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# **Fatal Masculinities: A Queer Look at Green Violence**

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## Abstract

The militarized response to the rhino poaching crisis in southern Africa exposes poachers to “fatal couplings of power and difference” (Gilmore 2002). While the racialized dimensions of this phenomenon are currently the subject of robust debate, this paper focuses on how race, gender, and sexuality are co-constructed in the anti-poaching discourse. Bringing the work of geographer Ruth Wilson Gilmore into conversation with Frantz Fanon’s psycho-existential exposition of race, we read several campaign texts against their landscapes, revealing the role that gendered constructions of racial subjects play in justifying the extrajudicial killing of rhino poachers. We conclude that a geographic-linguistic approach to textual analysis usefully exposes the interconnectedness of gender, race, and sexuality at the heart of a modern conservationist campaign, and suggest that this framework complements queer geographic and intersectional approaches to racism.

## Keywords

Rhino poaching; South Africa; green violence; linguistic landscapes; Frantz Fanon; Ruth Wilson Gilmore

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## Introduction

Southern Africa is currently in the grips of a rhino poaching crisis that shows no signs of abating (Van Noorden, 2016). In South Africa’s Kruger National Park (KNP), home to 45% and 20% of the world’s white and black rhinos respectively, experts worry that populations have reached a “tipping point” where eventual decline is inevitable (Shaw and Rademeyer, 2016, 4). The illegal multimillion dollar trade in horn driving the slaughter also has a human cost, as poaching is increasingly met with lethal resistance from conservation personnel. Though reliable data are hard to come by, as many as 77 suspected poachers were killed in Mozambique in 2014 (Büscher and Ramutsindela, 2016, 4) and 150 to 200 in KNP in the five years to 2015 (Shaw and Rademeyer, 2016, 12–14). This deadly conflict has in part been driven by a public campaign that has played out between a “(mostly) white public in South Africa and (mostly) ‘black poachers’ from Mozambique” (Büscher and Ramutsindela, 2016, 9).

The colonial and racist underpinnings of some anti-poaching discourse has received critical attention. It has, for example, been argued that shoot-on-sight policies to protect biodiversity in Africa were historically enabled through discursive practices that debased the humanity of the poacher while anthropomorphising the animal, contrasting the “compassionate, sporting, and

conservation-minded” white European hunter to the black African poacher who “travels alone or in all-male gangs, and possesses cunning and superior arms” (Neumann, 2004, 826). Often, the creation of conservation areas dispossessed local people of their land, turning them from hunters into poachers overnight (Carruthers, 1995; McDonald, 2002; Harris and Hazen, 2005). Managing these divisions requires force, and increasingly the militarization of conservation is seen as a justifiable response to the illegal killing of animals (Duffy, 2014). The fact that key species – such as the rhinos of the KNP – are found along difficult-to-manage national borders, further contributes to the intermeshing of military and conservation objectives, a phenomenon characterised as “green militarization” (Lunstrum, 2014). Büscher and Ramutsindela (2016) argue that the deployment of the military is only one facet of a broader phenomenon they call “green violence”, which extends to other forms of material violence (such as harmful community exclusion from ‘fortified’ conservation spaces); discursive violence (the violent, often racially charged language used against poachers in private and online spaces specifically); and social violence (the cynical and dishonest exploitation of public sympathy to raise money for ineffective anti-poaching projects) (9-20). In South Africa, with its legacy of racialized oppression, a continuity has been observed between the counterinsurgency methods employed by apartheid South Africa against liberation fighters crossing the borders from Mozambique or Zimbabwe, and those of the contemporary state’s anti-poaching efforts, which were for a certain period coordinated by a retired apartheid-era major-general (Duffy, 2014; Humphreys and Smith, 2014).

Concerns over whether the South African state is ready and willing to protect the rhino, which many argue it is not (e.g. Shaw and Rademeyer, 2016), generate a “politics of hysteria” incubated in social media, and addressed to state power (Büscher, 2016, 992–993). Though concern for rhinos is to a certain extent expressed across social and racial divides, it is most intense among a white minority whose “belonging” in Africa is legitimized through conservation (Büscher and Ramutsindela, 2016, 9). In this discourse, the state’s ability to protect rhinos is equated with its ability to protect white interests, which are understood as being under threat. State power is entreated by rhino activists to visit extreme violence, and even torture, on rhino poachers, who are routinely represented as less-than-human (Lunstrum, forthcoming).

The research cited thus far draws attention to the *racialized* aspect of green violence, as evidenced by its disproportionate effects (the deaths of marginalised black men); historical continuities (the colonial legal apparatus of poaching; apartheid-era military tactics); and historically and currently circulating discursive strategies (narratives that for example valorise white conservation and anathematize black poaching). An interesting theme in the evidence marshalled by various scholars has, however, remained unexamined. We read for example that a poacher’s “essential identity is... *male*, black African” (Neumann, 2004, 823 emphasis added); tracking down poachers is always a “man-hunt” (Humphreys and

Smith, 2014, 813) and the white online public uses language like “Wish I could be there with you pulling triggers and making widows” and “Hope [they] chop [poachers’] balls off 1cm at a time” (Lunstrum, forthcoming). A common trope in various anti-poaching campaigns is the often humorous use of the rhino horn as a penis symbol. Male rhino campaigners have been photographed wearing nothing but the “rhinose” (a bright red plastic horn usually attached to the front of a car to show support for the cause) as a codpiece; pro-rhino paraphernalia playing on the word “horny” is also quite common.

The dynamics between race and gender (and, as we shall argue, sexuality) in the authorization of green violence has thus yet to be explored. It is precisely this analytical gap that we aim to start filling in this article, by adding a queer-intersectional perspective to existing scholarship on this topic.

Such a perspective is grounded in two main principles. First, we believe that “intersecting social divisions cannot be analysed as items that are added up but, rather, as constituting each other” (Yuval-Davis, 2006, 200). Second, in line with queer theory, we are motivated to undermine the ‘natural’ status of these categories, drawing attention to the normative role they play in socially constructed oppressive hierarchies (Butler, 1998). As we will argue in more detailed below, these principles can be brought into alignment around the axis of *embodiment*.

We have chosen to analyse intertextual relations between anti-poaching campaign texts that invoke specific, sometimes racially inflected, masculinities. To uncover the ideological work this strand in the discourse does, we will explore geographer Ruth Wilson Gilmore’s notion of a raced and gendered “territoriality of power” from a semiotic perspective, bringing her model into what we believe is a particularly fruitful conversation with Frantz Fanon’s psychoanalytic theory of racialization.

