Researching Race, Space and Masculinities in Bishop Lavis: A Critical Ethnographic Study

SIMONE MAXINE PETERS

University of Cape Town

Dissertation submitted to the Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Supervisor: A/Prof. S. Kessi and Prof. F. Boonzaier

14 September 2020

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

University of Cape Town

ABSTRACT

Research done on 'coloured' men and communities have problematized 'coloured' masculinities and communities. Studies showed 'coloured' men to be the most likely to perpetrate violence and rape. These studies further suggest that violence, drug abuse, gangsterism and alcoholism are a prominent feature of 'coloured' communities, one such community being Bishop Lavis. Such narratives have led to this complex group of people and their communities being reduced to negative stereotypes. This research aimed to showcase more holistic and alternative narratives on Bishop Lavis, its community and 'coloured' identities through a critical ethnographic methodology. Multiple methods to collect the data was utilised, namely narrative interviews with eight community stakeholders and six older men (aged 35 and above).

Additionally, a Photovoice method was used with six men (aged 18 to 34), where a focus group, individual narrative interviews, and visual (photographs) and narrative data were collected. The data was analysed using multiple theoretical frameworks and data analysis tools to highlight the complexities of the participant's lived experiences. The results found that participants used their talk to challenge dominant narratives that exist on 'coloured' men and communities and confirm and reproduce stigmatised narratives . Furthermore, it was found that race, location, gender, class and other identities intersected to produce particular experiences for the participants.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Department of Psychology at the University of Cape Town, Cape Town. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in this or any other University.

Signature: ....Signed by candidate.... Date: ....14/09/2020............................

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- Firstly, all glory be to God, for the strength and wisdom He has given me in this journey.

- To the community of Bishop Lavis ,thank you for your time and sharing your valuable experiences with me. It has been an honour sharing your stories with others.

- To the director of Taking Back Our Future and my grandmother, thank you. Without your support, none of this would be possible.

- To Associate Professor Shose Kessi and Professor Floretta Boonzaier, thank you for journeying with me and not only making me a better student but also a better researcher and woman.

- The financial assistance of the National Institute for Humanities and Social Sciences, in collaboration with the South African Humanities Deans Association (SAHUDA) towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to NIHSS or SAHUDA. The Hub For Decolonial Feminist Psychology in Africa financial assistance is also acknowledged.

- Thank you to my family, especially my Mother, for always seeing the best in me and pushing me throughout my life. To my siblings, for their unwavering support and understanding throughout these years have been incredible. I couldn’t imagine my life without you.

- Thank you to my partner, Erwin, my friends and everyone who has supported me on this journey.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT **2**

DECLARATION **3**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS **4**

TABLE OF CONTENT **5**

CHAPTER ONE **9**

A LINK BETWEEN SPACE, RACE AND GENDER: AN INTRODUCTION **9**

1.1 'Making a case for Bishop Lavis: the link between space and identity **10**

1.2 'Coloured' masculinities: Why these men **13**

1.3 Stigmatized identities and 'at-risk' communities **15**

1.4 Intersectionality: Analysing race, gender and space **16**

1.5 Present study: Aims and Research questions **17**

1.6 Thesis structure **18**

CHAPTER TWO **20**

CONSTRUCTING A TOWNSHIP: BISHOP LAVIS **20**

2.1 History of Displacement in South Africa **20**

2.2 Impact of Groups Areas Act **22**

2.3 A Brief history of Bishop Lavis **26**

2.4 Bishop Lavis in the present **28**

2.5 Origins of Crime in Bishop Lavis **30**

2.6 Chapter Summary **33**

CHAPTER THREE **35**

A CASE FOR RESEARCHING 'COLOURED' IDENTITIES **35**

3.1 Constructing race in South Africa **35**

3.2 Becoming 'coloured' in South Africa **38**

3.3 Being 'coloured' in post-apartheid South Africa **42**

3.4 Narratives of marginalisation in post-apartheid South Africa **45**

3.5 Problematized identities: stereotypes around 'colouredness' **47**

3.6 Theorising masculinities **49**

3.6.1 Theorising masculinities from the Global North and South **49**

3.6.2 Theorising masculinities in South Africa **53**

3.6.3 Theorising 'coloured' masculinities: Racialised shame and Respectability **56**

3.6.4 Towards Alternative masculinities ... 59
3.7 Research Questions ... 61
3.8 Chapter Summary ... 61
CHAPTER FOUR ... 63
METHODOLOGY ... 63
4.1 Theoretical Framework ... 63
4.1.1 Antiracist feminist geography ... 63
4.1.2 Narrative approach ... 65
4.1.3 Intersectionality ... 66
4.1.4 Respectability ... 67
4.2 Methodology ... 68
4.2.1 Doing Ethnography Research ... 65
4.2.2 A Case for Doing Critical Ethnography Research ... 70
4.2.3 Reflexivity: Positioned as both insider and outsider ... 72
4.2.4 Recruiting the participants ... 73
4.2.5 Methods of Empowerment ... 75
4.2.5.1 Photovoice ... 75
4.2.5.2 Narrative Interviews ... 78
4.3 Participants ... 78
4.3.1 The Participants ... 79
4.4 Organising the Data: Data Sources ... 79
4.4.1 Face-to-face interviews ... 76
4.4.2 Photovoice Project ... 80
4.4.3 Participant observation ... 84
4.4.4 Field Notes and journal ... 85
4.4.5 Transact walk ... 85
4.4.6 Transcription ... 85
4.5 Data Analysis ... 86
4.5.1 Thematic narrative analysis ... 86
4.5.2 Dialogue/ performative narrative analysis ... 87
4.5.3 Positioning ... 88
4.6 Ethical considerations ... 88
4.6.1 Consent and Confidentiality ... 88
4.6.2 Risks and Benefits ... 89

4.6.3 Ethical Issues Relating to Secondary Participants 92

4.7 Chapter summary 92

CHAPTER FIVE 93

REMEMBERING AND COMPARING THE PAST AND PRESENT:

NARRATIVESOF NOSTALGIA, DISPLACEMENT AND AMBIVALENCE. 93

5.1 Negotiating Insider and Outsider positions in Bishop Lavis 94

5.2 Historical narratives on Bishop Lavis: Narratives of displacement, nostalgia and the apartheid state 99

5.3 Constructing race and place in Bishop Lavis 107

5.3.1 Constructions of Community and the 'lekker' Bishop Lavis 107

5.3.2 The Construction of the 'unsafe' Bishop Lavis: "Bishop Lavis isn't the same anymore" 113

5.3.3 Bishop Lavis: a classed, raced and gendered community 117

5.4 Chapter Summary 125

CHAPTER SIX 127

CONSTRUCTING 'COLOURED' IDENTITIES: NARRATIVES OF SHAME, RESPECTABILTY AND MARGINALISATION... 127

6.1 Negotiating 'colouredness' 127

6.1.1 Colonial history, racialised shame and stereotypes and 'colouredness' 128

6.1.2 Intersectional lens of 'colouredness' 133

6.2 Narratives of marginalisation: being a 'coloured' in post-apartheid South Africa 140

6.2.1 "Always in the middle": constructing 'colouredness' people's status in post-apartheid South Africa 141

6.2.2 Defensive racism, internalized racism, apartheid and 'colouredness' 143

6.3 A stigmatised race: Challenging and reproducing stigmatisation of 'coloured' community 151

6.3.1 Reproducing Stigma in constructing 'colouredness' 151

6.3.2 Challenging stereotypes arounds 'coloureds' 155

6.4 Chapter Summary 161

CHAPTER SEVEN 162

PERFORMANCES OF MASCULINITIES IN BISHOP LAVIS 162

7.1 Local masculinities and Intersectionality 162

7.1.1 Local masculinity and class 162

7.1.2 Local masculinity and Christianity 168

7.1.3 Local masculinity and Age ... 173
7.2 Realities of Bishop Lavis: Constructing and challenging hegemonic 'coloured' masculinities ... 180
7.2.1 Narratives of internalising racism and challenging gangsterism as inherently 'coloured' ... 180
7.2.2 Local masculinities, violence and substance abuse: Not all 'coloured' men are violent alcoholics ... 185
7.2.3 Local masculinities and Fatherhood ... 191
7.3 Chapter Summary ... 196
CHAPTER EIGHT ... 198
CONTRIBUTIONS, RECOMMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS ... 198
8.1 Summary of the Thesis ... 198
8.2 Empirical contributions to Intersectional Research ... 200
8.2.1 Coming from Bishop Lavis: Complexities in constructing place and identity ... 201
8.2.2 Social representations of race, shame, marginalisation and respectability ... 203
8.2.3 The complexity of Male vulnerability ... 205
8.2.4 On shifting masculinities ... 207
8.3 Methodological contributions and implications ... 208
8.3.1. Using multiple methodologies and approaches ... 208
8.3.2 Data collection methods ... 211
8.3.3 The complexities of doing insider/ outsider research: intersectional reflexivity ... 212
8.4 Recommendations for future research ... 214
8.5 Concluding remarks ... 216
REFERENCES ... 218
APPENDIX A: Interview Guide for Community Members ... 253
APPENDIX B: Interview Guide for Older Men ... 253
APPENDIX C: Focus Group Schedule with Young men ... 254
APPENDIX D: Interview Guide for Young Men ... 254
APPENDIX E: Sample of Fieldnotes ... 255
APPENDIX F: Example of Journal entry ... 257
APPENDIX G: Consent forms for Narrative interviews ... 259
APPENDIX H: Consent form for Photovoice Project ... 263

CHAPTER ONE

A LINK BETWEEN SPACE, RACE AND GENDER: AN INTRODUCTION

Liam: […]let me make a small example now you see us, men, now we went walking in Sea point, now there are a lot of white people there, if those white people saw us walking towards them then they would take out their bags and put it under their arms
Brandon: They would say here are the thieves
Liam: Or they say here are the 'coloureds' or so, they look at us and put stereotypes on us (laughs)

These are the words taken from a focus group I held with six young 'coloured'[1] men on their experiences as raced and gendered beings from Bishop Lavis, an area on the Cape Flats[2]. Their words show the dynamic and collective experiences felt by young 'coloured' men, who are often the canvases onto which fears and stereotypes are projected. Work done in post-apartheid South Africa (SA) with people has mainly focused on the legacy that apartheid has left behind. Also, very little research has been done on South African people through a gendered analysis (Chadwick, 2010) and their racial identities in post-apartheid South Africa (Adhikari, 2005). Much of the research done on 'coloured' men have shown how performances of gender amongst them are consistent with traditional understandings of masculinity (Abrahams, Jewkes, Laubscher & Hoffman, 2006; Choi & Ting, 2008; Cooper, 2009; Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dunkle, 2009; Sawyer-Kurian, Wechsberg & Luseno, 2009). However, not enough alternatives are given for these traditional performances of 'coloured' masculinity or these men's intersectional experiences. This research hopes to share the dynamic narratives of 'coloured' people residing in Bishop Lavis, Cape Town, which I understand to be raced, classed, gendered and shaped by Bishop Lavis itself. This research hopes to challenge some of the dominant narratives that exist on 'coloured' identities, 'coloured' masculinities, and 'coloured' communities from the Cape Flats as sites of risk only.

---

[1] 'Coloured' in this research refers to a group of heterogeneous people who are of mixed ancestry. 'Coloureds' are also referred to as 'mixed-raced'. In this thesis I acknowledge that this racial group is a social construct, brought about by the apartheid state, which is why the term is place in inverted commas.
[2] The Cape Flats refers to a flat, sandy stretch of land which is located on the outskirts of the city of Cape Town. It has been described as a "dumping ground", where black people were forced to move during the Group Areas Act (Thorn & Oldfield, 2011).

1.1 Making a case for Bishop Lavis: the link between space, place and identity

Figure 1. Map of Bishop Lavis and surrounding areas.

Bishop Lavis is a ‘coloured’ community and was created due to apartheid’s Group Areas Act of 1950 policies. It is about 20 km from central Cape Town. It is close to Epping and Bellville's industrial areas and is easy to access via public transport. This research was concerned with how place shapes our identity and experiences. The space in which one grows up plays a significant role in an individual’s life; thus a person’s experiences and ways of being are directly linked to the quality and quantity of resources and social capital available to them in their residential spaces (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2003). Arnaud (1950), quoted in Bachelard (1969, p.137), stated: “*Je suis l’espace où je suis*” (I am the space where I am). It is thus essential to analyse the spaces and places which in the case of this project, is the participants' residential space to gain a holistic sense of their lived experiences.

Lefevre’s work on the production of space has conceptualised space as being produced. He argues that spaces are a product of the human body, and thus the human body produces space. The human body’s ability to produce space, is argued to be the means through which people can take back power in their everyday lives. (Lefevre, 1991a; 1991b). Lefevre and other Marxist theorists further argued that spaces are produced by capitalism, economic transactions and the commodification of land, which has resulted in particular spaces being more desirable and having more resources than other spaces (Agnew, 2011). This Lefevre (1991b) terms *abstract* space, which he argued has “colonised” people's everyday lives. He looked for ways to fight against this “colonisation” and noted that people would need to create counter-discourses based on their memories of spaces.

Lefevre (1991b) further suggests a ‘three-way ‘dialectics’ for understanding space: spatial practice, representations of space and spaces of representations. ‘Spatial practices’ are defined as everyday practices and how they shape and develop the environment. It further looks at how people perceive, generate and use the space. Lefevre (1991b) calls this *perceived* space, noting how space is always an aspect of our experiences of the world. ‘Representations of space’ or as Lefevre terms it *conceived* space is defined as ways in which spaces are represented in logical forms. Much representations of space in the literature have constructed space through maps, plans, a geographical place and location.

Additionally, most of these representations operate through scales-scales of the planet, nation, city, household and body (Agnew, 2011). However, scholars like Massey (1994) have argued that scales are social constructs and lead one to have particular understandings of spaces, which can be problematic if not critically analysed. ‘Spaces of representation’ or *lived* space looks at how space is directly experienced and filled with symbolism and meaning. It sees spaces as produced and modified over time (Lefevre, 1991a; 1991b). Each of these aspects is connected to particular forms of knowledge and have specific relationships with power. For example, ‘spaces’ of representation’ generate more local forms of knowledge, and are sites of resistance as they produce counter-discourse since they “refuse to acknowledge power” (Lefevre, 1980, p.10). In Lefevre’s (1976; 1991b; 2009) analysis of the production of space, he sees spaces as political as they are sites where struggle and resistance take place. He further notes that power is dispersed and legitimized through space, and power is enhanced by the production of space. Massey (1994) further theorised that space is relational, arguing that spaces are the product of practices and are made through interactions at both a local and global level.

On the other hand, place is conceptualised across three dimensions; the first is place as *location* (where the object or person is located). The second is place as a series of locales where everyday activities occur. Here place is where social and environmental transformation happens. The third dimension is place as a *sense of place.* In this dimension, place is specific and connected with a sense of belonging and a sense of feeling at home Agnew (1987). Agnew (2011) argues that places must be seen as relational, located in a series of “economic, political and cultural networks” (p24).

Other scholars define place as “the space to which meaning has been ascribed” (Carter, Donald & Squires, 1993, p.xxi). Place is also seen as “open articulations of connections” (Massey, 1999, p.288). While Sack (1997, p.58) argues that place,

"implies space, and each home is a place in space. Space is a property of the natural world, but it can be experienced. From the perspective of experience, place differs from space in terms of familiarity and time. A place requires human agency."

Much conceptualisations of place in terms of human agents are argued to miss the fact that an interest in place has resulted from the mediating role between social relations and the acquisition of meaning, that place plays (Agnew,1989; 2011 Massey,1984). Massey (2004) states that the relationship between place and identity is very significant as places are produced through human commitments, capacities and strategies (Agnew, 2011). Place has been argued to be bound up in personal and cultural identity. Proshansky and colleagues (1983) argue that individuals' experiences and identities are created in relation to the spaces and places in which they are found. Furthermore, Dixon and Durrheim (2000) argue that the place in which someone is located is important for creating and sustaining a sense of self and to reveal ourselves to others. Environmental psychologists and geographers note that questions of "who we are" are always intertwined with questions of "where we are" (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000, p.27).

Places are thus co-produced through the intersection of race, class, gender, sexuality and other identities. Therefore it is argued that "places are produced as raced, sexualised, classed, nationalised, ethnicized and gendered through mechanisms of oppression" (Gieseking, Mangold, Katz, Louw, & Saegert, 2014, p.1).

People come to identify with where they live and are in turn are shaped by these places and spaces and shape those places and spaces too. People come to create Environmental autobiographies, which are the narratives we have of places and spaces and how they have shaped our being and thinking (Gieseking *et al.*, 2014). Environmental psychologists have come up with the term *place identity*, which proposes that identities form in relation to environments. They argue that place identity is a sub-structure of an individual's identity, which consists of knowledge and emotions constructed through daily experiences of physical spaces (Proshansky *et al.*, 1983). An individual's place identity can impact their experiences, attitudes and behaviours. It can also help us make sense of why people feel that they belong in certain areas as opposed to others (Gieseking *et al.*, 2014). Thus, space, place and identity are closely linked and co-produce one another, hence the need to study these relationships and analyse the ways in which they intersect to produce lived experiences.

One cannot examine an individual's experience adequately without a focus on their living environment (Cooper, 2010). In Cooper's (2010) photovoice study with young people aged 11 to 13 in Lavender Hill, an area on the Cape Flats, he found that the learners' pictures were not

only shaped by their race, gender and class, but also the area of Lavender Hill, and growing up there also powerfully influenced their lived experiences. Many participants spoke of how their movement was limited because of on-going gang violence in the area; this meant that many would go to school and go straight home afterwards. They would not play outside for fear of being hurt. Moreover, their schooling would be interrupted by gang wars, leaving students missing many days of school (Cooper, 2010). In the literature on 'coloured' communities, we see how they are continually constructed as places of risk. Bishop Lavis is one of those 'coloured' communities that is continuously constructed as a place of risk, without presenting the alternative narratives that exist in the community.

1.2 'Coloured' masculinities: Why these men?

> The marginality of the 'coloured' community is reflected in South African historiography in that relatively little has been written on the history of this social group and much of what has been written is journalistic, polemical, speculative, poorly researched or heavily biased. In many general histories 'coloured' people have effectively been written out of the narrative... (Adhikari (2005, p.5).

The above statement speaks to why I chose to research 'coloured' people, because not only has relatively little been written about them but when they are researched and written about, particular narratives are more prevalent. A similar argument was made by Switzer (1995 as cited in Adhikari, 2006) before Adhikari (2005), when Switzer (1995 as cited in Adhikari 2006) stated that the 'coloured' community was a marginalized group and has remained as such. This trend of 'coloured' people being under-researched has also been reflected in psychology. In a review of the research done by the South African Journal of Psychology from 2004 to 2012, Louskieter (2018) found that there was a lack of research done with and on 'coloured' people, with most psychological research being done with African[3] people. Based on Louskieter's work, one could argue that psychology as a discipline has also contributed to the marginalization of 'coloured' communities. It has also been suggested that the marginalisation could be because 'coloured' identities are contested and not easily defined, therefore the reticence to do research that might lead to essentialising or reifying a 'coloured' identity (Nilsson, 2016; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012). However, there has been a slight increase in the

[3] South Africa law divided the population into four major racial groups: white, 'coloured', Indian and African people. African refers to South Africans who are from different ethnic tribes such as the isiXhosa, Nguni, Sotho, and Zulu, to name a few.

research done on 'coloured' people as predicted by Adhikari (2005). He predicted that most of this work would be done by scholars who identify as 'coloured', which has not been the case most of the time. In addition to the sparsity of work on 'coloured' communities, when it is done, it tends to stigmatise 'coloured' people further. This has been seen in work as recent as last year, where authors from the University of Stellenbosch wrote an article in which they argued that 'coloured' women have an increased risk for low cognitive functioning. The article was later met with backlash and was retracted after an open letter was written to the journal by academics and activists (Boswell, Ratele, & Johannes, 2019). When researchers only focus on the negative aspects of 'coloured' people and communities, such as gangsterism, violent masculinities, and alcoholism, this work perpetuates stereotypes that hold many negative consequences for 'coloured' men seen in the extract presented at the beginning of this chapter.

'Coloured' masculinities have been problematized in the literature, with findings that depict 'coloured' men as being unskilled, have minimal education, and are most at-risk to perpetuate intimate partner violence (Abrahams *et al*., 2006). Choi and Ting (2008) found that 'coloured' women were more likely to account to being abused and severely beaten than African or white women in South Africa. Additionally, Jewkes *et al.* (2009), and Sawyer-Kurian *et al.* (2009) found 'coloured' men to have the highest perpetration of rape and gang rapes when compared to other races. It is suggested that this high incidence of violence, rape and gang rape is a product of the normative use of violence in their communities and homes (Peters & Bawa, 2012; Sawyer-Kurian *et al*., 2009). Additionally, Salo (2003) showed how 'coloured' men used gang affiliation and previous imprisonment to negotiate a dominant form of 'doing gender', supported by reports that 'coloured' people are twice as likely to be murdered and incarcerated than other race groups. This is even though 'coloureds' constitute only 8.9 per cent of the South African population (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

The literature on how young 'coloured' men's perform and construct their masculinities has been limited. The research that exists suggests that how men perform their gender is a mode of coping in their environments. Interviews with 'coloured' boys who were awaiting trial, stated that being a man meant that one was "…the tough gangster, the sweet 'mama's boy' and the 'gentleman' who provides for and protects his family" (Cooper & Foster, 2008, p. 3). Additionally, 'coloured' men express dominant masculinity by demanding respect from others, stoicism and machismo (Cooper, 2009). 'Coloured' men may also use various strategies, which studies found to include: joining a gang, becoming fathers and being formerly imprisoned, as ways to negotiate a form of dominant male identity in their communities (Salo, 2003). Butler (1993) argued that violence and being involved in criminal activities could be a way for some

young men to 'do gender'. It is argued that many young men marginalised by class and race are unable to 'do gender' through formal means of employment or attainment of wealth, therefore breaking the law or using violence becomes a way of 'doing gender' (Cooper, 2009). The literature suggests that expressions of 'coloured' masculinities may be efforts used by these men to survive in their environments. It could also be a method of displaying and fulfilling the expectations placed on them to perform their gender in particular ways in their communities. It may then be suggested that these men are encouraged to perform hyper-masculine traits (Cooper & Foster, 2008). , The literature on 'coloured' men, has thus focused predominantly on the risk they pose to others and themselves, which often results in particular kinds of representations of them as racialised men.

This research is necessary as it shows us how violence shapes the lives of people who live on the Cape Flats. However, violence is not the only narrative that exists on 'coloured' communities and amongst 'coloured' men. Salo (2003) argued that one must take a holistic and historic approach when researching and trying to understand 'coloured' masculinities, and mainly, why gangsterism is a problem. She argues that the apartheid system and their favouring of women through job opportunities and social assistance gave women authority in their families and communities. In contrast, the tendency of denying 'coloured' men stable and good jobs left them feeling emasculated as they could not be breadwinners, a common feature of hegemonic masculinity (Boonzaier, 2005; Ratele, 2006; Salo, 2003). It is important that our research reflects the multifaceted aspects of the lives of men (and women) in these communities that continue to struggle with problems constructed by the apartheid machinery.

1.3 Stigmatized identities and 'at-risk' communities

Research on 'coloured' identities and 'coloured' communities have continued to frame this group as an at-risk population. The research that has been produced is important knowledge that could lead to helpful policies and strategies. However, Boonzaier (2018) offers an important critique when she states that much of the knowledge produced has constructed these historically designated spaces allocated to black people[4] during apartheid as spaces of risk, a perception that still prevails today. Only researching these spaces with poor, unemployed black men and women creates the perception that these are the only spaces where social problems

[4] Black in the paper is a political term that refers to all the groups of people who were oppressed and marginalised during apartheid and emerges from the Black Consciousness Movement (Biko, 1977).

occur. This, Boonzaier (2018; 2018a) argues, reduces the lives of the black inhabitants of these spaces and further stigmatises them.

Research with young people in Manenberg, an area on the Cape Flats, found that these young people constructed their identities and ways of being in relation to their space. Living in Manenberg played a key role in their identity formation and the way they saw themselves in the world and the way others saw them (Salo, 2003). Similar results were found in international research, where Keskinen (2018) unpacks the notion of "territorial stigmatisation" in relation to a suburb in Finland that has a "bad reputation" and found that one's space impacts on one's lived experiences and identity formation. Furthermore, Sernhede (2011) found that spaces/residential areas have substantial effects on the people who live in them. For example, she found that living in a stigmatised area could be problematic when seeking employment as negative images of your residential spaces can function as exclusionary factors when employers select suitable candidates.

Cooper (2010) argued that Lavender Hill is similar to Manenberg because of the high instances of gangsterism and violence experienced in these areas. Salo's (2003) research in Manenberg, however, showed contradictory findings to Cooper (2010), where she noted that to the outsider, these areas might be constructed as 'the same', but they are not. Salo (2003) argued that the narrative of sameness hides the intricacies of these spaces. In this research, I make the same argument for Bishop Lavis, a complex community and one that has been under-researched. Space impacts the lived experiences of young men. Still, it is equally important to analyse how race and class also impact on their experiences, hence the need for an intersectional analysis.

1.4 Intersectionality: Analysing race, gender and space

The term *intersectionality* was coined by Crenshaw (1991) and is a tool used to analyse how different identities of oppression intersect to shape an individual's lived experience (Collins, 2000, 2007). These identities include one's race, class, gender, sexual orientation, residential space, disability, age, religion, and other identities (Collins, 2000). Every experience is unique, and no homogeneous standpoints exist (Collins, 2000); therefore, one cannot research oppressed identities as separate entities. An individual's experience of gender cannot be analysed separately from that individual's experience of their racial identity or sexual orientation or other identities they possess, because all these systems of oppression intersect and influence each other (Shields, 2008).

I argue that one cannot examine lived experiences without taking participants' intersecting identities seriously. Salo (2002, p.404) argued that "it is only by zooming in on these social spaces …by examining the local conceptions of personhood and morality extant in these social spaces, and how these are influenced by gender and age, that one is able to understand [them]". This conviction leads Salo (2002) to showcase the complexities and multiple narratives that existed within and on Manenberg, arguing that Manenberg could never be represented with a singular subject or narrative. I argue that the same is true for Bishop Lavis; it is more complex than what is shown within the media currently, and the same applies to the young 'coloured' men who live there. This group of young men are heavily stigmatised and are reported to have the highest incarceration rates, and are depicted as most likely to abuse substances and be violent (see Abrahams *et al*., 2006; Choi & Ting, 2008; Jewkes *et al*., 2009; Sawyer-Kurian *et al*., 2009). In this study, I focus predominantly on their residence, racial identities, and gendered identities.

1.5 The present study: Aims of the study

Research produced on 'coloured' identities and masculinities has been minimal and when done, continue to focus on the negative aspects of their identity. This research thus aimed to gain insight and acknowledge the multifaceted experiences of young 'coloured' men living in Bishop Lavis, as well as explore the experiences of community members living in the area. In telling their complex and intersectional stories, it is hoped that this research will contribute to making available more holistic narratives on 'coloured' people within academic discourses. As well as give more information on Bishop Lavis as a typical, yet also a complex, apartheid-created township/space. . This thesis contextualized the environment, Bishop Lavis, as an environment that influences the way men perform their gender. This thesis did not only contextualise the environment, but also took a look at how the area was constructed, how people came to this place, what this area was like before and after apartheid, and what that means for the community and specifically for men who live in Bishop Lavis.

This thesis focused on an array of topics that are relevant to South African and global psychology as well as on the local and global scholarship of marginalised masculinities. The study presented various findings that will add to the scholarly work on marginalised men, Bishop Lavis, and race in South Africa. Additionally, this research also aimed to make a global contribution as every country has communities and groups of populations that are constructed 'at-risk'. This work hoped to challenge researchers to holistically research communities.

1.6 Thesis structure

This chapter introduced and contextualised the study by providing the inspiration behind this research. Additionally, the chapter offered the rationale for researching this place, Bishop Lavis, and 'coloured' men and their beliefs on what dominant masculinities should be. The chapter reflected on how lived experiences are a product of systems of oppression that intersect. Thus, I argue that one's race, environment, class, gender and other identities all shape the way 'coloured' men 'do gender'. This chapter concluded by looking at the aims and questions posed by this research.

Chapter Two contextualises Bishop Lavis as a construction of the apartheid period and examines the area in post-apartheid South Africa. In discussing this environment, that has been historically constructed, the chapter concludes by highlighting the implications that forced removals had on 'coloured' communities and how unresolved trauma plays out in residential areas in post-apartheid South Africa and continues to shape the lived experiences of those who live there.

Chapter Three provides a summary of the historically constructed 'coloured' racial identity in South Africa. The chapter concludes by highlighting the intersectional nature of 'coloured' identity and gender. It also provides an overview of how hegemonic masculinities has been theorised in the Global North and South. It highlights the assumptions and socially accepted requirements of successful masculinity and looks at the vulnerabilities men face when trying to maintain dominant manhood according to their society. The chapter concludes with the research questions of this study and the motivation behind the present study.

Chapter Four critically discusses this study's research design and process. It provides an overview of the study's theoretical framework, which comprises of Antiracist feminist geography, narrative, intersectionality and respectability theory that together informs the entire research process. Furthermore, this chapter discusses the methodology, critical ethnography, a multi-method approach that was accompanied by photovoice and narrative interviews to collect data. The chapter then moves on to discuss the participants, the various data collection methods, and the analysis utilized in this study. It concludes with a look at the ethical considerations that I adhered to.

Chapter Five reports on the findings of the study. This chapter focuses on Bishop Lavis, looking at how participants' talk about the past through historical narratives, narratives of displacement and nostalgia. The chapter focuses on how participants' use their talk to construct

Bishop Lavis as both a nice community and also a community filled with crime. The chapter concludes with narratives that construct the area as raced, classed and gendered.

Chapter Six reflects on the complexities of being ‘coloured’, the marginalisation experienced by this racial group, and how that affects men’s lived experiences. Furthermore, it reflects on how place, age, class, and other identities, influence being ‘coloured’ in post-apartheid South Africa.

Chapter Seven focuses on the performances and constructions of masculinities as narrated by the participants. This chapter illuminates the structures and practices around which ‘coloured’ masculine identity is lived. It also looks at how men use their talk to construct their gendered and racial identities which are examined intersectionally. The chapter concludes with a focus on how ‘coloured’ men challenge the dominant masculine traits and offer alternative ways of ‘doing gender’.

Chapter Eight provides the theoretical and methodological contributions made by this research. It offers future research recommendations and concludes with some concluding remarks.

CHAPTER TWO

CONSTRUCTING A TOWNSHIP: BISHOP LAVIS

This chapter looks at the landscape of South Africa, specifically Bishop Lavis as an under-researched, apartheid-created ‘coloured’ area situated in Cape Town, in the province of the Western Cape. It is home to 26,482 people according to last census held in 2011 (Frith, 2011). This chapter explores the policies the apartheid government created to uproot and forcibly remove black families from their homes. It explores the effects those removals had on families. The chapter then focuses on the history of Bishop Lavis and some features that characterise it in the present. The chapter concludes by making an argument for the need to present holistic and alternative narratives about areas such as Bishop Lavis into academic knowledge.

2.1 History of Displacement in South Africa

In South Africa, there exists a long history of entrenched segregation in various sectors, one of them being through public housing. This segregation started as early as 1652, with the arrival of white settlers when South Africa was officially colonised by the Dutch company, *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC), led by Jan Van Riebeeck. Their arrival was the start of the slavery and forced labour model, as well as mass destructions and forced removals of the indigenous people of the Cape in order to expand their rule and control the Cape (SAHistory, 2019). In 1795, the VOC was on the verge of bankruptcy, which led to a British company, called the British East India Company, to take control of the Cape, in order to protect their trade routes, at the Battle of Muizenberg. In 1803, the Dutch once again governed South Africa, but in 1806, Britain ruled and in 1910, South Africa became a fully sovereign nation-state within the British Empire until the 31st May 1961, when South Africa left the Commonwealth and became a republic. The colonialists continued with mass removals, segregation among the racial groups, and the killing of those who defied their orders, which continued throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century (Adhikari, 2010).

In 1820, Britain experienced high unemployment rates and encouraged residents to immigrate to the Cape. This resulted in 4000 British people settling in the Cape who were given farms and land at the expense of the indigenous people. Britain’s rule over South Africa saw divisions of race and racist laws being put into place to ensure segregation between the indigenous people and white people. In the 1850s, the British government set up areas for the Indian and Malay minority groups, which were referred to as “Asiatic Bazaar” (Chinappa,

1984, p.iii). In 1913, the colonial government created the Black Land Act; this act limited the areas that could be occupied by Africans through ownership and rent. It is argued that this act was the first step towards the process of forced removals under apartheid and advanced the system of migrant labour (Platzky & Walker, 1985; Unterhalter, 1987). By 1923, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act gave local authorities the authority to restrict most Africans to townships and compounds, although this authority was limited (Davenport, 1971; Mabin, 1992).

The British government tried to gain more power over the movement of black people and introduced several bills like the Class Area Bill of 1924, and later the Areas Reservation Bill of 1926; both bills were later withdrawn (Mabin, 1992). In 1934, the Slums Act was introduced. This law provided local authorities with the right to condemn neighbourhoods and homes and remove people from spaces, provided there was funding available to build them alternative homes (Mabin, 1992; Parnell, 1988). At the time in the Cape Province, white-dominated local authorities were growing concerned with the integration of 'coloured' and white people. They tried to create laws to separate the two groups for over a decade. It was suggested that the concerns grew because of the militancy of 'coloured' organisations[5] (Lewis, 1987; Mabin, 1992). The separation laws received backlash, but it was a developing idea and one especially supported and propagated by Prime Minister Jan Smuts, the *Gesuiwerde Nationale Party* [6]and the *Afrikaner Broederbond* [7](Mabin, 1992). In May 1948, the National Party was elected into power, with a manifesto indicating the party's commitment to compulsory urban segregation. They implemented the programme of apartheid - the legal system of the political, economic and social separation of races intended to maintain and extend the political and economic power of South Africa by the white minority. This system was heavily influenced by the segregation laws put in place by the British government.

By 1950, forced removals were implemented across the country, which involved two types of resettling, urban and rural, taking place. Forced urban resettlement was a product of the Group Areas Act and its subsequent amendments which created racially defined areas for the city's population. The laws affected those classified as Asian or 'coloured', with 305,739 'coloured' people being removed by 1976; 155,230 Asians, and only 5898 whites being removed (Freund, 1984). African people were forcibly removed from their homes and moved

---

[5] In Chapter Three, I focus in detail on the construction of 'coloured' identities.

[6] *Gesuiwerde Nationale Party* translated into the Purified National Party was a South African political party. It was formed by dissident NP members. This Afrikaner nationalist party was led by D.F Malan and aimed to advance Afrikaner interests (Schoeman, 1978)

[7] *Afrikaner Broederbond* translated into Afrikaans brotherhood, was a secret Afrikaner Calvinist male South African organisation dedicated to the advancement of Afrikaner interests (Poort, 2006)

to newly created townships which were overcrowded, poorly serviced, and on the margins of the cities (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2014; Field, 2012; Western, 1981). There were also African urban removals, which were described as a form of slum clearance, where squatters and freehold settlements like Sophiatown were destroyed and new areas constructed. The forced rural removals applied to Africans who had been working for and lived on white farms and saw approximately 300,000 to 400,000 Africans forcibly moved to homelands[8] in the 1960s and 1970s. Furthermore, 97,000 Africans living in 'blackspots', i.e. islands of black occupancy in supposedly white zones, were also forced into homelands (Freund, 1984).

Additionally, many Africans were moved out of the Western Cape, which resulted in the racial composition in this province differing drastically from that of the rest of the country. According to the 2011 census, while South Africa's overall population is 80 per cent African and 9 per cent 'coloured', the Western Cape is 39 per cent African and 43 per cent 'coloured' (Statistics South Africa, 2011). Apartheid policies in the Cape provided 'coloured' people with privileges not afforded to Africans. One such privilege was that Cape Town was declared a 'coloured' labour preference area shortly after the apartheid government was elected. In 1954/1955, the Coloured Labour Preference Policy was officially introduced and applied in the Western Cape (Hendrie, 1983). This meant that a shortage of low-wage white labour was alleviated by giving 'coloured' people jobs over Africans, high levels of evictions occurred, and strict control over the comings and goings of Africans was introduced (Hendrie, 1983; Unterhalter, 1987; Western 1981). The policy was officially denounced in 1985 (Unterhalter, 1987).

Scholars have argued that the Group Areas Act (GAA) was a strategic move to maintain white dominance by controlling and limiting the movements of the African, 'coloured' and Indian populations. The apartheid government also gained financially by creating cheap migrant labour, creating order and efficiency, and used the GAA to justify attacks on Indian property rights (Bundy, 1988; Freund, 1984; Mabin, 1992). Moreover, the Act was used to both separate and control black South Africans economic and political powers (Unterhalter, 1987). The Act left many communities broken, families fractured, and South Africans as a collective traumatised.

2.2 The Impact of Group Areas Act

[8] Homelands also known as Bantustans were established by the apartheid government. There were ten homelands in SA. These areas housed majority African people who were forced to live there in order to prevent them from living in urban areas of SA (SAHistory, 2011).

Forced removals with different functions have happened in various historical periods. Forced removals can be traced back to the multiple forms of exploitation of black people for the advancement and political domination of the white minority. The forces used to move people have been direct: using intimidation tactics, bulldozers to demolish homes, co-opting community leaders, using guns and police officers, and pressuring schools and shops to close down. It was also indirect: using administrative methods to relocate communities, and preventing individuals from moving (Platzky & Walker, 1985). Many scholars researching displacement, both locally and globally, have recorded both the physical and psychological damage forced removal has had on those displaced. Braun (2015) is one such scholar who looked at displacement in Lesotho, in relation to dam construction - a process of changing landscapes and a loss of natural and cultural resources as well as a loss of the ways people have lived their lives. Braun argued that through the process of displacement, "relational and communal values are rendered valueless and invisible" (2015, p. 28).

Other scholars have located displacement processes within the historical, social, spatial, and political contexts that produce and shape them. Hart (2006, p. 984) focused on racialized displacement in South Africa and defined it as an ongoing process "understood in terms of multiple historical/geographical determinations, connections and articulations". Safransky (2016) and Roy (2017) also focused on the highly racialized processes through which displacement occurs. Safransky, who conducted her research in Detroit, United States of America, found that displacement is a process of "being left behind rather than forcibly moved" (Safransky, 2016, p. 1089), involving the loss of access to public services and resources within people's communities. Furthermore, Roy (2017) explored displacement as a process of racial banishment through mass eviction campaigns in Chicago, United States of America, and Cape Town. Hirsh, Eizenberg and Jabareen (2020) conducted a systematic literature review on work done on displacement in both the Global South and Global North. They noted how displacement was a global problem affecting every country. Global forced displacement, currently caused by urban development, has become an issue, with 70.8 million people being forcibly displaced in 2019 (UNHCR, 2019). Urban displacement is a global phenomenon, happening in the form of forced evictions (Annunziata & Loretta, 2016; Roy, 2017), slum-evictions (Miraftab, 2009; Rizzo, 2017), slum clearances (Benson, 2016; Bhan, 2009; Collins & Katharine, 2013), gentrification (Slater, 2004), and development-induced displacement (Ambaye & Assefa, 2015; Oyefara & Bamidele, 2016; Shaw & Saharan, 2019). Hirsh *et al.* (2020) note all that these urban displacement processes may look different, but they all end up in people being removed from their homes and being forced to find new places to call home.

These displaced residents are met with hostility in their new locations, their sense of trust and security is compromised, and social bonds are ruined. A holistic understanding of displacement acknowledges the many ways that people's lives, relationships to place, and opportunities are destroyed, survival tactics are fractured, and access to land and resources are lost (Geschier, 2007; Hirsh *et al*., 2020; Vaz-Jones, 2018;).

Displacement in South Africa is better understood as a gradual process and not a single event (Vaz-Jones, 2018) through policies that have had detrimental consequences on the people forced to move (Field, 2012). Displaced people lost much emotionally and materially, and they lost their sense of belonging and community (Field, 2012) as was observed in the Cape, where the displacement destroyed whole communities. Many residents from Cape Town were forced out of their homes in well-resourced residential areas like Claremont, District Six, Rondebosch, and Goodwood. They were moved to the outskirts of the city, away from social networks, work opportunities, transportation and infrastructure. Thus, many black South Africans were concentrated in areas on the peripheries like the Cape Flats and townships, while the majority of the city remained white, well-serviced and wealthy (McFarlane & Silver, 2017; Miraftab, 2012; Thorn & Oldfield 2011).

As a means to cope with the devastation of destruction, studies have shown how many displaced people from Cape Town used their narratives to sustain communities and restore hope through nostalgic constructions of their prior communities, as well as to acknowledge and remember the pain they endured (Field, 2012; Sonn, Stevens & Duncan, 2013).

The experience of remembering one's past community is significant for people's present lives, as it provides displaced residents with "reminiscence therapy" – an opportunity to remember and come to terms with their past and loss (Coleman, 1986). Field (2012) provides detailed narratives on the trauma experienced by his research participants from different Cape Town communities, namely Windermere, Kensington, Gugulethu, Langa and District Six, who remembered being forcibly displaced. One participant who was forcefully removed from District Six stated that: "It's like uprooting a tree, you cut off its roots which give food and remove the soil which gives anchor and support. The tree may die" (David, 2017, p.106). After receiving their eviction notices, Mesthrie (1994) found that residents of Tramway Street spoke of how they lost weight, started falling ill, started suffering from insomnia, and some committed suicide, with one resident stating that: "Group Areas is the cause of doing away with my life" (Mesthrie, 1994, p. 66). This was also the case with residents from Rondebosch and Sea Point, where residents argued that they preferred death over being displaced (Trotter,

2009). Many District Six residents refused to move and promised to stay and die in their homes (David, 2017).

The new areas that people were forcibly relocated to on the Cape Flats are narrated by scholars and journalists to be places of crime and lacking community (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000, 2014; Field, 2001; Trotter, 2009; Western, 1981). Rashied Staggie, a former member of the Hard Livings gang, referred to the new townships that arose as "concentration camps" (Lurie, 2004, p. 120) which were echoed by Robins (2000, p. 412) who stated that the poor were "trapped in dangerous spaces" and were "unable to shape their environment". People were separated from their friends and family, they were far from work and had to pay expensive public transport fees to seek employment, and to go to work and school (Geschier, 2007). In her work with District Six displaced residents, Geschier (2007) found that with the destruction of District Six and the cosmopolitan community cultivated there, residents lost their place, their trust in others and faith in a safe world. The traumatic event left feelings of resentment, hurt, anger, disappointment and sadness (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000, 2014; Field, 2001c; Geschier, 2007). In narratives told about District Six, residents engaged in a complex process of remembering but also of forgetting (Field, 2001c, 2012). Many displaced participants in these studies wanted to forget the traumatic events of being forcibly removed and stripped of their dignity (Field, 1990, 2001c; Geschier, 2007) but were also forced to remember since the apartheid government named the new areas on the Cape Flats, such as Hanover Park and Lavender Hill, after the street names of District Six (Hart, 1990).

In remembering their former communities, displaced people's memory production was found to be driven by counter-memory, commemorative memory and comparative memory (Trotter, 2009). Counter memories are memories that are counter to the government's rationale for implementing the Group Areas Act. In counter memories, participants remembered and retold counter versions to that of the apartheid government. For example, where the apartheid government referred to overcrowding and interracial friction, residents spoke of 'closeness' and interracial harmony in their former communities. In the Apartheid Archive Project[9], (Sonn *et al.,* 2013) found how participants used their memories and narratives of apartheid to produce counter-narratives and expose how racialised oppression was normalised in that era. Commemorative memories are memories that honour and pay tribute to their former homes. Comparative memories compared the difficult present with a romanticised past. They was a

[9] The Apartheid Archive Project is an initiative that wanted to understand the experiences and consequences of systematic and chronic social inequality in South Africa, that continues to remain racialised. The project was started to access everyday stories about apartheid that might have been excluded or silenced (Sonn *et al*., 2013)

common feature in narratives where people's stories paid tribute to their former communities while dismissing and repressing the negative memories (Trotter, 2009). Many displaced residents from all over Cape Town spoke of their former areas being peaceful, filled with positive values, devoid of crime, and the era of the 'gentleman gangster' which was romanticised (David, 2017; Field, 2012; Trotter, 2009). Many residents declared that: "ever since we were moved out from there, everything went wrong. Everything" (Trotter, 2009, p.57). In research done in Bishop Lavis with faith leaders and ward councillors, the researcher found nostalgic narratives very common with residents longing for the "way things were", arguing that they were "better" off than they are now because in the past the community had stronger value systems and each child belonged to everybody (Thomas, 2017). The narratives told and memories shared became a way to make meaning of the chaotic events that took place. Residents used their narratives to show the illegitimate reasons behind the government destroying communities, to show how better their lives were before their removal, to honour the memories of their former communities, and to help come to terms with their loss (Trotter, 2009). Additionally, when a situation becomes difficult for people to deal with, they compare it to a time when things were better, in order to cope and remind themselves that things can be different (Thomas, 2017). These three types of memory came through in many displaced 'coloured' and Indians' life histories (David, 2017; Field, 2001, 2012; Trotter, 2009; Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000, 2014).

Bishop Lavis was one such community that housed displaced residents. The apartheid state created this area and used it as a dumping ground to house communities forced out of District Six, Vasco, Goodwood and Parow (Boddy-Evans, 2018).

2.3 A brief history of Bishop Lavis

Like many other historically designated areas for 'coloured' people, Bishop Lavis too was created to accommodate 'coloured' people after they were forcibly moved from their homes in 1954. Bishop Lavis was amongst the first designated areas created by the apartheid government for 'coloured' people. Bishop Lavis is classified as a township, and is situated in the northern suburbs near Cape Town International airport. The area is close to the industrial areas of Epping, Parow, Bellville, Bellville South and Airport Industria. Bishop Lavis comprises of different areas such as Sidneyvale, Malawi camp (the name given to this informal settlement when a few Malawians lived there in the 1950s but since moved), Old Bishop Lavis, *die Gat* (the Hole), and *die* bult (the Hill)(Camphor, 2018). The area was named after Bishop Sidney Warren Lavis, a reverend of the Anglican Church, who campaigned for the improvement of

poor living conditions throughout the Peninsula in the early 1900s. He moved to Cape Town and became the Dean of Cape Town in 1928 (Ballard, 2011). Bishop Lavis was managed by the Citizens' Housing League, a non-profit welfare organisation comprised of religious groups, who were concerned about the housing and welfare of the citizens of greater Cape Town. Bishop Lavis developed in phases, and the first 400 homes with electricity and four rooms (consisting of a kitchen, one bedroom, a lounge and toilet) were built in 1951. Many of these houses were allocated to men who were married, who rented these homes as home ownership was limited (Blau & Thomas, 1981). MacMaster (2009) notes that the economic consequences of the forced removals was far-reaching, as the rent was higher and jobs were further. Survey research by Blau and Thomas (1981) found that as many as seven or more people lived in one household.

As more people moved into Bishop Lavis, the area began to take shape, but for as long as ten years, the area was culturally poor, meaning it had no effective schooling, minimum sport and recreational facilities, and very few churches (MacMaster, 2009). The area was greatly under-resourced, so much so that MacMaster (2009) argues that the people of Bishop Lavis did not "live", they only "existed". Many schools, churches, sporting and shopping facilities were only built by 1969. Like many 'coloured' people on the Cape Flats, the residents of Bishop Lavis fought back against the apartheid government. It is important to acknowledge the residents' participation in standing up against injustices of apartheid as this history of 'coloured' communities fighting in the struggle has been largely written out of the South African struggle history (Adhikari, 2005). Moreover, their participation in fighting against injustices shows the resistance the people of Bishop Lavis had and continue to have. Bishop Lavis residents participated in protests and in the riots of 1976, where many school children marched against the forced imposition of Afrikaans as the language of instruction in schools. The impact differed depending on the school and the pupil's affiliation and loyalty to political parties. Many high school learners were unable to finish their formal schooling due to class disruptions or suspensions as a result of ongoing protests (Matiwane & Walters, 1986).

In the 1970s, many NGOs were birthed in Bishop Lavis and funded by external donors. The *Black People Convention* (BPC), was one of the first NGOs in Bishop Lavis. *The Foundation for Social Development* (FSD) was another such NGO, founded in the area and funded youth activities, sustained crèches and day-care centres in the community. The birth of these various NGOs was important for the people of Bishop Lavis, as they helped mobilize community members to protest against the unjust policies of the apartheid regime, they helped organize school and consumer boycotts, and work strikes (Matiwane & Walters, 1986). Later in 1980,

Bishop Lavis Action Community (BLAC) was formed and took on a civic role, where they, with the help of Bishop Lavis residents, successfully fought and marched to have electricity in their homes and for the area to have street lamps (Matiwane & Walters, 1986). BLAC continues to be active today, facilitating community protests and organisation against crime, a lack of services and resources in Bishop Lavis.

Many South African faith-based organisations (FBOs), the church in particular, have also played pivotal roles in protesting against injustices such as genocide, sexual assault and apartheid and building up historically designated black areas (Gibbs & Ajulu, 1999). Bowers noted that "the church was a prominent opponent of apartheid and the voice of the disempowered black masses" (2005, p. 6). FBOs used their moral standing and core values of love and tolerance as a tool to engage apartheid policies and fight for a democratic country. Bowers (2005, p. 6) noted that "religions have two roles to play to save both themselves and South Africa: building faith in transformation and building communities […] religious leaders, rooted in the activity of a just and a loving God among us have a major role to play". Research undertaken by Bowers (2005) focused on the role of the local church in Lavender Hill and investigated whether the church could be seen as an agent of change when "addressing the socio-economic needs of an impoverished grassroots community" (Bowers, 2005, p. 8). She found that the church played a key role but stated that the local government, the Western Cape government, and other key stakeholders had to help in transforming communities on the Cape Flats. Thomas (2017) found that churches in Bishop Lavis were very disjointed and struggled to unite against crime. Each church and denomination had their own agendas which were usually fuelled by their own motives mainly for financial gain. Furthermore, she found that many church leaders were too afraid to confront gangsters and drug lords out of fear of being harmed, while others were not afraid and would hold crusades which contributed to lowering crime in the area (Thomas, 2017). Bowers (2005) and Thomas (2017) both demonstrated how the church was and continues to be an active agent of change in communities. Despite all the efforts from NGOs and FBOs, the area of Bishop Lavis still struggles with a lack of resources and crime, as demonstrated by the statistics in the following section.

2.4 Bishop Lavis in the present

Blau and Thomas (1981) used Bishop Lavis as a site for their research and found that this area was one of the poorest historically designated areas for 'coloured' people. Furthermore, it is also the third smallest historically designated 'coloured' area in the metropolitan. Bishop Lavis had 26,482 people living there in 2011 with 51.9% women and 48.1% men (Frith, 2011).

Bishop Lavis had 5788 households (Frith, 2011). The racial make-up was 1.9 % black African, 97.2 % 'coloured', 0.3 % Indian/Asian, 0.5% Other, and no white people. The most predominant language spoken is Afrikaans (86.4%) followed by English (12 %) and other (1.5 %). Statistics South Africa produced no statistics on this area, thus making it difficult to paint a more accurate picture of this location. However, Bishop Lavis falls under the larger area of Matroosfontein, a location that has been documented by Statistics South Africa (2011). Matroosfontein's key characteristics were that the average household had five people living in it, most dwellings were formal (79.2%), had electricity (94.8%), water (85.5%), and flushing toilets (87.8 %) inside their homes. Moreover, many homes were female-headed (45.7 %) and 4.9% of the population had a higher education qualification, while 20.9% had a matric certificate. In 2011, Matroosfontein had a 23.9% unemployment rate and a 31.9 % youth[10] unemployment rate. Many of the residents earned an income of between R9 000 and R155 000 per year, while 10.7 per cent of the population received no income (Statistics South Africa, 2011). From the statistics shown above on Matroosfontein, one can see that the area is very urban with electricity facilities, flushing toilets and the majority of the homes being formal dwellings. However, there is also a high number of unemployed people, especially among the youth of this area. Despite the lack of knowledge about the characteristics of the place, Bishop Lavis has dominated the media and crime statistics, as a result of the increase of crime experienced.

Most literature on Bishop Lavis stems from statistics on crime and articles published in newspapers and social media. Research gathered by Crime Statistics South Africa (2017) found that Bishop Lavis was one of the worst precincts in the country, especially for drug-related crime (2898 crimes reported) and malicious damage to property (804 cases reported). It was also found to be one of the worst precincts in the Western Cape, with murder, drug-related crime and rape being on the increase. The levels of crime increased from 8904 incidents reported in 2004, to 9416 in 2015. In 2016, 8397, crimes were recorded; in 2017, that number increased to 8919 crimes. Murder in 2016 was recorded at 77 and increased to 97 murders in 2017, indicating a 26 per cent increase in violent crime. In an article featured in *News 24*, Lamb (2017) stated that murder has doubled over the past ten years in Bishop Lavis, attributing these increases to increased gang rivalry. The next section will contextualise the high crime rate in the area.

[10] Youth is defined as people between the ages of 15 and 34 (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

2.5 Origins of Crime in Bishop Lavis

Many theorists argue that the decades of oppression, lack of resources, and trauma from the forced removals have left deep scars in the people and communities on the Cape Flats and these have manifested in many ways, crime being one (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000, 2014; MacMaster, 2009, Trotter, 2009). For many families living in the newly created townships, both parents had to start working in order to secure a home. This new arrangement left children unattended and vulnerable to gangs and crime (MacMaster, 2009). The last 40 years have seen Bishop Lavis and the surrounding areas face several hardships in terms of safety and security brought on by gangsterism.

Street gangs in Cape Town have a long history, as noted by Simpson (1998), who found that street gangs dated back to post-World War II. The origins of gangsterism on the Cape Flats can be traced back to 1930. A group called *The Globe* operated in District Six as a neighbourhood watch who would police the area and protect the community against criminals at a price (MacMaster, 2009). The leader of *The Globe* was murdered ten years later, and his brother took over and changed the way the gang was run, which meant higher protection fees, selling drugs and operating brothels in the community (MacMaster, 2009). Forced removals also helped to develop an environment for criminal activity to grow, since it scattered members of the gang into different areas of the Cape Flats and new gangs were established. Moreover, the mass displacement also caused social controls to erode and a culture of violence started to flourish on the Cape Flats, and it created mass economic impoverishment, which is some of the root causes of crime (MacMaster, 2009; Thomas, 2017). Gang leaders took advantage of the chaos and poverty caused by the apartheid government by providing young unemployed men with guidance, a family, and a means to earn an income (Pinnock, 1984, 1995, 1997, 2013).

Several gangs consisted, and continue to consist, of young unemployed men. These men are encouraged to fight each other for turf and often endanger the lives of ordinary citizens. Many libraries and schools, which form part of shared public space and support networks for learners and community members, became the hideout for gangs. Continuous states of emergency during the 1980s contributed to the marginalisation of the youth and increased gang membership (MacMaster, 2009; Simpson, 1998). By 1990, gangs remained the most powerful organised social force in Bishop Lavis and the Cape Flats more generally. Standing (2003, p. 1) suggests that “organized crime may represent a rational response of survival and resistance”. Gangsterism has remained popular amongst young people, and crime and violence are high since it is the tool used to gain a steady income, maintain the safety of the individual, and protect his/her family. Moreover, resisting the law and becoming involved in crime could be

viewed as an act of rebellion against the apartheid authorities that left their communities broken and displaced. The continuous threat to individual safety and security due to ongoing violence, gangsterism and substance abuse are social conversion factors that affect many community members' lived experiences (Camphor, 2018).

Simpson (1998) noted that the social and psychological uncertainty caused by the high levels of crime and by public hysteria has led to feelings of fear and inadequacy in community members. This, in turn, encourages community members to resort to armed self-defence, resulting in spiralling violence. In the area, many residents live in dire poverty (City of Cape Town, 2013). Many of the area's residents also feel vulnerable due to a lack of financial resources because they are unable to make 'ends meet'. Many feel that they cannot protect themselves and their families, and therefore resort to aggressive behaviour (Thomas, 2017).

Additionally, aggression and the high use of violence in the area could be a result of frustrated parents using violence and force on their children, as well as exposing them to illegal substances (Thomas, 2017). Many young people are exposed to abuse and neglect and see violence almost daily, which could result in them normalising violence and using it to resolve problems (Pinnock, 2013). Moreover, food and education scarcities have multiplied the issues that the community of Bishop Lavis have to deal with and results in increased criminal activity (Thomas, 2017). Research done by the *National Health and Nutritional Survey* in the Western Cape found that one in four 'coloured' people are classified as food insecure in comparison to eight out of ten white people who are food secure (Pinnock, 2013). Across all races, 'coloured' children had the highest school dropout rate, with 13,000 16-year-olds not attending school and a quarter of a million young 'coloured' people being unemployed, even though one in three of them had a matric certificate (Pinnock, 2013). Being hungry, idle, having no financial resources, and feeling neglected make many young men prime targets for gang leaders looking to recruit (MacMaster, 2009; Simpson, 1998; Pinnock, 1984, 1995, 1997, 2013). Pinnock (2013) noted that the city has a long-standing lineage of youth, causing mayhem that has plagued the poor. Additionally, Standing (2003) argued that many residents in Cape Flats communities support gang organisations. He notes that the main reasons organized crime gains support on the Cape Flats is because they provide their members with an income, they help provide community governance and give money and resources to those community members in need. Gangs maintain order in these areas by providing protection; many provide families with an income and provide them with goods and services in exchange for their silence and/or cooperation (Standing, 2003; Thomas 2017).

Abrahams and Davids (2012) state that you do not have to be from Cape Town to recognise the association that exists between Bishop Lavis and gangsterism, an observation which resulted in Ronnie and Jerome who have grown up as 'street brothers' in Ronnie's dad's shebeen situated in Bishop Lavis. This was the first and only play written on Bishop Lavis that predominantly focused on crime and gangsterism in the area. However, like many of its other media counterparts, films produced on 'coloured' people predominantly focus on gangsterism, for example, films such as *Noem my Skollie*[11], *Four Corners, The Devil's Liar* and *Incarcerated*. Most of these films focus on the lives of notorious 'coloured' gang leaders and prison life (Marais, 2014). While such movies are important for learning about gang rituals and experiences, at the same time, they also produce specific negative narratives around 'coloured' men as inherently violent.

In 2017, over three weeks, 15 people were murdered in Bishop Lavis, deemed as the bloodiest year yet (Charles, 2017). Shootings and high levels of gang violence have made it difficult for people to move freely and for children to attend school, often fearing being shot by a stray bullet. This was the case with Chrissandra Opperman, a youth leader who was shot while returning home from church, as well as two school children who were killed in a crossfire between two gangs (Charles, 2017). These shootings have created deep sorrow in the community, but also brought members of the community together to fight for a greater cause. The Bishop Lavis Action Community (BLAC) held various memorials and used the opportunity to call for greater social cohesion in the community and to help reclaim the streets and heal the community. Moreover, Bishop Lavis joined the list of ten Cape Flat areas where Operation Prosper, a R23 million strategy to decrease crime by deploying 1320 soldiers, was rolled out in 2019 (Pather, 2019). This militarized strategy to deal with violence was implemented after much public outcry and increased media visibility around the high crime rates on the Cape Flats. "The SANDF (South African National Defence Force) members will be deployed to support the police to restore law and maintain order in communities that are being terrorised by gangsterism", said President Cyril Ramaphosa in response to his solution to the ongoing crime on the Cape Flats (Hendricks, 2019, p. 1). The President said that the army would leave in September 2019, but at present, they are still there. The deployment of the army has left members of the community experiencing mixed emotions, with some calling the army "headless chickens" since they were "not stabilising communities" and crime continued to occur as the military would only be present for 30 minutes then leave (Mlamla,

[11] Translated into English means Name me Thug

2019). Other community members said the deployment of the army had re-traumatised them as this was a common sight with the army using tear gas and rubber bullets on people in the apartheid era.

On the contrary, other members welcomed the army and said it was a positive step in the right direction (Mlamla, 2019). However, this strategy seemed to be a ‘quick fix’ solution that did not take into consideration the trauma left behind by the apartheid legacy or the systematic violence experienced by residents on a daily basis. Thus, this solution did not address the root causes of crime (Mlamla, 2019). Despite Bishop Lavis being a space filled with high levels of violence, it is also home to many great individuals and a powerful community of people. It is important that we contextualise the current problems experienced in Bishop Lavis, including the high crime rates; however, it is also important to note that violence is not the only way in which Bishop Lavis should be characterised. It is of value to showcase the complexity of the area and many areas like it.

It is important that dominant stereotypical narratives be challenged and alternative narratives about Bishop Lavis and places like it be placed into academic knowledge. Academic discourses tend to shape media and public opinion, so if we as academics are only producing negative stories and representations of particular people and communities, this will end up shaping public discourse and lead to an absence in alternative narratives that doesn’t further marginalise.

2.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter focused on the construction of Bishop Lavis, an under-researched area in Cape Town. It looked at how the area was created, paying attention to the history of displacement in South Africa that resulted in the creation of new homes for the displaced. The colonial and apartheid eras caused havoc amongst black people by controlling their movements and living arrangements. Moreover, colonialism and apartheid also contributed to the current problems in areas on the Cape Flats-including the contemporary manifestations of violence. The chapter focused on the Group Areas Act, the forced removal of black people out of various places that were classified as white areas, and the impact this law had on people. This chapter focused predominantly on Cape Town; however, displacement is not only a Cape Townian phenomenon but has occurred throughout South Africa and the world. Researchers across the world have shown how millions of people have been forcibly displaced and continue to be forcibly displaced and left traumatized (Hirsh *et al*., 2020; Roy, 2017; UNHCR, 2019). This chapter argued that displacement and trauma must be understood holistically and acknowledge

the many ways that people's lives, relationships to place and opportunities were destroyed, survival tactics were fractured, and access to land and resources were lost when they were forced to move (Geschier, 2007; Hirsh *et al*., 2020; Vaz-Jones, 2018).

Furthermore, this chapter looked at how people remember their old homes, how they narrate about their new homes, and how they make sense of the displacement. This work is not only applicable to Bishop Lavis and its residents but can also be applied to global studies on displacement and place identity. The chapter then outlined the history of the area, statistics on the area, and the origins of crime. Space is an important factor to consider when trying to gain a holistic view of the lived experiences of participants and ended with the research questions of this study.

The next chapter will focus on how race and gender have been constructed in South Africa and how they continue to impact individuals' lived experiences.

CHAPTER THREE

A CASE FOR RESEARCHING 'COLOURED' IDENTITIES

'Coloured' identities have been an under-researched phenomenon, with many researchers still trying to grapple with the contestations around 'colouredness' and 'coloured' identity (see Adhikari, 2005; Erasmus, 2001; Lewis, 1987; Mthembu, 2015; Salo, 2004, Yarwood, 2011). This chapter first explores how some citizens in South Africa became raced as 'coloured' and the role psychology has played and continues to play in maintaining these raced identities. It then moves on to explore the literature on 'colouredness', 'coloured' identity, and how it is ever-changing in a post-apartheid South Africa. The section concludes by making a case for the need to understand 'coloured' identities, specifically 'coloured' masculine identities, as they are under-researched and heavily stigmatised.

Questions of racialised identities are contextualised within the body of scholarship on men and masculinities as it relates to the aims of this study. Thus, the latter part of this chapter offers a brief review on how men and masculinities have been studied, understood and conceptualised from the Global North and South. It then moves onto how men and masculinities have been studied in South Africa before moving on to 'coloured' masculinities and why they should be studied. This chapter explores the research gaps within research on 'coloured' identity and 'coloured' masculinity research and makes the argument that an intersectional lens is important when researching 'coloured' subjectivities.

3.1 Constructing race in South Africa

As Erwin (2012, p 94) argues, "we need to remind ourselves that all people in South Africa, past and present, were and are profoundly shaped by the social engineering of its former racist state." Thus, in order to understand and make sense of racial classifications in post-apartheid South Africa, one has to understand the historical context that made racial difference possible (Durrheim, 2005). It is important to note that race is not biological, but instead must be seen asa social construct and ideological process (Foster, 1991). Historically, racial difference was not always the primary form of conceptualising human diversity in South Africa. In the early Cape Colony, after the Europeans settled, difference was framed in terms of one's assumed level of civilisation or status group of either being a slave or settler. Civilisation was understood

in terms of one's religion and how you lived (Durrheim, 2005). In his book, Coetzee (1975) made the following statement about human difference:

> The one gulf that separates us [European settler] from Hottentots is our Christianity. We are Christians, a folk with destiny. They become Christians too, but their Christianity is an empty word. They know that being baptized is a way of protecting yourself, they are not stupid, they know it wins sympathy when they accuse you of mistreating a Christian…The Bushman is a different creature, a wild animal with an animal's soul. Sometimes in the lambing season baboons come down from the mountains and to please their appetite savage the ewes, bite the snouts off the lambs, tear the dogs' throats open if they interfere. Bushmen have the same nature. Heartless as baboons they are and the only way to treat them is like beasts (Coetzee, 1975, p.61).

