Can the Subaltern Be Heard?
Reflections on the Academy, the Universal
and Thought from the Underside of Modernity

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Tolerance as Post-apartheid Urban Planning
Political geography of the Art-Led Urban Rejuvenation in Inner City of Johannesburg

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This paper examines social borders, which divide "citizen" and "non-citizen" based on politics of cultures in post-apartheid South Africa. To criticize contemporary liberalism, Wendy Brown (2006) is warning new imperialism of "tolerance", which divide the free, the tolerant, and the civilized on one side, and the fundamentalist, the intolerant, and the barbaric on the other. Brown's concern on the universalism of "tolerance" may help to understand the neoliberal governmentality of post-apartheid South Africa.

Since people in South Africa abolished the apartheid after many years of liberation struggle and achieved democratization in 1994, they have tried to build a "rainbow nation", where every race and ethnicity lives together. However, the reality is different. Many people living in South Africa have been faced with various struggles such as poverty, inequality, violence, xenophobia and discrimination. Since the rainbow nation has promoted "tolerance" in order to create inclusive society, they can only accept citizens with civic morality. Therefore, we can safely say that they are still far from liberation.

In order to analyse above-mentioned situation concretely, I will discuss about recent reconfigurations of urban spaces in Johannesburg. Urban planning based on racial segregation embodied the system of apartheid. Thus, crucial challenge for post-apartheid Johannesburg is to transform their urban structure. The city has promoted to create more tolerant urban space in their policy papers. However, the aspiration of post-apartheid Johannesburg to become a global city has intensified with the promotion of neoliberal urban projects. These projects are reshaping the more commercial urban spaces of the city. The most significant aspects of this neoliberalization are characterized by the privatization of urban spaces along with the creation of "private cities" like City Improvement Districts (CIDs).

CIDs are usually managed by private agencies, resident associations, and public-private partnerships, which together take responsibility for their own. Such urban governance can be an example of neoliberal governmentality implemented through the social engineering of private cities, which asks that people living inside private cities manage and control their lives and provide services such as healthcare, safety, and social security on their own.

Privatization of urban spaces has proceeded in deteriorated inner city of Johannesburg. Some of them have driven by art and cultural industries. These districts attract entrepreneurs, artists, creators and activists. Especially, one of the creative hubs called Maboneng precinct has attracted many young urban professionals. Obviously, basic philosophy of the precinct is to be tolerance. They recognize importance of social inclusiveness for branding. Social entrepreneurs plan and implement social development projects in impoverished communities around the precinct, where shelters for immigrants exist and xenophobic violence occurred. People gathering the precinct represent tolerant subjects. That is why the precinct, space of tolerance based on western universalism, may play a role to create social borders between them and us. In order to overcome the dichotomy between tolerance and intolerance, we have to reconsider the notion of universalities and look potentials of fluidity of African cultural identities.

Champion's Music and the Poetics of Constructive Criticism in Rural Mozambique

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This paper is part of a broader project that explores African potentials in unrecognised forms of social and political action for fostering empowerment and accountability by understanding the use by citizens of forms of popular culture to make social and political commentaries and communicate discontent. The aim is to explore the potential of these forms of public expression in supporting citizen mobilisation and political engagement by responding to the following broad questions: What notions of empowerment and accountability are expressed through popular culture? In what ways Mozambicans identify, engage and contest them? To what extent these cultural forms influence interactions among citizens and between them and state and non-state actors?

The study draws inspiration from a corpus of research that has explored the relationship between agency, politics and culture in African settings Toulabor 1996; Barber 1997, 2007; Tsambu Bulu 2004; Chabalala and Allen 2004; Ndjio 2005; Jackson 2009). More significant for this research is the wealth of knowledge on the role of culture (songs, music, proverbs, stories, dance and wood sculpture) in the liberation of Mozambique (Alpers 1983, Vail and White 1991, Israel 2009, Israel 2010), particularly on the formation of revolutionary song repertoires during the war for independence from Portugal and how they continue to be instrumentalised by Frelimo, The Mozambican Liberation Front (the ruling party since the country's independence in 1975) in contemporary Mozambique (Israel 2009, Israel 2010).

This paper explores the music of Champion, a popular musician of Inharrime district in Inhambane province, Southern Mozambique. Drawing on Champion's short but very successful career I analyse the ways he articulates a critique to government while remaining within the authoritative discourse, thus making him simultaneously a popular musician and a messenger for local government. Champion's modus operandi is best expressed in what has been termed in the ruling party's lexicon as constructive criticism.

Champion's case provides an entry point to link broader questions of empowerment and accountability with notions of agency and creativity. Whereas, dominant approaches to politics in Africa emphasise individual agency and his or her direct confrontation with representatives of the state, African experiences have a tradition of not speaking directly to power (Toulabor 1996; Tsambu Bulu 2004; Nyamnjoh 2005; Chirambo 2007; Jackson 2009).

Materials on the basis of this article were collected between 2013 and 2015 during various field trips to Inharrime district. In addition to personal interviews to Champion, interviews were conducted with music producers, local radio hosts, street vendors of reproduced CDs and informal conversations with vendors in selected local markets. This data build on existing material on music and political action in Inharrime district collected during different stints of field research for a over five years.