This framework will be laid out in the next three sections, after which we will turn to an analysis of the campaign texts. Our aims are twofold: (1) to demonstrate that race-gender-sexuality constructions authorise extrajudicial killing in the southern African anti-poaching campaign; and (2) in line with the remit of this special issue, to show that close semiotic attention to space further opens the fertile interdisciplinary ground between linguistic discourse analysis, and queer and critical geographies.

### **Mapping Ruth Wilson Gilmore’s “territoriality of power”**

Ruth Wilson Gilmore argues that racism works both legally and extra-legally by producing, renewing, and exploiting group-specific vulnerabilities to *premature death* (Gilmore, 2002, 16; Gilmore, 2007, 247). In what follows, we will highlight the *discursive* dimensions of this production, renewal, and exploitation as it relates to co-constructions with gender and sexuality, and the spatiality of rhino poaching. As Gilmore insists, a geographical approach to racism must analyse the “territoriality of power... [which]... entails investigating space, place, and location

as simultaneously shaped by gender, class, and scale” (Gilmore, 2002, 22). In other words, analysis must address the dialectical relationship between a complex of co-constructing social divisions, and their spatial context. Furthermore, in Gilmore’s Gramscian approach, these social divisions are overdetermined – open to overlapping socio-cultural and political-economic explanations. Because the economic driving forces of poaching are beyond the scope of this article, we can therefore only present one part of a much larger causal story.

To demonstrate the role of discourse in Gilmore’s model, we will first briefly describe the subject of her investigation, the political geography of the Californian penal system. In the last two decades of the twentieth century California locked up disproportionately high numbers of African American and Latino men: prison populations grew 500% even as the real crime rate was falling. There were material crises arising from surpluses that “carceral Keynesianism” – the policy of spurring economic growth through investments such as prison development – solved (Gilmore, 1999, 174), but prison-building’s specifically *racialized* form and effects arose from the concerns of a particular power bloc: white men who “fostered a connection between and among masculinity, state power, and national belongingness, with everyone else thus characterized as to some degree alien” (Gilmore, 2002, 21). Blocking immigrants from accessing social services, locking people of colour in prison, and limiting access to opportunity (Gilmore, 2007, 246) relied on renovating and maintaining the hegemony of an existing racial hierarchy which placed people who were not white into a sub-category (following Agamben, 1999) of inhuman persons (Gilmore, 2002, 16). Just as the state is white and masculine, the racial hierarchy was renovated through the spectre of an “unruly African American woman” (Gilmore, 1999, 177), or “welfare queen” (Gilmore, 2007, 45). This character leaches off the state while satiating her various immoral hungers, and producing the criminal (male) children who have to be locked in cages. Given the high public expectations of state force in the USA, a country built on slavery and genocide (Gilmore, 2002, 20), these discursive constructions legitimize heavy-handed responses to the moral panic surrounding these “criminal” young men, authorizing, reinforcing and renovating what Gilmore (2002), following Stuart Hall, calls “fatal couplings of power and difference” (16).

In response to their demonization by the state, and the locking away of their children, black mothers successfully organised themselves (and other marginalised people) across the socio-spatial divides of race/gender/class/region through leveraging the “ideological power of motherhood” (Gilmore, 2007, 246). These ebbs and flows of power across territory, where marginalised mothers in far-flung areas impoverished by globalisation organise themselves to reclaim power from a state bent on imprisoning their children, are also *discursive struggles* over who is a “mother” and who is a “welfare queen” and therefore struggles for and against the hegemony of white masculinity, and its death-dealing racial hierarchy.

In the context of rhino-poaching in Africa, struggles over the *meaning* of wild spaces, and of animal-killers, are of central importance. Unlike the black mothers in Gilmore's studies who organise themselves *against* violence, conservationists in South Africa organise themselves to *promote* it. As Büscher and Ramutsindela (2016) have pointed out, anti-poaching discourse seeks to create a "space" or "state" of exception (Agamben, 1998; 2005) where civil law no longer applies. This relies on the metaphor of a fictional siege – an emergency justifying special powers – which in turn relies on a "fictionalised notion of the enemy" (Mbembe, 2003, 16) that makes killing more palatable to the public.

Conflicts need their bogeymen, and bogeymen usually come as a package deal: they are classed, raced, or gendered; they have bodies; they have desires. These constructions are contingent on space and other local dynamics. In California, black mothers organise to claim back their male children's humanity from a powerful carceral state, and Gilmore's historical materialist analysis is built on decades of analysis and ethnography of this particular context. In South Africa, where conservation groups adopt a politics of hysteria to intensify the state assault on (male) rhino poachers, an approach that takes into account Frantz Fanon's excoriating aetiology of the colonially enforced racial order usefully complements Gilmore's territorial model, facilitating a fine-grained spatial-semiotic analysis of how race, gender and sexuality are co-constructed in certain anti-rhino poaching campaign materials. We will lay out this model in two steps: first by examining Fanon's account, and then by showing how his theory alloys with intersectionality, queer theory, and territoriality.

### **Frantz Fanon: a psychosexual toolkit**

That gender and sexuality are intimately interwoven in racist hierarchies has been the subject of extensive analysis in many disciplines. Anne McClintock (1995) for example shows how in Western colonialism these categories "come into existence *in and through relation* to each other [...] in contradictory and conflictual ways" (5, original emphasis) to the extent that they cannot be thought of as distinct, but as "articulated" categories. Stuart Hall (2001) similarly has noted a white obsession with the sexuality of black people in Western media production (327), specifically with black men's penises. Both McClintock and Hall cite Martinican psychoanalyst and revolutionary Frantz Fanon as the authority on the matter, for it was Fanon that presented one of the most powerful, if problematic (see Eng, 2001), theories of the psychosexual dimensions of race.

*Black Skin, White Masks* (2008), originally published in French in 1952, formed the basis for what Sonia Dayan-Herzbrun calls "a completely new theorization, where thought is originated from a sexed, colored, and colonised suffering body" (Gordon, 2015, xi). Although Fanon deals with a number of case studies of the lived experience of colonised and racialised people to build his model, some of the most powerful theoretical advances come from a

phenomenology of his *own* body, which might to a large extent explain the “relentless masculinism” (Alessandrini, 2005, 8) of his oeuvre.