Durrheim (2005) notes how crude and self-serving these classifications of difference were, where European settlers were creating the civilised 'us' and the animalistic 'them'. However, differences between the European, Hottentots[12] and Bushmen[13] were not categorically racial as they would later become. It was only with the start of the white expansion, when white settlers left the colony and started to settle in the interior parts of South Africa, that racial difference became a possibility. In moving, they started to occupy historically black spaces, often through force and left many black families displaced (Durrheim, 2005; MacCrone, 1937). It is in this context of white expansionism that consciousness of race and racial hierarchy came to be seen, where a hierarchy was being based on one's skin colour and creed. If one failed to have the right skin colour (white) and the right religion (Christianity), then one was subjected to racial, social and religious stigma (MacCrone, 1937). In moving, white people began to understand human differences between them and those they displaced in terms of racial difference, which continued into the twentieth century. The earliest example of racial difference and prejudice was seen in 1788 when some Stellenbosch burghers[14] refused to serve as soldiers under another burgher, Johannes Hartog the Younger, "on the ground that he was of a black colour and of heathen descent" (MacCrone, 1937, p. 133).

---

[12] Hottentots is a term that was given to the Khoekhoe, a group of original people found in the Cape by the Dutch. The term is a pejorative seventeenth-century word for a 'stutterer' and they were given this name. because of the click sounds of their language which the Dutch found difficult to understand (Hahn, 1881)

[13] Bushmen or Bosjesmannen was a term given to the San people, a group of original people found in the Cape (Hahn, 1881).

[14] Burgher referred to a fully enfranchised citizen or citizen of a town. The term originated from the term *free burghers*, a term given to freed servants, where the Dutch colonisers issued their servants with free papers. The free burghers who settled in South Africa brought about the inception of the Boers and later called themselves 'Afrikaners', a special ethnic identity that was not Dutch nor British (MacCrone, 1937).

As more and more white people started to occupy black spaces, they saw strict separation as a natural law, but they needed to convince those that they displaced that strict separation between the races was needed. This led to the need to create comprehensive legislation and policing to secure it. It is in this context of white concern that *swart gevaar* (black danger) started to emerge, and new representations of black people as violent and disorganised started to surface (Posel, 1990). Frantz Fanon (1967, p.110) argued that "what is often called the Black soul is a white man's artefact"; thus, black people's so-called characteristics as being dangerous or violent are white people's fantasies of what blackness should be (Kilomba, 2016). In the white imagery, black people are then identified as the 'bad' objects that embody all the negative aspects, such as aggression and hyper-sexuality, that the white society repressed in themselves (Bhabha, 1994; Hall, 1997; Kilomba, 2016).

Additionally, white people had to make black people believe that they were inferior (Hall, 1997a, 1997; Hook, 2005). Biko (1977) argued that by making black people inferior to white people, you could exploit black bodies and pay them less. In South Africa, this resulted in a surge in mental testing throughout the 1920s to 1930s, with results finding black people to be intellectually inferior to white people (Louw, 1986, Foster, 1991). Following a long history of scientific racism, these results helped create an entrenched racist system, known as apartheid a design heavily based on assumed racial differences. This system and its various segregation laws were created by South African psychologists, namely Verwoerd and Willemse, who believed that academics should play a role in social issues (Foster, 1991). These men, along with sociologist Geoff Cronje, became leading figures in developing Afrikaner nationalism and racist thinking, which eventually led to the system of racial classification for the whole South African population (Foster, 1991). These men believed that black people were culturally and intellectually inferior to white people, which they could scientifically prove through various psychological tests (Foster, 1991), and other scientific belief systems such as eugenics and phrenology (Magubane, 2007). Furthermore, psychologists such as Malherbe, Wilcocks and van Schalkwyk, were all involved in the upliftment of white people and the neglect of black people, while other psychologists of the time 'proved' that black people were only good for labour and provided racist perspectives of black people's personalities (Foster, 1991; Manganyi, 1973; Nicholas & Cooper, 1990).

Psychology thus became a discipline heavily involved in creating and maintaining racial difference and hierarchies within the South African context and contributing to white supremacy (Foster, 1991; Nicholas & Cooper, 1990). Bulhan (1981) argues that psychology as a discipline is decidedly political and has, and continues to be, involved in the reproduction of

power relations and control. He argues that psychology provides, in a way, gives us subject-positions, and categorical roles like man or woman, or black and white among many. We thus see how racial difference was nothing more than a social construction used to maintain power for the dominant group and to make black people believe that they deserved the treatment they received. It was in this context of apartheid that we first saw the racial classification as 'coloured' being firmly defined.

3.2 Becoming 'coloured' in South Africa

The racial category of 'coloured' did not have the same meaning in the early colonial conquest of South Africa as it did during apartheid. It was only after the emancipation of the Khoekhoe and San, who were informally enslaved, then later formally enslaved people in 1828. Then later the emancipation of the non-European slaves in 1838, that 'coloured' identity crystallized. The heterogeneous black labouring classes in Cape Town started to develop a collective identity based on their similar socio-economic status and shared cultures (Adhikari, 2009, 2005). This emerging community was made up of mainly African and Asian origin labouring class, and were at times referred to as "bastards[15], Cape Boys[16], off-whites [17] and half-castes". [18](Adhikari, 2009, p.xi). With the discovery of gold and diamonds, South Africa had a mineral revolution which resulted in swift industrialisation. This period saw many Africans being incorporated into the capitalist economy as well as serve as a catalyst for this newly emerging community of non-Europeans to organize under the banner of colouredness politically. The purpose of this organisation was to create an identity that was separate from Africans by claiming to be more civilised because of their European descent and thus attempting to obtain a privileged position (Adhikari, 2005; Bickford-Smith, 2001). Racial segregation in South Africa thus began with colonialism, but only became an official policy in 1948 under apartheid. With the National Party coming into power, they unleashed apartheid onto the social, economic and political life of South Africans for almost 50 years. The apartheid government adopted the racial category of 'coloured', but sought to set clear definitions and uniformity when applying this constructed category. In this thesis, the term 'coloured' has been placed in inverted commas to acknowledge the fact that it is a constructed term. The term

[15] Bastard is a term given to a person born of unmarried parents or a child of mixed ethnic ancestry(Adhikari, 2009)
[16] Cape Boys is a term given to a man of mixed ethnic ancestry especially from the Western Cape (Adhikari, 2009)
[17] Off-whites is a term given to a person of mixed ethnic ancestry (Adhikari,2009)
[18] Half -castes is a term given to someone whose parents are from different racial groups (Adhikari, 2009)

'coloured' was loosely used and the first attempts to define it was made by the Pensions Acts No. 22 of 1928, where:

> a 'coloured' is someone who is neither; a Turk or a member of a race or tribe in Asia, nor a member of an aboriginal race or tribe in Africa, nor a Hottentot, Bushman or Koranna nor a person residing in a native location ...nor an American negro (Pensions Acts No. 22 of 1928, p.4).

The act was amended twice thereafter (February, 2014, p.4) and later replaced with the *Population Registration Act No 30 of 1950*, where a 'coloured' person was defined as someone who was not white or native; later, the group 'coloured' was further divided into classifications of the Cape 'coloured', 'Cape Malay', Griqua, Indian, Chinese, other Asiatic, and Other 'coloured', with some individuals from the same family often being registered as originating from different sub-divisions. In the Western Cape, a distinctive Cape 'coloured' and 'Cape Malay' culture developed. Cape 'coloured' individuals were mainly Christian and spoke South African English, Afrikaaps[19] and Afrikaans (Davis, 1978; MixedFolks, 2008). Whereas the 'Cape Malays', was the label given to Muslim slaves who were brought to the Cape from the Dutch East Indies in Asia, by the Dutch. These slaves mainly came from Indonesia, Malaysia, East Africa, Madagascar and India and settled in De Waterkant and District Six.

By the 19th century, the term Cape Malay was used to describe anyone living in the Cape who was a practicing Muslim (Goolam, 2016; SAHistory, n.d). Today , the 'Cape Malays' are made up of local Muslims who can be divided into 'Cape Malays' who speak Afrikaans, Afrikaaps and Arabic and Indians who speak English, Arabic and their vernacular languages (SAHistory, n.d). However, the term has become a heavily contested one, with many anti-apartheid Muslim activists preferring the term 'Cape Muslims' or South African Muslims since they found the label 'Cape Malay' to be a racist one. While other Muslims from the Cape and the South African Melayu Cultural Society (SAMCS) preferring the term 'Cape Malay'. SAMCS stated that they preferred the term to promote their religion, culture and way of life in South Africa (Haron, 2015; SAHistory, n.d).

These subgroups within the 'coloured' category was a way to systematically divide and then oppress 'coloured' people (Erasmus, 2001, p. 75). 'Coloured' people are often identified as South Africans who are mixed race and the descendants of the sexual relationships between colonialists, slaves and indigenous Khoisan natives. However, 'coloureds' are not merely the

---

[19] Afrikaaps is also known as Kaapse Afrikaans or *Gamtaal,* and is a dialect of Afrikaans spoken on the Cape Flats, a district of Cape Town (Samson, 2007).

offspring of interracial relationships, and children of mixed-race marriages often do not classify themselves as 'coloured' (Hendricks, 2005). This speaks to the complexity of this historical identity which was the product of "slavery, genocide, rape and perceived miscegenation" (Hendricks, 2005, p.118). In classifying 'coloured' people, the apartheid government would put black people through various tests as explained by Alex La Guma (1988, p.iii), when giving an account of a woman sharing her experience of being classified 'coloured', as stipulated by apartheid policy. She states: "He looked at my profile from the right side, then from the left, then he examined my hair […]. He touched my nose and asked me what my mother looked like."

Erasmus and Pieterse (1999, p.174) provide us with three discourses on 'coloured' culture and identity. The first is a white nationalist narrative, which constructs 'coloured' people as 'leftover people'. In these definitions, 'coloured' people are always defined as lacking either 'whiteness' or 'blackness'. Erasmus (2001, p. 18) and Adhikari (2005, p. 13) both referred to a statement made by Marike de Klerk (the wife of the former president of South Africa, F.W. de Klerk), in 1983 saying that 'coloureds.'

> are a negative group. The definition of a 'coloured' in the population register is someone who is not black, and is not white and is also not Indian, in other words a no-person. They are the left overs. They are the people that were left after the nations were sorted out. They are the rest.

Within this white nationalist discourse, 'coloured' people are the ones who did not 'make the cut', the people who did not belong, and were the rejected population. Many theorists have argued that this narrative of defining 'coloured' people as the leftover population still influence the lived experiences and perceptions of 'coloured' people today (Isaacs-Martin, 2014; Mthembu, 2015; Nilsson, 2016; Salo, 2003, 2004; Samson, 2007; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2014). Erasmus (2001) wrote, "It ['colouredness'] has been negatively defined in terms of 'lack' or taint, or in terms of a 'remainder' or excess … associated … with immorality, sexual promiscuity, illegitimacy, impurity and untrustworthiness" (p. 17). 'Colouredness' (when uncontested) has come to mean a 'state of being' and Mthembu (2015) uses the term to locate 'coloured' identities.

Furthermore, in post-apartheid South Africa, one sees how the white nationalist discourse has resulted in the identity of 'colouredness' being closely linked to shame (see Adhikari, 2002, 2005; Erasmus, 2001; Mthembu, 2015; van Niekerk, 2019; Wicomb, 1998). In discussing *God's Stepchildren* by Millin (1924), Erasmus (2001) noted how the author assumes that

'mixed race' people suffer shame and guilt because of their impurity and 'mixed blood'. van Niekerk (2019) argued that 'coloured' men in her work, who perpetrated violence against their women partners, "carry a history of oppression, dispossession, and shame through their embodiment of pathologising stereotypes", and in their talk find strategies to gain respectability (p.178). In her work on 'coloured' identities, Erasmus (2001) looked at the future possibilities of a young 'coloured' girl and found that young women could either chose a life of shame, linked to sexual promiscuity and teenage pregnancy, or respectability. Another form of shame was having yellow or dark skin and coarse hair in a community where many had caramel and straight hair, thus 'othering' those that did not fit the 'Capetonian coloured' mould (Erasmus, 2001). It has been found that the way a group of people are represented in their society largely influences how that group of people will be located within the broader society (Crenshaw, 1991).

The second discourse that Erasmus and Pieterse (1999) refer to is a narrative of blackness which came about from the 1970s to the 1980s. This discourse emerged in the 1970s as an alternative to the white nationalist discourse. It was born out the Black Consciousness Movement, the non-racial United Democratic Front, the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) and the African National Party, where 'colouredness' was denied in favour of a black identity. In this discourse, one could not identify as 'coloured', as stated by van Kessel (1994). She argued that 'coloured' activists were:

> acutely aware of the price that had to be paid for becoming part of mainstream resistance. In this political home, there was no place for 'Coloureds' as such, but only for 'Blacks'. In order to be accepted as 'Black', Coloured identity had to be foresworn (van Kessel, 1994, p. 8–9).

She noted how the liberation struggle consisted of both military and church songs found in the African culture, but that there was no incorporation of 'coloured' identity or any discussion of 'colouredness'. Furthermore, activists forming part of NEUM, a national liberation organisation that started in 1943, which was later renamed the Unity Movement of South Africa (UMSA) in 1964, had a significant impact on the protest politics in the Western Cape between the 1970s and 1980s. (Adhikari, 2005; Nasson, 1990). Their core objectives was a commitment to non-racialism and building a united black political front to overthrow white rule and thus saw the 'coloured' label as "a concept legislatively and socially created, with intent (to divide and exploit" (Adhikari, 2005, p.415). The organisation and its members rejected the 'coloured' identity in the 1960s, which started the 'coloured' rejectionism movement (Adhikari, 2005).

This discourse was necessary at that point to create a united front and resist white supremacy. However, Erasmus and Pieterse (1999) argue that this discourse did not "acknowledge the specificity of coloured experiences nor heterogeneity and situatedness of blackness" (p. 175).

The third discourse is the ethnonationalist discourse that emerged amongst "Brown Nationalist" movements and attempted to show people what 'coloured' identity and culture looked like and show pride in their 'coloured' identity (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999, p. 175). "Brown Nationalists" argued that 'coloured' people have a culture, language and should govern themselves instead of being governed by African people. Erasmus and Pieterse (1999) argue that this discourse reinforces racist and cultural essentialism and starts to align itself with apartheid and right-wing discourses.

These three discourses that have been discussed reiterate the complexity of 'coloured' identities. Additionally, 'coloured' identity and the shame attached to the identity continues to have consequences for this racial group, with the identity continually being shaped and reshaped in post-apartheid South Africa.

3.3 Being 'coloured' in post-apartheid South Africa

It was imagined that after 1994, the racial identity of 'coloured' would disappear, but the opposite was seen, with the identity reasserting itself into a form of coloured nationalism. Many 'coloured' people find themselves in post-apartheid South Africa struggling to figure out where exactly they fit in, with many still asking what makes someone a 'coloured' and what constitutes 'colouredness' (Isaacs-Martin, 2014; Mthembu, 2015; Nilsson, 2016; Yarwood, 2011). 'Coloured' identity during apartheid showed relative stability because of the limitations the apartheid government placed on 'coloured' people (Adhikari, 2005). However, 'coloured' people have and continue to actively participate in accepting, rejecting and remaking the racial identity (Mthembu, 2015). In contemporary South Africa, this has resulted in some 'coloured' people choosing to identify as *bruin*, brown, coloured, so-called coloured, mixed-raced, bi-racial, Khoisan, or multicultural. While others choose not to acknowledge or be labelled as 'coloured' since they believe the term was imposed on them, choose instead to identify as black, a political term that emerged from the Black Consciousness Movement (Biko, 1977) or South African. Thus "identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves in, the narratives of the past" (Hall, 1997, p. 52). It is clear that 'coloured' identity is a contested ethno-racial formation undergoing a process of constant renegotiation.

Erasmus (2001) notes that 'coloured' identity is not a forced upon the identity of 'race mixture' but instead "they are cultural formations born of appropriation, dispossession and translation in the colonial encounter" (p. 7). 'Coloured' identity and 'coloured' culture, as such, needs be re-imagined "as cultural identities comprising detailed bodies of knowledge, specific cultural practices, memories, rituals and modes of being" (Erasmus, 2001, p. 2). In their work on 'coloured' identity, Yarwood (2011) and Nilsson (2016) explored the ways that 'coloured' people construct and reconstruct 'colouredness'. They both argued that 'coloured' identity is a constructed and imagined identity that exists in relation to political, economic and administrative factors. In contemporary South Africa, they note how 'colouredness' is being shaped by the contemporary political economy and class inequalities. Yarwood (2011) found that age played a significant role in the way people related to 'colouredness', with younger participants accepting the identity and reconstructing it because of their lack of knowledge on apartheid.

Additionally, researchers argued that renegotiations of 'coloured' identity are being created in a specific context of ongoing inequalities in housing, healthcare, education, increased unemployment, crime and gangsterism, and the rise of a black African middle class through black empowerment programmes (Adhikari, 2005; Nilsson, 2016; Yarwood, 2011). In contemporary South Africa, there has been a resurgence and assertiveness of 'colouredness', with many who rejected the identity using it again (Nilsson, 2016; Yarwood, 2011). It has been suggested that this is a result of fear of the African majority rule in the government, a desire to counter negative stereotypes of 'coloured' people, the perception that 'coloureds' are marginalized, and a pursuit of varying political agendas. From 2016 to 2019, we have seen this assertiveness of 'coloured' identities all across social media platforms. On YouTube, Kelly-Eve Koopman and Sarah Summers started a six-part web series called *Coloured Mentality*, an online platform that engages and explores coloured identities in South Africa. On Facebook, groups such as *Coloured South Africa*, *Gatvol Capetonian*, *Vannie Kaap*, *I'm Living Coloured*, *So-Called Coloured/Mixed Heritage Appreciation*, *Coloured identity: Discussions on belonging in South Africa*, and *Proudly Coloured People Abroad*, to name a few, have emerged where they celebrate 'coloured' people's achievements, acknowledge the problems faced by 'coloured' people, and make meaning of the contested identity by creating platforms for engagement.

'Coloured' identities are constantly shifting and actively being remade, but these shifts are largely silenced in academia. Although I focus extensively on South Africa, it is important to note that complex identity formation and shifts of 'mixed-race' persons are not unique to South

Africa; however, it is the only country that classified the children born of a European father and indigenous mother as 'coloured', and continues to use that term as a racial classification for persons not classified as white or African. Previously colonised countries continue to classify the children of European white men and indigenous women as 'mixed blood', 'half-blood', 'creole', 'half-caste', 'mestee', 'mulatto' ('mulatta'), 'hybrid', and others. In the past, the United States of America state legislatures have defined the mixed-race population as 'colored', 'Negro', 'mixed blood', 'half-breed', 'mulatto', 'mestizo', and 'mongrel', while belittling terms such as 'squaw men', 'half-breeds', and 'amalgamators' have been used by broader society to refer to people of North American Indian and white ancestry (Smits, 1991). Aspinall (2003) noted that the shaping of racial identities was mainly influenced by the state. He found that his participants who were 'mixed race' from North America, Britain and Canada, made sense of their identity in various ways. Some celebrated their multiracial identity and called themselves 'mixed-race', while others embraced their black racial identity and called themselves black, while others would shift between identities.

In his work, Barrera (2005) focused on the 'mixed race' population of Italy who calls themselves Italo-Eritreans as they saw the term *metticcio*, 'mixed-race' (or worse, *mulatto*) as offensive. Like Aspinall (2003), Barrera (2005) found that their identity processes were complex, with some choosing to identify as Italian, others as Eritrean, others as Italo-Eritreans, and others defying the labels altogether. A similar trend is seen in South Africa, where certain people find the term 'coloured' offensive, while others embrace the term and others call themselves black, Khoi or San (Yarwood, 2011). In Africa, Milner-Thornton (2013) found that, in Zambia, 'mixed race' people called themselves 'coloureds' borrowing the term from South Africa, while 'mixed race' people in Malawi tried to have themselves classified as Anglo-Africans, which failed under the African nationalist ideologies of their state and led them to be classified as African (Lee, 2013).

The ways in which biracial individuals chose to identity can be explained by Root's (1990) proposal of four identity choices or resolutions that biracial individuals have. The first choice or resolution is accepting the racial identity society gives you. The second one is identifying with both racial groups. The third one is identifying with a single racial group and the last one is choosing a new racial identity. Later she included two more identity choices or resolutions, which are to choose a symbolic race or ethnicity and the other choice is to choose a racial identity based on the circumstances or environment (Root, 2001). Root (1990; 1998; 2003) notes that biracial individuals choose their identity choice or resolution based on a number of

factors (e.g., generation or age, geographic locations, gender, community, personality and family influences).

Meanings around what it means to be ‘coloured’ or multiracial or ‘mixed-race’ is one that is complex and always in fluctuation (Root ,1990; 1998; 1999; 2001; 2003). Root (2001; 2003) argued that biracial individuals remained marginal and under-researched in societies. Aspinall (2003) stated that in North America and Britain, ‘mixed’ race persons continue to be under-researched, a phenomenon also seen in South Africa (Adhikari, 2005). Work on ‘mixed- race’ persons has mainly focused on the historical, political, sociological and anthropological aspects. Contributions from psychology have been minimal, too, with most research coming from social psychology (Kometsi, 2008). This research argues that more intersectional and holistic research on this group’s lived experiences and the meanings they give to their identity should be done.

Although ‘coloureds’ in contemporary South Africa are reconstructing their racial identity in positive ways, narratives of marginalisation are persistent to the new meanings around ‘colouredness’.

3.4 Narratives of marginalisation in post-apartheid South Africa

In an article published by the *New York Times* in 2003, they interviewed ‘coloured’ people from Netreg. [20] One of the interviewees, Mohammed Khan, stated that “in the old system we weren’t white enough, now we aren’t black enough. It is still coloured people who are stuck in the middle, and no one cares about us”. He goes on to say, “but we have to admit that under white rule, we had a better lifeless crime, more welfare, better schools and doctors – black people have jobs because of affirmative action. White people had everything anyway. But we lost the little bit that we had. It isn’t fair” (Polgreen, 2003, p. 6-7). During apartheid, ‘coloured’ people had relatively more privileges than African people. African people were subjected to various curfews, and they had to carry passes that allowed them into certain areas, they could not buy liquor or own firearms in comparison to ‘coloured’ people who received better housing and services, higher salaries and political representation. It is suggested that the colonial and apartheid government granted ‘coloured’ people these privileges in exchange for their loyalty to white people instead of allying with African people (Magubane, 1980).

On the other hand, African people distrusted ‘coloured’ people because of their comparatively privileged position during colonialism and apartheid (Yarwood, 2011; Isaacs-

[20] Netreg is an area in Bonteheuwel , situated on the Cape Flats in Cape Town

Martin, 2004; Stevens, 1998). Moreover, this distrust was elevated when, at the country's first democratic elections in 1994, 53 per cent of the 'coloured' population in the Western Cape voted for the pro-apartheid National Party (NP). This led to debates and questions about why 'coloured' people (together with most whites in the Western Cape) would vote to keep the NP in power. Many suggested that it was due to 'coloured' racism and fear of black majority rule (Farred, 2000).

The "in the middle" (Polgreen, 2003) status of 'coloured' people was further reinforced and complicated by their collective political commitments, frequently moving between resistance to apartheid and the pursuit of 'coloured' interests like maintaining the group's relative privileges. It has been suggested that this feeling of marginalisation is the result of deteriorating living conditions for 'coloured' people in post-apartheid South Africa and the emergence of an African middle class, which has led to many working-class and poor 'coloureds' concluding that they are being discriminated against (Adhikari, 2005; Mthembu, 2015; Nilsson, 2016; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012; Yarwood, 2011). Additionally, under the apartheid state, many working-class 'coloured' families in Cape Town, received stable incomes from skilled manufacturing and factory jobs provided by the government. These jobs have subsequently disappeared because of an ever-changing economy, which has led to a material decline among 'coloured' households since apartheid. These changes have led to many 'coloureds' resenting African people, who are perceived as benefiting from social security, affirmative action policies and receiving other material gains under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) (Adhikari, 2005; Kometsi, 2008; Stevens, 1998; Nilsson, 2016). These feelings of marginalisation are pervasive despite every indication that Africans continue to experience higher levels of unemployment and impoverishment (Kometsi, 2008; Meadows, 2008; Nilsson, 2016; Yarwood, 2011). On average, 'coloured' people are better off than Africans. In comparison, white people are better off than both 'coloureds' and African people- reflecting, in the post-apartheid period, the persistence of the racialised economic positions entrenched during apartheid. The conditions of many working-class and poor 'coloureds' have worsened since the transition from apartheid; however, Yarwood (2011) argues that a large portion of the 'coloured' population was already exceptionally poor because of the Coloured Labour Preference Policy, which never protected 'coloured' people. 'Coloured' people have also been marginalised in academia (Adhikari, 2005; Switzer, 1995; Louskieter, 2018; Kometsi, 2008). In addition, the research produced on people classified as 'coloured' has predominantly been written by white scholars, and has focused on areas of work such as gangsterism, alcoholism and violent masculinities – areas that continue to mark this group as 'other' and 'at-risk'. This

will be further explored in the next section. These marginalisation's and skewed research focus have helped to create and entrench particular narratives and stereotypes around 'colouredness'.

3.5 Problematized identities: stereotypes around 'colouredness'

In South Africa, as a result of apartheid, racial identities became more reified during the latter part of the twentieth century. This led to racial stereotyping becoming entrenched in the public discourse and popular culture like never before (Adhikari, 2005; 2006; Isaacs-Martin, 2014; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012). 'Coloured' people, a marginal minority population, were and continue to be vulnerable to negative stereotyping within a popular mindset, increasingly influenced by racist assumptions (Adhikari, 2005; 2006; February, 2014; Isaacs-Martin, 2014; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012; Nilsson, 2016). Both Adhikari (2006) and Mellet (2016) try to understand where racial stereotypes found their origins and analyse the popular joke told about the origins of the 'coloured' race. In the joke, it is said that Jan Van Riebeeck is the symbolic father of all 'coloured' people, and another version of the joke dates the origins of 'coloured' people at nine months after Jan Van Riebeeck's arrival. These sorts of thinking started the popular discourses of 'coloured' people as "mixed", "impure", "confused", "different" and "inferior" (Adhikari, 2006; Mellet, 2016). Mellet (2016) argued that these jokes are crude and instead of classifying 'coloured' people as 'mixed', we should instead embrace new creations encompassing multiple heritages. Later, some white apartheid politicians held the belief that 'coloured' people were "12-year-old children and must remain under our guardianship"; here we see how 'coloured' people were deemed intellectually and morally inferior due to their miscegenated origins (Crwys-Williams, as cited in Adhikari, 2006, p.153).

Both white people and Africans held stereotypes of 'coloured' people as "mixed breeds" who had no nationhood, identity or culture (Petrus & Isaacs- Martin, 2012). These ideas were internalised by many 'coloured' people, with research finding 'coloured' people stating that they are ill-disciplined, and have no heritage or culture of their own (Steinberg, 2004). Many of the alleged inherent characteristics of 'coloured' people, such as being physically stunted, lacking endurance, being dishonest, and being prone to alcohol and drug abuse, have been linked to their miscegenated origins (Adhikari, 2006; February, 2014; Isaacs-Martin, 2014; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012). Isaacs-Martin (2014) argued that 'coloured' identities continue to be linked to negative stereotypes. Many people fail to understand the complexities of 'coloured' identities and instead continue to view 'coloured' identities as fixed.

This negative racial stereotyping has perpetuated in contemporary times, with multiple papers being published on the characteristics of 'coloured' people. Most of the knowledge

produced on ‘coloured’ people, ‘coloured’ masculinities and ‘coloured’ accents has been from white scholars: Cooper, 2009, 2010; Cooper & Foster, 2008; Dixon, Tredoux, Durrheim and Foster, 1994; Helman, Malherbe & Kaminer, 2018; Lamb, 2017; Mager, 2010; Marais, 2017, Meyer and Tredoux, 2016, and Steinberg, 2004 are just a few examples. Biko (1977) stated that “colonialism is never fully content with just controlling black bodies, but they want to write about black people’s past and disfigure and distort it” (p.17). This argument is relevant today, as well. One could argue (by pointing to evidence) that the work that white people produce about ‘colouredness’ is problematic for the stereotypes they produce.

Samara (2011) found that perceptions around what it meant to be ‘coloured’ were linked to gangsterism and substance abuse. ‘Coloured’ people were found to have the highest alcoholism rate than other groups (Mager, 2010), and gangsterism and gang wars were shown to be on the increase (Lamb, 2017). In 2017, Paula Marais, a white South African author, wrote the book, *Rainbow Nation Navigation Guide*, which depicted ‘coloured’ people in extremely stereotypical and racist ways. Additionally, a group of white Stellenbosch academics wrote a paper stating that low education and unhealthy lifestyles resulted in ‘coloured’ women having a high risk of low cognitive functioning (Boswell *et al*., 2019). Both publications were later removed and retracted after much public outcry for the authors grouping ‘coloureds’ into one homogenised group.

Further research found that the ‘Cape coloured’ accent was always associated with crime and rated ‘more guilty’ than the English accent (Dixon *et al*., 1994; Meyer & Tredoux, 2016). This was argued to be the case because the group was associated with gangs, crime and substance abuse (Dixon *et al*., 1994; Meyer & Tredoux, 2016). In Meyer and Tredoux’s (2016) research, participants stated that when they heard a ‘coloured’ person speak, they immediately associated it with lack of education, prison gangs, drugs, violence and bad neighbourhoods. This group is stigmatised and portrayed as a homogenous group through media platforms and throughout literature and academic research that continue to group all ‘coloured’ people and their accents as the same and deviant.

Mthembu (2015) argues that one must look at the historical context in which ‘colouredness’ was created and shaped, as it largely influenced gang violence and substance abuse among ‘coloured’ people. I argue that these narratives on ‘coloured’ people are perpetuated in the media, academia and literature, continue to feed into this grand narrative by extensively researching only ‘coloured’ gangsters, doing studies on alcoholism, and violence in ‘coloured’ men (Abrahams *et al*., 2006; Choi & Ting, 2008; Cooper & Foster, 2008; Cooper, 2009; Mager, 2010; Marais, 2014; Salo, 2003; Stevens, 2008). The research on gangsterism, alcoholism, and

the high instances of violence is important and necessary work; however, I argue for the need for counter-narratives on 'coloured' masculinities and 'coloured' people, to showcase the complexity and diversity of 'coloured' identities.

This complex group of people are reduced to negative stereotypes, and people become "gangsters and violent thugs, promiscuous and lewd, uneducated and loud, constantly drinking and drugging, and with no front teeth…they are the 'messed up race' in the racist's imagination" (Bowler, 2016, p.1). These stereotypes are predominantly placed onto young 'coloured' men, who continue to face many challenges. This makes 'coloured' men an important population to study in order to see how they 'do gender'.

3.6 Theorising Masculinities

3.6.1 Theorising masculinities from the Global North and South

The study of masculinities has been evolving continuously in both the Global North and the Global South. Multiple journals focusing on men and masculinity has been established and multiple books published. The field has grown substantially, however, much of the knowledge production around men and masculinities has and continues to be produced in the Global North and exported and applied to men in the Global South (Dery & Apusigah, 2020; Shefer, Hearn, & Ratele, 2015). The knowledge produced on men and masculinities has predominantly been conceptualised through two different lenses: essentialism and social construction. The essentialist approach argues that men are different from women based on sex differences, thus from this perspective, masculinity is defined as a set of traits that naturally belong to men (Cosgrove, 2003; Pleck, 1987). Many scholars studying men find the essentialist approach problematic, arguing that one's gender is socially constructed. Social construction theorists argue that what it means to be a man is not inherent, but socially agreed upon and in relation to what it means to be a woman (Burr, 1998; Gavey, 1989, 2011; Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1988; Hollway, 1984; Weedon, 1987). From this view, therefore, masculinity is seen as "social roles, behaviours, and meanings prescribed for men in any given society" (Kimmel & Aronson, 2000, p.503).

Studying men and masculinities from a social construction perspective opened up new ways for scholars to think about and theorise men and masculinities. Scholars theorised that masculinities are constructed alongside race, sexual orientation, location and other identities (Gutmann, 1997). Furthermore, masculinity is constructed in opposition to femininities, and it is argued that multiple masculine identities exist (Synott, 1993). It was even noted that within one culture or race, many forms of manhood and what it is to be a man exists (Connell, 1995).

Connell, in his book, *Gender and Power* (1987), introduced the concept of hegemonic masculinity as the "configuration of gender practices which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees or is taken to guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Connell, 1987, p. 77). It was seen as relational to "emphasized femininities" (Connell, 1987, p.77) and non-hegemonic masculinities. The term, hegemonic masculinity, has largely shaped how researchers research men and masculinities. Hegemony exerts its power by validating particular forms of masculinities while refusing or interrogating other forms. The hegemonic man, within the western model, has been identified as a heterosexual man who is white and from the middle class. Much research in this field, both from the North and South, tried to understand how men attain hegemony and how attaining hegemony could put men, women and children at-risk. The research found that manliness was associated with men's "sexual partners(s), the sexual appeal of our partners(s), the size of our penises, the claims we make about our sexual stamina, whether we can maintain a healthy erection and how virile we are" (Ratele, 2011, p.399); and with being heterosexual and having sex with many women (Kimmel, 1993, 1994; Morrell & Swart, 2005; Niehaus, 2005; Peters *et al*., 2019; Ratele, 2011; Shefer & Mankayi, 2007). Manliness has also been associated with distancing oneself from anything feminine (Brannon, 1976; Kimmel, 1993; Peters *et al*., 2019); taking risks (Brannon, 1976; Cooper & Foster, 2008; Kimmel, 1993); being aggressive and violent (Andrews, 1998-1999; Boonzaier, 2005; Brannon, 1976; Bruce, 2007; Campbell, 1992; Cooper & Foster, 2008; Epstein, 1998; Peters & Bawa, 2012; Peters *et al*., 2019; Wojcicki, 2002); being a breadwinner (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Boonzaier, 2005; Campbell, 1992; Dery & Apusigah, 2020; Mthembu, 2015; Niehaus, 2005; Peters *et al*., 2019); being the head of the family (Campbell, 1992; Dery & Apusigah, 2020; Hunter, 2005; Niehaus, 2005; Ratele *et al*., 2007); being successful (Brannon, 1976; Cooper & Foster, 2008; Mahalik *et al*., 2003); being wealthy (Baaz & Stern, 2009; Bruce, 2007); being fearlessness (Campbell, 1992); repressing one's emotions (e.g. Brannon, 1976; Luyt, 2002; Mahalik *et al*., 2003); and being dominant and respected (e.g. Cooper & Foster, 2008; Kimmel, 1993, 1994; Mahalik *et al*., 2003; Peters *et al*., 2019; Wood & Jewkes, 2001).

Much of these traits have been conceptualised as toxic, patriarchal, and uneducated masculinities (Elliott, 2020). Messerschmidt and Messner (2018) argue that the term hegemonic masculinity has created a new set of problems, as gender scholars have used the term in structurally and historically decontextualized ways. Many scholars equate hegemonic masculinities as a fixed type of masculinity or as the dominant masculinity (Hearn & Kimmel, 2007), while some have "read 'hegemonic masculinity' as a static character" (Connell, 2008,

p. 244). Beasley (2008) argued that the most common and celebrated masculinity in a particular setting might do little to legitimize men's power over women. Thus, they should not be labelled as hegemony, while other masculinities might legitimize such powers and be culturally marginalized. Other scholars have criticised the term, stating that the underlined concepts of masculinities are flawed in itself and concerning (Hearn, 1996, 2012; Hearn & Kimmel, 2007; Petersen, 1998, 2003), while others asked who represents hegemonic masculinities (Hearn, 2012; Hearn & Kimmel, 2007; Martin, 1998; Whitehead, 1998, 2003). Other scholars have problematised the term by stating that it reduces hegemonic masculine men down to negative attributes as representations of dominance (Collier, 1998; Holter, 1997, 2003; Jefferson, 2002; Moller, 2007). Demetriou (2001) argued that the way Connell (1987) outlined gender relations was flawed. Hearn (2012) has criticised the term for being too conceptually vague, being ethnocentric and reproducing heterosexual binaries. These criticisms led to a reformulation of the term (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), which now included ideas that hegemonic masculinity need not be the most powerful or common form of masculinity.

Furthermore, the concept should not be seen as a set of fixed traits and should incorporate holistic understandings of gender inequality, and should consider how race, class and sexuality intersect with gender. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) also suggested that scholars should theorise how hegemonic masculinities function at a local level (constructed within families, organisations and communities), regional level (look at the societal level or nationality), and global level (how it is constructed in the media, world politics and business), and how hegemonic masculinities might be challenged and changed (Connell & Messerscmidt, 2005). Hearn (2012) suggested that we reformulate the concept of hegemonic masculinity and instead talk about the 'hegemony of men' since "[t]he category of 'men' is far more hegemonic than a particular masculinity" (p. 596).

Scholars have applied the new reformulations and have continued to show how masculinity is fluid, ever-changing and multiple (Swain, 2005). This has led to scholarship recently advocating for an inclusive masculinity theory which supports the social change being seen in men's behaviour (Anderson & McCormack, 2018). This has led to different forms of masculinities coming to the surface. Bridges and Pascoe (2014) conceptualised hybrid masculinities, which showcase ideas that are beneficial to gender and sexual equality but at the same time "reproduce contemporary systems of gender, race, class, and sexual inequality, but, importantly, obscure this process as it is happening" (Bridges & Pascoe, 2014, p. 258). The terms 'new man' or 'softer masculinities' has also surfaced (Messerschmidt & Messner, 2018), where men are displaying emotions and vulnerability. Inclusive masculinity refers to

masculinities that move away from homophobia, value emotional intimacy, and display feminine behaviours (Anderson, 2009). Caring masculinities are masculinities that reject domination and patriarchal traits and instead value ideals of care (Elliott, 2020; Hanlon, 2012; Heilmann & Scholz, 2017). Some of the emerging new masculinities surfacing in the field are: protest masculinities, where men adopt caring and egalitarian qualities (Connell, 2005; Howson, 2006); and open masculinities, where men value greater emotional openness between men and in themselves and others (Elliott, 2019a, 2020; Roberts *et al.*, 2019). However, it has been noted that most of these new masculinities are seen in white men. In contrast, research portrays black masculinities as less progressive masculinities, which is problematic, as noted by Bridges and Pascoe (2014). The authors argue:

> [b]y framing middle-class, young, straight, White men as both the embodiment and harbinger of feminist change in masculinities, social scientists participate in further marginalizing poor men, working-class men, religious men, undereducated men, rural men, and men of colour (among others) as the bearers of uneducated, backwards, toxic, patriarchal masculinities (Bridges & Pascoe, 2014, p.253).

Hooks (2005, p. 159) pleads with scholars at the centre (a place of privilege, whiteness and hegemony) to look to the margin (marginalised men, i.e. men of colour, men with disabilities) and stop speaking of it only as a place of deprivation, writing "[m]arginality as a site of resistance" too. Jackson and Balaji (2011, p.21) note that "despite the important work exploring international or global conceptions of diverse masculinities, masculinity studies have generally become ghettoized by a Eurocentric paradigm of whiteness and its Others", hence a call for more research theorising men in the Global South (Elliott, 2020; Gelfer, 2013). This call is being taken up by scholars in the South; however, their work is still at the margins.

Scholars in the South have noted that there is still a tendency to interpret what happens in the South through unitary accounts using Northern conceptual frameworks (Dery & Apusigah, 2020; Shefer *et al.*, 2015). Shefer *et al.* (2015) note that it can be helpful, but at the same time, may also result in us failing to understand the complexities of men and masculinities in a particular context. Boonzaier, Huysamen and van Niekerk (in press) argue that most of the world's population live in the South, and thus theorizing on men and masculinities needs to happen in the Global South. Scholars such as Boonzaier *et al.* (in press), Boonzaier and van Niekerk (2019) and Dery and Apusigah (2020) have tried to speak to this dilemma faced by many scholars in the South. Boonzaier *et al.* (in press) use a decolonial feminist lens to theorize on masculinities and intimate partner violence, while Boonzaier and van Niekerk (2019) uses

a decolonial feminist lens to read the literature that exists on men and interpersonal violence, specifically focusing on the African continent. The authors argue that a decolonial feminist lens allows one to reimagine black masculinities and move away from colonial reimaginations of black men that constructs them as the problem. Dery and Apusigah (2020) present an African-centred framework, which invites for a more nuanced, intersectional reading and examining of men in Africa. In their work, they showcase the complexities in young Dagaaba men from Ghana, who are invested and display hegemonic masculine traits, but at the same time also display progressive masculinity traits. Other researchers theorising from the South have shown how complex masculinities in their countries are and how globalisation is influencing the types of masculinities we see in the South. Nilan, Demartoto and Wibowo (2013), in their work with young Indonesian men, found that men's understanding of masculinity was complex and influenced by myths, heroic narratives and legends from Indonesia. However, their masculinity identities were shown to be influenced by Western hegemonic ideals. Chattopadhyay (2013) studied men in India and how their local and historical context has profoundly influenced their Bengali identities. It was noted that film, popular literature and Western notions of hegemony and globalisation, have also contributed to their ideas around masculinity. These theorists from the South have showcased the importance of studying men in the South, highlighting the complexities in their masculine identities.

3.6.2 Theorising masculinities in South Africa

South Africa is also part of the Global South and filled with multiple masculinities because of the multiple races and cultures found in the country. In the South African context, the reformulations of hegemonic masculinities have been significant. Ratele (2006), instead of using the term hegemonic, speaks of the ruling masculinities and notes that the "ruling masculinity indicates a design of practices, relations, and support cognitive and affective discourses that seek to have us believe in the naturalness of men's power over women, other men, and children" (Ratele, 2006). Traits of ruling masculinities are similar to hegemonic masculinities around the world (Ratele, 2006). Scholars have noted that in the SA context, hegemonic masculinity is still employed as a 'type' or essentialised masculinity by scholars and activists (Morrell, Jewkes, & Lindegger, 2012; Ratele, 2013b). Within the context of South Africa, a focus on men and masculinities has emerged as researchers try to make sense of the high levels of violence against women by men and the high HIV rates in the country. Much research has tried to understand why men use violence, and participate in risky behaviours,

particularly of impoverished black men (Abrahams *et al*., 2006; Boonzaier, 2005, 2008; Jewkes, Levin & Penn-Kekana, 2002a; Jewkes, 2002; Ratele, 2013; Morris & Parry, 2006). This research has often resulted in poor black men being further stigmatised and portrayed as deviant, violent and at-risk (Billings, 2011; Boonzaier, 2018), or "either thugs or sportsman" (Morrell & Swart, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity has thus been equated with "bad men", a fixed concept and has often been used to define the practices of young, poor, black men in SA (Morrell *et al*., 2012; Ratele, 2013b). Many men and masculinities researchers in the country have tried to encourage more pro-feminist and non-violent masculinities (Ratele, 2013; van Niekerk, 2019).

Another theme in research with men and masculinities in SA has been to study men using intersectionality, which is still an emerging approach to studying men. Research from the North has failed to acknowledge how race, class, location, and culture shape men's experiences and use of violence (Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2018). This has led to many scholars arguing that men must be studied intersectionally, acknowledging the role class, location, sexuality, religion, media and gender, to name a few, have played in shaping men's experiences (Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2018; Salo, 2002; Peters *et al*., 2019; van Niekerk, 2019). Race and class have become deeply entwined with South Africa's culture and history (Morrell, 2001) and has impacted the forms of masculinities that exist in the country today. Additionally, masculinities have been constructed in relation to race, class, age, sexuality and other identities, but intersectional approaches to theorising masculinities are still underutilized in South Africa (Peters *et al*., 2019). No homogeneous standpoint or experience of manhood exists (Collins, 2000), thus, one's racial identity cannot be analysed as separate to one's class or other identities since they are entangled and influence each other to create particular lived experiences (Shields, 2008). An intersectional analysis, therefore, is an important tool for showing at once how race, class, sexuality, and location impact men's ability to act out their manhood and how they experience being men in South Africa (Ratele, 2013). Researchers in South Africa have also argued for more nuanced ways of understanding men's experiences and violence against women that challenges stereotypes that tend to essentialize further, stigmatize and pathologize black masculinities (Boonzaier, 2018; Shefer, 2016). Researchers have started speaking out about the problematic ways in which black men in Africa have been represented as violent and deviant, predominantly by studies from the Global North (Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2019; Dery & Apusigah, 2020). Scholars have tried to understand how race, class, gender and the media intersect when trying to understand and present more nuanced understandings of masculinities in SA.

Race has been shown to influence men's lived experience. Black men have been oppressed historically by colonisers and the apartheid government (Biko, 1977; van Niekerk, 2019). Black men continue to face oppression, and their race and gender continue to produce deadly consequences (Mthembu, 2015; van Niekerk, 2019). In work done by Peters *et al.* (2019), black male sex workers stated that their race resulted in them being constructed as deviant, less valuable than white men, and criminal, which increased the level of police brutality and judgement they received from the public. The media has played an important role in black men's lived experiences as they are portrayed as deviant and criminal (Berger, 2002). The media claims to be neutral and objective, however, scholars have noted the critical and political role that the media plays in shaping public discourse around genders, races and classes (Gibbs & Jobson, 2011; Joffe, 1995, 1998; Portilla, 2008; Washer & Joffe, 2006; Wasserman, 2003) and in distributing certain messages to the public (Bell, 1991). The freedom given to the media has resulted in the perpetuation of stereotyping of particular groups and the distortion of information (Morna & Ndlovu, 2007; Posel, 2004; Sanger, 2008). The messages in the media on violence and the perpetrators of violence reinforce racist and classist stereotypes that over-represent low working class and black people (in particular men) as criminals, yet underrepresent them as victims (Dixon & Linz, 2000; Gibbs & Jobson, 2011; Meyers, 2004). As hooks (1992) argued, ideologies propagated by white supremacy are situated in the media, which manufacture "specific images, representations of race, of blackness that support and maintain the oppression, exploitation, and overall domination of all black people" (hooks, 1992, p. 2).

Expressions and constructions masculinity has also been shaped by class and what makes one a successful man. Unemployment among men resulted in "grave threats to men's self-esteem and manhood" (Elliott, 2003, p.10) because they were seen as unsuccessful men. A man's ability to provide for his family financially, be a breadwinner, and be financially independent makes him a 'real man' (Elliott, 2003; Hunter, 2005). This has resulted in men measuring their masculinity in terms of their ability to provide for their sexual partners and families successfully. A lack of providing financially for one's family has resulted in men feeling frustrated, emasculated, more prone to violence (Boonzaier, 2005; Morrell & Swart, 2005; Niehaus, 2005; Wood, 2005), and prone to risk by having multiple sexual partners (Hunter, 2004; Wood & Jewkes, 2001).

Much research on men and masculinities in South Africa and on the African continent, has focused predominantly on black African men, with minimal research on 'coloured' and 'mixed-race' masculinities in Africa. This research aimed to contribute to the minimal body of work,

by focusing on the nuances in 'coloured' masculinities. Moreover, research on men and masculinities from the South, showcasing the complexities in these men's meanings of manhood, has been minimal too. Like Dery and Apusigah (2020), I also hope to show the complexities in 'coloured' men's gender subjectivities, by using an intersectional approach, where men's experiences and contexts are understood holistically.

3.6.3 Theorising 'coloured' masculinities: Racialised shame and Respectability

Minimal research has been done on South African people through a gendered analysis (Chadwick, 2010). Much of that research, where available, has shown how performances of gender amongst 'coloured' men are consistent with traditional performances of masculinity (Abrahams *et al*., 2006; Choi & Ting, 2008; Jewkes *et al*., 2009; Sawyer-Kurian *et al*., 2009). Salo (2003) argues that the meanings of personhood are located in the histories and cultural performances of 'coloured' people, therefore this study sought to examine the endorsement of masculinity norms and how these norms are practised amongst 'coloured' men.

'Coloured' men, due to apartheid policies, have a long history of not being seen as breadwinners (Salo, 2003) – a norm that many associate with hegemonic masculinity. In the apartheid era, 'coloured' women were chosen over 'coloured' men in the workforce, especially in industries such as textile, canning and leather, thus resulting in many unemployed men, who were unable to provide for their families. Additionally, state housing and welfare grants were given solely to women, a practice still seen in contemporary South Africa. Women's authority within their communities and homes was on the rise as a consequence of these apartheid policies (Salo, 2003). Many studies suggest that the unemployment among 'coloured' men may have left men feeling emasculated, frustrated and powerless because they could not be providers or "breadwinners" (Mthembu, 2015; Wood, 2005). Boonzaier (2005) purported that black men's ability to provide financially was associated with constructions of successful masculinity. In her study, some men reported feeling powerless as a result of not being able to provide financially. Men who felt entitled to authority in the household but were unable to attain it, often resorted to violence (Boonzaier, 2005). Furthermore, 'coloured' men were found to negotiate their male identity by being affiliated with a gang, becoming fathers, or as former-inmates, while remaining financially dependent on their mothers (Salo, 2003).

Studies have shown that among 'coloured' men, attributes like "toughness, success and control were held in high esteem" (Cooper & Foster, 2008, p. 5). In his work, Jensen (1999) researched 'coloured' masculinities on Cape Flats and found that 'coloured' masculinity was often connected with constructions of 'respectable' masculinities. Jensen (1999) presented

varying ways that his participants did respectable masculinities. Some used religion to gain respectability to masculinities, while others used violence and force, such as those practised in gangs to gain respect. Jensen (1999, p. 174) mentions that "[t]his was one of the tragic paradoxes for some coloured men" because as they "defend themselves against violence, they reproduced the criminalisation of themselves". Thus, 'coloured' men always run the risk of being constructed as deviant and criminal by their communities (Jensen, 1999; Mthembu, 2015).

Much research has found that 'coloured' men try to gain respectability through their narratives. Mthembu (2015) found in her work with 'coloured' working-class men from townships in the Western Cape, that her participants, many of whom endorsed dominant masculine values expressed that their masculinity was being challenged by women being empowerment. This the noted diminished their respectability in their homes (Strebel *et al*., 2006). Additionally, 'coloured' men performances of masculinity was linked to gaining and maintaining respect in their families and communities (Cooper, 2009; Cooper & Foster, 2008). In research with black male sex workers from Cape Town, it was found that among 'coloured' participants, gaining respectability was key to 'doing gender' (Peters, 2016; Peters *et al.,* 2019). Research also found that older 'coloured' men would distance themselves from their younger foolish selves to gain respectability since they had gained wisdom with age (Anderson, 2009a; Mthembu, 2015; Salo, 2007; van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2015a, 2015b; van Niekerk, 2019). Additionally, the men longed to be respected by their children and wives, but that respect was based on being employed and financially providing for their family. Thus, the men reported that since their wives or girlfriends were more successful in providing for the family, they were disposable (Mthembu, 2015). van Niekerk (2019), and van Niekerk and Boonzaier (2015a; 2015b) found that older 'coloured' men from the Cape Flats would gain respectability by silencing narratives around 'coloured' shame. At times the participants dissociated themselves from their younger selves and 'othered' working-class 'coloured' men in an attempt to construct themselves relative to a 'respectable coloured' manhood (Mthembu, 2015; van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2015a, 2015b). These fluctuating subject positions represent an ongoing conflict "between notions of masculinity that strive towards gaining status and reputation, and those characterised by being in control, respectable, rational, and responsible" (van Niekerk, 2019, p.184). van Niekerk (2019) found that the men's families and communities acted as the audience that re-shamed her participants for attempting to embrace "respectable coloured" masculinity (p.184).

Studies have shown that ‘coloured’ men were seen as more violent and perpetrated gender-based violence at higher rates when compared to white and African men (Abrahams *et al.*, 2006; Boonzaier, 2005; Choi & Ting, 2008; Jewkes *et al.*, 2009; Peters & Bawa, 2012; Sawyer-Kurian *et al.*, 2009). Mthembu (2015) suggests that ‘coloured’ men’s marginalised position (historically and present) and racialised shame have made violence, gender-based violence, poverty and insufficiency an ingrained performance of hegemonic ‘coloured’ masculinity. ‘Coloured’ masculinity, thus, needs to be understood and analysed taking the social context in which ‘coloured’ men live into account. In trying to understand perceptions and constructions of marginalisation, ‘coloured’ men have cited unemployment as contributing to their marginalisation. This perceived marginalisation is argued to be one of the causes behind the high levels of substance abuse and violence amongst ‘coloured’ men (Boonzaier, 2005; Mthembu, 2015; Peters *et al.*, 2019). Sexual violence frequently becomes a method for men who feel marginalised to exert their power on those they deem weaker than themselves (Jewkes *et al.*, 2009). Sawyer-Kurian *et al.* (2009), from their work with black men on topics of violence, suggested that ‘coloured’ men’s perceived understanding of their current status of being marginalised within society could be a contributing factor to their risky and violent behaviours. Additionally, scholars have noted how drug abuse, especially methamphetamine (locally known as *tik*) and alcohol abuse, have also significantly contributed to the perpetuation of abuse (Abrahams *et al.*, 2006; Jewkes, 2002; Jewkes *et al.*, 2002a; Jewkes *et al.*, 2009; Mthembu, 2015; Sawyer-Kurian, Wechsberg & Luseno, 2009; Strebel *et al.*, 2006; van Niekerk, 2015). From the literature, it could be argued that ‘coloured’ men are encouraged to display overly masculine or hyper-masculine traits (Cooper & Foster, 2008; Mthembu, 2015). This has led to ‘coloured’ people being twice as likely to be murdered and incarcerated than other groups, although constituting only 8.9 per cent of the South African population (Stats South Africa, 2011).

The researcher’s race often seems to shape the kinds of narratives that are presented on ‘coloured’ masculinities and put into the public discourse. Cooper (2009) and Cooper and Foster (2008), both white scholars, emphasised the link between ‘coloured’ masculinities and gang membership arguing that gang membership was a “rite of passage” for ‘coloured’ men. This, they argue resulted in men being subjected to violence and forced into using violence to become and stay members. Interestingly, Anderson (2009a; 2010), a black scholar, who, like Cooper (2009), did work with young ‘coloured’ men from a stigmatised community, found men denying gangsterism and violence. Salo (2003), a black scholar, argues that one must take a holistic and historic approach when researching and trying to understand ‘coloured’

masculinities and the possible alternatives that exist, which is often the approach taken by black scholars and not that much by white scholars who write about 'coloured' men.

3.6.4 Towards Alternative masculinities

Van Niekerk (2019) problematised how public and research discourse have positioned poor 'coloured' – and more broadly, black – masculinities as "homogenised, pathologised and conflated with criminality, locating their very identities as risk factors for becoming perpetrators of violence against women" (p. 179). A similar argument was made by Malinga and Ratele (2018) when they found that black men were imagining and embracing other more positive forms of doing masculinity. They argued for the importance of paying attention to the positive masculinities and emotions of black men and "move towards destabilizing the risk - and- deficit studies of the negative construction of young, poor Black men" (Malinga & Ratele, 2018, p.288). Gqola (2007) argued that wealthy and white men also use violence, not only poor black men. However, these narratives of wealthy and white men who use violence are not showed in the literature, media or popular discourse. This argument is echoed by Boonzaier (2018a; 2018) and Boonzaier *et al.* (in press), who argues that the knowledge produced on intimate partner violence and gender-based violence thus far has worked to construct poor black men as 'dangerous and risky', 'the problem' and the only men who use violence. Despite this not being the case, most work on violence focuses on poor black participants from historically designated areas for black people, thus positioning these areas as the only spaces where violence occurs. Boonzaier (2018) suggests that researchers conduct research on violence perpetrated by white and wealthy men too, to create alternative narratives so that the knowledge produced is not skewed and racialised. Overall, the literature on black masculinity has focused predominantly on toxic masculinity and the risk that black men pose (Boonzaier& van Niekerk, 2019; Boonzaier *et al*., in press). However, new masculinities are surfacing, which challenge dominant ways of 'doing gender' (Anderson, 2009a, 2010; Cooper & Foster, 2008; Malinga & Ratele, 2014; Salo, 2007; Walker, 2005). Salo (2007) found that within Manenberg, a historically designated area for 'coloured' people, there were men who rejected gangsterism. Some of her participants, through living disciplined religious lives, displayed their toughness. Anderson (2009a, 2010) found similar results with his participants who were young 'coloured' men from Wentworth in Durban, an area with a bad reputation. He found that, despite the high prevalence of violent gang cultures present in Wentworth, these young men were displaying varied patterns of masculinity which were not violent. These men rejected gangsterism and violence and instead turned to religion as more peaceful ways of 'doing

gender'. Research done in the Western Cape with black men noted how men constructed being able to protect your loved ones, being able to provide for one's family, being a caregiver, taking responsibility, being vulnerable and being respectful, as successful ways to 'do gender' (Cooper & Foster, 2008; Malinga & Ratele, 2014).

Moreover, Malinga and Ratele (2018) found men being open about their emotions and sharing the things that made them happy. These men also showed caring masculinities, where showing respect to women, treating women right and being a caregiver were common in men's talk. Helman *et al.* (2018) who did work with young 'coloured', working-class men on fatherhood in a high-violence community also showed how men who are constructed as absent or bad fathers spoke back and provided alternative narratives. The men showed how they and other fathers in the community were emotionally engaged in their children's lives, how they shared in the childcare, and actively helped with housework and taking responsibility. Alternative masculinities, that challenge dominant notions of all 'real' men being heterosexual, have also started to emerge.

Ratele (2013b) noted how discourses on pro-feminist and gender-equal masculinities, are positioned as "anti-African, equating it with modernity, (white) middle-class aspirations, and widespread lack of (male) economic advancement", which may serve to isolate and 'other' black masculinities (Ratele, 2013b, p. 257). These discourses that conflate pro-feminist masculinities with 'whiteness' and 'other' different forms of masculinities is argued to be the consequence of colonialism, where the colonialists would silence and reject men who deviated or challenged the norm (Ratele, 2013b, p. 262). Men who challenge hegemonic masculinity face homophobia, violence and judgments from society for resisting the dominant ways of 'doing gender' (Mthembu, 2015; Peters, 2016; Ratele, 2008; Reddy, 1998).

Literature that exists on 'coloured' men is relativity scarce and focuses predominantly on how they pose a risk (Boonzaier, 2018; van Niekerk, 2019). Understanding how men talk and 'do their masculinity' and researching how communities and social environments shape their experiences will significantly contribute to the literature on men and the expressions of 'coloured' manhood. This study, therefore, studied the community and men of Bishop Lavis to understand their ideas on how 'coloured' masculinities are understood, performed and upheld in their communities. Moreover, the research aimed to analyse how the socio-economic status of 'coloured' men in society shapes how men talk about themselves and their experiences. The above examples from the research demonstrate that gender, race and class are all interwoven to produce particular lived experiences, therefore making it imperative to emphasize and analyse this link.

3.7 Research Questions

The following research question is the key question of this study:

- How do 'coloured' men narrate and perform their raced and gendered identities, and draw on dominant or alternative discourses in constructing their identities as 'coloured' men from Bishop Lavis?

To sufficiently answer the research question and uphold the aims of this research, the following sub-questions are examined:

- How do differences (and similarities) between young and older men's gendered performances (and other identities) show up in their talk?
- How do 'coloured' men resist and challenge dominant discourses on gender, sexuality, race and class in their narratives?
- How do residents of Bishop Lavis negotiate, construct, resist and perform their social identities, community identities, and Bishop Lavis through their narratives?
- How are versions of race, class, gender, sexuality and location reproduced through interactions between the participants and myself in the context of the interviewer-participant relationship?

3.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter focused on the construction of 'coloured' identities in South Africa, focusing particularly on how these constructions continue to impact on people's lived experiences. The chapter has argued that 'coloured' identities have been under-researched, with many researchers still trying to grapple with the contestations around 'colouredness' and 'coloured' identity (see Adhikari, 2005; Erasmus, 2001; Lewis, 1987; Mthembu, 2015; Salo, 2004, Yarwood, 2011). The chapter first looked at how citizens in South Africa became raced informally and then formally through specific apartheid laws and the role psychology played

and continues to play in maintaining these raced identities. The chapter then moved on to explore the literature on ‘colouredness’, ‘coloured’ identity, and how ‘coloured’ identity is ever-changing and complex in a post-apartheid Cape Town, looking at how ‘coloured’ people have used and continue to use the term strategically.

The chapter then concluded by making a case for the need to understand ‘coloured’ identities, specifically ‘coloured’ masculine identities as they are under-researched and heavily stigmatised. The chapter outlined how men and masculinities are being studied and understood in the Global North and South, and then moved on to what men and masculinities researchers are doing in South Africa, and made the argument for the importance of an intersectional analysis, arguing that race, class and gender cannot be separated when studying people’s lived experiences.

It then went on to look at how ‘coloured’ masculinities have been theorised and made a case for why we should study ‘coloured’ men, moving away from risk-focused research and instead providing alternative narratives.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

For centuries, knowledge production has been linked to European imperialism and colonialism. Smith (1999, p.1) states that "research, is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary … The ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world's colonized peoples". The undoing of toxic methodology practices is a key objective of this study. This chapter functions as more than just a chapter on methods, but rather as a discussion on what more humane methods could potentially look like and how to do more collaborative research, acknowledging that our participants are the experts. This chapter begins with the study's research questions and is followed by a discussion on the theoretical approaches used. This study used critical feminist approaches, namely Antiracist feminist geography, narrative, intersectional and respectability theory. These are the theoretical frameworks that underpin this research. I use these approaches to make sense of how participants construct and give meaning to their residential area, and their experiences as raced and gendered bodies. I then go on to outline and make a case for the methodology employed in this research, critical ethnography, a multi-method approach that allows me to use multi-methods, namely photovoice and narrative interviews to collect data. This is followed by a description of the methodology and process of the research study. I also present a critical discussion of the methods of recruitment, the participants, the various methods of data collection, the different analysis strategies undertaken, and the ethical considerations that went into the research process.

4.1 Theoretical Framework

4.1.1 Antiracist feminist geography. This study utilised Antiracist feminist geography, a theory that is interdisciplinary and engages other theories, mainly intersectionality, critical race theory, and post-structuralist theory (Kobayashi, 2005; Nelson & Seager, 2005). This theory developed in the 1970s as a corrective practice, but also as a rebuke to its other counterparts that failed to acknowledge the effects that geography had on gender production and vice versa (Nelson & Seager, 2005). The theory also helps researchers understand place identity, which proposes that identities form in relation to environments. Researchers, along with environmental psychologists, argue that place identity is a sub-structure of an individual's

identity which consists of knowledge and emotions constructed through daily experiences of physical spaces (Proshansky *et al*., 1983).

Antiracist feminist geography is a suitable framework as this study hoped to understand the effects that living in Bishop Lavis (geography) has on people's lived experiences as gendered beings. Feminist geographers look at how different people experience places differently, with a specific focus on identity formation, including gender, race, class and age (Bondi & Davidson, 2005). It theorises how these multiple intersecting "oppressions are embedded in and produced through, material and symbolic space and place" (Nelson & Seager, 2005, p.7). Within this theory exists two approaches that one can use to examine gender, namely space and place (Bondi & Davidson, 2005). The first approach has its origins in Massey's (1984 as cited in Bondi & Davidson, 2005) work which showcased the interplay between class, social relations and spaces. Approach one thus conceptualizes space, place and gender (and other identities) as interconnected. Approach one acknowledges that identities are fluid, not stable or given, and can be challenging to transform (Bondi & Davidson, 2005, p.16). The second approach has its origins in Rose's (1985) work describing paradoxical spaces. Approach two looks at the relationship between place, space and gender in terms of contradictions, understanding that gendered lives can be tortuous but at the same time filled with hopeful possibilities (Bondi & Davidson, 2005). For the intended study, both approaches to feminist geography were used and were applicable, as this study wanted to understand how 'coloured' people, specifically young men's intersecting identities, were influenced by their residential space. Moreover, approach two was also useful as it helped me to acknowledge and make meaning of the contradictions in my participants' lived experiences of being raced, classed and gendered beings from Bishop Lavis.

Additionally, Antiracist feminist geography was appropriate for this study because this research takes race as a central element: how participants give meaning to their racial identities and how their spaces help in creating both their racial and gendered identities. Kobayashi (2005) speaks of three main aims that Antiracist feminist geography has: race, change and materiality. This approach firstly, aims to be "directly engaged with the world, taking the lives of racialized subjects" (p.34) seriously; secondly, it aims for researchers using this method to not only be critical of their positionality but also to actively work towards social change; and lastly, it aims for researchers to create disruptive narratives which could alter material realities. This study aligned with the aims of Antiracist feminist geography, as it takes the lived experiences of 'coloured' participants seriously, acknowledging their racialised subjectivities. This research aimed to analyse the research encounter between myself and my participants and

how we co-constructed narratives. Lastly, this research aimed to bring about a social change, by disrupting dominant narratives that exist around spaces like Bishop Lavis and ‘coloured’ identities.

