

Democracy's Children? The constitution of male subjectivity of
coloured adolescents awaiting trial in post-Apartheid Cape
Town

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

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Finally, this thesis is dedicated to the 25 boys whose stories comprise this project. The pages which follow are as close as I could get to a letter to the 'hof'. In your own ways you are all 'sterkbene'...and 'sterkharte'.

Abstract

This research project is an exploration into the lives of 25 of 'democracy's children', Afrikaans speaking, coloured adolescents awaiting trial, all of whom come from poverty-stricken, violent areas on the Cape Flats. These boys live in a historical context where the new South African democracy has not (yet) delivered benefits for all of its 'children'. This is the context in which I am exploring their divided, ambivalent and paradoxical masculinities. These youngsters were interviewed individually and in focus groups, at a centre called Horizons, near Cape Town. The author examines how these boys constitute their fragile subjectivities through multiple, contradictory discourses of masculinity and how they invest in these discourses in attempts partially to alleviate the multiple anxieties they experience in their lives. The boys inserted themselves within three main discourses of masculinity. Hyper-masculinity was constructed through violent gang activity and subjugating women. Traditional masculinity involved sentiments of provide and protect, exerted in a non-violent manner. Finally, mythopoetic masculinity comprises open emotional expression, especially towards their mothers. Although these boys can't win, as the material and discursive odds are stacked too heavily against them, this does not mean they are automatons, simply the dupes of fate. They exert agency through unique configurations of these discourses, temporarily becoming 'Hollywood heroes' and creating gangster 'brotherhoods' which resist the social dislocation produced by their historical situation. To some degree, then, 'democracy's children' use the very discourses which form and limit them, to exert agency. The author argues that by studying these young men as inherently divided and complex experiential beings, as well as involuntarily inserted into the social and material realms, we can begin to understand their lives in a meaningful way and come to terms with the terrifying acts they commit.

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Preface

Field notes, Research Day 1, 11 August 2004:

I drive out on the N2, leaving the CBD and green suburbs. In Cape Town we have tattooed the Group Areas Act onto our city's body. Constructed divisions are crystallised with blotchy ink. Social significance and history materialised through the city's space. Like a racially segregated onion, layers exfoliate, peel off, under my purple Hyundai's accelerator. I am changing gears through Apartheid's legacy.

I pass the Athlone cooling towers, their brown odour too far from white nostrils. Accelerate faster past Khayelitsha where smoke is rising. Smoke always hovers in townships or is it just me? I grip the steering wheel firmly, turn the radio up, half-gasp for assurance outside of my suburban womb.

About 200 metres before the 29th exit on the N2, the Spine Road Exit that leads to Horizons Youth Centre for boys awaiting trial, two bricked structures vaguely resembling houses are abandoned on the side of the highway. Around them the shrubbery is overgrown. Alien Port Jacksons and indigenous bush mingle unhappily. These structures are roofless and their walls crumble, parts of brick turning to dust, evaporating. Curved graffiti stains the walls. Street art without streets. I wonder who built these apparitions, for what purpose?

The receptionist smiles at me softly. I am more self-conscious of my whiteness. There are no white people at Horizons. She says the social workers and the boys are busy with PGD. I learn later in the day that this stands for 'personal growth and development'. She tells me to join them for this session.

To enter the inner organs of Horizons one needs to scream at a central room. You first bellow "gate number 3!", which then clicks. The process is then repeated for gate number 4. Everybody shouts these gate numbers continuously. Some smaller voices shouting numbers are ignored.

I put one foot into the quad and hold my breath. It is deserted. I feel like I am entering an amorphous zoo without cages. An electrified space with no rules, where Cape Town's social pariahs are sub-merged, hidden, free from the codes that structure society. Following the receptionist's directions, I peer into the second room on the right. Luxolo Malindi, the social worker I met previously, is speaking to the boys. He sees me and gestures for me to come in. I enter the room and walk over to his side. I am breathing heavily now. My hands are shaking.

I examine the boys and try to visualise what they are looking at. What do they see? How does my body, my face, my ironed black Dockers trousers and blue shirt from the Gap look to them? I see eyes and torn jeans. A maroon fez on a head. A body resting on a shoulder. A cocktail of confusion blended with inquiry. Luxolo says "this is Adam and his surname is Cooper. He is going to be doing a programme with Afrikaans speaking boys. Let's give him a round of applause to welcome him to Horizons."

The boys clap. I try to reciprocate a smile, mimic the choreographed warmth of this ritual. My smile shivers. I know they can feel my discomfort, can trace its silhouette, can see how it is trying to hide, close its eyes, run away ...

What kind of man?

By Ingrid de Kok

Tony Yengeni: *'what kind of man are you?... I am talking about the man behind the wet bag.'*

Captain Jeffrey T. Benzien: *'...I ask myself the same question.'*

Cape Town Amnesty Hearings, Truth and Reconciliation Commission

I

It's the question we come back to.
After the political explanations
and the filmy flicker of gulags, concentration,
re-education and ethnic cleansing camps,
prisons and killings in the townships and fields,
here at the commission we ask again,
can't get away from it, leave it alone:
'What kind of man are you?'

