and South Africa. Economically, in the United States in 2017, unemployment for Black Americans was at 7 percent, more than double that of white counterparts, at 3.3 percent. In additional economic terms, the cost of the spatial segregation, as detailed by the 2017 Metropolitan Planning Council Report, *The Cost of Segregation*, estimates that in Chicago alone, segregation in its current state precludes \$2,982 of income for every Black adult. This alone costs the Chicagoland region, an estimated \$4.4 billion, annually. The same report calculated that a reduction in racialized segregation in 2010 would have decreased homicides by 30 percent (167 lives), saving \$65

million in policing, and \$218 million in corrections costs, as well as boosting the real estate economy by \$6 billion (Acs et al., 2017).

In South Africa, segregation and marginalization in urban forms and functions are pronounced to an even greater degree. In the final quarter of 2018, the unemployment rate was 25.1 percent for all South Africans. However, Black and white South Africans stood in sharp contrast with unemployment for Blacks at 30.4 percent while at 7.6 percent for Whites (StatsSA, 2019). Additionally, a 2016 study noted that wealth inequalities between Black and white South Africans remained a “legacy of the system of apartheid” and calculated that the top 10 percent control 90 to 95 percent of the wealth and the top 1 percent of South Africans control half of the wealth (Orthofer, 2016). Nationally, in 2015, Black South Africans accounted for the largest percent of people living below the lower-bound poverty level (R647/month approximately \$46/month.) with 44 percent for men and 49 percent for women (Statistics South Africa, 2017).

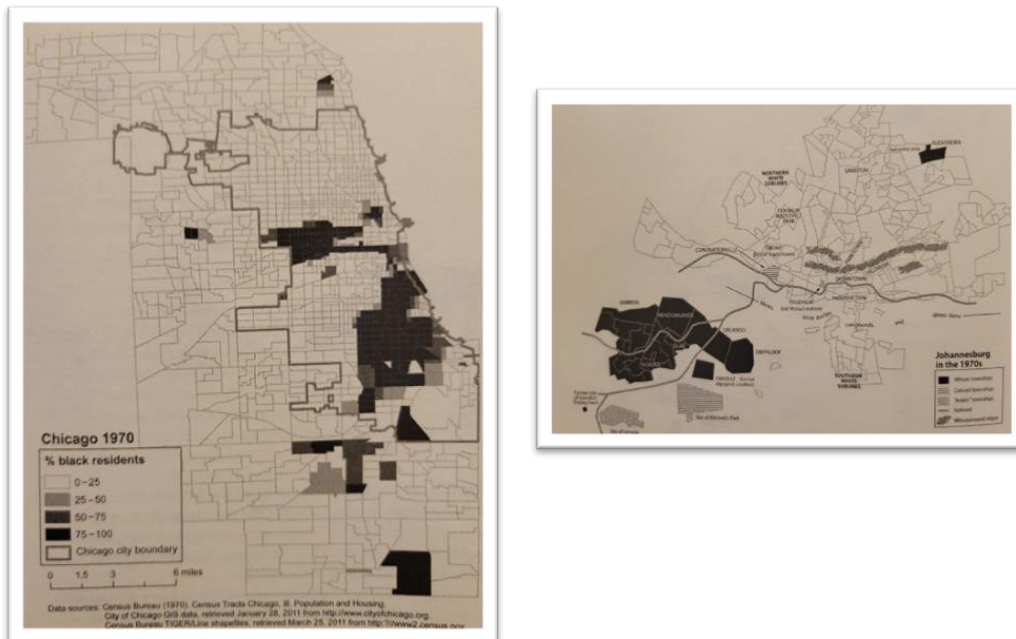
C. Industrial Revolution and High Modernism

While these latest iterations of social imperatives embedded within spatial and economic policies are new, they are not novel. Beginning in the 1920’s, Chicago and Johannesburg embarked on a shared path of racist and racialist spatial planning and order to enact the “most elaborate systems of city-splitting.” Respectively, they took racialized planning to their most “radical and comprehensive forms” in order to operationalize and maintain white hegemonic control, defined as “archsegregationist” (Nightingale, 2012).

guise of public health, the “urban crisis” would “make black people themselves into a constant problem that has been observed, analyzed and solved” (Harris-Perry, 2011), thus justifying, and weaving into the core urban fabric, the holistic subjugation of Black peoples for the benefit of (white) Man.

In the United States, holistic control and subjugation of Black peoples was executed through interconnected federal and local policies, under the guise of “states’ rights,” with particular interest in advancing capitalism, particularly the real estate industry. This gave implicit and explicit control of Black lives and livelihoods to the state and local jurisdictions and their planning policies, supported by the United States federal government through racialized policy, funding, investment and divestment. The same High Modernist policies which would be used to force the mass relocation of Blacks from Chicago’s downtown under the auspices of slum clearance in the 1920’s and 30’s, would be used to divide Johannesburg along racial lines in the 1930’s, but would also reemerge as total urban exclusion during the Apartheid Regime (Nightingale, 2012), *see Figure 8*.

Figure 8: Density, Black Populations, Chicago and Johannesburg 1970



In South Africa, the Native Lands Act (1913), the Native Trust and Land Act (1936), and the Native Administration Act (1927); the Areas (Pass) Act (1923), and the Natives Consolidation Act (1945) would provide similar limitations on Black African residential choice and individual mobility. The geographic isolation in both countries would be used to facilitate the enactment of further economic, social and political segregation.

Scott labels South Africa's Apartheid as one of the greatest High Modernist calamities of the 20th century. When "state sponsored" becomes inclusive of both primary control as well as secondary actions, such as Federal funding and policies, in conjunction with legal support to sub-national state racialized efforts, a critical interpretation of the collective Black lived experience in the United States can similarly be labeled as High Modernist calamity.

D. Globalized Blackness

While broad High Modernism was derived from man's errant belief in himself and the linear technological trajectory of his achievements which defined the age coupled with the nascent professions of urban planning, and public health. The use of High Modernism as a racialized weapon to indelibly racialized urban place through the physical and social subjugation of Black residents was grounded in the globally present delineations of Blackness as subhuman and biologically inferior which had begun during the Renaissance. In localizing these beliefs, urban forms and functions to spatially, economically and politically centering and privileging global whiteness, and white hegemonic order.

Sylvia Wynter notes that it is in this period that European man imbued himself with self-evident and inalienable rights to control and manipulate all things terrene – supplanting the supranatural. Full access to these rights were granted solely through recognition by European nation-states, specifically those whiteness and maleness. As colonialism expanded, the increased numbers of peoples who fell outside of the delineation of recognition were classified not only as "other," but as non-human, which only served to solidify the definition. This classification led to two outcomes. First, as European man was the singular definition of man, this Eurocentric definition became overrepresented as the definition of

human itself (Wynter, 2003). Second, the classification of the other as non-human would be used to justify the enslavement and bodily disposition of peoples, globally, in advancement of economic prerogatives.

3) ANALYTICAL FRAME

These racialized definitions transmitted across time, and geography, became not just ingrained in, but a cornerstone of the modern metropolis. In Chicago and Johannesburg specifically, as Nightingale further notes, the systems enacted by these two municipalities “survived internal conflict between whites in two complex industrial societies...that experienced unprecedented in-migration of people of color. Most stunningly of all, they achieved their greatest victories during the very climax of the era of decolonization” (Nightingale, 2012), *see Figure 8*.

While for some Blacks in the United States and South Africa, there have been improvements in the overall conditions, overall despite being nearly 60 and 30 years removed from segregation and Apartheid, the United States and South Africa, respectively, remain manifestations of the interwoven high modernist racialized decisions. As denoted by the contemporary policy imperatives, the urban forms and functions of these cities are emblazoned with the physical, social, and economic remnants of historically state-mandated and state-sanctioned racial subjugation.

With this globally racialized historical context, the concepts of the racialized palimpsest city and syndemic segregation, defined herein, provide necessary frameworks for situating and exploring urban contestations of place and space. The racialized palimpsest city framework serves as both the source, and site, of urban contestation between the actors. In this way, while the racialized palimpsest city is situated outside of the actors it is simultaneously infused in the identity of actors, as well as a product of their engaging upon it, *see Figure 9*.

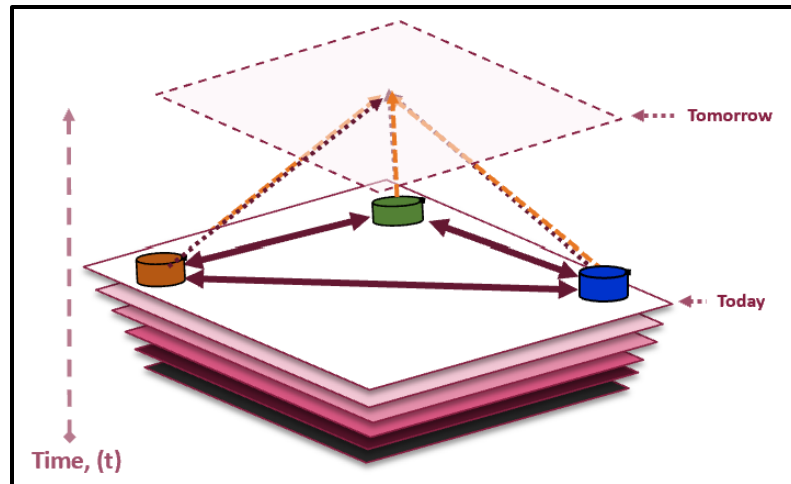


Figure 9: Actor Interaction within Racialized Palimpsest City, over time.

This framework primarily asks how historically embedded racial otherness informs current interactions. Each day another layer of the racialized palimpsest is added, layer upon layer, like plaque calcifying upon a decaying tooth. Each day the racialized palimpsest city, as source and site of contestation, is reconstituted as the summation of the actions, reactions, challenges, contestations of the actors, in the day prior. The racialized differentiations, within the context of the geographically specific racialized palimpsest city, which are the center of contestation and discourse are the dimensions of syndemic segregation, the interwoven and additively negative outcomes for members of a community.

For example, in 2007, in the Central Business District (CBD) of Johannesburg, as part of a redevelopment scheme, the City of Johannesburg, with the promise of new housing and services in six months' time, relocated dozens of residents to a converted office building as temporary housing. At the time of field research, in 2019, the original families were still housed in the temporary housing, along with hundreds of other dislocated residents from across the CBD. While the current administration of the City of Johannesburg, may be operating in “full faith,” redevelopment conversations with these residents, premised on the promise of new housing is influenced by the historical, yet contemporarily enacted harms by previous administrations. The historical harm for those original residents not only continues explicitly 12 years later, but this harm has permeated the consciousness of the community coalition (Woodard, unpublishedb). In other words, within the racialized palimpsest city, the residents are contesting housing

as a dimension of syndemic segregation, which remains contested, as the lack of housing is replicated daily by the municipal over the years. Additionally, not only do the harms enacted by the city, through the racialized palimpsest city, inform the actions of the individuals within this specific housing complex, these harms have also permeated the community consciousness.

Translating this novel framework into digital urban space, this research seeks to explore, dually, the digital interactions and engagement of Black users, first, in direct engagement with the frames of Blackness and Black identity enacted by Chicago, IL and Johannesburg, South Africa, and second, how these frames are then transformed and repositioned when disseminating and discussing these frames within their respective networks.