4.1.2 Narrative approach. This research also took a narrative theoretical approach to make meaning of the experiences of the participants. In this research, I use the words narratives and stories interchangeably (Bamberg, 2004a); however, I acknowledge that some scholars construct the two as different (Sonn *et al.,* 2013). Research that employs a narrative approach is invested in how participants speak about themselves, how they use language, how they come to view the world and themselves in that world, and what the function of certain narratives are (Crossley, 2000). It pays closer attention to what types of narratives are being narrated about the storyteller instead of the language they are using to tell those stories (Crossley, 2000). The narrative analysis does, however, take language seriously, as it understands that language is used to construct the self in the stories. Narratives are seen as a platform for participants to make sense of their experiences, their pasts, their world, and certain events, but at the same time, it is also a tool employed by storytellers to categorise human behaviours (Crossley, 2003; Mair, 1989).

Narrative theorists argue that we use stories to understand behaviours. Riessman (2008, p. 4) argues that “not everything is narrative”; thus, for something to be considered a narrative, they must have certain features. The narrative must have a sequence or plot of which events occurred and how this account is mostly shaped by one’s positionality. Stories are situated and connected to norms and values of a particular culture, time, history, place and social context (Crossley, 2003). Furthermore, the plot of the story is what brings the beginning and the end together. A narrative from this perspective is structured and is linear in the way that it orders the events (Riessman, 2002, 2008). “Whatever the content, stories demand the consequential linking of events or ideas. Narrative shaping entails imposing a meaningful pattern on what would otherwise be random and disconnected” (Riessman, 2008, p. 5). This is echoed by Squire (2008) who agrees that stories follow a sequence; they convey meaning; within these stories, experiences and events are represented and are often restructured, and changed. However, it is also noted that stories differ, with some being unstructured or following no linear ordering, they may be episodic, as seen in collectivist cultures (Riessman, 2002).

Narrative theorists also note that stories are narrated for a particular purpose. They are thus constantly being produced and reproduced, depending on who the audience is (Riessman, 2008). Narratives have a ‘constructive character’, as narratives are produced through an active

process where the storyteller composes their version of reality (Riessman, 2002). The narrative is also seen as a resource to construct one's identity and personhood, through the stories we choose to tell the audience (Crossley, 2003; McAdams, 1987; Singer, 2004; Peters *et al.*, 2019). Peters *et al.* (2019) observed how their participants used their narratives and the interview space to create dignified masculine identities. Bamberg's (2004a, 2004b) work with 15-year-old boys showed how the young men used their narratives to construct particular favourable masculine identities for themselves. Through the narratives that people choose to tell, they often perform a preferred version of themselves, a version that they find most suitable for their audience. Thus, it is important to note that narratives told about the self can be contradictory, vague and may vary (Bamberg, 2004a; Riessman, 2002). Bamberg (2004a) states that the contradictions and ambiguities that arise in interactions offer us a way to examine how storytellers produce and manage their social identities in contexts. The narrative approach helps one to acknowledge the complexities in identity formation. Narratives are strategical methods employed as they 'do things' at an individual level and also at a political level. Narrative theorists acknowledge that narratives are produced within particular societal contexts, which means that the stories told to us, tell us about both the narrator and their society. As Riessman (2008, p.3) states, "narratives are composed for particular audiences at moments in history, and they draw on taken for granted discourses and values circulating in a particular culture". Hence, narratives can be used as a tool to examine how participants construct and maintain their social identities within various social contexts, as narratives are always rehearsed and performed versions of the narrator's constructed identity (Bamberg, 2004b). The narrative approach was best suited for this research, as the research sought to understand and analyse how participants' narrate and perform their social identities, how their narratives show complexities in their social identities, as well as observe how versions of race, class, gender, sexuality and location are reproduced in the interview space. The narrative approach also allowed me to analyse how narratives are co-constructed in the interview context, which was one of this study's objectives.

4.1.3 Intersectionality. I also drew on intersectionality approaches to deepen my understanding of men's constructions and performances of gender, sexuality and experiences within the interviews and in Bishop Lavis. Intersectionality is an analysis that understands the complexities of lived experiences, as it is argued to be the result of the intersections of different systems of oppression (Collins, 2000; Collins, 2007). These may be systems of race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, disability, age, and other identities, which all combine in unique ways to create a unique lived experience; thus no homogeneous experience can exist

(Collins, 2000). An intersectional approach was suitable to my research, as it not only acknowledges the uniqueness of each experience but also notes how people in similar social categories such as 'coloured' young men also share similar experiences as the result of their location on the social hierarchy. Taking an intersectional approach allows for the understanding of the complexities in people's lived day to day experiences and offers a lens for researchers to challenges binary thinking, which assumes that men are a certain way and women another or blackness is one way and whiteness another (Collins, 2007). In my Master's research (Peters, 2016), taking an intersectional perspective proved effective when researching the lived experiences of black male sex workers. From the analysis, one could see that their 'race' being black resulted in them experiencing more violence and constantly being searched by the police because they supposedly looked criminal. Furthermore, being men granted them a certain privilege and protection against clients, which was not afforded to women. However, their gender was also a disadvantage as it resulted in them being searched more often by police officers and being ridiculed because men are not supposed to be sex workers. Doing an intersectional analysis illustrates that experiences are indeed shaped by one's social positionalities. This is a helpful tool when trying to present holistic narratives on participants' lives, which is the aim of my research. Much mainstream psychological research seeks to see participants in one-dimensional ways rather than as holistic beings. Intersectionality helped me to steer away from one-dimensional narratives that could further perpetuate stereotypes.

Not taking race, class, sexuality, location, gender and other identities seriously in one's research can be a substantial oversight, as it could further marginalize those already most marginalized (Collins, 2000; hooks, 1992). An intersectional approach allowed me to understand and analyse the complex interplay between place, class, gender, race and sexuality and other identities. It helped me to tell more holistic narratives, which allowed for more humane ways of understanding people's lived experiences, which is what this research aimed to do.

4.1.4 Respectability. I also drew on a respectability theory to deepen my understanding of participants' constructions and performances of community, race, gender and sexuality in the interviews and in Bishop Lavis. Respectability is a middle-class social value that has its origins in the eighteenth-century British society, "concerned with the establishment of 'decent and correct' manners and morals as well as the proper attitude towards sex" (Olwig, 1990, p.95). During colonialist takeovers of countries, including SA, white Christian missionaries and priests preached moral superiority and men as head of the household, thus making the home a

cite of respectability (Olwig, 2007). These social norms and values often went against the values of the indigenous communities, therefore, to gain respectability, many would convert to Christianity, as the performance of respectability carried significance in European colonies (Thornberry, 2016). Additionally, to receive social and political rights, many African elites would perform western white norms of respectability (Thornberry, 2016). Within the public discourse, respectability became closely linked to whiteness (Ross, 2009).

Someone is considered respectable after attaining a standard of normality and morality; thus, respectability needs an audience to verify it (Ball, 1970; Duneier, 1992). Respectability was also seen as a class phenomenon, where distinctions were made "between the respectable (steadily employed, church-attending, and non-drinking) and non-respectable poor" (Smelser, 1982, p.61). Recently, scholars have started using a respectability lens to make sense of how participants use their talk to present particular morally upright versions (gendered, raced, sexualised and other identities) of themselves. van Niekerk (2015, 2019) found narratives of respectability surfacing in her work with men who used violence against women. Men would gain respectability by being chivalrous towards and protectors of women (van Niekerk, 2015). Gaining respectability also happened by distancing oneself from your younger foolish selves, since one gained wisdom with age (Anderson, 2009a; Salo, 2007; Mthembu, 2015; van Niekerk, 2019; van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2015a, 2015b). Additionally, the men longed to be respected by their children and wives, but that respect was based on being employed and financially providing for one's family. Thus employment and being a breadwinner was a way to gain respectability (Mthembu, 2015). van Niekerk (2019) and van Niekerk and Boonzaier (2015 a, 2015 b) found that older 'coloured' men from the Cape Flats would gain respectability by silencing narratives around 'coloured' shame.

Respectability was an important lens to use for this research that is concerned with how men and residents of Bishop Lavis narrate their experiences and construct their community. This lens assisted me to critically analyse the discursive strategies of respectability used by participants in their narratives about themselves and their local contexts and families.

4.2 Methodology

4.2.1 Doing Ethnography Research. Ethnography refers to a form of qualitative research methodologies that are characterised by the exploration and understanding of social phenomena instead of testing hypotheses, investigating a small community or the small number of cases thoroughly, and analysing data by interpreting the meanings and behaviour of one's participants (Bhattacharya, 2017; Brooks & King, 2017; Hammersely, 2018)).

Qualitative approaches are argued to help one understand experiences in more detail, help researchers uncover taken for granted assumptions, and generate new and relevant knowledge and questions (Brooks & King, 2017).

Ethnographic research is defined as a multimethod approach. Researchers immerse themselves within their participants' cultures and places of living, working, studying, and so forth, for an in-depth understanding of their views and ways of making meaning of the world and themselves, and their behaviours. It is suggested to be the best method to really understand your participants and the challenges they may be facing in their everyday lives (Hammersley, 2018; Reeves, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008). Some of the methods used may include focus groups, individual interviews, journal writing by the researcher, observations, artefact analysis, and analysis of written documents (Hammersley, 2018; Reeves, Kuper & Hodges, 2008). Furthermore, visual methods are being increasingly used in the field, too, with researchers collecting photographs, video recordings, drawings of maps and web-based methods (Runswick-Cole, 2011). In many instances, ethnographic studies are used to "make the strange familiar"; however, it can also be used to understand the familiar (Runswick-Cole, 2011, p.77). Researchers have used ethnography to study their own communities and their own race groups, such as Salo (2002, 2003, 2004) and Erasmus (2001), who are historically classified 'coloured' researchers studying historically classified 'coloured' people, which is what I have done.

However, ethnographic research has been critiqued by critical scholars for being too concerned with the 'other' or the 'local' (Mosse & Lewis, 2005). Ethnography has a long history of white anthropologists exoticizing "native[21]" people and for imposing a Western gaze and interests onto non-Western societies (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1998; Forster, 2012). In his work, Rosaldo (1989) refers to the typical ethnography field situation as research where the "lone ethnographer" goes out "in search of his native" (p.31) In much ethnographic work, ethnographers are also criticised for being too occupied with explaining the primitiveness and otherness of cultures that are not their own (Forster, 2012; Horner, 2002). Additionally, much ethnographic research claims to be scientifically neutral and produce 'true' accounts, since the researcher observes their participants in their environments from a "privileged location of detached impartiality" (Horner, 2002, p.564). In producing these 'true' accounts of people's way of being and living, the researcher uses "professional"

---

[21] Native is defined as someone who is born in a particular place . The term has been argued to be problematic and researchers often use the term indigenous instead (Bird, 1999). I use the term "native" instead of indigenous as that is the language used by the authors of the texts I am using.

standards and criteria for conducting, evaluating and reporting the research thus ensuring "quality", "objectivity" and neutrality of the researcher (Horner, 2002). Researchers cannot be objective, especially when writing or interacting with other people (Horner, 2002). Thus the ethnographer cannot "penetrate and touch reality", they can only explain and understand the reactions that their presence generates within the community they are researching (Jarvie *et al.,* 1983, p. 218). Other scholars have critiqued ethnographers for being too invested and immersed in their research and losing sight of their role as researchers and remaining objective. This is known as 'going native' and relates to the insider/outsider perspectives in research. It is still a contentious subject within various disciplines, as they argue that "going native" results in one not producing scientifically neutral research (Forster, 2012). These critiques question whether ethnographic research methods can produce objective research. Thus, this research employed critical ethnography, as a means to resolve some of the critiques against ethnography by focusing on power relations in the interview setting and how we understand objective research, arguing that objectivity does not exist and instead as researchers, we need to be reflexive of our positionality.

4.2.2 A Case for Doing Critical Ethnography Research: The methodology for this study used critical ethnography of a single-site community of Bishop Lavis, exploring the dynamics of space for the historically classified 'coloured' people residing there. Critical ethnography is a branch within ethnographic research. Critical ethnography differs from ethnography in that there is a strong focus on social justice and raising consciousness amongst marginalised groups and examining their everyday circumstances, and experiences, with the aim of seeing what it is like and how it could be transformed (Thomas, 1993). Additionally, it offers a critique to the dominant way of doing ethnography by challenging the notion of the "native" as an object and challenging Eurocentric ways of writing about "the other" (Forster, 2012,p.13). Critical ethnographic theorists are interested in the sociocultural knowledge that exist within and about a group. They are also interested in the types of patterns that exist in these groups, which can shed light on social injustices (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004a). Researchers using this approach have noted that the approach allows marginalised voices to be heard in the ways that they want to be heard (Reeves *et al*., 2008). This is because critical ethnography understands that the participants are the experts, not the researchers, and the method has the capacity to raise consciousness around issues of injustice, hegemonies of social life, and inequalities (Korth, 2002). This is a key component to consider when doing research with young men who are marginalised not only by their race but also by their class and age too, as found with the participants in this research.

Critical ethnographic researchers are concerned with the social inequalities that are experienced by a group, and also towards creating positive social change (Carspecken, 1996). It seeks to understand the relationship that exists between cultures and social structures, by examining the power and its contribution to injustices, and by drawing on practical models of meaning to epistemological issues (Carspecken, 1999). Critical ethnography takes seriously the use of language in creating one's own reality and does not prescribe any specific techniques for collecting data; it does, however, emphasise the importance of the researcher's positioning in the research. Furthermore, critical ethnographers understand that they play an active role in producing the data and how that data is interpreted instead of taking a passive role, as is the case with ethnography (Thomas, 1993). With more and more anthropologists doing "anthropology at home", by researching their own communities, these critical anthropologists have argued that the researcher's position in this research is fluid and they are both an insider and outsider (Forster, 2012). Much debate has been happening between anthropologists and researchers working with people around reflexivity. Many critical scholars have called for disciplines such as anthropology to practice reflexivity and unpack power dynamics that exist in the research (Forster, 2012; Rosaldo, 1989). Many academics opposed the idea of "going native" and studying one's community, arguing that you would no longer be objective. However, critical ethnographers argued that doing outsider research is superficial as outsider researchers lack the cultural competencies to fully understand the practices and way of life they are researching (Forster, 2012; Messerschmidt, 1981a). Researchers studying their own communities argued that their insider status would allow them access and the ability to fit in and not change social environments as one would observe if an "outsider" came into the community (Messerschmidt, 1981a). However, traditional ethnographers argued that this insider status makes the researcher biased and unable to understand the patterns in interactions that are taken for granted (Forster, 2012). These debates are ongoing, and Forster (2012) argues that the debate is not as much about who we are studying, be it our communities or other communities, but instead asking ourselves why we are studying them and what does it mean to study these groups.

This research challenges the idea that research can be neutral by using multiple theoretical approaches that take into account the power dynamics that exist between academia, the media and marginalised communities. In this research, I reimagine the objectivity of research encounters by reflecting on my insider/outsider status and how my positionality shaped the research continually in this research.

4.2.3 Reflexivity: Positioned as both insider and outsider. Critical ethnography is interested in how the research is produced within the interview setting, specifically the researcher's role in co-creating the knowledge made (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). It thus becomes critical that the researcher reflects on the power dynamics that exist between the researcher and the participants, as this interaction affects the knowledge produced (Oakley, 1998). The researcher is positioned differently to power in comparison to those they research, often holding more power than their participants (Oakley, 1998). It then becomes crucial, when engaging critically with the knowledge produced, to analyse your position as the researcher, as the researcher plays a distinct role in co-constructing and shaping the data produced (Hiles & Cermák, 2007; Palmary, 2006). My intersectional positionalities, such as my race, gender, class, age and other identities, influenced the types of stories that were shared with me by the participants (Eagle, Hayes, & Sibanda, 2006). For example, the fact that I am not a young man or from Bishop Lavis and a postgraduate student from the University of Cape Town made me an outsider and at times prevented participants from sharing certain stories such as stories of being involved in gangsterism, out of fear that I may judge them and not understand their experiences. After much reassurance that the interview was a safe space and they could share anything they wanted to without fear of being judged, then only did stories around being involved in gangsterism and abandonment surface. In the interviews and focus group, the young men alerted me to the fact that I was not a man and thus could not fully grasp or compare my experiences to theirs, which is further explored in the following chapter. On the other hand, the fact that I identify as 'coloured', that my family reside in Bishop Lavis, and that I speak Afrikaans, resulted in certain stories about marginalisation and performances of 'colouredness' being shared with me because of a perceived shared race, place and language, which is unpacked in chapter five.

However, the insider and outsider positions can, at times, be complex, and one's identity could make you both an insider and outsider. For example, in this research, my race made me an insider, and some participants would refer to me as 'coloured' and use language such as "our 'coloured' communities" or " we 'coloureds", however, some participants did not see me as their kind of 'coloured' but instead constructed me as a " white coloured" and thus stated that I had more "white mannerisms" than "coloured mannerisms" because of my education and perceived middle-class background, thus positioning me as an outsider. Narrative theory states that narratives serve a purpose and are dependent on the audience to which the story is being told, thus my social identities, class and institutional affiliations may have affected the types of narratives that emerge from this research (Riessman, 2008). A critical ethnography

method using narrative and feminist theories also seeks to make transparent how the relationship between the researcher and researched worked and what shaped the data. It was thus important for me to critically reflect on the research process throughout this thesis and how the knowledge was being co-constructed.

Critical ethnography was the most appropriate one for this study, as it allowed me to understand and be reflexive of my positionality. This method also provided a lens for me to take seriously the historical and contemporary injustices that might exist within the community of Bishop Lavis. Finally, a critical ethnography method was utilized as it allowed me to use multiple methods in order to explore more fully the different aspects of life in Bishop Lavis.

4.2.4 Recruiting the participants. This research project worked with various groups in the community and thus used different strategies to recruit those participants. I used a purposive sampling strategy since I was investigating the lived experiences of 'coloured' men and the community of Bishop Lavis (Babbie, 2008). Since I was exploring the lived experiences of particular individuals and not the general population, this sampling strategy was most suitable (Riessman, 2008). The criteria for this research was that participants needed to currently reside or work in Bishop Lavis, be 18 or older, and be historically classified as 'coloured'. I recruited participants in different ways, as I had three subsets of participants. For the first phase and second phase of the project, I used the same recruitment strategy, i.e. approaching community members. Phase one involved me speaking to eight community stakeholders whose ages ranged from 49 years and older who grew up, worked or were currently residing in Bishop Lavis at the time of the study. For the second phase, I spoke with six older men (aged between 40 and 60) who grew up and still resided in Bishop Lavis. I approached my grandmother who had lived in Bishop Lavis for 55 years, and my mother who grew up in the area and went to the police college in Bishop Lavis, to help me recruit my participants. They were familiar with the residents of Bishop Lavis and my grandmother, along with my aunt, walked me to various people to ask if they were willing to be interviewed. Since my family played an active role in the community, people were open to giving me their time and allowed me to interview them after I told them that I was interested in hearing their lived experiences and the history of Bishop Lavis. Six out of the eight of my participants were 65 and older in age. I chose this because one is eligible to go on pension and obtain a government subsidy, so from this age onwards one is regarded as 'old' by the state. Moreover, they have lived longer in the area and would be able to speak of its history. The younger participants, aged 49 and 55, were the NGO director and a school principal, key stakeholders in the community. Since very little is known about Bishop Lavis, it was hoped that by engaging with various stakeholders and community

elders, a more holistic picture could be given of Bishop Lavis from residents who have lived and worked there longer in both apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa.

For the third phase, I recruited eight young men who were 'coloured', lived in Bishop Lavis, and were over the age of 18, to avoid practical implications of obtaining parents' or guardians' permission. I worked with an NGO, *Taking Back our Future*, that works with young people in Bishop Lavis and the surrounding areas. As part of our recruitment strategy, the director of the NGO and myself walked to various sections in Bishop Lavis and approached young men to tell them about the project. In our conversations with them, I told them that the project was about them telling their stories about what it is like to live in the area and what it means to them to be young 'coloured' men. After giving that brief outline, I would ask if there were any questions and whether they wanted to join the study, as illustrated below in *Figure 1.1*. Furthermore, the NGO director also referred me to some potential participants and took me to their homes to ask if they were willing to participate in the study. I had eight participants agree to participate, but only six participants showed up to the focus group and proceeded to participate in the study.

Figure 1.1. Picture illustrating the recruitment of young men, here the NGO director is talking to a group of young men about their futures and encouraging them to take their education seriously after I discussed my research with them.

In moving away from research that sees participants as objects for enquiry, this research used participatory action research methods and narrative interviews for the empowerment of my participants.

4.2.5 Methods of Empowerment.

4.2.5.1 Photovoice. Within the discipline of psychology, especially community psychology, there have been multiple calls for research methodologies to support the empowerment agenda (Rappaport, 2000; Sonn, Quayle & Kasat, 2015). The methods chosen in this research all sought to empower those that were part of this study and challenge traditional and inhuman ways of researching oppressed groups. Research for many years has used methods that further marginalised communities by assuming that the researcher is the expert and treating participants as objects (Smith, 1999). In this research project, I chose methods that would empower instead of further oppress my participants, thus employing photovoice methodology to collect data from the young men that were part of this research. Within the social sciences, specifically qualitative research, image-based data collection has played a minor role, with preference being given to textual data (Prosser, 1998a), with this trend also observable in the discipline of psychology. However, qualitative researchers are now moving towards recognizing the important role that images play in producing knowledge (Rose, 2001). One particular method has been photovoice, which is a participatory action research (PAR) methodology. PAR can be defined as "a process of research, education, and action" (Brydon-Miller, 1997, p. 658). This methodology draws on critical consciousness-raising, Freirean empowerment, and feminist theory to encourage and facilitate active participation (Wang, Morrel-Samuels, Hutchison, Bell & Pestronk, 2004). It opens up a platform for participants to decide what they want to bring to the fore and what issues they wish to raise. Photovoice creates a platform for participants to both document and reflect on their lives using photography. Cameras or video cameras and basic photography training in how to use them are given to participants. The researcher then encourages the participants to use the cameras and training to take pictures exhibiting their experiences or perspectives on a specific issue in their lives. Participants are then required to use the pictures taken to construct a story around a particular theme. These photographs and captions are then exhibited to the general public, including relevant stakeholders, such as representatives from NGOs and policymakers (Wang, 2006). Photovoice methodology promotes critical dialogue and engages people in active discussion around particular issues. It empowers participants, promotes social changes and reaches out to policymakers and community stakeholders

through the photographic exhibitions and displays (Strack, Magill, & McDonagh., 2004; Wang & Burris, 1997), which is a method that goes hand in hand with critical ethnography. Hodgetts, Chamberlain and Groot (2011) argue that photography is not only a methodological tool but that it is also a practice. It allows participants to actively make meaning and construct their identities, community and places they feel they belong in. Additionally, photographs and the exhibition of these photographs, as is done in the Photovoice project, has been suggested to be a form of pedagogy (Loopmans, Cowell & Oosterlynck, 2012). As pedagogy, the photographs of places and people found within in those spaces creates an awareness of the place and also helps in constructing these places (Loopmans *et al.,* 2012). As pedagogy, the exhibition creates a space where dialogues are had between community members and creates alternative archives about community cultures (Johnson & Martı´nez Guzma´n, 2013; Sonn *et al*., 2015). The photovoice method not only sheds light on participants everyday experiences, but the photographs and dialogues created in these spaces become co-produced artefacts which are co-owned by the community members and the researcher. These co-produced artefacts will continue to change depending on the environments they are used in (Johnson & Martı´nez Guzma´n, 2013; Sonn *et al.,* 2015).

Photovoice methodology was particularly appropriate to use with young men who identify as ‘coloured’ from Bishop Lavis, as they often feel powerless and hopeless to reach those in more powerful positions. The methodology provided these young men with a platform to share their narratives with others, to learn from their peers and potentially influence their community in a positive way by bringing attention to their needs and goals. This methodology offered participants the opportunity to be co-researchers, active in bringing about social changes in their communities (Strack *et al*., 2004). Through participation in this project, it was hoped that participants gained technical skills in photography and research. Some participants could potentially have their photographs published in external publications, become co-authors and co-present at conferences.

Furthermore, the young men used the opportunity to deconstruct and resist popular representations of themselves and their communities through the photovoice process, as they were able to represent themselves and their stories in ways that they chose. Thus, it was hoped they would be able to reject negative and stigmatising representations of themselves and represent themselves in alternative ways, which will further be explored in the analysis chapters. Moreover, studies have found that participation in the photovoice process helps one to develop critical consciousness, as participants are given the opportunity to critically engage,

think and reflect on the social problems facing them, and can thus inspire a desire for social action (Carlson, Engebretson & Chamberlain., 2006). For example, in the study, these young 'coloured' men gained a deeper awareness of the complex social issues surrounding transformation in Cape Town and issues facing their community when constructing their stories through talking to other young men, participating in a focus group, constructing their themes, and so forth. It was hoped that this would lead them to develop a critical consciousness around issues of transformation in their community and province, which would lead to a desire for ongoing social action.

Photovoice projects have been used frequently with young people in South Africa and have explored a wide variety of issues affecting the youth. In their study with students in grades eight and nine, Moletsane *et al*. (2007) asked learners to document issues of HIV/AIDS stigmatisation in a school and their communities in rural Kwa-Zula Natal. The learners, through photovoice, identified the possibilities for different intervention strategies against HIV/AIDs and stigmatisation. Similarly, other photovoice projects in South Africa have shown that photovoice is a powerful tool for engaging with young people (Helman *et al*., 2018; Kessi, 2011, 2018; Kessi *et al*., 2019; Wang, 2006), especially on topics of identity (Helman *et al*., 2018; Kessi *et al*., 2019; Langa, 2010;), community (Bray, Gooskens, Kahn, Moses & Seekings, 2010; Kessi *et al*., 2019; Cooper, 2010), racial identity, and issues of belonging in certain spaces (Kessi & Cornell, 2015; Cornell & Kessi, 2017; Kessi *et al*., 2019). Langa (2010) used the photovoice method with adolescent boys in Alexandra Township, Johannesburg, to explore the ways in which they construct their masculinity and identity. Helman *et al.* (2018) showed how young fathers used the photovoice process to challenge dominant narratives by showing that good fathers can come from low-income communities. Kessi and Cornell (2015), and Cornell and Kessi (2017) explored the experiences of black students within a particular space, the University of Cape Town. In work done by Kessi *et al.* (2019) with young people, they showed how the photovoice method challenged the power and dominant narratives, offered a platform for participants to tell alternative narratives, fostered empowerment by encouraging participants to move away from a victim-blaming approach, and promoted social justice. These studies reveal that photovoice can be used successfully with young people in a South African context. It is also a powerful means through which participants can explore their identity, bring forward knowledge about their lives, and define their problems and their gendered and sexual identities in an empowering way. Narrative interviews were another empowering method utilized in this research

4.2.5.2 Narrative Interviews. In narrative interviews, which were used with all my participants, the researcher allows the participants to share their memories of their lives and stories about their community, the past and the present (Sonn et al., 2013). In research conducted for the Apartheid Archive Project, it was noted that the stories told by the participants became a central site in producing counter-narratives and exposing how oppression was normalised during apartheid. These stories, the authors argue, become powerful tools for participatory and critical research as it provides a platform for those previously silenced to share their personal stories (Sonn *et al.,* 2013). Telling our stories is argued to be important for not only naming ones past but also for validating ones experiences of oppression and understanding how it is situated within a broader set of collective experiences (Stevens *et al.,* 2013). The facilitation of storytelling is located within a broader agenda that aims to produce "dialogical, socially responsive and accountable forms of knowledge" (Sonn *et al*., 2013). hooks (1992) argued that stories are a powerful method to challenge power relationships that occur in interviews and allows for the nuanced understanding of phenomena. Narrative interviewing also promotes the empowerment of those being interviewed, as it allows them space to not only be heard but to also tell the stories they want to tell (Sonn *et al.,* 2013). Narrative interviews provide a useful way of exploring the complex and often contradictory ways in which people create their identities (Crossley, 2003). The narrative interview also allows the researcher to become a facilitator of the process (assuming the position of non-expert) instead of becoming the leader (assuming the position of the expert) (Riessman, 2008).

4.3 Participants

4.3.1 The participants. All the participants in this study either previously lived and currently live and work in Bishop Lavis. They are all historically classified 'coloureds' and the older participants are predominantly pensioners except for the medical doctor, the principal, the NGO director and the priest in a Catholic church in the area. From the young men in the group, two were unemployed, and four were students of a high school or a college. Three of the young men were fathers too. The older men in the study were all from working-class backgrounds and were all fathers, with some being grandfathers. In the table below, the participants' pseudonyms, age and gender are given. I also include the length of time they lived in Bishop Lavis.

Table 1

Participant List

Name	Age	Gender	Length lived or worked in Bishop Lavis	Phase they were part of
Lu	65	F	55	Phase 1
Ester	49	F	49	Phase 1
Jack	72	M	60	Phase 1
Harry	68	M	2	Phase 1
Peter	83	M	52	Phase 1
Mary	70	F	55	Phase 1
Roy	67	M	34	Phase 1
Collins	55	M	20	Phase 1
Jerry	53	M	48	Phase 2
Paul	41	M	41	Phase 2
Stanley	54	M	54	Phase 2
Nigel	50	M	50	Phase 2
Dean	40	M	40	Phase 2
Eddie	56	M	56	Phase 2
Mark	19	M	19	Phase 3
Brandon	25	M	25	Phase 3
Liam	20	M	20	Phase 3
Leon	21	M	21	Phase 3
John	21	M	21	Phase 3
Michael	22	M	22	Phase 3

4.4 Organising the Data: Data Sources

4.4.1 Face-to-face interviews. Narrative interviews were utilised to collect data from all the participants for this study. Narrative interviews are well suited to the theoretical frameworks. This is because it provides a useful way of exploring the complex and often contradictory ways in which people create their identities (Crossley, 2003). The primary objectives of narrative interviews are to invite participants to tell stories, which was achieved through open-ended questions. Moreover, as part of doing feminist and participatory action research, it is important for participants to guide the interview process as far as possible, and

tell the stories they want to tell. Since my objective was to provide an empowering platform for participants to share their stories, allowing them to steer the interviews helped create such an empowering environment. The narrative interviewing style allowed me to facilitate the process instead of dictating it (Riessman, 2008).

I aimed for interviews to be largely unstructured, to allow the participants to lead the interview and determine its content and pace. The interview questions broadly asked about their experiences of living in Bishop Lavis, their experiences as raced, classed and gendered beings, what it means to them to be a 'coloured', and how they negotiate gendered identities. The interview questions can be found under Appendix A and B. However, some participants needed direction as the unstructured nature of the interview left them feeling unsure, as illustrated below:

> Simone: So, tell me a bit more about yourself. Anything tell me about yourself
> John: Hi I am John Samsodien, I am a young man who is, yoh I am getting hot, how do I put this into a sentence for you now
> Simone: You can say anything John, you can say anything. If someone asked you who are you?
> John: Could you ask me questions? Ask questions then I will answer it

In the extract above, John, a pseudonym given to the participant, wanted me to ask questions and said that he was feeling hot, and also looked flustered in the interview. Thus, I varied along a continuum from being relatively unstructured to being semi-structured, depending on what the individual participant wanted. I conducted face-to-face interviews with 14 participants in Bishop Lavis, Cape Town. Face-to-face interviews took place at my grandmother's home, as it was a comfortable and safe place for the participants and myself, while others preferred for the interviews to take place at their homes or places of business. When going to their homes or places of business, I had either my grandmother or my aunt accompany me and wait outside until the interview concluded. That was just a safety measure put up since they were familiar with the area. The duration of each interview was roughly 45 minutes to one hour and 30 minutes. I began each interview by asking participants to tell me a little bit about themselves, which led some to talk for long periods of time, while others needed more prompting.

4.4.2 Photovoice project. Another form of data collection was the photovoice project, and thus data was collected using photographs, a focus group and interviews with the six young men who live in Bishop Lavis within different phases, as specified below.

Phase 1 – Focus group. At the very start of this project, a focus group was held with participants on their experiences of living in Bishop Lavis and how they make meaning of their identities. The aim was to encourage participants to start reflecting on their community, their location and their identity, in particular, how it has been shaped and influenced by their location. I opened up the focus group with each participant sharing their favourite place in Bishop Lavis and why. This was followed by questions on their experiences of growing up and living in Bishop Lavis, and what it means to be a 'coloured' man. The questions that were asked in this focus group can be found in appendix C. I called the participants and spoke to them about where they felt most comfortable to have the focus group. All of them agreed to have it at my grandmother's home, which they all were familiar with.

Phase 2 – Storytelling. Participants were invited to have a one-on-one narrative interview with me, to provide them with an opportunity to share narratives that they felt they could not share in the focus group (see appendix D). I also encouraged the participants to write down some of their experiences and reflections. The purpose of these interviews and written narratives was to allow the young men to continue reflecting on their environment and how it could have shaped their identities, thoughts and way of being. These interviews all took place at my grandmother's home as participants felt safe in that space.

Phase 3 – Photovoice Training. The initial idea was to give training to the whole group on a date that was specified. All the participants agreed on a specific day, time and venue, and we also discussed the safety issues around having the cameras. They all agreed that it would not be a problem in terms of safety for them to carry cameras around the area. I then kept in contact with all the participants via phone calls, SMSs and WhatsApp messages, and I sent them daily reminders of all the details pertaining to the date we agreed on with the photographer. On the day of the training, I arrived and set up the training, but when the specified time came, no one was there. After ten minutes had passed, I called everyone to ask where they were; I only received a response from one participant who said he would be there in the next 30 minutes. I spoke with the photographer, and we agreed to change our strategy. Instead of having group training, we decided to go to each of the participants' homes, and if we found them there, we would give them individual training. Only one participant met at the venue we agreed upon and the photographer gave him basic training in the use of cameras, lighting, framing, composition and how to ask for consent before taking pictures of people. We also workshopped through more theoretical issues such as how to use visual representations to tell a story. We

spoke through some of the participant's ideas he had and how best to portray his story. The photographer, my aunt, my sister and myself walked to the various homes of the participants to see if everything was all right since they all had agreed to attend the day before. Along the way, we interacted with the community while walking (as shown by the image below. I took pictures throughout my interaction of the field site). We found all of the five other participants who said they had forgotten or had other things come up. I asked if they were still keen to participate in the project because I did not want them to feel obligated to keep participating. They apologised for missing the training session, said that they still wanted to participate and they were willing to do the training right then. The photographer agreed and gave each one of the participants training, and we spoke about how to tell a story through photography. The participants each discussed their ideas for their stories, and by the end of the session, each participant decided on a story and had a clear plan of action. The participants were then given their cameras and given between one and two weeks to take their pictures.

Figure 1.2. An image showing my sister interacting with some community members, who offered us some beverages, and enquired about the project

Phase 4 – Productions and exhibitions. The participants had between one and two weeks to take their photographs and construct their stories. They were also given time to edit and

review their work. We met and discussed their photographs and narratives, as well as choosing the pictures they wanted to show at the exhibition. I then printed their chosen photographs and stories (in the form of captions) in preparation for the exhibition. An exhibition date and time was discussed closer to the end of the project, as well as a possible venue to host the event. The conversations we had about how the exhibition should look saw many of the participants voice their anxiety around having large crowds of people come and hear them speak. So I asked them to invite the people they wanted to attend the exhibition, which included their families and friends predominantly. The participants did not want to invite other stakeholders to the exhibition, especially not the police, who many feared. None of the men were comfortable enough to speak, so I just showcased their pictures and narratives. The exhibition took place on 22 February 2020 in Bishop Lavis. The exhibition was attended by 30 people, of which four participants attended, their family members, and other young people from the area. At the exhibition, I received verbal feedback from both the participants who partook in the photovoice study as well as the community members who attended. The feedback from the exhibition was included as part of my data.

Additionally, I wanted their narratives to be heard by the police, since policing in the area was a big part of their daily experiences. I decided to visit the police station and told the station commander about the findings of my research in the hopes that it would lead to better-policing strategies for the community of Bishop Lavis. The participants and I planned to host netball and soccer clinics in the community in the month of April 2020. However, the country went into a nationwide lockdown because of the COVID-19 pandemic, so we have postponed the clinics until it is safe to do so.

Figures 1.3 and 1.4 . Images taken from the exhibition

4.4.3 Participant observation. In addition to the methods described above, I also used my observations of the area as part of the data collection. This added another level of complexity to the researcher's role in the context. In my observation of the area, I took visual images which I used as an extension of my data generation process. Graue (1998) states that the role the researcher takes will be informed by their research setting. Also, the researcher's role will be negotiated by the culture of the participants. The role I took was one of a researcher who wanted to learn more about the area, and what everyday life is like for the people of Bishop Lavis. I spoke Afrikaans when interacting with community members as this was the predominant language of the community, and asked their permission to take pictures. I spoke to the young men I found sitting on the street corners about how they navigate the space, and accepted food and drinks from the older people in the area and greeting them all as 'Aunty' or 'Uncle', which is a sign of respect towards older people in many 'coloured' communities in Cape Town. I interacted with various stakeholders and asked to take pictures of them as part of my data collection to illustrate the everyday life of residents. I also took down notes from what I observed in my field journal.

4.4.4 Field Notes and journal. As I carried out my observations, I took fieldwork notes in a journal relating to issues I heard, observed or experienced in Bishop Lavis. I went to the area often, and for three months (from June 2018 to August 2018) I slept over at my grandmother's house in Bishop Lavis for two days a week, so that I could understand the everyday life, challenges and resistance of the people who live there. From September 2018 to March 2020, I periodically visited the area. I kept fieldnotes in which I wrote detailed notes on the issues that affected the young men of the community, what issues affected the community in general, and how they made sense of that. I also recorded the activism that took place in the area. I also kept a research journal throughout the research process, which was consistent with the theory of feminist work that requires researchers to be reflexive. The journal was valuable in that it allowed me to process and reflect on my experiences in Bishop Lavis and how the community perceived and treated me. I also had the opportunity to reflect on the interviews, the focus group and how my identity was challenged or influenced during the research process, and how that affected me emotionally. I also reflected on how the process was for me and what it meant to do work with my own family. An example of my fieldnotes is provided in appendix E, and example of a journal entry is provided in appendix F.

4.4.5 Transect walk. In order to collect all the needed data, I relied on other methods to complement my observations and fieldnotes. Bernard (1994, p.140) states that a participatory transect walk involves "systematically walking through an area, with key informants, observing and asking for explanations of everything" one sees along the way. During my sleepovers, I would walk around the community so that I could familiarise myself with the community and the area. Furthermore, when I recruited participants, I walked around the community with my aunt and grandmother, who were key informants and asked them about different things and issues that took place in the community. I recorded what I was observing about the area and what I was hearing from community members in my field notes. This was important as it helped to expand my understanding of identity and space and place politics in the community of Bishop Lavis.

4.4.6 Transcription. Audio recordings were made of the focus group and face-to-face narrative interviews I conducted with participants. These were transcribed and translated from Afrikaans into English. This was done because of my preference as a first language English speaker, to do the analysis in English -so that is why the full transcripts were translated. Some Afrikaans words that had no English equivalent would stay in their Afrikaans form, and the

closest English word was given. I tried as much as possible to give translations that stayed as close as possible to their Afrikaans counterparts, especially when participants spoke in Afrikaaps. Since the interviewer-participant relationship and the dynamics that were occurring in the interviews was of interest, I paid close attention to the body language of the participants, for example, when they would pause, laugh or repeat themselves and noted this in my journal where I would reflect on the interview encounter (Huysamen, 2016). Moreover, in the transcriptions, all the participants were given pseudonyms to protect their identity.

In summary the data for this research, from all the different methods employed comprised of the following: twenty narrative interviews, one focus group, six written narratives, twenty-eight photo stories (twenty-four from the young men and four from myself), verbal feedback from the exhibition which I diarised in a notebook, field notes from my transact walk in the community and observations as well my journal pertaining my reflections of doing the research.

4.5 Data Analysis:

4.5.1 Thematic narrative analysis (TNA). A thematic narrative analysis was utilized in this study, as described by Riessman (2008), to make sense of the data. With TNA, the researcher looks for shared stories and themes among participants narratives, focusing on the content of the narratives and what is being narrated. TNA, however, doesn't allow for the analysis of the setting in which the narrative was produced in, how language is used to construct the narrative, the structure of the narrative, nor the reason for telling the narrative (Riessman, 2008). However, a thematic analysis is not interested in the explicit and implicit meaning found within the story itself , but instead foregrounds the researcher's reading of the stories they heard (Wiles, Rosenberg & Kearns, 2005). It is, however, a useful tool for understanding data and proving the researcher with opportunity to compare the data and find similarities and differences that exist within the data (Wiles *et al*., 2005). Moreover, a narrative thematic analysis also allowed me to theorise across a number of interviews and see how participants co-construct and give meaning to the events they narrate (Riessman, 2008). In order to find themes in the narratives told, I first transcribed the verbal data and listened to the recordings twice to it, to identify any voice intonations and expressions, which could help me answer some research questions. I then became familiar with the data by reading and rereading the transcripts a couple of times. In reading the data (interviews, focus groups, written narratives and photo stories), the narratives that highlighted experiences of life in Bishop Lavis during

apartheid and post-apartheid. Experiences of being gendered, raced and classed; and what it means to be a 'coloured' man in Bishop Lavis and the factors that influence how men make meaning of their manhood, were extracted. These narratives were then coded with key phrases or words used to encapsulate the essence of the narrative themes, i.e., Narratives of Nostalgia which encapsulates the content that focuses on narratives of the past and how participants remembered life in Bishop Lavis through both their narratives and photo narratives. The data analysis was informed by the research questions and the narratives and extractions, extracted, aimed to answer those questions. Furthermore, the interpretation that came from the data was influenced by my positionality and bias (Riessman, 2008), which I explore at length in chapter five.

4.5.2 Dialogue/performative narrative analysis (PNA). A dialogue / performative narrative analysis was used in conjunction with the thematic narrative analysis because TNA does not account for the social context in which narratives are produced. It also ignores the researcher's influence in co-creating the narrative being told (Riessman, 2008). Since this research used critical ethnography, it was therefore important for me to reflect and comment on how my positionality shaped the data produced. I researched the experiences of young men and the community of Bishop Lavis; and my positionality as both an insider and outsider, resulted in particular narratives surfacing, while other narratives were silenced. I believed that it was important for me to pay attention to those relationships, hence a need for the inclusion of a dialogue / performative narrative analysis in conjunction with the thematic narrative analysis. This analysis proved useful in this study as it allowed for detailed studies on identity construction. It allowed for a careful analysis of how the narrators made meaning of their identity, how they portrayed themselves and others, how they used their talk to be constructed in certain ways and how they involved the interviewer in 'doing' their identities. Moreover, it allowed the researcher to critically engage with the production of knowledge and how narratives are co-constructed (Riessman, 2008). In this research, after the interviews, the focus group, and transact walk in the area, I would make notes in my journal about the interaction. I would focus on what was said to me, why it was said, any comments made about my positionality, how participants interacted with me and with each other and my initial thoughts of the interactions. After doing the narrative thematic analysis and identifying the different narrative theme and extracts, I analysed my journal entries and the extracts to understand the context (i.e. my positionality, my feelings before and after the walks and interviews, their assumptions of me and about themselves) that made those narratives possible.

4.5.3 Positioning. Positioning was also used to make sense of how participants use their talk to position themselves and others in their narratives, which reveal how they view themselves and the world (Bamberg, 2004b). Positioning allows one to explore and understand the performance of identities in interviewees' talk (Riessman, 2008). The concept of positioning dates to Foucault's work on subject positions, which he argues is made available by societal discourses (Foucault, 1969). Foucault (1969) states that discourses position people in terms of power, status and practices that they should perform and how to perform them; thus these discourses determine how they interpret the self, others and the world. Hollway (1984) introduced 'positioning' into psychoanalytic social psychology to understand how people comprehend their gendered subjectivities. She acknowledges how people would position themselves in hegemonic discourses to legitimize their actions; however, she notes that people are also able to choose between positions because there are "several coexisting and potentially contradictory discourses concerning sexuality [which] make available different positions and different powers for men and women" (Hollway, 1984, p. 230). Davies and Harré (1990) brought positioning to interactive exchanges and related them to narratives, where they went on to argue that the "selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced storylines" (p.48). Bamberg (1997a) was the first to propose a way of using positioning to capture how identity production may specifically be carried out in narrative interviews. He outlines three levels of positioning. The first level of positioning is on the story level, which answers how characters are positioned in relation to one another. The second is positioning on the level of interaction, which asks how the speaker positions themselves in relation to the audience. Lastly, there is positioning that asks how narrators position themselves to themselves, in respect to "who am I?" This three-level positioning is also concerned with "how the speaker/narrator positions a sense of self/identity with regards to dominant discourses or master narratives", by which the teller "establishes himself as a particular kind of person" (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008, p. 391). The three-level positioning analysis was employed by this study. Since this study was concerned with identities and how participants position themselves in particular ways.

4.6 Ethical Considerations

4.6.1 Consent and Confidentiality. Each participant that agreed to be part of this research was given an informed consent form at the beginning of the study (see Appendix G and H for the informed consent form). An opportunity was created for any of the participants uncertain

or unclear about anything, to ask questions after I thoroughly briefed them on the research process. Since most people in Bishop Lavis were Afrikaans speakers, the consent form was translated into Afrikaans, and the questions were answered in the language most comfortable to the participants. During the beginning of every interview and the focus group, I notified the participants that if they were uncomfortable with any of the questions, they had the option to not answer it or ask to stop the interview altogether. If at any moment they decided to no longer participate in the study, that it was okay for them to do so. At the beginning of each interview and the focus group, I also reminded them that each interview session was being recorded and that the recording was to be transcribed and kept safe on a password-protected laptop. The raw data was only shared with my supervisors. Participants were made aware that the work would be presented in papers and conferences, and that their identities would remain anonymous. In the focus group, the confidentiality of my participants' narratives was a priority to me, and thus I asked that in creating a safe space, all the participants respect the confidentiality of the other participants and keep what was shared in the group private. However, I stated that confidentiality could, however, not be guaranteed as I was not responsible for other's actions.

4.6.2 Risks and Benefits. The risk to participants in this study was minimal. However, I kept in mind that participants could potentially experience some suffering or anxiety when sharing the difficult experiences they had within their space, filled with high levels of crime. I offered to refer participants to counselling services to any who felt distressed. Moreover, participants met at my grandmother's house, which was a secure location of their choice. They found my grandmother's house to be safe and secure because they have all interacted with her at some point in their lives. My grandmother has lived in Bishop Lavis for over fifty years and is an active community member. From serving soup out her house to those who are hungry, to opening up her home to anyone in need of guidance and making her home a safe haven for young people in the community. My grandmother also knows many people in the community through her extensive outreach, her involvement with the church and living in the community for such an extensive period of time. Grandmothers have a prominent and influential role within both their families and communities. Not only are they increasingly becoming primary caregivers of children, but they also play a critical role in the socialisation and preservation of knowledge (Jonasi, 2007). Moreover, grandmothers are known to be a source of knowledge, wisdom and comfort for many community members. They are also a source of inspiration to many in their families and communities, and so many people seek their advice or company (Jonasi, 2007). Other participants, I met at their homes. This prevented anyone from being

physically harmed. The safety of all my participants was of utmost importance to me. Additionally, I was always accompanied by my grandmother and aunt, who walked with me to meet various community members and to different locations. The potential benefits of the study was creating a platform for participants to share their experiences and giving them the opportunity to voice their stories and present alternative knowledge about themselves. Another benefit was to help in facilitating collaboration between young men and their community members. Lastly, the interviews also gave participants a platform to reflect on their lives and communities and how it came to be. Participants were also given a warm meal when they came for an interview or a focus group. My grandmother catered for me, as she had worked in the catering and food industry for 20 years before retiring. She said that cooking for the participants gave her a sense of purpose again and she was paid for her efforts. Many of the participants said that they valued the effort that was put into serving them and the meals given to them.

Figure 1.5. An image of my grandmother preparing the meal that was served to the participants in the focus group.

In my Master's research, I always felt that as researchers we would just advance in our careers and that we gained so much from the research, i.e. obtaining scholarships, publishing papers and presenting at conferences, but what about our participants? Often they were left as we found them, except for maybe being a bit more conscientized. For my PhD work, I wanted to invest my participants and impart as much of my skills back into my participants. I was part of an NGO called *Open Doors Community* since 2017, an NGO that does a lot of work with Bishop Lavis schools, giving holiday clubs to keep young people out of trouble and

mentorships to young people. I was a mentor to young people, whose responsibility was to encourage young people to pursue higher education, we shared funding opportunities and application forms, and took them outside of Bishop Lavis. Moreover, I offered tutoring services to my participants who were in school and college as far as I could. My sister and I are also in the process of giving netball academies and mentoring to young people in Bishop Lavis, as it was noted that extramural activities were lacking in the community. As this is feminist work, this approach is also about activism, where we as researchers do something too and help build the communities in which we work. Moreover, my sister and I have also shared our skills with NGOs to teach them how to write proposals for funding, and we have helped them to connect with other people who could possibly help them with funding and skills. Since my family resides in this area, I will always be a part of this community, and each time I go and visit, I make a point of speaking to the young people in the community and ask them how I can assist in making their futures better, be it tutoring, bringing them application forms or helping with their Curriculum Vitaes. I think it is important to use my platforms to give back what I am able to give back to the community. I also supported local business people in the community by rendering their services and thus investing in the economy of the community. I think that if any researcher is invested in doing critical research, then they must reflect on their positionality and how they can use their platforms to give back to people who they research. Below is an image illustrating one of the projects I have been a part of, and permission to use the photograph was given by all people in the picture.

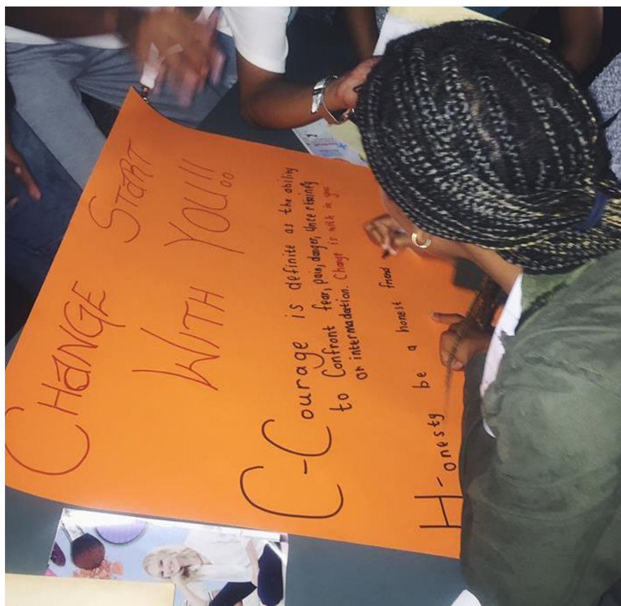


Figure 1.6. The picture above was from a mentorship camp that we gave to grade eleven and grade twelve learners from Bishop Lavis High School. We equipped learners with skills to be better leaders and learners in their school.

4.6.3 Ethical Issues Relating to Secondary Participants

During the training session held with young men, the photographer discussed issues around the ethics of taking photographs. Since the photographs taken by the participants were exhibited publicly, the participants were strongly encouraged to first obtain verbal consent from individuals who featured in their photographs, before taking and displaying those pictures. Furthermore, the faces of those who featured in the photographs will be obscured in any future publications or research reports where the photographs appear if the participants requested that. All the participants who posed for the pictures gave us permission to use the pictures as is. Photographs that included minors faces and any photographs that might endanger or compromise the dignity of others were excluded or their faces blurred out.

4.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has described and critically discussed this study's research design and process. It has provided an introduction to theories such as Antiracist feminist geography, narrative, intersectionality and respectability, which together comprise the theoretical framework that underpins and informs the entire research process. This chapter has demonstrated how the ontological and epistemological standpoints of theses frameworks shaped the study's main aims and research questions. Furthermore, this chapter described the methodology, critical ethnography that was utilised in the study. The current debates in anthropology around ethnography and critical ethnography was discussed as well as making a case for using critical methodologies for this research, a multi-method approach, alongside empowerment methods namely photovoice and narrative interviews. The chapter also provided a description of the research design and process of the research study. It has also presented a critical discussion of the methods of recruitment, the sample, the various methods of data collection, and the narrative analysis taken to analyse the data. In the three subsequent chapters, I present the findings that resulted from this research process.

CHAPTER FIVE

REMEMBERING AND COMPARING THE PAST AND PRESENT: NARRATIVES OF NOSTALGIA, DISPLACEMENT AND AMBIVALENCE

"I see memory as a gift but also as a duty. We ought to cultivate our memories; we should not let them go to ruin."

(Levi, as cited in Coullie, 2014, p.195)

"We live forward while facing backwards"

(Kierkegaard, as cited in Crites, 1986, p.165)

The Sankofa, a mythical Ghanaian bird, flies forward while facing backwards, in order to gather the wisdom of the past. Bradbury (2012) argues that narratives of the past and nostalgia hold possibilities for the future. Thus, it becomes our duty to cultivate our memories and learn from the past. The aim of the study was to examine how participants construct Bishop Lavis and how this space has impacted on a participants' identities and experiences. Tied to this aim were questions of how the past has and continues to shape and influence participants' present lived experiences. In this chapter, I explore how participants construct, remember their pasts, and talk about Bishop Lavis through narratives of nostalgia, displacement and ambivalence. The chapter also looks at how my positionality as raced, classed, gendered, and a person with a postgraduate degree, impacted on the narratives that were told to me, the narratives that were silenced, and the questions I posed to my participants. The chapter then goes on to explore the historical narratives of displacements and nostalgia told by residents about the area, focusing on how their talk constructs the past, the birth of this area, and the present lived experiences in Bishop Lavis. The final section of this chapter focuses on how participants' construct Bishop Lavis through ambivalent narratives, constructing the area as both a 'lekker'[22] community, but also as unsafe and not the same as before. It ends with narratives that construct the area as raced, classed and gendered through pictures and their talk.

In discussing these themes, I argue that one cannot examine an individual lived experience holistically without doing an analysis of the environment in which they live and constantly interact with (Cooper, 2010).

---

[22] *Lekker* is an Afrikaaps word that means nice.

5.1 Negotiating Insider and Outsider positions in Bishop Lavis

Since my positionality influenced the data produced in this research, I decided to start this chapter with a discussion on my positionality as the researcher. Researchers are heavily influential in the research process from start to finish, from the way we speak to how we dress, and how we were raised to our race, gender and class, and other identities. We decide what questions to ask and what information we wish to share with our participants. As the researcher of this study, I became a key component in the way knowledge was produced within this particular project. My research was very personal to me, and a reflection on this work is critical to my methodology. Throughout the interview encounter, I was positioned as both an insider and an outsider, which produced a certain relationship between my participants and me. The way my participants perceived me, determined what narratives they shared and which narratives went unsaid.

An insider position refers to the characteristics such as race, class, gender, age, and other identities that the researcher has in common with the group they are researching or belonging to that group (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009; Mullings, 1999). An insider status is argued to give one access into a community without changing anything, and to use one's knowledge of the group to gain more trust and elicit more intimate knowledge not otherwise granted if one is an outsider (Collins, 2000; Forster, 2012; Messerschmidt, 1981a). Being an insider allows for narratives to emerge that otherwise would be silent (Peters, 2016). However, Asselin (2003) stated that a researcher who is an insider should have their "eyes open" when researching their communities, and go into the research defamiliarizing themselves about the group they are researching in comparison to an outsider position, which refers to researchers who do not belong to the group they are studying (Mullings, 1999). Scholars have argued that being an outsider is more effective because one is more neutral. Additionally, it is argued that since you a stranger to the community, participants will share more information with you (Forster, 2012). Furthermore, this position is arguably more objective, resulting in a supposedly better analysis of the narratives received (Fanow & Cook, 1991; Forster, 2012). However, Rose (1985, p.77) argued that "there is no neutrality" in the research setting, only a greater or lesser awareness of one's own biases. Rose (1985) notes that if one is not mindful of the force of what one is leaving out, then one is not fully in command of what you are doing.

As researchers, we fluctuate between an insider and outsider binary since our positionalities are everchanging with time and space (Forster, 2012; Mullings, 1999). No researcher can be only an insider or only an outsider because we are continually shifting in between these

positions (Mullings, 1999; Peters, 2016). Participants may also position you as an outsider when in fact, you positioned yourself as an insider or vice versa; thus, reflection is needed throughout the research process (Peters, 2016). In this research, participants perceived me as both an insider and an outsider. I found my positions continually shifting throughout the research process. The field site and work were very personal to me, as shown in my introduction given to the young men in our focus group:

> Simone: (…) So, my first question is, you will just go around the circle and introduce yourself and tell me your favourite place in Bishop Lavis. Okay, do you want me to start? Do you want to start? John do you want to start first, or should I go first?
> Collective: Yes
> Simone: Okay, so I am Simone Peters, uhm I am your researcher and I am studying towards a Doctorate. And this is my research, my favourite place in Bishop Lavis is actually the place that you in, my grandmother's house. It's a place where, when we moved out of Kimberley we came to live for a little bit. My granny use to have a tavern here where I learnt to dance and play games and pool. It's where I would sit with my grandfather in this seat and watch movies, it's the place I come for Christmas and sit with my family, and so this is one of my favourite places in Bishop Lavis.

My great-grandparents and grandparents have lived in Bishop Lavis since being forcibly removed from Goodwood Akkers in the 1950s. They made the area their home and were given a council home, where my grandparents raised their four children, my mother being one of them. My aunts and uncle, including my cousins and grandmother, continue to live in Bishop Lavis. I too lived in Bishop Lavis for a while, and later my mom moved my sister and me out of the area, but we frequently went back and continue to go back to visit our family. My familial roots in Bishop Lavis was a big reason why I decided to do my research in the area and tell more holistic narratives of the people who live there. I always call Bishop Lavis my home and saw myself as an insider because I know the dynamics of the area. However, my grandmother and participants informed me that I was an outsider in the community of Bishop Lavis and 'coloured' communities, as illustrated by the quotes below:

> Mary: In Lavistown everyone knows everyone, and they are there to help you when you…say someone attacks you, or someone wants to rob you, then they are all there to help you. They catch the thief and hit him. You see, that is the best part of Bishop Lavis. All the people know one another, you see, everyone knows one another.
> Simone: So if you're not from here, then people will know you're not from here [chuckling].

> Mary: Yes, **they can see you're not from here**. You see how they look at you because they know you're not from here [laughing]

I was constantly reminded, whether it was with words or stares received or questions about whose child I was, that I do not look like a Bishop Lavis resident, because I dressed and spoke differently than the residents who lived there. This resulted in my family always walking with me around the area because my outsider status could draw the wrong kind of attention. Moreover, this resulted in participants relating to me differently by withholding certain narratives which would prompt me to defend my position as an insider to help them trust me and share their narratives more comfortably. My race was another aspect which made me both an insider and outsider. I, along with most of my participants, are historically classified 'coloureds', except for Harry, who was classified as an Indian but identified as a 'coloured'. I identify as a 'coloured', which most of my participants did as well; however, some participants did not identify as 'coloured'. One could say my race made me an outsider as many of my participants told me that I was not a 'coloured' and could be seen more as a *'whitie'*. Many of my participants told me that I was a 'white coloured' or not a 'coloured' at all, because of my use of English and not Afrikaans, and the fact that I study at the University of Cape Town (UCT), a historically white institution. According to one participant, I had forgotten what it meant to be 'coloured':

> Jerry: (…) You actually had to cross that barrier, you had to force yourself to fit in and forget that you're a 'coloured'.
> Simone: I didn't forget I'm a 'coloured'.
> Jerry: You did.
> Simone: I did not forget.
> Jerry: Okay, you had to change a lot of things

Some participants felt that I betrayed and "forgot" my 'coloured' race because I changed and had to "force" myself to fit in or assimilate. Studying at a majority white school and later a white university, UCT, resulted in me frequently being singled out by my white peers for "being too coloured" or having 'coloured' mannerisms, thus to avoid that humiliation I altered my ways of being to fit in. I realised that in fitting in with the white culture, I was now alienated from my 'coloured' identity. In his book, *Black skin, white masks,* Fanon (1967) analyses this phenomenon and looks at the disconnect and alienation that exists in black people when they put on white masks. I thought that my racial identity would make me an insider; however, I found that it made me both an outsider and an insider. Some participants saw me as an insider

because I was 'coloured' to them. This resulted in them sharing narratives of marginalisation, a theme that I will explore in more detail in Chapter Six.

> Simone: Mm, why do you think they not getting the work?
> Lu: [Sighs] because **we, we** are 'coloureds'… Ja, ja they are because **we** getting nowhere, **we** getting nowhere
>
> Harry: **We're** not achieving anything that **we** want to achieve. Now don't look at the middle class 'coloured' because the majority of 'coloureds' are living under the poverty line and **we** are so stuck in that, as I mentioned earlier, about blaming others – the blame game – and **we're** not prepared to lift ourselves up, to take control of **our** lives and move forward. (…) **our 'coloured' communities** are dysfunctional.

In both narratives, the participants kept using the words "we coloureds" and "our coloured communities", referring to me as being one of them. Particular stories were made possible because of the shared racial identity I had with my participants. My race made my participants feel safe to share certain stories with me, assuming I understood what they were talking about because we shared a race or "a community". This was noted by scholars, who found that as an insider one has a greater understanding of the population being researched (Forster, 2012; Kanuha, 2000). Constantly, in my journal, I would reflect on whether I was the right person to conduct the research because I might know too much or be biased or be too close to the project. At times, my insider status made me "too close", but I believe that made me the best candidate for this research because I was able to show the complexity of the residents' lives, a theme that has been silenced in the literature by outsider researchers. My status as an insider with regards to race made particular conversations such as narratives of marginalisation possible. This was seen in research done by Islam (2000), where she noted that sharing an identity and language with her participants, made them more willing to share particular narratives. In my research, I found that language, or the use of English, was a problem that limited the narratives I received:

> Mark: Yoh, I won't say it's good, but every parent's eh, yoh I can't speak so well English
> Simone: Please, like I said before speak Afrikaans
>
> Leon: (…) how can I say? Uhm…how can I say now? [Pause] Uhm… my vocabulary is running out.
> Simone: Too much English now? [Laughing]
> Leon: Too much, I don't know when last I spoke so much English.

All my participants were first-language Afrikaans speakers while I was an English speaker, but I understand Afrikaans. I continually reminded my participants that they were welcome to speak in Afrikaans, the most comfortable language for them. Regardless of this announcement being made, some participants continued to speak in English, which could be seen as a way to access the 'white coloured' identity that they perceived I possessed through my use of English. I believe that this limitation resulted in limited narratives as their "vocabulary" was "running out". Later, I started speaking only in Afrikaans to encourage participants to speak in Afrikaans too, and this allowed for longer and fuller narratives to be shared. I also shared some of my life story to make me relatable to my participants and help to build trust amongst my participants and myself:

> Simone: I also grew up without a father
> Brandon: Yes, but you a woman, and there it comes in
> Liam: Yes, there it comes in, you a woman
> Brandon: You a woman and you grew up with a mom in your life. Mother is there to guide her daughter and father is there to guide his son, so
> Liam: And women are stronger than the men

In the narrative above, taken from a focus group with young men, the participants brought up the fact that I was a woman, which made me different from them and their experiences of growing up without their fathers. Being a woman allowed for stories of vulnerability and trauma to surface because they assumed that as a woman, I was more empathetic than men. However, that same positionality might have also omitted stories from being told because I was a woman and assumed by some participants not to be trustworthy. In their research, it was found that their participants shared very intimate details with them because they were women, although being critical of women (Arendell,1997; McKee & O'Brien, 1983). This Arendell (1997) argues it is because men related to her in a specific way because of their expectations of her as a woman. Moreover, my age also contributed to historical narratives being told by my older participants, where they as older residents wanted to educate me, the young researcher, about apartheid and the history of Bishop Lavis (McQuaid *et al*., 2017). Many older participants thanked me for giving them a platform to tell their stories and listen because they noted how young people are not open to listening to them, which was a common theme found in intergenerational work (McQuaid *et al*., 2017). Furthermore, the exhibition was also a site where intergenerational interactions took place. The young men engaged in talks with the older community members who attended the exhibition. Both young and older attendees of the exhibition, verbally thanked me at the exhibition, for providing a platform for them to have

shared their memories, experiences and ideas on how to improve Bishop Lavis. While reflecting, I constantly interrogated my motives for doing the research and how my positionality could have shaped the narratives that emerged. In line with my methods, it was critical for a reflection on how my positionality was questioned and how my insider and outsider status was constantly negotiated and shifting in participants' narratives. In remembering the past, and reflecting on Bishop Lavis, historical narratives often surfaced.

5.2 Historical narratives on Bishop Lavis: Narratives of displacement, nostalgia and the apartheid state

The literature on this area has been minimal, and when work was done in the area, it focused on the high unemployment and crime rate (Blau &Thomas, 1981; Camphor, 2018; Thomas, 2017). Very little research has been done on how residents came to the area, how they narrated the impact of being displaced and starting life over in Bishop Lavis, and how the area was experienced then compared to now. In thinking about the Bishop Lavis of then, many participants told narratives of nostalgia, where the past is remembered in idealized ways (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2012; Duncan, Stevens & Sonn, 2012). Thinking of the past as the 'good old days' can frequently be found in everyday accounts and meaning-making strategies for older South Africans (Duncan *et al*., 2012). In thinking about the past, we see the complicated relationship between memory and loss, and how unstable nostalgia can be (Sonn, Ivey, Baker, & Meyer, 2017). From one perspective, nostalgia can be seen to be problematic, "an incomplete mourning for an idealized past" (Batcho, 2013, p.168). From another perspective, nostalgia is seen as positive as it fosters social bonds and helps provide memories for meaning-making (Milligan, 2003). Nostalgia thus, both "informs and constrains processes of identity-narrative formation" (Brown & Humphreys, 2002; Sonn *et al*., 2017). Different memories, namely counter, comparative and commemorative memories, were also seen in participants' narratives. Counter memories were seen when participants told counter versions to that of the apartheid government. Comparative memory was seen in narratives of comparing the difficult present with a romanticised past, and commemorative memory was a common feature in narratives where their stories paid tribute and commemorated their former communities while dismissing and repressing the negative memories (Trotter, 2009).