The Fanonian suffering body has gender, sexuality, class, and race, as well as a particular position in the colonial space. It is the sum of its articulated categories against a backdrop of territorial power. Starting his analysis with suffering bodies was a deliberate move against the erasure of colonial violence and suffering epitomised by Western knowledge production. As a psychoanalyst, he wrote against the Freudian assumption that individual developmental (or *ontogenetic*) factors antagonise “normal” adjustment to society, suggesting that for colonised people adjusting to society is *itself* the source of psychological problems. To the extent that colonial complexes are *sociogenetic*, then, what is required from the analyst is *sociodiagnosis* (Fanon, 2008, 4-5). This sociodiagnostic toolkit, elements of which we describe below, is rich in its potential for discursive application.

In contrast to the Jungian *collective* unconscious populated with instincts and archetypes that acquire a quasi-universal status, Fanon invokes a highly context-specific *cultural unconscious*. He characterises it, in a manner that points towards the importance of discourse, as “a constellation of postulates, a series of propositions that slowly and subtly – with the help of books, newspapers, schools and their texts, advertisements, films, radio – work their way into one’s mind and shape one’s view of the world of the group to which one belongs” (118). For white-skinned people, a black body is a dirty body, both morally and physically; blackness is to whiteness as darkness and sin are to innocence and “magical, heavenly light” (146). The unconscious is populated with these indexical relationships, which shape profoundly individual desire and behaviour.

The “good” white and the “bad” black coalesce into archetypal figures called *imagos* (see also Jung, 1991). The black imago plays a role in the development of the white self, as the perfect Other, ideally not-self and “absolutely unassimilable” (124–126 fn. 25). In psychoanalytic theory, the Self develops in childhood in opposition to the Other; thus the black imago may appear to the white person during times of depression or anxiety as a satyr or murderer, becoming “the mainstay of his preoccupations and desires” (130–131). A character sketch of this *Black Satyr*<sup>1</sup> aids understanding Fanon’s theory. He describes a common white fixation with the supposed bestiality of black men, and the size of their penises (128), which supposedly turn the white man’s penis into a “little toy” (130), a fact that symbolically *castrates the white man*. The lynching and castration of the black man can thus be understood as a form of sexual revenge (122–123). Fanon argues that this belief in the superior erotic powers of black men reveals a white male heterosexual *fear* of impotence, an anxiety about giving pleasure.

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<sup>1</sup> Neither “Black Satyr” nor “White Father” (which we introduce below) are Fanon’s exact terms: we use them as shorthand references to the imagos described.

This fear is in turn generated by a European cultural aspiration towards the intellectual. Unconsciously, it is assumed by white men that for every intellectual gain, there is a corresponding diminution of sexual potency. Because this is experienced as a loss, there is a concomitant “irrational longing for unusual eras of sexual license, of orgiastic scenes, of unpunished rapes, of unrepressed incest” (127). The ‘civilised’ white man, who cannot countenance this savage longing, must retain his virtue by *projecting* all vice onto the black man. So, for example, when it comes to rape, the black man becomes the “specialist... the master of this matter” (ibid.). Indeed, every reprehensible thing must be distanced from the white ego through the ascription of its origin to someone else (147). In this manner, the Black Satyr comes to stand for *all* evil (141).

In a similar vein, Gilmore’s identification of the “welfare queen” as a foil to positive representations of motherhood that might otherwise reduce public support for the carceral state, presents us with a female imago, the breeder of vermin and vice who is a crucial figure in the enforcement of a sub-human, expendable status for black men, reproduced through narratives in popular media. Fanon argues that stories (as well as games and other cultural artefacts) are particularly important because they serve as an outlet for accumulated aggression, or catharsis, which lodges racial imagos in the cultural unconscious during childhood, when catharsis happens *collectively*. In games where “the Wolf, the Devil, the Evil Spirit, the Bad Man, the Savage are always symbolized by Negroes or Indians” (113) the young black child experiences identification with the white missionary being cooked, the explorer, or the pioneer who is threatened by the “savages”. The black child “invests the hero, who is white, with all his own aggression” (114) and, when the enemy is obliterated, the child experiences a catharsis (a release of psychic energy) that is *anti-black*. As the catharsis is repeated, the child adopts this white explorer or missionary as a kind of paternal authority figure, whom we shall call the *White Father*. All people, black and white, are expected to accept the degeneracy of the black imago and the welfare queen; correspondingly, all must respect the authority of the White Father.

In the cultural unconscious of the group, says Fanon, the White Father is “charged with maintaining order in it as a garrison controls a conquered city” (112). For white children, the authority of the White Father harmonises with, and is analogous to, the authority of society, which they will be able to adjust to in a “normal” way as they become independent agents (109). But black children have to “ascend” from their families, which they tend to reject (115). So while the white child matures harmoniously, the same process for the colonised black child is experienced as a trauma grounded in alienation.

Alienation occurs in contexts where the cultural output of Europe has become dominant: where the *imago*, the fabrication, acquires a reality that shapes experience. This “cultural imposition” (150–151) makes it *normal* for black people to be anti-black. Gilmore (2007) similarly shows how the construction of the California penal code disproportionately criminalizes young black men, creating a



situation where to be anti-racist is somehow also to be pro-crime. Whiteness has become hegemonic. In Fanon's Martinique, the colonised now share a language and a literature with the people who colonised them. Fanon himself cannot write without references to the Western canon, for "[there] is no help for it: I am a white man. For unconsciously I distrust what is black in me, that is, the whole of my being" (148).

The classic sketch of how these forces work together is provided by Fanon as a phenomenology of his experience on a train, where a white child points at him and cries out "Look, a Negro!" (82). Fanon relates:

[The] corporeal schema crumbled, its place taken by a racial epidermal schema ... I was responsible at the same time for my body, for my race, for my ancestors. I subjected myself to an objective examination, I discovered my blackness, my ethnic characteristics; and I was battered down by tom-toms, cannibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetichism, racial defects, slave-ships and above all else, above all: "Sho' good eatin'." (84-85)

That final phrase is the clunky English translation of the slogan of French cereal brand Banania, "*Y'a bon!*" which mimics the "*petit-nègre*" speech of the smiling Senegalese soldier used as a mascot (Gordon, 2015, 50–51). When interpellated as a "Negro" by the white child, who because of *cultural imposition* shares with Fanon a *cultural unconscious*, populated with *racial imagos* imprinted through *collective catharsis*, Fanon is reduced from a real body into the fabricated, two-dimensional image of the Black Satyr with its all projected evil and savagery, but "above all else" its smiling face. The reality of the spectacle of the imago indexed by the child has a cultural power that negates Fanon's "corporeal schema". In this moment, we glimpse the essence of *alienation* which pushes the human being into a "zone of nonbeing" (Fanon 2008, 2) through the intrusion into his subjectivity of a powerful discursive construction. We can recognise this construction in Gilmore's work: to achieve mass incarceration, society must gradually establish the place of young black men on a lower rung of the human ladder, gradually pushing them further towards their actual or social premature deaths, deaths for which prison is the most eloquent expression.