4) PREVIOUS RESEARCH AND DEFINITIONS

This research, using the same data set and theoretical background, is connected to existing exploratory research presented in *Frames Of Blackness In The Racialized Palimpsest City: Digital Discursive And Framing Practices Of Blackness In Chicago, Illinois, And Johannesburg, South Africa* (Woodard, unpublisheda). That research explored, as an incorporated comparison, the digital discursive practices and framing of municipalities in contemporary discourses in Chicago, Illinois, US, and Johannesburg, South Africa, situated within a shared historical transnational delineation of Blackness. In addition to discussion on digital discursive practices, when tweets centering on Blackness and dimensions of urban Blackness were analyzed six frames emerged: Problematization, Black Achievement/Excellence, Personal Identity, Opposition, Syndemic Segregation and Racialized Palimpsest.

The exploration of digital municipal framing of marginalized identity is relatively novel, and existing research has been limited to framing analysis of the representation of marginalized identity of Canadian police departments, situated within criminal justice theory (Walby & Joshua, 2021). In critical departures Walby & Joshua, the previous work expanded the literature through multiple methodological and theoretical dimensions. Primarily, through centering analysis in the central municipal administration responsible for political and ideological goals for the entire municipal body. Second, through grounding

the analysis within transnational Black feminist social matrix. Third, through methodological layering of digital ethnographic mixed methods, with qualitative-qualitative mixed methods, specifically, grounded theory coding, with social change and discourse analysis and frame analysis.

These methods were used to analyze Twitter posts from the verified accounts of the City of Chicago (@chicagosmayor) and City of Johannesburg (@CityofJoburgZa) captured between December 1, 2019, and March 31, 2020. The dates were selected to meet two criteria. First, to ensure consistency within the respective corpora by capturing only one mayoral administration (new mayors were inaugurated in May 2019 and December 2019 in Johannesburg and Chicago, respectively). Second, to ensure that while there are no exact guidelines for qualitative sample size, the data collected would be “large enough to allow the unfolding of ‘new and richly textured understanding’ of the phenomenon under study,” but small enough so that the ‘deep, case-oriented analysis is not precluded’” (Morse, 2000; Vasileiou et al., 2018).

In this four-month period, a total corpus of 10,742 tweets were collected representing 840 from the City of Chicago and 9,902 from the City of Johannesburg. Data cleaning and preprocessing included a time-based stratified sampling which resulted in a combined corpus of 1,654 tweets, 814 tweets from Johannesburg and 840 from Chicago. The combined tweet corpus underwent two levels of analysis. First, social change and discourse analysis situated in the tweet topics and public relations strategies to explore digital discursive practices, as well as explore the strategies used to enact specific topics.

In this level of analysis public relations strategies coding began with the seven strategy taxonomy (Hazleton, 1993). Through in-process coding an additional seven public relations strategies emerged for the City of Chicago and nine for the City of Johannesburg. Using a similar grounded coding method, 51 tweet topic levels emerged for the City of Johannesburg, and 67 emerged for the City of Chicago.

One finding in this analysis was that tweets containing issues impacting the Black lived experiences, such as community economic development, equity and inclusion, poverty, and public safety were likely to be enacted through a wider variety of strategies, 11 to 12, more than double the average,

six. Additionally, the City of Chicago and the City of Johannesburg both enacted explicit discussions of Blackness primarily using a core-value public relations strategy.

Centering on discursive practices, both cities demonstrated a digital ethos centered in the voice of the mayor. However, beyond this, divergences between, and contradictions within, the cities begin to emerge. Overall, the City of Chicago did not have any significant engagement with resident-initiated discourses. While the City of Johannesburg, on the other hand, exhibited a much higher volume of resident-initiated discourse, however, the overwhelming majority of these interactions were limited responses to service requests for utilities, streets and sanitation. The City of Johannesburg also exhibited more discursive practices which could be deemed democratized, such as increased politeness, and looser interactional control.

The second level of analysis was undertaken using Fairclough's framework of social change and discourse analysis coupled with frame analysis. Discourse analysis and framing analysis are both "preoccupied with how ideas, culture, and ideology are used, interpreted, and spliced together with certain situations or phenomena in order to construct particular ideative patterns through which the world is understood by audiences" (Lindekilde, 2014). Unique to Fairclough's discourse framework is the situating of discourse production and dissemination with broader social matrix of discourse, necessary to "specify the social and hegemonic relations and structures which constitute the matrix of this particular social and discourse practice" (Fairclough, 1992). As with this research, this was centered in Black feminist theory to reconceptualize the contemporary urban as constituted through historic and global racialized delineations of Blackness.

From the combined corpus 84 tweets related to Blackness, Black identity and related dimensions such as housing, economic development, equity and inclusion were segmented and analyzed. From this analysis six frames emerged: Problematization, Black Achievement/Excellence, Personal Identity, Opposition, Racialized Palimpsest, and Syndemic Segregation. Additional analysis of frames individually and collectively, identified pairings based on the dimensions of constitution, enactment and intended audience/goal emerged.

Black Achievement/Excellence and Problematization are both constructed on a negative presupposition of Blackness. The Black Achievement/Excellence frame was constructed through referencing historical Black achievement or contemporary Black excellence. While enacted on negative presuppositions, this frame's task was to challenge these notions. Problematization, found only in the Johannesburg corpus, was similarly as the Black Achievement/Excellence, on negative presupposition. However, this frame, unlike its counterpart, instead advanced or reinforced these negative presuppositions with representations of Blackness associated with criminality and lawlessness.

Personal Identity and Opposition were both enacted with the goal of creating or reinforcing core value alignment between the municipality and audience with regard to dimensions of identity based in an "us versus them" rhetoric. Personal Identity was enacted within first-person historically racialized accounts of oppression and marginalization within the racialized palimpsest city and/or syndemic segregation. The Opposition frame, used only in the City of Chicago, was enacted to reinforce value alignment, particularly in establishing an "enemy outsider" against the US federal government and enacted policies.

5) DATA AND METHODS

Within the analytical framework, it is important to evaluate one dialogical moment, as it represents a "conversation" between actors within the racialized palimpsest city. As such, the same corpus of tweets used in this analysis were the same used in the frame analysis through which the six frames emerged, as detailed herein. Within these 84 tweets, 36 tweets associated with syndemic segregation, 18 associated with Black achievement, 13 associated with the Racialized Palimpsest, 8 associated with Problematization, 5 with Personal Identity, and 4 with Opposition.

Analysis centered on digitally ethnographic mixed-methods analysis using descriptive statistics combined with social change and discourse analysis and frame analysis. Analysis of qualitatively derived quantitative data involved manually coding user engagements, specifically favorites, replies and retweets for each tweet (Domínguez & Hollstein, 2014). On Twitter there are three primary ways to interact with tweets, each with a different engagement level: favorite, reply or retweet. A Twitter "favorite" is the

platform’s way to like a post. It is completed through a single click and requires the lowest engagement effort. Favoriting does not provide an opportunity to transform the message. Retweets copy a tweet to a user’s timeline– similar to a multimedia direct quotation. Retweeted messages also enable users to append their own discursive content to the original post. Replies are direct messages to the original tweet. As one the highest levels of engagement, this involves creating new discursive content which is appended to the original tweet. For the total corpus, Chicago and Johannesburg, the dimensions of favorite and retweet were pulled from their public metrics.

To explore the ways in which residents, and specifically Black users, engaged with municipal discourse and framing practices two levels of analysis of the engagement data were undertaken. First, to examine broad audience engagement across all corpus tweets. Second, to specifically analyze Black user’s text-based replies and retweets with regard to the dimensions of discourse practice, text, and social practice, *see Table 3*, within a Black feminist social matrix.

To subsect Twitter users by race, previous researchers have employed multiple techniques including fuzzy matching, or cross-referencing user surnames with surnames associated with people of color, based on U.S. Census data (Mislove et al., 2011). While incomplete, as are all techniques for this issue, for the Johannesburg Twitter data, a manual search of names which were Zulu or Xhosa. For the Chicago corpus, this identification was based on user created, publicly-available demographic data.

Table 3: Fairclough Dimensions of Social Change and Discourse Analysis

Fairclough Dimensions of Social Change and Discourse Analysis		
Discourse Practice	Text	Social Practice
Intertextual Chains	Interactional Control	Social Matrix of Discourse
Interdiscursivity	Cohesion	Orders of Discourse
Manifest Intertextuality	Politeness	Ideological and Political Effects of Discourse
Conditions of Discourse Practice	Ethos	
	Grammer	
	Transivity	
	Theme	
	Modality	
	Word Meaning	
	Wording	
	Metaphor	

6) RESULTS

As exploratory research, descriptive statistics are provided to demonstrate the existence, but not provide statistical significance, of patterns in how Black users engage with latent municipal frames. *See Table 4.* In evaluating public strategy engagement for both cities, despite having the second fewest associated tweets, the frame Personal Identity, was the most engaged, overall, for all users, with 2,592 total favorites, 151 replies, and 16 retweets, which averaged 518 favorites, and 30 replies. For Black users Personal Identity was also the most highly engaged frame, however, these users did not disseminate (retweet) the tweets within this frame to their own networks at the same rates as the overall group – only two tweets were retweeted. Conversely, Black identified users retweeted tweets associated with Black Achievement/Excellence a total of 56 times. The 18 tweets within the Black Achievement frame were favorited 1,067 times (average 59) favorites, received 79 replies (4 average), and were retweeted 186 times (11 average).

Table 4: Engagement, by Retweet Count, Municipal Frames

MUNICIPAL FRAMES	TWEETS	BLACK RETWEETS	ALL RETWEETS	% RETWEETS BY BLACK USERS
Black Achievement	18	56	186	30%
Syndemic Segregation	36	72	455	16%
Personal Identity	5	2	16	13%
Opposition	4	12	169	7%
Problematization	8	1	16	6%
Racialized Palimpsest	13	9	262	3%
Total	84			

The Opposition frame existed only in the City of Chicago corpus and was primarily directed towards U.S. federal government policies and programs targeting racial/ethnic minorities. Similar to the Personal Identity frame, Opposition represented a relatively low tweet, yet highly engaged frame. The four tweets within the Opposition frame garnered 598 favorites, 212 replies and 169 retweets, an average

of 149 favorites, 53 replies, and 42 retweets, for all users with only 12 retweets by Black identified Twitter users.

The 13 tweets within the Racialized Palimpsest frame received 1,013 favorites, 104 replies, and 262 retweets, including nine by Black Twitter users. This represented an overall average engagement of 78, 8, and 20 favorites, reply and retweet engagements, respectively. Tweets within the Syndemic Segregation frame received 1,607 favorites (59 average), 261 replies (4 average), 455 retweets (11 average) overall, and 72 retweets (3 average), the highest engagement, by Black Twitter users. The Problematization frame, enacted only in Johannesburg, received 43 favorites, 25 replies and 16 retweets, with one retweet from a Black identified user.