II

What kind of man mounts another
in deadly erotic mimicry,
then puts a wet bag over his head
to suffocate him for 'the truth'?

Lets her baby cry for her
from a nearby cell,
threatens to stop the crying?

Roasts meat on coals
While a man is burning on a nearby pyre?

Gives evidence like this
in day light: but can give no account?

III

What kind of man are you?
What type? We ask and he asks too
like Victorians at a seminar.
Is it in the script the shape of the head,
the family gene?
Graphology, phrenology or the devil?

IV

Nothing left but to screen his body.
We have no other measure
but body as lie detector,
truth serum, weathervane.

V

We look at his misshapen cheek,
how it turns away from questioning,
as if he's an abused child:

at his mouth, its elastic pantomime:

at his sagging chin, glottal Adam's apple,
throat no longer crisp from a morning razor:

at his eyes' pouches, pitted olives, dunes:

at the eyes themselves,
how they sweat, don't weep:

his ears, peaks on a listening uniform:

the hand with its thumb in tact, its active fingers:

and the apparently depressed, possibly sedated,
shuffling lumbering cumbersome body
which then helpfully and earnestly
performs in slow motion with perfect memory
its training, its function: a tartaric posture with wet bag
that just for a moment is so unbelievable
it looks like a pillow fight between brothers.

VI

though of the heart we cannot speak
encased in its grille of gristle

the body almost but doesn't explain
'what kind of man are you?'

VII

This kind we will possibly answer,
(pointing straight, sideways,
upwards, down, inside out),
this kind.

Chapter 1

Discourse and agency: developing a theory of subjectivity

The closer we come to uncovering some form of exemplary masculinity, a masculinity which is solid and sure of itself, the clearer it becomes that masculinity is structured through contradiction: the more it asserts itself, the more it calls itself into question.

Segal, 1990, p. 23

It has never been enough- in Marx, in Althusser, in Foucault- to elaborate a theory of how individuals are summoned into place in the discursive structures. It has always, also, required an account of how subjects are constituted.

Hall, 1996, p.13

Democracy's children

This research project is an exploration into the lives of 25 of 'democracy's children', boys who were all born in 1988 or 1989, just before the advent of the South African democracy. These youngsters have all committed various crimes and are currently incarcerated in a centre for boys awaiting trial called Horizons, which is situated approximately 30 kilometres from the centre of Cape Town.

In total, Horizons Youth Centre is home to approximately 170 boys between the ages of 11 and 18. It has been outsourced to a company called Bosasa, which is involved in a range of other projects, including security, transport and information technology. Juveniles cost the state R96 a day in jail and between R140 and R270 in outsourced centres like Horizons (BOSASA, 2005). Horizons exudes a fairly cheerful atmosphere and the building has been decorated in bright colours. The boys are fed 5 times a day, with 3 meals and 2 tea times. There are televisions in all the dormitories and the boys watch movies in the evenings. The building is a quad shape, with a dormitory on each side wall and a grass playground in the middle. During the day the boys participate in educational classes, including an art, welding and a craft class.

At Horizons the highest admittance is for crimes like housebreaking and theft, but it is not uncommon to find a child awaiting trial for 2 murders, rape and assault (Adams, 2005). Based on what the boys told me, the relationship between what a boy is being tried for and the range of crimes he has actually committed bear only an arbitrary correlation. Killing of opposing gang members often goes unreported and many crimes are left unresolved. According to the boys, in total, five were being tried for murder (including three boys being tried for two counts), one for attempted murder, three for rape, one for assault, three for armed robbery, seven for housebreaking or car theft, two for petty theft, one for possession of a gun, one for throwing stones on a neighbour's roof and one made no mention of what he was being tried for. After I had completed three interviews I checked with a social worker and he concurred that the boys were being tried for what they had told me. Even so, this information should be interpreted with caution, as it may be exaggerated by male bravado or underplayed due to individuals striving to appear innocent.

Towards a theory of subjectivity

"If one wishes to understand the significance of delinquency-or indeed of any activity- in the lived experience of adolescents, then one must start from the evidence of that experience. Simply, one must listen to and take seriously what adolescents have to say about their lives...it is something that is not simply excluded but actively ruled out by mainstream analysis" (Emler & Reicher, 1995, p. xiii).

Documenting the lived experience of 25 adolescent, coloured boys from the Cape Flats, as they portrayed it to me, is how this thesis began. I am primarily analysing this experience, and their *masculinities*, through the language that the boys use, in order to understand the "kinds" or "types" of men they aspire to become. Through the language they employ, these children of democracy construct certain forms of divided and contradictory masculinities: they indicate what is socially significant to them and they describe their practices. The links between *language, discourse and subjectivity* are crucial in understanding the 'children of democracy' and this thesis as a whole.