### **Embodiment, space, and queering sociodiagnosis**

In the introduction we stated that our analysis assumes the co-construction of social divisions, while seeking to undermine their 'natural' status. Fanon's theorization *from the suffering body* usefully brings these principles into conversation with the death-dealing nature of the racist order, for while the fictional enemy, the imago, is quite clearly a "purely fantastical Nègre" (Mbembe, forthcoming in Coburn, 2014, 178), the projection of this fantasy onto a specific body racializes and genders it, invests it with vicious lusts and a rational deficit, in

a way that Fanon experiences *on* his body, specifically, in a way a white-skinned body would not experience it. Following Fanon, Saldanha (2006) argues that race has a biological reality in the body that is prior to racist ideology and must therefore be “re-ontologised”. Assuming that race is entirely a social construction misses the many ways in which the relationship between racial terms and their extensions add up over time to create racial populations, through a “statistical accumulation of increasingly predictable affects, produced through the actual encounters and sensualities of bodies” (Saldanha, 2010, 4). These encounters include, as Ahmed (2007) describes, their being *slowed down* in space: stopped and questioned, being made to justify their presence. Analytically, the body is the site of these intersecting social divisions, and its movement through space a key to understanding their operations. Managing the movement and location of racialized people is a core project of the racial project, which is constantly “putting Black bodies in place” (Kipfer, 2007, 709). The territorial dimension of power in the racial state subsists in its ability to *locate* people, whether in a social hierarchy, a miners’ compound or a Californian prison, or even at the scale of the individual psyche. As we have seen, Fanon’s “zone of nonbeing” is an appropriately spatial metaphor.

Space itself is continuously produced through various human actions and undertakings (Lefebvre, 1991), which may be simultaneously embodied, material and semiotic. The recently established field of linguistic landscapes has sought to analyse some parts of this nexus. When space is filled with social meaning-making, it becomes “‘place’, a particular space on which senses of belonging, property rights, and authority can be projected” (Blommaert, 2005, 222). It is not merely the landscape and the sign that affect each other’s meanings; human subjects in the space are also “given meaning”. These meanings may serve as cords that tie people to places, though they can also be used as ropes to keep other people out.

Spaces have an inherent “semiotic potential... determined by the inequalities between that particular space and others” (Blommaert, 2005, 213) which is realised through discourse. These discursive realisations may change over time as new meanings are projected onto spaces. Space itself means something prior to the presence of the man-made sign, and is therefore already a kind of sign; polysemic, in that we can deploy the same space to evoke the romance of the wild, or the piteous underdevelopment of Africa. Signs are not semantically inert in space, but interact with it, with people, and with each other, even participating in “a chain/network of resemiotizations across (economically differentiated) technologies, artifacts and spaces” (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009, 371). Not only do we consume texts as we produce them, but we also produce them as we consume them (see Styhre and Engberg, 2003). Our meaning-making activity partially produces our subjectivity (Althusser, 1971) and so we produce ourselves performatively partly in response to space, inaugurating into being a particular subjectivity “rather than [merely reporting] on an existing one” (Butler, 1997, 33).

Showing how these subjectivities and power structures are built through Fanon-inflected spatial semiotics is our approach to the Gilmorean project of analysing the territoriality of racist power. Some concerns might however remain about the epistemological tension between Fanon and our queer-theoretical starting point. Fanon is openly homophobic. He describes being revolted by the thought of a man being called “sensual” (Fanon, 2008, 156). In a tangential footnote, the homophobic logic of which is analysed by Edelman (1994, 55), Fanon says he has not been able to establish the presence of “overt homosexuality” in Martinique; though some men wear dresses he is convinced they “lead normal sex lives” (Fanon, 2008, 139). By “normal” Fanon means “heterosexual” – and the idea that to be normal you need to be straight is of course queer theory’s ‘other’. Yet, queer work at the intersection of race, gender, and sexuality has occasionally gone back to Fanon for theoretical insight (see for example Edelman, 1994; Eng, 2001; Fung, 1996).

Gopinath (2005) reads Fanon’s commentary on homosexuality as a critique of the standard Freudian aetiology of the time, which was rooted in the notion of an Oedipus complex. Fanon is concerned with making it clear that only the white child’s father has access to the phallic power required for an Oedipus complex (Gopinath, 2005, 66) and so it is impossible for the black child to develop one. Fanon on homosexuality can thus be read as anti-normative: first, in showing how Freud’s supposedly universal theory breaks down in the colonial context, and second, in demonstrating the contingency of norms governing gender and sexuality. That he does so while remaining homophobic does not necessarily invalidate his point. The same can be said of his casual, if ambiguous and hotly debated, sexism (see Bergner, 1995).

Queer theorists themselves may also be as prone to reproducing colonial or racial hierarchies in their work (see for example critiques of the whiteness of queer theory in Barnard, 1999; and Milani, 2014) and an alloying of the anti-normativities of queer and decolonial or antiracist approaches is quite clearly necessary. Both are invested in more “thorough resistance to regimes of the normal” (Warner, 1991, 16) and Fanon specifically demonstrates that these co-constructions of race/sexuality/gender are nothing but a “thick coating ‘of nonsense, of lies, and of fantasies’... that envelops and suffocates the human being” (Mbembe, forthcoming in Coburn, 2014, 178). Emerging from these “calcified lies” means becoming more fully ourselves, an aim that Fanon shares with queer theory (Coburn, 2014, 183).

## **Texts and Contexts**

Though there has unquestionably been racial social mobility and change since the end of apartheid, its second democratically elected State President’s characterisation of South Africa as “Two Nations” (Mbeki, 1998) remains depressingly accurate. It is possible to imagine the one as a cartographic *overlay* on the other: the way people use space, what places mean to them, and their specific

life chances, differ dramatically between maps. One nation is (largely) white and prosperous: it has access to the first world infrastructure of cars and aeroplanes, reliable and fast Internet access; it is concentrated in urban areas, but in rural areas it dominates commercial farming, tourism, mining, and the small town professional classes. The other nation is (largely) black and poor: a small upwardly mobile professional and administrative class supports family members in former apartheid “homelands”, many of which are mired in absolute poverty. White people make up only 8% of the population, and black people 81% (Statistics South Africa, 2016, 2), yet white people are in 70% of the top management jobs and black people in just 13,6% (Commission for Employment Equity, 2015, 18). Average annual white household income is *six times* that of black households (Statistics South Africa, 2012, 42). Only 5,9% of white people are actively seeking work and can’t find it, compared with 35,6% of black people (51). While around 57% of black households live in poverty, a phenomenon highly correlated with living in a rural area and low educational attainment, poverty levels for white households sit at about 1,5% (Gradin, 2013, 204). This separation persists online: as many as 77% of black South Africans do not have an internet connection at home, compared to only 11% of white people (Servaes and Oyedemi, 2016, 210).