Complementing the descriptive analysis of discourse practice with discourse analysis enables insights into which frames, within a social contextualization, were most engaged with by Black residents, either positively or negatively. Similar to the quantitative results above, the Personal Identity frame had the highest levels of engagement. Additionally, Personal Identity was the only frame to receive only positive qualitative user engagement. For example, replies to the @chicagosmayor tweet on January 15, 2020, "*When I was a child, I witnessed and experienced a lot of terrible things said about African Americans and the LGBT community. But I didn't have the words or strength to speak up. I will be silent no more*" (City of Chicago [@chicagosmayor], 2020b) was overwhelmingly affirmed by Black users with replies including, "*Mayor Lori don't take no mess,*" and "*Powerful [Raised fist emoji]*" (Derrick D. Brown [@ddbrownradio], 2020).

The levels of engagement and sentiments enacted for other frames, particularly Syndemic Segregation, were more mixed. Black users provided both comments of affirmation and contestation in responses to this tweet seeking enacting the cooperative problem solving public relation strategy to address poverty in Chicago, "*I know Chicago has the talent, expertise, and energy to confront and ultimately end economic hardship and poverty. If we work together, I know we can do this. We will do this. Thank you for your work, your passion, and your partnership. #ChiStepSummit*" (City of Chicago

[@chicagosmayor], 2020a) from February 20, 2020. One resident affirmed the public relations strategy stating *“If we work together” <- Yes, this is the key component. I’m with you, I know we can. We are #chitown finest*”(Dr. Marlo Barnett [@marlobarnett], 2020). On the other end of the spectrum contestation, *“More political rhetoric. Let's see tangible acts. Once they get in its the same bs for the south side and west side*”(Wisdom_Seed [@conga_2], 2020).

In addition to racially differentiated direct interaction with municipal frames, retweeting positions Black users as curators of municipal tweets within their own networks. In this role, the addition of textual personalization by Black users can be used as a source of contestation or alignment, as well as amplify or dampen the original municipal content. For example, on January 17, 2020 Johannesburg Mayor Makhubo posted, *“Soweto is dealing with a historic debt and @Eskom_SA”*(City of Johannesburg [@CityofJoburgZA], 2020). Twitter user @PatienceShum in direct reply to the tweet posted, *“What [sic] is Eskom doing about this whole situation, I mean they have systems in place if you can see that I buy +/- 900 electricity a month and others are buying for R10 /R20 or nothing at all for years. You can see on your system, you don't have to go house by house @Eskom_SA”*(N’wa Ngobeni [@PatienceShum], 2020a).

When engagement turned from direct engagement with the municipality, the same user retweets the original and transforms the discursive content to reflect not just the structural issues with the energy supplier, but adds problematization of those within their community. *“Why did Eskom wait till today and not fix their problems. Now I stay in protea [sic] Glen and I have been buying electricity since 2008 now I'm being associated with people who don't pay. What's the use of me buying electricity if I will suffer like people who don't pay. @Eskom_SA”* (N’wa Ngobeni [@PatienceShum], 2020b).

7) DISCUSSION

This research employs a novel analytic framework representing the triadic dialogical relationship between actors within the racialized palimpsest city. In employing this framework this research is able to

capture the dual, yet simultaneous discursive engagements centered in individuals (users), specifically Black users dynamically positioned between municipality and their respective networks (community).

Existing research on the latent frames enacted by municipalities around Blackness and dimensions of Blackness identified six frames, and most interestingly, frame pairings based on constitutive delineations. The Personal Identity and Opposition frames both share “us versus them” rhetoric. The Black Achievement/Excellence and Problematization frames are similarly based on negative presuppositions of Blackness. And, the Syndemic Segregation and Racialized Palimpsest frames both enact historically racialized urban harms.

The most significant finding of this research, in terms of retweets, a racialized difference emerges within the pairings, based on a delineation of frame task/goal. The starkest contrasts were between Black Achievement/Excellence and Problematization, and Racialized Palimpsest and Syndemic Segregation.

The Black Achievement/Excellence frame challenged existing and historical negative assumptions of Blackness, with enactments of “Black firsts,” and Black historical figures. This contrasts with the Problematization frame, which is similarly established on existing and negative assumptions of Blackness. Problematization, unlike Black Achievement, replicates and extends historical negative presentations of Blackness, through a visual and textual lens of criminality and violence. Black users represented 6 percent of the retweets within the Problematization frame versus 30 percent of the retweets of the Black Achievement frame, the largest difference in Black user retweets. This suggests that even with the same presuppositions of Blackness, Black Twitter users are responding differently to whether these negative conceptions and presentations of Blackness are being challenged or advanced.

Similarly, there is also a racialized difference between the engagements between the Syndemic Segregation frame and the Racialized Palimpsest. These frames share similar historical racialized contextualizations. Syndemic Segregation provides municipal program, policy and legal interventions which seek to redress historical harm, without an explicit discussion of the historical context which necessitate the response. Conversely, the Racialized Palimpsest frame grounds policy and municipal action in explicit discussions of historically enacted harms.

Frame analysis to “mobilize supporters and demobilize adversaries vis-à-vis a particular goal” (Lindekilde, 2014). In this respect, one explanation of this difference in frame engagement may be rooted in the intended audience. For Syndemic Segregation, as the historical is not explicit, the presupposition assumes an intended audience with pre-existing knowledge of the racialized harms intended to redress. For those who are Black, or are allied with the Black lived experience, these harms are known. Conversely, the Racialized Palimpsest frame through explicit discursivity connects history to the present. It may be assumed that the individuals and communities existing within syndemic segregation would be less engaged with affirming existing internalized knowledge, and the intended audience for the Racialized Palimpsest frame are those outside the community.

The significance of these differentiated engagements for municipalities rest in their constitution and enactment, latency, as well as their dispersion across time. While all municipal tweets are catalogued on the respective city’s twitter feed. Individual users interacted with individual tweets within their respective timelines, giving credence for additional interview research into how specific frames of Blackness, and other identities resonate with specific audience members.

Dually and simultaneously enacted, the second dimension of engagement explored centered in how Black users curate and reframe municipal tweets within their own networks. Broadly, social media curators, in the broadest terms, anyone “identifying and sharing content from a broader stream” with the intent of providing information and resources (Monroy-Hernandez, 2013). Due to the structures and functions of social media, a Black user who is a peripheral node within one network, collecting and engaging with information, in turn as curators, become center nodes in their own networks.

In retweeting municipal tweets, a user can employ a range of actions from retweeting the original without amendment to using the original post as an intertextual object of contestations or alignment. For instance, a Black user challenging the municipal frame of Syndemic Segregation can employ a frame of Opposition within their own network - this same frame enacted by Chicago against US federal government policies and programs. In retweeting the same tweet with textual or visual amendments, the user can maintain or expand the frame used, such as problematization. In this way, similar to the

municipality enacting a problematizing frame, the user's intent in enacting this frame is based on the alignment and mobilization with an intended audience.

One interesting note, in response to municipal frames by Black users, is that there existed a wide range of points of engagement and interaction, reflecting broader diversity within the community, reflecting the diverse political positionalities – a source of potential future research. This included those in support of policies reducing syndemic segregation, as well as those contesting the same policies. Among these Black users, the reply feature was most used to challenge the interactional control that the municipalities maintained by raising new topics in the replies outside of the control of the municipality.

One limitation in completing this research was the lack of interviews due to a few factors including my physical departure from South Africa, COVID-19 restrictions, and lastly the time between collection and analysis. Interviews would provide much deeper and broader context into the intent and motivation for specific engagements which cannot be ascertained through discourse analysis alone. While efforts to interview the municipal staff were attempted no responses were received. Future research will include additional time periods of similar length, using the same collection, coding and analysis to evaluate whether how fluid or static Black users' engagement with these topics remain over time. If the same modes of contradiction, in the same levels are present over time, this may provide insight into whether these democratizing practices have been co-opted in support of hegemonic control or are indicative of institutions in transition.

8) CONCLUSION

Research on the internet, and social media as the source and site of community and culture has grown in the last 20 years. However, research exploring specific discursive “moments” between local municipal and marginalized individuals within digital publics had yet to be studied. Secondly, there was little understanding in how residents, specifically Black residents, dually positioned between the local government and their respective networks served as both as curators of municipal information, and the ways in which they challenged or accepted municipal framing of Blackness and issues reframed.

As exploratory research, based on collected data from four-months of tweets collected from the official Twitter accounts of the City of Chicago and the City of Johannesburg, established a novel analytical framework situated within the racialized palimpsest city through which to examine the ways Black users directly interacted with the latent frames and discursive practices enacted by the City of Chicago and the City of Johannesburg; and two, how these municipal frames and practices were then positioned and transformed with respect to Black users as curators of municipal information within their own social networks (community).

Using Fairclough's social change discourse analysis and framing analysis, this research evaluated the interactions and engagements of Black users in discourse or contestation of the 84 tweets which were used in identifying municipal frames of Personal Identity, Black Achievement/Excellence, Opposition, Racialized Palimpsest City, Syndemic Segregation and Problematization. Most notably, this research found there did exist racialized differences in how Black users engaged and responded to specific frames. Preliminarily, this can be explained through understanding the intent of the frames in mobilizing or aligning specific audiences based on existing audience lived experience, information, and history. Frames which relied on an existing knowledge of Blackness and Black lived experiences received higher engagement from Black users versus those who sought to establish a foundation for Black lived experience. Finally, the frames built on a negative presupposition of Blackness were differently engaged by Black users. Those which challenged negative assumptions, specifically Black Achievement were more highly engaged, than those which perpetuated negative presuppositions.

Overall, as Black users who engage directly with local municipalities are uniquely positioned between municipalities and their respective networks (community). As municipal curators, Black users differentiated direct engagement, specifically retweets, with municipalities frames, and specifically with the tweets which comprise these frames, translates into a racial differentiation not only into which municipal messages penetrate subaltern Black digital publics, but also through reframing and transformations, how these messages are received. Further situated within the triadic interactional relations, the municipal frames responded to by Black users, and the frames enacted by in retweeting and

sharing these, can potentially be critical in understanding what municipal information circulates within Black digital publics, what transforms from individual to collective urban contestation.

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CHAPTER IV. NECESSARY AND SUFFICIENT: ETHNOGRAPHY OF SYNDEMIC SEGREGATION IN JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA²

ABSTRACT

This work uses narrative ethnography to center the lived experiences of residents living in communities and buildings through the Central Business District of Johannesburg, and beyond, who were connected to the Inner-City Resource Centre, a community-based NGO. These narratives were collected between September 2019 and January 2020. Through situating these lived experiences within an intersectional Black feminist theory, a mismatch between residents lived experience and municipal policy initiatives emerges. Connecting this mismatch to the concept of syndemic segregation, framework of interwoven, and additively negative outcomes rooted in historical racializations, a new institutional vocabulary, which can better reflect individual intersectionalities with and single-axis policy reforms.

GORDON STREET

“Your landlord is suing you...” I stood with Mphumelelo³ in the hallway of a one-story, white stucco Mediterranean style house, with a black-tin roof. Standing in the foyer of the main hallway, I could see the remnants of its past as a single-family home. I looked down the hallway trying to figure which rooms on either side of the formerly grand hall had been the family room and the living room. Now, it was a multi-family dwelling. I could count four doors leading to one-room apartments, but from the outside I could tell there had to be more. Beyond the sunny end of the hallway, I presumed a bathroom to the right, as I watched a young man in his late teens or early 20’s leave one of the rooms with toiletries and head in that direction.