I would therefore like to begin this excursion into the conundrum of why some groups of men are consistently linked to criminal activity, by developing a theory of *subjectivity*. I will illustrate how subjectivity is comprised of a number of

intermingling discourses, which are substantially constituted through language. Subjectivity implies numerous identities, which are fragmented, ambivalent and changing. This is because subjects are always located in multiple discursive positions, which are often contradictory, constructing divided and complex subjectivities. In order to grasp these multiple 'discursive positions' which make up subjectivity, it is necessary to define discourse and illustrate how the social realm is comprised of many such discourses. Furthermore, the discourses which make up subjectivity are substantially comprised of language and so a theory of language, known as critical realism, will be described. Awareness of how contradictory discourses constitute subjectivity is especially crucial in coming to terms with marginalized, masculine subjectivities and the fragile and conflicting nature of these boys' lives.

Theories of discourse do not, however, give us insight into the inner experiences of individuals. I will therefore use elements of psychoanalysis in order to buttress discourse analysis and explore the multiple anxieties these boys experience in their lives. More specifically, I will observe how they use defensive splitting in their talk, to 'other' women, as their perceived weaknesses are projected elsewhere. I propose to look at both psychoanalysis and discourse analysis, in a non-dualistic manner, through the talk of these boys, in order to produce a more rounded account of masculine subjectivity. Whilst psychoanalysis attempts to explain men's paranoia over masculinity and violence towards women, psychoanalytic theory needs to be placed in the social context of broader patterns that maintain and resist dominance (Frosh, 1989; Segal, 1990). Psychoanalysis insufficiently looks at relations of power and how they play out socially. However, discourse analysis underplays the psychological. As Hollway (1989) states:

"the relation of power and desire needs to be clarified" (Hollway, 1989, p. 60).

This thesis is an attempt to heed this call. In the next chapter I will outline the material context in which these subjectivities are situated. Through a careful analysis of *discourse, inner experience and materiality*, I believe it is possible to come to grips with these boys' lives in a comprehensive manner, make sense of the types of men they aspire to become and begin to understand the crimes they commit.

Research question

In order to gain a nuanced understanding of these boys' subjectivities and the crimes they commit, it is essential to analyse the various discourses of masculinity within which they are inserted and which they use to constitute themselves as subjects. My central research question can therefore be summarised as:

How do these boys constitute their subjectivities (and are constituted) through the various discourses of masculinity into which they insert themselves (and are inserted)?

Although the brackets used in the above question make the sentence somewhat clumsy, they necessarily indicate that subjectivities are both constituted and constitutive. People both position themselves within the social realm using agency and are involuntarily inserted within this domain.

A theory of subjectivity requires a theory of language and how people utilise language, through discourse, to construct their divided subjectivities. Via language, a more nuanced analysis of the contradictions inherent in these boys' lives becomes apparent. I would therefore like to describe a theory of language, known as critical realism, which is being used in this project, and then illustrate how language is involved in the production of discourse and subjectivity.

"Would a man by any other name...": Language, discourse and subjectivity

Language and its limits: Critical realism

Through critical realism we are able to understand the primacy of language and acknowledge that language does more than simply reflect reality. By means of discourse, language actually inscribes certain forms of masculinity, among other things. However language is always shaped by real, material structures.

Critical realism states that we can only know the external world through the language used to describe it, but these descriptions are embedded in real ideological structures and institutional frameworks (Burman, 1991). It is impossible to know objects except through particular descriptions (Willig, 1999; Gavey, 1997). However, whilst relativist social constructionists say referentiality and objectivity are impossible, that 'things', and whatever backdrop against which these things stand out, are taken to be nothing more than social convention, critical realism states that objectivity and

referentiality are possible, though they are always, partial, limited and dependent on more research (Nightingale & Cromby, 2002). Critical realism also pertinently takes structures into account. We need to theorise how discursive practices and human experience are already grounded in and structured by external reality, such as embodiment, materiality, aesthetics and power (Nightingale & Cromby, 2002). Language is shaped and constrained by these phenomena. We can, however, only have knowledge of structures through language.

I am therefore using these boys' descriptions and portrayals, in order to illustrate the nature of their masculinities. I am assuming that their use of language is already structured by external forces, such as Apartheid forced removals and poverty on the Cape Flats. This said, the language the boys use does not simply reflect a pre-existing reality. Through their use of certain words and their descriptions of specific practices, these boys are perpetuating the production of a certain form of being a man, one which I will argue is divided and complex.

Language does things

Critical realism, as an ontological position, therefore acknowledges that there is more to reality than language. However, language itself also *does things*. It does more than simply reflect or represent reality; it is never neutral and is substantially inscribed with cultural meaning and values (Weedon, 1987). Furthermore, language gives clues to social activity and what is meaningful to individuals, in the way people use language and tell stories. The stories these boys narrate and their emphases, will therefore indicate the nature of their social lives.