To contextualise the area, I spoke to eight older community elders and leaders aged 50 and older who live or work in Bishop Lavis. Here, I pay attention to how they narrate their experiences and talk about the area. Bishop Lavis was an area that the apartheid regime created

to accommodate 'coloured' people after forcibly removing them from their homes in 1954, this is explained by the residents:

> Lu: I was born in Vasco, and in those years, the apartheid years now they wanted Vasco, and so they told us they want all the 'coloureds' out. So, my dad bought a house in Sydney Vale and that is how we ended up here in Bishop Lavis.
>
> Mary: Okay, I was born in Vasco Cape Town, in 1950. In 1963 with the Group Areas (Act) they said to us…because the people didn't want to sell their places, so they said to us "if you don't sell the place they will repossess it and you will get nothing". It was bad; it was really bad. So, they said there are places here in Bishop Lavis, Bonteheuwel and all those places and we must go there. In Vasco we had electricity, and everything was nice there, so we came to Bishop Lavis, we had no other alternative. You know that time when they say it must be like that then you just do as they say. So, we moved to Bishop Lavis. We came here and there were no lights. So now we must go from light to candles and that wasn't on, that wasn't on because I mean you're used to it and now you must…you see?

In remembering how they came to Bishop Lavis, narratives of displacement were common among the narratives of the participants aged 50 and older. In both of the accounts above, Lu (66) and Mary (70) positioned themselves and their families as victims of an apartheid regime that "told" them to leave their homes or have their homes repossessed. In Mary's narrative, she shows the resilience people had in trying to resist the apartheid state by refusing to leave their homes. Despite their resistance, they were eventually forced to leave their homes. In her historical narrative, Mary's nostalgic escape to the story of Vasco and all the resources she had, is a story that made her remember the 'good old days' before the Group Areas Act destroyed her life as she knew it. In relocating to areas such as Bishop Lavis, many participants found the adjustment difficult and the area to be "very bad" in comparison to their previous homes. We see both comparative and commemorative memories being displayed as residents compared their former homes to their new homes in Bishop Lavis and pay tribute to Vasco Goodwood, remembering it as only a good community (David, 2017; Field, 2012; Trotter, 2009). Mary's and Lu's narratives show that they had "no other alternative", and in their talk, positioned themselves and the other families forced to move as helpless against the apartheid state. Their narratives were similar to other displaced residents in Cape Town, particularly District Six (David, 2017; Field, 2012; Trotter, 2009), where their historical narratives were marked by nostalgia comparative memories. It is argued that narratives of displacement and nostalgia help storytellers make sense of the chaotic events that occurred (Trotter, 2009; Duncan *et al.*, 2012). Participants' narratives reveal how the forced removal left many

participants fearful of their new home, Bishop Lavis, because of its reputation as being dangerous:

> Simone: And how was it like to move to Lavis from there? Do you remember how you felt?
> Roy: Yes, I felt very different, I remember not feeling good about it because Goodwood was safe and here in Bishop Lavis, we heard that there were ten murders happening every weekend here
> Simone: Really?
> Roy: Yes, the Wes was really bad, you would have ten murders every week in Bishop Lavis… They use to call this place to kill me quick, you came from a peaceful place, see Vasco Goodwood, we were like a family, and everyone knew everyone, although there was still fighting under us. The Group Areas Act, yoh that… It got rough in this place, the people came from Elsies and the gang fight started. People would go out to work and in the daytime their houses are busy being robbed, or the gangsters come from Elsies and chase the people out there. A lot of things went on there (…)
>
> Simone: Hmm…hmm…and you said, you've talked about the 'better places'. So in the 1960s was Bishop Lavis not considered a better place?
> Peter: No, no, no it was one the worst places! (…) Bishop Lavis was one of the worst places. They used to call it "Kill Me Quick" area.
> Simone: And why did they call it that?
> Peter: Because there was hardly any electricity and people were robbed and killed in the area. It wasn't a…it was actually quite a bad Cape Flats area. It wasn't a place that you would willingly go and live, you know? People came from Goodwood and so forth.

In the narratives of Roy (66) and Peter (83), their nostalgic narratives reflected both comparative and commemorative memories, where Bishop Lavis was constructed as "one of the worst places" compared to their previously peaceful home, Vasco Goodwood. These narratives, like Roy and Peter's, are common patterns in narratives of displacement, where commemorative memories are used to pay tribute to their old homes by speaking of the old neighbourhoods from which people were evicted as places of community and places of belonging and safety. This is illustrated by Roy when he says that "everyone knew everyone". These narratives also displayed counter memories, where the apartheid government spoke of areas like Vasco Goodwood and District Six as places of overcrowding and interracial friction, these narratives show they were peaceful and community orientated (Trotter, 2009). The new areas that they were forcibly relocated to, in contrast, are narrated as places of crime and lacking community, reflecting the deployment of comparative memories (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000, 2014; Field, 2001; Trotter, 2009; Western, 1981). A lack of resources and trauma from the

forced removals have left deep scars in the people and communities on the Cape Flats, and these have manifested in many ways, crime being one, as seen in the participants' narratives (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000, 2014; MacMaster, 2009, Trotter, 2009).

In people's narrations of the past – Bishop Lavis had a bad reputation. Thus, nostalgic narratives could have been told as a way to remember and come to terms with their past and loss (Coleman, 1986). Moreover, nostalgic narratives function as a tool for residents to counteract the past by showing the illegitimate reasons behind the government destroying communities, to show how better their lives were before their removal, to honour the memories of their former communities, and to help come to terms and make meaning of their loss (Trotter, 2009; Sonn *et al.*, 2013).

As more people moved into Bishop Lavis, the area began to take shape, but for as long as ten years, the area was 'culturally poor', meaning it had no effective schooling, minimal sport and recreational facilities, and very little churches (MacMaster, 2009). This reality is reflected in the extract below:

> Simone: What?! Really? So you were like a dentist, a gynaecologist… [Peter interjects]
> Peter: Every, everything in this area! (…) There was nobody else doing it so I had to do it. (…) But slowly the place developed, you know? Slowly they moved. From here they had a rent office and then they…after that they had built a hall and so forth. And the place slowly developed. And another point was that remember I said the place was run by…uh…I'm sorry to put it this way but it was run by Whites who were unscrupulous… And of course later on they had the police station first of all small and then growing. You had the police, the police college and of course it slowly developed until now. And then we had the day hospital, and then came the maternity section, then the dental section, things like that. So the place has developed a lot in the 50 odd years that I've been here.

Peter (83) was the first medical professional in Bishop Lavis, and states how he had to provide most of the medical services, from dentistry to delivering of babies, in the area. He uses his narrative to give us context to the way the area was when it was first created, a place filled with very minimal resources. Throughout his narrative he emphasises how "slowly" the area developed under the administration of "unscrupulous" whites, using his narrative to vilify the "whites", a narrative that was shared by many other participants as it was part of the master narrative on apartheid, where one narrates the white people as villains. Narratives of white people as villains, was seen in many stories of displacement, with residents recalling all the horrid acts committed by white people (Field, 2012; Duncan *et al.*, 2012; Gobodo-Madikizela,

2012). These narratives were told so that a young researcher living in the 'rainbow nation'[23] never forgets the horrible acts inflicted on black people by white rule. Jack (73), a resident who moved to Bishop Lavis at a young age, shared a similar narrative of Bishop Lavis's slow development:

> Jack: We lived in backyard dwellings, at the back in people's yards. And then we came here and my mother got a room at her cousin's, we rented a room from her until the houses in *Die Wes* - what do they call it extension 12 - were built and then we got a house there. When we moved in we were the first inhabitants there, the place was very chaotic at the time. What I mean by chaotic is that the place was 'raw'.
> Jack: (…) That is the centre, the old Bishop Lavis. I remember the first church that was built here was the Anglican Church. The bus terminus used to be where the Dutch Reformed Church and the United Reformed Church are now, those churches only arrived afterward. And then there was Mr Son's school – the two storey school - and Mrs Barley's school – the wooden plank school (…) Those were the only two schools in Bishop Lavis at that time, there weren't any other schools… I grew up there, I spent my youth there. The only things that existed at the time were the Ghost Town…
> Simone: Why did they call it Ghost Town?
> Jack: Because everything was dark, there were no lights. People didn't have electricity; they used candlelight and oil lamps… people found out the name Ghost Town was actually a nickname, a strong name because it was so dark there. But it was Bishop Lavis, all these parts were called Bishop Lavis…
> Simone: And was there electricity?
> Jack: There wasn't electricity, there wasn't a ceiling, and there weren't doors on the rooms. There were only windows and a front door. There was no sink, no stove (…) There was water but the toilet was outside.

Jack (73) used his narrative not only to provide us with a history of Bishop Lavis, but also to present his history as one of the area's first inhabitants. By presenting the systematic development of the area, and talking about remembering the first church and schools in the area, he positions himself as an authority on the history of this area. He spoke with a very authoritative tone, which I read as a way to show me, an assumed expert because of my role as the researcher, that he had more knowledge than I. This I found was a common thread with my older participants, where they foregrounded their knowledge of Bishop Lavis history and apartheid in the hopes to educate me, a young person in their eyes (McQuaid *et al.*, 2017). In

[23] The *rainbow nation* is a term coined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu to describe post-apartheid South Africa, after the first democratic elections in 1994. The term was used to encapsulate the multiple races, cultures and ethnicities coming together and living in harmony (Gachago & Ngoasheng, 2017).

remembering their past, narratives of trauma was common in their historical accounts of apartheid:

> Harry: You would drive around in Sea Point, walk around and at nine o'clock the police would come up to us and say "Listen here, you have to leave now because you're making a noise". We would go to beaches in Muizenberg, and sitting there a little boy would come to us and say "My daddy said you must get off the beach". And we'd say "Yes, I think it's time for us to move". So those are things that I think built up a lot of…but we also knew our place as well. But the permits were…yes, people can't believe it, my sons can't believe it. And I asked my wife where we put all those permits because I want to find them and I want to put them up in my house so that people can see them. So it took a lot out of me. It didn't dehumanise me in any way or make me feel lesser. I knew I was better than and just as good as the White man, in those years. But it did make me feel like it was a slap in the face. You're a citizen of the country but you still have to do all of these things. But being chased off beaches and things like that, you know, we had those. But we survived.

All the historical narratives shared, showed a shared experience of Bishop Lavis as an area that lacked facilities (no indoor toilets or electricity), a dark area that they nicknamed "Ghost Town", and as an area that developed slowly. Participants also highlighted the hardships and humiliation people of colour faced under the apartheid state and its laws. Researchers working with older people often found that narratives of hardship were told to firstly, make sense of the history, and secondly, to help the listener understand the misery the tellers had endured (Felman & Laub, 1992; Field, 2001c; 2012; Gobodo-Madikizela, 2012). Gobodo-Madikizela (2012) notes that the starting point of healing for many who endured pain under the apartheid regime is to tell their stories. Narratives of suffering, pain and hardship are told "essentially in order to address another, to impress upon the listener, to appeal to a community" (Felman & Laub, 1992, p.204). The participants' narratives illustrate what the apartheid government put them through and illustrate the construction of Bishop Lavis as a dumping ground. At the same time the narratives worked to show how the apartheid state attempted to strip black people of their citizenship rights and dignity. Their narratives reveal how the apartheid government treated 'coloured' people like sub-humans, because they forcefully removed them and literally placed them in darkness to live like animals with no electricity or indoor toilets. Harry's narrative showed how black people were excluded from certain spaces, and in his broader narrative, he explained how he was classified as an Indian, but said he felt more like a 'coloured'. He later married a 'coloured' woman. In order to study at the University of the Western Cape, a 'coloured' university during apartheid, he had to apply for a permit. Additionally, he had to

apply for permits to live in a ‘coloured’ area and later teach in ‘coloured’ schools. These narratives add a different perspective on ‘coloured’ people during apartheid, and illuminate their suffering under the apartheid regime, which is often silenced (Trotter, 2009). The participants used the platform not only to foreground their knowledge, but also to share their multifaceted experiences of being displaced. Their narratives thus show us how they saw Bishop Lavis, what they saw as important historical facts about the area, but more importantly, we come to understand the circumstances Bishop Lavis residents came to live in when they were forcefully removed. We see how in their talk, they chose (in this present moment) to talk about moments of resistance and learning to work within the system at times or fight against the system.

> Lu: Yes, do you know how the people fought here in Bishop Lavis, they did. The roads would be full and we would all be walking and they would tear gas us and everything, yes and they were throwing tear gas and everything, no I remember because jassie[24] they threw the tear (gas) into my mother’s , yes into my mother’s yard and yoh it was terrible. Yes we would come from school and we would all be running together. No I was with them, jirre[25] it was then so nice
> Simone: Was that nice [laughs]
> Lu: Yes, it was then so lekker [laughs]
> Simone: What was lekker about that, that don’t sound lekker Aunt Lu [laughs]
> Lu: No, it was nice then you would just hear the shootings and stuff, yoh it was terrible but I liked it. It was lekker(...) running away (…) Throwing stones and all that, it was nice…

Like many black people on the Cape Flats, the residents of Bishop Lavis fought back against the apartheid government, as shown in Lu’s narrative, but these narratives are heavily silenced in the master narrative on defiance in South Africa. I deliberately asked participants about Bishop Lavis residents’ participation in protests and defiance against the apartheid nation, because those narratives are written out of the dominant struggle history (Adhikari, 2005). Their narratives confirmed that they participated in protests and in the 1976 riots, where many school children marched in protest against the forced imposition of Afrikaans as a first language in schools. In the 1970s, many NGOs were birthed in Bishop Lavis, one being a Black Consciousness Movement called the BPC (Black People Convention). They helped mobilize community members to protest against the unjust policies of the apartheid regime (Matiwane & Walters, 1986). Later, in 1980, the BLAC (Bishop Lavis Action Committee) was created

---

[24] *Jassie* is an Afrikaaps word that means wow or geez
[25] *Jirre* is an Afrikaaps word that means wow or geez

and took on a civic role, where they, along with Bishop Lavis residents, fought and marched to have electricity in their homes and for the area to have street lamps (Matiwane & Walters, 1986). In her narrative, Lu (66), like many other participants, spoke about the consequences of defying the apartheid government. One would be met with teargas and shots or imprisonment if caught. However, despite the consequences, Lu states that it was a terrible time, but she enjoyed the excitement of protest. This section of the narrative was told with pride, to show that she was more than just a victim, and used what she had to resist the apartheid laws by protesting. Moreover, by saying that she found the protests exciting, she is presenting a counter narrative to protests of that time as only ever being traumatic. Coullie (2014) states that it could not be ethically defensible to remember life during apartheid in nostalgic ways, but we see this with Lu's narrative, where she remembers something as traumatic as the protests, where protestors were teargassed, shot, and killed, as an exciting and a 'nice' time. One sees this counter narrative happening in Dlamini (2009) *Native Nostalgia* too, a controversial book, because it remembers the horrors inflicted on black people by the apartheid state. However, at the same time Dlamini (2009) fondly recollects his past in a largely positive light, recollecting the sense of community, joy, social cohesion and warmth.

In narratives told about Bishop Lavis, residents engaged in a complex process of remembering but also of forgetting, just like the narratives of those displaced from District Six (Field, 2001c, 2012). Many displaced participants wanted to forget the traumatic events of being forcibly removed and stripped of their dignity (Field, 2001c; Gobodo-Madikizela, 2012; Geschier, 2007) and at times participants showed discomfort at answering some questions. In the consent forms I reassured participants that they were not obligated to answer any questions that they found uncomfortable or triggering but despite that, many spoke openly about their past. Gobodo-Madikizela (2012) notes that participates openly shared their narratives of trauma, despite the difficulty, as a way to heal and reclaim their sense of dignity. In remembering their former communities, displaced participants' narratives displayed nostalgia (Dunn *et al.*, 2012; Gobodo-Madikizela, 2012), counter memory, comparative memory and commemorative memory (David, 2017; Field, 1990, 2012; Trotter, 2009). In many of the residents' talk, they talked about a Bishop Lavis of the past in comparison to present Bishop Lavis, and presented some ambivalence in their narratives, where the area is constructed as 'lekker' but also as unsafe, raced, classed and gendered.

5.3 Constructing race and place in Bishop Lavis

The findings presented in this section highlight how participants used the research process as a way of claiming a positive self -image and constructing alterative narratives about themselves and their communities. The participants used their narratives to renegotiate power, by positioning themselves in particular ways that reasserted their versions of self and their community. Their narratives can be seen as a way to resist the dominant narratives that are constantly told about the community of Bishop Lavis. However, at the same time, we see an ambivalence in their narratives, where they also construct the area as unsafe. Their narratives show how the area was good but also bad at the same time.

> *It is a cold evening as I arrive at my grandmother's house. Sleeping over will be so weird but I must be here to start recruiting participants. I can't believe how long it has been since I slept over in Bishop Lavis, it's been a while. As I am climbing into bed, preparing to get ready for tomorrow, I am happy to be here, surrounded by my family. My grandmother's house is always filled with laughter and at times shouting. but today there is sharing of family gossip, sharing of memories, sharing of joy.*
> *Just as we get into bed, my uncle ran into the house, he was upset and shouting about the shooting that has taken place at the Flats. He was upset that the police took so long, he was upset that this is what Bishop Lavis has become, he was upset that this is his home, a place that he dearly loves and it has become this. We ended up having a long talk about how Bishop Lavis was and what it has become and how we can start to make it better. We talked about the memories of my grandfather chasing us around the block , the marble games my cousins and I played and how Bishop Lavis continues to remain our home. Being in Bishop Lavis always makes me remember my departed grandfather and all the joy I had growing up in this community.*
>
> *(Extract from my Journal entry on the 19 June 2018).*

In doing this research, I often reflected on the interviews I had with my participants and the interactions I had with my own family members as well community members in Bishop Lavis. This entry was taken from my first sleepover at my grandmother's house as part of my research and that night we spoke about not only our love for the community of Bishop Lavis and all our fond memories in the area, but also how the area has changed over the years and has become unsafe. This section illuminates the tension that is seen in the narratives of my participants, who simultaneously construct Bishop Lavis as "lekker" and unsafe at the same time. Stories of community, belonging and a "lekker" area were common.

5.3.1 Constructions of Community and the 'lekker' Bishop Lavis

In this section, I explore how participants construct and talk about Bishop Lavis through narratives of community and how this space has impacted on participants' identity and experiences. This section presents narratives from all sets of participants (young men and their

photographs, the middle-aged men and the older participants). They constructed the space as 'lekker' and used their narratives to construct the area as home, a place where they belonged. To the outsider, Bishop Lavis is constructed in the media as a dangerous place and one that you should be wary of, but to the people who reside there, Bishop Lavis is their home. This is seen

Figure 2.1. "My Home" –Brandon, 25

in the picture shown above, taken by Brandon, who shows us movement not just from the angle of the picture but also from the children playing soccer in the photo. This picture challenges views of the township as a place where people are inactive, passive or loitering (Kanengoni, 2016; Western Cape Government, 2014). The place has become closely linked to their sense of belonging and identity. An excerpt from Brandon's narrative below illustrates this sense of belonging.

> Brandon: Bishop Lavis, it's a, it's a lekker place and I know people say it's a dangerous place and that people shoot guns here and that you die here but for me the place is alright. But everywhere you go, nowhere are you safe. I grew up in Lavis so for me it's alright, actually, it's the place where I grew up, where I came to know people. Meet people, good people and the wrong people…so what is lekker about this place, is that I feel free here. I feel at home… The flats, I am not going to say… it's actually a lekker place because everyone is lively, all children, everyone plays with everyone, you understand. There's not that still of your child going missing there or so because everyone knows your child, if your child is running in the streets, there will always be one that will go and get them and bring them home, so for me it's an alright place

This narrative was also shared amongst the older participants:

> Jack: The reason I still live here is because I participated in sport here and I know most of the people who were part of sports here. I don't believe I'll move from here. I don't believe I'll move from here because here I can walk wherever I want to and wherever I go I always know people. I can walk to 15th street and I'll know someone there. I can walk to 16th street and I'll know someone there. I can walk to 13th street and I'll know someone there. I can walk to 12th street and I'll know someone there. You understand?

> Mary: I can say the community – I have no problem with them because like I said, we are always happy to see one another [Simone: Mm, I saw this morning] yes, so you see when we see one another we hug one another. All of us hug and kiss one another. We don't see one another every day but when you do get together then we hug and we are happy to see one another. That's the kind of relationship we have with one another in Bishop Lavis. And it's like that with everyone. When you walk to the shop you see how people greet each other "Hi, Simone! How are you?" Like that, everyone is like that. Do you understand?

Participants' experiences relate to their sense of feeling wanted and like they belong in the community of Bishop Lavis. As shown in Jack's (73) and Mary's narratives, they construct Bishop Lavis as a big community where everyone knows everyone. This I also noted in my fieldnotes, while doing transact walks of the community, that everyone seemed to know everyone.

> Today my grandmother and I took a walk to the church to check the availability of the priest to have an interview with me. I write these notes at the end of a long but fruitful day. The community of Bishop Lavis is one unlike the one I have back in Claremont, where I live. We left the house at 9am and already the neighbours were in the streets, laughing and playing card games while children were filling the streets with soccer balls and kites-that seems to be the trend for this week at least. Aunty Sophie greeted my grandmother with a kiss and hug and asked her if I was Ingrid's child because I look just like her. Everyone seems to think that I look like my mother. On our way to the church, my grandmother was stopped by what feels like everyone asking her how she is doing, how my aunts and cousins are (even asking about them by name) and then they always look at me and say –"you are Ingrid's daughter nuh?". I now understand what is meant when my granny says that in Bishop Lavis everyone knows everyone.
>
> *(Extract from my fieldnotes on the 18 August 2018)*

From the transact walks that I took, the community members were always very friendly and always greeting me and my grandmother with hugs and smiles. For many narrators, this place is where they grew up and formed a sense of self, a sense of community, and a sense of right and wrong, as captured in the excerpts from Brandon's and Jack's narratives. They use their narratives to talk back and give alternative narratives on their community to the one-sided

narratives found in the news. The narratives and fieldnotes from the transact walks, showed that a relation between place and identity abounds in Bishop Lavis, making it important to analyse how residents produce Bishop Lavis through their speech. The extracts from individual interviews with participants below demonstrated how the area has impacted on the kind of people the participants have become:

> Simone: (…) tell me about living in Bishop Lavis. How is like to live in Bishop Lavis?
> John: Well for me I would not say I am not regretful that I grew up in Lavis, I got the opportunity to see a lot of things, and that motivated me to work harder, to be better in the future (…) So, for me I am happy that I grew up in this community so that I can do better and show my children what their father went through and what I don't want as a father for them to go through, so if I can give them a better future forward then I will do it (…)
>
> Leon: Okay for me like the environment is *lekker* man. Like if it's a nice time, it's a nice time and everybody gets along. That's what I can say about Bishop Lavis – everybody gets along. And like the people man, they… how can I say… they will stand up for you… A *lekker* place. For me, I grew up here man. I loved my childhood here. I learned how to shoot marbles, learned how to fly a kite, and learned how to make a kite, how to build one up and make friends man and roam the area, yes.

Figure 2.2. Relaxing time with the boys- Leon, 21

In the narratives above, the narrators all position the area of Bishop Lavis as a 'lekker' place while at the same time talking about crime in the area. The picture taken by Leon reflects a brotherhood which challenges stigmatising assumptions of black men in groups being a gang.

The participants use their narratives to speak back to ideas about young ‘coloured’ men’. The participants are telling us that what we might be seeing as outsiders is a ‘gang’ of young men – that typically that is how they are seen in others’ imaginations, but actually they are "just a group young men providing a sense of friendship and community to each other." In other words, not all ‘coloured’ men are gangsters. Older participants also spoke about Bishop Lavis as a nice place where many talented people come from, as illustrated below:

> Simone: Mm, so when people are saying Bishop Lavis is unsafe and not a place where people should live, what is your response to that?
> Lu: No, no, man as I can say, it’s nice to live here. I like it, I love it and it’s the place where you stay in, in Bishop Lavis. Like in the flats, people like to stay there, that’s their homes and they know exactly when the shootings are going to take place and then they in the house. You won’t see anybody outside, and how they know, I don’t know, because that is what we experienced the other day (…) If you look round there are doctors in Bishop Lavis, very high educated people. Teachers in Bishop Lavis, you have like Paxton we got in Bishop Lavis, here is a lot of talent here in Bishop Lavis. There is, there is, quite a lot

In her narrative, Lu, like many older residents, talk about their love for Bishop Lavis and use their narratives to portray another side of the area as they the residents experience it. In my brief to my participants, I told them that I wanted to tell the holistic story of Bishop Lavis and the community who live there. I let them know that I was interested in what they love about the area, and the good aspects of the area. My investment was in hearing positive stories because having grown up in the area, I wanted to show the beauty that existed in Bishop Lavis, because all we are ever bombarded with is the negative side. There is little doubt that my experiences and expectations resulted in these kinds of narratives coming forth.

In her narrative, Lu shows how, despite the hardship residents face, they have created strategies to cope, such as staying indoors when shootings are about to happen. She also boasts about the many influential people, such as Idols SA[26] winner, Paxton, coming from the area (African News Network, 2017). This narrative was common in participants’ talk as a counter narrative to the multiple claims that townships are only home to the criminals, social ills, violence, and poor people (Boonzaier, 2018). In Lu’s excerpt and broader narrative, one sees this ambivalence where she speaks of Bishop Lavis as "nice", saying "I love it" here, but later speaks of the shooting that they experienced and the general levels of crime. One sees these mixed emotive identifications of both love and fear of the area co-existing in participants’ talk.

[26] Idols is a very popular singing competition.

In their narratives, the young men and older residents help Bishop Lavis gain respectability by discussing the good characteristics of the area, showing the area as more than just crime-filled, but instead as a place of community and families. Narratives of community is what makes it possible for members of Bishop Lavis to distinguish it from other areas on the Cape Flats, even though those communities could be constructed as similar in terms of race and socio-economic characteristics (Jensen, 2004). Participants use their narratives to create a sense of community, a community where people look out for each other and learn from each other. These are common narratives found in communities where, because of their race and class, members feel marginalised in South Africa and thus use these narratives to feel that they belong somewhere and to form a sense of identity. Community members from other areas on the Cape Flats shared ambivalent narratives about their community too, where they shared the dangerous nature of the area but at the same time also argued that their areas where 'lekker' and more than what the media constructs (Cooper, 2010; Jensen, 1999; Jensen, 2004; Salo, 2003). Keskinen (2018) found how her participants actively resisted the negative stereotypes that existed in their suburbs and found ways to build their lives and neighbourhoods in more respectable ways and perform agency in their societal contexts. This too could be argued for the participants, where they use their narratives to resist negative stereotypes about their communities.

In reflecting on the large amount of positive narratives I received in this research, I had to ask myself if my agenda of pushing or wanting to hear positive stories resulted in such narratives being told and reflect on the possible biases I might have brought into this research. And if this was the case, of me pushing an agenda, then could it be possible that these stories were only told to me because it was what they thought I wanted to hear. This has always been a critique of traditional ethnographers, who argue that when we study our own communities we often tend to be biased and unable to understand mundane interactions (Forster, 2012). However, other researchers studying 'coloured' communities also found community members sharing predominantly positive narratives about their community (Cooper, 2010; Jensen, 1999; Jensen, 2004; Salo, 2003), which indicate that they weren't only telling me what I wanted to hear but that these are similar stories shared in similar kinds of communities. Furthermore, while it was my agenda to hear positive stories, my participants had their own agendas in sharing not only positive stories about Bishop Lavis but also about telling me about the crime in the area and how they feel very unsafe. In writing up this research, I reflected on whether to include these stories of Bishop Lavis as crime filled because it was already a known narrative. However, not including these narratives that speak to my participants everyday injustices

would have been unethical (Huysamen, Barnett, Fraser, 2020). In their research Huysamen *et al.* (2020) argue for the production of nuanced representations of townships that not only showcase the assets of the community but also how they continue to experience inequalities in their everyday lives.

5.3.2 The Construction of the 'unsafe' Bishop Lavis: "Bishop Lavis isn't the same anymore"

Throughout the research process, it became apparent that participants wanted to share narratives of how crime in the area has impacted on their everyday lives and how, as residents of Bishop Lavis, they constantly have to negotiate the terrain to stay safe and stay out of trouble.

Figure 2.3 . "People in Bishop Lavis do not feel safe anymore" - Liam, 20

> Liam: Gangsterism has taken its curve and has grown tremendously at a large scale in the area and in the country. Children and adults fear even being outside nor do parents send their children alone to school due to the shootings, kidnapping, robbers etc. It's sad to say that **Bishop Lavis isn't the same anymore**

> Eddie: It was good. Bishop Lavis was a place where you could walk or play in the streets until late night especially when it was school holiday, you could play until nine o'clock or ten o'clock and no one would bother you. But **today you can't do it anymore**. You must be scared to go out of your gate because you don't know where the bullets come from now. For me to grow up in Bishop Lavis was a blessing because my friends which I had and playing soccer, okay after soccer we'd maybe go to the shebeen and drink a few beers. After that no one touches no one, no one worries with no one because everyone goes home. And that's how I grew up in Bishop Lavis because in Bishop Lavis **there was no crime like this, like it is now**. That time gangsters if they have a gang fight, tomorrow they're all together again. There were no guns; they chased you with axes, knives, bricks. But

> tomorrow the gang fight is over and then they *suip*[27] again, you see? That's how I grew up in Bishop Lavis

Interestingly, both the young and older participants shared these narratives of "Bishop Lavis is not the same anymore" and as unsafe. Residents shared nostalgic narratives unlike in the section on historical narratives where Vasco Goodwood was remembered nostalgically. We now see the Bishop Lavis they once knew, remembered in romanticised ways. The Bishop Lavis of the past is remembered as a peaceful place, with less crime than the present. Interestingly, participants spoke about the area's reputation as being dangerous and nicknamed "Kill Me Quick" when compared to Vasco Goodwood, but now we see that Bishop Lavis of the past is also constructed as 'nice', and had "no crime like this" (Eddie) when compared to present times. Theses narratives can be seen as a longing for the past as well as a cry for help from residents as many experience frustration at the lack of help from the government to deal with issues of safety and security. It is possible that residents saw me as a person with influence because I was studying towards a doctorate from UCT, a prestigious institution. This might have prompted these narratives of Bishop Lavis as crime filled and "not the same anymore", to surface, with the hope that I could help in their plight for a safer area and also try to understand their frustrations. This narrative was also shared by all the participants about the level of crime and gangsterism in the area.

> Leon: Just the, the atmosphere man that makes you feel unsafe and the impact is like…many children there don't even want to walk outside now, they're on alert and you never know when you walk man. Like, like now the other day they shot in the next road from me and they never shoot there…
> Simone: …What impact does it have on you? That sort of… [Leon interjects]
> Leon: …on me?
> Simone: Hmm
> Leon: Like it brings me down a little man. Like, you never know when to walk, when your life is in danger. Like you have to look over your shoulder every time and it's not safe man. You never know when your life will end or even what time or when to walk. Like it's not as safe as it used to be.

Liam, Jack and Leon all emphasized their lack of freedom and security in the area. Many participants told comparative narratives, of a difficult present compared to an idealised past. In these, they compared Bishop Lavis of in the present to Bishop Lavis of the past. Participants recollections juxtapose streets filled with playing children, in comparison to currently empty streets (reflected in the image above taken by Liam). Their lives have been negatively impacted

---

[27] *Suip* is a Afrikaaps word that means to drink

by the violence in the area, where they cannot even walk without feeling like their lives are in danger, which has impacted their schooling, mental health and physical health. This was similar to the narratives found in Cooper (2010) in Lavender Hill, where participants spoke about how the environment they lived in impacted on their daily lives, such as having their schooling and playtime interrupted by gang wars in their area. The attention given to crime in the discourse, news, young men's talk, residents' talk, community forums and family homes show the extent to which it has impacted on people's lives and psyches. Violence and crime are critical issues for the residents of Bishop Lavis, and importantly are tied to questions of freedom. Moreover, older residents acknowledged the vulnerability of young men in the area:

> Lu: Ja man, because of the gangsters, yoh the boys are so vulnerable. They will promise them, it happened to a lady here in this road, they will offer your child expensive takkies, money and all that just to get them in and become part of the gang, that is what happens. So, if you don't stand behind your child things like that will happen, so you must be alert. You must know where your child is, with who your child is and where they are, you must be alert

In her narrative, Lu exposes the risk that young men face on a daily basis, as they become targets for the gang bosses. Lu emphasises the need for parents to stay alert and support their sons. These narratives of providing solutions could be told as a way to not only make sense of the situation but also to cope by providing possible ways for the problem to become solved. If young men are not trying to stay safe, they are trying not to be drawn into gangsterism:

> Michael: Well, they [gangsters] give you drugs and take you into, for example to do stuff like being a gangster. They see how you struggle, they give you money and then well, you one of them. So, it's quite an easy process… it's basically part of the struggle but for their own advantage, you see. They are seeing that you are asking people for money, now they see okay, okay, you are a good target and they give you a R100, go buy bread for your mother and come back to the corner and come and sell me drugs. And so, if you sell me drugs, I will give you money and provide for your family. And for somebody who doesn't work, especially the people here. And especially the guys here, they have no other option.

Participants spoke about how poverty was rife in the community and jobs were scarce. Many boys thus become targets for gang bosses who lure them into gangsterism with the promise of money and a family. Gangs became popular in communities on the Cape Flats because they served to provide resources and a family to young men who were seeking to belong and wanting

to provide for their families (Pinnock, 1984, 1995, 1997). However, in their narratives, the young men also pointed to the possibility of resisting gangsterism. The photo narratives depict how the participants use strategies such as starting businesses or engaging in sports as a method to resist gangsterism. This is illustrated in the images below.

Figures 2.4 and 2.5. “Gangsterism is not for me, I have bigger dreams” - John 21

Figure 2.6. “Soccer has helped keep me out of trouble”- Mark, 19

> John: Nothing is impossible, just do better. Like I am now, I am starting my business now and well the plan goes on. I am selling chemicals now and all that biltong things and I see that it brings in a good income and if I have a job then I

> can also uplift others and help them with a business too. Then I will tell them it's just so and so, and drop it by them and just get my share and he does his department and so I will uplift people you see…what I discovered is when you work for something, you appreciate it more than when you just got it. So that was a good example for me seeing as I also started from scratch, while I also had nothing. I would always go ask my brother for his music system and lekker chilled and listened to music but after a while I motivated myself to be more self-independent and make my own choices. And you can strive for more in life, so there are better things than gangsterism

The young men in this study positioned themselves as having larger goals and dreams for their lives. They constructed gangsterism as "not worth it", or the "easy way out" and something for unsuccessful people with no dreams. In their narratives, they tended to stigmatise young men who are involved in gangsterism, so while they resisted the dominant discourse around 'coloured' masculinities, they were also not challenging it. In their construction of gangsterism, they challenged the stereotypes that all young men from historically disadvantaged 'coloured' areas enter gangsterism as a common rite of passage into manhood (Cooper, 2009). In the same way as in the previous theme, these young men speak back to popular constructions of 'coloured' masculinities. Young men's narratives about playing sport, starting a business, staying out of trouble, and generally distancing themselves from anything criminal, allowed these young men to gain respectability in the narrative interaction. From their narratives shared, it is apparent that crime in the area affects their lived experiences, however, they have attempted to create strategies to avoid danger but also to create more positive forms of identification for themselves as men constructed as 'coloured'. Moreover, we see an alternative form of masculinity emerging, the vulnerable masculinity, where young men display vulnerability and feeling unsafe, emotions that men are encouraged to repress (Brannon, 1976; Luyt, 2002; Mahalik *et al*., 2003). These residents' narratives show the complexity that exists in Bishop Lavis, seen in the ambivalence in their narratives, where the area is constructed as both 'lekker' and unsafe. The participants also constructed the area as classed, raced and gendered in their talk and photographs.

5.3.3 Bishop Lavis: a classed, raced and gendered community

In this section, I unpack how participants' photographs and narratives constructed Bishop Lavis as raced, gendered, and classed.

> Simone: And do you know why it was built, why did they build Bishop Lavis?

> Jack: Bishop Lavis – those are surnames. The Bishops sponsored the money (…)
> Simone: So did they build it for Coloured people or was it built for anybody?
> Jack: For Coloured people…for Coloured people

In Jack's (73) historical narrative, he narrates how the area was built to house 'coloured' people. By 1950, forced removals were implemented across the country, where racially defined areas for the city's population were created. Scholars have argued that the Group Areas Act was a strategic move to maintain white dominance by controlling and limiting the movements of the black population (Bundy, 1988; Freund, 1984; Mabin, 1992). This narrative, told to a young researcher by an older person to impart knowledge is significant, as it shows us how the area was classified as 'coloured' in the 1950s and continues to be such, as illustrated by John (21) below:

> Simone: So what makes someone a 'coloured'?
> John: [laughs], so it's actually the inner person that grew up in this community of Bishop Lavis, so my language, like people say your language, your actions and what you do
> Simone: But what actions make one a 'coloured' because peoples actions are different
> John: It's actually a whole lot of things, people would think if you pull out your front teeth then you a 'coloured', if you speak gangster language then you a 'coloured', if you speak fluent Afrikaans then you a 'coloured'. So, people actually have a lot to say about what it means and takes to be a 'coloured' so
> Simone: Okay, so for you what makes someone a 'coloured' in your eyes?
> John: For me, it's how someone grows up and all the things they go through towards life and all the things that go with that, they give it a meaning. It's like I grew up in Bishop Lavis, it's not a white area and it's not an African area, it's in-between, so I fall in there

Figure 2.7. “My home” -Brandon, 25

In John’s narrative, he constructs his identity as a ‘coloured’ in relation to the community of Bishop Lavis. In John’s environmental autobiography (Gieseking *et al*., 2014), we see how the space of Bishop Lavis has shaped the participants into the raced beings they are. In his narrative, he constructs what it means to be a ‘coloured’, but shows the complexity in this identity, a theme that will be further expanded in chapter six. Additionally, in their narratives, the participants of this study showed that Bishop Lavis is a ‘raced’ community, which is evident by the lack of white and African people in the area. In the participants’ narratives, they say that Bishop Lavis is a ‘coloured’ area and that no African or white people are living in the area, which shows us the racialized nature of the area (Cooper, 2010). This serves as evidence that racial segregation, although apartheid no longer exists, are still prevalent in Cape Town. In conversations with the young men about their pictures such as Brandon’s picture, they stated that there were only people who were raced as ‘coloured’ in their pictures. This was because this was the only race found in the area, which was evident in my many transect walks of the area.

> I have been in and out of Bishop Lavis now for over a year, and I have only seen ‘coloured’ bodies in this area. I asked some community members if any white or African people live in Bishop Lavis and each time the response I got was “no, this is a ‘coloured’ area”. It is interesting to see how the apartheid spatial project still persists today in post-apartheid South Africa, where areas like Bishop Lavis still houses only ‘coloured’ people and areas like Nyanga and Khayelitsha only house African people.
>
> ((*Extract from my fieldnotes on the 5th September 2019)*

The young men spoke to the fact that they have not seen any white or African people in the area. This was my observation of the area as well, that only 'coloured' people resided here and the only time that I saw African and white bodies was when I went to the police station earlier this year. Some police officers and administration staff were African and white. However, none of them lived in Bishop Lavis but only worked there. The young men, however, stated that different skin shades of 'colouredness' existed, which resulted in people in the area gaining various nicknames in relation to their skin colour, as illustrated below in an extract taken from the focus group with the young men:

> Michael: To be a coloured is about the colour of your skin, so Boere [28] is not a 'coloured'
> Brandon: What am I?
> Michael: White
> Brandon: Where? Do you know what is white? I am canary brother, I'm yellow
> Simone: Yellow
> Brandon: Black and yellow, black and yellow
> Michael: So, say you living in Lavis and you just a bit blacker than us, they won't say you a 'coloured' they will call you a nagji [29]

In their co-constructed talk, the participants used their talk to construct race through nicknames, a common practice among all residents in the area. This I came to find out on one my transact walks through the community. My nickname in the community was Lange (translated into tall one) and when I asked some community members why they called me that, they said it was because I was tall. I wanted to learn more about these nicknames so I enquired about it and found out that nicknames were given to signify one's most memorable feature. In my case it was my length, other nicknames included Eier (translated into egg given to anyone with an egg shaped head) or Tone (translated into toes given to someone with big toes). At times one was given a nickname based on your skin colour like Boere is a nickname given to any 'coloured' person who is very fair and when one hears the name, you know the person looks white. This nickname was given to Brandon, who is very fair with blue eyes. He debates with his fellow participants on race and complexion by arguing that he is not white but is yellow. Their talk shows how 'colouredness' is highly contested among 'coloureds', a theme that will be expanded in chapter six. The nickname *nagji* or *k*ffir*[30] is given to any 'coloured'

---

[28] *Boere* was a term used for the police and also to refer to white people.
[29] *Nagji* is a term used to refer to African foreign nationals who are dark in complexion
[30] *K*ffir* is an offensive and derogatory term that was used to denote African black people. The use of the word today against any African black can land one in jail for hate speech (Baderoon, 2012). I have written the word as such to problematise this derogatory term and not reproduce it.

who is dark in complexion. The terms are not seen as derogatory, as explained to me by various community members and people who were given this nickname, because the word is being applied to 'coloured' people and not to African people. I was referred to by a participant to someone who was nicknamed K*ffir, and upon hearing the word I was shocked that they would nickname someone that, but the residents who referred me to him said he was given that name because of his dark complexion. Such narratives were made possible because I identify as 'coloured'. There has and continues to be much anti-black racism in 'coloured' communities, where African people are spoken of as lazy, incompetent and so forth (Stevens, 1998). However, since such talk is frowned upon in South Africa, 'coloured' people are aware of this and only speak of Africans in such ways and use terms like *k*ffir* amongst other 'coloured' people. Hence, if I was raced differently, these narratives might have been silenced because of the derogatory nature of the term (Baderoon, 2012). These narratives reveal how race and racial terms have been reconstructed to hold potentially different meanings in Bishop Lavis and racial classifications reserved for certain racial groups are fluid in this area. The pictures and narratives shared by the young men also constructed the area as 'gendered':

> Simone: Okay, so when you guys date, do your women have to be a certain way? Must she be able to cook, she has to be a certain way or she can be whatever?
> Leon: It depends on how she is
> John: No, she must do her duties
> Simone: What is the women's duties?
> John: She must keep the house clean, she must be prepared to, to help me when we together in a situation like a relationship, with the kids. And be self-independent and carry out the plans we made in producing the kids. She must care for the kids
> Simone: Producing the kids, I like that
> Leon: She must put in a lot of effort
> Simone: And she must help you
> John: Yes, she must help me, my girl
> Simone: Okay and you?
> John: She must do her part and I will do my part

Figure 2.8.“My mother has always been my role model, defying all odds and can always be found in the kitchen”-Michael, 22

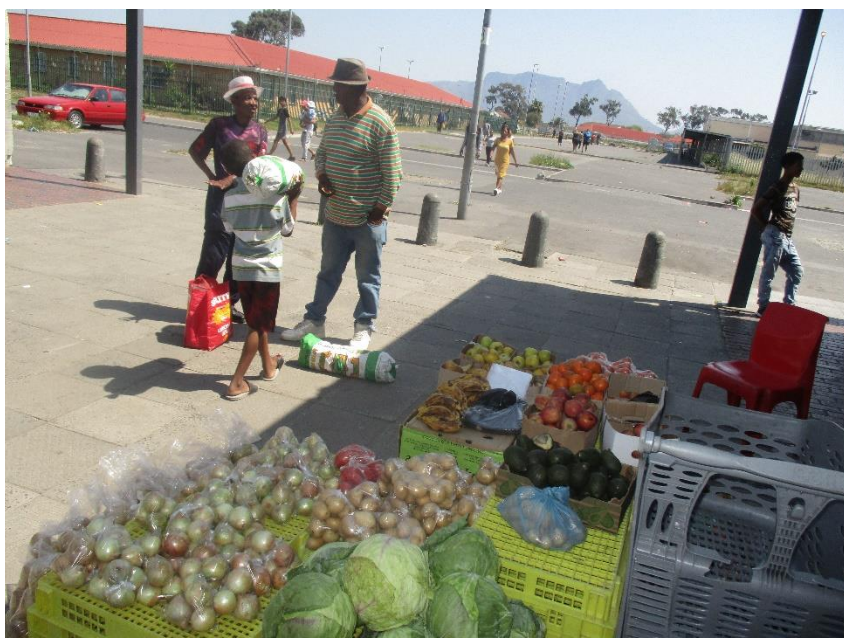


Figure 2.9 .“Where there’s a will, there is a way” -John, 21

The pictures taken by the participants reflect gendered constructions through their eyes. In the pictures, one finds the women are always photographed in the kitchen or hanging the washing, and the men are either photographed playing soccer or with their informal businesses, which again reinforces the gender roles ideology of women in the kitchen and men working outside the home. These gender norms found in the broader society can also be found in the men’s talk where they construct a ‘good’ woman as someone who knows her duties – cleaning a house, producing children and caring for them, whereas a ‘real’ man must provide and protect for his family, a theme that will be expanded on in chapter seven. These narratives are in line

with research on constructions of being 'real men' (Boonzaier, 2005; Cooper & Foster, 2008; Elliott, 2003; Hunter, 2004; Malinga & Ratele, 2014). The participants also constructed the area as 'classed', as shown by Michael:

> Michael: Well, I am Michael Timothy Parker, I live in Bishop Lavis. I am 22 years old, I have seen what struggle can do in this place. It takes you beyond places that you can't imagine. Like the people in this place, the gangsterism, drugs, its bringing people down, but people still strive to be wonderful people if they come out of this place, because this place is a hole…
> Simone: What do you mean, this is a hole?
> Michael: It just keeps you back, because you know… they want to take the people down who want to achieve something in life

In the participants' narratives, they talk of the poverty in the area, and the struggles that residents have to endure. Michael constructs the area as a "hole" that holds one back from achieving anything. This narrative could have been told because it is part of the grand narrative on the area, which they could have internalised and reproduced in their narratives. Moreover, it could also be that it is simply a hole in their construction of it. Despite the hardships and structural violence, which refers to the multiple ways that social, economic and political systems expose particular populations to risks and vulnerabilities (Thomas, 2017), there is a level of endurance that makes continual survival possible, as shown by the narratives below:

> Principal: Remember, our communities on the Cape Flats, especially in Bishop Lavis, I mean 70 % people are unemployed, 70% people depend on SASSA[31]

> Mary: Yes and that's actually what you get at the spaza shops – R1 sugar, R1 coffee. You understand? Yes, there's a R1 movement here and R10 electricity.
> Simone: Why do you think it's like that?
> Mary: It's the lack of money and many people, the majority are unemployed. Those who are old and get SASSA money, get SASSA money. Those who get pension money, get pension money. But the other people, the younger generation maybe those who married young, there you get maybe a husband who isn't working or a wife who isn't working and they struggle. So by Wednesday or Thursday when their money runs out then they have to buy R1 coffee and R1 sugar. You see?

[31] SASSA stands for South African Social Security Agency. It is a social grant given to 17 million beneficiaries, which include South African pensioners over 65 (who get R1860 -1880 pm), disabled residents (get R1860 pm), and unemployed parents with young children (get R430 per child, pm).

Figure 2.10. “Jobs are scarce in Bishop Lavis but we make a plan” - Leon, 21

Currently, the area houses many unemployed and working-class families, with poverty still being high in the area (Blau & Thomas, 1981; Camphor, 2018; Thomas, 2017). This is also amplified in the pictures as one sees many informal jobs, lack of resources, overcrowded flats, and poor housing. In narratives shared by the participants, they spoke of the high unemployment rate in the area and the dependency the residents have on SASSA, a governmental grant. The community continues to suffer from generational under-resourcing, an inheritance of ‘poverty’ from both the colonial and apartheid systems and their needs continue to be weighed down by systems not of their own making. These community narratives showcase the manifestations of structural violence, which is the “ production, maintenance , and reproduction of social inequalities and oppressions” (Dutta, Sonn & Lykes, 2016, p.2). And cultural violence, defined as “systematic assaults on human dignity” (Dutta et al., 2016,p.1). Cultural violence operates and is maintained through language, culture and knowledge production about certain communities. This violence is used to legitimize the oppression and inequality of certain groups of people. Their narratives reveal the trauma and struggles they had to endure and continue to endure because of colonial and apartheid spatial policies (Quayle, Sonn & van den Eynde, 2016; Quayle & Sonn, 2019). Despite the high poverty rate, a common narrative that could have been told as a strategy to gain help from a UCT researcher who could be assumed to have influence to create change, the residents have found methods to survive, showing us that multiple narratives exist in this area. Alternatively, these narratives also show that people veer between these different and sometimes

contradictory ways of talking about their neighbourhoods by drawing on these different narratives about their communities. Mary talks of how shop owners try to accommodate residents by selling one rand sugars or ten rand electricity so that families can be fed, this narrative again helps the area gain respectability, by constructing Bishop Lavis as a community where people stand together and help each other because they understand the hardships endured. This research was a deliberate intervention to present new narratives about Bishop Lavis into the dominant literature on communities constructed in similar ways (Quayle et al., 2016). The narratives from community members challenge the dominant narratives that exist on 'coloured' communities as only places of 'risk' or 'crime infested' areas by producing counter narratives.

5.4 Chapter Summary

In this research, I wanted to understand how the past has and continues to shape and influence participants' present lived experiences. In this chapter, I explored how participants constructed their pasts and talked about Bishop Lavis through narratives of nostalgia, displacement and ambivalence. The aim of the study was to examine how participants construct Bishop Lavis and how this space has impacted on participants' identities and experiences. The chapter started with a reflection of my positionality as a raced, classed, aged and gendered. My postgraduate degree impacted on the narratives that were told to me, the narratives that were silenced, and the questions I posed to my participants. The chapter then explored the history, experiences of displacement, and nostalgia told by the residents about the area, focusing on how they spoke about their past, how they spoke about Bishop Lavis, and how they spoke about their present lived experiences in Bishop Lavis now. Older residents spoke about being forcibly removed from their homes and dumped into Bishop Lavis, an area exclusively created for 'coloured' people. The chapter then looked at how residents experienced that move and the new area, Bishop Lavis, that they were forced into. The chapter also looked at how participants constructed Bishop Lavis as a 'lekker' community, and how they constructed this area as a community where people look out for one another. On the other hand, participants also raised concerns about the high levels of violence, poverty and gang activity that started when the area was created and then given the nickname, "Kill Me Quick" to the present day, where crime has rapidly increased. This is followed by narratives and pictures of the area as unsafe and not the "same anymore". The chapter ended with narratives that construct the area as raced, classed and gendered through pictures and their talk.

I argued that one cannot analyse an individual's lived experience holistically without doing an analysis of the environment in which they live and constantly interact with (Cooper, 2010). Individuals' identities and their lived experiences are formed in relation to the spaces where they are found (Proshansky *et al*., 1983). This we saw in the participants' narratives, where their identity was formed in relation to the area they live in. Bishop Lavis was thus co-produced through the intersection of race, class, gender, sexuality and so forth, and thus it is argued that "places are produced as raced, sexualised, classed, nationalised, ethicised and gendered through mechanisms of oppression" (Gieseking *et al*., 2014, p.1). Participants, through their talk, identified with where they live and, in turn, were shaped by Bishop Lavis and continue to shape the place too. Their racial identities also played an important influence on their lived experiences and how they constructed and experienced their manhood.

CHAPTER SIX:
CONSTRUCTING 'COLOURED' IDENTITIES: NARRATIVES OF SHAME, RESPECTABILTY AND MARGINALISATION

This chapter examines how residents of Bishop Lavis talk about being 'coloured' through narratives of shame, respectability and marginalisation. It analyses the narratives that emerged from the individual interviews and the focus group discussion. The chapter is divided into three sections that focus on how residents construct being 'coloured' in post-apartheid South Africa. The chapter starts with a section on negotiating 'colouredness', where it will show how 'coloured' identity is highly contested and a fragmented racial identity. The chapter hopes to interrogate further how participants make meaning of their racial identity and constantly go through a process of renegotiation as those who have been labelled as 'coloured' attempt to realign themselves socially, economically, and politically. In this section, I show how participants use the interview process to construct a particular way of 'doing 'colouredness'. The second section focuses on narratives of marginalisation, where the everyday context in which people articulate 'colouredness' is presented, and how they make meaning of their marginalisation. The "in the middle" (Adhikari, 2005) status of 'coloured' people was a common theme in the narratives and how participants constantly perceived themselves as being left behind and not cared about. The final section looks at how the men in this research not only reproduce stigmatisation through their narratives on 'colouredness', but also challenge certain stereotypes that exist around 'coloured' communities. I attempt to show how men constantly deal with feelings of internalised shame and humiliation from being a 'coloured' in Cape Town by the actions of others towards them. The men at the same time also use their talk to distance themselves from 'bad coloureds' and produce respectable narratives about them.

6.1 Negotiating 'colouredness'

This section looks at how participants construct 'colouredness' and the complexity that accompanies this socially constructed racialised identity. It starts with a look at how participants construct 'coloured' people's origins, and how narratives of impurity are located within a colonial history and attached to feelings of shame. It is then followed by an intersectional look at 'colouredness', paying attention to how class, location, and age facilitate particular performances of 'colouredness'.

6.1.1 Colonial history, racialised shame and stereotypes, and 'colouredness'

When countries such as South Africa were colonised, an important objective of the colonial discourse was to create the 'civilised' coloniser and 'barbaric' colonised subject (Bhabha, 1994; Hall, 1997; Hook, 2005; Newton, 1997), "a form of discourse crucial to binding of a range of differences and discriminations that informs the discursive and political practices of racial and cultural hierarchization" (Bhabha, 1994, p.67). In the new colonial state, the racial stereotype was born, which functioned "to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis on racial origin, in order to justify conquest" (Bhabha, 1994, p.70). Stereotypes reduce 'the other' down to traits which are then exaggerated and simplified, assumed to be fixed and without change (Bhabha, 1994; Hall, 1997; Newton, 1997).

Racial identities, as a result of apartheid, became more solidified over the years, which led to racial stereotyping becoming entrenched in public discourse and popular culture (Adhikari, 2005, 2006; Isaacs-Martin, 2014; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012). 'Coloured' people continue to be vulnerable to negative stereotyping within a popular mindset, increasingly influenced by racist assumptions, which has led to much shame being attached to this identity and internalised by 'coloured' people (Adhikari, 2005, 2006; February, 2014; Isaacs-Martin, 2014; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012; Nilsson, 2016; van Niekerk, 2019). The identity of 'colouredness' has been closely linked to shame and it has been suggested that these might be the consequences of being constructed as people with mixed heritage, being impure, and 'lacking a culture' of their own (Adhikari, 2005; Erasmus, 2001; Mthembu, 2015; van Niekerk, 2019; Wicomb, 1998).

In this research, I conceptualise shame as an emotion that is relational, that influences identity formation, and can be represented individually or collectively (Gottze´n, 2016, 2017; van Niekerk, 2019). Furthermore, I argue that shame is a negative self- evaluation that is socio-historical, political, contextual and discursive (Zembylas, 2019). Shefer and Munt (2019) note that shame is personal, political and bound up in social inequality. They argue that "shame is closely entangled with gender subjectification and gender normative gender binarism's, which are raced, classed and enmeshed with other intersectionalities" (p.146). Shame and narratives of shame have always been seen as negative and destructive, an emotion that should be silenced and avoided (Costandius & Alexander, 2019). However, multiple scholars are arguing that shame can be used positively as a tool to bring about transformation and social justice (e.g. Costandius & Alexander, 2019; Probyn, 2004; Shefer, 2012; Shefer & Munt, 2019; Zembylas, 2008; 2014; 2019; Zembylas & McGlynn, 2012). Probyn (2004, p. 329) further goes on to argue that "shame is immensely productive politically and conceptually in advancing the

project of everyday ethics". Probyn (2004) further notes how "everyday stories of shame" allow us to "develop a wider notion of the everyday-of what is personal and what is social" (p.336).

In van Niekerk's (2019) work on the intersections between gender, race and shame in working class 'coloured' men's narratives , she, like myself sees the participants' bodies as "sites of shame" (p.181), and I examine how they internalise and attempt to dissociate from and challenge racial shame and stereotypes.

This master narrative formed on 'coloured' people is that they are impure, because they were born out of sexual relationships between colonialists, slaves and indigenous Khoisan natives, was also a narrative that was internalised and reproduced by the participants:

> John: A coloured, a coloured is like mix race. It's a white man and black man mixed with other races but they say is during apartheid, the white man met black women and they bred among each other and out of that came us, I can't say about the nation before them and I don't know if they lying but during my lifetime what I come to hear is that they said that I am a coloured, I fall under black and white, **in the middle** [laughs] (…)You know people like making their assumptions telling us about how Jan van Riebeek stayed with black people and made us and all these kinds of stories.

This narrative is echoed by Stanley:

> Stanley: If we go into the history, like those people, like Jan Van Riebeek them. What did they do, some of them were also mixed, Hottentots mixed with Jan van Riebeek's people when they gave them guns and they gave them food. But they didn't know how to use guns, you understand and they would give those Boere food. And **while they were busy, they would sleep with the women and there's where the 'coloureds' came in**

Figure 3.1. Black and white - Mark, 19

In both narratives, ‘coloured’ people are positioned as ‘mixed’, people who were made from the sexual interactions between Jan van Riebeeck and indigenous women. This is visually represented in Mark’s picture, which he presented in black and white. In the picture, he explained, is a group of his friends who all identify as ‘coloureds’. He produced the picture black and white to show that ‘coloured’ people are a mix between the two races. Participants use their narratives to legitimise the problematic racial hybridity narrative. Hardiman and Jackson (1997, p.21) argue that stereotyped groups often end up colluding with their own oppression as they “think, feel, and act in ways that demonstrate the devaluation of their group and of themselves as members of that group”. Racial hybridity and illegitimacy has always been a humiliating and shameful feature of ‘coloured’ identity (Adhikari, 2006; February, 2014; Erasmus, 2001; Isaacs-Martin, 2014; Mthembu, 2015; van Niekerk, 2019; Wicomb, 1998). Through hybridity, attributes of racial inferiority, dishonesty, being prone to alcohol and drug abuse, and illegitimacy are assigned to ‘coloured’ people as a group (Adhikari, 2006; February, 2014). The idea of racial hybridity is still such an intrinsic concept of ‘colouredness’, and from the narratives above, one can see that this idea of ‘impurity’ has been internalised and reproduced as a fact by some of the participants in this research (Steinberg, 2004). In their narratives, one sees how stigma and internalised oppression is interconnected and manifests itself in shame (the negative self-evaluation of ‘colouredness’ as ‘impure’).

Adhikari (2006) argues that these essentialist interpretations of ‘coloured’ identity strips ‘coloured’ people of their agency, as people who actively construct and have the power to influence their own identity. Narratives of hybridity have been popular amongst prominent ‘coloured’ figures who accepted that Jan van Riebeeck was the father of ‘coloured’ people or that ‘coloured’ people “arose as a result of the glandular carelessness of Van Riebeeck and his men” (Adhikari, 2006). However, ‘coloured’ people as the offspring of interracial relationships, was a contested narrative:

> Liam: Okay, let me make a small example, in our country, let’s say this child’s mother is an African, and the father is a ‘coloured’ then they will say he is a mix breed [laughs].The same will be said if your father is African and your mother is ‘coloured’, they will say this is a mixed breed, because of the d*rkie[32], so [laughs].
> Simone: So, is a ‘coloured’ not a mixed breed? Are they two different things?

[32] *D*rkie* is a derogatory term given to African people, I wrote it as such to problematise this term and not reproduce it

Liam: [Laughs] Like we say, like I will say **they not pure breeds** because both of their parents are not, so
Simone: So, you a pure coloured when both your parents are coloured?
Liam: Yes

Children of mixed-raced marriages often do not classify themselves as 'coloured' (Hendricks, 2005). Moreover, the participants in my study also made a distinction between 'mixed breeds', which are 'coloured' people who have parents from different racial categories, versus 'pure breed' 'coloureds' whose parents are both 'coloureds'. Racial discourses in South Africa have always imagined 'colouredness' to have "no defined space-they neither belonged to the white population nor to the black population" (Isaacs-Martin, 2014, p.56). These discourses have led to ethnonationalist narratives surfacing amongst 'coloured' people, who attempt to show that 'coloured' people have their own culture, and own language, and should be governed by 'coloured' leaders. Liam attempts to construct the 'pure coloured', which could be read as an ethnonationalist narrative, in positioning himself as pure, challenging the racial hybridity narrative. However, this narrative also reinforces racist and cultural essentialism, which comes dangerously close to eugenic discourses (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999). Mellet (2016) thus suggests a move away from the racial category of 'coloured' and instead asks us to call ourselves Camissa[33] people, shifting our thinking away from the insufficiency, impure, or inferior narratives and instead focusing on the beauty in multiplicities that 'coloured' people encompass.

Participants used their talk to speak back to narratives that position 'coloured' people as a homogeneous group and used their talk to construct their 'colouredness' as they imagine and experience it:

Brandon: A 'coloured' you know by their mannerism, how he is
Simone: What manners does a 'coloured' have
Brandon: And he also talks, it's in like good, bad, very bad
Leon: But you get **different types 'coloureds' man**
Brandon: And kak[34] bad
Simone: Okay so tell me about the different types of 'coloured'
Brandon: You know mos, its good nuh
Simone: So, what is a good 'coloured'
Liam: **Good 'coloured'** is like
Brandon: **Like white man 'coloured'** (…) A 'coloured' you know by their mannerism, how he is (…)

[33] The term *Camissa* is a modern creolised version of 'sweet water people', which is a reference to both the river and the people that settled alongside as a trading community (Mellet, 2016)
[34] *Kak* is a slang word that can roughly be translated into extremely or shit.

> Michael: And **coloured people have experienced stuff in life. They will grow up without a mother or father from the start and go into gangs maybe or so and then you come out again and then you experience some things on the street, now that is a typical coloured for you**
> Collective: Yes
> Liam: You will go through a lot of things; you made it through a lot of stuff in life, now

The identity of 'colouredness' has been closely linked to shame, as shown by various researchers (Adhikari, 2005; Erasmus, 2001; Mthembu, 2015; van Niekerk, 2019; Wicomb, 1998). When asked what it means to be a 'coloured', various answers were given, from it being dependent on one's skin colour, to one's language, mannerisms and way of being. One can still see how shame is attached to 'coloured' identity where participants stated there are good 'coloureds' and it ends with "kak bad" 'coloureds' (Brandon). In their broader narratives, good 'coloured' people are like white people because they have ambitions, education and speak English, in comparison to "kak bad" 'coloureds' who speak Afrikaans, have bad manners, are gangsters or went into gangsterism, grew up without their parents, and so forth. This spectrum of 'colouredness', as seen in the participants' talk, show how 'coloured' identity fluctuates and is still accompanied by shame, which many participants may have internalised. These co-constructedness of a spectrum of 'colouredness' shows aspects of internalized white racism, which is an acceptance by oppressed groups of the negative societal beliefs and stereotypes about themselves and a belief that white is right (Sonn & Fisher, 1997; Williams-Morris, 2000, p.255). The dominant culture (whiteness) becomes seen as normal and superior while subordinate groups are seen as other, inferior, or less than, which is seen in the extract (Fanon, 1967; Hardiman & Jackson, 1997; Speight, 2007). These young men have internalised the dominant group's ideas about them, which has manifested as shame (a negative self-evaluation), showcased when they started reproducing those ideas as a way to define themselves, which is seen when they define a "typical 'coloured'" as a gangster, or growing up without a mother or father (Bulhan, 1985; Sonn & Fisher, 1997). Petrus and Isaacs-Martin (2012) argue that internalised racism among 'coloured' people is highly complex and should not only be understood as a consequence of apartheid or as directed towards African people, but also as internally directed. Shefer and Munt (2019) notes that narratives of shame allow critical scholars to unpack the "workings of oppression" and opens up a space for us to understand the "collective responsibility for maintaining inequality" (p.150). Such discourses of vilifying blackness and glorifying whiteness were a common feature of the colonial discourse, and from the narratives on 'colouredness', such narratives continue to manifest in

post-colonial times, thus maintaining inequality (Hall, 1997). Participants narratives around 'colouredness' and the shameful (negative self-evaluation) narratives reproduced shows one how shame extends not only to the individual but is based on the collective, normative and partial evaluation of the community of Bishop Lavis and 'colouredness'.

In their co-constructedness of 'colouredness', the participants also attempt to show that they belong to the 'coloured' group because of shared experiences and shared mannerisms (Sonn & Fisher, 1997).