Mphumelelo and I had walked the two blocks to the house from the apartment building, which I came to call the “Hub,” where we always ended our frequent trips to Bertrams. Earlier, while “shooting

² I would like to thank, endlessly, the staff of the ICRC, as well as the residents from across Johannesburg who shared with, and welcomed, me into their lives.

³ Except Shereza Sibanze, names have been changed.

the shit” with residents, sharing our favorite 80’s and 90’s American movies and comparing notes on our favorite actors, one of the Hub residents told Mphumelelo that the women on Gordon Street needed to speak to him again. He had met with them months prior – they had asked for his assistance in speaking to their landlord on their behalf. He had spent the following weeks in conversations with the property owner finally getting a verbal agreement to partial payments in November and December to cover their rent in arrears.

When we arrived, standing outside the black metal gate, Mphumelelo sent one of the small children in the small courtyard in search of his mother. The child reappeared with a woman who in her early 20’s appeared and then went to get two other women, both in their late 30’s or early 40’s. After they had greeted each other, the women stood waiting for him to read the letter, each stealing a glance at me. It was a quick side-eyed glance which I had become quite familiar with during my time in Johannesburg – it would become a running source of humor among the groups with which I was working. It was the fact that I “looked Zulu until I opened my mouth...,” but the accent was completely wrong. The look was usually followed by, “you’re not from here, are you?” it was less an actual question than it was a statement of fact. I could see the question percolating onto their faces, but they were too intent on Mphumelelo.

He continued, “Okay, the letter says you have five days to respond with intent, and 15 days to file an affidavit.” He explained that while he had been talking to the property owner over the previous weeks, the property owner had simultaneously filed eviction papers. They nodded and listened, as Mphumelelo continued, “there’s nothing more I can do.” They registered his words, but looked in an unfocused way, somewhere slightly behind him, with stone faces.

Their stoic façades hid an exhausting and deflating question, “What am I going to do now?” It was a look with which I was instantly familiar, it was a Black mother’s face, my mother’s face, it was the face of many of my other “mothers” from the neighborhoods where I grew up in Michigan in the United States. And I knew, as with all of my mothers, getting to feel exhaustion was a luxury these women could not afford. Their eyes began darting side to side, relaying active minds running scenarios, listing

outstanding favors which would need to be called in, calculating and recalculating budgets, and writing narratives to prepare the kids for a scarce Christmas and relocation. I immediately felt as small and as powerless eight-year-old while simultaneously feeling as if I was an immense, and oversized foreigner invading their private pain.

After Mphumelelo finished, he handed the letter back to the older of the woman, and we walked back to the Hub. While walking Mphumelelo filled me in on what the women could expect in the coming months. Basically, their fate depended on what the judge said, at their court date in late January. However, he stated, matter-of-factly, that the issue would usually be settled way before they had their day in court. The usual tactic of property owners was to go to the seedier men's hostels to hire "goons with guns" to block the entrances, while other goons ran inside, busted down doors and threw all of the residents' belongings into the streets. This was done, he said, so that when the court date did arrive, the tenants could not make any claim to the residence and would have no further legal recourse. However, even if the judge did allow them to return to the property, the property owner would often hire the same goones to remove the roof, making it uninhabitable. He continued without breaking stride, "the good thing is that they can stay through the festive season, but after that they'll have to worry."

We finished the two-block walk in silence.

METHODOLOGY

The fieldwork for this ethnography occurred mainly in the Central Business District (CBD) of Johannesburg, South Africa between September 2019, and January 2020. This article was drawn from larger research study as part of my dissertation designed to explore the ways in which historically racialized urban, rooted in a globalized transnational delineation of Blackness, informs contemporary digital and physical discourse and contestations of place and space in Chicago, Illinois, and Johannesburg, South Africa. In this text, the lives represented are those shared with me through the nearly four months in which I was embedded with staff and community members of a non-government organization (NGO), the Inner-City Resource Centre (ICRC). During that time, I collected field notes and performed

interviews while contributing my efforts to support the upcoming march, including community engagement efforts, neighborhood visits and tours, community leader meetings, sign making, and office cleaning, and cooking an US Thanksgiving dinner.

Ethnography is a “uniquely useful method for uncovering the processes and meanings that undergird socio-spatial life” (Herbert, 2000). Conducting ethnography involves the use of a broad collection of methods and techniques, centered on participant observation, designed to study culture and the production of culture, as “the ethnographer participates... in people’s daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions; in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues” (Hammersley, 2006). Unlike other methods, such as surveys or structured interviews, which are removed from the processes of cultural production, ethnography is situated within the natural environment. Through this process of being, the researcher captures the first-hand truths which arise directly from participant engagement, and specifically for this research through valuing “as agents of knowledge Black women draw from their lived experiences, placed within a particular set of material, historical, and epistemological conditions, to anchor specific knowledge claims” (Brown, 2012). One intent of this narrative structure is to acknowledge and value the lived experiences of Black people, and Black women in particular, who shared their lives with me as ‘agents of knowledge’ with valid knowledge claims, in and of themselves, within the physical, social, economic environments in which they are positioned.

Another dimension of ethnographic research involves the power differentials between the traditional delineations of researcher/subject, and insider/outsider. Over time, as the researcher and participants develop mutual trust and respect, the formality and strictures which are prescribed through traditional methodologies give way to comfort, informality and access – which can greatly increase the knowledge claims shared by participants. As described above in *Gordon Street*, my status as a Black, (US) American, male, often translated into contradicting dimensions of access and trust. With some community members my explicit Blackness, and perceived Zulu identity, gave me access to certain

spaces and conversations which may not be available to non-Black researchers. However, this access would be balanced by my identity as an (US) American. As a non-South Africa, my “insider” status was at times contradicted by being a non-permanent resident. In some instances, this meant that participants would often situate an experience/conversation/event within its historical context to a greater degree than would be explained to someone with situated knowledge. In other instances, my non-resident status, often intersected with preconceived class status notions of Americans which resulted in a hardening of my outsider status.

The goal of this ethnographic exploration was originally undertaken to explore community housing advocacy. However, as Patricia Hill-Collins noted, while “the texts of discourse analysis cannot talk back to theorists...people who are the subject of study by researchers often do, drawing upon their experiences as a source of knowledge” (Hill Collins, 2019). One strength of ethnography, in particular, is the capturing of peoples’ lived experiences in real time, in real space. Real life rarely follows the predetermined scripts, as such ethnography, and ethnographic analysis, enable research to evolve as the lived realities in the field unfold. In this light, the use of the narrative tradition of ethnographic production is leveraged to intentionally center, and provide space for, without theoretical restrictions, the knowledge claims of those situated within the margins of the CBD. In valuing these knowledges, this enabled, first, the multidimensional realities which emerged to be connected to the Black feminist theory of intersectionality. Second, within a framework of triadic dialogical discourse and contestation, posit a novel framework, syndemic segregation, to address the mismatch between individual and collective intersectionality, and single-axis issues municipal policy imperatives.

ICRC

The Inner-City Resource Centre (ICRC) is located in three rooms on the third floor of an office building nestled among half-abandoned government buildings on the edge of the Newtown District in the CBD. The main office, directly opposite the elevators, was subdivided into three spaces, the executive director’s office, a finance officer’s office, and a desk in the reception area. I first met Shereza Sibanze,

“Mama Shereza,” as she was affectionately known, having arrived in Johannesburg, South Africa the month prior without any inroads into the local housing NGOs or community networks. I had cold-emailed Mama Shereza, and she had graciously extended an invitation to meet with her in late September.

Mama Shereza started our meeting with sharing ICRCs mission “to engage strategically with community groups who are under threat of evictions and/or partners to highlight human rights abuses of all forms, organizing and mobilizing and stimulating and initiating projects, all in furtherance of the making of an inclusionary, integrated, safe & friendly inner city environment in which the human rights for all regardless of race and immigration status, are achieved and sustained in practice” (*About – Inner City Resource Centre*, n.d.). In line with the inclusionary vision of embracing “pan-African diversity” (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2014), ICRC had built a platform focused on: political and legal services advocacy for housing and basic services for marginalized peoples, including communities/buildings in the CBD, Bertrams, Booyens, Alexandra; the empowerment of women, through study groups and workshops; and, social support services. ICRC embodied the “each one, teach one” philosophy - educating residents about their rights, empowering them to teach others to “raise their voices.” By the end of Mama Shereza’s masterclass on communities on the margins in Johannesburg, I had enlisted myself to join their efforts.

The rest of the ICRC staff was as welcoming as Mama Shereza. While everyone had a specific title and function, the mission was primary, and the boundaries between them often blurred. Lungile occupied the reception desk in the main office. Lungile, besides being an avid cricket lover, was a lynchpin of the organization. In addition to her role leading logistics, she was a coordinator of the women’s forum, and generally was the voice of ICRC when we went into the community.

The second door down the hall was the kitchenette, which led to an interior office where the rest of the permanent staff was located. These included: Mphumelelo (male, 20s), as the paralegal he handled the issues such as those on Gordon Street, and had an emerging men’s urban wear line. Philani (mid-20s, female) a women’s forum project coordinator. Themba, (male 50’s) originally from Limpopo, served as paralegal, project coordinator, and a jack-of-all-trades. Siphon (male, 30’s) with a quiet temperament, provided logistic and program support, particularly for the upcoming march.

The last office was the workroom, where the women in the forum met, ate, and communed. This room, about the size of the kitchenette, was the domain of Thandi. A gregarious woman in her early 30's residing in Soweto, but originally from Eswatini. Thandi was contracted to work with the women in the empowerment groups, and lead economic development activities, such as sewing homemade wonderbags (insulated cooking bags which cooked food when natural gas and/or electricity were limited) and helping to energize voices in ICRC marches. Throughout the workroom, above the stacks of hand-made bags and sewing machine boxes which lined the walls of the room, were signs hung from past protests calling for basic services, human rights and women's empowerment in isiZulu, English, Portuguese: “#IZINDLU #AMANZI #UMBANI” (#HOUSING #WATER #ELECTRICITY), “JUNTOS DEFENEMOS OS NOSSOR DIREITOS” (TOGETHER WE CAN DEFEND OUR RIGHTS), “A WOMAN WITH A VISION EMPOWERS AN EMPIRE OF WOMEN TO DO MORE!!! SEE MORE!!! AND DO MORE!!!”

My first staff meeting, held in the workroom, was my first time meeting the entire ICRC staff. Mama Shereza introduced me, and Lungile immediately asked me about housing conditions in the United States. I recounted statistics about overcrowding, and displacement – the fact that it takes a 97 hour work week, at minimum wage, to afford a two-bedroom apartment (Dugard et al., 2020), not including utilities, food and transportation. Relaying that the United States was a tale of two countries – “the haves and the have nots,” to which she just responded, “Oh. So it's the same.”

The meeting continued, first talking about the latest violations of housing and human rights faced by community members. Across Alexandra, Bertrams, Yeoville, Hillbrow, Soweto and the CBD residents were faced with overcrowding, lack of access to affordable housing, unjust removals – “residents live in deteriorating buildings, the City declines services as a strategy of clearing, which violates their rights.” ICRC responses centered on the housing rights enshrined in Section 26 of the South African Constitution - everyone has a right to have access to adequate housing, and that “no one may be evicted from their home or have their home demolished without an order of the court made after considering all the relevant circumstances” (Dugard et al., 2020).