One needs to look at language in context in order to understand its significance and the social activity it partly produces. Following Wittgenstein's linguistic philosophy, the meaning of words is to be found in their use (Durrheim, 1997; Shotter & Lannamann, 2002). The boys' use of the term "cat" (see page 79), for example, can only be understood through the way these boys employ it in their discourse. In addition, objects and events gain significance through being ensconced in particular "forms of life", forcing us to "reflect on a set of actions from within a frame of reference" (Durrheim, 1997, p. 180). The term "cat", as used by these boys, only has

significance in the context of a form of working-class life, where poverty is rife and actions that promote respectability are difficult to perform.

Through studying language in context, we gain insight into particular social phenomena and praxis. The language these boys use to describe their practices, selves and 'forms of life' therefore give clues to locally produced masculinities. Their language will directly inscribe certain forms of being a man.

This project, in analysing these young masculinities, is therefore influenced by the 'linguistic turn', whilst acknowledging its limitations. The 'linguistic turn' refers to a wealth of theories and research, resulting from what most commentators tend to identify as post-modernism, post-structuralism and social constructionism (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). These theories infiltrated the discipline of social psychology in the late 1980s. Whatever differences these theories have, they all dedicate a more central role to language than was previously allocated (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Outside of psychology these developments were already underway in the 1950s, when philosophers, communications theorists, historians and sociologists became increasingly interested in language as social performance (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Following Harré (1992), Kevin Durrheim (1997) describes these developments as the 'second cognitive revolution' in psychology, the first being a move away from behaviourism towards cognitivism and mental processes. He acknowledges Wittgenstein's linguistic philosophy as acting as a conduit for this 'second cognitive revolution' (Durrheim, 1997).

Influenced by this 'linguistic turn', my research looks at how these boys use language to describe, and to some extent, construct their worlds. I am examining how these 'language games' indicate what kinds of men they aspire to become and how these masculinities are highly contradictory and fragmented. It is assumed that language is already shaped by certain structural and material realities, which will be explored in detail in the following chapter.

Language and practices produce discourse

Understanding how language functions in relation to reality is imperative in coming to terms with what is meant by discourse and how people position themselves within

discourse, in order to constitute their complex subjectivities. A discourse can be thought of as “*practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak*” (Foucault, 1972, p.49) or “*a system of statements which constructs an object*” (Parker, 1992, p.5). We are therefore dealing with the way language and practices shape a *discourse* and the objects it contains. So for example, in the current study, talk about hunnies (homosexuals), sterkbene (‘strong-bones’) and practices such as shooting guns and performing heroic feats in order to be initiated into gangs, constructs a discourse of *hyper-masculinity*. The discourse opens up a range of subject positions within it, which some young boys on the Cape Flats may take up, such as ‘the gangster’.

Whilst language is integral to the understanding of discourse, the way that I am using the concept does not refer to language exclusively. It refers to how language is linked to broader social relations and power, relations which are at the same time material and complex (Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn & Walkerdine, 1984). Discourse refers to frameworks of meaning that manifest in language, but are also substantially produced by institutional and ideological structures (Burman, 1991; Burr, 1998). The discourse of ‘hyper-masculinity’ may be observed in language linked to violence, but it is thoroughly influenced by poverty, Apartheid and ideologies such as patriarchy.

It is therefore important to retain the term ideology. This Marxist concept enables us to have an understanding of interests and of who benefits from discourse, promoting political action (Parker, 1989, 1992). Understanding the ironies of ‘democracy’s children’ is linked both to their ideological subjugation of women, through patriarchy, but also to the manner in which these boys have been (and are) ideologically oppressed by, for example, discourses of racism.

A blend of discourses: subjectivity

“We use ‘subjectivity’ to refer to individuality and self-awareness- the condition of being subject- but understand in this usage that subjects are dynamic and multiple, always positioned in relation to discourses and practices and produced by these- the condition of being subject” (Henriques et al. 1984, p. 3).

The social realm can therefore be thought of as the existence of many of these discourses. People take up positions within a range of discourses, although they are not free to take up any position they choose. A discourse of masculinity involves various ways of speaking about and practicing being a 'kind' or 'type' of man. As the social realm consists of many such discourses, men are inserted within a range of discourses of masculinity at any one time, creating ambivalence and often leading to contradictory attitudes and behaviour. As I will show, whilst these boys may be positioned within a 'hyper-masculine' discourse in some contexts, they may speak about and describe practices which are passive and loving, in other realms of life. Through positioning ourselves within a range of subject positions in different discourses, each of us forms our subjectivity, although, as I will show, this is certainly not the whole story. Furthermore, different subject positions are differentially empowered, especially in terms of gender (Henriques et al. 1984).

The notion of subjectivity therefore moves away from the unified, rational, enlightenment "individual", to a more fragmented, multiply divided subject. Employing the term subjectivity allows us to see a much more divided and complex picture, in terms of understanding individual subjects. It produces language and theory which is able to incorporate the ambivalence and contradiction inherent to our lives and is especially relevant to the study of men. These young boys will always be positioned within overlapping, intersecting discourses of masculinity, creating confusion and conflict.