This section showed how the colonial and apartheid history of SA continues to manifest and help shape 'colouredness' and the shame and stereotypes that accompany the racial identity. It showed how participants used the interview process to construct a particular way of 'doing colouredness'. It showed how participants' talk constructed a scale of 'colouredness' from "strictly coloured", who were "bad", to the white or "good" 'coloureds' and the absence of 'black 'coloureds'.

6.1.2 Intersectional lens of 'colouredness'

'Coloured' identity is one that is constantly shifting and being renegotiated (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012). The identity has been and continues to be influenced and shaped by class, education, age and location, to name a few. A large consequence of the apartheid government has been the highly stratified hierarchy in 'coloured' communities (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012). Middle and upper-class 'coloureds' defined their 'colouredness' in different ways to working-class 'coloureds' and would often look down on those of a lower class (Erasmus, 2001; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012). Giliomee (1996), and Sonn and Fisher (1997) showed how well-educated 'coloureds' constructed their 'colouredness' differently, with many choosing to reject a 'coloured' identity, as it was seen as an imposed identity. Yarwood (2001) found age to play a key role in the construction of 'colouredness', with younger generations proudly calling themselves 'coloureds', while older people spoke about the pain that racial identity brought them. In constructing their 'colouredness', there is a interplay between reproducing shameful discourses and trying to gain respectability, by using one's talk to be socially acceptable (van Niekerk, 2019). This section attempts to examine the multiple influences that shape 'colouredness' in Bishop Lavis.

> Liam: Look here, a small example, Sydney Vale is mos part of Bishop Lavis. So, we live on this side and that people live on that side, now they more in their houses

> than we are. So we have to walk there, then you can see they mommy's baby's and if they, yes if they come here we will call them a mommy's baby but we walk there and they here like vice versa than **they will say we strictly coloured**, from our slang and how we are. Their parents raised them on the right way you know, our parents also raised us well, but they took note[paid attention] and we didn't take note **they are not like us**, **they made right choices in their lives.**
> Brandon: They made right choices
> Liam: They are obedient and we disobedient
> Brandon: But now when it comes to the outside life, we will know. We know how to be street smart, we know, we know how to survive.
> Liam: So we will have more of an advantage over them

In his individual interview, Liam expanded on class and 'colouredness':

> Liam: (…) so some people will say **our people** only speak Afrikaans, so if you talking English we will say there a mommy's baby or so [laughs] but he can also be a coloured but we will call him a mamas baby (…) It means someone who is a spoilt brat, who gets everything they want and also people who speak English…
> Simone: Okay, were there many spoilt brats at your school?
> Liam: No, it depends because our schools are different. So, **us** and John Ramsey, you see, and Belhar you will pair and Parow or so and Settlers, **they** spoilt brats. Parow has many mixed breeds and mommy baby's mos who just speak English

The above extracts show how participants co-construct a "they", the middle-class English speaking 'coloureds' and a "we", the working-class Afrikaans speaking 'coloureds' (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012). Their talk shows that they have internalised the 'coloured' hierarchal structure and position middle-class 'coloureds' as better as they are "obedient" (Liam) and "made right choices" (Brandon). Vincent Kolbe (2007) mentioned how 'coloureds' made distinctions between themselves and other 'coloureds' based on these markers of class and location, cementing these labels with labels like 'better coloureds' and 'even-better-coloureds'. Sydney Vale is a section in Bishop Lavis that is known to house the more financially well-off 'coloured' people. Residents in this section are constructed as different to the "strictly coloured" people (Liam) living in the other parts of Bishop Lavis. This grouping and creation of 'us' and 'them' is also seen in Liam's talk, when he groups his school Bishop Lavis High, John Ramsey and Belhar, all government schools serving the working-class community, while pairing Parow and Settlers together, former Model-C schools who have mainly middle to upper-class 'coloureds' attending school there. This 'us' and 'them' shows the interplay between reproducing shameful discourses on working-class 'coloureds' but at the same time trying to gain respectability by positioning the 'us' as "street smart" and "survivors" who

overcame many obstacles and thus have "advantage" over the "mommy's baby". Petrus and Isaacs-Martin (2012) note the complexities within 'coloured' communities and with the concept of 'coloured' racism, where in the group itself, there is a distancing and looking down on other 'coloureds', which is seen in these 'us' and 'them' narratives. Location and class impacts the type of 'coloured' one is classified as. The level of education, home language and age of a 'coloured' person also influenced how the participants identified themselves and how they defined their 'colouredness', often rejecting the imposed label and choosing more liberating identities (Giliomee, 1996; Isaacs-Martin, 2014; Sonn & Fisher, 1997; Yarwood, 2011). 'Coloured' identity is as much a collective identity as it is a deeply individualistic journey.

> Simone: Okay so just two more questions, firstly what makes one a 'coloured'?
> Dean: Somebody said something once that **there are no 'coloureds', uhm he said either you black or you white**, so I thought what am I then and one day I woke up and said I am an African, because a 'coloured' , is not, is not actually for me. So I am a African and South African, a 'coloured' is not a person
> Simone: So you don't identify as 'coloured'
> Dean: No
> Simone: So what do you tick in the box?
> Dean: African… But they tick 'coloured' for me when they see how I look. So for me 'coloured' does not exist, its either black or white

This was also seen in Jerry's narrative:

> Jerry: I got married to a 'coloured', yes. My children were brought up as 'coloureds', unfortunately for them…**but I not a 'coloured'** [Simone interjects]
> Simone: So what do you identify as?
> Jerry: But I am… I am Malay.

Both narratives show how individuals come to define and make sense of their 'colouredness' or reject the identity. 'Coloured' identities were rejected by many educated 'coloured' intellectuals and activists who refused to take on the identity forced onto them by the apartheid regime (Adhikari, 2006; Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999). Furthermore, Isaacs-Martin (2014) found that language played a big role in identity construction, as she found English speakers more often identified as South African and not 'coloured', while Afrikaans speakers saw themselves as 'coloured' and not South African. English speaking 'coloured' people often have greater economic wealth and political access, and often de(constructed) their identity (Isaacs-Martin, 2014). In both Dean's and Jerry's narratives, they distance themselves from a 'coloured'

identity. Dean, a predominantly English and educated participant, stated that he is African or South African, and Jerry, an activist and bilingual participant, stated that he is a Malay. Dean's identification is in line with Isaacs-Martin's (2014) findings, to Jerry, a 'coloured' is not person, and he uses his talk to distance himself from this shameful racial identity and tries to gain a respectability by aligning himself to the national identity. In saying "there are no coloureds", Dean erases the group's identity and agency to redefine their racial identity (Adhikari, 2005; Erasmus, 2001).

Jerry distances himself from a 'coloured' identity and instead calls himself a Malay. The 'Cape Malay' people, a subgroup under the 'coloured' category, was the label given to slaves brought to the Cape from Indonesia, Malaysia, East Africa, Madagascar and India and later given to all Muslims living in the Cape (Haron, 2015; SAHistory, n.d). The ethnicity also came about as a way for not only the government to distinguish Muslims, but also for them to distinguish themselves from poor and working-class 'coloureds'. The 'Cape Malays' were known for their craftsmanship and woodworks, skills that they brought from Indonesia and Malaysia (MixedFolks, 2008). Many people took pride in calling themselves Malay, as the identity was seen as superior to a 'coloured' identity and unlike 'coloured' people who were argued to have no culture, 'Cape Malay' people had a rich cultural linage (SAHistory, 2016). Furthermore, in the 19th and 20th century, 'Cape Malays' were regarded as respectable people since they did not drink and were known to be hard working people. The way 'Cape Malays' were seen by society differed immensely from how other 'coloured' groups were seen. The 'Cape Malay' people have maintained this respectability mainly because of their religious and cultural traditions (SAHistory, n.d).However, the term 'Cape Malay' is a contested term, with some people taking pride in the term while others, mainly younger 'Cape Malay' people prefer being called 'Cape Muslims' or South African Muslims (Haron, 2015; SAHistory, n.d).

In Jerry's broader narrative, he keeps saying that 'coloured' people are lazy, stupid and sees it as a misfortune that his children are 'coloured'. In these narratives, we see multiple strategies of gaining respectability happening, one is the erasure of this shameful identity, the other is distancing oneself from anything 'coloured', while the other is reproducing the shameful discourse of 'coloured' people as lazy and stupid. Additionally, there was also the construction of not being a 'coloured' but rather being Khoi and San, but the two terms were often confused or used interchangeably:

> Jerry: You're a Griqua[35]. No a Khoisan, yes. You're not a coloured, you're a Khoisan.
> Simone: But Khoisan are said to be 'coloured' people.
> Jerry: Khoisan blood! Khoisan blood!
> Simone: [Laughing] So you're saying that 'coloured' people are not Khoisan?
> Jerry: One and the same! One and the same!

In this interaction, Jerry, who knows my family and knows that I was born in Kimberley, proceeds to position me as not being a 'coloured', but firstly a Griqua, and then a Khoisan. He continually imposed that label onto me, although I self-identified as a 'coloured' in our interview when he asked me how I labelled myself. I always identified as a 'coloured', but I always acknowledged the fact that I am a descendant of the San people, Xhosa and Sotho people. Growing up 'coloured' was always a difficult identity to navigate for me, because my family was made up of so many cultures. My parents identified as 'coloured' and told us that is what we are, but as I grew older, I found that identifying as a 'coloured' did not necessarily mean others saw me as such. My 'coloured' family, along with other 'coloured' people that I worked and researched with called me a 'white coloured' because I spoke English, attended a private school and then UCT. This started a battle within me to belong to the 'coloured' group but also try to understand why I was made an outsider and what that meant for my own identity and other 'coloureds' such as myself. A similar phenomenon was happening in this research, where participants would continually tell me that I was not like them. Jerry's narrative seeks to make me an outsider, while also interrogating the multiple ethnicities I hold as a 'coloured' person. This above extract shows how complex 'coloured' identity is and how many participants struggle to conceptualise what exactly it means to be 'coloured'.

Recently, there has been a Khoi and San revivalism, which has been an attempt to show that 'coloured' people are in fact African, because of their indigenous roots. The revivalism movement has created a space for some sectors of 'coloured' populations to re-evaluate their ancestry and to (re)affirm an indigenous heritage. They have argued that, by embracing a Khoi and San identity, 'coloureds' are able to claim an identity that is indigenous to South Africa and African and gives them an identity. Interestingly, Jerry first argues that 'coloureds' are distinctly different from the "Khoisan", which I then contested and together we co-constructed these two identities as the same. However, many 'coloured' people have not embraced this

[35] The Griquas were members of a people of mixed European, San and Khoekhoe origins who mainly lived in Griqualand, now known as the Northern Cape, of which Kimberley is the capital (SAHistory, 2016)

thinking, as seen with the participants in this research and myself. The genetic linkage between ‘coloured’ individuals and the Khoi and San has been used to link ‘coloureds’ with a primitive nature, as it has been shown that they share physical features, such as ‘kroes’[36] (coarse) hair, big buttocks, flat noses, dry yellow skin and ugliness (Adhikari, 2006; Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999). For this reason, some ‘coloured’ individuals reject their African, Khoi and San ancestry, as well as the slave history in order to be accepted by their white counterparts (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012; Yarwood, 2011). Many ‘coloured’ people have tried to construct ‘coloured’ identities as respectable by distancing ‘coloured’ identities from the shameful Khoi and San identities. The embrace of African, Khoi or San identities is often seen by older participants. Yarwood (2011) found that older ‘coloured’ people were more likely to dissociate from this imposed identity as opposed to younger participants, who accepted and reconstructed the identity in more positive ways. Older participants could have rejected the term not only because of their age or racial shame, but also because of strong socio-political reasons. In the 1950’s to the 1980’s the Unity Movement of South Africa was active and played a significant role in the protest politics in the Western Cape (Adhikari, 2005; Nasson, 1990). The organisation rejected the label ‘coloured’ and encouraged other ‘coloured’ people to do the same at the time. They encouraged their members and followers to unite as a black population against white supremacy, which could be one reason why older participants dissociate from the ‘coloured’ label (Adhikari, 2005).While some participants rejected their ‘coloured’ identity, others embraced it with pride:

> Mark: **I am proud to be a coloured** because, the ‘coloured’ went through many things, the whities and blacks too, but I am glad I am a ‘coloured’…
> Simone: So, you glad you a ‘coloured’, and if someone called you black?
> Mark: Then I take it as racist
> Simone: If they called you black
> Mark: Yes

Mark is a young Afrikaans speaker who is currently redoing his grade eleven year. Recently, a new narrative has emerged in contemporary South Africa. Mark’s youth (Yarwood, 2011) and language (Isaacs-Martin, 2014) could be shaping his concept of ‘colouredness’. Mark is “proud to be a ‘coloured’”, because of the many obstacles that ‘coloureds’ have overcome and continue to overcome. His pride in his identity gives him a sense of belonging to a group and speaks to his agency to reconstruct his identity in more positive ways (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin,

[36] *Kroes* is an Afrikaaps term that means coarse

2012; Sonn & Fisher, 1997). However, such narratives have also surfaced as a result of fear of African majority rule in the government and a want to counter negative stereotypes of ‘coloured’ people (Stevens, 1998; Nissan, 2016; Yarwood, 2011). From 2016 to 2019, this assertiveness and pride in ‘coloured’ identity, especially amongst young people, was observed across all social media platforms, all celebrating the unique aspects of being ‘coloured’. Sonn and Fisher (1997) note that apartheid, marginalisation and oppression contributed to ‘coloured’ people mobilising as a group and sharing their feelings of togetherness and belonging to the ‘coloured’ group. Language, as argued by Isaacs-Martin (2014), continues to powerfully influence meanings around ‘colouredness’, in particular Kaapse Afrikaans, as seen below:

> Michael: Well, being a coloured especially now that you bring it up, is about the slang and you know the Cape Town slang because not everyone has that slang you know, especially people outside of Cape Town. So, I think the identity of being a coloured is to always have that slang, because if you grew up here in Cape Town, then you should have the slang you know…
> Simone: What do you mean by slang?
> Michael: The Afrikaans language and the way we shape it to our advantage you know. Afrikaans is not, you know our, **we don’t speak pure Afrikaans, like we speak slang Afrikaans**. We are supposed to speak proper Afrikaans but we don’t (…) we came out with our own Afrikaans (…)Well, I am not saying that it is not real Afrikaans, it’s only that is different from say the white Afrikaner’s (…) Our Afrikaans is confusing to many people (…) but we speak Afrikaans, it’s just our, our version of Afrikaans

Many participants spoke about how being able to speak Afrikaans, specifically “our version”, which refers to Kaapse Afrikaans or *gamtaal*, were traits that made one a ‘coloured’. *Gamtaal* is predominantly spoken amongst the working-class members of the ‘coloured’ population and *gamtaal* is kept alive by those who speak it and the media, like the *Daily Voice*, which is a newspaper that speaks to a large Cape Flats, ‘coloured’ audience (Samson, 2007). Michael referred to this Afrikaans as “slang”, “not pure” and “confusing to many people”. In his talk and the words he chooses to use, he constructs Kaapse Afrikaans in shameful ways and different to the pure “white Afrikaner’s” Afrikaans.

However, Michael is also proud of “our own version” of Afrikaans, something that is unique to ‘coloured’ people. In continually using “we” and “our”, Michael positions us as insiders and belonging to the ‘coloured’ group because of a familiarity with language. Racial groups provide its members with a sense of belonging, which is psychologically important (Smith, 1991; Sonn and Fisher, 1997). Being part of the ‘coloured’ group provides participants with structure and support systems that are crucial to their well-being (Smith, 1991; Sonn & Fisher, 1997). The

narrative of Kaapse Afrikaans as not proper Afrikaans has been a pervasive narrative within the colonial discourse time as it was spoken by indigenous people and slaves as a tool to resist assimilating into Dutch culture (Hamman, 2019). Later, Afrikaans became standardised by the descendants of the Dutch who started calling themselves Afrikaners. They emphasized the difference between their Afrikaans, which they branded as 'pure', and the 'slave tongue' or Kaapse Afrikaans, as second class (Hamman, 2019). How participants talk about *gamtaal* "our version", but also as "not pure", shows interplay between shame and respectability.

This section has shown how 'coloured' identity is a highly contested racial identity. It is constantly undergoing a process of renegotiation, as those who have been labelled as 'coloured' attempt to realign themselves socially, economically, and politically in the post-apartheid present. This section showed how 'colouredness' is shaped by location, class, education, language and age. Younger Afrikaans speakers from working-class backgrounds proudly proclaimed they are 'coloured' as opposed to the older, middle-class, more educated participants, who distanced themselves from a 'coloured' identity. I acknowledge that there are many other influences on 'colouredness', which this research has not elaborated on. Identities are formed and meaning produced every day on symbolic grounds affected by practices, institutions and politics, which this section attempted to show. Participants also presented narratives of marginalisation, foregrounding their experiences of feeling disadvantaged in post-apartheid South Africa.

6.2 Narratives of marginalisation: being a 'coloured' in post-apartheid South Africa

> In the old system we weren't white enough, now we aren't black enough. It is still 'coloured' people who are stuck in the middle, and no one cares about us. But we have to admit that under white rule, we had a better life—less crime, more welfare, better schools and doctors
>
> \- Mohammed Khan, *New York Times* (Polgreen, 2003)

This statement was made in 2003 and the theme is still relevant in 2020, with 'coloured' people still expressing their frustrations at not being heard or seen in post-apartheid South Africa. The above statement, though it has become a cliché, highlights the perception among some sectors of the 'coloured' population that 'coloureds' are as marginalized in the new democratic dispensation as they were during apartheid, possibly even more so now. This section interrogates how 'coloured' people in Bishop Lavis talk about and make meaning of their marginalisation. Marginalisation occurs when a group of people are confined to the

margins of society and not able to fully participate in society while also being subjected to material deprivation (Yarwood, 2011).

Narratives of marginalisation were common amongst work done with ‘coloured’ people, as was also the case with my research, hence the use of this term as a framework to understand the experiences of ‘coloured’ people (Adhikari, 2005; Mthembu, 2015; Nissan, 2016; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012; Stevens, 1998; Yarwood, 2011)

6.2.1 “Always in the middle”: constructing ‘coloured’ people’s status in post-apartheid South Africa

The “in the middle” (Polgreen, 2003) status of ‘coloured’ people was reinforced and complicated by their collective political commitments and maintaining the group’s relative privileges. It has also been suggested that this feeling of marginalisation is the result of deteriorating living conditions for ‘coloured’ people in – after apartheid and the emergence of an African middle class, which has led to many working-class and poor ‘coloureds’ concluding that they are being discriminated against (Adhikari, 2005; Mthembu, 2015; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012; Stevens, 1998; Yarwood, 2011). This “in the middle” (Mohammed Khan, 2003) status is reproduced in the extract below:

> Jerry: (…) So there we start by saying that the Coloureds **were always in the middle, always in the middle**. They were always next to the *boere* (whites), always next to the white man, right? So what happens now, the white man is sitting next to the African. Now where’s the Coloured now? Now the Coloureds start realising ooh, we’ve always been next to the boere (whites), now the African is in charge so **we actually moved down we actually moved down** [laughing]. The African took the Whitey’s place [laughing] (…) The Whitey took our place and we’re still *die strandlopers* (The wanderers).

In his narrative, Jerry reproduces a racial hierarchal system where white people were on the top, ‘coloured’ people in the middle, and Africans at the bottom. In his talk, he emphasises the fact that ‘coloured’ people were always in the middle by constantly repeating that phrase. The ‘in the middle’ narrative came up multiple times with research done on ‘coloured’ people (Adhikari, 2002, 2005, 2006; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012; Mthembu, 2015; Nilsson, 2016; Yarwood , 2011). This narrative is echoed by Collin below:

> Collin: (…) So in Bishop Lavis at the moment we have the talent, the kids are not stupid but just give them opportunity. An opportunity is basic. Most of us can’t go to university and first year, no fees and things like that, it’s hard because remember

> the other thing when we come to politics …Black students can get in. The problem in the Western Cape is that 'coloureds' are still in the majority and **we're marginalised** (…) We're so marginalised because we're quiet! We tolerate everything, we keep quiet, we say yes. **First it was the white man and now it's the black man, we're always in the middle.**

Adhikari (2005) found that a fundamental attribute of 'coloured' identity was their constructed intermediate status in the racial hierarchy in South Africa. This narrative was also found by sociologist Zimitri Erasmus (2001, p.13) who said, "for me, growing up 'coloured' meant knowing that I was not only not white, but less than white: not only not black but better than black". This thinking was pervasive in the imaginations of the participants, who continually spoke of the perceived marginalisation being the daily experience of being 'coloured' is post-apartheid South Africa. In Jerry's narrative, he has internalised the racial hierarchy and reproduces 'coloured' people as inferior by placing them at the bottom of the racial hierarchy with Africans being perceived to be at the top. Collin emphasised how 'coloured' people are "so marginalised". These 'in the middle' narratives of marginalisation speak to how participants see themselves as not valued in South Africa and feel like they are treated like second-class citizens, because they are denied opportunities and seen as inferior because of their race (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012; Mthembu, 2015; Yarwood, 2011). The new perceived status of being at the bottom has resulted in 'coloured' people feeling like they are being left behind, as seen in the extract below:

> Lu: My dreams for Bishop Lavis, that our youngsters just get work. I pray for that
> Simone: Mm, why do you think they not getting the work?
> Lu: [Sighs] because we, we are coloureds… with black [African] people in charge and coloureds still in the middle. Black [African] people in charge yes.. and we **getting nowhere**, we **getting nowhere** and if you not highly educated then you totally **getting nowhere,** you see then you **going nowhere.**

This was also narrated in Ester's (49) talk:

> Ester: The government jobs are like frozen, they ['coloureds] don't get in easily (…) Whites are getting first privileges, Blacks [Africans] are getting first privileges. As I said most of the 'coloureds' feel there is **nothing for them**.

In both participants' narratives, they see that there is "nothing for them" (Ester) as 'coloureds' in post-apartheid South Africa. Lu, a businesswoman in the community who is 65 years old, positions black [African] people as "in charge" and that under black leadership (i.e.

the ANC), 'coloured' people are "getting nowhere". This is further reproduced by Ester, a 49-year-old NGO director, who argues that "Blacks [Africans] are getting first privileges" to job opportunities and resources, leaving nothing for 'coloured' people. This concept was what Ashmore and Del Boca (1976) termed a perceived racial threat. They argue that, in societies where a social transition has occurred or if they are going through a transition, social groups that were previously dominated by and through racism are now in direct competition with each other for social, economic and political resources. This threat dimension also involves "beliefs that blacks are trying to usurp the position of whites in this society" (Ashmore & Del Boca,1976, p. 102). In these narratives, the participants believe that Africans are receiving all the resources and opportunities at their expense (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012). Many theorists have found that this feeling of marginalisation is the result of deteriorating living conditions for 'coloured' people in – after apartheid and the emergence of an African middle class, which has led to many working-class and poor 'coloureds' concluding that they are being discriminated against (Adhikari, 2004, 2005; Mthembu, 2015; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012; Stevens, 1998; Yarwood, 2011). The jobs and relative privileges that 'coloured' people had under apartheid have subsequently disappeared because of an ever-changing South African economy and the extension of social services to the African masses (Adhikari, 2004). This resentment and racism towards Africans will be unpacked in the next section.

This section has focused on how participants talk about their experiences through narratives of marginalisation, where they talk of not only being in the 'middle' but also as being second-class citizens in post-apartheid South Africa.

6.2.2 Defensive racism, internalized racism, apartheid and 'colouredness'

> The Boers stole, but at least they budgeted and did not steal everything. They stole the cream, but the d*rkies are stealing the cream, the milk and the bucket. We [coloureds] are being victimised. We are being turned into the new slaves of our country
>
> Anthony Wilson, an award-winning 'coloured' actor – (Williams, 2003, p.1)

Many participants in my research believed that African people, or as Wilson states, "d*rkies", are corrupt, they are given opportunities that they do not deserve, and they are treated better in South Africa than 'coloured' people. This has led to many 'coloureds' resenting African people and longing for apartheid, where things were better than they are now. Adhikari (2004) calls this defensive racism. He notes that this hostility and resentment is "defensive in

nature and arises from their position of weakness and feelings of vulnerability" (p. 173). It could be argued that Adhikari (2004) might be trying to explain away racism with this term. Many participants in my research perceived African people as economically threatening as they are perceived as benefiting from social security, affirmative action policies, and receiving other material gains under the leadership of the ANC (Adhikari, 2005; Mthembu, 2015; Stevens, 1998). Currently, this resentment has led to physical altercations between African people and 'coloured' people in various areas in Cape Town, such as Mitchell's Plain, Delft and Capricorn, to name a few. 'Coloured' people feel that they have to protect their properties and communities against African people who are coming into their community through informal settlements. Many 'coloured' people and groups like *Gatvol*[37] *Capetonian* have called for African people to go back to the Eastern Cape (Hamilton, 2018). This section unpacks defensive racism as well as internalised racism, a longing for apartheid, and how that affects the participants' daily experiences as 'coloured' bodies.

The perception that African people receive opportunities unfairly was often raised:

> Lu: Give the job to the one who is needed, you can't give the job to the one who doesn't have that education. Now **there is an 'African' who doesn't have the qualifications then they say he must get it**. How can you do that?

This was echoed by Jerry:

> Jerry: (…) You had to work to get there, right. But nowadays it's who you know – you're aunty thingy's and uncle thingy's daughter or son **then again the Africans get all the opportunities. The Africans get all the opportunity**. You see two or three 'coloured' people there and 75% Africans. The quota system is long time finished! You go to Parliament and you see Blacks, wherever you go you see Blacks, right, and what are the Blacks doing – they look after themselves. And where are our 'coloured' laatities[38] standing? They've got matric and everything but get no opportunities.

---

[37] *Gatvol* translates into fed-up. *Gatvol Capetonian* started as a group of 'coloured' people promoting anti-black thinking and promoting job and housing opportunities for 'coloured' people by insisting that African people leave Cape Town. They have launched a new political party, the Cape Coloured Congress, in the hopes of contesting and winning 2021's local government elections in the Western Cape.

[38] *Laaities* is a Afri-Kaaps word for children

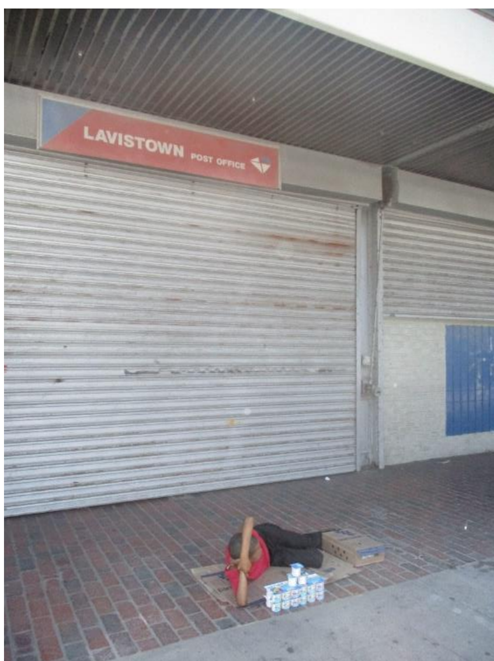


Figure 3.2. “Jobs are scarce” Simone-26

Several participants stated jobs were scarce for ‘coloured’ people as shown visually in figure 3.2. Many ‘coloured’ people resort to selling what they can to earn some money. Africans are positioned by the participants as often obtaining posts unfairly for which they are not fully qualified or experienced, reducing ‘coloured’ people’s access to these employment opportunities. These narratives tend to imply that most African appointments are token appointments, and serve a socially desirable function (Stevens, 1998). These types of narratives could thus function as one of the tools with which to marginalise the African threat in the labour market and thus preserve the participants’ current access to economic resources (Stevens, 1998). However, if one looks deeper into these narratives, they show discourses of prejudice and defensive racism (Adhikari, 2004; Stevens, 1998). These narratives reproduce the dominant racist stereotypes that Africans are often incompetent to carry out complicated tasks. The narratives negate the equality of Africans at an intellectual level, a process known as underestimation (Essed, 1991). Moreover, it also shows a level of internal racism, where participants have internalised the dominant colonial discourse that blackness is synonymous with laziness and incompetency and whiteness is synonymous with competency and hard work. This internalised racism was often seen in narratives of comparison between the present under the ANC (a predominantly African party) versus apartheid under the NP (a predominantly white party):

> Jack: I would say, when I think about apartheid I wouldn’t say it was unbearable. But there was the…uh…how shall I say…there was a lack and one progressed very

> slowly during apartheid but there was also discipline. Under the current government one progresses very quickly with very little discipline. That's the difference, I think. The policeman was still seen as a policeman. The teacher was seen as the teacher, right? The parent was seen as the parent. But now the parent is just an object, just a thing there. The policeman is just a thing there and so is the teacher. It's the same with the church.

In Jack's narrative, he constructs apartheid as a disciplined era in our country's history, where law and order was maintained. This extract speaks to the delegitimization of institutions: the police, schools, and the family. Such a narrative speaks to an internalised racism, with people still believing that white superiority was better. When institutions are led by Africans they become delegitimised, again reproducing the belief that African people are incompetent. Field (2001) stated that the fear of transformation and possible reoccurrence of marginalization could be the reason for such narratives, while Adhikari (2004) notes these narratives are a defensive strategy. However, Field (2001) argues that these fears should not be interpreted only as defensive since these fears tend to be seen amongst working class 'coloured' residents who often have less material and social advantages to protect. These narratives speak more to anxieties of participants who are afraid of being left behind and staying at the bottom of the racial hierarchy. Participants noted how 'coloured' people in post-apartheid South Africa continue to live on the margins in dire poverty:

> Peter: Wait, wait, wait, I'll tell you now. We are not racists we all say that but we all say that there's a 'coloured' doctor in Bishop Lavis and there's an Indian doctor in Bishop Lavis and there are white doctors in Monte Vista or something like that, we all say it. We are still cognizant of the fact that there are race groups. We're also cognizant of the **fact that when you're 'coloured', you'll be poorer** than the Indian and that if you're White, you may sit on a board, right? You won't easily find 'coloured' men sitting on a board unless of course you're politically active or have connections.

Figure 3.3. “Poverty is all over Bishop Lavis, especially showed by the lack of resource in our area, the broken swings in parks, the dirt all over the place. It’s like we have been forgotten”, Leon-22

In my transact walk and talk with the community members, I also noted how the area was under resourced and struggled to get help from the municipality.

> Walking around Bishop Lavis, I see that there is only 3 parks for children to play in. The swings are all broken . Most children just end up playing on the roundabout or see-saw because those are the only things still working. While young boys play games on the streets or soccer in the streets because there is a lack of facilities to accommodate them. The area has one sports field with netball courts and a soccer pitch but upon my arrival there today, the nets on the poles were broken, the courts were unkept and the pitch is not suitable for playing. Moreover, the walls that surrounded the sports field has all been stolen, I was told by my grandmother, that it was drug addicts in the area that stole them. Walking from the sports field to the market, I saw that the streets were covered in litter and water from broken pipes. I asked my grandmother where the municipality was to fix this. She, like other community members I spoke to, told me that the government simply does care about Bishop Lavis. Many people in the area complained to me about how they are still waiting for houses and are put onto waiting lists, while houses are overcrowded with eight or more people living in a small house. Many people here end up being backyard dwellers, because the main house is simply too overcrowded. Community members say that they are tired of the lies told to them by government and just want to be seen and have better communities free of social ills, inequality and mass poverty.
>
> *(Extract from my fieldnotes on the 8th October 2018)*

Through these discursive practices, 'coloureds' and 'coloured' communities are portrayed as a marginalised social category. Poverty, lack of resources and high unemployment rates were recurrent themes in the participants' talk and it was also visible in my walks of the area. In his narrative, Peter reproduces this racial hierarchy and positions 'coloured' people as "poorer" than other races. This is echoed by Leon, who said that "we have been forgotten" because Bishop Lavis still has dirt everywhere and a lack of resources, as well as community members I spoke to while walking through the community, who complained about overcrowding, poor sanitation and lack of facilities in the area. Van der Berg and Louw (1986) showed that, while the poverty headcount ratio for all race groups declined between 1990 and 2000, for 'coloured' people it has increased. Adhikari (2004) stated that the impoverishment in 'coloured' communities was growing extensively, with many 'coloured' people unable to pay for basic services like water or electricity, often resulting in mass evictions. Moreover, there has been a disproportionate rise in crime and the homicide rate among 'coloured' people, with 'coloured' people being more than twice as likely to be killed in comparison to other races (Adhikari, 2004). Adhikari (2004) argues that one can read these narratives and statistics however you want, but "there is some material basis to 'Coloured' disenchantment with the new order and thus racial antagonism towards Africans" (p.173). Such narratives have been seen all over social media and the news, where the Cape Flats has received much attention for being war zones and where 3000 'coloureds' die annually (Voice of Cape, 2019). Many 'coloured' people all over the Cape Flats have stated that no one cares if they live or die, and that they continue to live in dire poverty with no solutions, which has led to the *#brown lives matter* movement, initiated by *Gatvol Capetonian* (Voice of Cape, 2019). Leader Fadiel Adams said that the party started because "these people (ANC government) are intent on hurting us, marginalising us and side-lining us. We're here to upset that status quo" (p.1).

Throughout the broader narratives of participants, Africans and African political leaders are continually depicted as the agents of this marginalisation, and are therefore presented as the negative 'them' or 'these/those people', while 'coloureds' are presented as the positive 'us'. Van Dijk (1991) has stated that this could be an attempt to suggest that "we are the real victims" (p. 11), because 'coloured' people will always be poorer in the racial hierarchy and get no opportunities although perceived to deserve it more. This could also be a strategy used by groups to deny their own racist prejudice and to preserve a positive sense of self (Stevens, 1998). Hamilton (2018), however, notes that this "oppression Olympics"(pg.4) blinds people to the real source of their marginalisation, which is white supremacy, capitalism and neoliberalism. Capitalism and the ANC's move towards neoliberalism (i.e. the shrinkage of the

state and a transfer of competence to the private sector), has resulted in SA's high inequality status and has been destructive for the sustained growth of the economy (Narsiah, 2002). It is noted that it is in poor communities and households that the impact is felt the most, however, such discourses are overlooked in explanations of marginalisation (Narsiah, 2002).

In trying to make sense of their current experiences of poverty and marginalisation, memories of how better their lives were under the apartheid government and a longing for that way of life was expressed, as seen in the following extract:

> Jerry: **Apartheid was much better** than now because your biggest fear today is like…am I going to be shot today, whose turn is it today, is my family safe, are my kids safe. At that time you thought twice about just hitting a guy with a fist. Um…if somebody comes up to you and there's a quarrel or whatever, you try and sort it out… and I blame this government we have now. The government we had in the apartheid era, although they kept the 'Coloureds' tight, they maintained order… Although the government at that time they also made mistakes, they also had their hiccups and all that stuff but their stuff was sorted out in a decent manner.

In many narratives, when I asked about our current political climate, the participants often compared the wonderful apartheid past governed by white people (NP) with the terrible present under the African government (ANC):

> Nigel: **Lavis definitely has changed** such as the type of drugs that has been sold to people has changed and the effect it has on people has changed in my time growing up as a youth we were never exposed to these drugs, we were exposed to drugs more in our matured life as to a youngster but today the youngsters are exposed to drugs, tik has been used amongst kids and its less older people that is using it, it's more kids. In my days drugs was more for the older people and not for the youngsters unless you reach a certain age and working and whatever then you would go on drugs, **drugs obviously changed a lot of things you know everyone is stealing from everyone for the purpose of surviving**. Gangsterism and gangsters fighting over turf. The method of **fighting has also changed** in my days people use to stab one another with either a knife, a pick handle, a spade or a garden fork (…) but now kids are walking with sophisticated guns it's not only automatic guns they walking around with high calibre rifles guns you normally get in the army or the police so the method of weapon has also changed. In my days growing up a lot of us made 21 ,deaths were primarily amongst old people but today deaths is primarily amongst youngsters (…) **society has changed today**. People are evil man ,in my days if someone was raped it was a major thing and it was one person in a year maybe that got raped today its one person in every minute that gets raped, **the way people are killing one another is like a norm.**

Such nostalgic narratives of an idealised apartheid past was common among the older participants. They constructed apartheid as a safer time when one could roam the streets, unlike today with the high crime rates. Apartheid was also constructed as a time where food and jobs were plentiful, unlike today which is more a consequence of neoliberalism and capitalist systems than poor governance (Narsiah, 2002). Participants boldly stated that "apartheid was better" (Jerry). These narratives are common in interviews with 'coloured' people living in marginalised spaces, where they stated that they preferred apartheid because the economy was stronger, crime was less and 'coloured' people were treated better than they are now (Adhikari, 2004; Debut, 2019; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012; Yarwood, 2011). In my participants' talk, they often said "in my days things were not like this", "in apartheid things were not like this", "society has changed" (Nigel) under African leadership. Many of my participants felt a deep sense of marginalisation because of their 'coloured' status in the post-apartheid dispensation, and their communities were deteriorating under the new government. Most participants who expressed this position of marginality often cited the virtually unchanged living conditions of poor and working-class 'coloured' people, especially in former 'coloured'-only areas like the Cape Flats. In these areas, poverty, crime and unemployment is still alarmingly high, and that these, amongst other factors, push young men into violent street gangs as a means of survival.

From the participants' talk, one gets the sense that their lives seem to have become more difficult since apartheid's end, hence the longing for apartheid (Adhikari, 2004). Many of my participants, as 'coloured' people, feel there is no place for them in the new South Africa. These narratives have been common amongst research on 'coloured' people (Debut, 2019; Mthembu, 2015; Yarwood, 2011). These narratives could also once again be reflective of an internalised racism, of the belief that whiteness is always better than blackness (Hall, 1997; Fanon, 1967). This affinity with white people is important to 'coloured' people in their search to belong (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012). Hendricks (2005) notes that the affinity with whites was an obsession with 'coloured' people during colonial and apartheid times as they were constantly trying to prove to whites that they can live up to white standards, which included a rejection of their African heritage and an assimilation into the white culture to have access to privileges (Fanon, 1967).

This section examined how participants made meaning of their everyday experiences. Throughout this section, participants continued to use their talk to vent their frustrations of being left behind and show a resentment towards Africans. It is suggested that these feelings of marginalisation are as a result of deteriorating living conditions for 'coloured' people and the emergence of an African middle class, which has led to many working-class and poor

'coloureds' concluding that they are being discriminated against (Adhikari, 2005; Mthembu, 2015; Stevens, 1998; Yarwood, 2011). Their hostility towards Africans was understood through the lens of defensive racism and internalised racism. It is in such a climate that groups like *Gatvol Capetonian* and other groups promoting 'colouredness' and 'coloured' pride are emerging . Hamilton (2018) states that the only way to overcome these oppressions is for unity amongst all working-class black people. Not only did participants use their talk to show their marginalisation, but they also used their talk to challenge certain stereotypes about 'coloured' people, and at other times, their narratives reproduced stigma towards this group too.

6.3: A stigmatised race: Challenging and reproducing stigmatisation of 'coloured' communities

Many theorists have argued that defining 'coloured' people as the leftover population during apartheid still influence the lived experiences and perceptions others have of 'coloured' people today (Salo, 2003, 2004; Mthembu, 2015; van Niekerk, 2019; Yarwood, 2011). This section will be discussing the racial stigmas and stereotypes that are perpetuated about 'coloured' people, and will further demonstrate participants' consciousness of these stigmas and how they contribute to their marginalisation. Based on the participants' talk, the attitudes and beliefs held by others about their racial identity, creates the stigmas they experience. This section examines how participants use their talk to reproduce stigmatising discourse, which suggest that these dominant discourses have been internalised. At the same, participants also use their talk to gain respectability for 'coloured' people by challenging stereotypes.

6.3.1 Reproducing Stigma in constructing 'colouredness'

Racial stereotyping and the stigma of 'coloured' people as drunkards, thieves, and impure, to name but a few, have become entrenched in the public discourse and popular culture, which has had negative consequences for 'coloured' people (Adhikari, 2006; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin; 2012; Sonn & Fisher, 1997). Stigma is a concept that is situational , it is shaped by history and constructed socially (Dovidio, Major & Crocker, 2003). Theorists have also argued that stigmas are located within essentialist stereotypes that have been replicated over time (Ainlay *et al*., 1986; Dovidio *et al*., 2003). Stereotypes about 'coloured' people have been rooted in a colonial history and continue to be reproduced over time (Adhikari, 2005; Erasmus, 2001; Mellet, 2016). When the Dutch and later Britain colonized SA, they ridiculed the Khoi and San people's languages, bodies, and way of living and constructed them as primitive, lazy and uncivilised (Hall, 1997a;1997; Durrheim, 2005). February (2014) found that stereotypes of

the Khoi and San were also seen in early literature and the media, where they were portrayed as a “disease” or “smelling strange” being “lazy, they love to drink, they swear and fight at the slightest provocation and are generally immoral” (p.5). These stereotypes have now been transferred onto ‘coloured’ people (February, 2014). Many participants silenced their Khoi and San history, by not speaking about this history when defining ‘colouredness’. I believe this is because of how the indigenous people have been constructed and continue to be portrayed in the media and literature. Very few participants referenced their slave and indigenous history, and when they did, they hide that history from others in their family and community, as shown in the extract below:

> Eddie: Yes because my great, great grandfather was also one of the slaves (…) I traced my family ‘til um…1825. I got my grandfather’s birth certificate and I went to Home Affairs and I started searching there. They sent me to the graveyard; they’ve got books since the year 1700 where they check up relatives and everything. It took me two weeks to go through one book [Laughing] (…) Actually my grandfather from my father’s side, he was a St. Helena.
> Simone: So Uncle Eddie **do you tell your grandkids about that history?**
> Eddie: **No**
> Simone: Oh! I think it’s such a…I think it’s important that we tell our kids [Eddie: Where we come from, yes] where we come from because people are always like ‘**coloured people don’t have identity’**, we don’t know where we come from.
> Eddie: **I will tell them one day**

In my upbringing in a ‘coloured’ family, and later on during my schooling, no one ever told me or taught me about the indigenous people. We never had in-depth discussions on slavery or what it meant to be descendants of the Khoi and San people. I remember living in Bishop Lavis and always hearing people say that we were not ‘bushmen’, a term given to the San people. I remember growing up and continually experiencing a silencing of this rich history and denial of our slave and indigenous history. Mellet (2016) stated that, 22 years after 1994, our education curriculum still teaches a historical narrative that centres on the colonial and apartheid framework, while ignoring the pre-colonial African social history and skewing knowledge on indigenous people. One such narrative is that of Chief Autshumoa, who is painted as an ignorant *strandloper* beach-bum, when he in fact travelled abroad and returned to set up a trading station before van Riebeeck did at Camissa, which thrived until it was stolen from him (Mellet, 2016).

Mellet (2016) argues that not knowing our rich history has been the downfall of the ‘coloured’ community and has affected their ability to address their identity issues, as well

being classified as a race with no culture (Isaacs-Martin, 2014; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012). Eddie was one of the few participants who spoke about his family's slave history. In his narrative, he paints a rich lineage going back to his great-great-grandfather who was a slave, however, when asked if he had shared this knowledge with his family, he said no and that he would tell them someday. Eddie's talk reveals that he has hidden his history, which could be indicative of him silencing and distancing himself from the racial shame attached to slaves, Khoi and San people (February, 2014).

In constructing 'colouredness', stigmatised characteristics were used to define 'coloureds', and was also used as a strategy to gain respectability by distancing oneself from this shameful racial identity (van Niekerk, 2019). One such narrative was constructing 'coloured' as people with a lack of education and lacking intelligence:

> Jerry: (…) A 'coloured' is when…a 'coloured's got no backbone. That's a 'coloured.'
> Simone: No backbone?
> Jerry: He's **got no backbone**. He has no backbone, you know, he goes where the majority goes (…) **They're laidback people,** they're laidback people.
> Simone: So laidback as in they won't do something? Or they don't want to go and get…[interrupted]
> Jerry: It's almost **like they're retarded** you know?

Another narrative was one associating 'colouredness' with gangsterism and violence:

> Simone: Okay, so what makes one a 'coloured'? Is it the way we look, the way we talk?
> Stanley: It's the **way we talk, the slang**. You know **we talk slang, tsotsi**[39] **way**, **when**
> Simone: (…) Tsotsi means gangster right?
> Stanley: Correct
> Simone: And for you 'coloured' people can all talk gangster language
> Stanley: Yes, most of them, so
> Simone: But I can't Sabella (gangster language), so am I now not coloured?
> Stanley: Yes [laughs], it's **how you living you see, how you grew up. I grew up amongst the gangsters, I moved with them**

This is echoed in the focus group with the young men:

> Brandon: **We ['coloureds'] have that rough manners**.
> Leon: We have that rough manners
> Brandon: You will now maybe go to **your** party and it will be nice then you come to **our** parties and it's a this and that

[39] Tsotsi is loosely translated as *criminal* or *gangster*, especially one from a township

Liam: It is nuh
Leon: And then **you watch someone's girly, and then you get shot by the party**, something like that
Simone: So what 'coloured' is that now?
Leon: That is a very bad 'coloured'
Leon: Very, very, very bad
Liam: **That actually a pure 'coloured'**

Existing stereotypes about 'colouredness' go much deeper than mere assumptions about their physical appearances. Above I presented two extracts from individual interviews and the last extract came from the focus group I conducted with the young men. In the men's talk, they reproduced stereotypical narratives that exist on 'colouredness'. In the above excerpts, Jerry constructed 'coloureds' as "almost retarded" with no "backbone", while Stanley noted that in order to be seen as a 'coloured' one had to speak the gangster language. This would imply that real 'coloured' people are innately linked to gangsterism. The men in the focus group constructed working-class 'coloured' people as violent, "maybe go to your party and it will be nice then you come to our parties" (Brandon). In their co-constructed narrative, the men show how their parties are different to the nice parties my type of 'coloureds' have – in their broader narratives, they construct me as the 'good' and 'white coloured' because I have degrees and speak English. They state that at their parties, when you look at a girl, you get shot. The men associate their 'colouredness' with violence and my 'colouredness' with niceness. This speaks to an internalised racism, where they internalise the stereotypes about them and reproduce this stigma. They go further to construct very, very, very bad 'coloureds' as the 'pure coloureds' (Liam), which shows how they have internalised and reproduced narratives of violence as the essence of pure 'colouredness'. van Niekerk (2019) found that her 'coloured' participants constructed the working-class 'coloured' people as stupid. She noted how a racial hierarchy was set up in the 'coloured' racial group itself where there was an 'othering' of working-class 'coloureds'. Participants continually created a "your" kind of 'coloured' and an "our" kind of 'coloured' narrative, suggesting how they created these racial hierarchies where my kind of 'coloured' is superior to theirs. Mthembu (2015) found similar results with her participants, 'coloured' men, and suggested that these stereotypes about 'colouredness' may have been internalised by these men as they attempted to negotiate their freedom from the preconceptions about being 'coloured' through their talk (Mthembu, 2015). 'Colouredness' was also associated with alcoholism:

Leon: If you born into the culture then you are one, so I am a 'coloured'

Simone: What is the **culture of colouredness**?
Brandon: **Smoke dagga** (marijuana)**, drink alcohol**

A very pervasive stereotype about 'coloureds' is that they are drunkards (February, 2014; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012; Western, 1981). These stereotypes were first placed at the feet of the Khoekhoe and San, who were argued to be lazy and loved to drink excessively, and these stereotypes have been transferred onto 'coloured' people (Adhikari, 2006; Samara, 2011). We see how in the first extract, when asked what is a 'coloured' culture, Brandon says to smoke *dagga* (marijuana) and drink alcohol. In his narrative, one sees how he internalised and then reproduces shameful stereotypes held about 'coloured' people. Western (1981) argues that these views may have originated when the Dutch traded brandy with the Khoekhoe people of the Western Cape for livestock, which later became the "dop system[40]". There may be other reasons, for instance, 'coloured' people had preferred access to alcohol during apartheid – this may also be an explanation for the rise in alcoholism in certain areas (London, 1999; Western, 1981). Alcohol abuse, counter to popular belief, is high among all racial groups and not only the 'coloured' population.

This section showed how participants have internalised the stereotypes held around what it means to be 'coloured' by other people. They used their talk to reproduce those stereotypes when constructing 'colouredness' and often distanced themselves from this shameful racial identity as a way to gain respectability (van Niekerk, 2019). Their talk also showed how they challenged the dominant stereotypes around 'colouredness'.

6.3.2 Challenging stereotypes around 'coloureds'

This section examines how participants use their talk to challenge stigmatised portrayals of 'coloured' people. One such pervasive narrative that was challenged was the one that 'coloured' people have no culture:

Simone: (…) and what do you know about the Cape coons?[41]
Eddie: Yes, it was a slavery thing … We just go along and celebrate on the 2nd of January, all of us in Cape Town we celebrate. **We walk, we drink, we eat and we dance… It is actually, it's a culture; it's a 'coloured' culture** (…) We still

[40] A system where white farmers paid 'coloured' farm workers with wine (London, 1999).
[41] The Cape Coons is a festival held every year on 2 January. One can find traces of the Coon Carnival as far back as 1823 when 'coloured' bands marched through Cape Town (Bickford Smith, 2001)

> celebrate our culture. Like say in the Zulu, Jacob Zuma he married his wife because that's his culture. Muslims they can marry seven wives, it's their culture. **Why can't we have a culture**?

Much debate and anger amongst 'coloured' people has been lashed out towards Trevor Noah[42], after a section from his book, *Born a Crime*, was put on social media for debate. 'Coloured' viewers were asked what they thought of the following statement: "For all black people have suffered, they know who they are. 'Coloured' people don't". Many 'coloureds' argued that they know who they are, they have an identity, rich heritage and that he did not delve into the complexity of this racial identity (Coloured South Africa, 2020). In SA, 'coloured' people have been and continue to be constructed as a bastard group, with no common history, language or culture (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012). 'Coloured' people were thus never considered a nation like other groups in SA, and since they have no culture, they cannot answer what they are (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012). However, to assume that 'coloured' people have no culture is erroneous, since no group is without a culture. In the case of 'coloured' people, much of 'coloured' culture is based on the blending of different cultural identities (Erasmus, 2001). Participants in their talk showed a "stigma consciousness", where they reveal their awareness of the negative views that society holds about their group (Speight, 2007). In Eddie's narrative, for example, he portrays 'coloureds' as respectable when he speaks back to this stigma placed on 'coloured' people as a nation without a culture, by stating that the Cape Coons is a "'coloured' culture". Baxter (2002) highlighted that these Coon practices take place in backyards throughout the Cape Flats, and many like Eddie have taken ownership of the Coon Carnival as a symbolic marker of a 'coloured' cultural identity (Samson, 2007). Eddie noted how everyone has a culture, so "why can't we have a culture?" That stigma of being known as a people without a culture or identity has left many 'coloureds' very frustrated, which has resulted in them speaking back to that discourse, stating that they have a culture and speaking back to stereotypes about 'coloured' people (Yarwood, 2011).

> Liam: (…) let me make a small example now you see us men, now we went walking in Sea point, now there are a lot of white people there, if that **white people saw us walking towards them then they would take out their bags and put it under their arms**
> Brandon: They would **say here are the thieves**
> Liam: Or they say here are the 'coloureds' or so, they look at us and put stereotypes on us (laughs)

[42] Trevor Noah is a world-renowned South African comedian who has an African mother and a Swiss-German father; he is currently the host of *The Daily Show*.

Brandon: Like stereotypes
Simone: Those are stereotypes
Leon: Judgemental
Brandon: They really are (…)
Simone: So, where do you think stereotypes come about? Because did all of you experience that?
Collective: Yes, a lot of times already
Simone: So many of you experienced that, where you walk and when people see you then they hide stuff away?
Brandon: Yes, a lot
Liam: Yes, I experienced that a lot of times already and then they just keep staring at you (…)
Michael: The thing is stereotypes, people can judge you just by the book, they judge you by your face, **now a black sees us and says oh there is a coloured and he thinks he will shoot me or take my money but not all 'coloureds' are, so you see**. **There is good and bad**, so basically the thing is you cannot judge a book by its cover only because he is a coloured, no. Once I went to the beach and there were two people sitting there and they were white, and I went up to them, they didn't do anything, they just stood there in shock. **They asked me what you going to do now, you going to rob us or something** and I just came to tell them that their child is in the water, is it your child. But **they thought oh my word he is going to kidnap us or something**, but I was just telling them that their child is in the water and might drown or something
Simone: And **why do you think that people think like that about 'coloureds'?**
Brandon: Because of what they see
Leon: **They are watching all these movies and documentaries**
Liam: They are watching this Noem my Skollie and Four Corner stuff, there is a lot of proof
Brandon: They see the bullets and guns and violence in these movies (…)
Brandon: Yes, now people think that is reality, it is reality but like
Michael: **It's like propaganda**
Collective: Yes
Michael: They are, they, they are wiping a bad image onto coloureds. So, you don't see movies of whites killing each other on tv here is South Africa. They are always living in peace, making songs

The young men in the focus group noted how they were characterised as a homogeneous group and perceived in a negative way by other racial groups (Isaacs-Martin, 2014; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012; Samson, 2007; Mthembu, 2015; Yarwood, 2011). Their talk reflected perceptions of Du Bois's (1903/1989) double-consciousness. He argued that stigmatised groups are aware of how they are perceived by others and this awareness often resulted in an identity crisis where these stigmatised groups start to use the same illogical and flawed ways to evaluate themselves, which was noted in most of the participants' talk. Du Bois (1903, 1989) noted how strange it is that one looks at oneself through the eyes of another, which is seen also throughout my participants' narratives. Furthermore, the men noted how both African

and white people constructed ‘coloured’ men as thieves, murderers, and kidnappers. In their collective narrative, the men constructed a good and bad ‘coloured’, and on that spectrum, they stated that they were good ‘coloured’ men and gave stories of how they did not do those things others accuse them of doing. The men therefore positioned themselves as respectable ‘coloureds’ by distancing themselves from the bad ‘coloureds’ who do all those negative things. van Niekerk (2019) found this practice of producing respectability to be common amongst her participants who created a bad them versus a good us. Many participants were aware of the fact that the media played a significant role in how ‘coloured men’ are perceived in popular culture and found the media to be a propaganda tool. The messages in the media on violence and the perpetrators of violence reinforce racist and classist stereotypes that over-represent poor working-class and black people (in particular men) as criminals and gangsters, yet underrepresent them as victims (Boonzaier, 2018; Dixon & Linz, 2000; Gibbs & Jobson, 2011; Meyers, 2004). hooks (1992) argued that white male supremacist ideologies are situated in the media, which manufacture “specific images, representations of race, of blackness that support and maintain the oppression, exploitation, and overall domination of all black people” (p. 2), and whiteness is always portrayed as good.

Furthermore, the pervasiveness of existing stereotypes about ‘colouredness’ continue to segregate the Cape Flats spaces where many ‘coloureds’ reside from more affluent spaces. These stereotypes remain as perspectives of ‘otherness’ as it is frequently reiterated and reaffirmed in public rhetoric (Hook, 2005). Being perceived in negative ways has resulted in many ambivalent feelings:

> Simone: But how does it make you feel when people hide their stuff from you?
> Leon: Hiding things from you?
> Simone: Like hiding their phones, like they had their phones and when you come they put it away
> Leon: Yoh, it makes you feel like wow
> Liam: It doesn’t feel nice
> Brandon: You know how it feels, for me it feels lekker (nice)
> Simone: Really? Why?
> Brandon: Because I was scared of them but now I see they actually scared of me, so I can walk peacefully
> Collective laughter
> Simone: So, you think they do that because we are ‘coloureds’? (…)
> Michael: You know, some people have experienced that stuff you know, especially white people where ‘coloureds’ have broken into their houses. Or they see maybe how they rob other people or stuff or they steal tv’s and stuff and it’s ‘coloureds’ doing it
> Simone: Now they think it’s all of them

Michael: Yes, they think it's all of us

Being ill-perceived by others evokes feelings of shame and regret that may cause men to experience ambivalence about being 'coloured'. This ambivalence may have its origin in their constructed position of being 'in-between' and in their social positioning. Therefore, many men in their narratives made an active effort to rid themselves of the prevailing stigma associated with 'colouredness' (Bhabha, 1984, 1994; Erasmus, 2001; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012). In their talk, participants position themselves as 'in' and 'out' of being 'coloured' and sometimes simultaneously. From the discussion, it can be assumed that the men believed that they were rendered "guilty by association" (Mthembu, 2015). They noted how this guilt by association happens because they are 'coloured'. The participants stated that it made them feel bad about themselves, however, one participant stated that it made him feel good because he was feared by others, which means he can move freely without fear of being harmed. Thus, his race and gender protected him from harm, which was also found in work by Peters *et al.* (2019). However, this same intersectional position made them targets of the police:

Simone: So, they don't still search you guys still?
Mark: **Yes, a lot. They [police] search us a lot here**
Simone: And do they search the young men?
Mark: Yes, the young men they search a lot
Simone: And why are they searching you guys?
Mark: Maybe for guns or dagga (…)
Simone: And how does it feel to go through that all the time?
Mark: Mm, **it don't feel lekker**

Figure 3.4. "The police in this area is bad"- Leon-21

In his broader narrative, Mark spoke about how incompetent the police in the area were, which was echoed by Leon. Mark lives five minutes from the police station, but stated how often the police would arrive 30 minutes to an hour after being called by residents. This narrative was echoed by almost 90 per cent of my participants, who complained about the lack of urgency and help from the police. This was shocking to me, because a group of UCT students and international students went to visit the area and the station commander gave us three police vans with six police officers to "look after us" and make sure we were safe while in the area. [43]However, the same courtesy is not offered to the residents in the area because they do not possess the same status (middle class, educated, international) as the visitors. Moreover, Mark stated that young 'coloured' men were always seen as 'guilty by association' by police officers, who would often search them because they were 'coloured' and thus looked like criminals who might be carrying guns or *dagga*. Police brutality and racial profiling against marginalised groups is a global phenomenon (Mthembu, 2015). Racial profiling has left many participants feeling helpless and humiliated when they are searched in front of community members or friends. The negative impact of the harassment men experienced from the police was found to be damaging to men. In Mthembu's (2015) research, the men found that when a man in their community is searched by the police (whether innocent or guilty), he runs the risk of being stigmatised and ostracised by community members, which was also the case with black men who sell sex not only being stigmatised, but also losing clients to constant police searches (Peters *et al.*, 2019). In this sense, experiences of police brutality may diminish men's image amongst their peers in the community, but also render them helpless and emasculated (Mthembu, 2015; Peters *et al.*, 2019).

This section looked at how men challenged certain stereotypes that exist around 'coloured' communities. I tried to show how men constantly deal with feelings of internalised shame and humiliation from being a 'coloured' in Cape Town, but at the same time, tried to distance themselves from bad 'coloureds' and produce respectable narratives about them. The section explored how their gender and race not only disadvantages them by constantly being judged as gangsters and being searched by the police, but it also serves as a form of protection against harm by others.

---

[43] As part of the UCT Decolonial Summer School held between the 6-10 of January 2020. On the 8th January, participants (both local and international) who were part of the school were invited on an excursion to visit the community of Bishop Lavis alongside BLAC, a Bishop Lavis NGO. On arrival we were given three police vans to escort us through the area.

6.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter looked at how residents of Bishop Lavis talked about being 'coloured' through narratives of shame, respectability and marginalisation. It was divided into three sections that focused on what it means to be a 'coloured' in South Africa in post-apartheid South Africa, and how participants constructed and performed 'colouredness'. In negotiating 'colouredness', I hoped to show how 'coloured' identities are highly contested and intersectional in that class, location, language and age influence the performance of 'colouredness'. The chapter further interrogated what it means to be a 'coloured' and how this racial identity is constantly undergoing a process of renegotiation. Participants would position themselves 'in' and 'out' of being 'coloured'. The history of South Africa demonstrates that 'colouredness' is not the automatic result of miscegenation or a label given to people who looked a certain way. The laws and conditions produced during colonialism, apartheid and post-apartheid shaped the 'coloured' ethno-racial consciousness. Participants used the interview process to construct a particular way of doing 'colouredness' by providing a scale of 'colouredness' with criteria that would make one strictly 'coloured' or a bad 'coloured, versus criteria that made one a white or good 'coloured', and an absence of a black 'coloured'. Their narratives revealed how in post-apartheid South Africa, 'coloured' identity is still seen as a shameful identity, with internalised racism being present in participants' talk. However, participants tried to gain respectability by either distancing themselves from the identity or speaking of the pride they had in being a 'coloured'. The second section focused on narratives of marginalisation, where I presented the everyday context in which people articulate 'colouredness', and make meaning of their marginalisation. The "in the middle" (Mohammed Khan, 2003) status of 'coloured' people was reproduced. However, some participants spoke of how they no longer hold this status but instead have been demoted to the bottom since the Africans have taken charge of the country. Throughout this section, participants continued to use their talk to show their fear, anxiety and frustrations of being left behind, losing opportunities to Africans, and being forgotten in this new democratic South Africa. The final section looked at how men not only reproduced stigmatisation through their narratives on 'colouredness', but also challenged certain stereotypes that exist around 'coloured' communities. I tried to show how men constantly deal with feelings of internalised shame and humiliation from being a 'coloured' in Cape Town by the actions of others towards them. The section showed how being a 'coloured' has particular consequences for men, and these consequences influence how men 'do gender' in Bishop Lavis.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PERFORMANCES OF MASCULINITIES IN BISHOP LAVIS

This chapter presents themes that explore subjective ideas about masculinity roles and norms amongst marginalised 'coloured' men in their local communities. It analyses both talk from individual interviews with young and older men from Bishop Lavis, a focus group with young men and their photo stories. This chapter illuminates the structures and practices around which 'coloured' masculine identity is lived. The first section focuses on the men's talk in constructing their genders within their local contexts and the interview setting. It focuses on what the men perceive to be characteristics of successful masculinity and duties of men in their contexts, which is examined intersectionally, focusing particularly on how class, location, Christianity and age has influenced how their gender is performed. In the next section, the men continually speak back at the dominant narrative of 'coloured' men as drunkards, violent, gangsters and absent fathers, and use their narratives to position themselves as respectable, educated men in a situation that does not easily provide the material means for this.

7.1 Local Masculinities and Intersectionality

West and Zimmerman (1987, 1992) argue that displaying our 'gender' is part of our everyday interactions. In 'doing' our gender, men and women perform socially established gendered roles for others to see. The interview interaction becomes a powerful platform where these gendered roles are constructed and performed, especially when the interviewer and interviewee are of different genders (Huysamen, 2016). This section focuses on how participants' gender intersect with their class, location, Christianity, and age to produce particular ways of constructing and doing masculinity. From the participants' talk, one can see how their constructions of gender are heavily informed by traditional notions of masculinity. From the focus group discussions and individual interviews with both young men and older men in Bishop Lavis, it became evident that their subjective descriptions of masculinity were based on performances and displays of masculinity, rather than particular masculine character types or traits (Connell, 2002; Luyt, 2007; Mthembu, 2015).

7.1.1 Local masculinity and Class

This section focuses on the intersection of gender, class and location in producing particular experiences for men and ways of doing masculinity in Bishop Lavis. Throughout the research,

many men, both young and old, in both their talk and photo stories, talked about the duties of a man. Fulfilling these duties made one a real man while being unable to fulfil these duties made one a lesser man. These duties were mostly tied to a man being financially able to provide for his family and their needs.

Figure 3.5. “Men must do whatever they can to provide” - Michael, 22

Figure 3.6. “Limited job opportunities in Bishop Lavis but we take what we get” - John, 21

In both the photo stories above, the men showed how, as 'real' men, they need to financially provide in any way possible. For many of these men, employment opportunities are scarce, which leaves them to think outside of the box, like informally selling food items as seen in figure 3.5, to earn money in order to support their families and not be seen as 'lesser' men (Honwana, 2014). Shoprite[44] was one among few job opportunities in the area and considered a dead-end job, but John had no other choice because he needed to earn money to fulfil his duty of providing. Men's duties of financially providing were continually constructed in the participants' talk:

> Simone: Okay, but what makes one a man?
> Brandon: A man is someone who works for his family, a man is someone who puts food on the table, who **does the man duties man**
> Simone: What is man duties? (…)
> Michael: **Someone who protects his family, someone who is always there, who provides for his family**
> Mark: Someone who works
> Michael: Yes, someone who gets up early to go and work an bring money home
>
> Eddie: You know what makes somebody a man? Say for instance; let me make one example, if you got married; now that's now your wife. Now **you must be a man in your house. You must look after your children, you look after your wife, you must work for them and you must keep the house (…) A man is there to support his family – that is what you call a man. He supports his family, his children (…)**

Social consensus about men's duties were clear in these excerpts taken from both the focus group and the individual interview. For all the men in my research, the role of the provider made men responsible for the economic welfare of their families. These men all constructed their ideas of being a man in relation to a wife or in relation to a family or their role within that, which I argue comes down to the fundamental aspect of discursive studies of masculinity and how societies are constructed through binaries with little room for the spaces in-between. Having employment and performing the breadwinner role was, therefore, an integral part of masculine expression for these men to perform this identity (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Boonzaier, 2005; Campbell, 1992; Mthembu, 2015; Niehaus, 2005; Peters *et al.*, 2019).