Mama Shereza noted that housing policy was ICRCs most pressing, but not sole issue. The City of Johannesburg (City) had just passed, that previous February, the 2019 Inclusionary Housing Policy (IHP). ICRC's point of contention with the IHP was both process and product oriented. The IHP was just the latest iteration of neoliberal inclusionary housing policies derived from 2008 Growth Management Strategy (GMS), within the 2040 Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework (SDF) (City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, 2016; Klug et al., 2013; Schrenk et al., 2020a).

Beginning in the 1990's as Johannesburg accelerated its transition from mining center to global financial center through the adoption of a neoliberal pathway of globalization centered in logics of "bottom-up" and "citizen as consumer" provision public goods, and investment designed to maximize the globalizing economic capacities of being, and sustaining as, a "world-cities" (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). The IHP "has both social inclusion and 'value capture' agendas" with the goal of incentivizing the private sector contributions to the affordable housing stock within the city. within the SDF goal of "all new residential or mixed use developments of 10 residential units or more must include at least 20 percent affordable inclusionary housing" (City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, 2016).

While this policy would shift some burden of creating affordable housing onto private residential developers, the point of contention for ICRC members and residents remained "[housing] affordable to whom?" "More than 50% households earn less than R3500 a month," approximately \$490 (Schrenk et al., 2020a). Approximately 17 percent of Johannesburg households have an income of R0, and "when you don't have a job, nothing is affordable." With regard to contentions to the process, the ICRC held that the voices of the jobless, and therefore their realities, were excluded from the planning process and thus the future of Johannesburg. For nearly a decade the ICRC had gathered residents, from across the city, to deliver the same memorandum of demands to the Johannesburg Department of Housing and the Gauteng Premier's office. They were still waiting for an official response. Now that the City of Johannesburg was implementing the next iteration of the Inclusionary Housing Plan, ICRC was planning its march to deliver the same memorandum to the same officials. In addition to their regular duties, the entire office was focused on logistical planning, coordinating transportation, and recruiting new and existing community

members from across the city to take part, as “stakeholder voices” were needed even more acutely, now more than ever, to make and raise noise in order to “empower communities...”.

BERTRAMS

“The Hub,” was a red brick, two-story building with the black trim peeling, and a small grassless front yard in the Bertrams suburb, located east of the CBD in the shadows of Johannesburg and Ellis Parks. Bertrams itself was downhill from Yeoville directly north, and Hillbrow to the northwest. This section of Bertrams was calm and quiet, without the ever-present buzz and flow of the CBD. The only breaks in the silence came from the flow of cars turning off the main thoroughfare, with the occasional car going far too fast for a residential area, an occurrence which would draw all of our attention.

My first trip to Bertrams was with the ICRC outreach team including Philani, Lungile, and Thandi, as well as two women from the women’s group who worked, contractually, to support community engagement efforts, Thulili and Sizani. We exited the taxi in the shadow of the Vodacom building, which at 55 stories was once the tallest residential building in Africa. In the taxi over, Lungile while proudly pointing out her neighborhood’s landmarks had mentioned that she’d heard through the grapevine that the elevators were out of service – as residents had to walk the entire way some seniors just weren’t leaving their homes. Now standing on a desolate street corner, I did not have high hopes as the street looked devoid of life. As we began walking the street, Lungile found life. She knocked on doors, gates and went into courtyards – she was an evangelist on a crusade for the march, giving any and all who peaked out of their window a flyer with a call-to-action:

“Right to March”

The Inner-City Research Centre will be marching to hand over a memorandum
to the department of human settlement and premier's office.

The march will highlight the following issues:

SERVICE DELIVERY

- Affordable housing FOR ALL
- Dignified Sanitation

- Electricity
- Water
- Sites and Service (Booyens squatter camp)
- Inclusionary Housing Policy, 2019 is exclusionary because it doesn't include the unemployed communities.

WE WONT MOVE!!! (*Flyer, 2019*)

While the majority of those we engaged simply accepted the flyer and pledged to attend or recruit others, it was in watching these interactions that I first noticed the “male touch.” A couple of men would take this conversation from the women as an invitation for an embrace, or extended touch, such as a prolonged shoulder grab. The women, fluent in street canvassing, had each developed ways to dodge or out maneuver these advances. While this would be the first, it would not be not the last time that I would notice these micro-assaults.

Back at the Hub, after we ended our block by block, house by house, efforts, Thandi gave me a tour of the building. We climbed the semi-exterior stairs located in the middle of the building, with two units on either side. We came to the landing, a semi-dark hallway with darkened windows and half-open doors peering in on it. In front us, hanging over the rear yard below, a small, metal staircase just wide enough for one person. Ascending it led us to the top, which provided access to two more apartments at the rear edge of the roof.

Descending the small staircase, a new feature caught my eye just below the ceiling – something that would become a familiar sight throughout my time with ICRC. Resembling a loose lace, a lattice of multicolored wires ran down the middle of the hall, just below the ceiling. Red, green, blue, yellow, and black wires, each denoting a different gauge, were twisted together end-to-end conveying its piecemeal construction from bought and found materials. From the main bundle some strands ran up and down pillars, while other strands disappeared into darkened doors and windows – all the apartments were woven together into the makeshift electrical grid.

Mama Shereza would later inform me, the building was owned by the City of Johannesburg, seized through the use of eminent domain. While the owners had been compensated, the residents were summarily evicted with no remuneration or options for relocation, not that the residents could trust the

City in securing them adequate housing, anyways. With support of the ICRC, the residents were fighting in the courts. In the meantime, however, the City had cut all services.

The pressures of gentrification and displacement in post-Apartheid Johannesburg, did not reflect the gentrification with which I was accustomed in the United States. In the United States, white flight of both people and jobs to the suburbs divested economic stability and tax bases from urban neighborhoods and communities. Thirty years after the outflow of white people, and tax revenue to the suburbs, the capitalistic differentials in land and home values in the inner city made these communities, but not the people who inhabited them, prime for reinvestment (Betancur, 2002; McElroy & Werth, 2019; Mumm, 2008).

In South Africa, gentrification and displacement reflected a specific transformational growth following Apartheid. Rapidly expanding access to education along with an expanding Black middle-class provided a distinctly South African class dimension to gentrification and displacement (Visser, 2002). “The regeneration of the inner city of Johannesburg includes both formal and informal...ideas of development as well as that of the informal, African city” (Ah Goo, 2018). Gentrification and displacement in Johannesburg driven by neoliberal development, particularly within the CBD, fueled the urban contestation. The blocks surrounding the Hub, reflected this dynamic reinvestment. Walking the streets there were at least five or six single-family houses and apartment buildings which had been recently renovated. These homes, some the former residences of Hub residents, now advertised rooms for rents “For Students.”

The proximity to the University of Johannesburg, (UJ) and the University of Witwatersrand (Wits), with insufficient on-campus student accommodations, “provided opportunities for new societal cohorts...to find a residence in the CBD.” The University of Johannesburg had a student population of 50,000 and provided accommodations for approximately 19,000 (38 percent) (*University of Johannesburg*, n.d.). Wits had a student population of approximately 40,000 students and provided on-campus housing for only 12 percent of their students (*Wits University*, n.d.). Landowners saw opportunities to capture the students renters who were flowing into the neighborhoods, but most

importantly, to capture the students' guaranteed income through NSFAS (National Student Financial Aid Scheme). While Hub residents did not blame the students, one mentioning that "They [students] were just trying to go to school," they did, however, blame the institutions of higher education, the City, and the landlords.

MOTH BUILDING

The Moth Building was on a dead-end street at the northern edge of the Newtown District in the CBD. It sat perched above the train tracks to the north, just below the end of the overpass providing access to Park Station, which sat kitty-corner from the Moth. I imagined that the top floors had some of the best panoramic vistas of the Braamfontein skyline, including the Nelson Mandela Bridge to the west, the brutalist towers Johannesburg City Hall Plaza straight ahead, and in the distance the Vodacom Tower perched above Park Station. I had walked past this building every day on my commute to the ICRC offices. From the sidewalk on the overpass, looking up, I often noted the changing laundry which hung from balconies. Looking down, between the train tracks and overpass, was a mezzanine level which was simply an underused Park Station parking lot. Depending on the time I crossed, I would see members of the informal workforce in the various stages of their day, from washing up in buckets, to dividing up the wares to sale that day, mostly dusters and mops, to solitary men eating lunch.

On a hot day, I walked with the community engagement team, Lungile, Thandi, Philani, Thulili and Sizani, the one and a half blocks to an appointment Lungile had to speak to one of the Moth Building's ICRC leaders. On the way over, I learned the history of the Moth community from weaving the various comments and interjections into a single narrative. The Moth had emerged from another eminent domain case. The former homes of the Moth residents had been razed for a new CBD development project. With the promise of new housing in six months, the City of Johannesburg had temporarily placed the remaining non-relocated individuals and families to an unused office building, the Moth. What was to be a temporary home for a few dozen in 2007, had become a permanent home for over 1,500 people in 2019. During the initial move, the City had not undertaken any renovations to

transform the once commercial space into residential space. Since then, the residents, themselves, had divided and subdivided floor space, and then subdivided again, to make room for a constant influx of new residents from across the CBD, as well as, for the children who had grown up in the Moth, who now as adults, had begun families of their own.

Arriving at Moth, I noticed the group behaved differently. In previous trips to Bertrams, Hillbrow and Alexandra, the ICRC team moved freely about the buildings, talking and engaging with residents and old friends. However, today, beyond our arrival as Lungile talked with someone inside, we never moved beyond the six stairs leading up to the lobby just inside the front gate. We remained a loose cluster on the sidewalk while people came and went, only moving when the building representative came outside.

There were no happy greetings, there was an unusual sense of formality. As he, Thandi and Lungile spoke, the rest of group peeled away. Standing with the breakaway group, although I could only catch the most basic words of isiZulu, their body language was tense. Thandi walked away. Lungile continued talking with him, gave him flyers, and we walked away.

On our return walk, Lungile and Thandi gave me the context for the tension. He was mad, very mad. Thandi had walked away after he began denigrating the ICRC, specifically Mama Shereza, because he, and members of the building felt that “ICRC didn’t support them,” and therefore they were reluctant to support ICRC, and the march. Their feelings of abandonment stemmed from events that past winter (June – August) and had just peaked in September as the season changed to spring. Civic unrest, part of the ebb and flow of xenophobic violence and discrimination across South Africa, had left ten people murdered, and countless foreign businesses burned (*Renewed Xenophobic Attack in Johannesburg, South Africa (VIDEO)*, n.d.). Following the violence, the community grapevine had alerted the ICRC staff that some residents of the Moth Building had taken part in the anti-immigrant violence. Without naming individuals specifically, Mama Shereza had strongly, and unapologetically, chastised those who took part, saying that those actions went against ICRC values and those individuals were not welcomed to be a part of the coalition.

While negative attitudes towards immigrants have decreased, animus remained relatively high across all South African racial populations, particularly against Black Africans from neighboring Mozambique and Zimbabwe, as well as Nigeria. These immigrants, documented and undocumented, are often scapegoated for scarcity in economic opportunities often face negative attitudes, discrimination and violence (Dube, 2019; Harris et al., 2018; Moagi et al., 2018).