"Avoiding the mad, the bad and the sad": Transcending the individual-social binary
In addition, the concept of 'subjectivity' advantageously transcends the individual-social binary, by examining how individual subjects are positioned within the social realm. It is clearly unsatisfactory to say that the crimes of these boys are the result of a problem located inside the head of either a crazy individual, or that they are simply the product of the person's environment. These boys grow up in difficult environments, but this does not doom them to a life of crime and neither is it enough to say they are all simply pathological. Mainstream psychology usually attributes deviance to malfunctioning individuals, whereas sociological approaches reductively explain crime as caused by an impoverished environment and domestic circumstances (for example Emile Durkheim, or the Chicago school).

By contrast, 'subjectivity' implies finding language and theory that is able to integrate an analysis of these boys' internal and external worlds in a non-deterministic, non-dualistic fashion (Jefferson, 1994). It therefore provides a more organic and fluid understanding of 'democracy's children'. British criminologist Tony Jefferson succinctly summarises the issue as follows:

"the worst motivational accounts in this area are tawdry variations on a theme of 'bad, mad or sad': while even the best tend to get stuck on one side or the other of the individualistic/socially deterministic divide. Finding a way of transcending that dichotomy, of producing accounts which are intellectually coherent and experientially recognizable, is one important way we can begin to take the question of 'men and crime' more seriously" (Jefferson, 1994, p. 30).

We need to move beyond explanations which get stuck on one side of this divide or the other. It is also not enough simply to conduct a thorough examination of both, as the one always presupposes the other, they are entangled in a knot which is not easily unravelled. Through examining how social discourses constitute and are constitutive of subjectivity, how the two dimensions are inseparable, we are partially able to deal with this problem and come to understand these boys' lives in a more complex manner.

Through language, discourse and subjectivity we are therefore able to see how subjects are inherently divided and how these boys may *do* gender, a notion I will elaborate upon, in ways that are ambivalent, fragmented and paradoxical. An analysis of the boys' talk and language exposes contradictions, so crucial in making a nuanced analysis of men and crime. Through analysing the overlapping discourses in which the boys are inserted, a more complex and succinct theory of the subject is possible. When dealing with a topic like masculinity, we can only begin to make sense of it by understanding the inherent contradictions. I am therefore using these insights from the turn to language, whilst acknowledging the importance of taking history, structures and material realities seriously.

Buttressing discourse with psychoanalysis

Acknowledging that these boys constitute their subjectivities through contradictory discourses is not sufficient in order to understand their lives. A range of discourses and subject positions may partially make up the subjectivities of these marginalised young coloured men, but this is certainly not the whole story. The problem with this kind of 'discursive' theorising is that it partially obliterates individual human beings and we are left with no understanding of inner experiences. We need analyses of how people actually experience their subjectivities and how 'imagination' forms part of being human. (Jefferson, 1994; Frosh, 2002; Stam, 2002). Purely discursive accounts adopt a form of "linguistic imperialism" (Kristeva cited in Gough, 2004, p. 247), which doesn't address the "eccentric, excessive, erratic aspects of experience" (Frosh cited in Gough, 2004, p. 247). Furthermore, discourse analysis negates what motivates people to choose between subject positions and why people continually position themselves in the same way within discourse (Henriques et al. 1984).

The problem with exclusively discursive theories of subjectivity is especially evident with emotionally laden data, as they do not indicate why people emphatically and repetitively take up similar positions within discourse (Gough, 2004). These boys grow up in extremely stressful conditions, influenced by widespread violence and they continually take up positions as 'gangsters' and 'criminals'. As masculinity has been typified by extreme anxiety, especially for these children of democracy, an analysis of their inner experiences is imperative. Psychoanalysis can buttress discourse analysis in this regard, adding an experiential dimension. Psychoanalysis and discourse analysis have much in common, as both are concerned with language, as well as acknowledging the fact that people are comprehensively fragmented (Gough, 2004). This is crucial in a project that examines the contradictions and ambivalences of the boys' masculinities at Horizons.

The question is how do we get at these inner experiences? How do we observe the experiential dimensions of 'democracy's children'? Psychoanalysis is the study of the unconscious and we need to map these unconscious dynamics, as they manifest in an inter-subjective manner through language. It is therefore assumed that the unconscious is not pre-social, but is a mode in which the unspeakably social endures (Butler, 2000). This means that the unconscious is not an essentialised, universal object, but a set of shared symbolic phenomena which are communicated in various

verbal and non-verbal forms. Coming to terms with the unconscious involves an exploration of the impulsive, exaggerated 'outbursts' from these boys, which portray the irrational anxieties and defences they have, as they protect their fragile and vulnerable male identities (Gough, 2004).

Object-relations, splitting and mothers

Kleinian object-relations psychoanalysts have been particularly productive in formulating approaches to unconscious masculine dynamics. These theories are intersubjective, avoiding essentialistic accounts of intra-psychic processes (Gough, 2004). One unconscious mechanism of defending the self is called 'splitting' by these theorists. A person's ego is made up of the external objects it assimilates with itself. The self is constituted through identifying with, and internalising, aspects of relevant others (Benjamin, 2000). Splitting is one of the ego's defensive acts, whereby the self splits objects into unrealistic 'good' and 'bad' qualities. This is done through incorporation of these objects and projection of the self onto external objects, to keep the self from being overwhelmed (Benjamin, 2000).