The “two nations” also have a different relationship to wilderness areas, and to biodiversity conservation. While foreign and white tourists flock to national parks, for many black people conservation areas are still sites of dispossession (Kepe, 2009). Creating wildlife reserves involves enforcing new artificial boundaries, an enterprise often continuous with the power dynamics and effects on local populations of colonialism (Harris and Hazen, 2005). The creation of reserves such as the Kruger National Park saw the forced removal of thousands of black people from their ancestral lands (Carruthers, 1995; McDonald, 2002). This displacement did not end with the advent of majority rule in South Africa or Zimbabwe, or peace in Mozambique, and forcibly removed communities are now fertile recruiting ground for new poachers to supply the rhino horn trade (Büscher and Ramutsindela, 2016, 4).

It has been observed in different contexts that conservation discourse is dominated by the concerns of middle-class, white men, (Kalof et al., 2002; Taylor 1997) and that white “stewardship” of land is a theme of supremacist discourse (Mix, 2009). During the southern African independence process from the 1960s to 1990s, the descendants of white settler populations were faced with a crisis of belonging, as David Hughes has documented in Zimbabwe (2005; 2010). In conservation, white people have found “a reason for being in Africa” – in some cases explicitly contrasted to intermarriage with African people and speaking an African language – and have “(re)asserted a continental space commensurate with a particular white history and hope for the future” (Hughes, 2005, 161). While the potential for economic growth and job creation represented by tourism has secured the support of the post-apartheid state for on-going conservation efforts, the majority of the workers in these sectors are paid wages so low that they do not

attain more than an evanescent economic security or social advancement (Giampiccoli and Mtapuri, 2014, 94).

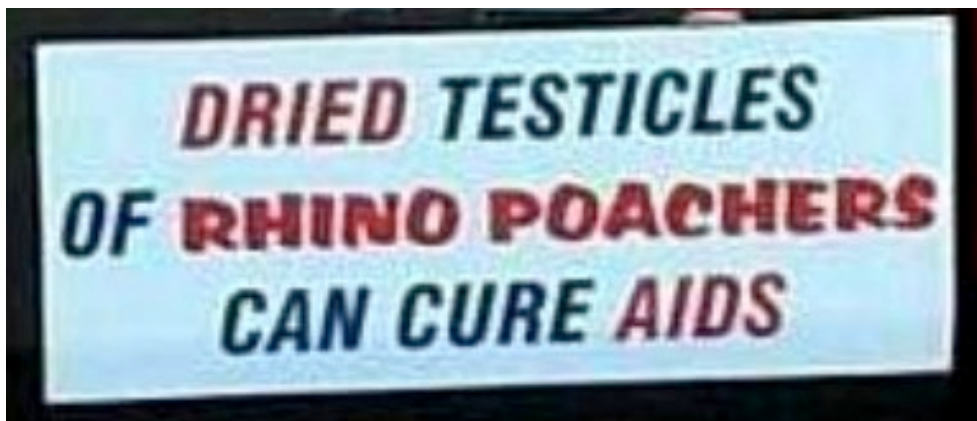
The anti-poaching campaign plays out against the backdrop of these two nations. Such broad brushstrokes can of course obscure the actual complexity of South African society, which is in constant flux. However, the campaign texts must appeal to a broadly construed, average target audience in order to meet their aims, and these generalisations are useful to understand how this happens. It is with this in mind that we now turn to our first example of a campaign text. Read against the social and spatial dynamics of South African society, we will see that there are clear textual warrants for the discursive production of a specifically raced and gendered vulnerability to premature death.

### *Enter the Black Satyr*

Our first text is a bumper sticker visible on the busy streets of South Africa's largest city, Johannesburg. South Africa has developed a peculiar "system of automobility" (Urry, 2004) that saw "cars, car-drivers, roads, petroleum supplies and many novel objects, technologies and signs" (27) develop along specifically *racial* contours. In the history of Johannesburg, prime, white property developments have traditionally taken place in areas intentionally unconnected to the public transport network, and accessible only by motor car, leaving a legacy of "neo-apartheid" in the northern suburbs (Beavon, 2000). The car, as a commodity that "provides status to its owner/user through its sign-values (such as speed, security, safety, sexual desire, career success, freedom, family, masculinity)" (Urry, 2004, 26) could not be owned by, and thereby confer this status on, black people without challenging white supremacy. As Posel (2010) notes, the apartheid-era norm for white people to express "suspicion and distaste in the presence of... African people driving cars (other than as chauffeurs for white owners)" (170) partly explains why black ownership of cars and other commodities, post-apartheid, has been "invested with the iconography of a joyous emancipation" (159). Despite economic development and a growing black middle class, by the time of the national census in 2011, only 19% of black households owned cars, compared to 91% of white households (Statistics South Africa, 2012). The semiotic landscape of busy city streets in contemporary South Africa – the *city carscape* – is thus typified by a majority of black people walking or using public transport, and a majority of white people driving their own cars (see also Graham, 2007). Cars for all races are icons of economic ascendancy. Bumper stickers, such as in figure 1, are thus already deployed in a highly racialised context.

In terms of communicative functions, bumper stickers present an opportunity to "interject one's own perspectives, values and statements into the environment of mass-mediated messages" as well as to "proclaim a unique personal identity" (Case, 1992, 107). People use bumper stickers to anonymously communicate public emotion, (Newhagen and Ancell 1995), to engage in political protest or debate (Bloch, 2000), to articulate "social vision" (Chiluwa, 2008) and to

negotiate complex identities in gendered, patriarchal contexts (Doyle and Tranter, 2015; Noble and Baldwin, 2001). We should not conceive of this identity work as being done only on people in other cars. Passers-by and pedestrians are also interpellated, as we argued above, these signs performatively imbue space with specific meanings, hailing people into particular subject positions. From figure 1, we will examine how a bumper sticker produces and is produced by its context, and how it interacts with the Fanonian cultural unconscious.