The finding of this research is consistent with other research with men, where the masculine role is linked to being the financial provider of the family (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Shefer & Foster, 2001). To fulfil this role, young men in particular would take any job necessary in order

---

[44] Shoprite is a South African supermarket chain.

earn money and provide. There was a sense, however, that this responsibility was difficult to shoulder, but the respectability that men derived from being the provider, was most highlighted. The provider role afforded a man the respect of his wife and children that in turn elevated his masculine identity (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015; Helman *et al.,* 2018; Mthembu, 2015), thus using their discursive practices to construct themselves as respectable men by being good fathers and husbands (van Niekerk, 2019). However, unemployment in their local contexts was common, which meant that many men were unable to be the providers for their families:

> Dean: I wouldn't say you not a man, you still the man but to be unemployed [long pause]
> Simone: Does it do something to your manhood?
> Dean: Yes, **it breaks it, especially the authority that you have as a man.** It breaks you down, so when people tell you, you not working, you unemployed, what are you doing here, and people chase you away because I don't have money for you, I don't have food for you. So, it breaks you down (…)

This was echoed by Harry:

> Harry: (...) **Our men aren't men anymore because the wife goes to work, he stays at home.** When she comes home at night he hasn't done the food, he hasn't cleaned and then **he's a rubbish and then he's a this and a that 'and you can't even take care of us and you can't even provide for us'.** So what does he do? I'm not saying…I'm not making an excuse, I'm just saying from where I sit men have been emasculated. And well and good we must lift the women up and women must take their rightful place and they are equal to men and things like that but men haven't been told that. **When we grew up we were told big men don't cry, you know, you stand on your authority, you must provide for your family and when you can't do those manly things,** where is he going to take it out? He's going to take it out on somebody

In both narratives, the participants speak of unemployed men as "rubbish" because they "can't even provide" and as "breaking the authority you have as a man" (Harry). Harry notes how "we've emasculated our men" which he suggests has been the reason why men "take it out on somebody". In this narrative, men are positioned as emasculated victims of a biased system that is empowering women at men's expense (Anderson & Umberson, 2001; Dube, 2016). Thus, violence is perpetuated by 'coloured' men whose masculinity is in crisis (Wardrop, 2009). Boonzaier's (2005) research with black men who perpetrate violence and women who are abused, found that men's ideas around successful masculinities were linked to their ability to provide financially for their families, and an inability to do that rendered them powerless. This feeling of powerlessness was used as justification for using violence against

their partners. The reference to men becoming perpetrators of violence as a result of unemployment is an important reflection, but it is only one possible consequence. Participating in gang and criminal activity is another (Cooper & Foster, 2008; Salo, 2007).

Researchers working with black men have argued that unemployment undermines men's access to successful forms of masculinity, which could lead to men using violence to 'do' gender (Boonzaier, 2005; Cooper & Foster, 2008; Peters & Bawa, 2012; Peters *et al*., 2019; Wojcicki, 2002; Wood, 2004). Cooper and Foster (2008) found that from the 25 'coloured' men participating in their study, violence was used as "a reaction to emasculation they experienced through marginalization" (p.20). Dube (2016), however, asked where the research is on white masculinities and violence, since there has been a loss of power by white men which could have propelled them to be violent as well. This is the reason given for the increase of violent acts perpetrated against black domestic workers and black students by Afrikaner men (Dube, 2016). Therefore, it is important to note that violence is not only perpetrated by the poor, black, or unemployed (Boonzaier et al., in press; Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2019; Gqola, 2007). Gqola (2007) argues that violence is everywhere and made to seem normal through meanings given around successful manhood. When I asked my participants about the high rates of unemployment in the area, they stated that finding a job was difficult because employment was scarce and their partners often continually taunted them to find jobs:

> Brandon: If you don't have work then you can't do everything that you want to do for your children now you see. They want a lot of things from me but I can't give it to them because there is no income, you understand
> Simone: And how does that make you feel?
> Brandon: For me it feels, because the mother works, and I don't work, you understand, and she will always throw it in my face
> Simone: Who throws it in your face?
> Brandon: As in the mother, the mother says that I must work, like I am not good enough. She won't do it all the time, she will say it every now and then asking me when you are going to find work. Yes, I understand it's the man's duty to go and find work but if there isn't then there isn't you understand. I can't, so, in other words, she is going to make me go and steal, you understand now… Yes, I want to be better, but their mother says I am not any better, but I am then doing something better, I am everyday with them [children] but to her I will never be better… when I have money than it's good

Although broad shifts have occurred in South African social life in recent decades, the notion of the man and father as the financial provider endures (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015; Helman *et al*., 2018; Swartz & Bhana, 2009). The 'father as provider' discourse constructs

financial provision as a key component of good fathering, and the most appropriate way for men to care for their children and families (Morrell, 2001). Men who are unable to provide for their families are then constructed as being bad fathers and not real men. Langa and Kiguwa's (2013) research with young black men found that unemployment and lack of job opportunities negatively impacted on men's sense of manhood, which is shown by Brandon in the extract above. He is made to feel less than a man by his children's mother because he has no job, while she does. In his narrative, Brandon positions himself as a victim, because he knows that it is his duty to work, but there just is no work. Honwana (2014) notes how the transition to adulthood for young people (especially men) in African contexts is being delayed because they cannot find jobs, which means they cannot marry and become providers. She argues that widespread social, economic crisis, and bad governance are some of the reasons so many jobs have disappeared.

The idea of successful manhood is tightly tied up with societal structures, like employment and the institution of marriage, where one's ability to provide defines one's self worth and position in one's family, as well as give men a sense of dignity and respectability (Honwana, 2014). In Brandon's narrative, his children's mother is constructed as not empathetic to his plight in finding employment, and instead "throws it in his face" that he has no job and cannot provide for his children, which makes him feel like less of a man. He constructs his girlfriend as the one who is "going to make me go steal", thus blaming her for his actions, since he is only good in her eyes when he has money. This is a common discourse among men, where they blame and put the responsibility of their bad behaviour on women (Anderson & Umberson, 2001; Boonzaier, 2005, 2008; Peters *et al.*, 2019; Wood, 2004). However, Brandon refuses to participate in criminal activities, and while he waits on employment, he spends every day with his young children who are not in day care at the moment because of financial strains. Honwana (2014) notes that while there may be fewer job opportunities, young people are using their creativity to find solutions and create strategies to survive and earn an income. This is the case in Bishop Lavis with 'coloured' men such as John and Michael, who are being productive and active despite the unemployment levels and a lack of independence, which comes out in the photo stories and narratives. Through these activities, starting businesses, working at Shoprite, and providing childcare, the young men are challenging the preconceptions of 'coloured' people as being lazy and absent fathers. The thing that pushes them to disrupt stigmatised narratives is their construction of masculinities.

This section examined how masculinity is constructed alongside class dynamics, where being a financial provider and having employment positions men in socially valuable positions

and helps to successfully ‘do’ their gender. Another aspect that helped men ‘do’ and understand their gender was Christianity.

7.1.2 Local masculinity and Christianity

Throughout the interviews and walks through the area, it became apparent how entrenched Christianity is in the area. Churches occupy almost every street and Christianity came up in almost every interview. This section focuses on the intersection of masculinity and Christianity, and examines how men construct their masculinity in relation to Christian values of manhood which was modelled on God the Father and Jesus the Son, who is a provider and protector. Being a Christian man was a common narrative throughout the research with men:

Figure 4.1 Bishop Lavis for Jesus -Simone, 27

Figure 4.2. “My home” -Brandon, 25

In the first picture, the writing was on the wall of the sports field in the area which reads: *Bishop Lavis for Jesus*, promoting a crusade that was happening in the area. Crusades were common in the area as a way to attract more residents to convert to Christianity. The second picture of Jesus and his twelve disciples at the Last Supper, taken by a participant, is a picture that hangs in his home. In the middle above Jesus is a family picture. When asked about the picture, he stated that Jesus is the centre of his family and home. Participants spoke about how their parents took them to church and how the church and God shaped the men they became today:

> Jack: I'm just thinking…the people I got along with, I thank the Lord for what I have and where I am today, I thank the Lord for that. Many of my friends have died; many of my friends who are better educated than me are people who push around a trolley. That's what I thank the Lord. And then I also thank the Lord for my parents who always kept their fingers on the pulse when it came to me – you had to go to church, even if you were late you had to go to church. Even if you came home this morning you had to go to church, you couldn't come in and sleep. See?
> Simone: So would you say the church played an important role in your life?
> Jack: Yes and the people in the church as well. When you were caught doing something wrong they would tell your parents, you see? You were too scared to do anything wrong because of all the people in the church watching you… The Lord created me, He gave me life and He raised me. If I said the Lord didn't raise me or it's not because of His grace, then what of the other people who have died and everything they went through, it's because they lived lawlessly…

This is echoed by Stanley, who talks about the role his parents played in instilling the Word into him and the role God played in who he became today:

> Simone: No, you right and to you, what does it mean to be a man? So what makes someone a man?
> Stanley: To be a man means you have a good communication, a good understanding. In your life, that you apply the Word, that the Word is taken in but it's the parents. You see, your parents make you a good man, your parent instil the Word in you and it must carry on and go onto the others, so that you as a parent can say you taught your kids this and made them understand life… A man for me, it's not what other people can do but what God has done in me because it was only Him. Before I was in my mother's womb He already knew me and what I would be… You must first seek the Kingdom of God and then all the rest shall be added unto you. Sometimes you hear the Word but you still want to go there and there… You must know that God will provide and guide you…If you look at most of the people in Bishop Lavis, they are people who are believing in God. They are praying

> for their kids you see, God says where 2 or more gather in His name there He is. Parents still keep their children under their protection, you understand

In both narratives, Jack (72) and Stanley (54) position the church as an important influence that shaped them to become the men they have become today, because God created them, guided them and raised them. These religion narratives were told by all the men of different ages. Most of them spoke of growing up in the church, with the exception of three older men who practise Islam. Most of the participants positioned the church as vital and important in Bishop Lavis, as it helps to produce men of character and dignified stature. In colonial times, many indigenous people converted to Christianity in order to gain respectability, which came with political and social rights (Olwig, 2007; Thornberry, 2016). From Jack's narrative, one sees that Christianity is still being constructed as a way for men to gain respectability, as Christianity is associated with morality and dignity (Anderson, 2009a), and non-believers are constructed as non-respectable and associated with lawlessness. Christianity is constructed as a form of social capital, where the "church is watching you" (Jack) and thus holds you accountable for your actions. Moreover, Christianity is positioned as giving the men a sense of belonging and purpose because "the Lord created me" and "in my mother's womb, He already knew me" (Stanley). This is echoed by Paul (41) who states that it is his duty as a father to make sure his family go to church:

> Simone: And for you what makes someone a man?
> Paul: Firstly if you can stand up for your family , if you can tell them listen here on a Sunday its church time we can stand up early so that we know we have our blessings for the week

In Paul's talk, he constructs a man as someone who takes care of his family's spiritual wellbeing. The participants saw it as their duty to make sure their families went to church and lived upright lives, as this was a sign of a real man. A good Christian is associated with being a provider, a protector, responsible for his family, and being the head of the household, therefore making one a real man. From many of the men, an important masculine role that men should perform was that of the head of the household:

> Simone: Do you believe that a man should put food on the table
> Stanley: Yes, **he must, I believe that he must**. **He is the head of the house and as a head of the house, you must always make sure there is food in the house**. The wife must look after the children and when the man comes out of the work, his

> food must be there and his tea waiting**, he must always be looked after**, you understand

The narrative of the man as head of the house was echoed by Jack who stated that it is written in the Bible:

> Jack: (…) **when you go to the scripture it says that the man is the head of the house**

In both narratives, we see how the participants emphasised that the man is the head of the house. Being the head of the household requires that a man *do* the things that are expected of him, thus men construct their masculine duty as a commitment to their families (Campbell, 1992; Hunter, 2005; Mthembu, 2015; Niehaus, 2005; Peters, 2016). In Stanley's narrative, he highlights how, as the head of the house, one is responsible for feeding your family, an act which he states a man *must do*. Stanley's narrative was in response to my questioning, which were filled with my own assumptions of what makes one a man. As a masculinity scholar researching men my whole academic career, I have read and heard what makes one a real man which influenced the questions that I asked the men. In Mthembu's (2015) work, there was consensus between her participants that as a man "*you must*" provide for your family, which was what I found in my research too. These pre-empting definitions of head of the household with this wording ("*You must*") could be the men emphasising the importance of this masculine duty, while also stressing the enormity of this responsibility (Mthembu, 2015). In their talk about the head of the household position, most men drew on biblical discourses to substantiate their views about masculine 'worthiness'. Additionally, their talk also constructed certain duties that men need to fulfil in their homes, and the duties their wives are responsible for, such as childcare and cooking. From the men's talk, the expected passivity of women is clear in the manner they describe feminine duties. Women therefore were obliged to respect the decisions made by the head of the household. The men positioned women in very traditional ways, which helps maintain the status quo of men as superior to women, often using the Bible as a tool for such traditional positioning (Anderson, 2009a). In gaining respectability and 'doing' masculinity, both young and older men positioned homosexuality as wrong, which was in line with what the Bible teaches them.

> Leon: (…) A bunny and a moffie are the same thing
> Simone: But what is it?
> Leon: It's someone who is gay (…)
> Liam: He likes men

> Brandon: He's a woman
> Liam: (…) you can see that something isn't lekker there (…)
> Brandon: He is gay mos, so something isn't lekker there

In the focus group, homosexuality was constructed as wrong and gay men were labelled as "bunny" or "moffie". A *moffie* is a derogatory term used for any man who is perceived to be gay. In the focus group, the young men positioned a *moffie* as a *bunny*. *Bunny* was originally a term of endearment used for a pretty girl or young woman, which was later used as an insult to imply a woman was promiscuous (Dictionary.com, 2020). In using these terms, the men not only positioned men who are gay as women but also positioned them as not "being lekker" (Liam, Brandon). Here, *lekker* is translated into *right*. My research is in line with other research that concluded that real men were heterosexual (Kimmel, 1994; Morrell & Swart, 2005; Niehaus, 2005; Peters *et al*., 2019; Shefer & Mankayi, 2007). Participants continually aligned being a real man with being there for your "woman, your girlfriend or your wife", thus constructing a heterosexual relationship as the norm. The men use their narratives to assert their masculinity by distancing themselves from anything associated with femininity (Kimmel, 1993, 1994; Peters *et al*., 2019). In doing this, they reassert and establish their masculine and Christian identity not only to me but also the other men in the focus group, all of whom positioned themselves as Christians, by standing in agreement that homosexuality is wrong. Such religious narratives were made possible because of their socialisation in the church, which has shaped their ideas around masculinity.

The church was also constructed as a pillar to the young men who were once part of gangs to seek a new path and live better lives:

> Mark: How do they say once a gangster, always a gangster but what I actually want to say is that it is not worth the effort really. I realised for myself to be a gangster is not the road for me. One time, that was now last year, so I got stabbed and I saw my death in front of me, but God gave me another chance and I made use of the chance. I don't want to be like I was before but yes that's that…Yes, but what do they say the church is empty, but the jails are full, yes but me, I am, I am a Christian boy. I go to church every Sunday, no I must.

In the participants' talk, they constructed the church as a powerful tool that keeps young men in Bishop Lavis out of trouble. This perception is embedded in the understanding that God-fearing churchgoers are expected to portray a wide range of morally and socially acceptable behaviours (Anderson, 2009a; Olwig, 2007). Mark draws on God as the reason he

left his gang activities, because God gave him a second chance. These redemptive narratives, often characterised by a transformation of being bad and becoming good, are common in reformed gangsters (Ferris, 2015; Frances, 2018). Here, Mark uses religion as a way out of his difficult situation, which was common in work with ex-gangsters (Ferris, 2015; Frances, 2018). He uses Christianity as a source for resources to lift himself out of a life of violence. His account demonstrates how going to church is synonymous with being good, thus it is imperative that he goes to church ("I must") because he does not want to be like he was before, a gangster. Despite his efforts, Mark explained how he has to convince others (his parents and teachers in particular) of the righteousness and sincerity of his intentions. His commitment to non-violence and the renunciation of gang life have to be proven, something he understands cannot simply be achieved by attending church. In the interview, he emphasised how he had completely changed his ways. Mark thus constructs religion as a form of social capital with the ability and power to influence his position and how he is perceived in this community, to change how people see him (Anderson, 2009a). Mark is aware that, once a gangster, always a gangster, but he states that he is trying to be better and do better. Ex-gangsters becoming born-again Christians is common and is used as a way to protect them against any retaliation, and help gangsters live a normal life when they come out of prison (Adams, 2003).

This section focused on the intersection between Christianity and masculinity. The church was shown as a source of positive support for men to construct their lives and move away from risky activities, but at the same time, it also reinforces conceptions of traditional masculinities that can result in a discourse of blame and shame, when men do not live up to Christianity's expectations. Bishop Lavis is filled with over a hundred churches and many men, in constructing their masculine identity, try to live up to the Bible's way of 'doing' gender. Age also shaped how men did masculinity.

7.1.3 Local masculinity and Age

This section focuses on the intersection of age and masculinity. Much research found that age shaped how men spoke about manhood and their ideas around masculinity (Hartley, 2014). In Hartley's (2014) intergenerational research with 'coloured' fathers and sons, he found that the younger generation reproduced similar narratives to the older generation, but often times also reinvented certain ways of doing 'masculinity', whereas the older generation were more rooted in traditions. Additionally, young 'coloured' men were constructed as more at-risk of engaging in riskier behaviours (Cooper & Foster, 2008). In this research, there was a constant

construction by older participants of young ‘coloured’ men as lazy, which was always narrated when I asked about the unemployment rate and job opportunities:

> Jerry: There are plenty of jobs for men but our youngsters don’t want to labour. They want to earn the same amount of money that the manager earns (...) And if you can’t get R600 a day, they say “If I sell a couple of bags of *tik* and a couple bags of *buttons*[45] for two or three hours then I’ve got R1000 a day”. So it’s an easier way of making money. They don’t want to put in effort and labour in to it but they want the money, you see?

My research had an intergenerational aspect to it where I was interviewing young men, middle-aged men, and men over 65. It was interesting to note how all three generations found being a provider to one’s family an important trait of being a man. Not being able to provide made one less than a man. The older men distanced themselves from the young men by continually constructing them as lazy, wanting the easy way out and being disrespectful, while older working men were positioned as hardworking men who took responsibility and always had a respectable job (a job where one was not selling drugs) so that they could always provide. In Jerry’s (53) narrative, he states that there are plenty of jobs but they require hard labour, something that young men do not want to do. Young men were also constructed as more deviant and prone to participate in riskier behaviours:

> Brandon: The older you get, the wiser you get, and you see things and you experience things and you see things, you experience things (…) there by us boys of 10, 12 years old standing on the streets. Not attending school, standing on the corners
> Leon: Smoking cigarettes
> Michael: Begging for R2’s every day or asking for 50 cents, you know
> Leon: Or shooting guns (…)
> Brandon: These boys start using drugs at 13 years yes tik, dagga or buttons
> Leon: Wasted
> Michael: Now they feel like they must stand up and defend for themselves

This is emphasized in Brandon’s individual interview too:

> Brandon: To be a young man, most of them become gangsters. You get good young men then you get from the young men who feel they want to be older. Then you

[45] Buttons is a drug which is a known as methaqualone or mandrax, the drug of preference alongside dagga (Drugaware, 2003)

> get young men who just focus on their thing, like what is good, then you get the ones who are involved in bad things like gangsterism and such things
> Simone: Mm, and for you as a young man, what made you not go into that life?
> Brandon: Because I saw now, I saw many examples where men went to prison and lost everything, where they died. Where the bosses don't pay but instead they are given drugs to kill people, you understand. Now for me that is not something good you see to hurt people and you must steal or to fit in you must always do something wrong, it's never something good

It interesting to see how young men in both the focus group and in the individual interview with Brandon (25) constructed young boys (nine- to twelve-year-olds) as deviant. Brandon constructs two different types of young men, the respectable good young man who is not a gangster, and the bad young man who goes into gangsterism to be seen as grown. He constructs gangsterism as a strategy used by young men to be "older" (Brandon), and 'do' their gender by going to jail, and displaying violence and bravery (Butler, 1993; Cooper & Foster, 2008; Cooper, 2009; Salo, 2003). In the focus group, the young men distanced themselves from the younger men (those under 18), by saying "the older you, the wiser you get" (Brandon), thus using their talk to position themselves as wiser with age and the younger boys as "wasted" (Leon).

Figure 4.3: "The Devil finds work for idle Hands"-Simone, 27

Figure 4.4: Resilience-Simone 27

> On my walk today I saw many young men would either be gambling, or standing around begging which was something I often encountered while walking through the area or be standing there at times high on drugs. I asked my aunt, who accompanied me on the walk, what they used the money for, which ranged from the gambling and begging and or used to buy drugs or alcohol but at times the money would be used to help buy food for their families too. Today I went to talk to some young men and asked them how old they were and why they on the streets and not in school, to which many answered that they were either 13, 14 or 15 and that school could offer them nothing so why even bother going. I tried to motivate them to go back to school but as I walked away from the young men, I felt a sense of hopelessness because I knew these young men deserved more than just a pep talk.
> I noted how many young boys on the streets would make scooters or kites for them to play with amidst their lack, they never felt pity on themselves and that reminded me why I did this research in the first place.
>
> (*Extract from my fieldnotes on the 18 February 2019)*

Young men have continually spoken about feeling unprotected and unsafe in this area. They spoke about the high unemployment, drug and alcohol rates in their area and thus, as a way to cope in such an area, one needs to embody certain violent masculine traits, such as owning a gun or using substances, in order to "stand up and defend for themselves" (Michael). This was noted by Jensen (1999) who argues that it is "one of the tragic paradoxes for some coloured men" because as they "defend themselves against violence, they reproduce the criminalisation of themselves. Thus 'coloured' men always run the risk of being seen as criminal by their communities" (Jensen, 1999, p. 174), which is the case for many younger boys. The picture I took displays visually what Brandon is narrating, the tale of two types of young men: the

respectable young man “who just focus on their thing, like what is good”, as seen in figure 4.4 of a young man building a scooter to play with. Then there is the “wasted” young boys who are “standing on corners”, “begging” and “using drugs” (Michael), as seen in figure 4.3 taken on a weekday morning. The young men were gambling instead of being in school and when I enquired about it, they said school could offer them nothing, so why bother going. Such narratives were made possible because of the lack of job opportunities and resources available in the area to the youth.

The older men in the research shared this narrative of gaining wisdom as they grew older:

> Nigel: (...) I was kind of in a teenage gang that time when it started it was a trend of fashion but it wasn’t anything serious at that time it was never serious we were kind of friends that all stayed in the same road or in the same neighbourhood then we kind of formed our own gang but when I started working I withdrew myself from that , as a youngster we did that we did that … I never used drugs in my life although I did try marijuana once and it almost killed me and I never did it again , I consumed alcohol yes but to a certain point and then I made a conscious decision and said it wasn’t for me so I stopped drinking as well but I never took drugs but I did have friends that took drugs that time it wasn’t tik as it is now but that time mandrax was the in thing it’s a type of tablet one takes where you crush it and then you smoke it. Many a times my friends tried to persuade me to do drugs but I never did…

In his narrative, Nigel admits to being part of a teenage gang but constructs the gang as “never serious”, a phrase he uses twice to emphasise how it was really nothing, just a group of friends. Pinnock (1984, 2016) posits that gangs on the Cape Flats are the result of groups of young men attempting to recreate social networks or “brotherhoods”, after the Group Areas Act tore communities apart. Nigel, like many of the older participants who were aged 40 and above, joined gangs as a way of connecting with other young men. In his narrative, the gangs of his time were young men from the same neighbourhoods or same roads hanging together, which in another context would be seen as just that, however, in his context of a poor township, those friendships are constructed as gangs to the outside world and even to the men who tell these narratives. Many young men turn to their gangs for not only approval but acceptance and will do whatever they are told to do to earn this from their gang leaders (Cooper & Foster, 2009; Pinnock, 1984, 2016). Some young men resist falling prey to gangsterism and substance abuse, like Nigel, who gained respectability by leaving his friends, finding employment and stopping drinking and using marijuana. Age became another strategy for men to gain respectability by distancing themselves from their younger foolish selves, since they have

gained wisdom with age (Anderson, 2009a; Mthembu, 2015; Salo, 2007; van Niekerk, 2019; van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2015a; 2015b).

Age also shaped how men constructed women, marriage and faithfulness, with older men constructing a real man as someone who only has one woman:

> Simone: And for you what makes someone a man?
> Dean: To me to be a man is to **stand by one woman**(...) And some friends they want to see when you go to clubs, all that stuff makes you a man, telling your wife to stay at home. I am not like that, that is not how to be a man. To be a man is to be with your children and be a father as well, it comes to the same thing, when you with your woman, your girlfriend or your wife, to stand by them, that makes you a man

In his narrative, Dean constructs a real man as someone who "stands by one woman". He creates the 'respectable us' – men who stand by their romantic partners versus the bad men who leave their wives at home to go to clubs with friends. He positions manhood in relation to the family structure, where a man is with his children and his wife. The young men, however, showed competing ideas around faithfulness, loyalty and marriage:

> Simone: No I am just asking because people are like to be a man you need to have so many girlfriends, so(…) I am asking is that something that makes someone a man?
> Collectively: Nooo
> Liam: But see that is in your teenage years but as you grow older
> Leon: Then you become wise
> Liam: Then you say no, that is not really worth the effort

Later in the focus group, the men revealed that being unfaithful and not ready for marriage was because they were young:

> Simone: Okay and you, what do you look for in a woman?
> Mark: She must just be loyal(…)
> Simone: Okay but are you also loyal(…)
> Mark: I'm not loyal
> Simone: Wait so you not loyal but she must be loyal… No man, how does that work?...
> Brandon: Some women are boring because she screams about the same thing the whole time whereas the other woman doesn't scream at all, so now you can hear two maybe three different things
> Simone: No but you guys said to be a real man you must faithful and have one woman

> Brandon: No, Simone you not understanding, we still young you see. We are not yet in that 30's or 40's or when you on that marriage track and it's like normal, a man must have one woman but we not there yet…I have my girlfriend, but I also a chila, you see
> Simone: What is a chila?
> Michael: Like a side girl
> Brandon: A one-night stand…a lekker (nice) girl…as in her body wise and she doesn't scream or nag.. she has a lekker body…Lekker bum, lekker breasts, a nice face, lekkertjies…She is not of those nagging girls

The men in the first extract co-construct a real man as being faithful to one woman and being unfaithful is constructed as an act that is immature, and "not worth the effort" (Liam). They constructed a respectable masculinity by distancing themselves from their teenage days (van Niekerk, 2019). These narratives were also found with the older men, which are in contrast to much literature where doing successful masculinity is associated with having many women and engaging in sexual relations with multiple women (Kimmel, 1993,1994; Morrell & Swart, 2005; Niehaus, 2005; Peters *et al.*, 2019; Ratele, 2011; Shefer & Mankayi, 2007). These participants challenged such thinking in the focus group, but later in the focus group, also positioned themselves as not loyal. The men co-constructed 'appropriate' actions for women such as being loyal and "not nagging" or "screaming" at men because that could result in him going to find a "lekker" girl with the "lekker body" (Brandon), thus blaming women for men's infidelity. There is a general discourse of blame coming out of the men's narratives: self-blame, men blaming women, women blaming men, and old men blaming younger men.

Connell (1987) notes that society has created all forms of femininity to be in subordination to all men. Femininities are diverse, with many existing, such as the emphasized femininity where women comply with their subordination and are driven to satisfy and please men. Other forms are defined by women being non-compliant and resisting. However, for these men in this study, any woman who they position as inappropriate, and who they construct as "nagging", can be cheated on. Some young men in the group were not being loyal but expected women to be, which could be a form of doing masculinity by controlling women's actions. Moreover, the young men constructed infidelity as acceptable because they were still young, "not there yet" and not on a "marriage track", which is preserved for men who are "30 and 40" (Brandon). Their talk also emphasised the importance of being faithful, which was heavily emphasised in their individual interviews, with myself, a female researcher. I reflect on these dynamics later on in this chapter.

This section examined the complexities that exist between the intersection of age and masculinity. Men constructed their older selves as "wiser" because they have learnt from the mistakes they made in their younger days. In their talk, they positioned themselves as respectable by distancing themselves from the deviant and lazy young men. 'Coloured' men also used their talk not only to construct stigmatised identities, but also challenge dominant narratives around 'coloured' masculinity.

7.2 Realities of Bishop Lavis: Constructing and challenging hegemonic 'coloured'' masculinities

In their narratives of the high levels of gangsterism, substance abuse and violence in the area, the men construct gendered identities in relation to both local and global understandings of what it means to be a real man. Like many areas on the Cape Flats, Bishop Lavis too is riddled with high gangsterism rates, high unemployment rates, drugs and very little opportunities. In this section, I examine how men use their talk not only to construct hegemonic 'coloured' masculinity in stigmatised ways, but also to speak back to the stereotype positioning of 'coloured' men.

7.2.1 Narratives of internalising and challenging gangsterism as inherently 'coloured'

This section will examine how men use their talk to construct 'coloured' masculinity as inherently linked to gangsterism, while at the same time distancing themselves from gangsterism and challenging the narrative that all 'coloured' men are gangsters. Many participants acknowledged that gangsterism was a problem that disrupted their lives, evident in the multiple narratives shared in chapter five. It is within this chaotic, difficult context that many participants acknowledge the transition into manhood is through the ritual of initiation, such as going to prison or going into gangsterism:

> Jerry: Right, and that's how the 'coloured' man started calling every Pollsmoor[46] or Goodwood[47] or whatever, they call it their second home. They call it their college of knowledge, have you heard that?
> Simone: I haven't heard that – their college of knowledge? Wow!
> Jerry: Their College of knowledge. Their belief is you are not a grown man if you haven't passed through the college
> Simone: Is that almost like initiation, like you have to go through prison to be a man?
> Jerry: To be a man, it's some sort of culture. It's a 'coloured' culture.

[46] Pollsmoor is a maximum security prison situated in Tokai, Cape Town.
[47] Goodwood prison is situated in Goodwood, Cape Town.

> Simone: To go through jail?
> Jerry: You have to go through the college of knowledge to be someone (…) Because if you can't *sabela* then you can't talk, you don't belong in the streets. If you don't have a *plakka* then you're not a *ou* (man), you know? That is the culture and that is the downfall of our…of my area

Jerry's narrative states that many 'coloured' boys only become men once they go through the "college of knowledge", which is the prison system, and constructs going to jail as a "coloured culture". This narrative of positioning prison life with a 'coloured' culture is an example of internalised shame, where the participant himself constructs 'colouredness' as deviant. In his narrative, Jerry further states that if you cannot speak in the language of the gangsters ("sabela"), or you do not have tattoos ("plakka") then you are not a man according to "coloured culture". He constructs this 'coloured' culture as the problem in his area because it encourages 'coloured' men to subscribe to violent masculinities in order to be seen as men in their local contexts. For many young men who are marginalised by class and race, many are unable to 'do gender' through the formal means of employment or the attainment of wealth, so going to jail or joining a gang and displaying violence and bravery, is a way for these young men to 'do gender' and be seen as "grown" (Butler, 1993; Cooper, 2009). Jerry, who is historically classified a 'coloured', has actively distanced himself from 'coloured' identity by claiming he is Malay and using his talk to construct 'colouredness' and 'coloured' culture as deviant, as a strategy to gain respectability (Mthembu, 2015; van Niekerk, 2019). Constructing 'coloured' masculinity as deviant, was seen in many participants' talk, where they internalised the stereotypes about 'colouredness' and reproduced it in their talk to define 'colouredness' (Hook, 2005). However, many men also used their talk to actively distance themselves from gangsterism and denounce it. Young men opened up about falling prey to gangsterism, but after near death experiences and going to prison, they promised themselves to desist from gangsterism, thus challenging the narratives that all 'coloured' men are gangsters:

> Liam: The things that I did with my friends, the wrong stuff and so but as time went on I saw that this is not for me and that this is going to bring nothing to my bags, so to get away from it was to make up my mind now or never. So, then I decided to rather not live like this anymore
> Simone: Mm, and what are the wrong things?
> Liam: [Laughs] Yoh, I am going to tell you like this now, gangsterism, yoh, I did a lot of bad things … for me it was more of an escape from the home… Okay, how can I, okay, my friends, we were just right for each other, they gave me love, how can I say now, my father never really gave me that love. That manly love and so, my father never really gave me that…My friends, we could share anything with

> each other and so, we could hang together, play together. We do everything with each other… friends but they can see that I am not involved in those things anymore, they see that I am a changed person
> Simone: And what was your tuning point?
> Liam: Yoh, when I saw, when I literally saw my death. When I literally saw my death, it's like they say it's the jail or death. Like me I haven't really experienced what jail is like really, but I have experienced the celletjies[48] only [laughs]. So, I have experienced the cells but the not the jail

Such narratives took a long time to surface, with the young men very hesitate to share their stories of joining gangs, hurting others, being involved in bad things, and sharing their vulnerabilities and trauma. These narratives were not shared in the focus group and only surfaced in the individual interviews. In the interview, I kept reassuring the participants to only tell me narratives that they were comfortable sharing and wanted to share, and it led to them opening up about entering gangs and eventually leaving. The men deviated from the hegemonic script of 'doing gender' through vulnerability and the shame attached to being involved in gangsterism, which is contrary to Cooper and Foster's (2009) findings where men were not ashamed about being part of a gang because of the prestige it brought them. Men are encouraged to repress their emotions (Brannon, 1976; Luyt, 2002; Mahalik *et al*., 2003) and yet in many interviews, the men challenged those notions by sharing feelings of their fear of death, feeling unsafe and possibly being harmed again, feeling sad because they lost friends to gang violence, and sharing feelings of rejections by their fathers who never gave them love so they found friends who gave them that love. Pinnock (1984) argues that the gang and other friendship support networks become the pseudo-kin to these young men as the friends support them, which is appealing, and the collective strength and support offers a sense of security and solidarity, upon which these boys place great value (Anderson, 2009a).

Redemptive narratives were prevalent across participants both young and old, one of being a changed man, where they left behind their reckless behaviours and traded it for a respectable masculinity and walking the "right path" (Anderson, 2009a; Mthembu, 2015; Salo, 2007; van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2015a; 2015b; van Niekerk, 2019). Despite the continued prevalence of gang cultures in Bishop Lavis, gangster masculinity, from the narratives retrieved from my research, seems to be losing its hegemonic status as the most sought-after form of manhood among many young men there (Anderson, 2009a; Salo, 2007). Many men would not be respected and instead would be othered and disrespected by being called a *moffie* if they did

[48] *Celletjies* refers to the holding cells at police stations.

not display and encourage violent masculinities (van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2015), however, my participants desisted gangsterism:

> Simone: Yes, yes and for you what makes somebody a man? You said your friends said when you went to play soccer that you were a *moffie*, why did they say you're a *moffie?*
> Eddie: I'm going to answer that question very sweet and short. They said I'm a *moffie* because I'm going to play soccer now, because I don't want to get involved in their gangsterism.
> Simone: Oh, so now you're not man enough almost?
> Eddie: I can be a man because any gangster is not a man because he can't defend himself. He goes out and shoots someone, he's now that guy (…) I don't want to be with them because they're like men. They can do things, they rob people, and they can stab people (...) That makes you no man because any gangster is not a man, he pretends. You catch him alone, you beat him up and he goes and fetches his friends and he wants to kill you.

Moffie is a derogatory Afrikaans term for a homosexual or a feminine masculinity. By choosing not to become a gangster or use violence and instead play soccer, Eddie's performance of masculinity was considered outside the respected form of doing masculinity in the area (van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2015). Research has found that men avoided being positioned as *moffies* as it was more offensive than being called gay (Gibson & Lindegaard, 2007; Ratele, 2007). Ratele *et al.* (2007) found that boys who refused to use violence or preferred to stay indoors were positioned as *moffies*. In the interaction with Eddie, like with all my participants, I tried to create a safe space where participants would feel respected and not judged by me, similar to techniques employed by feminist researchers working with men (Boonzaier, 2014; van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2015). In Eddie's narrative, I believe my line of questioning helped to co-construct the narrative he told. I was challenging his masculinity in my line of questioning, by asking "like you not man enough, almost?" which resulted in him reacting by telling a narrative in which he is a man and constantly repeating that throughout the interview, a method of properly doing masculinity by asserting his power. This narrative was told to reassert his masculinity despite not using violent or becoming a gangster. He used his narrative to challenge hegemonic 'coloured' masculinities where gangsterism and the use of violence is seen as making one a man, but he stated that it does not make you a man, only a coward because you need your friends to help you gain respect through violence and instilling fear. The participants in my study instead positioned gangsters as *moffies*:

> Simone: Okay, so for you do you see men that go into gangsterism as men, are they men to you?
> Paul: No they are not men, they say they are moffies. I don't believe in gangsterism cause they say if you belong to a gang you an ou (man) but in a couple of hours something can happen to that you, you are not a man

All my participants in my research constructed gangsterism and violence as cowardly, and men who did either were constructed as *moffies* and bad men. Throughout the interviews, the men continually distanced themselves from anything bad and deviant and constructed themselves as respectable men. In doing so, we can see how hegemony is fluid and changing within local contexts (Connell, 1995). Anderson (2009a) found that, in a group of 'coloured' men from a violent township in Durban, their masculinities were varied within the same group of men. There were men, like in my research, who renounced violence and rejected gangsterism. This was also seen in van Niekerk's (2019) research, where her participants used their narratives to construct respectable and good masculinity. This trend is being followed by many young 'coloured' men who keep referring to gangsterism as the easy way out and the wrong path, knowing that nothing good would come from taking that journey. This loss is in favour of periodically more respectable masculinities, such as Christian masculinities (Anderson, 2009a; Salo, 2007).

Participants were aware of how they are seen in the country where public and research discourse have and continued to position poor 'coloured', and more broadly, black masculinities, as deviant and homogenised, suggesting that their identities put them at-risk of becoming perpetrators of violence (Abrahams *et al*., 2006; Boonzaier, 2018; Choi & Ting, 2008; Jewkes *et al*., 2009; Peters & Bawa, 2012; Sawyer-Kurian *et al*., 2009). Their narratives are a way for them to speak back to those narratives and show new ways to imagine being a 'coloured' man. My research findings seem to be contrary to other research done with young 'coloured' men, where gangsterism was glorified. Researchers argued that these boys come from very poor backgrounds which resulted in feelings of worthlessness and shame and thus used local rituals, institutions and gangsterism to compensate for the disempowerment felt because of their socio-historical context (Cooper, 2009; Cooper & Foster, 2008; Salo, 2003). This suggests that being a gangster in Bishop Lavis appears to be losing its popularity as men negotiate doing their gender in their local contexts.

This section examined how men used their talk not only to reproduce stigmatised identities but also challenge and imagine new possibilities for 'coloured' masculinities. Alcohol and

drugs also played a role in maintaining certain forms of masculinity, however, men used their talk to distance themselves from violence and substance abuse.

7.2.2 Local masculinities, violence and substance abuse: Not all 'coloured' men are violent alcoholics

Many theorists argue that the decades of oppression, lack of resources, and trauma left from the forced removals have left deep scars in the people and communities on the Cape Flats, and these have manifested in many ways, such as high crime rates and abuse of substances (Asante & Lentoor, 2017; Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000, 2014; MacMaster, 2009; Trotter, 2009). This section will unpack the consequences of alcohol and substance abuse on performances of masculinity. It will also look at how men use their talk to imagine and construct non-violent 'coloured' masculinities, who do drink or use drugs.

Crystal methamphetamine, also locally referred to as *tik*, has spread rapidly throughout South Africa and plaguing the Cape Flats. This highly addictive drug is popular because it increases your energy and feelings of euphoria (Asante & Lentoor, 2017). Anecdotal evidence suggests there are over 200,000 tik users in and around the city of Cape Town, and about half the people receiving treatment cite tik as a primary or secondary substance of abuse—far ahead of alcohol. Moreover, statistics indicate that 91 per cent of teenage methamphetamine users are 'coloured' males, and that the average age of these users was 16 years old (Pluddermann, Myers & Parry, 2008). My participants' narratives revealed how prevalent substance abuse was in their area:

> Ester: (…) I think most of the men try everything so the drugs and that will be more afflicted on the men because men like to try anything – it gives them the strength you know, they do cigarette smoking, dagga smoking, drugs, mandrax, tik – they like to try anything because it makes you more of man now. If there's a new drug coming out they will even try that. ..And our young men also don't take responsibility (…) Uhm there are a lot of learners who are selling drugs at school, so I think most of them sell drugs…most of them sell drugs for outside drug lords and that is where the conflict comes in because some of those guys come to the school as gangsters and threaten the others who are like taking their territory(…) in this area they shoot each other for territory (…) I was dealing with a grade five learner who's like 11 years old…that learner was raped three times by three different men on three different occasions and her mother's also a drug addict. We living in bad times, where drugs and alcohol are making the men do terrible things to feel like men again, our young girls are suffering and no one is doing anything about it…

Ester has been working in Bishop Lavis for the past five years and works predominantly with young men in schools across the area. Her NGO has allowed her to work with many families. As a single mother of five boys living in Bishop Lavis, she is aware of the dangers that surround young men daily. In her narrative, she uses her talk to argue that drug abuse affects boys more and positions young men in her area as irresponsible and reckless, and willing to try any new drugs just to be seen as men by others. She notes how drug use and drug dealing is prevalent in the area, and school children are selling drugs too (Cooper, 2010). She positions the use and sale of drugs as the root of all evil, as it brings gangsters into schools and causes men to "shoot each other". It has been argued that, in order to protect one's territory, many young men would need to engage in hegemonic masculine traits such as being fearless and taking risks (Brannon, 1976; Cooper & Foster, 2008; Kimmel, 1993) and being aggressive and violent (Cooper & Foster, 2008; Peters & Bawa, 2012; Peters *et al*., 2019). In successfully doing their gender, drugs become the tool that helps prepare them to carry out these territorial wars and carry out gang initiations as drugs remove inhabitations, fuel aggression and sharpen their senses (Leggett, 2003; Wijnberg & Green, 2014). Drugs are also used by gang leaders as a reward to gang members who successfully completed an initiation task or as a bonding activity where members would do drugs together. Additionally, drugs were also frequently used by gang members as a way of coping (Anton, 2010; Wijnberg & Green, 2014). Kinnes (2008, p. 5) argued that "one cannot separate South African gangs from drugs", as drugs are deeply embedded in gang culture and their functioning (Kinnes, 2000, 2008; Leggett, 2002; 2003). Ester states that "drugs and alcohol are making the men do terrible things to feel like men again", at the expense of young girls who are being brutally violated. In her extract, Ester blames drugs and alcohol instead of challenging the systems that create violent men. Sexual violence like rape often become the means through which marginalised men inflict their superiority upon women (Jewkes *et al*., 2009). Much research has found a strong association between alcohol and violence (Abrahams *et al*., 2006; Boonzaier, 2005; Jewkes, 2002). Mager (2010) proposes that while, alcohol drinking may influence the occurrence of domestic violence, it should be understood at the personal, structural, and cultural levels, which offer a more holistic exploration of the ways in which male dominance may operate in and across various groups.

In their talk, the men constructed alcohol and recent tik use as becoming widespread in Bishop Lavis:

Figure 4.5. “Drinking is not always so good” - Mark, 19

Figure 4.6: “In our community, drinking is everywhere” - Brandon, 25

From the young men’s picture narratives, pictures of men drinking were found across all the stories. When I asked them why they took these pictures, they told me that substance abuse is everywhere in Bishop Lavis and escaping that lifestyle is nearly impossible as a young man. As shown in chapter six, many participants associated taking drugs and drinking alcohol as part of a ‘coloured’ culture and that these substances were used for a variety of reasons, such as relaxing and escaping the stresses of life. The men also showed the consequences of alcohol and drug use. They used their talk to construct alcohol and drugs as causing violence in the area:

> Michael: Real men don't abuse women because guys who are real men don't abuse anyone so, I think that is part of it, taking responsibility and always being there… Yah, I think, uhm what I am actually trying to say is, men who are real don't abuse women because they came out of a woman, so why abuse women, you know. I saw that a lot, a lot of drinking and then it would start. My mother abused my father and my father abused my mother also [laughs]. So, they abused each other, so I have a first eh
> Simone: First-hand experience
> Michael: Yes, first-hand experience of this awful, this awfulness you know and I am still a bit unsettled by, I am unsettled, unsettled because I still see people being abused and it's sad and I don't think I would ever go that far because I am a man, I am a man and if you want to settle something, just talk, just talk. Take it easy and be clear, be clear of your part there.

> Simone; You know I am going to ask how your father was the problem?
> Liam: (…)okay he was on drugs when I was younger 8, 9, 10 and I would see how he beat up my mother, you see now, and yoh, it made me feel bad for not being able to help my mom

Both men spoke about witnessing violence by their parents who were either drunk or high. These narratives all surfaced in only the individual interviews and never in the focus group setting with other men. I believe this happened as a way to protect them from being judged and mocked as being feminine by other men (Luyt, 2002; Mahalik *et al*., 2003). Nigel showed how alcohol caused him to become violent against women just like how his father was violent towards his mother after drinking, which resulted in him leaving behind alcohol and teaching his son to also be a better man and one who does not hurt women.

> Nigel: Definitely, look his a kid so when he comes home and boosts about incidents he has with females about fighting with them, I would always tell him growing up as a teenager I tended to hit women who wouldn't listen or tried to humiliate me, but that was then but whenever, I did that, which basically only happened in the time I was drinking. I grew up in a household where my mother was subjected to that I won't say my dad was abusive but many of times he might have been abusive for some reasons many of times we had to move around to get away from his abusive ways or my mother had to get away and then she dragged us with her so I kind of grew with that and I really wasn't happy with what I saw. The extent where as I grew up me and my dad had a lot of fights over that so I kind of dislike males that lift their hands for females , so when I stopped drinking I never ever lifted a finger for females. I would rather walk out of the argument or I'd rather avoid your inner argument but I know I'm not going to interact in an argument because I know it's going to worsen things so the same principles of never lifting your hand for females I teach my son.
> Simone: So to you real men are not abusers?

> Nigel: Yes, they should be the protectors of the family, not the threat to the family, you should be the one where they get comfort or whatever you shouldn't be the one they would want to avoid

Many theorists have tried to understand men's violence against women. These factors include: structural, gendered and racialised inequalities; a long history of violence as a result of colonialism and apartheid; and almost normative use of violence as a means of resolving conflict and gaining respectability (Gopal & Chetty, 2006; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Morrell, 2001). Exerting violence over women has become a tool men use to do their gender, especially when they feel emasculated or that their masculinity is being questioned (Boonzaier, 2005; Peters *et al*., 2019). In all my interviews, the men positioned themselves as non-violent men and argued that any man who abused a woman was not a real man. Michael said that men came out of women so they should not be harming women. This was echoed by Nigel, who felt much remorse for hurting women. He was the only participant who positioned himself as an abuser but put the blame on alcohol and the women for aggravating him by disrespecting or humiliating him. Violence was seen as justified when women or children disrespected men (Anderson & Umberson, 2001; Boonzaier, 2014; Peters *et al*., 2019). Many of the participants spoke about witnessing their fathers abuse their mothers, however, Michael noted how both his parents would hurt each other after drinking. In these narratives, the participants constructed alcohol and drugs as the cause for of violence, while positioning themselves as helpless and hopeless, because they were too young at the time of the abuse to protect their mothers.

Stories about fathers abusing alcohol and beating their mothers were very common, which spoke to the prevalence of domestic violence in the area. In the narratives above, participants expressed their realisation that they were unable to physically save their mothers because they were too young and weaker than their fathers. Nigel, however, states that he started fighting with his father whenever he tried to harm his mother, positioning himself as his mother's protector. One way in which respectable masculinity was performed was by being chivalrous towards women (van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2015). Chivalry has been performed for centuries by men, and the protection of women is one way men showcased chivalry and continue to do so in contemporary times (Felson, 2002). Many researchers argued that witnessing violence made men, especially 'coloured' men, more prone to perpetrating violence against women (Abrahams *et al*., 2006; Abrahams & Jewkes, 2005; Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009). O'Neill (1998, p. 464) similarly argued that violent behaviour is like a "hereditary disease" inherited from generation to generation, since witnessing violence teaches men "that violence is an

appropriate tactic" to ensure men's superiority in the home (Abrahams *et al.*, 2006, p. 261). This, however, was not the case with the men in this research. Many decided to be non-violent men, as seen in all the narratives where men positioned women abusers as not real men, thus challenging the narrative that 'coloured' men are violent. Men used their talk to imagine new ways of doing 'coloured' masculinity:

Figure 4.7. "We prefer Jive and not beer" - Simone, 26

Alternative discourses with respect to hegemonic 'coloured' masculinity, here particularly in relation to being a drunkard or a violent man, were challenged and argued to be one-dimensional. In my research, the men were aware that witnessing abuse has resulted in them doing masculinity differently by rejecting violence against women and instead choosing to be non-violent even if that meant giving up alcohol, like in Nigel's case, and in figure 4.7 where men prefer to drink Jive (soft drink brand). This section has shown how alcohol and drug abuse has steadily increased in Bishop Lavis, and has resulted in different masculinities surfacing. On the one hand, excessive drinking in essence is regarded as an essential part of traditional masculinity, and so by drinking alcohol and using drugs, men can do their gender while feeling marginalised (Mthembu, 2015). On the other hand, the culture of drinking in this community could be a residue of an apartheid past. In the men's narratives, they continually spoke back at the dominant narrative of 'coloured' men as drunkards, and used their narratives to position themselves as respectable, educated men in a situation that does not easily provide the material means for this. The men all came from an area where gangsterism, drugs and guns are widespread and real opportunities are sparse. Furthermore, the men's talk about substance abuse often led to discussions about violence and how men in the area are challenging hegemony by choosing to be non-violent.

7.2.3 Local masculinities and Fatherhood

The historical and social perceptions of 'coloured' men have often painted them as violent, crude, socially and physically absent, and irresponsible fathers (Anderson, 2009a, 2010; Salo, 2004). Much of the research has focused on the high absenteeism rates amongst 'coloured' men, as up to 48 per cent of families are without a father. This was highlighted in the research by Posel and Devey (2006) .They found that in South Africa, some of the highest rates of absent fathers was seen and stated: "taking the data at face value, the proportion of children whose fathers were reported as either absent or dead increased from approximately 43 per cent in 1993 to 57 per cent in 2002" (Posel & Devey, 2006, p. 46). This high absenteeism rate was largely due to historical race and labour practices. The apartheid regime disrupted family life for many South Africans and led to a "crises of care" for children in the country (Budlender & Lund, 2011, p. 926). "The disruption of family life has resulted in a situation in which many women have to fulfil the role of both breadwinner and caregiver in challenging circumstances of high unemployment and very limited economic opportunities" (Budlender & Lund, 2011 p. 926). The conceptualisation and enactment of fathering does not occur within cultural and social

vacuums, but instead, fathering (understood here as the parental practices that are associated with male-bodied persons) is shaped by and through these processes (Lupton & Barclay, 1997).

Discourses and practices of fathering are always shifting, and are shaped in meaningful ways by shifts that occur in family life, class positioning, gender relations and politics (Coley, 2001). Additionally, the enactment of fathering is also created, both discursively and practically, by intersections of class, age, ethnicity, sexuality, employment status and dominant understandings of gender, as well as other social categories (Locke & Yarwood, 2017). Gender role constructions are slowly shifting, and this section looks at how men both young and old use fatherhood to 'do' their gender and present alternative narratives for doing 'coloured' fatherhood, one which challenges the dominant narrative of 'coloured' fathers as absent and violent.

Figure 4.8 and 4.9. Not all of us 'coloured' fathers leave - Brandon, 25

In Brandon's photo story, he photographed 'coloured' men with their children to challenge the dominate narrative that all 'coloured' fathers are absent and do not take responsibility for their children. These alternative narratives were echoed in the men's talk about fatherhood. They stated that as men they took responsibility and ownership of their children:

> Michael: Well, being a father in this place is so hard because you have to work and provide for the child and so on. And you have the financial muscle too, because the mother always puts pressure on me to go work, because I must. She wants me to

> get a part-time job or go work full-time for the child, because she was just recently born. You know, so I actually had a choice to make, so my mother refused to accept it is my child. She said I was too young and I can't make children. I guess she was just being stubborn… So, I told my mother no she must take a hike because this is my child and I will do anything for my child, so from that point onwards it got easier because I did some jobs here and there and went with my cousin to work and stuff. So, yah at this stage she is 2 years and 4 months yah and we pretty good at this stage
> Simone: Mm, but what does it mean to be a father for you?
> Michael: Well, it's quite an honour to be a father because at the beginning it was hard you know, the crying and staying awake, and all of that but actually it was quite an achievement for me because I did it, after all in the child's baby years. So, I was there even despite it all, so I am actually a proud father

Taking responsibility for one's child started by taking ownership of one's child and making sure every aspect of their life is looked after not only their physical needs:

> Paul: So it's not just about making children and having sex, and if you have children to take full responsibility for that child. Emotionally, care for their body, spiritually, it's a lot you must put into a child.

Existing research tends to cast 'coloured' men as uninvolved and often absent fathers, who deny their responsibility of raising their children (Anderson, 2009a, Salo, 2004). The narratives from the men in this study, both young and old, contradict this view by showing how they took responsibility for their actions and chose to raise their children (Hartley, 2014). The analysis reveals that the men deliberately shifted their life focus to accommodate their children. The men spoke about their children helping them to stop drinking, leave behind bad friends, finding employment, finding purpose in their lives and wanting to be better men for their children. They actively renegotiate their masculine identity by choice to take responsibility for their children (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015; Hartley, 2014; Swartz & Bhana, 2009). Michael constantly said "my child", emphasising in his discursive practices how he actively chose to take ownership of his child, despite his mother believing the child was not his. In their narratives, the participants position fathers as needing to provide not only physically and financially for their children, but also needing to provide emotional and spiritual stability for their child. However, good fathering in their local context still tends to be heavily invested in the idea that a father must financially provide for his family and children, as seen in Michael's narrative when he states that "you have to be the financial muscle too" (Helman *et al*., 2018; Hartley, 2014). Fatherhood has become a highly valorised masculine identity and one that has

become synonymous with hegemonic masculinity. By taking responsibility for their children and claiming fatherhood, these men, who are marginalised by their race and class, could be 'doing gender' through fatherhood (Salo, 2004). These men are often caught between the pursuit of hegemonic gender ideals and non-hegemonic acts as caregivers to their children, thus casting fatherhood as a site to challenge stereotypes of irresponsible 'coloured' men and absent fathers:

> Simone: So, what kind of fathers do you want to be for your children?
> Michael: I always want to be there for my child, to guide them because I didn't have the same guidance from my father. I think I was a few months, so he left because he and my mother always fought and now and stuff, so yes be better
> Liam: Yes, like Michael is now saying, I also grew up without a father and I don't want my children to go through the same things that I went through. Yes, what I went through but it all hangs on me what I am going to do with it, am I going to play the role as father to my child or do what my father did to me
> Michael: The thing is basically, most children need a father in their life, to guide them. If a father isn't there let's say for example to talk to them about sex, then they
> Brandon: Make kak
> Michael: Yes (…) So, if someday you make a child, just stick with it till the end and I know times will be hard and stuff but just, you know as long as you there to support them throughout their years then they will never forget you because you were always there. Don't just throw money at him once in while you see
> Brandon: You must be there for them
> Leon: And money can't buy love
> Brandon: No, money can't buy love… I look after my own children, that's a real father, do you see now…
> Mark: If you want to be a man and you make a child then you must take full responsibility for that child and he must be a role model for his children so that they can look up to him, not be a bad influence to the child

A father is more than just a financial provider was echoed by John, who expressed his expectation of wanting to be a more involved father. In his broader narrative, he kept stipulating that he wants to be better than his father and be the man he never was by providing his children with love and care too:

> Simone: So, you say you don't know what people expect from a man, but what did you expect from your father?
> John: I expected him to be there for me and support me, say the school has a rugby game on, for him to have been there and support me in times when there was pressure put on me or I have too much on my brain, for him to be there to motivate me and uplift me with a good word. You can do it my child, you can do it there is far more in life…He must be a good role model

Figure 4.10. A father must be a good role model- Mark, 19

Both the extracts are taken from the young men, of which three of them were fathers at the time. I argue that early fatherhood could be a possible site for the development of progressive ‘coloured’ masculine identities that privilege care, respect and active involvement in their children’s lives (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015; Hartley, 2014). All the young men grew up without their fathers being present in their lives, and they construct their experience as being detrimental (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015; Swartz & Bhana, 2009). In their narratives, the identity of fatherhood was continually constructed through the important role fathers play in their children’s lives. These narratives thus positioned fathers as essential to a child having a good life, “children need a father in their life” (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015; Swartz & Bhana, 2009. The young men continued to position themselves as “real fathers” because they “look after their children” and take responsibility for their children unlike their own fathers. They all constructed good fathers as being good role models to their children, which Mark shows in his photo story. In his explanation of why he took the picture, he said he wanted to show the story of a father who is showing his child how to make an honest living by being a painter instead of selling drugs. The men, throughout the focus group and one-on-one interviews, noted the intersection of class and fatherhood in that providing for their children was difficult when employment was scarce. Despite not having the means to adequately provide for their children, the men positioned good fatherhood as being present and “not about money”. These narratives could be a way for the men to renegotiate their fatherhood and masculine identity despite a lack of finances. Much research has depicted young and ‘coloured’ fathers in terms of risk profile,

but these men used their narratives to actively formulate and redefine their masculine identity through fatherhood (Hartley, 2014). In their narratives, they showed that there are potential sites for resistance of hegemonic gendered discourses (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015).

A negative construction of fathers, informed by such studies and normative assumptions of the nuclear family, has been noted with concern in South Africa (Swartz & Bhana, 2009). Much of these narratives happened in the dynamic interview and a focus group setting. My positionality as a woman and feminist influenced the questions I asked the men and the types of stories that were shared. As a feminist researcher, it was important to challenge my participants and their thinking around certain topics as I believed it would help contribute towards equality and social justice (Boonzaier, 2014). Additionally, I noted how men spoke differently in the focus group setting in comparison to the individual interview setting. The focus group resulted in men silencing narratives of trauma, vulnerabilities and being involved in bad things. These narratives, however, surfaced in the individual interviews, and could be because the men felt safer to share these with a woman who would be more empathetic as opposed to other men who could potentially mock them. The focus group was also a space where the men held each other responsible for their actions and called each other out when they were perceived to be lying or reproducing problematic narratives.

This section looked at how men in this research used their narratives to speak back to these dominant narratives that construct ‘coloured’ men as absent fathers. This research findings presented were thus in line with a few local studies that are beginning to challenge the unidimensional and ‘blaming’ discourse on fathers, especially black fathers in South Africa, documenting multiple ways in which fathers and father-figures do care and play a role in their children’s lives (see, e.g. Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015; Hartley, 2014; Helman *et al.*, 2018; Langa, 2010; Swartz & Bhana, 2009). The men used the interviews and focus group setting to renegotiate and co-construct their masculine identities through their role as present fathers.

7.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented themes that explored subjective ideas about masculinity roles and norms amongst marginalised ‘coloured’ men in their local communities. It analysed both talk and photo stories from men residing in Bishop Lavis. This chapter illuminated the structures and practices around which ‘coloured’ masculine identity is lived. The first section focused on the men’s talk in constructing their genders within their local contexts and the interview setting. It also focused on how class, Christianity and age intersected with gender and influenced what men perceived to be characteristics of successful masculinity and the duties of men in their

contexts. In the next section, I focused on how the men reproduced stigma around 'coloured' masculine identities, while also renegotiating their masculine identity. In their talk, they distanced themselves from hegemonic 'coloured' masculinity by continually speaking back at the dominant narrative of 'coloured' men as drunkards, violent, gangsters and absent fathers. They used their narratives to position themselves as respectable men in a situation that does not easily provide the material means for this, by distancing themselves from anything deviant or bad. Thus, in the context of Bishop Lavis, masculinity is situated . This study's aim was to present alternative narratives on 'colouredness' and 'coloured' masculinities, however, this chapter, like all three analysis chapters, showed how participants also reproduced negative images of 'coloured' identities and masculinities through a discourse of blame and shame.

CHAPTER EIGHT:

CONTRIBUTIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

This thesis presented an enquiry into the experiences of 'coloured' men in Bishop Lavis. Firstly, it explored how men negotiate and make meaning of their experiences in relation to their various intersecting social identities, and, in turn, examined how their race and class impacted the ways in which men position themselves within discourses of respectable masculinity. Secondly, this study tried to provide disruptive and alternative narratives on 'coloured' young men and their communities, by moving away from the dominant 'at-risk' narratives. However, participants continued to reproduce negative images of 'coloured' identities through a discourse of blame and shame. The research presented more holistic knowledge on how 'coloured' residents from Bishop Lavis construct and see themselves and their communities, and using their narratives to 'speak back' to dominant stereotypical narratives told about them. Thirdly, the research presented a critical analysis of the participant-interviewer relationship, approaching it as a site where identities are actively negotiated and produced by both the interviewer and participant. In this concluding chapter, I provide a brief summary of each of the chapters in this thesis. This is followed by a more detailed discussion of the key theoretical, methodological, and practical contributions made by this thesis, as well as recommendations for future research.

8.1 Summary of the Thesis

Chapter One introduced and contextualised the study by outlining the motivation behind this research. In particular, the chapter provided the rationale for focusing on Bishop Lavis and 'coloured' men and masculinities. The chapter reflected on how lived experiences are a product of systems of oppression that intersect; thus I argued that how 'coloured' men 'do gender' depends on their race and the place they live, to name a few. The chapter concluded by looking at the aims and questions posed by this research.

Chapter Two contextualised Bishop Lavis as a construction of the apartheid era and examined what the area looks like in post-apartheid South Africa. In discussing this historically-constructed environment, the chapter concluded by highlighting the implications that forced removals had on 'coloured' communities and continues to shape the lived experiences of those who live there.

Chapter Three provided an overview of the literature on ‘coloured’ racial identity in South Africa and how the racial construct was historically negotiated. In discussing this historically-constructed identity, the chapter concluded by highlighting the intersectional nature of ‘coloured’ identity and gender. The chapter also provided an overview of the theories that exist on men and masculinities, especially focusing on the assumptions and socially accepted requirements of successful masculinity. Additionally, it looked at the vulnerabilities men face when trying to maintain successful forms of masculinity according to their society, but also how men challenge hegemonic masculine traits. The chapter concluded with a motivation for the present study.

Chapter Four critically discussed this study’s research design and process. It provided an overview of the study’s theoretical framework, which comprised of Antiracist feminist geography, narrative, intersectionality and respectability theories, that together informed the research process. Furthermore, the chapter discussed the methodology of the research, namely critical ethnography alongside photovoice and narrative interviewing, that was utilised in the study. The discussion was followed by a description of the research setting and the methods used during the recruitment processes, data collection and the analysis. The chapter concluded with a discussion of the ethical considerations that I adhered to during the research process.

Chapters Five, Six and Seven reported on the empirical findings of the research. This research wanted to understand how the past had and continues to shape, and influence participants’ present lived experiences. Chapter Five explored how participants constructed and remembered their pasts and Bishop Lavis through narratives of nostalgia, displacement and ambivalence. The aim of the study was to examine how participants constructed Bishop Lavis and argued that space impacts on the participant’s identity and experiences. The chapter opened with an examination of my positionality as raced, classed, and gendered, arguing that my positionality impacted the types of narratives that were told to me and the ones that were silenced. The chapter then explored the historical, displacement and nostalgia narratives that emerged in participants’ talk. They used their talk to construct their former homes as ideal in comparison to Bishop Lavis, the new area they were forced to move to. The second section of this chapter focused on how the participants used their talk to construct Bishop Lavis through ambivalent narratives, constructing the area as both a ‘lekker’ community, but also as unsafe and not the same anymore. It ended with narratives that constructed the area as raced, classed and gendered through pictures the participants shared and their narratives, showing the importance of an intersectional analysis when researching lived experiences.

Chapter Six reflected on the politics and complexities of being 'coloured' as narrated by the residents of Bishop Lavis. In constructing 'colouredness', participants showed how fragmented and contested the identity is. I also examined 'colouredness' from an intersectional perspective, paying attention to how class, location and age facilitate particular performances of 'colouredness'. The second section focused on narratives of marginalisation, where the everyday context in which people articulate 'colouredness' is presented and interrogated, as well as how they make meaning of their marginalisation. The "in the middle" (Mohammed Khan, 2003) status of 'coloured' people was a common theme in narratives. Participants constantly perceived themselves as being left behind and not cared about (Adhikari, 2005; Mthembu, 2015; Stevens, 1998; Yarwood, 2011). The final section of the chapter explored how men in this study not only reproduced stigmatisation and shame through their narratives on 'colouredness', but also challenged certain stereotypes that exist around 'coloured' communities.