Splitting is therefore observed in the way disliked parts of the self are 'othered' or projected onto other people. Talk about women, homosexuals or other racial groups are therefore an example of this process, whereby they are 'bad' and I/we are 'good'. Aspects of self which are perceived as 'weak' are projected onto others. The self is protected by projecting the perceived weakness elsewhere. Clues to the boys' anxieties and their personal emotional struggles can therefore be observed in their exaggerated, emotionally laden talk of these relevant others, such as mothers, girls and homosexuals and the way the boys perform defensive splitting.

These defence mechanisms are usually acquired in early gendered relationships and are related to masculine identity formation. Nancy Chodorow (1994) states that masculine development is largely based on differentiating from the mother. The need to dis-identify with the mother and find masculine identity figures or role-models, who are usually absent, often results in misogyny or masculine frailty. This is because men fear the dependency of their early relationship with their mothers (Chodorow, 1994). This may translate into later fears of women and female sexuality, observed in their splitting. Boys repress those qualities they consider to be feminine in themselves

and reject and denigrate women and whatever else they consider feminine externally (Chodorow, 1994).

This may not be the complete description of the psychodynamics of masculinity (and appears to be somewhat extreme), but it does offer insight into men's difficulty with intimacy and relationships (Frosh, 1999). Although Chodorow (1994) does state that 'how men love' is also related to cultural stories and fantasies, this theory does appear to be fairly rigid and universalistic, creating a master-narrative of all men. In addition, the binary between 'masculine' and 'feminine', with no 'third space' or middle ground, has undertones of essentialism. Can we simply apply this formula to the anxieties experienced by boys on the Cape Flats? Importantly, Chodorow highlights the need to look at how the boys talk about their mothers and other important women in their lives. This can be used to map the anxieties they experience and the complex emotions they feel in relation to their own gendered identities. We can therefore use Chodorow's (1994) theory to concentrate on this particular study, to see how these boys talk about various women, perform defensive splitting and how this relates to protecting the self.

In contrast to Chodorow's view that men *project* 'feminine' aspects of self onto others, Jessica Benjamin (1995, 2000) theorises that children incorporate gendered aspects of all loved objects into the self. Boys do not simply reject the 'feminine'. 'Feminine' aspects of self may mingle with the 'masculine', although they may well be substantially repressed. 'Feminine objects' and difference may be incorporated into the process of masculine identity formation. Difference is recognised in the formation of masculinity, without being discarded, as the psyche preserves numerous identifications that are then consciously or unconsciously expressed (Benjamin, 1995). It is therefore imperative to look at how these boys express these unconscious aspects of their 'feminised' selves and what this type of talk functions to do.

Object-relations accounts of gender identity formation therefore agree that men struggle to come to terms with the 'feminine' aspects of themselves. We can therefore use aspects of Chodorow (1994), to show how this results in rejection of the 'feminine' and possibly leads to antagonism towards women, or violence based on the frailty of masculinity. These 'rejections' can be observed through a thorough analysis

of the ways the boys denigrate others through defensive splitting, giving clues to their own fears and anxieties. Jessica Benjamin's work can also be used, to see whether these boys *incorporate* 'feminine' elements into their selves, albeit in somewhat repressed forms.

Psychoanalytic theory also gives us insights into the inner worlds of these boys through their fragile sexualities (Segal, 2001). According to Segal (2001), sex gives men their greatest uncertainties and many prostitutes say that men actually desire the victim role. Although the social power of men is sustained, actual experiences of individuals may be very insecure. The pressure to succeed is a core value of masculinity and fear of sexual failure violently emasculating. Anxiety and sexuality are therefore intimately linked (Segal, 2001). Furthermore, as Benjamin (1988, p. 216) suggests:

"The most considerable and troubling questions are not just about what men do, but also about what masculine sexuality 'means', what is at its core, what it feels like to have this possession, this masculine sexual being".

Researching how these boys describe their sexualities can therefore illuminate experiential components that partially constitute masculinity. It illustrates the contradictions and ambivalences involved in the very fragile aspects of being men, which often co-exist with male bravado. The way these boys describe sexual encounters will therefore indicate unconscious anxieties and fears.

Psychoanalytic theory can therefore delve into how these young men actually experience identity development, sexuality and anxiety. It sheds light on how boys struggle to form unique identities, separate from their mothers, by projecting or repressing the 'feminine'. It also explores how sexuality influences masculine identity formation. The boys' talk in these domains will therefore need to be gleaned, in order to account for unconscious processes. This can be done through an analysis of how the boys split objects into 'good' and 'bad', creating ambivalence and contradiction, as well as how they talk about 'feminine' aspects of self and their fragile sexualities.