**Figure 1:** “Dried Testicles of Rhino Poachers can Cure AIDS”  
[\(https://www.pinterest.com/pin/162833342754065426/\)](https://www.pinterest.com/pin/162833342754065426/)

For reasons that include higher levels of poverty, which in turn drives so-called “transactional” sex (in return for food or other resources) as well as inferior access to healthcare, black people bear the brunt of the HIV epidemic in South Africa. Whereas only 0,3% of white people have HIV, 15% of black people do (Shisana et al., 2014, xxv). This fact is widely known, and features in white rationalizations of the sexual undesirability of black people (Milani, 2014). Making bold medical claims on a city street about the efficacy of a natural ingredient as a cure for a sexually transmitted infection references the genre of traditional African medicine advertising, which tends to focus, in explicit pamphlets and pasted bills, on sexual prowess, fertility, and success in life and love (Edwards and Milani, 2014). By alluding to this genre, the medical practice itself (known by the isiZulu word for medicine, *umuthi*) is also invoked. At the same time, because of the reference to rhino poaching, the belief in certain south-east Asian medical traditions in the aphrodisiac properties of rhino horn, claimed to be at the root of the poaching problem in the first place, is also invoked. Asian and African medical practices share an adherence to the “Doctrine of Signatures,” the idea that “appearance suggests... use” (Williams and Whiting, 2016, 266). In the realm of “zootherapy” the utility of the medicine is ascribed to “the complete or partial resemblance of an animal or its behaviour to a specific part of the human body, organ, bodily function, bodily reaction or attribute” (ibid.). Under this logic, a strong rhino horn denotes a manly erection.

Crucially, *umuthi* has specific associations in the South African cultural unconscious. Reports of “muti killings” – an “‘epidemic’ of occult-related violent crimes” (Vincent, 2008, 43) where humans are killed for their body parts to be used as medicine, are a staple of South African tabloids as well as a preoccupation of the Western press (see Bishop, 2012). Furthermore, magical “cures for AIDS” reference the myth of the “virgin cure” – the idea that HIV-positive men were raping children who they knew could not be infected with HIV, in order to cure themselves (Epstein and Jewkes, 2009). This is another example of the Doctrine of Signatures, where the consumption of virginity supposedly takes the body back to the healthy state it was in before the sex act that resulted in HIV infection: consuming purity works to purify. However, this reasoning for sexual violence is unsupported by any evidence and “predicated on racist assumptions about the amorality of African men [and] highly stigmatising towards people with HIV” (ibid.). As was argued above, the black man was constructed as the “master” of rape (Fanon, 2008, 127).

This bumper sticker clearly invokes the Black Satyr. Rhino-loving middle-class car-drivers interpellate what Fanon calls the “biological-sexual-sensual-genital-nigger” (2008, 156) on the side of the road or in the minibus taxi, situating them in a broad trans-regional racial community that includes the poachers, through mimicking the street-side traditional medicine advertisements only “they” use. The black man does not need to be named explicitly because everybody knows he is there. He is the one who has AIDS; he is the one who uses *umuthi*; he is the one who is killing the rhinos; and it is a terrific joke to set these violent creatures on each other.

As for jokes, discourse analysts are clear that they are never innocuous, and indicate the workings of repressed desires: “‘our enjoyment of the joke’ indicates what is being repressed in more serious talk” (Billig, 1997, 150). The producers and users of the bumper sticker structure their joke to make it clear from its context on the bumper of a car – the unlikely juxtaposition of rhino poaching and AIDS, and the coy reference to “testicles” – that this is meant to be funny. One thing that makes the joke humorous is the unexpected use of testicles: to cure a dread disease. There is no joke in “Castrate rhino poachers!” nor does “Dried rhino poacher testicles are a cure for cancer” take the amusing turn of joining the discursive dots between poachers and AIDS. The joke is for one audience – other car-drivers, who tend to be white and middle class – at the expense of another audience, the audience addressed by traditional medicine advertising – who tend to be working class and black – supposedly fooled by this parodic imitation. It is funny, and popular, and widely shared, precisely because it is shameful, precisely because white people have to repress talk of superstitious black people with AIDS murdering each other in “normal talk”.

These jokes are not only visible in the city carscape, but also travel easily through a variety of online spaces. The interconnectedness of these online and physical spaces allow this ‘humorous’ discursive web to police who is welcome in

which space, and who is not. The joke on the bumper sticker is fixated at the level of the genital through the mention of testicles and the sexually transmissible nature of HIV/AIDS. For Fanon, a black man having sex with a white woman is a symbolic castration of the white man, whose penis becomes a “little toy” in comparison. The white man’s revenge, characteristically, is castration followed by lynching, a sexual revenge. A variation on this theme plays out in another joke that circulates in the form of a *meme* in the anti-rhino poaching online community.



**Figure 2:** “Dehorn Rhino Poachers”

(<https://dykewriter.wordpress.com/2015/05/24/dried-poacher-testicles-cures-aids-and-everything/>)

The red triangle is the internationally accepted sign for a danger warning. The image in figure 2 pretends to be an official road-sign, creating an imaginary space where summary penectomies with what looks like a large machete could be performed on people who fit the category of “rhino poacher”. In invoking a real-world space, people who share this meme also create online space with an inside and an outside: inside is our community, which approves of this disciplinary technology; outside are the Others.

As was the case with the bumper sticker, part of the humorous effect of this text derives from a bait-and-switch tactic with the audience. The “Others” outside of the community, the foot-soldiers who actually poach the rhinos, are unlikely to be warned by this sign: it is created for the amusement of the campaigners. Its mimicry of a road-sign is incomplete: “dehorn” is in the imperative voice, whereas a real warning sign would be declarative, as in “rhino poachers will be dehorned”. The saucy pun on “dehorn” and the transgressive representation of violence and nudity seek to titillate the audience; humour is achieved through the unexpected inversion of the relationship between poacher and the rhino, or at least the rhino’s protector (represented by the human performing the penectomy). This specific



revenge is reminiscent of the Fanonian sexual revenge against the feared erotic power of the black man who symbolically castrates the white man by having sex with the white woman (typically imagined as a rape). If the rhino horn is a symbolic erection, and it is supposedly a surplus of black sexuality that necessitates castration, then the white man's aim in both these instances (rape and poaching) can be understood as avoiding the symbolic castration caused by his failure to protect the rhino, or the woman, from the black man. Protection against penis-destroying violence is the theme that joins the two cases, and constitutes the pretext for retaliatory violence.

While the bumper sticker mimics *umuthi* advertising supposedly aimed at savage black men, the dehorning meme incompletely mimics a road-sign supposedly aimed at would-be poachers. Both signs function to police the boundary between those who love rhinos, and those who do not. This open, if jocular, support for the mutilation and murder of poachers could be seen as existing on the fringes of the discourse. However, there are traces of similar ideas even in more socially acceptable, public-spirited approaches to saving rhinos, one of which will be examined in the next example.