Chapter Seven reflected on the local performances of masculinities in their area as proposed by the participants. The chapter focused on what men perceived to be characteristics of successful masculinity and the duties of men in their contexts, which was examined intersectionality, focusing particularly on how class, location, Christianity and age influenced how their gender is performed in Bishop Lavis. Local masculine role expectations encouraged men to have employment, protect their family and encourage homophobia and anti-femininity traits. Men continually used the interview space to construct themselves as good and respectable. Additionally, the chapter also showed how men's talk challenged the dominant masculine traits of 'coloured' men as gangsters, drunkards, violent, and absent fathers, and instead offered alternative ways of 'doing gender' and being men in Bishop Lavis.

In the remainder of this concluding chapter, I outline the thesis' contributions to the body of academic knowledge on 'coloured' men and residents who reside in Bishop Lavis, discussing the social relevance and implications the findings have for both South Africa and international contexts.

8.2 Empirical contributions to Intersectional Research

This thesis as a whole makes a valuable and novel contribution to the body of knowledge on place, race and masculinity studies in the local and global context. In the section to follow, I identify some key findings from this thesis, which I argue contribute to the international body of literature on men and masculinities by providing novel insights into, or perspectives on, marginalised men from marginalized communities, and by adding a deeper and more critical

understanding to our existing knowledge on the subjectivities of men who are raced, classed and situated at the margins of society.

8.2.1 Coming from Bishop Lavis: Complexities in constructing place and identity

Much of the research on 'coloured' identities and 'coloured' communities have continued to frame this group as an at-risk population. I acknowledge that these types of research have produced important knowledge and have been instrumental in creating policies and strategies. However, Boonzaier (2018) offers an important critique when she states that much of the knowledge produced have constructed historically designated spaces as spaces of risk, particularly where black people were relocated to during apartheid. She noted that by doing research on these spaces with poor, unemployed black men and women, it creates the perception that these are the only spaces where social problems occur. This, she argues, reduces the lives of the black inhabitants of these spaces and further stigmatises them. I agree with Boonzaier (2018) and argue in my research that more holistic narratives must be made available in academia, narratives that take seriously how participants talk about their communities, subjectivities and lived experiences. Research has tended to continually only feed existing dominant narratives, instead of creating opportunities for alternative narratives to come forth through disruptive narratives, which were made possible through my methodology and questioning. In my research, I allowed opportunities for alternative narratives to emerge by asking questions that would not feed the dominant narratives. For example, I asked "tell me about Bishop Lavis", instead of "what are the challenges you face in Bishop Lavis" or "what are the bad traits of Bishop Lavis". By doing that, I believe this research has contributed to providing ways of doing research that opens up possibilities for different narratives to emerge instead of using our questions to steer the research. This is important not only for the discipline of psychology but for the society at large, because the narratives we tell about black bodies and communities as inherently at-risk, problem-filled, and dangerous help fuel racism. If we are to progress into an Antiracist world, we need to change the narratives we tell. As researchers, we need to create platforms for multiple narratives to surface. The findings presented in Chapter Five showed how participants used the research process as a way of claiming a positive self-image and constructing alternative narratives about themselves and their communities. The participants used their narratives to renegotiate power by positioning themselves in particular ways that reasserted their versions of self and community. Their narratives were a way to resist the dominant narratives that are constantly told about the community of Bishop Lavis. They constructed the space as 'lekker' and used their narratives to construct the area as home, a place

where they belonged. Bishop Lavis is constructed in the media as a dangerous place and one that you should be wary of, but to the people who reside there, Bishop Lavis is their home. Participants use their narratives to create a sense of community, where people look out for each other and learn from each other. These are common narratives found in communities where members feel marginalised in their country. Many of these residents, because of their race and class, feel marginalised in South Africa and thus use these narratives to feel that they belong somewhere and form a sense of identity (Cooper, 2010; Jensen, 1999, 2004, Salo, 2003).

This research has also contributed to the field of Antiracist feminist geography theory (ARFGT). This research showed that 'place identity' is an important identity to understand, as the place in which one grows up plays a significant role in an individual's life, which was highlighted through the use of ARFGT. Research with young people in areas such as Manenberg and Lavender Hill, both areas on the Cape Flats, found that young people constructed their identities and ways of being in relation to their space (Cooper, 2010; Salo, 2003). Similar results were found in international research, where Keskinen (2018, p.5) unpacks the notion of "territorial stigmatisation" in relation to a suburb in Finland that has a bad reputation and found that one's space impacts on one's lived experiences and identity formation. My research to contributes to this field, by showing that the participants' identities as raced, classed, and gendered beings have been shaped by them living in Bishop Lavis.

This research also focused on the high unemployment and crime rate in the area (Blau & Thomas, 1981; Camphor, 2018; MacMaster, 2009; Thomas, 2017). Very little research has been done that focuses primarily on how people ended up residing in Bishop Lavis, what impact the forced removals had on these residents, and how the area compares now to back then. My research also contributes to historical work on the effects apartheid has had on the community of Bishop Lavis and constructions of the area. In narratives told about Bishop Lavis, residents engaged in a complex process of remembering but also in forgetting, just like narratives of those displaced from District Six (Field, 2001c, 2012). Much research on 'coloured communities and apartheid has focused on District Six; however, my research argues that research needs to be done in areas like Bishop Lavis, so that we as psychologists can understand how narratives, memory, identity and place are intertwined to produce lived experiences.

8.2.2 Social representations of race, shame, marginalisation and respectability

In a review of the research published in the South African Journal of Psychology (2004, 2012), Louskieter (2018) found that there was a lack of research with and on ‘coloured’ people. When research on ‘coloured’ people is done, it is done predominantly by white researchers, who continue to portray ‘coloured’ people as an at-risk group, i.e. as people who are alcoholics, drug users, unintelligent, violent or gangsters (Abrahams *et al*., 2006; Choi & Ting, 2008; Jewkes *et al*., 2009; Mager, 2010; Sawyer-Kurian *et al*., 2009). This research, therefore, contributes to this under-researched field by adding to the literature on the experiences of ‘coloured’ people living in a ‘coloured’ community. Additionally, this research contributes to research on ‘colouredness’ by understanding how participants define ‘colouredness’, renegotiate their racial identity, how they challenge stigmatising characteristics and present alternative ways for imagining ‘colouredness’.

Research on ‘colouredness’ has shown how complex this identity is and how it is constantly shifting and being renegotiated (Adhikari, 2006; February, 2014; Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999; Erasmus, 2001; Mellet, 2016; Mthembu, 2015; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012; Yarwood, 2011). This research agreed with much of the research on ‘colouredness’, which argued for its complexity and how those who identify as ‘coloured’ re-imagine ways of ‘doing race’. This work has added to the work on ‘coloured’ identities in SA, by showing how important an intersectional lens is for studying ‘colouredness’, as age, class, gender and place influence the performances of ‘colouredness’.

This work has also contributed to the shame, marginalisation and respectability discourse that is currently emerging on ‘colouredness’ and ‘coloured’ masculinity research (van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2015; van Niekerk, 2019). The theory of respectability has not been utilised as much when theorising on ‘colouredness’. This research has shown that this theory is an effective theory for researchers to use when theorising performances of ‘colouredness’, as it allows us to understand how people see and make meaning of their identities through discourses of shame and blame, while also constantly trying to gain respectability, which often took the form of distancing themselves from ‘colouredness’ and aspiring to whiteness. This has implications for how we understand identity formation and the discursive strategies used by participants to make meaning of their racial identities.

This research also contributed to race studies by trying to understand why ‘coloured’ people perceive themselves as marginalised and how that has resulted in African people being seen as threats. Recently in the Western Cape, there has been much violence between ‘coloured’ and African people because of this perceived marginalisation, and as psychologists, it is important

to try and understand these dynamics. In post-apartheid South Africa, many participants perceived themselves as marginalised because of deteriorating living conditions, the perceived emergence of an African middle class, and high unemployment amongst 'coloured' people (Adhikari, 2005; Mthembu, 2015; Stevens, 1998; Yarwood, 2011). Throughout this research, participants continued to vent their frustrations of being left behind in this new democratic South Africa, and instead of blaming neoliberalism and capitalism, participants blamed African people. Capitalism and the ANC's move towards neoliberalism (i.e. the shrinkage of the state and a transfer of competence to the private sector), has resulted in South Africa's high inequality status and has been destructive for the sustained growth of the economy (Narsiah, 2002). It is noted that it is in poor communities and households that the impact is felt the most; however, such discourses are overlooked in explanations on marginalisation (Narsiah, 2002). Unpacking the effects of capitalism and neoliberalism was not the aim of this research, but from the findings, it has emerged as an important topic for future research, as broader global economic phenomena are having a greater impact on people's day-to-day experiences.

Participants noted how their racial identity has had and continues to have an impact on their lived experiences and how they are treated in South Africa. This speaks to how race consciousness has become entrenched and internalised in post-apartheid South Africa. While apartheid may have been dismantled, much racial tension still exists today, which is evident on social media posts, radio shows, and an influx of racist incidents not only by white South Africans but also by African and 'coloured' South Africans. The findings of this research show how race classification in post-apartheid South Africa is still rife and part of people's daily talk and experiences. Many activists and scholars called for the dismantling of racial classifications, arguing that it maintains division; however, racial classifications continue to be part of our daily experiences. From filling in school forms and scholarship forms to continually having to tick a box that identifies one's race, moving away from race has proven difficult in post-apartheid South Africa. Moreover, the findings suggest that race relations in South Africa still have a long way to go. Racial division is widespread, with many of the participants' talk creating an 'us' versus 'them' narrative along racial divisions and even within the 'coloured' ingroup itself (Stevens, 1998). Narratives of unity amongst races were scarce. Narratives of black consciousness were almost non-existent. Narratives of a 'rainbow nation' was not even mentioned. Instead, the findings suggest that colonial and apartheid discourses are rife as participants' talk still equates whiteness with goodness while blackness is equated with deviance. As a country, we have a long way to go to create an antiracist society, but it will begin once everyone reflects on and interrogates their own biases about other races and gain

education on the struggles faced by their fellow South Africans. We will also need to further interrogate internalised racism, the structures that create and maintain it in SA, and ways to effectively dismantle it.

8.2.3 The complexity of Male vulnerability

The findings in the current study contribute towards emergent discourses on male vulnerabilities in South Africa and beyond. This study's findings showed how living in Bishop Lavis resulted in the presentation of 'soft' masculinities, or what I term vulnerable masculinities, where young men displayed vulnerability and feeling unsafe, emotions that men are encouraged to repress (Brannon, 1976; Luyt, 2002; Mahalik *et al*., 2003). Throughout the research process, the participants shared narratives of how crime in the area has impacted their everyday lives and how they constantly have to negotiate the terrain to stay safe and out of trouble. In the narratives provided by young and older men, they all emphasized their lack of freedom and feeling unsafe in the area. Some of the young men spoke about near-death experiences after being attacked. The attention given to crime in the public discourse, news, young men's talk, residents' talk, community forums and family homes shows the extent to which it has impacted on people's lives and psyches. Violence and crime are critical issues for the residents of Bishop Lavis, but also in many other parts of South Africa. This research thus opens possibilities for how we research men locally and globally and understand black masculinity in terms of their vulnerabilities.

The research also contributes to the body of work on gangsterism and how we understand men's entrance into gangs by rethinking male vulnerability. The findings show how young men are vulnerable to becoming targets for gang bosses who lure them into gangsterism with the promise of money and respectability. Many of the men opened up about their vulnerabilities and being bullied, feeling unloved and abandoned by their fathers, and therefore were tempted by gang bosses who offered them not only financial support, but also protection, a family, and emotional support.

The findings also show us that being raced a 'coloured' made men feel vulnerable to police searches in their area and being seen as criminals. Much work with 'coloured' men focused on the risk they pose, but this research has started to explore the stigma and vulnerability they experience too. Young men stated that their race made them "guilty by association" (Mthembu, 2015) to police officers, who would often search them because they were 'coloured' and thus look like criminals. This form of racial profiling has left many participants feeling helpless, emasculated and humiliated when they are searched in front of community members or friends

or when people hide their possessions, which has implications for how men 'do' gender. In many ways, such incidences have created a yearning for respectability among 'coloured' men, which results in men distancing themselves from anything shameful and bad. The harassment men experienced by the police was found to be damaging to them, not just physically but emotionally too, with many men stating that it made them feel sad to constantly experience that. Black men's emotions such as sadness, vulnerability and care, among many, need to be further explored, as it opens up a way for us to imagine new progressive forms of masculinities, as was seen in this research, where emotions of care influenced new forms of present and caring fathers to emerge.

In most research with men, they barely disclose their emotions as it is seen as not masculine. This cross-gender research opened up a possibility for men to do their gender differently, which involved exploring their vulnerabilities. I allowed space for men to be open about their feelings without feeling invalidated or not masculine. I continually encouraged the men to acknowledge their vulnerability and stated that I saw it as a strength, not a weakness. Thus, by creating a safe interviewing environment, the opportunity for vulnerability to surface opened up.

Some scholars have argued that women might be complicit in reinforcing men's adherence to the patriarchal order (hooks, 2004; Walker, 2005), by encouraging them to be violent, be breadwinners, to be strong and so forth, thus obscuring men's performances of vulnerability, which is considered outside the hegemonic discourses of masculinity (Clowes, 2013). My approach to the men thus could have encouraged vulnerability. Vetten and Ratele (2013) argued that this discourse of vulnerability and victimisation is still strongly linked to femininity, and lacks a presence within public and policy discourse on masculinity.

The focus group, on the other hand, was a space for men to hold each other accountable, challenge each other, but also a space that silenced narratives of vulnerability. This research findings suggest that both methods of data collection be used to gain in-depth understandings of how men talk amongst each other but also one-on-one, as each setting facilitates a particular performance of masculinity.

My research contributed to masculinity discourses by showing how marginalised men are beginning to recognize and express their emotions. Representations of masculine vulnerability, however, still remains on the peripheries of public discourse (Vetten & Ratele, 2013). Furthermore, this lack of a language of vulnerability for men may have the additional effect of reinforcing discourses of female vulnerability, weakness and helplessness. Therefore, this study's findings also have implications for the ways in which policy and campaigns for victims

of violence are framed within public discourse, and should be inclusive of expanding such discourses to include a language of vulnerability in masculinity studies.

8.2.4 On shifting masculinities

Critical masculinities studies have revealed that the characteristics that constitute hegemonic masculinity are shifting, providing evidence that a new, more emotionally expressive egalitarian man is emerging as idealised, particularly in the Global North (Anderson & McCormack, 2016; Hearn & Morrell, 2012). My research, which is situated in the Global South, has contributed to such discourses of more emotionally expressive men who are challenging the status quo of hegemony in 'coloured' masculinity. In much the same way, this study revealed that men expressed deep desires for emotionality, to be loved, to be motivated and supported, and to love and support their families. In this study, participants' narratives explicitly and repeatedly reflected the societal expectations of, and pressures placed on them as men, which they have internalised and reproduced, such as the expectation that men should financially provide for their families, must protect their families and support them. Failure to meet these expectations is, to varying degrees, inevitable for most men, because, as both Butler (1993) and Connell (2000) suggest, these idealised versions of masculinity are most of the time unattainable positions for many men on the margins. Not being able to live up to these expectations have left men feeling hopeless, especially in an environment where unemployment is on the rise. However, unlike most research that found poor, unemployed men resorting to violence to reclaim their masculinity (Boonzaier, 2005; Brannon, 1976; Bruce, 2007; Cooper & Foster, 2008; Peters & Bawa, 2012; Peters *et al*., 2019; Wojcicki, 2002), these research findings suggest that this group of marginalised men, despite their situations, are refusing to be violent and are choosing to do masculinity differently. Men's expressions of non-violence also signal acts of agency in post-apartheid South Africa, men know the stigmatisation attached to being a 'coloured' man from a marginalised community and used the interview space to speak back to those one-sided narratives. The findings showed that this transformation process involved much uncertainty for the men who are making sense of their non-violent subjectivities within the context of conflicting representations of 'old' and 'new' masculinities, a finding also shared by Walker (2005) and van Niekerk (2015). The men renegotiated their masculine identities and distanced themselves from hegemonic 'coloured' masculinity by continually speaking back at the dominant narrative of 'coloured' men as drunkards, violent, gangsters, and absent fathers. They used their narratives to position themselves as respectable men who took responsibility for their children, provided their

children with love and support, and who were not thieves or gangsters. Another discursive strategy used to challenge hegemonic 'coloured' masculinity was how the participants used the term *moffie*. The findings showed how men constructed two different types of men in Bishop Lavis, the respectable' good man who is not a gangster, not violent or an abuser, and the bad man or *moffie*, who goes into gangsterism and abuses women and children. In doing this, the men constructed progressive masculine traits as respectable and desirable. This opens up new ways for us to think and theorise about black masculinities in the South. Much work in masculinity studies has created a dichotomy of white masculinities as progressive, caring and pro-feminist, while black masculinities are theorised as traditional, violent and emotionless. This research findings challenge such dichotomies by showing the diversity of 'coloured' masculinities.

These counter-ideologies that questioned the gender laws in the community were crucial in that they signalled opportunities for gender change. These findings point to the value of challenging the various sites where these dominant discourses around hegemonic masculinity continue to be produced. These include the school syllabi and churches that teach essentialised versions of men as breadwinners; and music videos, films, men's lifestyle magazines, blogs, and social media accounts that popularize largely unachievable versions of masculinity and promote these gangster masculinities and shaming men who may have deviated from them.

8.3 Methodological contributions and implications

In addition to making a contribution to knowledge on the subjectivities of 'coloured' people from Bishop Lavis, this study also made a methodological contribution to knowledge on conducting research with marginalised people in marginalised communities. Moreover, it is intended that some of the methodological insights generated from this study would be applicable more broadly to other qualitative research on topics related to race, gender and sexuality. In this section, I reflect simultaneously on the limitations and challenges of this study and on the methodological contributions that the thesis provides.

8.3.1 Using multiple methodologies and approaches

The current wave of student movements in South African universities has resulted in a call to social science researchers to do research that is relevant to a rapidly changing society. Many students, progressive academics and researchers have called for a decolonisation of the university curriculum, the way research is done, research methods, and for scholars to seriously question knowledge production and research practices (Heleta, 2016; Kessi, 2018; Kessi *et al.*,

2019). In order to produce knowledge that is more holistic, it requires researchers to do research differently and apply more transformative methods. Too often, transformative research methodologies are silenced in psychological research, as they often do not fit within established theories.

Transformative research methods are typically qualitative in nature and aimed at stimulating new and exciting ways to approach research. Their mandate is to inspire and motivate innovative ways of thinking with regard to traditional research paradigms (Nel & Govender, 2019). I knew that, in order to capture the essence of lived experiences in Bishop Lavis, my research was going to move away from traditional research paradigms and the use of just one method or theoretical framework. I decided to use multiple methodologies, borrowing methodologies from different disciplines. My research also used multiple theoretical frameworks, including Antiracist feminist geography, which is an interdisciplinary theory, to show how "oppressions are embedded in, and produced through, material and symbolic space and place" (Nelson & Seager, 2005, p.7). Additionally, it provided me with a lens to analyse the complexities of gender relations in Bishop Lavis. It helped to show how the place Bishop Lavis, has impacted on the meaning participants give to race, class and gender. I also used a narrative approach, intersectional and respectability approach to deepen my understanding of how participants talk and make meaning of their lived experiences. As well as understand performances of race, gender, sexuality and other identities, paying attention to how men use their talk to position themselves as 'respectable'. Lastly, respectability theory was used, which helped me to make sense of why and how respectability is used and maintained in participants talk. These frameworks also allowed a space for me as the researcher to continually be reflective and create disruptive narratives.

My research utilized various methods which included critical ethnography, an important research methodology for South African social scientists. This method allows for an in-depth examination of an individual's lived realities in the context of broader cultural and political environments. The findings showed how this method allowed for the examination of untold, unknown, unacceptable, stigmatised stories. Schmid (2019) argued that in researching, documenting and analysing hidden identities and subjectivities, researchers contribute to instances of oppression, suppression and marginalisation being highlighted and better understood. Photovoice was another method used. It is a decolonial method that promotes empowerment, raises social capital, and allows for critical consciousness (Kessi, 2018; Kessi *et al.*, 2019). These transformative methods allowed participants to tell the type of stories they wanted to tell, instead of the researcher setting the agenda based on the kind of stories they

want to hear. Furthermore, being part of the photovoice project gave young men a community of young and older men (who attended the exhibition) they can reach out to for advice or talk to, thus creating a network for these young. Some young men felt empowered to make a difference in their community by starting various coaching and mentoring projects, where they encourage younger boys to stay out of gangsterism and focus on more positive things like sports. However, some young men spoke to me about lacking funds for equipment to coach sports in their area, and we brainstormed around how to effectively create change in their environments with these challenges. Unfortunately, COVID-19 took place and we could not continue brainstorming and implement any coaching or mentoring in the area due to lockdown in the country. I also used narrative interviewing, an approach that argues for empowering participants by allowing those most marginalised an opportunity to tell the stories they want to tell (Sonn *et al*., 2013). Many participants especially older participants stated that being part of the project not only empowered them by providing them with a platform to share their stories but for many, it was also the first time they shared such vulnerabilities with anyone. They stated that the experience has allowed them to reflect on their lives and where they are heading, which has been powerful for them.

Using a multi-method approach allowed for richer data to emerge from the participants. My findings ranged from historical narratives about apartheid and being displaced, to complexities about racial identities and gender politics, which needed me to think across disciplines to make sense of the data. My research then became interdisciplinary, borrowing from anthropology, sociology and gender studies to better understand my participants' lived experiences. My research thus contributed to the field of psychological research both locally and globally, by showing the power in combining not only different disciplines but also different methods and frameworks, to better understand and show the complexities of marginalised lives and communities. Additionally, my research and the methods (Photovoice and Narrative interviews) and theoretical frameworks used also contributed to calls from community psychologists to use research methods and interventions that take seriously psychopolitical validity (PPV) (Prilleltensky, 2003a). PPV which refers to the extent to which the research and interventions consider the various psychological and political factors that continue to contribute to the wellness and oppression of various groups (Prilleltensky, 2003a, 2003b). It further looks at how knowledge, experiences and consequences of oppression in the community are integrated into the research and interventions (Prilleltensky, 2003a, 2003b). In regards to this research, PPV, allowed me to take into account how power in its different forms, may have and continue to affect the experiences of 'coloured' people in Bishop Lavis. These methods not

only helped to diminish the power imbalances that may exist between the participants and me by making them the experts and choosing how to represent their lives but the methods along with the theoretical frameworks allowed me to unpack power dynamics.

Transformation in this research was achieved through epistemic PPV, which looks at how the research integrates knowledge of oppression into all the research and interventions. This means that the research tries to understand and explain how power and oppression at the macro-level impacts the lived experiences of those who are oppressed (Prilleltensky, 2003a). Much psychological research has not embraced epistemic PPV (Grant, Finkelstein & Lyons, 2003), but this research has contributed to the limited body of work that takes seriously epistemic PPV.

The findings of the research showed how engaging with different theoretical frameworks, and different methodologies allow researchers to respond to the call for more transformative research, which brings about more holistic research about the marginalised.

8.3.2 Data collection methods

This study utilized a combination of data collection methods, which included narrative interviews, a focus group, photo narratives, field notes and journal entries, participant observations and notes from transect walks in the community. This combination of data collection techniques and this study's research questions are new additions to studying the lived experiences of 'coloured' men within the psychology discipline. Research that solely relies on verbal data collection techniques have been critiqued, and it has been suggested that other methods like drawings or participant observation, might help us better understand symbolic material, some of which was utilized in the current research (Joffe, 1995). Participants were equipped with photography training and were encouraged to tell their stories through photography, as well as to write their narratives down too. This study highlighted the advantages of using Photovoice as a method to not only do research differently but also collect data differently. Photovoice allowed for participants to be active in every aspect of this research. Participants had a say in the focus of this research, they decided on the narratives they wanted to share about themselves and Bishop Lavis, how they wanted to be represented, which pictures they wanted to showcase in the exhibition, where and who should attend it, and how they wanted their work to be disseminated.

Additionally, photographs and the exhibition of these photographs by the participants, as is done in this Photovoice project, has been suggested to be a form of pedagogy (Loopmans, Cowell & Oosterlynck, 2012). As pedagogy, the photographs of Bishop Lavis and

photographs of the community members create an awareness of Bishop Lavis and everyday life in this area and also helps in constructing Bishop Lavis (Loopmans *et al.,* 2012). As pedagogy, the exhibition created a space where dialogues were had between community members both young and old who attended the exhibition and created an alternative archive about the community cultures in Bishop Lavis (Johnson & Martı´nez Guzma´n, 2013; Sonn *et al.,* 2015). The photovoice method not only shed light on participants everyday experiences, but the photographs and dialogues created in these spaces become co-produced artefacts which are co-owned by the community members and myself (Johnson & Martı´nez Guzma´n, 2013; Sonn *et al*., 2015).

I also reported my main findings to the group and asked them if they were happy with the narratives I presented; all the participants agreed with the findings of the Photovoice process. This method thus challenged the power dynamics that existed is researched-researcher relationships by allowing the participants to become the experts and be in a collaborative relationship with the researcher (Moletsane *et al*., 2007). Photovoice also allowed young men the opportunity to tell different, more holistic stories about their communities. Photovoice engaged the young men involved to participate in the changes they want to see take place in Bishop Lavis and around their identities by taking an active and ownership role in the research process (Kessi *et al*., 2019). Furthermore, this research highlighted the importance of engaging in and collecting data from participants across age groups when trying to understand the complexities that exist in marginalised communities and lives. The research highlighted the importance of using a combination of both verbal and non-verbal data collection techniques. The transact walks and participant observations helped me to understand what a typical day in Bishop Lavis was like, which enhanced my understanding of their lives, something I would not have been able to experience from collecting data through verbal techniques alone. The findings in this study also show how verbal techniques are important, in that they help us understand subjectivities and power, through the language and narratives told by participants. Thus, this research highlighted the benefit of collecting verbal data, as it offered a lens through which discursive practices and social representations could be examined. Furthermore, the interview and focus group data showed gendered and raced dynamics in co-constructing narratives, which would not be made possible with only non-verbal data.

8.3.3 The complexities of doing insider/ outsider research: intersectional reflexivity

This research contributed to methodological discussions by emphasising the importance of using critical intersectional reflexivity. Feminist and qualitative researchers argue that no

research is neutral. As feminist researchers, we must minimise the power dynamics between the researched and researcher (Boonzaier & Shefer, 2006). As researchers concerned with decolonising knowledge, we are encouraged to be self-reflexive and acknowledge our role in shaping the knowledge we produce. Much qualitative and feminist research has a reflexive section, however, for the most part, it consists of a small section in the written-up work, or it is not seriously taken up as a methodological tool. This research emphasised the importance of situating ourselves in the research and taking our positionality seriously and how it affects the data produced. A critical intersectional analysis allowed me to critically think about how my race, class, gender, and living in Bishop Lavis might have impacted the data produced and how I interpreted it (Collins, 2000). Throughout my research, I have argued that my identity as a ‘coloured’ woman, studying at UCT, speaking English, coming from a working-class family and having family and living in Bishop Lavis myself, has influenced the methods I chose to use and my research agendas. My identity was also intimately implicated in the data that emerged from the interviews and focus group. I demonstrated how my ‘coloured’ body allowed for prejudicial narratives to emerge, where African people were constructed as lazy, not capable of doing jobs, and a longing for apartheid emerged. This shows how our interviews can make prejudice possible, but how do we as researchers start to challenge problematic discourses? Or how do we encourage such discourse? In my ‘coloured’ upbringing, I was taught that it is very disrespectful to challenge people older than me, and I saw this play out in interviews with the participants 60 years and older. I found some language around apartheid disturbing, but I could not be seen as disrespectful by challenging their thinking. I also wanted to understand why they believed apartheid was better, a narrative that I used to hear frequently while growing up. In analysing the narratives, my positionality influenced the questions I asked, how I interpreted the data, and how I wrote about my participants. Having a shared race, and also being raised in a marginalised community like many of my participants, resulted in disruptive narratives, which is often lacking when white researchers do research on black bodies and communities. Much research that refuses to be reflexive and therefore further perpetuates the stigmatisation of certain people is problematic, and therefore this study offered new possibilities to do psychological research. Furthermore, this research showed how the interview space became a context where identities are produced, and both the researcher and researched will do race, gender, class, sexuality, religion, and so forth, in that space. Instead of ignoring our positionality in the research process, this research shows the importance of taking one’s positionality seriously and analysing how we as researchers help in co-constructing narratives. It showed how the interview context should be seen as a way to learn more about the production

of gender, race, sexuality, and so forth. My research contributes to the field of cross-gender studies. Interviewing across gender, race, age and class lines is important, as this research showed that this process is multifaceted and involves an interplay of power and constant negotiation. This research revealed the complexity that is the masculine, racial and marginalised identity and how it is created, recreated and managed when participants feel that their identity is being challenged or being scrutinized, especially by someone they construct as an outsider.

A research design like the one I utilised, which requires the researcher to critically reflect on their positionality, pushes us as researchers to be more aware of how discourses operate. For example, I always identified as 'coloured', and being a 'coloured' woman, I did not see myself as relatively privileged, but by engaging in intersectional reflexivity, I saw that participants constructed me as a 'white coloured', which positioned me as more respectable and valued in society. This resulted in them putting on particular performances such as speaking English even when it was difficult to maintain, which would have been different if I had been perceived as a bad or "kak bad" (Brandon) 'coloured'. Therefore, I argue that the benefit of employing this kind of intersectional reflexive methodological approach to our research opens up an array of possibilities to understand power dynamics and how they operate within marginalised identities. This, in turn, allows us as researchers to respond to our participants in interviews, and produce research that could better challenge harmful, stereotypical discourses and make room for the imagining of alternative and more empowering ones.

8.4 Recommendations for future research

In terms of future research, very little has been done on colonial and apartheid trauma on 'coloured' people within psychology. Some research has argued that violence is the by-product of violent colonial and apartheid governments, who normalised violence as a conflict-solving and controlling method (Gqola, 2007, Jewkes, 2010). Research into trauma and how it operates and manifests in marginalised communities could be useful to understand violence in those communities and begin to deal with the mass trauma instead of sending the army into those communities to manage violence (Mlamla, 2019). Furthermore, additional research on 'coloured' masculinities needs to be done since the literature on this population group is still slim. In researching how they 'do gender', an intersectional approach is an important tool that is underutilised in psychological research. Moreover, Hearn and Kimmel (2007) have suggested that more research should be done on the development of masculinities in childhood

years. I agree with their suggestion as this study's findings suggested that men between the ages of eight and thirteen are exposed to toxic ways of doing masculinity, which needs further exploration. In understanding their socialisation, we can create better strategies and interventions to prevent these young men from going into gangsterism, drug abuse or use of violence. This research has tried to present more positive narratives on 'coloured' identities, 'coloured' masculinities, and Bishop Lavis. However, that has proven difficult as participants reproduced stigma in their talk as well. In redoing this research, I would recommend that questions such as "what are the positive aspects of Bishop Lavis?", "what are the positive attributes of 'coloured' people?" be asked, to ensure that only positive narratives emerge. I asked participants to tell me about 'colouredness' and Bishop Lavis, which opened up space for the negative narratives to surface as well. Additionally, in redoing this research, I would push for an intergenerational focus group. Men from different age groups would be invited to talk about masculinity and create a sharing of experiences with the hope of creating a mentorship group where the older men could mentor the younger men. Unfortunately, this was not possible in this research but could be a possibility for future research, to see how men across ages co-construct narratives and challenge each other. In redoing this research, I would have also included all the men in the Photovoice process, which is an exciting possibility for future research.

Furthermore, my research excluded 'coloured' people living in wealthier areas, 'coloured' people in different provinces, 'coloured' men of diverse sexual orientations and religions, 'coloured' men younger than 18, and 'coloured' people who identity as Khoi or San, to name a few. These are possibilities for future research on how 'colouredness' and masculinity is done across classes, sexual orientations, religions and provinces, to name a few. This research was done in a 'coloured' community, but for future research, it would be interesting to see such research done in other stigmatised communities too, where alternative narratives are encouraged in the research process.

Additionally, more research should be done on marginalised communities and identities that disrupt the dominant narratives that exist in academia and in the media. Much of the research that exists in the media and in mainstream psychology perpetuates stigmatising discourses on blackness and black communities as deviant and at-risk of becoming violent or victims to violence, which needs to be interrogated using a critical lens (Boonzaier, 2018). Many social problems were highlighted in this study, and an initial recommendation I had was that the government should work on stimulating the economy so that more jobs can be created, but as I write this thesis, we are witnessing a collapse in every country's economy, massive hunger

and poverty due to the spread of COVID-19 across the world. At the moment, people's lives must be prioritised, and then a plan to stimulate the economy must be on the top of the agenda and creating jobs must be a long-term strategy, especially for those living in poverty. The findings suggested that unemployment, lack of recreational resources and poor parenting due to high substance abuse in the area has resulted in men seeking alternative income streams or family support from gang leaders. Thus, the study suggests that structural changes to address these problems in marginalized communities need to be implemented.

8.5 Concluding remarks

This study examined the complexities and diversity in 'colouredness' and 'coloured' masculinities in Bishop Lavis. It shared the dynamic narratives of 'coloured' people residing in Bishop Lavis, Cape Town, which I argued to be raced, classed, gendered and shaped by Bishop Lavis itself. The narratives produced challenged some of the dominant narratives that exist on 'coloured 'identities, 'coloured' masculinities and 'coloured' communities from the Cape Flats as sites of risk only. This study thus contributed to disruptive and alternative narratives on 'coloured' young men and their communities, while presenting more holistic knowledge of this group. Much of the research on 'coloured' men has shown how performances of gender amongst them are consistent with traditional performances of masculinity (Abrahams *et al*., 2006; Choi &Ting, 2008; Jewkes *et al*., 2009; Sawyer-Kurian *et al*., 2009). However, not enough alternatives to these traditional performances of 'coloured' masculinities are known; neither do we know enough of these men's intersectional experiences. To my knowledge, this research is the first study to do an intersectional analysis of 'coloured' masculinities in Bishop Lavis. Additionally, very little has been written about historically designated areas where 'coloured' people lived during and after apartheid, which this research has contributed to.

This thesis contextualized the environment, Bishop Lavis, and showed how the environment affects the way men perform their gender and racial identity. This thesis did not only contextualise the environment, but also examined how the area was constructed, how people came to this place and what this area was like before and after apartheid, and what that means for the community and men of this area. The research also showed the complexities in 'coloured' identities and 'coloured' masculinities that shaped and continue to shape their performances of masculinity and 'colouredness', and how they intersected with each other as well as with age, religion, and class. This research also showed that when researching townships such as Bishop Lavis, we need to present holistic narratives that showcase the

complexities, assets and inequalities that exist within these areas and not only focus on narratives of crime and gangsterism (Huysamen et al., 2020).

This research also showed how valuable a multi-method approach was in collecting data that was authentic to the lived experiences of the participants we study, by foregrounding their expertise, instead of imposing our agendas onto them. The use of multiple theories and data analysis strategies allowed for the nuances and complexities to come through more effectively. This research also showed the importance of critically engaging in the relationship between the researcher and the researched in the interview, focus group and photovoice processes, which were not only spaces for collecting data, but were also sites where identities were actively produced and recreated between the researcher and the participants (Palmary, 2006; Peters *et al*., 2019).

This thesis focused on an array of topics that are relevant for South African and global psychology as well as on the local and global scholarship of marginalised masculinities. The study presented various findings that will add to the scholarly work on marginalised men, on Bishop Lavis and communities similar to it, and race in South Africa. Additionally, this research also made a global contribution, as every country has communities and groups of populations that are constructed as at-risk. The study contributes significant meaning towards how we study at-risk men and communities, arguing that narratives of risk and danger are not the only narratives that exist, but that, as researchers, we need to allow a platform for alternative narratives to emerge.

REFERENCES

Abrahams, J & Davids, C. (2012). *Bullets over Bishop Lavis*. Retrieved from http://www.baxter.co.za.

Abrahams, N., Jewkes, R., Laubscher, R., & Hoffman, M. (2006). Intimate partner violence: Prevalence and risk factors for men in Cape Town, South Africa. *Violence and Victims, 21*(2), 247 – 264.

Adams, S. (2003). *Gangs make way for God in Staggie's church*. Retrieved from http:// iol.co.za

Adhikari, M. (2002). Hope , fear, shame and frustration: Continuity and change in the expression of coloured identity in white supremacist South Africa, 1910-1994 (Doctoral thesis). University of Cape Town, Cape Town.

Adhikari, M. (2004) 'Not Black Enough': Changing Expressions of Coloured Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa, *South African Historical Journal, 51*(1), 167-178. doi: 10.1080/02582470409464835

Adhikari, M. (2005). *Not white enough, not black enough. Racial identity in the South African 'coloured' community.* Cape Town: Double Storey Books.

Adhikari, M. (2005).Fiercely Non-Racial? Discourses and Politics of Race in the Non-European Unity Movement, 1943–70, *Journal of Southern African Studies, 31*(2), 403-418, doi: 10.1080/03057070500109631

Adhikari, M. (2006). 'God Made the White Man, God Made the Black Man…' Popular Racial Stereotyping of Coloured People in Apartheid South Africa. *South African Historical Journal*, *55*, 142-164.

Adhikari, M. (2009). From narratives of miscegenation to a post-modernist re-imagining: Towards a historiography of coloured identity in South Africa. In M. Adhikari (Ed.), *Burdened by race: Coloured identities in Southern Africa* (pp.1-22), Cape Town: UCT Press.

Adhikari, M. (2010). 'A total extinction confidently hoped for: The destruction of Cape San society under Dutch colonial rule, 1700-1795. *Journal of Genocide Research*, *12* (1&2), 19-44. doi:10/1080/14623528.2010.508274

African News Network 7. (2017). *Big Interview with Idols SA winner Paxton Fielies*. Retrieved from www.ann7.com

Agnew, J. A. (1987) *Place and Politics: The Geographical Mediation of State and Society*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Agnew, J. A. (1989). The devaluation of place in social science. In J. Agnew and J. Duncan (Eds.), *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations* . London: Unwin Hyman.

Agnew, J.A. (2011). Space and Place. In J. Agnew and D. Livingstone (eds.), *Handbook of Geographical Knowledge* (pp.1-34), London: Sage

Ainlay, S.C., Becker, G., & Coleman, L.M. (1986). *The dilemma of difference: a multidisciplinary view of stigma.* New York: Plenum.

Ambaye, G., & Assefa, A. (2015). "Development-induced Displacement and Its Impacts on the Livelihoods of Poor Urban Households in Bahir Dar, North Western Ethiopia." *African Human Mobility Review, 1* (3), 310–331.

Anderson, B. (2009a). "I'm not so into gangs anymore. I've started going to church now": Coloured boys resisting gangster masculinity, *Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity*. *23* (80), pp 55-67.

Anderson, B. (2010). "You're not a man if you hit a girl": Coloured high school boys articulating more peaceful expressions of heterosexual masculinity, *Agenda, 24* (83), 68-81.

Anderson, E., & McCormack, M. (2018). Inclusive masculinity theory: Overview, reflection and refinement. *Journal of Gender Studies, 27* (5), 547-561.

Anderson, E. (2009). *Inclusive Masculinity: The Changing Nature of Masculinities*. New York: Routledge.

Anderson, E., & McCormack, M. (2016). Inclusive Masculinity Theory: Overview, reflection and refinement. *Journal of Gender Studies*, *0*(0), 1–15.

Anderson, K. L., & Umberson, D. (2001). Gendering violence: Masculinity and power in men's accounts of domestic violence. *Gender & Society*, *15*, 358-380.

Andrews P. (1998-1999). Violence against women in South Africa: The role of culture and the limitations of the Law. *Temple Political & Civil Rights Law Review, 8*, 425.

Annunziata, S, & Loretta, L. (2016). "Resisting 'Austerity Gentrification' and Displacement in Southern Europe." *Sociological Research Online, 21* (3), 1–8.

Anton, R. (2010). Substance abuse is a disease of the human brain: focus on alcohol. *Journal of Law, Medicine & Ethics, 38*(4), 722-884.

Arendell, T. (1997). Reflections on the researcher-researched relationship: A women interviewing men. *Qualitative Sociology, 20*(3), 341-367.

Asante, O. K., & Lentoor, A.G. (2017). Use of crystal methamphetamine among male adolescents in Cape Town, South Africa: Caregivers' experiences Substance Abuse Treatment, *Prevention, and Policy, 12*, 18. doi: https://doi.org/10.1186/s13011-017-0102-9

Ashmore, R.D., & Del Boca, F.K. (1976). Psychological approaches to understanding intergroup cont1ict. In P.A. Katz (Ed.), *Towards the elimination of racism* (pp. 73-123). New York: Pergamon.

Aspinall, P.J. (2003). The conceptualisation and categorisation of mixed race/ethnicity in Britain and North America: Identity options and the role of the state. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* 27, 269-296.

Asselin, M. E. (2003). Insider research: Issues to consider when doing qualitative research in your own setting. *Journal for Nurses in Professional Development*, 19(2), 99-103.

Atkinson, P., & Hammersley, M. (1998). Ethnography and Participant Observation. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry* (pp.248-261). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Baaz, M., & Stern, M. (2009). Why do Soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence, and sexuality in the armed forces in the Congo (DRC). *International Studies Quarterly, 53*(2), 495-518. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2478.2009. 00543.x

Babbie, E. (2008). *The Basics of Social Research*. Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth.

Babbie, E., & Mouton, J. (2007). *The Practice of Social Science Research*. South Africa: Oxford University Press

Bachelard, G. (1969).*The Poetics of Space.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Baderoon, G. (2012). *The Provenance of the term 'Kafir' in South Africa and the notion of beginning*. Retrieved from health.uct.ac.za

Balbus, I. D. (1987). Disciplining women: Michel Foucault and the power of feminist discourse. In S. Benhabib & D. Cornell (Eds). *Feminism as Critique* (pp. 466-483). London : Polity Press.

Ball, D. (1970). The problematics of respectability. In J. Douglas (Ed). *Deviance and respectability: The social construction of moral meanings* (pp.326-371). New York: Basic Books.

Ballard, P. (2011). *Sidney Warren Lavis*. Retrieved from www.wikitree.com>wiki>Lavis>4

Bamberg, M. (1997a). Positioning between structure and performance. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, *7*, 335–342.

Bamberg, M. (2004a). "'I know it may sound mean to say this, but we couldn't really care less about her anyway.' Form and Functions of 'Slut-Bashing' in Male Identity Constructions in 15-Year-Olds." *Human Development* , 47.

Bamberg, M. (2004b). "We are young, responsible and male": Form and functions of 'slut-bashing' in male identity constructions in 15-year-olds." In: *Human Development,* 47, 331-353.doi:10.1159/000081036

Bamberg, M., & Georgakopoulou, A. (2008). Small stories as a new perspective in narrative and identity analysis. *Text & Talk*, *28* (3), 377–396.

Barker, G., & Ricardo, C. (2005). *Young men and the construction of masculinity in Sub- Saharan Africa: Implications for HIV/AIDS, conflict, and violence.* Social Development papers, no. CPR 26. Conflict prevention and reconstruction series Washington DC: World Bank Group.

Barrera, G. (2005). Patrilineality, Race, and Identity: The Upbringing of Italo-Eritreans during Italian Colonialism. In R.Ben-Ghiat and M. Fuller (Eds). *Italian Colonialism. Italian and Italian American Studies* (pp.97-108). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Batcho, K. I. (2013). Nostalgia: The bittersweet history of a psychological concept. *History of Psychology, 16,* 165–176. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0032427

Beasley, K. (2008). "Rethinking Hegemonic Masculinity in Globalizing World. *Men and Masculinities, 11* (1), 86-103.

Bell, A. (1991). *The language of news media*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Benson, K. (2016). "Graphic Novel Histories: Women's Organized Resistance to Slum Clearance in Crossroads, South Africa, 1975–2015." *African Studies Review, 59* (1), 199–214.

Berger, G. (2002). Seeing past race-The politics of the HRC's inquiry into racial representation. *Ecquid Novi, 23*(2), 254-277.doi: 10.1080/02560054.2002.9653250

Bernard, H. R. (1994). *Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Sage Publications, London.

Bhabha, H. K. (1984). Of mimicry and man: The ambivalence of colonial discourse. Discipleship: *A Special Issue on Psychoanalysis, 28*, 125-133.

Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.

Bhan, G. (2009). "This Is No Longer the City I Once Knew. Evictions, the Urban Poor and the Right to the City in Millennial Delhi." *Environment and Urbanization, 21* (1), 127–42.

Bhattacharya, K. (2017). *Fundamentals of Qualitative Research : A Practical Guide*. Routledge, New York.

Bickford-Smith, V. (2001). "Mapping Cape Town: From Slavery to Apartheid." In S. Field (ed.), *Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering Forced Removals in Cape Town* (pp.15-26). Cape Town: David Philip

Biko, S. (1977). Steve Biko 1946-1977. I write what I like. A Selection of his Writings. *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies, 8*(3), 62-67.

Billings, G. L. (2011). Boyz to men: Teaching to restore black boys' childhood. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *14*(1), 7-15. doi: 10.1080/13613324.2011.531977

Bird, M. Y. (1999). What We Want to be Called: Indigenous People's Perspectives on Racial and Ethnic Identity Labels. *American Indian Quarterly, 23* (2), 1-21.

Blau, A., & Thomas, J. (1981). Unemployment in Bishop Lavis. SALDRU Working Paper no 47. Cape Town: South African Labour and Development Unit

Boddy-Evans, A. (2018). *Group Areas Act No.41 of 1950*. Retrieved from https://www.thoughtco.com/group-areas-act-43476

Bondi, L., & Davidson, J. (2005). Situating gender. In L. Nelson & J. Seager (Eds.), *A companion to feminist geography* (pp. 15-31). Oxford, England: Blackwell Publishing.

Boonzaier, F. (2005). Woman abuse in South Africa: A brief contextual analysis. *Feminism & Psychology*, *15*(1), 99-103. doi: 10.1177/0959353505049711

Boonzaier, F. (2006). A gendered analysis of woman abuse. In T. Shefer, F. Boonzaier, & P. Kiguwa (Eds.), *The gender of psychology* (pp. 133–150). Cape Town: UCT Press.

Boonzaier, F. (2008). 'If the Man Says you Must Sit, Then you Must Sit': The Relational Construction of Woman Abuse: Gender, Subjectivity and Violence. *Feminism and Psychology,18*(2), 183-206. DOI: 10.1177/0959353507088266

Boonzaier, F. (2014). Methodological disruptions: Interviewing domestically violent me across a ''gender divide''. *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies, 9*(4), 232–248.

Boonzaier, F. (2018a). The stories we tell: Gender based violence in South Africa.*SA Labour Bulletin, 42* (2), 56-59.

Boonzaier, F. (2018). Challenging risk: The production of knowledge on gendered violence in South Africa. In K. Fitz-Gibbon, S. Walklate, J. McCulloch and J. Maree Maher (Eds.) *Intimate Partner Violence, Risk and Security: Securing Women's Lives in a Global World* (pp. 71-87). London: Routledge Press.

Boonzaier, F., Huysamen, M., & van Niekerk, T. J., (in press). Men from the 'south': Feminist, Decolonial, Intersectional perspectives on men, masculinities and intimate partner violence. In L. Gottzén, M. Börnholt, & F. Boonzaier, *Men, Masculinities and Intimate Partner Violence* (pp.52-65). Routledge.

Boonzaier, F., & van Niekerk, T. J., (2019). Discursive trends in research on masculinities and interpersonal violence in Africa. In L. Gottzén, U. Mellström & T. Shefer, *The Routledge International Handbook of Masculinity Studies* (pp.457-466). Routledge.

Boswell, B., Ratele, K., & Johannes, S. (2019). *A letter to the Editorial Board of Ageing, Neuropsychology and Cognition* [open letter]. Retrieved from agi.ac.za

Bowers, N. F. (2005). Development as Transformation: The Local Church in Lavender Hill as Agent of Change in a Post-Carnegie II Context. (Master's thesis). University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch.

Bowler, D. (2016). *'Coloured' People constantly reduced to tired stereotypes*. Retrieved from www.ewn.co.za

Bradbury, J. (2012). Narrative Possibilities of the Past for the Future: Nostalgia and Hope. *Peace and Conflict Journal of Peace Psychology, 18* (3), 341-350.

Brannon, R. (1976). The male sex role: Our culture's blueprint of manhood. In D.S David and R. Brannon (Eds.). *The Fourty− Nine Percent Majority: The Male Sex Role* (pp.30-32). MA: Addison Wesley.

Braun, Y. (2015). "Interrogating Large-Scale Development and Inequality in Lesotho: Bridging Feminist Political Ecology, Intersectionality, and Environmental Justice Frameworks." In S. Buechler and A.S. Hanson (Eds.). *A Political Ecology of Women, Water, and Global Environmental Change* (pp.19–37). Abingdon: Routledge.

Bray, R., Gooskens, I., Kahn, L., Moses, S., & Seekings, J. (2010). *Growing up in the new South Africa. Cape Town*. South Africa: HSRC Press.

Bridges, T., & Pascoe, C. J. (2014). "Hybrid Masculinities: New Directions in the Sociology of Men and Masculinities." *Sociology Compass, 8* (3), 246–258. doi:10.1111/soc4.12134.

Brooks, J., & King, N. (2017). *Applied Qualitative Research in Psychology*. MacMillan International Higher Education.

Brown, A. D., & Humphreys, M. (2002). Nostalgia and the narrativization of identity: A Turkish case study. *British Journal of Management, 13,* 141–159. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1467-8551.00228

Bruce, D. (2007). To be someone: Status insecurity and violence in South Africa. In P. Burton (Ed), *Someone stole my smile: An exploration into the causes of youth violence in* (pp.57-68). Cape Town: Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention.

Brydon-Miller, M. (1997). Participatory action research: Psychology and social change. *Journal of Social Issues*, *53*(4), 657-666.

Budlender, D., & Lund, F. (2011). *South Africa: A Legacy of Family Disruption. Development and Change,42,* 925-946.doi:10.1111/j.1467-7660.2011.01715.x

Bulhan, H. A. (1981). Psychological research in Africa. *Race and Class, 32*, 25-41

Bulhan, H. A. (1985). *Frantz Fanon and the psychology of oppression*. New York: Plenum.

Bundy, C. (1988). *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of sex.* London: Routledge.

Campbell, C. (1992). Learning to kill? Masculinity, the family and violence in Natal. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 18*,614–628.doi: 10.1002/casp.901

Camphor, F. M. (2018). Unemployed youth in Bishop Lavis, Cape Town: Aspirations and Capabilities. (Master's thesis). The University of Western Cape, Cape Town

Carlson, E. D., Engebretson, J., & Chamberlain, R. M. (2006). Photovoice as a social process of critical consciousness. *Qualitative health research*, *16*(6), 836-852.

Carspecken, P. (1996). *Critical Ethnography in Educational Research: A theoretical and practical guide*. New York: Routledge.

Carspecken, P. (1999). *Four Scenes for Posing the Question of Meaning and Other Explorations in Critical Philosophy and Critical Methodology*. New York: Peter Lang.

Carter, E., Donald, J. & Squires, J. (1993): *Space and Place: Theories of Identity and Location*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Chadwick, R. (2010). *Gender, sexuality and South African childhoods: A child rights approach.* Report prepared for RAPCAN.

Charles, M. (2017). *Youth leader killed in gang crossfire*. Retrieved from www.iol.co.za

Chattopadhyay, S. (2014). Making the Global *Bhadralok*: Bengali Men and the Transnational Middle Class in India. In J Gelfer (Ed). *Masculinities in a Global Era* (pp 119-136).Springer: New York.

Chinappa, K. (1984). The History of the Asiatic Bazzar in Pretoria (1885-1914). (Honours Thesis). University o Kwa-Zula Natal, Durban.

Choi, S. Y., & Ting, K. F. (2008). Wife beating in South Africa an imbalance theory of resources and power. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 23*(6), 834-852.

City of Cape Town. (2013). *City of Cape Town- 2011 Census Suburb Bishop Lavis.* Retrieved from https://www.capetown.gov.za/en/stats/2011CensusSuburbs/2011_Census_CT_Suburb_Bishop_Lavis_Profile.pdf

Clowes, L. (2013). The limits of discourse: Masculinity as vulnerability. *Agenda*, *27*(1), 12-19.

Coetzee, J. M. (1975). *Dusklands.* Johannesburg: Raven

Coleman, P. G. (1986). *Ageing and reminiscence processes: Social and clinical implications*. Chichester: Wiley.

Coley, R. (2001). (In)visible men: Emerging research on low-income, unmarried, and minority fathers. *American Psychologist, 56*(9), 743–753.

Collier, R. (1998). *Masculinities, Crime and Criminology:Men, Heterosexuality and the Criminal(ised) Other.* London: Sage

Collins, J. W., & Katharine L. S. (2013.) “Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal in the United States.” *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, 5* (1), 239–73.

Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (2nd ed.). NY: Routledge.

Collins, P. H., (2007). Pushing the Boundaries or Business As Usual? Race, Class, and Gender Studies and Sociological Inquiry. In C. Calhoun. (Ed.), *Sociology in America: A History* (pp. 572-604). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Coloured South Africa. (2020). *Outrage over Trevor Noah’s, ‘Coloureds don’t know who they are’ opinion*. Retrieved from www.colouredsa.co.za

Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics.* Cambridge, England: Polity Press.

Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Connell, R. W. (2000). *The men and the boys*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Connell, R.W. (2002). *Gender.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Connell, R. W. (2005). *Masculinities* (2nd ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Connell, R. W. (2008). A thousand miles from kind: men, masculinities and modern institutions. *The journal of men's studies*, *16*(3), 237-252. doi: 10.3149/jms.1603.237

Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J.W. (2005). “Hegemonic Masculinity; Rethinking of Masculinities.” *Gender and Society, 19*, 829-859

Cooper, A. (2009). “Gevaarlike transition”: Negotiating hegemonic masculinity and rites of passage amongst ‘coloured’ boys awaiting trial on the Cape Flats. *Psychology in Society, 37,* 1-17.

Cooper, A. (2010). “Through a different lens”: Snaps of a soccer photovoice project in Lavender Hill Cape Town. *Agenda*, *24*(85), 54-61. doi:10.1080/10130850.2010.9676323

Cooper, A., & Foster, D. (2008). Democracy’s children? Masculinities of ‘coloured’ adolescents awaiting trial in post-apartheid Cape Town, South Africa. *Thymos: Journal of Boyhood Studies, 2*(1), 3-25.

Cornell, J., & Kessi, S. (2017). Black students' experiences of transformation at a previously "white only" South African university: a photovoice study. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *4*(11),1882-1899.doi:10.108/01419870.2016.1206586

Cosgrove, L. (2003). Feminism, postmodernism, and psychological research. *Hypatia, 18*(3), 85-112. doi: 10.1111/j.1527-2001. 2003.tb00823.x

Costandius, E., & Alexander, N. (2019). Exploring shame and pedagogies of discomfort in critical citizenship education. *Transformation in Higher Education, 2415,* 1-8.

Coullie, J.L. (2014). The ethics of nostalgia in post-apartheid South Africa. Rethinking History, 18 (2), 195-210, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13642529.2013.858449

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of colour. *Stanford Law Review, 43,* 1241-1299.doi: 10.2307/1229039

Crime Statistics South Africa. (2016/2017) .*Crime Statistics in South Africa*. Retrieved from http://www.statssa.gov.za/

Crites, S. (1986). Storytime: Recollecting the past and projecting the future. In T. Sarbin (Ed.), *Narrative psychology* (pp. 152–173). New York, NY: Praeger.

Crossley, M. L. (2000). *Introducing narrative psychology: Self, trauma and the construction of meaning*. Buckingham, England: Open University Press.

Crossley, M. L. (2003). Formulating narrative psychology: The limitations of contemporary social constructionism. *Narrative Inquiry*, *13*(2), 287-300.

Davenport, T. R. H. (1971). *'The Beginnings of Urban Segregation in South Africa: the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923'.* Occasional Paper. Grahamstown: Rhodes University, Institute for Social and Economic Research.

David, M. N. (2017). Using memory work as a decolonising pedagogy in a study on District Six's forced removal history: a case for epistemic justice. *Journal of Education, 69,* 93-116.

Davies, B., & Harré, R. (1990). Positioning: The discursive production of selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, *20*(1), 43–63.

Davis, N. E. (1978). A History of Southern Africa. Nairobi, Kenya: Longman Group Ltd.

Debut, B. (2019). *Why some in 'coloured' community are nostalgic for apartheid.* Retrieved from: https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/why-some-in-sas-coloured-community-are-nostalgic-for-apartheid-21976139

Demetriou, D. Z. (2001). Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity: A critique. *Theory and society, 30*(3), 337-361.

Dery, I., & Apusigah, A. A. (2020): 'So Kuoɔ Kye B# Yi': disrupting constructions of masculinities among the Dagaaba of Northwestern Ghana, *NORMA* , 1-17. doi:10.1080/18902138.2020.1754014

Dhupelia-Mesthrie, U. (2000). "Dispossession and Memory: The Black River Community of Cape Town." *Oral History, 28* (2), 35–43.

Dhupelia-Mesthrie, U. (2014). Speaking about building Rylands (1960s to 1980's): a Cape Flats history. *Social Dynamics,40*(2),353-370. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02533952.2014.932174

Dictionary. (2020). *Meaning of bunny.* Retrieved form dictionaery.com

Dixon, J. A., Tredoux, C.G., Durrheim, K., & Foster, D.H. (1994). The role of speech accommodation and crime type in attribution to guilt. *The Journal for Social Psychology, 134*(3), 465-473.\

Dixon, J., and Durrheim, K. (2000). Displacing place-identity: a discursive approach to locating self and other. *Br. J. Soc. Psychol.* 39(Pt 1), 27–44. doi: 10.1348/014466600164318

Dixon, T. L., & Linz, D. (2000). Overrepresentation and underrepresentation of African Americans and Latinos as lawbreakers on television news. *Journal of Communication, 50* (2), 131-154.

Dlamini, J. (2009). *Native Nostalgia*. Auckland Park: Jacana Media.

Dovidio, J.F., Major, B., & Crocker, J. (2003). Stigma: Introduction and overview. In T.F. Heatherton, R.E. Kleck, M.R. Hebl, & J.G. Hull (Eds.). *The social psychology of stigma.* (p. 1-28). New York: Guilford Press.

Drugaware. (2003). *Mandrax*. Retrieved from drugaware.co.za

Dube, S. I. (2016). Race silence: the oversignification of black men in "the crisis of/in masculinities" in post-apartheid South Africa. *ActaAcademia, 48* (1), 72-90. doi: *http://dx.doi. org/10.18820/24150479/ aa48i1.4*

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1903/1989). *The souls of black folk.* New York: Bantam.

Duncan, N., Stevens, G., & Sonn, C. C. (2012). Of narratives and nostalgia. *Peace and Conflict, 18,* 205–213. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0029533

Duneier, M., 1992. *Slim's table: Race, Respectability, and Masculinity*. University of Chicago Press.

Durrheim, K. (2005). Socio-spatial practice and racial representations in a changing South Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 35(3), 444–459.

Dutta, U., Sonn, C.C., & Lykes, M.B. (2016). Situating and Contesting Structural Violence in Community-Based Research and Action. *Community Psychology in Global Perspective, 2* (2), 1-20

Dwyer, S. C., & Buckle, J. L. (2009). The space between: On being an insider-outsider in qualitative research. *International journal of qualitative methods, 8*(1), 54-63. doi: 10.1177/160940690900800105

Eagle, G., Hayes, G., & Sibanda, T. (2006). Standpoint methodologies: Marxist, feminist, and black scholarship perspectives. In J. Terre Blanche, K. Durrheim & D. Painter (Eds.), *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences* (pp. 499-522). Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Elliott, W. (2003). *Masculinity: Key South African issues and debates*. Retrieved from http://www.soulcity.org.za/projects/soul-city-series/previous-series/soul-city-series7/literature-review/masculinity-in-south-africa

Elliott, K. (2016). "Caring Masculinities: Theorizing an Emerging Concept." *Men and Masculinities 19* (3): 240–259. doi:10.1177/1097184X15576203.

Elliott, K. (2019a). "Negotiations between Progressive and 'Traditional' Expressions of Masculinity among Young Australian Men." *Journal of Sociology, 55* (1): 108–123. doi:10. 1177/1440783318802996

Elliott, K. (2020): Bringing in margin and centre: 'open' and 'closed' as concepts for considering men and masculinities, *Gender, Place & Culture*, 1-22. doi:10.1080/0966369X.2020.1715348

Enderstein, A., & Boonzaier, F. (2015). Narratives of young South African fathers: redefining masculinity through fatherhood. *Journal of Gender Studies, 24* (5), 512-526, doi:10.1080/09589236.2013.856751

Epstein, D. (1998). Marked men: Whiteness and masculinity. *Agenda, 14*(37), 49-59. doi: 10.1080/10130950.1998.967569

Erasmus, Z. (2001). *'Coloured' by history, shaped by place: New perspectives on 'coloured' identities in Cape Town*. Cape Town: Kwela Books.

Erasmus, Z., & Pieterse, E. (1999). Conceptualising Coloured identities in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. In M. Palmberg (Ed.). *National Identity* (167-187). South Africa: Capture Press

Erwin, K. (2012). Race and race thinking: reflections in theory and practice for researchers in South Africa and beyond. *Transformation, 79*, 93- 113.

Essed, P. (1991). *Understanding everyday racism.* Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Fanon, F. (1967). *Black Skin, White Masks.* London: Pluto Press.

Fanow, M. M., & Cook, J. A. (Eds.). (1991). Beyond methodology: Feminist scholarship as lived research. Indiana University Press.

Farred, G. (2000). Better the Devil You Know? The Politics of Colouredness and Post-Apartheid South African Elections in the Western Cape. *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society,2(*2), 50.

February, V. (2014). *Mind Your Colour: The 'Coloured' Stereotype in South African Literature*. London/Boston: Kegan Paul International

Felman, S., & Laub, D. (1992). *Testimony: Crises of witnessing in literature, psychoanalysis, and history.* New York: Routledge

Felson, R. B. (2002). *Violence and gender re-examined*. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.

Ferris, S.M. (2015). Ex-gang members: The search for moral identity: A literature review study on positive narrative identity transformation in ex-gang members in relation to expected, temporal and social selves. Unpublished Doctoral thesis. Azusa Pacific University.

Field, S. (1990). The Politics of Exclusion: A Case Study of the Factreton Area. M. Soc. Sci. Dissertation, UCT Sociology Department.

Field, S. (2001). *Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering Forced Removals in Cape Town*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Field, S. (2001c). I dream of our old house. 'You see there are things that can never go away.' Memory, restitution and democracy. In S. Field (ed), *Lost communities, living memories: Remembering forced removals in Cape Town* (pp.117-210). Cape Town: David Philip.

Field, S. (2012). *Oral History, Community, and Displacement: Imagining Memories in Post-apartheid South Africa*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Forster, A. (2012). We Are All Insider-Outsiders: A Review of Debates Surrounding Native Anthropology. *Student Anthropologist, 3* (1), 13-26.

Foster, D. (1991). 'Race' and racism in South African Psychology. *South African Journal of Psychology, 12,* 203–209.

Foucault, M. (1969). *L'archéologie du savoir*. Paris, France: Gallimard.

Frances, K. J. (2018). *Narratives of gang desistance amongst former gang members.* (Doctoral thesis). University of Cape Town.

Freund, B. (1984). Forced Resettlement and the Political Economy of South Africa. *Review of African Political Economy,11* (29), 49-63. doi: 10.1080/03056248408703567

Frith, A. (2011). *Bishop Lavis: Sub Place from Census 2011.* Retrieved from https://census2011.adrianfrith.com

Gachago, D., & Ngoasheng, A. (2017). *South Africa's rainbow nation' is a myth that students must unlearn*. Retrieved from www. Theconversation.com

Gavey, N. (1989). Feminist poststructuralism and discourse analysis: Contributions to feminist psychology. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *13*(4), 459–475.

Gavey, N. (2011). Feminist poststructuralism and discourse analysis revisited. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 35*(1), 183–188.

Gelfer, J. (2013).. Globalization. In J. Gelfer (Ed.), *Masculinities in a global era* (pp 1-16). Berlin: Springer.

Geschier, S.M.M.A. (2007). 'So I sit in a Catch-22 situation': remembering and imagining trauma in the District Six Museum. In S. Fields, R. Meyer & Swanson, F. (Eds). *Imagining the City: Memories and Cultures in Cape Town* (pp. 37-56). Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Gibbs, A., & Jobson, G. (2011). Narratives of masculinity in the Daily Sun: implications of HIV risk and prevention. *South African Journal of Psychology, 41*(2), 173 – 186.

Gibbs, S., & Ajulu, D. (1999). *The role of the church in advocacy: Case studies from Southern and Eastern Africa*. INTRAC Occasional Paper Series. Retrieved from http://www.goodreads.com/quotes/tag/violence.

Gibson, D., & Lindegaard, M. H. (2007). South African boys with plans for the future. Why focus on dominant discourses tells us only part of the story. In T. Shefer, K. Ratele, A. Strebel, N. Shabalala & R. Bulkems (Eds.), *From boys to men: social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society* (pp. 128-144). Cape Town. South Africa :UCT Press

Gieseking, J. J., W. Mangold., C. Katz., S. Louw., & S. Saegert. (2014). *The People, Place, & Space Reader*. New York: Routledge.