BURDENS

On the first Monday of December, Mphumelelo, Themba and I went to the Hub to check on the roof. ICRC had been working to get a new poured-concrete roof donated. The staff received a call from a Hub resident that the concrete company had come and pumped the concrete without telling the project managers. The concrete only covered one side of the roof and had not been properly leveled or floated to help shunt rainwater. The weight of an equally distributed new concrete roof had been accounted for, however the structural burden of an ill-poured concrete, plus any pooling water had not. As we got out of the taxi, some of the regular faces were there, including Ntombi. She was the only woman who regularly hung out front with this group of men. In her late 40's, or early 50s, she had a funny and welcoming wit. Over the previous weeks, she and I had quickly built a rapport. Every time she saw me, she asked me when we were getting married, "I'm ready to go now...let's go to the U.S.," she would say, grabbing my arm to walk away from the Hub. I would smile and counter that "I don't think my mother would like for me to come with a wife." She would always counter my counter with, "No, no, no, mothers love me!" Our pas de deux would usually end with the promise of a proposal on my next trip to Bertrams.

Walking up on this day the mood was less energetic. Some of the normal faces were missing, but Ntombi was there. After greetings, Themba went to look at the roof, and Mphumelelo engaged with the couple of men hanging around. I followed Ntombi to the end of the building. She leaned on the bricked patio wall, sorghum beer in hand. I mentioned that it seemed a bit quieter that day. Pointing with her chin, I followed her gaze to the four balconies of a faded golden-beige, two-story art-deco apartment building across the street. She told me about the young man who lived in one of the apartments. At some

point in the prior days, he had hanged himself. When the neighbors started to smell an odor, became concerned. They had found him earlier that morning - the police had just recently taken the body.

Her usual glint gone, her face flaccid, she said he was a good man...nice and hard-working, he just couldn't catch a break. She did not know if he had a family in the city. She continued, men needed jobs, yes, but "they needed mental health counseling too..." For the violence, for the pain, they need counseling... "this is a hard life." She did not need to know the suicide prevalence rate, and that officially, the rates of suicide in South Africa had significantly decreased since a peak in 2012 (*South Africa Suicide Rate 2000-2021 / MacroTrends*, n.d.), nor did she need to know that 59.9 percent of those committed suicide in South Africa were unemployed (Bantjes & Kagee, 2013). She, like many of those navigating this urban reality, knew something had to be done for the mental well-being of men in her community, and that the jobs alone wouldn't solve it.

WOMEN'S WORK

On one of the following mornings, I joined the women's forum women in the workroom as they were sitting around waiting for Lungile to come in to give direction for the day. Sizani, a Mozambican national, was reading aloud in English, to everyone and no one in particular, an all too familiar story of femicide and intimate partner violence in an isiZulu newspaper. When she finished, she recounted her experiences from the previous weekend. She described a woman from her neighborhood who had always impressed the other women by her impeccable style from head to toe, complete with a pair of sunglasses matching every outfit. Because of her style, poise, and confidence the women never questioned why she had started wear sunglasses all hours of the day. However, after over a year, as the women gathered for a neighborhood event, the stylish neighbor had removed her sunglasses. The women immediately realized why she wore sunglasses – she was hiding trauma from intimate partner violence. She shared her trauma with the other women. In a fit of anger, the woman's partner had taken a screwdriver to one of her eyes, gouging it out. Trauma, fear, as well as a sense of duty to protect her partner had kept the woman from seeking medical or legal help.

As community members, colleagues and friends shared dimensions of their lives with me, I was acutely conscious of my identity in this place, specifically as a man in women's spaces, and as a "temporary visitor" to their lived reality. As such, I acknowledged that even in my progressiveness, I am a product of the American puritanical character. As such, I worked extremely hard to always respond to unfamiliar and uncomfortable events/news/stories in a respectful, engaged, supportive, but non-reactive way. However, this story broke me. After Lungile finished her story, and the other women continued chatting about other news, I excused myself to the bathroom and cried. I cried for a woman I had never met. I cried for the unfathomable physical pain she had endured, without any medical attention. I cried for the emotional and psychological pain I imagined she must've endured alone for an entire year, afraid to reach out for help. After I finished, I returned to the workroom to leave with the women to go to the field.

Later, while we sat eating lunch from KFC in the workroom, the women talked, and I listened. Sizani shared another story, from earlier in the year, when a neighbor had shown up to her door at 4:00 AM shaking from fear- her partner had been beating all night, and she had finally fled. Taking her in, the woman's partner arrived at Sizani's door around 7:00 AM with a large metal pipe. He took the woman home, beating her the entire way. She recounted that he, sometime later, had stabbed the woman in the bottom of the foot to prevent her from leaving again. I asked her why she did not go to the police. She replied that during previous altercations, she had. The police had *actually* arrived and arrested him. As he was an undocumented, he was sent back to Lesotho. After six months his partner went to Lesotho to bring him back. I asked about what the men in her community, do they protect the women? "Men who respond, or step in to protect women bring more jealousy and violence." The abuser would assume that any man who stood up for the woman was having a sexual relationship with her, and this would put both the man and the woman in more danger. Sizani simply repeats to me, but more to herself, that "I am afraid he is going to kill her...he's gonna kill her...I just know he's gonna kill her..."

HILLBROW

On a trip to Hillbrow, the field team and I get out of the taxi on the corner, just down the road from Lungile's home. To our right, along one side a long wall ran along on the south side of the street. On the north side of the street, a number of houses, some with shacks in the front yard to accommodate more residents. From where we stood kitty corner on the northeast side of the corner was a high rise apartment building with no exterior walls. I had thought it to be abandoned until I saw people on the upper floors wandering from between fully furnished living rooms and bedrooms with interior walls adorned with art and posters. We walked down the street to a group of eight to ten women sitting along the wall, opposite the row of houses. In the middle of the women was Vava, the block matriarch.

As Lungile engaged with Vava, I walked with Philani up to some of the homes. Streaming from the light posts to the buildings were the familiar red, green, black, and yellow wires. Unlike the Hub, the wires were constructed in a much more haphazard fashion – wires ran from the city's electrical line to the apartments, from apartment to apartment, down the walls, and across the floors. As I walked up the front stairs, Philani told me to look out for live wires. I stopped still looking at the children running up and down the stairs playing games and intuitively jumping over wires like a game of hopscotch. Philani saw me take notice of the children and told me that the “women in this neighborhood, because of their immigrant status, could not get access to social services.” Because they could not find jobs and had no access to social services it meant they had “no income... they can't pay for school fees.” She continued, that there was one free public school in the community, one which Lungile had pointed out on a previous trip, but it was overcrowded. There is no school, no babysitters and no jobs, “...the city wants them to pay, but you have no job.”

These women were a part of the nearly 17 percent of Johannesburg residents who had a monthly income of R0 (Schrenk et al., 2020b). I assume that while Philani and I were looking at the homes Lungile had explained my presence, and research to the group. When we returned to the group, a young woman who I hadn't met before came and stood next to me. Without further greetings she explained, “this is not what we want to do. We want to work, we want to have jobs, but we can't get them, so this is

what we end up doing all day. We get up, look at cars, go do our chores, and come back to look at the cars go by...everyday... all day... this is all we do.”

THE MARCH

On the day of the march, the warm morning and tremendously blue sky reflected the spirits as of the group gathered at the corner of Empire Road and Joubert Street. Just beyond the shadow of Constitution Hill, the voices, laughter and songs of over 300 residents dressed in bright lime green and red ICRC shirts began filling the field at Pietr Roos Park over the melodies of Mzawkhe Mbuli’s “God Bless Africa.”

Behind signs reading “WE WANT ADEQUATE HOUSES NOT CONTAINERS,” “WE WON’T MOVE,” “OUR VOICES MUST’NT BE IGNORED” we set off. We marched around Constitution Hill to Johannesburg City Hall. At City Hall we knelt in the street chanting “AMANZA” (“water”). We then marched to the Department of Human Settlement, which sat just behind Park Station with a view of the Moth Building just across the train tracks. We chanted and danced, and sang, and chanted for housing, for basic services, for electricity and water. A subordinate to the department head came down in his “absence” to take the list of demands.

We continued marching through Braamfontein, and through Newtown to the Premier’s office. Again we chanted and danced, and sang, and chanted. Another subordinate, flanked by police officers, arrived to take the demands. Lungile, through a megaphone, read aloud each of the demands, while the new police officers who arrived armed with high-end cameras wove through the crowds and recorded the face of every single marcher. However, Lungile’s voice echoed unbroken...

Our grievances:

1. Unwillingness by the City of Johannesburg and the Department of Housing to engage meaningful[ly] with the residents regarding housing and basic services.
2. Provision of shacks and containers as alternative housing for the under-resourced communities.

3. Booyens informal settlement has about 600 shacks it is a residential place for the under resourced and unemployed people who were evicted from the inner city buildings, they currently don't have water and sanitation.
4. The continuous evictions in all spheres of the inner city of Johannesburg are rendering families homeless.

Our demand:

1. Meaningful engagement with all the relevant stakeholders who are involved in service delivery.
2. Provision of enough taps and toilets for the residents of Booyens informal settlements and other informal settlements in the inner city.
3. Moratoriums on evictions at Social Housing Complexes and create a space for meaningful engagement with the tenants. (*Memorandum to the Gauteng Premier David Mahkura, 2019*)

South Africa is dubbed the 'protest capital of the world' (Bianco, 2020). Protest and civil unrest have become commonplace on the streets of Johannesburg, so much so that they are reported through the City of Johannesburg's Twitter account, in line with other routine traffic incidents – matter-of-fact communiques to inform and redirect residents around street blockages. The impetus for the protests are often for service delivery of basic services and violations of constitutional rights, but also the need to be heard.

Looking around, the signs which floated above the heads of the marchers echoed this sentiment, "OUR VOICES WILL NOT BE IGNORED!" This was the same sentiment shared weeks earlier in conversation with an ICRC member in Alexandra, he stated, "They [government officials] come here, but they don't listen to us." The years of ICRC marches and memorandums with no official response spoke to this reality. When the voices, knowledge claims, agency and lived experiences of marginalized residents are excluded by the state, this speaks to a deeper issue, misrecognition.

Misrecognition, as defined by Melissa Harris Perry, "the failure, whether out of malice or out of ignorance, to extend to people the respect or esteem that is due to them in virtue of who they are" (Harris-Perry, 2011). When coupled with stigmatizing shame, "select[ion] of certain groups, marking them as 'abnormal' and demanding that they blush at what and who they are" (Nussbaum, 2004) inhibit full recognition thereby "subvert[ing] the possibility of equal democratic participation" (Harris-Perry, 2011).

It is purposefully enacted to ensure “participation in, yet unequal participatory access to, social, political, and economic freedoms granted by the nation” (Woodard, 2019).

We had marched and raised our voices for hours. At the end, the memorandum was handed over, hoping this time they will be heard, the marchers loaded into taxis. At one point, as I was standing in the shade of a very unshady tree with Themba, looking out at the group, he turned to me and said, “When you go home, tell them THIS is South Africa...not what they see on T.V. THIS.”