### *Enter the White Father*

We saw earlier that tourists, as consumers of conservation, *belong* in the KNP in ways that poachers, as interlopers, do not. This commodity logic also applies to nature-lovers in urban areas, who can participate in protecting rhinos from faraway urban centres through *consuming* rhino activism. In March 2015, two rectangular louvered billboards were placed in parallel in the domestic terminal of O.R. Tambo International Airport in Johannesburg, containing the pay-off line “Come Together to Protect What’s Ours” and a call to action to donate R10 to the campaign by sending a text message:



**Figure 3:** “Come Together to Protect What’s Ours” (photograph taken by Scott Burnett, March 2015)

The campaign is branded with the familiar logo of South African Breweries' (SAB) flagship beer, Castle Lager. When this campaign launched, SAB was the second-largest brewer in the world, with a massive advertising spend. The billboard brings together three pillars of white South African masculinity: cricket (the man on the left is famous Proteas wicket-keeper Mark Boucher), love of 'the bush', and beer. As has been noted before (Mager, 2005; Milani and Shaikjee, 2013), SAB has articulated masculinity as central to its beer brands since at least 1960, which took on a distinctly multiracial feel just before and after 1994. Sports sponsorship and advertising has been central to this masculinist, and racial, project. Boucher's cricket whites are replaced with the standard khaki uniform of the game ranger, on the left, and a multiracial "human chain" in a wilderness setting is visible around a family of rhinos in the centre. On the right, the logo of Castle Lager, which looks like a shield or crest of arms, has been amended to include the text "Boucher's Legacy" and combined with an image of a rhino and the motto "Our Rhinos in Safe Hands," a reference to wicket-keeping, echoed on the two large mitt-covered hands that symbolically 'protect' the rhino.

The use of models in visual advertising can be theorised in various ways: we can say that the audience *associates* certain desirable properties of Mark Boucher with the campaign and therefore supports it; that audience members *identify* with Boucher and therefore want the things that he wants (e.g. to "protect what's ours"), or that we do not truly know what we desire until a "rival" figure – such as Boucher – desires it on our behalf (Coetzee, 1980, 37). In each case – association, identification, or vicarious desire – Mark Boucher serves as a lodestone for what is worth wanting. He represents the symbolic White Father, protector of the family and society, and a moral compass. It is his heroic leadership and his warlike shield behind which the audience is being told to "come together".

SAB advertising was instrumental in the post-1994 articulation of the "Rainbow Nation" narrative, and this billboard is exemplary of that narrative's strengths and weaknesses. People can come together behind a common goal, but the leader of the campaign remains a white man. We have already mentioned the alarming *racial* disparities in top management positions; such racial inequality is compounded by gender: just under 80% of top managers are men (Commission for Employment Equity, 2015, 18). This pattern persists in certain sports, in the economy, and in elite pursuits such as conservation and game farming, where the people in charge are still white, still men, and (as in the heydays of Afrikaner nationalism) still dressed in khaki. Within this unequal human landscape, black people are included as having an important role to play, but they are relegated to the background as protectors and collaborators with other white people.

A territorial metaphor is also at work in this text. The multiracial crowd led by Boucher forms a chain, which becomes a fence or a border, that closes the rhinos off from the bad people, from potential harm. The proprietorial assertion that the rhinos are "OURS" and their inclusion inside the human chain, and consequently inside the national community (see Lunstrum forthcoming)

symbolically pushes anybody who would harm them outside of it – into a zone of nonbeing, or a space of exception. Fanon’s account of childhood collective catharsis resonates strongly here. In the same way that children’s sympathies are with the white missionary being cooked, so our emotional support is drawn towards the rhino and their human protectors, while our rage is targeted at the savages who would harm them. The poachers are phantom presences, just out of the frame, but no less real for their invocation through the imagery of the shield and the human chain: the image is in a certain sense “waiting for the barbarians”. Also out of frame is the multimillion dollar trade that drives poaching, and it is to this part of the story that we now turn our attention.

### ***Introducing an Eastern Imago***

The trade in rhino horn is global, and so is the campaign to stop poaching. Activists in South Africa and elsewhere have designed communication products to reduce demands in the growing, cash-rich markets of Southeast Asia and China (Shaw and Rademeyer, 2016, 4). In addition to a poacher and a protector, we thus have a third *dramatis persona*: the purchaser. This purchaser is generally understood to be an Asian man, and close attention to campaign materials reveals that masculinity and sexuality also play an important role in the way he is constructed.

Fanon has been fruitfully applied in other contexts to white constructions of Asian masculinity. The hyper-sexualisation of black men in colonial cultural representation, with its fixation on large penises, is inverted in Western representations of Asian men as asexual, and feminised (Fung, 1996). While the black man’s punishment is to be castrated, it is as if the Asian man already is; he is “defined by a striking absence down there” (Fung, 1996, 183; see also Eng, 2001). For example, in a study of Asian Americans in gay porn, it was shown that for an actor to be taken seriously as “masculine” and in the penetrative role, he had to be represented as assimilated into white culture (Tan Hoang, 2004). Fanon himself hints at an Eastern imago: he writes that Indochina is constructed by France as the land of “cut-rate boys and women” who have a “serene” attitude towards death (2008, 176–177).

A coalition of partners led by the World Wildlife Fund’s South Africa office developed a campaign aimed at Vietnamese men and distributed through a number of media (World Wildlife Federation, 2014). According to the official campaign description on the WWF website,

[the campaign] drives home the message that Viet Nam’s most impressive and charismatic men have created their own good fortune with their internal drive, dedication and talent, and know that a piece of horn is no substitute for the power that lies inside of them... Four images (...) were developed to build a *new social norm* that success, masculinity and good luck, in man’s life, comes from his own will

and internal strength, not from a piece of horn. (World Wildlife Federation, 2014, emphasis added)

If the social norm is “new” it is understood to have been absent before the campaign. The “old” norm is supposedly that these good things – “success, masculinity, and good luck” – do not have their primary cause in the man himself, but in forces *outside of his body*. The Vietnamese man is thereby interpellated as someone who must ingest his masculinity in order to make up for what he lacks. That the Vietnamese man ought to aspire to a particular “normal” masculinity – to confidence, dedication, talent, and a strong erection – is a hidden assumption of the text.