Giliomee, H. (1996). A politically incorrect view of non-racialism and majority rule. In W. James, D. Caliguire and K. Cullinan (Eds), *Now that we are free. Coloured communities in a democratic South Africa* (pp. 94-99). Cape Town: Institute for Democracy in South Africa

Gobodo-Madikizela, P. (2012). Remembering the Past: Nostalgia, Traumatic Memory, and the Legacy of Apartheid. *Peace and Conflict Journal of Peace Psychology, 18* (3), 253-267.

Goolman, V. (2016). *"The Cape Malay : The Quest for 'Malay' Identity in Apartheid South Africa."* Retrieved from www. South African History Online. com

Gopal, N., & Chetty, V. (2006). No women left behind: examining public perspectives on South African Police Services' handling of violence against South African women. *Alternation*, *13* (2), 117–133.

Gottze´n, L. (2016). Displaying shame: Men's violence towards women in a culture of gender equality. In M. Hyden, D. Gadd, & A. Wade (Eds.), *Response based approaches to the study of interpersonal violence* (pp. 156–175). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gottze´n, L. (2017). Monsters in the closet: The affective spaces of (not) coming out as a violent man. *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies, 16*(3), 528–547.

Govender, T., & Mji, G. (2009). The profile of disability grant applications in Bishop Lavis, Cape Town. *South African Family Practice,51* (3), 228-236. doi 10.1080/20786204.2009.10873853

Gqola, P. D. (2007). The 'cult of femininity' and violent masculinities support endemic gender based violence in contemporary South Africa. *African Identities, 5*, 111-124. doi 10.1080/14725840701253894

Graue, M. E. (1998). Researcher role as context. In M. E. Graue & D. J. Walsh (Eds.), *Studying children in context* (pp.70-92). London: Sage Publications.

Gutmann, M.C. (1997). 'Trafficking in men: The anthropology of masculinity'. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 26*, 385–409.

Hahn, T. (1881). *Tsuni-//Goam: the supreme being of the Khoi-Khoi.* London

Hall, S. (1997a). Visceral cultures and criminal practices. *Theoretical Criminology, 1*(4), 453-478

Hall, S. (1997). 'The spectacle of the "other"'. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (pp 225-239). London/Thousand Oaks, CA/New Delhi: Sage.

Hamilton, W. (2018). Are 'coloured' people marginalised? Retrieved form http://wwmp.org.za/elitsha/2018/11/08/are-coloured-people-marginaised

Hamman, M. (2019). *Kaaps: A brief look at the history of Kaaps and the origins of Afrikaans*. Retrieved from capetownmagazine.com

Hammersley, M. (2018). What is ethnography? Can it survive? Should it? *Ethnography Education,13*(1), 1-17. doi: 10.1080/17457823.2017.1298458

Hanlon, N. (2012). *Masculinities, Care and Equality: Identity and Nurture in Men's Lives.* Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan

Hare-Mustin, R. T., & Marecek, J. (1988). The meaning of difference: Gender theory, postmodernism, and psychology. *The American Psychologist, 43*, 455– 464. doi:10.1037/0003x.43.6.455.

Hardiman, R., & Jackson, B. W. (1997). Conceptual foundations for social justice courses. In M. Adams, L. A. Bell, & P. Griffin (Eds.), *Teaching for diversity and social justice: A sourcebook* (pp. 16-29). New York: Routledge.

Haron, M. (2015). The 'Cape Malay' Culture as Represented in the South End Museum and the Dr. Nortier's Rooibos Museum. *S.A Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis, 29*(1), 74-97.

Hart, D. M.(1990). 'Political Manipulation of Urban Space ' The Racializing of District Six, Cape Town'. In S. Jeppie and C. Soudien (Eds), *The Struggle for District Six: Past and Present* (pp.603-628).Cape Town: Buchu Books.

Hart, G. (2006)."Denaturalizing Dispossession: Critical Ethnography in the Age of Resurgent Imperialism." *Antipode, 38*(5), 977–1004.

Hartley, T. (2014). Can coloured men be good fathers and will society let them? An intergenerational exploration of coloured men in Cape Town and their caring practices (Masters dissertation). University of Cape Town.

Hearn, J. (1996). "Is Masculinity Dead? A Critique of the Concept of Masculinity/Masculinities." In M. MacanGhail (Ed.), *Understanding Masculinities : Social Relations and Cultural Arenas* (pp.202-217). UK: Open University Press.

Hearn, J. (2012). A multi-faceted power analysis of men's violence to known women: from hegemonic masculinity to the hegemony of men. *The Sociological Review, 60*(4), 589-610. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-954X.2012.02125.x

Hearn, J., & Kimmel, M. S. (2007). The sociology of men and masculinity. In C. D. Bryant & D. L. Peck (Eds.), *21st Century sociology: a reference handbook* (pp. 132-138). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Hearn, J., & Morrell, R. (2012). Reviewing hegemonic masculinities and men in Sweden and South Africa. *Men and Masculinities*, *15*, 3–10.

Heilmann, A., & Scholz, S. (2017). "Caring Masculinities – Gesellschaftliche Transformationspotentiale F€ursorglicher M€annlichkeiten?" , *Feministische Studien 2*, 349–357. doi:10.1515/fs-2017-0036.

Heleta, S. (2016), 'Decolonisation of higher education: Dismantling epistemic violence and Eurocentrism in South Africa', *Transformation in Higher Education* 1(1), 1-8

Helman, R., Malherbe, N., & Kaminer, D. (2018). "To show like the people that there can be good fathers…here in our place." In T. Shefer, J. Hearn, K. Ratele, K & F. Boonzaier (Eds.), *Engaging Youth in Activism, Research , and Pedagogical Praxis: Transnational and Intersectional Perspectives on Gender, Sex and Race* (1st ed,. pp.250-263). London: Routledge.

Hendricks, A. (2019). *Cape Flats residents cheer arrival of army.* Retrieved from https://www.groundup.org.za/article/army-makes-it-way-cape-flats/

Hendricks, C. (2005). Debating 'coloured' Identity in the Western Cape. *African Security Review*, *14*,117-119. doi: 10.1080/10246029.2005.9627597

Hendrie, D. (1983). “The Coloured Labour preference policy: a chronology” , ‘Labour Preference, Influx Control and Squatters: Cape Town entering the 1980s’, SALDRU Working Paper, No 50

Hiles, D., & Cermák, I. (2007). Narrative psychology. In W. Stainton-Rogers, & C. Willig (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in psychology* (pp. 147-164). London, England: SAGE Publications.

Hirsh, H., Eizenberg, Y., & Jabareen, Y. (2020). A New Conceptual Framework for Understanding Displacement: Bridging the Gaps in Displacement Literature between the Global South and the Global North. *Journal of Planning Literature*, *XX* (X), 1-17.

Hodgetts, D., Chamberlain, K., & Groot, S. (2011). Reflections on the visual in community research and action. In P. Reavey (Ed.),Visual methods in psychology: Using and interpreting images in qualitative research (pp. 299–313). East Sussex: Psychology Press.

Hollway, W. (1984). Gender difference and the production of subjectivity. In J. Henriques, W. Hollway, C. Venn & V. Walkerdine (Eds.), *Changing the subject* (pp. 227–263). London, UK: Methuen.

Holter, O, G. (1997). *Gender, Patriarchy and Capitalism: A Social Forums Analysis*. Oslo: University of Oslo.

Holter, O. G. (2003). *Can Men do it? Men and Gener Equality-the Nordic Experience.* Copenhagen Nordic Council of Ministers.

Honwana, A. (2014). ‘Waithood’: Youth Transitions and Social Change. *Development and Equity*, 28-40.doi.org/10.1163/9789004269729_004

Hook, D. (2005). The racial stereotype, colonial discourse, fetishism, and racism. *Psychoanalytic Review*, *92*(5), 701-734.

hooks, b. (1992). Black looks: Race and representation. Boston, MA: South End Press.

hooks, b. (2004). “Choosing the Margin as a Space of Radical Openness.” In S. Harding, *The Feminist Theory Standpoint Reader: Intellectual and Political Controversies* (pp.153–159). New York: Routledge

hooks, b. (2004). *The will to change: Men, masculinity, and love*. New York: Washington Square Press.

Hooks, D. (2005). The racial stereotype, colonial discourse , fetishism and racism. *Psychoanalytic review, 95*(5), 701-734.

Horner, B. (2002). Critical Ethnography , Ethics and Work: Rearticulating Labor. *JAC, 22*(3),561-584

Howson, R. (2006). *Challenging Hegemonic Masculinity*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Humphries, R. (1989). “Administrative Politics and the Coloured Labour Preference Policy.” In W. Godfrey, James and Mary Simons (Eds.), *The Angry Divide: Social and Economic History of the Western Cape* (pp.169–79). Cape Town: David Philip.

Hunter, M. (2004). Masculinities, multiple-sexual-partners, and AIDS: The making and AIDS: the making and unmaking of Isoka in KwaZulu-Natal. *Transformation: critical perspectives on Southern Africa, 54*(1), 123-153.

Hunter, M. (2005). Cultural politics and masculinities: Multiple-partners in historical perspective in KwaZulu-Natal. *Culture, health & sexuality, 7*(4), 389-403.doi: 10.1080/13691050412331293458

Huysamen, M. (2016). Constructing the ‘respectable' client and the ‘good' researcher: the complex dynamics of cross-gender interviews with men who pay for sex, *NORMA, 11*(1), 19-33, DOI: 10.1080/18902138.2015.1119379

Huysamen, M., Barnett, J., & Fraser, D. S. (2020). Slums of hope: Sanitising silences within township tour reviews. *Geoforum, 110*, 87-96.

Institute for Security Studies. (n.d). *Understanding police brutality in South Africa: challenges and solutions.* Retrieved from issafrica.org

Isaacs-Martin, W. (2014). National and Ethnic Identities: Dual and Extreme Identities amongst the Coloured Population of Port Elizabeth, South Africa. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism, 14* (1), 55-73.

Islam, N. (2000). Research as an act of betrayal: Researching race in an Asian community in Los Angeles. In F. W. Twine & J. W. Warren (Eds.), *Racing research researching race. Methodological dilemmas in critical race studies* (pp.35-66). New York: New York University Press.

Jackson, R. L., & Balaji, M. (2011). Introduction. In R. L. Jackson & M. Balaji (Eds.), *Global masculinities and manhood* (pp. 17–30). Urbana: University of Illinois Press

Jarvie, I .C., Agrawal, B.C., Balikei, A., Callaghan, J.W., et al., (1983). The Problem of the Ethnographic Real. *Current Anthropology, 24* (3), 313-325

Jefferson, T. (2002). Subordinating hegemonic masculinity. *Theoretical Criminology*, *6*(1), 63-88. doi: 10.1177/136248060200600103

Jensen, S. (1999). Discourses of violence: coping with violence on the Cape Flats. *Social Dynamics, 25*(2), 75-97. doi: 10.1080/02533959908458676

Jensen, S. (2004). Claiming Community: Local Politics on the Cape Flats, South Africa. *Critique of Anthropology*, *24*(2),179-207.

Jewkes, R., Levin, J., & Penn-Kekana, L. (2002a). Risk factors for domestic violence: Findings from a South African cross-sectional study. *Social Science & Medicine, 55*, 1603 – 1617.

Jewkes, R. (2002). Intimate partner violence. Causes and prevention. *The Lancet, 359,* 1423 – 1429.

Jewkes, R., & Morrell, R. (2010). Gender and sexuality: Emerging perspectives from the heterosexual epidemic in South Africa and implications for HIV risk and prevention. *Journal of the International AIDS Society*, *13*, 1-11.

Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrell, R., & Dunkle, K. (2009). Understanding men's health and use of violence: interface of rape and HIV in South Africa. *Cell, 82*(442), 3655-3660.

Joffe, H. (1995). Social representations of AIDS: towards encompassing issues of power. *Papers on Social representations, 4(*1), 29-40.

Johnson, K., & Martı´nez Guzma´n, A. (2013). Rethinking concepts in participatory action research and their potential for social transformation: Post-structuralist informed methodological reflections from LGBT and trans-collective projects. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 23*(5), 405–419. doi:10.1002/casp.2134.

Jonasi, S. (2007).What is the role of a Grandmother in the Malawian society and how can we as health care workers support her? Retracted version. *Malawi Medical Journal, 19* (3), 126-127.

Kanengoni, M. (2016). An exploration of Lavender Hill Youth's pathway to Employment. (Master's thesis). University of Cape Town: Cape Town.

Kanuha, V. K. (2000). "Being" native versus "going native": Conducting social work research as an insider. *Social work, 45*(5), 439-447.doi: 10.1093/sw/45.5.439

Keskinen, S. (2018). Territorial Stigmatization, Gendered Racism and Young Peoples Agency in a Multi-Ethnic School. In T. Shefer, J. Hearn, K. Ratele, & F. Boonzaier (Eds.), *Engaging Youth in Activism, Research , and Pedagogical Praxis: Transnational and Intersectional Perspectives on Gender, Sex and Race* (1st ed,. pp235-248). London: Routledge.

Kessi, S. (2011). Photovoice as a practice of re-presentation and social solidarity: Experiences from a youth empowerment project in Dar es Salaam and Soweto. *Papers on Social Representations, 20* (1),1-27.

Kessi, S. (2018). Photovoice as a narrative tool for decolonization: Black women and LGBT student experiences at UCT. *South African Journal of Higher Education, 32* (3), 101-117.

Kessi, S., & Cornell, J. (2015). Coming to UCT: Black students, transformation and discourses of race. *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa,*3(2), 1-16.doi: 10.14426/jsaa.v3i2.132

Kessi, S., Kaminer, D., Boonzaier, F., & Learmonth, D. (2019). Photovoice methodologies for social justice. In S. Laher, A. Fynn, S. Kramer (Eds.), *Transforming Research Methods in the Social Sciences: Case studies from South Africa* (pp 354-374). Wits University Press: Johannesburg

Kilomba, G. (2016). *Plantation Memories: Episodes of Everyday Racism* (4th edition). Munster:Unrast-Verlag

Kimmel, M. (1993). Men, masculinity, and the rape culture. In E. Buchwald, P. Fletcher & M. Roth (Eds.), *Transforming a rape culture* (pp. 141-157). Minneapolis, MN: Milkweed Editions.

Kimmel, M. (1994). Masculinity as homophobia: Fear, shame, and silence in the construction of gender identity. In H. Brod & M. Kaufman (Eds.), *Theorizing masculinities* (pp. 119-141). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Kimmel, M., & Aronson, A. (2000). *The Gendered Society Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kinnes, I. (2000). *From urban street gangs to criminal empires: the changing face of gangs in the Western Cape*. Available from www.iss.co.za/Pubs/Monographs/No48/Contents.html [Accessed: 05/05/2011].

Kinnes, I. (2008). *Gang culture in South Africa and its impact.* Presented at African Human Security Round Table Meeting: Nairobi.

Kobayashi, A. (2005). Antiracist feminism in geography: An agenda for social action. In L. Nelson & J. Seager (Eds.), *A companion to feminist geography* (pp. 32-40). Oxford, England: Blackwell Publishing.

Kolbe, V. (2007). *What is Coloured.* Panel discussion at The University of Cape Town, South Africa.

Kometsi, K. J. (2008).Coloured subjectivities and Black Africanness. (Masters thesis). Wits University, Johannesburg.

Korth, B. (2002). Critical Qualitative Research as Consciousness Raising: The dialogic texts of researcher /researched Interactions. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *8*(3), 3, 81-403.

La Guma, A. (1988 /1964). *And a threefold cord*. London: Kliptown Books.

Lamb, G. (2017). *Crime stats-the devil is in the detail*. Retrieved from https://m.news24.com

Langa, M. (2010). Contested multiple voices of young masculinities amongst adolescent boys in Alexandra township, South Africa. *Journal of Child and Adolescent Mental Health, 22*(1),1-13.

Langa, M & Kiguwa, P. (2013). Violent masculinities and service delivery protests in post-apartheid South Africa: A case study of two communities in Mpumalanga, *Agenda*, *27*(1), 20-31, doi: 10.1080/10130950.2013.793897

Lee, C. J. (2013) 'A generous dream, but difficult to realize': the making of the Anglo-African community of Nyasaland, 1929–1940. In M. Adhikari (Ed.), *Burdened by race: Coloured identities in southern Africa* (pp.207-232). Cape Town :UCT Press.

Lefebvre H, 1976, "Reflections on the politics of space", translated by M Enders *Antipode,2,* ,30-36.

Lefebvre H, 1980 *La Presence de I Absence: Contribution a la Theorie des Representations* (Casterman, Paris)

Lefebvre H, 1991a *Critique of Everyday Life, I* translated by J Moore (Verso, London)

Lefebvre H, 1991b *The Production of Space,* translated by D Nicholson-Smith (Blackwell, Oxford)

Lefebvre, H. (2009) *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Legassick, M. (1996). *"Slave Mentality"*. Debate on Nuafrica internet discussion group between Legassick, M. and Du Toit, A., June/July.

Leggett, T. (2002). *Drugs and crime in South Africa: a study in three cities*. Retrieved from www.iss.co.za.

Leggett, T. (2003). On the Tuk Tuk express: Has methamphetamine hit the Cape Flats. *SA Crime Quarterly, 6,* 33-35.

Leggett, T. (2004). Still marginal: Crime in the 'coloured' community. *SA Crime Quarterly, 7*, 21-26.

Leventhal, T., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (*2003*). Moving to Opportunity: An Experimental Study of Neighbourhood Effects on Mental Health. *American Journal of Public Health*, *93*(9), 1576-1582.doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.93.9

Lewis, G. (1987). *Between the Wire and the Wall: a History of South African 'Coloured' Politics.* Cape Town: David Philip

Locke, A., & Yarwood, G. (2017). Exploring the depths of gender, parenting, and 'work': Critical discursive psychology and the 'missing voices' of involved fatherhood. *Community, Work & Family, 20*(1), 4–18.

London, L. (1999). The 'dop' system, alcohol abuse and social control amongst farm workers in South Africa: A public health challenge. *Social Science and Medicine, 48*(10), 1407-1414.

Loopmans, M., Cowell, G., & Oosterlynck, S. (2012). Photography, public pedagogy and the politics of place-making in postindustrial areas. *Social and Cultural Geography, 13*(7), 699–718.

Louskieter, L. (2018). PSY3005F: What is critical psychology, week 2notes [PowerPoint slides]. Retrieved from https://vula.uct.ac.za

Louw, J. (1986). *This is thy work: A contextual history of applied psychology and labour in South Africa* (Doctoral thesis). University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam.

Lupton, D., & Barclay, L. (1997). *Constructing fatherhood: Discourses and experiences.* London: Sage.

Lurie, D. (2004). *Cape Town Fringe: Manenberg is Where It's Happening*. Cape Town: Double Storey.

Luyt, R. (2002). Hegemonic masculinity and aggression in South Africa (Master Thesis). University of Cape Town, Cape Town.

Luyt, R. (2007). *Gender order and masculinity in South Africa: Comparison in the Western Cape Province* (Doctoral dissertation). London School of Economics and Political Science, London.

Mabin, A. (1992). Comprehensive Segregation: the Origins of the Group Areas Act and its Planning Apparatuses. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 18*(2), 147-160.

Maccoby, E. E., & Jacklin, C. (1974). *The psychology of sex differences*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

MacCrone, I. D. (1937). Race attitudes in South Africa: Historical, experimental and psychological studies. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

MacMaster, L. L. M. (2009). Resilience of Faith Communities on the Cape Flats (SA): A Pastoral theological perspective . *Scriptura*, 101, 288-300.

Mager, A. (2010). *Beer, sociability, and masculinity in South Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Magubane, B. (1980). The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa. *ASA Review of Books, 6,* 270-272.

Magubane, B. (2007). *Race and the construction of the dispensable other*. Pretoria, South Africa: UNISA Press.

Mahalik, J., Locke, B., Ludlow, L., Diemer, M., Scott, R., Gottfried, M., & Freitas, G. (2003). Development of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 4*, 3-25. doi:10.1037/1524-9220.4.1.3

Mair, M. (1989). *Between psychology and psychotherapy: A poetics of experience*. New York: Routledge

Malinga, M., & Ratele, K. (2014). 'It has changed me from the person that I was before': Love and the construction of young black masculinities. In S. Petrella (Ed.), *Doing gender: Interdisciplinary voices* (pp. 73-101). London, UK: Inter-Disciplinary Press.

Malinga, M., & Ratele, K. (2018). Happiness and Constructions of Young Masculinity. In T. Shefer, J. Hearn, K. Ratele & F. Boonzaier (Eds.*), Engaging Youth in Activism, Research , and*

Pedagogical Praxis: Transnational and Intersectional Perspectives on Gender, Sex and Race (1st ed,. pp. 271-291). London: Routledge.

Manganyi, C. (1973). *Being black in the world*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Raven Press.

Marais, A. (2014). *Cape Town Gangster Films*. Retrieved from http://africaisacountry.com

Marais, P. (2017). *Rainbow Nation Navigation: A practical Guide to South African Cultures*. South Africa: Logogog Press.

Martin, P. (1998). "Why Can't a Man be More Like a Woman? Reflections on Connells Masculinities." *Gender and Society, 12* (4), 472-474

Massey, D. (1984) *Spatial Divisions of Labour*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Massey, D. (1994) *Space, Place, and Gender.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Massey, D. (1999). *Power-Geometries and the Politics of Space-Time.* Hettner Lecture 1998. Heidelberg: University of Heidelberg, Institute of Geography.

Massey, D. (2004). Geographies of responsibility, Geografiska Annaler: Series B, *Human Geography, 86*1(), 5-18, doi: 10.1111/j.0435-3684.2004.00150.x

Matiwane, M., & Walters, S. (1986). *The Struggle for Democracy*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape.

Mbembe, A. (1991). "Power and Obscenity in the Post-Colonial Period". In J. Manor (Ed.), *Rethinking Third World Politics*. London & New York: Longman.

McAdams, D. P. (1987). A life-story model of identity. In R. Hogan & W.H. Jones (Eds.), *Perspectives in personality* (vol.2, pp.15-50). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

McFarlane, C., & Silver, J. (2017). "The Political City: 'Seeing Sanitation' and Making the Urban Political in Cape Town." *Antipode*, *49*(1), 125–4.

McKee, L., & O'Brien, M. (1983). Interviewing men: Taking gender seriously. In E.Garmarknikow, D. Morgan, J. Purvis, & D. Taylorson, (Eds.), *The public and the private* (pp. 147-159). London: Heinemann.

McQuaid, K., Vanderbeck, R., Plastow, J., Valentine, G., Liu, C., & Chen, L. (2017). Intergenerational Community- Based Research and Creative Practice: Promoting Enviromental Sustainability in Jinja, Uganda. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationship, 15* (4), 389-410.

Meadows, B. R. (2008). 'Coloured' identity and reflections of the 'other' in community discourse: A case study of Wentworth (Masters thesis). University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, Durban.

Mellet, P. T. (2016). *Lenses on Cape Identities: Exploring Roots in South Africa*. South Africa: Dibanisa Publishing.

Messerschmidt, D. (1981a). *Anthropologies at Home in North America :Methods and Issues in the Study of One's Own Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Messerschmidt, J. W., & Messner, M. A. (2018). Hegemonic, Non hegemonic , and "New" Masculinities. In J. W. Messerschmidt; M. A. Messner, R. Connell, & P.Y. Martin (Eds), *Gender Reckoning: New Social Theory and Research* (pp.183-188). NYU Press

Meyer, M. I., & Tredoux, C. G. (2016). Who do you believe? Effects of English , Cape Coloured and Gay accents on perceived witness credibility. *Acta Criminolgica: Southern Africa Journal of Crimonology, 29*(1), 18-32.

Meyers, M. (2004). African American women and violence: Gender, race, and class in the news. *Critical Studies in Media Communication, 21*(2), 95-118. doi: 10.1080/07393180410001688029

Milligan, M. J. (2003). Displacement and identity discontinuity: The role of nostalgia in establishing new identity categories. *Symbolic Interaction, 26,* 381–403. doi: http://dx doi.org/10.1525/si.2003.26.3.381

Milner-Thornton, J. (2013). Absent white fathers:coloured identity in Zambia. In M. Adhikari (Ed), *Burdened by race: Coloured identities in southern Africa* (pp.186-206). Cape Town: UCT Press.

Miraftab, F. (2009). "Insurgent Planning: Situating Radical Planning in the Global South." *Planning Theory, 8* (1), 32–50.

Miraftab, F. (2012). ."Colonial Present: Legacies of the Past in Contemporary Urban Practices in Cape Town, South Africa." *Journal of Planning History, 11*(4), 283–307.

MixedFolks. (2008). "The Coloureds of Southern Africa." Retrieved from web.archive.org

Mlamla, S. (2019). Angry Cape Flats residents say SANDF functioning as 'headless chickens'. Retrieved from https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/news/angry-cape-flats-residents-say-sandf-functioning-as-headless-chickens-30061339

Moletsane, R., de Lange, N., Mitchell, C., Stuart, J., Buthelezi, T., & Taylor, M. (2007). Photo-voice as a tool for analysis and activism in response to HIV and AIDS stigmatisation in a rural KwaZulu-Natal school. *Journal of Child and Adolescent Mental Health*, *19*(1), 19-28.

Moller, M. (2007). Exploiting patterns: A critique of hegemonic masculinity. *Journal of Gender Studies*, *16*(3), 263-276. doi: 10.1080/09589230701562970

Moore, H. (1994). `The problem of explaining violence in the social sciences. In P. Harvey & P. Gow (Eds.), *Sex and violence: Issues in representation and experience* (pp.138-155). Routledge.

Morna, C. L., & Ndlovu, S. (2007). *Mirror on the media: gender and advertising in Southern* Africa. Johannesburg: Gender Links.

Morrell, R. (2001). *Changing men in southern Africa*. Zed books.

Morrell, R., & Swart, S. (2005). Men in the Third World: Postcolonial perspectives on masculinity. In M. S. Kimmel, J. Hearn & R. Connell (Eds.), *Handbook of studies on men and masculinities* (pp. 90-113). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Morrell, R., Jewkes, R., & Lindegger, G. (2012). Hegemonic masculinity/masculinities in South Africa: culture, power, and gender politics. *Men and Masculinities*, 1- 20. doi: 10.1177/1097184X12438001

Mosse, D., & Lewis, D. (2005). *The Aid Effect: Giving and Governing in International Development.* Pluto Press. London and Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Mthembu, J. (2015). Negotiating Masculinities: Studying risk behaviours associated with performances of 'coloured's' masculinities. (Doctoral thesis). University of Cape Town, Cape Town.

Mu¨ ller, M. (2015). "The Mega-event Syndrome: Why So Much Goes Wrong in Mega-event Planning and What to Do About It*." Journal of the American Planning Association, 81* (1), 6–17.

Mu¨ ller, M. (2017). "How Mega-events Capture their Hosts: Event Seizure and the World Cup 2018 in Russia." *Urban Geography, 38*(8), 1113–32.

Mullings, B. (1999). Insider or outsider, both or neither: some dilemmas of interviewing in a crosscultural setting. *Geoforum, 30*(4), 337-350. doi: 10.1016/S0016-7185(99)00025-1

Nasson, B. (1990). The Unity Movement: Its Legacy in Historical Consciousness. *Radical History Review, 46* (7), 189-211.

Narsiah, S. (2002). Neoliberalsim and privatisation in South Africa. *GeoJournal, 57*, 29-38

Nel, K., & Govender, S. (2019). Appreciative inquiry as transformative methodology: Case studies in health and wellness. In S.Laher, A. Fynn, S. Kramer (Eds.), *Transforming Research Methods in the Social Sciences: Case studies from South Africa* (pp 337-353). Wits University Press: Johannesburg.

Nelson, L., & Seager, J. (2005). Introduction. In L. Nelson & J. Seager (Eds.), *A companion to feminist geography* (pp.1-14). Oxford, England: Blackwell Publishing.

Newton, K. M. (1997). Homi K. Bhabha: 'The Other Question: The Stereotype and Colonial Discourse'. In K.M. Newton (Eds). *Twentieth-Century Literary Theory* (pp.293-301). Palgrave, London

Nicholas, L. J., & Cooper, S. (1990). *Psychology & apartheid*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Vision Publications

Niehaus, I. (2005). Masculine domination in sexual violence: Interpreting accounts of three cases of rape in the South African Lowveld. In G. Reid & L Walker (Eds.), *Men behaving differently* (pp.65-83). Juta and Company Ltd.

Nilan, P., Demartoto, A., & Wibowo, A. (2013). Youthful Warrior Masculinities in Indonesia. . In J Gelfer (ed). *Masculinities in a Global Era* (pp 119-136). Springer: New York.

Nilsson, S. (2016). Coloured by Race: A study about the Making of Coloured Identities in South Africa (Master's thesis). UPPSALA University.

Oakley, A. (1998). "Gender, Methodology, and People's Ways of Knowing: Some Problems with Feminism and the Paradigm Debate." *Sociology*, *32*, 707-731.doi: 10.1177/0038038598032004005

Olwig, K. (1990). "The Struggle for Respectability: Methodism and Afro-Caribbean Culture on 19th Century Nevis." *New West Indian Guide /Nieuwe West-Indische Gids, 64* (3 & 4), 93–114.

Olwig, K. (2007). *Caribbean Journeys: An Ethnography of Migration and Home in Three Family Networks*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

O'Neill, D. (1998). A poststructuralist review of the theoretical literature surrounding wife abuse. *Violence Against Women*, *4*, 457-491.

Oyefara, J. L, & Bamidele, O. A. (2016). "Socioeconomic Consequences of Development-induced Internal Displacement and the Coping Strategies of Female Victims in Lagos Nigeria: An Ethno-demographic Study." *African Population Studies,30* (2), 2520–32.

Palmary, I. (2006). The possibility of a reflexive gaze: The relevance of feminist debates on reflexivity, representation and situated knowledges for psychology. In T. Shefer, F. Boonzaier & P. Kiguwa (Eds.), *The gender of psychology* (pp. 29-44). Cape Town, South Africa: UCT Press. Panday.

Parnell, S.(1988). 'Racial Segregation in Johannesburg: the Slums Act, 1934-39', *South African Geographical Journal*, *70* (2), 112-126.

Pather, R. (2019). *Mixed emotions as soldiers return to the Cape Flats*. Retrieved : https://mg.co.za/article/2019-07-23-mixed-emotions-as-soldiers-return-to-the-cape-flats

Peters, F., & Bawa, U. (2012). The construction of sexual consent/coercion amongst incarcerated adolescent males. *International Journal of Psychology, 47*, 710.

Peters, S. M. (2016). "But Sex Work is Good But I Don't Want to Do It": Black Men's Narratives of Selling Sex (Masters' thesis). The University of Cape Town, Cape Town.

Peters, S.M., Kessi, S., & Boonzaier, F. (2019). Narrative identity: the construction of dignified masculinities in Black male sex work's narratives. *Social Dynamics, 45*(30), 425-441. doi:10.1080/02533952.2019.1668622

Petersen, A. (1998). *Unmasking the Masculine: "Men" and "Identity" in a Sceptical Age*. London: Sage

Petersen, A. (2003). Research on Men and Masculinities: Some Implications of Recent Theory for Future Work. *Men and Masculinities, 6*(1), 54-69.

Petrus, T., & Isaacs-Martin, W. (2012). The Multiple meanings of Coloured identity in South Africa. *Africa Insight, 42* (1), 87- 102.

Pijoos, I. (2019). *Authors retract study on coloured women's intelligence*. Retrieved from timeslive.co.za

Pinnock, D. (1984). *The brotherhoods: Street gangs and state control in Cape Town*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Pinnock, D. (1995). *Gangs, guns & rites of passage: Rethinking youth programmes in South Africa*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Pinnock, D. (1997). *Gangs, rituals and rites of passage*. Cape Town: African Sun Press.

Pinnock, D. (2013). *Cape Gangs: Below the surface*. Retrieved from http://www.news24.com/Archives/City-Press/Cape-gangs-Below-the-surface-20150429

Pinnock, D. (2016). *Gang Town.* Cape Town: Tafelberg.

Platzky, L., & Walker, C. (1985). The Surplus People. *Forced Removals in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravern Press.

Pleck, J. H. (1987). The theory of male sex-role identity: Its rise and fall, 1936 to the present. In H. Brod (Ed.), *The making of masculinities: The new men's studies* (pp. 21–38). Boston: Allen & Unwin.

Pluddemann, A., Myers, B.J., & Parry, C.D. (2008). Surge in treatment admissions related to methamphetamine use in Cape Town, South Africa: Implications for public health. Drug *Alcohol Rev ;27*(2),185–9. doi:10.1080/09595230701829363

Polgreen, L. (2003). *For Mixed-Race South Africans Equity is Elusive.* Retrieved from nytimes.co.za

Port, R. (2006). *Christiaan Frederick Beyers Naude*. Retrieved from www.mvgcontact.com

Portilla, K. P. (2008). Misrecognition, media and…discrimination. *Psychology and Society, 1*(1), 84 – 90.

Posel, D. (1990). Symbolizing violence: State and media discourse in TV coverage of township protest, 1985–1987. In N. C. Manganyi and A. du Toit (Eds), *Political violence and struggle in South Africa* (pp.154–171). London: Macmillan

Posel, D. (2004). 'Getting the nation talking about sex': reflections on the discursive constitution of sexuality in South Africa since 1994'. *Agenda, 18(*62), 53-63.

Posel, D., & Devey, R. (2006). The demographics of fathers in South Africa: an analysis of survey

data. In: R. Morrell and D. Richter (Eds), *Baba: men and fatherhood in South Africa* (pp. 25-36). Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Probyn, E. (2004). Everyday shame. *Cultural Studies, 18*(2–3), 328–349.

Proshansky, H, M., Fabian, A, K.,& Kaminoff, R. (1983). Place, identity, physical world socialization of the self. *Journal of Enviromental Psychology, 3*, 57-83.

Prosser, J. (1998a). *Image based research: a sourcebook for qualitative researchers*. London, UK: Farmer Press.

Proudly Bishop Lavis. (2018). Proudly Bishop Lavis. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/proudly.bishoplavis

Quayle, A., Sonn, C. C., & van den Eynde, J. (2016). Narrating the accumulation of dispossession: Stories of Aboriginal Elders. *Community Psychology in Global Perspective*, *2*(2), 79-96.

Quayle, A. F., & Sonn, C. C. (2019). Amplifying the voices of Indigenous elders through community arts and narrative inquiry: Stories of oppression, psychosocial suffering, and survival. *American journal of community psychology*, *64*(1-2), 46-58.

Rappaport, J. (2000). Community narratives: Tales of terror and joy. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 28*(1), 1–24

Ratele, K. (1998). The end of the black man. *Agenda, 14*(37), 60-64. doi:10.1080/10130950.1998.9675692

Ratele, K. (2006). Ruling masculinity and sexuality. *Feminist Africa, 6,* 48–64.

Ratele K (2007) "Moffies, jocks and cool guys': Boys accounts of masculinity and their resistance in context'. In T. Shefer T (Eds) , *From Boys To Men. Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society* (pp.112-124). Cape Town: UCT Press.

Ratele, K. (2008). Analysing males in Africa: Certain useful elements in considering ruling masculinities. *African and Asian Studies, 7*,515–536. doi: 10.1163/156921008X359641

Ratele, K. (2011). Male sexualities and masculinities. In S. Tamale (Ed.), African sexualities: A reader (pp.399–419). Nairobi: Pambazuka Press.

Ratele, K. (2013a). Masculinities without tradition. *Politikon, 40*(1), 133-156.

Ratele, K. (2013b). Subordinate black South African men without fear. *Cahiers d'Études africaines, LIII* (1-2), 247-268.

Reddy, V. (1998). Negotiating gay masculinities. *Agenda ,14,* 65-70. doi: 10.1080/10130950.1998.9675693

Reeves, S., Kuper, A., & Hodges, B. (2008). Qualitative methodologies: Ethnography. *BMJ*, 337-352.

Riessman, C. K. (2002). Analysis of personal narratives. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A.Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: Context & method* (pp. 695–710). London, England: SAGE.

Riessman, C. K. (2008). *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. Los Angeles, USA: Sage Publications.

Rizzo, A. (2017). "Sustainable Urban Development and Green Megaprojects in the Arab States of the Gulf Region: Limitations, Covert Aims, and Unintended Outcomes in Doha, Qatar." *International Planning Studies, 22* (2), 85–98.

Roberts, S., Ralph, B., Elliott, K, Robards, B., Savic, M., Lindsay, J.,O'Brien, K., & Lubman, D.I. (2019). Exploring Men's Risky Drinking Cultures. Melbourne: Victorian Health Promotion Foundation

Robins, S. (2000). "City Sites: Multicultural Planning and the Post-Apartheid City." In S. Nuttall & C. Michael (Eds.), *Senses of Culture: South African Cultural Studies* (pp. 408–415). Oxford: Oxford University Press

Root, M. P. P. (1990). Resolving "other" status: Identity development of biracial individuals. In L. E. Brown & M. P. P. Root (Eds.), *Complexity and diversity in feminist therapy* (pp.185-205). New York: Haworth Press.

Root, M. P. P. (1998). Experiences and processes affecting racial identity development: Preliminary results from the Biracial Sibling Project. *Cultural Diversity and Mental Health, 4*, 237-247.

Root, M. P. P. (1999). The biracial baby boom: Understanding ecological constructions of racial identity in the 21st century. In R. H. Sheets & E. R. Hollins (Eds.), *Racial and ethnic identity in school practices: Aspects of Human Development (*pp. 67- 89). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Root, M. P. P. (2001). Love's revolution: Interracial marriage. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Root, M. P. P. (2003). Five Mixed-Race Identities from Relic to Revolution. In L. I. W. H. L. DeBose (Ed.), *New Faces in a Changing America: Multiracial identity in the 21st Century* (pp.3-28). Sage.

Rosaldo, R. (1989). *Culture and Truth.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Rose, G. (2001). *Visual Methodologies: An introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*. London: Sage Press.

Rose, N. (1985). *Psychology, Politics and Society in England 1869-1939.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Ross, R. (2009). *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750-1870: A Tragedy of Manners*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press

Roy, A. (2017). "Dis/possessive Collectivism: Property and Personhood at City's End." *Geoforum*, *80*, A1–A11.

Runswick-Cole, K. (2011). Ethnography. In P. Banister (Eds.), *Qualitative methods in psychology: A research guide* (pp. 75-87). Berkshire, England: Open University Press.

Sack, R. D. (1997). *Homo Geographicus*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Safransky, S. (2016). "Rethinking Land Struggle in the Post-industrial City." *Antipode, 49*(4), 1079–1100.

SAHistory. (2011). *The Homelands.* Retrieved from sahistory.org.za

SAHistory. (2016). *Griqua*. Retrieved from sahistory.org.za

SAHistory. (2019). *Britain takes control of the Cape*. Retrieved from sahistory.org.za

SAHistory. (n.d). The Cape Malay. Retrieved from sahistory.org.za

Salo, E. (2002). "Condoms are for Spares, not the Besties: Negotiating Adolescent Sexuality in Post-apartheid Manenberg." *Society in Transition* 33(3), 403–419.

Salo, E. (2003). Negotiating gender and personhood in the new South Africa adolescent women and gangsters in Manenberg township on the Cape Flats. *European Journal of cultural studies,* 6(3), 345-365.

Salo, E. (2004). *Respectable mothers, tough men and good daughters.* (Doctoral thesis). University of Cape Town, Cape Town.

Salo, E. (2007). Social construction of masculinity on the racial and gendered margins of Cape Town. In T.Shefer (Ed), *From boys to men: Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society* (pp.160-180). Juta and Company Ltd.

Samara, T. R. (2011). *Cape Town after apartheid: Crime and governance in the divided city.* Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Samson, S. (2007). *Skinner Stories: A community's perspective on the representation of coloured people today*. (Master's thesis). University of Cape Town, Cape Town.

Sanger, N. (2008). 'There's got to be a man in there': reading intersections between gender, race and sexuality in South African magazines. *African Identities, 6*(3), 275-291. doi: 10.1080/14725840802223598

Sawyer-Kurian, K. M., Wechsberg, W. M., & Luseno, W. K. (2009). Exploring the differences and similarities between black/African and 'coloured' men regarding violence against women, substance abuse, and HIV risks in Cape Town, South Africa. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 10*(1), 13-29. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/

Schmid, J. (2019). Autoethnography: Locating the self as standpoint in post-apartheid South Africa. In S.Laher, A. Fynn, S. Kramer (Eds.), *Transforming Research Methods in the Social Sciences: Case studies from South Africa* (pp 337-353). Wits University Press: Johannesburg

Schoeman, B. (1978). My lewe in die politiek. Johannesburg: Perskor-Uitgewry

Sernhede, O. (2011). School, youth culture and territorial Stigmatization in Swedish metropolitan districts. *YOUNG—Nordic Journal of Youth Studies*, *19*(2), 159–180.

Shaw, A, & Saharan, T. (2019). "Urban Development induced Displacement and Quality of Life in Kolkata." *Environment and Urbanization, 31* (2), 597–614.

Shefer, T., & Foster, D. (2001). Discourses on women's (hetero)sexuality and desire in a South African local context. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 3(4),* 375-390.

Shefer, T., & Mankayi, N. (2007). The (hetero)sexualisation of the military and the militarisation of (hetero)sex: Discourses on male (hetero)sexual practices among a group of young men in the South African military. *Sexualities, 10*(2), 189-207.

Shefer, T. (2012). Fraught tenderness: Narratives on domestic workers in memories of apartheid. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology, 18*(3), 307–317.

Shefer, T., Hearn, J., & Ratele, K. (2015). North–South dialogues: reflecting on working transnationally with young men, masculinities and gender justice, *NORMA, 10* (2,) 164-178, doi: 10.1080/18902138.2015.1050864

Shefer, T., & Munt, S.R. (2019). A feminist politics of shame: Shame and its contested possibilities. *Feminism & Psychology, 29* (2), 145-156. doi: 10.1177/0959353519839755

Shields, S. A. (2008). Gender: An intersectionality perspective. *Sex Roles, 59*, 301-311. doi: 10.1007/s11199-008-9501-8

Singer, J. A. 2004. Narrative identity and meaning making across the adult lifespan: An introduction. *Journal of Personality*, 72,437-459.

Simpson, G. (1998). Urban Crime and Violence in South Africa. In Petty, C. & Brown, M. (Eds), Justice for Children, London: Save the Children.

Slater, T. (2004). Gentrification in Canada cities: From social mix to 'social tectonics'. In A. Rowland, & B. Gary (Eds.), *Gentrification in a global context: the new urban* colonialism (pp 40-57). Routledge: London.

Smelser, N. (1982). "The Victorian Family." In R. N. Rapoport, M. P. Fogarty, and R. Rapoport (eds.), *In Families in Britain* (pp.59–74). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Smith, E. J. (1991). Ethnic identity development: Toward the development of a theory within the context of majority/minority status. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 70*, 181-188

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: research and indigenous* peoples. London: Zed Books.

Smits, D. D. (1991). ‘‘Squaw men’’, ‘‘half-breeds’’, and amalgamators: Late nineteenth-century Anglo-American attitudes toward Indian–White race-mixing. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal,*15(3), 29–61.

Sonn, C.C, & Fisher, A.T. (1997). Psychological sense of community in a politically constructed group. *Journal of Community Psychology, 24*, 417-430.

Sonn, C. C., Stevens, G., Duncan, N. (2013). Decolonisation, critical methodologies and why stories matter. In G. Stevens, N. Duncan, & D. Hook (Eds). *Race, Memory and the Apartheid Archive: Towards a Transformative Psychosocial Praxis* (pp. 295-314). London: Palgrave/McMillan.

Sonn, C.C., Quayle, A.F., & Kasat, P. (2015). Picturing the Wheatbelt: Exploring and Expressing Place Identity Through Photography. *Am J Community, 55*, 89-101, doi: 10.1007/s10464-014-9686-7

Sonn, C. C., Ivey, G., Baker, A., & Meyer, K. (2017). Post-Apartheid South African Immigrants in Australia: Negotiating Displacement, Identity, and Belonging. *Qualitative Psychology, 4* (1), 41-5. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/qup0000039

South Africa Government. (2019). *Unemployment rises slightly in the third quarter of 2019/Statistics South Africa*. Retrieved from statssa.gov.za

Speight, S. L. (2007). Internalized Racism: One More Piece of the Puzzle. *The Counselling Psychologist, 35* (1), 126-134.

Squire, C. (2008). Experience-centred and culturally-oriented approaches to narrative. In M. Andrews, C. Squire & M. Tamboukou (Eds.), *Doing narrative research* (pp.41-63). London, United Kingdom: Sage Publications.

Standing, A. (2003). *The social contradictions of organised crime on the Cape Flats.* ISS Paper 74. Institute for Security Studies. Retrieved from https://www.issafrica.org/publications/papers/the-social-contradictions-of-organisedcrime-on-the-cape-flats

Statistics South Africa. (2011). *Census statistical release.* Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

Statistics South Africa. (2017). *Poverty Trends Report.* Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

Stevens, G. R. (2008). *Men and meanings of murder: Discourses and power in narratives of male homicide in South Africa.* (Doctoral dissertation). Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Stevens, G., Franchi, V., & Swart, T. (2006). `lo*A race against time: Psychology and challenges to racialisation in South Africa*. Pretoria: Unisa Press

Stevens, G. (1998). ‘Racialised discourse: understanding perceptions of threat in post-apartheid South Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology, 28* (4), 204-214.

Strebel, A., Crawford, M., Shefer, T., Cloete, A., Henda, N., Kaufman, M., & Kalichman, S. (2006). Social constructions of gender roles, gender-based violence and HIV/AIDS in two communities of the Western Cape, South Africa. *Journal of Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS, 3*, 516 – 527.

Steinberg, J. (2004). *The Number: One Man's Search for Identity in the Cape Underworld and Prison Gangs.* Johannesburg.

Strack, R. W., Magill, C., & McDonagh, K. (2004). Engaging youth through Photovoice. *Health Promotion Practice, 5*(1), 49-58.

Swain, J. (2005). *Masculinities in education. Handbook of studies on men and masculinities*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Swartz, S., & and Bhana, A. (2009). *Teenage tata: voices of young fathers in South Africa*. Cape Town:
HSRC Press.

Synott, A. (1993). *The body social: Sybolism, self and society*. London: Routledge.

Taussig, M. (1990). "Violence and Resistance in the Americas: The Legacy of Conquest". *Journal of Historical Sociology, 3*(3), 209–224.

Thomas, A. (2017). *The role of Faith Based Organizations (FBO's) in reducing crime and violence in socio-economically disadvantaged communities: A case study of the community of Bishop Lavis* (Master's thesis). The University of the Western Cape, Bellville.

Thomas, J. (1993). *Doing Critical Ethnography*. London: Sage University Paper.

Thorn, J., & Oldfield, S. (2011). "A Politics of Land Occupation: State Practice and Everyday Mobilization in Zille Raine Heights, Cape Town." *Journal of Asian and African Studies 46*(5), 518–30.

Thornberry, E. (2016). Rape, Race and Respectability in a South African Port City: East London,1870-1927. *Journal of Urban History, 42* (5), 863-880.

Townsend, E., & Wilcock, A (2004a). Occupational justice. In C. H. Christiansen & E. A Townsend. (Eds.), *Introduction to occupation : the art and science of living : new multidisciplinary perspectives for understanding human occupation as a central feature of individual experience and social organization* (pp. 260-275). Upper Saddle River N.J.: Prentice Hall

Trotter, H. (2009). Trauma and memory: the impact of apartheid-era forced removals on coloured identity in Cape Town. In M. Adhikari (ed), *Burdened by race: Coloured identities in southern Africa*(pp.83-111). Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

UNHCR. (2019). “Global Trends Forced Displacement in 2018.” Retrieved from https://www.unhcr.org/statistics/unhcrstats/5d08d7ee7/unhcr-global-trends-2018.html?query¼global%20trends%202019.

Unterhalter, E. (1987). *Forced Removals: the Division, Segregation and Control of the People of South Africa*. London: IDAF

van Kessel, I. (1994). *Grassroots: From Community Paper to Activist Playground* . Paper presented at Journal of Southern African Studies Conference on Identities, Johannesburg, South Africa

Vaz-Jones, L. (2018). Struggles over Land, Livelihood, and Future Possibilities: Reframing Displacement through Feminist Political Ecology. *Signs Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 43* (2), 711- 735.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1991). *Elite discourse and the reproduction of racism.* Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.

Van Heerden, M. S., Grimsrud, A. T., Seedat, S., Myer, L., Williams, D. R., Stein, D. J. (2009). Patterns of substance use in South Africa: results from the South African stress and health study. *S Afr Med J, 99*(5), 358–366.

van Niekerk, T. J. (2015a). Respectability, morality and reputation: Social representations of intimate partner (*Unpublished Doctoral thesis*). University of Cape Town violence against women in Cape Town

van Niekerk, T. J., & Boonzaier, F. (2015b). Respectability, Chivalry and “Fixing” women: Men’s narratives of partner violence in Cape Town. *Oñati Socio-legal Series [online], 5* (6), 1471-1489.

van Niekerk, T. J. (2019). Silencing racialised shame and normalising respectability in ‘coloured’ men’s discourses of partner violence against women in Cape Town, South Africa. *Feminism and Psychology, 29*(2), 177-194, doi: 10.1177/0959353519841410

Vetten, L., & Ratele, K. (2013). Men and violence. *Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity, 27*(1), 4-11.

Voice of Cape News. (2019). *Gatvol’s new Cape Coloured Congress looks at contest in 2021*. Retrieved from https://www.vocfm.co.za/gatvols-new-cape-coloured-congress-looks-to-contest-in-2021/

Walker, L. (2005). 'Men behaving differently: South African men since 1994.' *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 7*(3), 225-238.doi: 10.1080/13691050410001713215

Wang, C. C. (2006). Youth participation in photovoice as a strategy for community change. *Journal of Community Practice, 14*, 147-161.

Wang, C. C., & Burris, M. A. (1997). Photovoice: Concept, methodology, and use for participatory needs assessment. *Health Education & Behavior*, *24*(3), 369-387

Wardrop, J. (2009). Notes from a tense field: threatened masculinities in South Africa. *Social Identities 15*(1), 113-130. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13504630802693307

Washer, P., & Joffe, H. (2006). The “hospital superbug”: Social representations of MRSA. *Social Science & Medicine, 63*(8), 2141-2152. doi:10.1016/j.socscimed.2006.05.018

Wasserman, H. (2003). Post-apartheid media debates and the discourse of identity. *Ecquid Novi, 24*(2), 218-224.

Weedon, C. (1987). *Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

West, C. & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society, 1*(2), 125-151.

West, C., & Zimmerman, D.H. (1992). Doing gender. In J.S. Bohan (Ed.), *Seldom seen, rarely heard: women's place in psychology* (pp. 379-403). Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Western Cape Government. (2014). *Report of the Western Cape Policing Needs and Prorities. Department of Community Safety PNP Report.* Retrieved from westerncape.gov.za

Western, J. (1981). *Outcast Cape Town*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Whitehead, S. M. (1998). “Hegemonic Masculinity Revisited.” *Gender, Work and Organization, 6* (1), 58-62.

Whitehead, S. M. (2003). *Men and Masculinities: Key Themes and New Directions*. Cambridge: Polity

Wicomb, Z. (1998). "Shame and Identity: The Case of the Coloured in South Africa." In D. Attridge and R. Jolly (Eds.), *Writing South Africa: Literature, Apartheid, and Democracy, 1970*-1995 (pp.91-107). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Wijnberg, M., & Green, S. (2014). Male gang members’ perspectives on gang membership and the role of drugs. *Social Work,50* (2), 284-302.

Wiles, J. L., Rosenberg, M. W., & Kearns, R. A. (2005). Narrative analysis as a strategy for understanding interview talk in geographic research. *Area*, *37*, 89-99. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-4762.2005.00608.x

Williams, B. (1996). “The power of propaganda”. In W. G. James, D. Caliguire and K. Cullinan (Eds.), *Now That We Are Free: Coloured Communities in a Democratic South Africa* (pp.22-27). Cape Town: Idasa.

Williams, D. R., & Williams-Morris, R. (2000). Racism and mental health: The African American experience. *Ethnicity & Health, 5*(3/4), 243-268.

Williams, M. (2003). *Actor’s remarks on race causes a stir*. Retrieved from iol.co.za

Wojcicki, J. (2002). "She drank his money": Survival sex and the problem of violence in taverns in Gauteng Province, South Africa. *Medical anthropology quarterly, 16*(3), 267-293. doi: 10.1525/maq.2002.16.3.267

Wood, K. (2005). Contextualizing group rape in post-apartheid South Africa. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 7* (4), 303-317. doi: 10.1080/13691050500100724

Wood, J.T. (2004) 'Monsters and Victims: Male Felons' Accounts of Intimate Partner Violence', *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 21*(5): 555–76.

Wood, K., & Jewkes, R. (2001). "Dangerous` Love: Reflections on Violence among Xhosa Township Youth." In R. Morell, (Ed), *Changing Men in Southern Africa* (pp317-336). KwaZulu Natal: University of Natal Press/Zed Books.

Yarwood, J. (2011). With Mixed Feelings: Negotiating Coloured identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa (PhD thesis). City University of New York, New York.

Zembylas, M. (2008). The politics of shame in intercultural education. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice, 3*(3), 243–280.

Zembylas, M. (2014). Theorizing ‘‘difficult knowledge’’ in the aftermath of the ‘‘affective turn’’: Implications for curriculum and pedagogy in handling traumatic representations. *Curriculum Inquiry, 44*(3), 390–412.

Zembylas, M. (2019). "Shame at being human" as a transformative political concept and praxis: Pedagogical possibilities. *Feminism and Psychology, 29*(2), 303-321, doi: 10.1177/0959353518754592

Zembylas, M., & McGlynn, C. (2012). 'Discomforting pedagogies: Emotional tensions, ethical dilemmas and transformative possibilities', *British Educational Research Journal, 38*(1), 41–59. https://doi.org/10.1080/01411926.2010.523779

Appendix A: Interview Guide for Community members

- Could you tell me a bit about yourself?
- What brought you to Bishop Lavis?
- What was it like being a historically classified 'coloured' in apartheid?
- Could you tell me about Bishop Lavis? How many schools do you know of that are here? Are here clinics, shops or any parks and facilities for people?
- What is it like living/working in Bishop Lavis?
- What would you like people to know about Bishop Lavis and its people?
- What changes would you like to see in Bishop Lavis?
- What are your dreams for Bishop Lavis and the young men of this community?

Appendix B: Interview Guide for Older Men

- This interview is an opportunity for you to share your experiences of being a man in Bishop Lavis. To start off, could you tell me about yourself?
- Tell me about your experiences of living in Bishop Lavis?
- What was it like being a man in Bishop Lavis?
- What does it mean to be a 'coloured' to you?
- What is it like being 'coloured' in South Africa today?
- What are your dreams for yourself and for Bishop Lavis?

Appendix C: Focus Group Guide for Young men

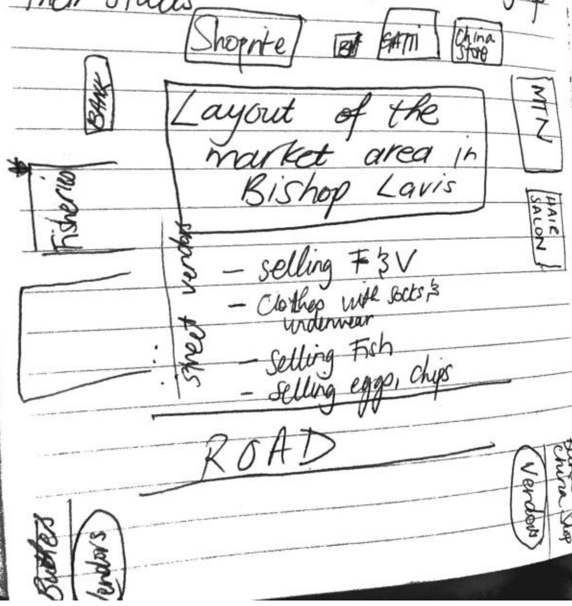
- Please could each one of you introduce yourself by giving your name and something interesting about yourself.
- Do you have any questions about the project or anything that you are uncertain of?
- What are hoping to achieve or get out of this project?
- What does being men mean for you? What makes a 'real' man?
- Do you think you being a 'coloured' man affects the way you are treated?
- What makes one a 'coloured'? What does it mean to be 'coloured'
- What would you like people to know about 'coloured' people?
- What would you like people to know about Bishop Lavis?

Appendix D: Interview Guide for Young Men

Remind participants of the voluntary participation and that they may choose to answer or not answer any questions.

- This interview is an opportunity for you to share your experiences of being a young man in Bishop Lavis. To start off, could you tell me about yourself?
- Tell me about your experiences of living in Bishop Lavis?
- What is it like being 'coloured' in South Africa today?
- Is there anything from the group discussions that you found interesting and would like to add onto?
- How was it like to participate in the Photovoice study?
- Have you seen any change in your life?

APPENDIX E-Sample of Fieldnotes


Bishop Lavis

27th January 2019

There are fruit & veg vendors shouting, encouraging people to buy fruits & vegetables. Walking further down, there are butchers and women selling spices & hair accessories, socks and so forth.

- You hear the sounds of women coming out of the hair salon, owners setting up their stalls.

From the market I went to a high school in the area.

- In the school's waiting room

"John Ramsay High School opened in 1970 130 October by Mr W. J. Bergins.

The waiting room is filled with parents waiting to see him. And although they don't me, everyone coming in, warmly greets one another, calling each other by name.

- The friendliness of everyone is what first strikes me from this place - it is warm and a loving atmosphere.
- My safety is highly guarded as my grandmother keeps telling me to wait on her because one can see from my face that I am not from Lavis - and that makes me vulnerable. I don't feel that way though, but many people at the market and school looked at me, like I was an outsider.

15 Dec 2018 - 7 January 2019

> ongoing gang violence in Bishop Lavis. Community very uneasy & high police presence at various hot spots

> I came to visit in December

last year and community members told me about the high gang violence and told me to come in the following year again, if I was going to continue walking in the area.

My granny told me that it was safe to come back to Lavis, the 10th of January already. Today on my walk everything seemed quiet and back to 'normal'. After the visit with the principal, I spoke to some community members about how the gang violence might have affected them. How it made them feel and what changes they would like to see in the community.

I ence alot of frustration in the air, so I talked with community members.

People are extremely fedup, in all my talk with them they tell me that the crime is getting out of hand now. The gangsters are taking over and coming into Lavis from Valhalla Park, Clarke Estate and Netreg. They tell me about how the police was no where to be seen when bullets were flying. Or they come hours later. People in Lavis are frustrated but they are hopeful that change can come.

APPENDIX F-Example of Journal entry

19 June 2018

It is a cold evening as I arrive at my grandmother's house. Sleeping over will be so weird but I must be here to start recruiting participants. I can't believe how long it has been since I slept over in Bishop Lavis, it's been a while. As I am climbing the bed, preparing to get ready for tommorow, I am happy to be here, surrounded by my family. My grandmother's house is always filled with laughter and at times shouting but today there is a sharing of family gossip, sharing of memories, sharing of joy.

Just as we get into bed, my uncle ran into the house, he was upset and shouting about the shooting thas has taken place

Typo

at the Flats. He was upset
~~and~~ that the police took
So long, he was upset that
this was what Bishop Lavis
has become, he was upset
that this is his home, a
place he dearly loves and it
has become this. We ended
up having a long talk
about how Bishop Lavis
was and what is has become
and how we can start to
make it.

We talked about the
memories of my grandfather
chasing us around the block,
the marble games my
cousins and I played and
how Bishop Lavis continues
to remain our home.
Being in Bishop Lavis always
makes me remember my departed
grandfather and all the
joy I had growing up in
Typo this community.

APPENDIX G

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Department of Psychology

-

Researching Race, Space and Masculinities in Bishop Lavis: An Ethnographic Study

– Study Consent Form –

---

1. Invitation and purpose

You are invited to take part in a Research project on Researching Race, Space and Masculinity in Bishop Lavis. We are researchers from the Department of Psychology at University of Cape Town.

2. Procedures

If you decide to take part in the study you will be expected to do the following:

- Participate in one focus group with the researchers as well as the other participants in the research project. During the first focus group, we will talk about your experiences of living in Bishop Lavis and the research theme, which is your experiences as a young historically classified 'coloured' man in Bishop Lavis. These will take place in a venue in Bishop Lavis still to be confirmed, it will not last longer than 90 minutes. The discussion will be audio recorded but we will make sure that your identity is protected in any of the information that we use from these discussions.
- Participate in a story-telling exercise, which requires you to write a story of not more than 500 words about your experiences of being a historically classified 'coloured' man in Bishop Lavis.
- Participate in a 1-day photography training workshop by a professional photographer who will teach you how to use a digital camera and how to take good pictures and/or films. This training will take place in Bishop Lavis at a venue to be confirmed.
- Take still and/or moving images relating to your experiences as young 'coloured' man living in Bishop Lavis and construct a written or audio narrative to accompany the images. You will be given a camera to use for one week. Edit your work into a final digital story production.
- Display your work in an exhibition open to the public. Immediately after the project has ended, the researcher will do short interviews to gather your impressions and feedback on the project
- The interviews will be audio recorded and if responses are given in Afrikaans, they will be translated and transcribed into English and then recorded.

3. Inconveniences

We don't expect that you will be distressed by the research but if it does become distressing you may stop participating at any time without any negative consequences. If you become distressed by any of the procedures in this project we will refer you for counselling, if necessary. You may withdraw from the study at any time

4. Benefits

You are given an opportunity to share your views and experiences and what you tell us is also likely to help in formulating other research projects and help in the campaign to let more people know about Bishop Lavis. You are given an opportunity to tell us and others what is important to you and for others who have similar experiences. You will get photography training.

5. Privacy and confidentiality

- We will take strict precautions to safeguard your personal information throughout the study. Your information will be kept on a locked computer that is password protected. Your information will be kept without your name on it and personal identifiers will be removed, and you will be given a pseudo name to protect your identity. In the focus group discussion, what you say will be heard by other members of the group as well. The researchers will ask everyone to be respectful and keep the information shared, private and confidential, but we cannot guarantee that it will be the case. The focus group, trainings and interviews will all be digitally recorded and the files kept safe on a password protected laptop.
- Some of the research may get published and presented at conferences but your identities will remain protected at all times

6. Contact details

- If you have further questions or concerns about the study please contact the Project Leader at the Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town:
  Dr Shose Kessi 021 650 4606
- If you have any issues or problems regarding this research or your rights as a research participant and would like to speak to the Chair of the Ethics committee, please contact Mrs Rosalind Adams at the Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town (UCT), 021 650 3417.
- If you understand all of the procedures and the risks and benefits of the study and you would like to participate in the project, please sign below:

Participant Name: ________________________________

Participant Signature: ____________________________

Date: ________________________________

Agreement for Tape-Recording

I agree to have my voice tape-recorded in the interview.

Participant Signature: __________________________

APPENDIX H

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Department of Psychology

Researching Race, Space and Masculinities in Bishop Lavis: An Ethnographic Study

– Study Consent Form –

---

1. Invitation and purpose

You are invited to take part in a Research project on Researching Race, Space and Masculinity in Bishop Lavis. We are researchers from the Department of Psychology at University of Cape Town.

2. Procedures

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you decide to take part in the study you will be expected to do the following:

- Participate in one on one interview with the researchers. You will be asked about your personal life story and what your lived experiences have been in Bishop Lavis. How living in Bishop Lavis has been and the history of Bishop Lavis. The interview will be audio recorded. Then also participate in a focus group with young men from Bishop Lavis where you will asked about your experiences living in Bishop Lavis.

3. Inconveniences

We don't expect that you will be distressed by the research but if it does become distressing you may stop participating at any time without any negative consequences. If you become distressed by any of the procedures in this project we will refer you for counselling, if necessary. You may withdraw from the study at any time

4. Benefits

You are given an opportunity to share your views and experiences and what you tell us is also likely to help in formulating other research projects and help in the campaign to let more people know about Bishop Lavis. You are given an opportunity to tell us and others what is important to you and for others who have similar experiences. You will get photography training.

5. Privacy and confidentiality

- We will take strict precautions to safeguard your personal information throughout the study. Your information will be kept on a locked computer that is password protected. Your information will be kept without your name on it and personal identifiers will be removed, and you will be given a pseudo name to protect your identity. In the focus group discussions, what you say will be heard by other members of the group as well. The researchers will ask everyone to be respectful and keep the information shared, private and confidential, but we cannot guarantee that it will be the case. The focus group, trainings and interviews will all be digitally recorded and the files kept safe on a password protected laptop.

- Some of the research may get published and presented at conferences but your identities will remain protected at all times

6. Contact details

- If you have further questions or concerns about the study please contact the Project Leader at the Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town:
  Dr Shose Kessi 021 650 4606
- If you have any issues or problems regarding this research or your rights as a research participant and would like to speak to the Chair of the Ethics committee, please contact Mrs Rosalind Adams at the Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town (UCT), 021 650 3417.
- If you understand all of the procedures and the risks and benefits of the study and you would like to participate in the project, please sign below:

Participant Name: ________________________________

Participant Signature: ____________________________

Date: ________________________________

Agreement for Tape-Recording

I agree to have my voice tape-recorded in the interview.

Participant Signature: ___________________________