Investment theory: merging discourse analysis and psychoanalysis

I would therefore like to combine elements of discourse analysis with psychoanalysis. This involves looking at experiential elements and exploring how multiple discourses become subjectivities for individuals. I am looking at the psychological or 'psyche', by examining how it manifests discursively, through social interaction and language.

Investment theory is particularly adept at blending these intellectual traditions of discourse analysis and psychoanalysis. This theory interrogates how conscious and unconscious anxieties result in people repetitively positioning themselves in specific ways in certain discourses, often through defences, such as 'splitting'.

There are 'pay-offs' or rewards for taking up specific positions in discourse (Hollway, 1984, 1989). People make investments or choose to position themselves between discourses based on the way they manage anxiety (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). The 'reward' is based on an expected or actual alleviation of anxiety.

It is therefore my intention to analyse how anxiety manifests in the boys' talk about their lives, often related to their relationships with women and the pressure to succeed as men, such as in the realm of sexuality. I will then observe how these boys use defensive splitting or repressed 'feminine' aspects of self, in order to 'invest' in certain discourses over others. This is both conscious and unconscious and is linked to people's unique biographies and life histories. On the basis of these histories people make investments in discourses and through this process they attempt to manage and defend against anxiety (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000):

"the continuous attempt to manage anxiety, to protect oneself...provides a continuous, more or less driven, motive for the negotiations of power in relations (Hollway, 1989, p. 85).

The interaction between the power social discourses have over individuals and subjects' unique anxieties and phantasies therefore needs to be unravelled. The manner in which this individual-social compound is enmeshed needs to be deconstructed in a manner which is complex and nuanced, not resorting to simplistic generalisations.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have set out my proposition to explore the lives of these 25 boys at Horizons, through a theory of subjectivity. This involves looking at how these boys constitute their fragmented subjectivities through multiple discourses of masculinity and how they invest in these discourses in attempts to alleviate anxiety. Through analysing multiple discourses and unconscious anxieties, a more complex and succinct theory of the subject and a nuanced account of the issue of men and crime, is possible. As Hollway & Jefferson (2000, p. 127) state:

“We are all more or less irrational subjects. The point is to explain the relationship between the rational and the irrational in human behaviour: not to stop when we have reached the limits of the ‘rational’.”

Through discourse, inner experiences and materiality (explored in the following chapter) it is possible to comprehend ‘the rational and the irrational’ aspects of these boys’ lives, in a meaningful manner.

Chapter 2

Contexts part 1: The “Real” of the Cape Flats

To see crime as an obstacle to development because it causes instability, while ignoring persistent underdevelopment and subsequent instability as obstacles to reducing crime is to set the stage for short-sighted and abstract anti-crime measures based on a fundamental misunderstanding of the relationship between crime, criminals and the communities from which they come and on which they prey. Most obviously, it produces law enforcement solutions based on the ideological assumption that crime is essentially external to the proper functioning of a neoliberal democracy state. High unemployment, social instability, and poverty on the Cape Flats not only provide gangs with new growth opportunities, they reproduce the social and economic conditions in which they emerged in the first place.

Tony Samara. State security in transition: The war on crime in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Introduction

Unpacking the “relation of power and desire” (Hollway, 1989, p.60) cannot be done without some understanding of the material context in which this relation takes place. Identities and subjectivities do not occur in a vacuum and discourses do not float around freely. They are always already shaped and constrained by a set of material, historical and political circumstances, which impact heavily on subjectivities.

In addition to the discursive and psychological analysis needed for a project of this kind, it is therefore essential to explicate the material context within which these ‘children of democracy’ live. These subjectivities, and the multiple ironies of ‘democracy’s children’, need to be seen in the historical moment of post-Apartheid Cape Town and all that this entails. Cape Town and South Africa’s tumultuous, draconian history result in these boys growing up in modest conditions on the Cape Flats, the dusty, dry wasteland where non-white Capetonians were unceremoniously dumped during the Apartheid years.

We therefore need an understanding of discourse, inner-experience and materiality. In line with critical realism, it is necessary to analyse material structures, whilst accepting that structures cannot be seen independently of the way they manifest in discourse (Segal, 1999). A brief contextualization of the Cape Flats will follow. For the purposes of this research project, the turbulent contemporary Cape Flats needs to be understood as a unique interplay of space and the rise of gang empires with unprecedented levels of drugs and crime.

The segregationist manifesto: Space

Space is central to the contextualisation of the Cape Flats. Spatial relations mould social relations and vice versa, in a dialectical manner (Western, 1996). In 1948 Cape Town was one of the least segregated cities in sub-Saharan Africa. Western (1996) states that in 1936, 37% of the city's residential areas were mixed. When the National Party (NP) came to power in 1948 it attempted to provide security for working class whites, who were crucial to NP power. The 1948 election had, in fact, been won on this 'segregationist manifesto' (Western, 1996). A number of 'coloured' pockets had formed in the city, especially along the railway line, in areas like Gardens, Salt River, Observatory, Mowbray and in the inner city, in for example, District Six (Western, 1996). The Group Areas Act changed all this, separating groups by race, with Cape Town becoming a quintessential Apartheid city, easily segregated by the natural dividers, such as the mountain and sea, aided by the major highways and railway lines (Western, 1996).

