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The *okapyp* suggestion raised a discussion: “*Nee, jy nou nie meer ’n okapyp noodig nie, nou is dit n mixitpyp!* (No, you don’t need a hookah pipe, you need a mixit pipe!)”, said one mother. “What is a “*mixitpyp*”?” I asked. Someone explained that it is a pipe that one you put *dagga* [marijuana], tik [crystal meth] and flavoured tobacco in. Another corrected her, saying that tik doesn’t smoke well in a *mixitpyp* – it is just for *dagga* and tobacco. By then we were mostly giggling together, but there was also a concerned call from the side, from where Judy and Sister Celia, the nurse, were sitting (who both work in Manenberg, but live in neighbouring suburbs); they requested that I exclude *mixitpyp* in the list, they don’t use one.

Leila, who had started and led much of this joking ended it by saying, “And you don’t need a suitcase to come here, just bring one of those green Pick ‘n Pay packets, that’s all you need, you don’t need much to come to Manenberg!”

Notes 29 June 2010

In this way I was introduced to a caricatured version of local adult women – poor, jobless, living in back yard shacks, unkempt, not bothering to get out of sleepwear unless a special occasion presented itself, and using addictive substances. In this self-deprecating manner, the mothers and grandmothers of the children I was working with illustrated to me – then still largely an outsider – that they were well aware of the stereotypes that prevailed about them, and that they were in control enough of themselves and their situations to turn these representations into humour.

This caricature stands in stark contrast with the ideal, *ordentlike moeder* (respectable mother) figure theorised by Salo (2004), and further written about by Ross (2010) and Jensen (2008). Through an exemplar case study of an older respectable mother, Rachel I confirm the existence of the structural supports for women written about by Salo and Jensen – in the forms of available work, welfare and housing – for the construction of this identity. Rachel’s case study shows how, in the local context these structural bolsters acted (and were acted on) to allowed women to become central (venerated) figures in their homes and in the community. Recently, however, these support structures of old have crumbled, as I illustrate through another exemplar case study









































































































































