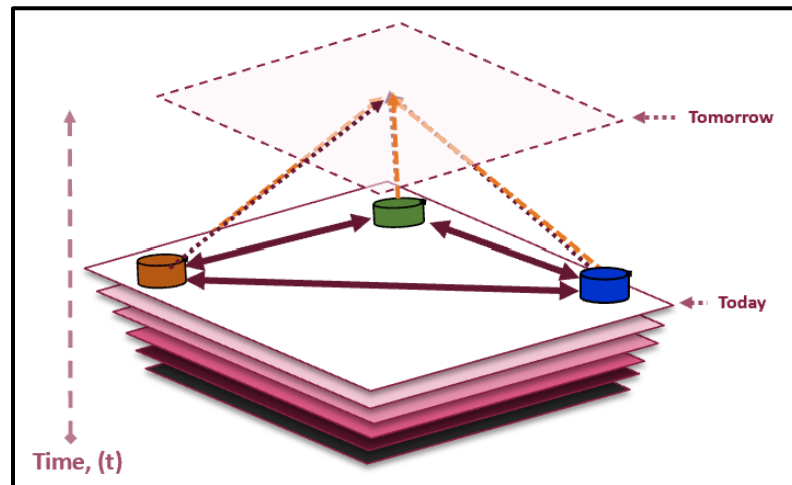
DISCUSSION

The lives shared with me in these narratives acknowledge that “as agents of knowledge Black women [Black peoples] draw from their lived experiences, placed within a particular set of material, historical, and epistemological conditions, to anchor specific knowledge claims” (Brown, 2012). While distinctly, and individually, experienced across geography, the contemporary city is both the anchor, and the conditions which thread these narratives and knowledge claims together.

In this way, the contemporary city is the physical, structural and symbolic summation of construction and deconstruction of racialized choices enacted through time and across geospatial, economic, social, and political system dimensions. As individuals, and a community, in discourse with the municipality, this historicity needs to be taken into consideration. As such, the racialized palimpsest city provides a novel socio-historical, and geographically specific framework through which to explore the dynamic triadic interactions between individuals and institutions (actors).

I define the racialized palimpsest city as an urban form in which historical racialized forms and functions remain politically, socially, and institutionally legible, and most critically, the legibility of this historical discourse alters and/or undermines new discursive content and context. The racialized palimpsest city serves as both site, and source, of urban discourse and contestation between the actors. The racialized palimpsest city is situated outside of the actors themselves, but is simultaneously constituted from their interactions, and constitutive of the actors. *See Figure 10.*

Figure 10: Racialized Palimpsest City, Actor Dynamics through Time



The racialized palimpsest city framework seeks to understand how racialized otherness, historically embedded, informs the contemporary contestation of urban place and space. Each day through the dynamic and integrated action or inaction of the actors another layer of the racialized palimpsest city enacted. In other words, the total interactions of all the actors situated in, and arising from specific socio-political and geographical space, the racialized palimpsest city, today are reconstituted as the outcome of, and motivation for, discourse and contestation in tomorrow's racialized palimpsest city. In this way, the racialized palimpsest city is a framework of the geography specific racialized social, political, historical dimensions which actors are positioned within.

The construction and destruction of the racialized palimpsest city is grounded in historical delineations of otherness, detailed by transnational, Black feminist Sylvia Wynter's theorizing of Man and the Other (Wynter et al., 2017). Her decolonial reading of Foucault established a shared ontology of otherness, including Blackness, through which to analyze and understand how marginalization and subjugation has been framed and enacted, globally. Wynter conceptualized this delineation within the European Renaissance. Beginning in this period, European man supplanted the supranatural, and became the self-evident ruler of all things terrene. The full rights granted to manipulate the earth to fit his whims, were granted solely through recognition by European nation-states, in specifically maleness and

whiteness. Those outside of this recognition were othered in proximity to recognized identity and status. As the boundaries hardened between Man and the Other, white European Man, became overrepresented as the very definition of human itself. All racialized others were classified as subhuman (Wynter, 2003). This classification facilitated the racialized and gendered bodily dislocation, subjugation and oppression, of the other, globally.

Racialized otherness, situated in this historical ontology of Blackness, was further transformed over time, spurred by the fallacious pseudo-science of race. The “science of race” particularly negative presuppositions of Blackness would serve as the justification to codify racial ordering into the core of the emerging modern metropolis in the 19th and 20th centuries across the globe facilitated through the profession of planning. The South African racialized modern metropolis would emerge through a confluence of aligning dimensions.

First, Black South Africans from rural homelands migrated to the rapidly expanding mining centers, such as Johannesburg. The influx of rural Black workers energized the white hegemony to address the “urban crisis. While public health was the primary stated catalyst for early urban spatial form, the primary racist catalyst for these policies was the protection of the poor White populace from the pathologized behaviors, such crime, violence, and the aggressive sexuality of Black individuals, particularly the Hottentot women. In the case of Cape Town, South Africa, at the turn of the last century, the “black urban settlements were equated with a public health hazard” (Miraftab 2012, 13).

In the first decades of the 20th Century, prior to Apartheid, South Africa adopted, and locally implemented, laws which solidified racialization into every aspect of urban form and function. Including economically- the Mines and Works Act (1911); sexually- the Immorality Act, (1927); geographically- the Native Lands Act (1913), the Native Trust and Land Act (1936), and the Native Administration Act (1927); individual mobility– the Natives Areas (Pass) Act (1923), and the Natives Consolidation Act (1945); political – South Africa Act (1909), the Representation of Natives Act (1936). Collectively, these racist and racist policies would indelibly racialize the physical, social, and economic urban, across time.

Following World War II in 1948, the South African Nationalist Party would further comprehensively fine-tuned exclusionary laws for Black Africans, Coloureds and Asians, using the ‘best practices’ of racialized ordering from Europe and North America, in relation to: job access and economic freedoms (the Native Labour Act – 1951); education (the Bantu Education Act – 1953); sexual expression (the Prohibition of Mixed Marriage Act – 1949); geography (the Group Areas Act – 1950); movement and social control (Natives Resettlement Act – 1954); and political representation (the Promotion of Bantu Self-government Act – 1959).

In detailing the historical and contemporary racialized constitution of Johannesburg as an exemplar of archsegregation, Nightingale notes that the systems enacted by Johannesburg “survived internal conflict between whites in two complex industrial societies...that experience unprecedented immigration of people of color. Most stunningly of all, they achieved their greatest victories during the very climax of the era of decolonization” (Nightingale, 2012). These laws, lasted until the end of Apartheid Government in 1994. Since the fall of the Apartheid Regime, South Africa and Johannesburg have once again leveraged North American and European socially-oriented economic development policies to redress the spatialized legacy of Apartheid through a series of neoliberal inclusionary housing policies beginning in 2007 (Klug et al., 2013).

It is within, and through, this historicity of Johannesburg as a racialized palimpsest city that these resident’s lived experiences and narratives can be positioned. The original premise in undertaking this research was simple, to explore the ways in which housing was advocated through a local NGO in Johannesburg. However, as the voices of those reflected here demonstrate this housing alone as theoretical constructs falls short of fully reflecting, representing and respecting their lived realities. Through valuing and centering the voices of these residents, what emerged across their individual knowledge claims is that one-dimensionality, while necessary, may no longer be sufficient. From Bertrams, and the Moth, to Booyens while housing was the issue which connected them, both their lived experiences, and their contestation of housing was in fact intersectional.

By intersectional I engage both the original and evolutionary definitions. Initially intersectionality was defined as a concept of identity in the interstitial space of identities, particularly between gender and race. “Shaped through the complementary interaction of intersectional (micro) and interlocking (macro) processes,” intersectionality “acknowledge[s] the complex intragroup differences” (Crenshaw, 1991; Davis et al., 2019; Hill Collins, 2019). The evolution of intersectionality has extended its definition to multiple identities beyond Blackness and femaleness. Today, intersectionality can be envisioned as a framework for looking at multiple identities within the interplay of different and interconnected structures of oppression. Framed as a matrix, intersectionality “centres power in a multipronged way as shifting across different sites and scales” (May, 2015).

As the narratives highlight, for individuals the discourses and contestation of housing in the racialized palimpsest city are equally situated in employment, mental health status, gender, migrant status, personal and community violence. This situated reality necessitates two things, first, the application of Black feminist social matrix capable of encapsulating all the dimensions of their urban reality, intersectionality. Second, the necessity of intersectional advocacy which also engages along the dimensions of reality particularly as “diverse alliances may make larger and broader-based mobilization possible”(Gawerc, 2021).

When building intersectional and emancipatory coalitions, the efficacy of intersectional coalitions is centered in trust and commitment. This is achieved, and most importantly sustained, through acknowledging and managing differences and conflicts, creating safe space. Given the xenophobic and gendered violence experienced, and committed, by members, the critical role of “bridge-builder” and safe space is played by the ICRC. In this role, ICRC creates critical safe space for individuals to engage as equals, which in non-coalition spaces would be lost, but also as the case with Moth serves as a repository of “knowledge of past actions, commitments, and reputational investments” (Levi & Murphy, 2006) across geographies in the CBD and Johannesburg.

At core “intersectionality has been grounded in praxis and political dimensions of coalition building, collective resistance and community activism”(Gouws, 2017). The ability of the ICRC to

engage not just with the consensus, community-wide, issues across Johannesburg, but to engage residents in the advocacy of cross-cutting, geographic specific, dimensions, such as those in Booyens, or economic development for the immigrant women in Hillbrow, creates new frames through which “provide [residents] with an open, fluid, yet durable [shared] identity structure that opens the way for adopting new and transformed identity formations and to using these politically to achieve social justice goals”(Barvosa-Carter, 1999).

While the lived experiences, and community coalescing reflect the reality and need of intersectionality this presents a mismatch with the institutional vocabularies and policy efforts to redress the effects of historically embedded “isms.” As the women of Hillbrow know, the unresolved matters from the 2007 South African housing policy strategy which failed to address whether housing as it connects with interwoven and interconnected issues of jobs, education, and child care remain unresolved in the 2019 Johannesburg IHP (Klug et al., 2013). The challenge in looking within existing racialized institutional constructs, such as systemic racism, “the complex array of antiblack practices” (Feagin, 2006) which privilege and whiteness, and structural racism, the macrolevel socio-institutional conditions of racism, there is a gap in describing, and therefore advocating for interplay of interwoven and additively negative impacts of the impacts of the historically racialized palimpsest city.

In this space the concept of syndemic segregation builds on the notion of racism is a public health issue, and is defined as the inseparable and interconnected systems and structures of political, social, and economic, and spatial segregations, grounded in marginalization and misrecognition, which have additively negative outcomes for members of a community (Woodard, 2019) (Singer, 2009). The dimensions and scales of syndemic segregations reflect the specific racialized palimpsest histories of the distinct geographies. However, the dimensions of syndemic segregations are intersected health and wellness, environmental concerns, education, employment, housing, sexual violence, and public safety.

Syndemic segregation is the outcome of the explicit and hidden systems and policies which have been historically embedded. When these are extended through time, a compounding effect creates intergenerationally negative effects on Black individuals, families, and communities. For 30 years

Johannesburg has adopted neoliberal approaches to rectify historical spatial, economic, political and social harms enacted in urban space. While the policy to unwind historical harms related to the dimensions of syndemic segregation are connected, abstractly, on the national policy level, on the local level, single-axis policies, such as 2019 IHP, do not reflect the interwoven and additive nature of these harms, nor do they reflect the intersectional lived realities of those in the margins, for whom the policies are meant to better. As such, the historical patterns are not effectively erased and therefore remain legible in the contemporary contestations.