One of the posters developed as part of the campaign specifically deals with masculinity. The poster shows a beautiful woman wearing a lace glove and expensive jewellery, her gaze directed downwards, with the text “MASCULINITY COMES FROM WITHIN: A man’s allure and charisma come from within, not from a piece of horn” (it is accessible at <http://www.health24.com/Lifestyle/Environmental-health/News/New-rhino-campaign-targets-Vietnamese-20140922>). The model is deployed for her association with sex as the naturalized object of heterosexual male desire. Her makeup, jewellery, hair and lace gloves index luxury: she is a luxury good that the male viewer consumes, even as she is also a consumer of luxury. The angle of her neck and the tilt of her head is visually suggestive of an erect penis. Her downward gaze represents both submission to his irresistible power, and (hetero)sexual pleasure – a *real* pleasure that is implicitly compared to the *fake* pleasure one would get from a man using a rhino horn aphrodisiac.

For the purposes of this article, the interaction with the spaces in Vietnam where these texts were displayed is less important than the way that the WWF team has imagined this fetishistic East, hungry for African resources – in this case, so many thousands of penis symbols – to make up for its own lack. While building on fairly common orientalist assumptions, as well as in-country marketing research, the campaign materials reveal how a global hierarchy of race-gender, and sexuality is reproduced in South Africa.

Analysis of the co-construction of race-gender-(sexuality) in one strand of the anti-rhino poaching discourse suggests a triangular structure, where the roles of poacher, protector, and purchaser are played by black African, white European, and Asian, revealing surpluses, sufficiencies, or deficits of masculinity, in distinct territorial contexts. The faraway, inscrutable and effeminate Vietnamese must buy his erection from Africa; the savage African still stuck in the bush must be castrated for killing the rhino; and the noble white man must lead in the space in-between, in order to “protect what’s ours”. But these caricatures do not have equal weight. The Black Satyr (Figures 1 and 2) and the Eastern Imago (in the WWF campaign) are in orbit around the White Father (Figure 3) whose authority is

normalised, and whose prime position in the hierarchy is reproduced, coupling *power to difference*.

The principle that unifies race-gender-sexuality constructions and space-making is that these fictions are embodied. Bodies exist in space and must move through it: their meaning in social life arises from material realities (Saldanha, 2010); from the co-constructed social divisions partially based on fantastic imagos; and from the semantic interplay between text, bodies, and space. Ultimately, these meanings become the calcified constraints that must be broken through. In the examples we have examined, these fictions create suspects who are out of place, and thereby produce vulnerability to premature death.

Public authorisation for violence against poachers is tied up with these race-gender constructions. The rhino horn is a metaphor for the hard penis, which in turn is metonymic of virility; the African hacks it off to sell it to the Asian who lacks it. As protector, the white man is himself symbolically castrated when a rhino is killed, and mutilation is thus the appropriate revenge. This is not the only way that rhinos are humanised, and poachers dehumanised, but it is clearly a dramatic one.

The territoriality of (fatal) power is thus at least partly mapped out discursively. The liminal existence of the poacher, who roams the borderlands that were forcibly taken from his ancestors, is confirmed socially through the discursive invocation of the Black Satyr: he is in a place outside of civilization, outside of the law, and his death will almost invariably be his fault. Lands under conservation are reproduced as people-free zones, sites of leisure or spiritual communion with nature, where all people who are not middle-class consumers of the environment as tourists are out of place. The Eastern Imago, on the other hand, is reconstructed along with a notion of the East that is menacing, mysterious, and feminine. An insatiable, fetishistic demand for horn legitimizes escalations of violence, as, in the logic of masculinity, an erection is essential to manhood, and worth any price to have. In the centre of this fantasy, the White Father is required to maintain order. His space is the space of economic development, rational progress, infrastructure, fair-minded stewardship of the earth, and as these good things supposedly align with the aspirations of the marginalised, he has a claim to that coveted time-space of a “better future”. His role is to keep people and things in place and their correct relations, against the forces of entropy.

White masculinity is thus valorised as “belonging” to Africa through its positioning at the centre of the campaign as the protector of the land, while the violent black poacher is pushed to the deviant periphery, as a threatening force, much as young black men are in the Californian penal system. This is not just a bad thing for poachers. As is clear from Fanon’s phenomenology, invoking a racist construction can’t be done in a targeted manner *just* to authorise the killing of poachers. It did not matter that Fanon was not himself a slave or a cannibal: he was

still “battered down by tom toms”. The effect of these texts is the reproduction of the racial hierarchy.

It is interesting to note the inversion that has been accomplished. The arrival of European settlers in southern Africa four centuries ago caused the decimation of the region’s wildlife. The real historical enemy of biodiversity has been the White Father.

Of course, none of this analysis should be taken to imply that rhinos are not worth saving, nor that poachers are not worth stopping. There is nothing necessarily racist about efforts to stop rhino poaching. The few strands of discourse we have picked up are just that – strands – and they do not necessarily represent the whole story. An all-female anti-poaching taskforce called the Green Mambas has been making headlines lately, challenging gendered stereotypes in the press about protectors of the land; many high-profile poaching arrests have been of white men; and many leaders of the anti-poaching efforts are black people who are patently nobody’s puppets. It is interesting, however, that these cases are often described in exceptionalising language, suggesting that they may after all point to an underlying rule.

## Conclusion

For both Gilmore and Fanon, race, sexuality, and gender are inseparable: the categories co-constitute each other, and we believe this implies that it is very hard to separate a queer approach to masculinity from a queer approach to race. These race-gender-sexuality co-constructions authorise extrajudicial killing in the southern African anti-poaching campaign, and we have shown that a psychosexual phenomenology of racialized embodiment helpfully unpicks power-difference couplings in space, meeting Gilmore’s exhortation to examine the territoriality of power, as interacting with gender and other social divisions, in deconstructing racism. Doing so may even be the basis for hopeful action. As Gilmore notes in her tenth thesis on social movements, “people can and do *make* power” (Gilmore, 2007, 248). The implication is that people have made these death-dealing structures, we can also unmake them. Racial hierarchies are social artefacts susceptible to deconstruction, and it is incumbent on researchers as well as activists to do this work wherever it is needed.

Greater ethnographic fidelity in research on the semiotics of space requires exploring “in detail how people take up, use, manage and discard, interact with and through, re-contextualized media as they insert signs and artefacts into practices and ideologies of language construction in their everyday interaction” (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009, 382). This may be a fruitful avenue for future research. Methodologically, however, we have shown that it is already very revealing to apply discourse analytical tools designed specifically for intersecting social divisions to texts as they appear in and interact with space. The complex

interactions between space/place and discourse, social constructions, and their attendant power-difference couplings, is a clearly valuable analytical matrix.

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