CONCLUSION

In her anthology of critical urban planning histories, Sandercock states that, “in constructing its history, the planning profession is always engaged in molding its members’ understanding of past struggles and triumphs and simultaneously creating a contemporary professional culture around those memories...” (Sandercock, 1998). In this light, one intent of this ethnography was to acknowledge and value the lived experiences of Black people, and Black women in particular, who shared their lives with me as ‘agents of knowledge’ with valid knowledge claims, in and of themselves, within their positionality within the racialized palimpsest city of Johannesburg, South Africa.

Through the ethnographic fieldwork conducted between September 2019 and January 2020 in communities through the CBD in Johannesburg, South Africa, and in presenting the narratives as closely as possible to the situated contexts in which they were given, the intent of this work was, first, to provide urban planning theorists and practitioners a vehicle and vocabulary through which to more fully recognize and engage marginalized communities, of all identities, in the co-creation of urban spaces. In this light, one critical thread interwoven throughout the narratives was the dimensions of intersectionality in which individuals existed, as well as and communities coalesced. However, when the discourses and contestations of these actors are positioned within the novel framework of a racialized palimpsest city, their intersected realities stood in contrast to the single-axis municipal policies against which they were contesting. Through shining light on this mismatch, this work sought to provide a novel vocabulary

through which to begin to explore the ways in which dimensions of historically enacted institutional harms are discussed – a complement and corollary to intersectionality. The hope in undertaking this is a more holistic and intersected approach to unwind the persistent harms of historically racialized space within the profession of planning and among those advocating for contemporary urban place and space.

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CHAPTER V. CONCLUSION TO THE DISSERTATION

As Leona Sandercock stated “in constructing its history, the planning profession is always engaged in molding its members’ understanding of past struggles and triumphs and simultaneously creating a contemporary professional culture around those memories...” (Sandercock, 1998). Through centering Black feminist thought and theory, acknowledging the historically situated lived experiences of these individuals and communities, and valuing their knowledge claims, this research seeks to contribute novel vocabularies, frameworks and methods to the advanced the recognition and engagement of marginalized voices in the co-creation of the city. Additionally, through more fully valuing the lived experiences of marginalized community members the boundaries of urban planning can expand beyond its monolithic history.

This research centered on Twitter data collected from the City of Chicago and the City of Johannesburg between December 2019 and March 2020. Using two exemplars of “archsegregation,” connected through a shared globalized delineation of racial otherness, coupled with shared patterns of racialized spatial ordering, the broad research goals were, first, to explore the digital discursive practices and frames employed by municipalities to inform, communicate with, and engage Black communities, and, if and how, these frames are situated within a historically racialized arc. Second, to identify the ways in which Black residents, in dual discursive engagements with local municipalities and their own social networks, interact and engage with the municipal frames centering on Blackness. Third, through ethnographic narratives, to acknowledge the marginalized residents of the Central Business District of Johannesburg, South Africa as “agents of knowledge,” with critical and valuable knowledge claims which arise from their lived experiences anchored within racialized place and space. In doing so, support the efforts of these residents in recentering the validity of their knowledge claims in the co-creation of urban place and space.

1) EVOLUTIONS AND LIMITATIONS

Using grounded theory layered with ethnographic research can be a fruitful, yet messy undertaking. As such, it can require many changes in the field to respond to people, conditions, and situations. The first change which occurred was in switching from Facebook to Twitter. Facebook was originally selected based on its network structures more closely resembling those of offline social networks. However, two factors affected the decision to switch. First, unlike Twitter data, in order to collect data from a specific Facebook user, it can only occur through either the addition of an application to the user's page, or individually downloading the information. The second approach, downloading data, was attempted during the first interview with residents. However, proved challenging due to load shedding, which placed undue strain on face-to-face meetings to acquire the data, as well as training interviewees. Second, preliminary analysis of the data collected found that multiple respondents had altered their Facebook interactions to meet the study criteria. It was determined that these manufactured interactions would not provide any critical or new insights about the research topic.

The second major change was the change in dates, from July 1, 2019, to November 30, 2019 to December 1, 2019 to March 31, 2019. To ensure that the data collected would only reflect the policies and culture of one administration, it was determined that data collection would begin following the installation of the new mayor for the City of Chicago in May 2019. However, as noted herein, the mayor of Johannesburg resigned in November 2019. To fulfill the research criteria, the dates were shifted to December 1, 2019, the beginning of the new Johannesburg mayoral administration.

Third, I physically departed South Africa in January 2020 and was to relocate to Chicago, IL in February 2020. Attempts to coordinate interviews from the Twitter data in real time to provide more complex and detailed data, were initially made. However, with the COVID-19 lockdown, research was halted until July 2020, and did not fully recommence until September 2020. The choice was made at that time to limit analysis to discourse and frame analysis of the existing data, as interviews nine months after the date of posting could prove to be unreliable.

The final major shift was in producing a stand-alone ethnographic essay. As a multi-sited ethnography, the field dates in Johannesburg began in September 2019, and in Chicago in September 2020. In the time between, the global impact of COVID-19 changed the nature by which individuals socialized and worked, and community-based organizations engaged with their communities. For example, in Chicago, all meetings, organizing, and community outreach was done digitally, a stark shift from what the in the field community organization which I was engaged in Johannesburg. It was decided that this structural break would provide too many uncontrolled variables to effectively compare how these two communities advocated. Instead, a comparative analysis may be undertaken utilizing written documents the written discourses between the organizations, individuals and municipalities prior to and during the pandemic may be explored.

2) GENERAL FINDINGS:

Overall, this work contributes multiple methodological and theoretical dimensions to the existing literature. Methodologically, digital ethnographic itself is a nascent field, the pairing with social change and discourse analysis and frame analysis situated within a Black feminist social matrix is a unique contribution to the literatures of planning, as well as Black feminist theory. Second, existing literature examines the digital discourses of municipalities and Black subaltern publics as independent entities. The novelty of this work is that it connects these two entities in “conversation,” the first contribution of its kind to the literature. Third, beyond intersectionality, the use of specific Black feminist knowledges and theories within urban planning and vice versa, is limited. The integration of these knowledges, one, provides a reconceptualization of the contemporary urban as historically situated frameworks which can be engaged across multiple identities, including race, gender and class.

Through this research two concepts and frameworks were contributed. First, the racialized palimpsest city, as a concept, which I define as an urban form in which historical racialized forms and functions remain politically, socially, and institutionally legible, and most critically, the legibility of this historical discourse alters and/or undermines new discursive content and context. Rooted in Katherine

McKittrick's work of a modern-day auction block as a historically racialized object which bleeds into contemporary urban discourse. As with the auction block, the city is simultaneously a material entity, as well as the racialized and sexualized economic, political, and social dispossessions and subjugations enacted upon, through it, and by it collapsed into a singular entity.

In this way, the concept of the racialized palimpsest city represents the historically racialized physical, social, economic and political city and serves as both the source and site of urban discourse and contestation between the actors, individual and institutional. For analysis of the interactions between actors within the urban, the racialized palimpsest city also serves as a framework which is situated outside of the actors, it is simultaneously infused in the identity of actors, as well as a product of their engaging upon it.

Lastly, outcomes of the historical racialized choices, through time, have become interwoven into complex and interactional outcomes of the racialized palimpsest city. Built on the notion that racism is a public health issue, syndemic segregation is the inseparable and interconnected systems and structures of racialized political, social, and economic, and spatial segregations, grounded in marginalization and misrecognition, which have additively negative outcomes for members of a community. The dimensions and scales of syndemic segregations reflect the specific racialized palimpsest histories of the distinct geographies with dimensions intersecting, but not limited to, health and wellness, environmental concerns, education, employment, housing, sexual violence, and public safety. For example, red lining in the United States was enacted with the explicit intent of limiting the "negative" impacts of having Black Americans in close proximity on the housing prices of White Americans. Over time, this restriction of Black residential choice to heavily mixed-used and industrial zones have had increasingly additive and negative outcomes on Black health. When examined in conjunction with other racialized choices, such as underfunded public transportation, and differentiated economic development, transportation and economic syndemic segregation dimensions increase the likelihood of Black community food deserts,

among other outcomes, which created additively negative, greater than each would have individually, on the overall health outcomes of Black communities.⁴

This research applied digital ethnographic and traditional ethnographic methods, coupled with grounded theory coding methods, with social change discourse analysis and frame analysis to Black residents, Black community, and municipality, as they are enacted through, and upon the racialized palimpsest city.

The first manuscript, centered with the municipality, used mixed-methods digital ethnography, coupled with grounded theory coding, discourse and frame analysis, within a Black feminist social matrix, to examine the latent frames which emerged in digital municipal discourses surrounding Blackness. Four shared frames emerged in Chicago and Johannesburg: Racialized Palimpsest, Syndemic Segregation, Personal Identity and Black Achievement/Excellence. Separately, the Opposition frame was only present in Chicago, and Problematization was only present in Johannesburg. In addition to frames, contradictions emerged in their discursive practices with regard to democratizing resident access and engagement and maintaining traditional hegemonic control.

The second manuscript, as exploratory research, examined, first, the way Black residents directly interacted and engaged with the latent frames enacted by the municipalities. Second, it examined how Black users connected to municipal pages act as curators of municipal information working to amplify or dampen or align or contest municipal messaging. Most notably this research found were differences in how Black users engaged, responded, and most importantly retweeted specific frames, versus the general public, which to some degree can be attributed to the constitutive dimensions and intended outcomes of respective frames, while more research needs to be undertaken.

In the final manuscript, produced as ethnographic narratives from residents of Johannesburg Central Business District, Bertrams, Booyens, Alexandra, and Hillbrow between September 2019 and

⁴ Even though racialized policies were implemented under the guise of “public health,” they were not enacted to have negative community health outcomes as the intent, as such syndemic racism is not defined.

January 2020 while the researcher was embedded with the Inner-City Resource Centre. Designed to reflect, as closely as possible, the situated lived experiences in which it was shared to center and value the knowledge claims of residents. Through situating these knowledge claims of individuals and communities with correlated municipal initiatives and policies into the concepts of the racialized palimpsest city, a mismatch emerges. Individuals conceptualize their lives, and organization coalesce communities around multi-pronged, intersectional dimensions, including employment, immigration status, gendered violence, housing, education, childcare, etc. This stands in contrast to municipal initiatives which center single-axis solutions. This mismatch is reflected in the lack of voice these residents express when discussing their positionality within the city.

In the future, this collection of data will be updated in a few ways. First, using new Twitter data from the same mayoral administrations, as well as future administrations, will provide insights into whether the democratizing within their discursive practice a reflection or organizational transformation, or if the adoption of these practices are new tactics used to co-opt the image of emancipatory practice while maintain hegemonic control.

Second, recent updates to Twitter API now enable more efficient analysis of tweet chains. Expanding the chains of tweets as they are curated, retweets and transformed within Black subalterns will provide a more interconnected and holistic view of how Black subaltern networks interact with municipal data beyond the first-person engagements. Additionally, as municipal issues transform from a peripheral to central focus of contention, these features will elucidate this process. Lastly, as exploratory research situated within Black feminist knowledges the embedded intersectionality opens these concepts and frameworks for application in other communities, particularly racialized communities, such as Latinx, Coloured and Asian.