Many coloured people were dumped on the dusty Cape Flats, producing massive social dislocation. 'Colouredness' is therefore inextricably linked to spatial dynamics (Salo, 2004). Some of today's most crime and gang ridden former 'coloured' areas, such as Manenberg and Hanover Park, were constructed at this time (Salo, 2004). It is these spatial and gang dynamics which provide the context for young boys, such as those in the current study, *doing* gender through crime.

Coloured gangs therefore have an inextricable link to the city of Cape Town and are prominent in popular discourse around crime and the city. The Cape Flats has a unique set of social circumstances impacting upon gendered identities. The 'gang problem' partially represents the legacy of Apartheid. It endures because many of

Apartheid's characteristics of poverty and segregation continue (Samara, 2005). It is this tumultuous history that partly results in Cape Town having at least the third highest homicide rate for a city globally (Berg, 2005, personal communication). According to most recent statistics, South Africa has the second highest murder rate internationally, behind Colombia (Altbeker, 2004).

Into the hornet's nest: Gangsterism and crime

Today gangs contribute to 70% of the crime in the Western Cape. 40% of murders and 42% of robberies (Kinnes, 2000). Substantial numbers of children are arrested. Whilst children make up 8.5% of the Western Cape population, they account for 25% of arrests. There are approximately 80 to 100 thousand gangsters and 100 to 120 gangs in the Western Cape. Samara (2005) states that some officials estimate that 5% of the total population is comprised of gangsters. Crime and gangsterism on the Cape Flats are inextricably interlinked. This issue, bound up in the history of the Cape and this country, involves race, masculinity, urbanisation and the notion that young men are problematic (Samara, 2005). The rampant gangsterism results in the inevitability of many of the 'children of democracy' currently being studied, getting involved in these structures and performing gender through crime. Of the 22 boys from Cape Town I interviewed, fourteen were 'official' gangsters, in the sense that they had tattoos and told stories of performing initiation tasks. A further five said that they 'walked' with gangsters, meaning their involvement was dubious and largely 'unofficial'. These individuals certainly spent a lot of time with gangs and were linked to criminal activity in this manner. Nineteen of the twenty-two boys were therefore involved with gangs.

A brief history of the Western Cape street gangs post removals contextualises these issues further. Gangs have developed from bored individuals hanging around the streets defending the community, to criminal empires (Kinnes, 2000). The relaxing of social controls and borders opening, experienced during the democratic transition, has paved the way for the development of illegitimate industries and illegitimate exports have increased. GATT and EU agreements liberalising trade, have acted as a conduit in this process (Kinnes, 2000). Gangs have adapted to changing political, social and economic conditions highly effectively, embedding themselves as a permanent socio-economic factor.

In the early 1980s dagga (marijuana) was still mainly being traded and people like Colin Stanfield (an influential local drug dealer recently deceased) had unlimited control. The scene was still very local, with prices not being negotiated with international contacts (Kinnes, 2000). By 1993 the Hard Livings (HLs) and Americans were the two biggest gangs and their leaders stopped being directly involved in crime, instead laundering illegal drug money (Kinnes, 2000). Furthermore, the gangs united to form syndicates, for example the Firm (made up largely of the HLs and 28s prison gangs).

By 1993 the Firm was controlling most of the drugs coming in and out of Cape Town, whilst Jackie Lonte's Americans were dealing mandrax in prisons and producing crack in factories (Samara, 2005). In 1996, with these new criminal empires exceedingly powerful and the police partially corrupt, some of the Muslim community took the situation into their own hands, forming People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD). Hard Livings leader Rashied Staggie was very publicly executed by PAGAD and other leaders targeted.

Many accused PAGAD of becoming simply another gang, with a Muslim fundamentalist agenda. In response, the gangsters formed the Community Outreach Forum (CORE). This was an umbrella organisation comprised of leaders of all the major Cape Flats gangs. They called for former and present government to take responsibility for steering them to crime (Samara, 2005). In response, the gangsters pledged to contribute to development programmes attempting to alleviate gangsterism. The state refused to engage with CORE. PAGAD assassinated most of its leaders, leading to further albeit unintended violence, as other gangsters battled it out over new leadership (Samara, 2005).

Much of the anger directed at gangs, by PAGAD, was due to gangs selling drugs to children on the Cape Flats. Drugs are clearly related to gangsterism and crime in an inseparable manner. Leggett (2002) reports that coloured arrestees are most likely to test positive for drugs and 50% are influenced by mandrax. Mandrax debuted on the scene in the 1970s and further embedded gangs in the Western Cape economy (Leggett, 2002).

The recent unprecedented surge in crystal methamphetamine or 'tik tik' use, has reached crisis proportions. This drug gives users a boosted sense of confidence, adding to the already dire drug and crime problem. It is now the most used drug and results in the highest number of addicts in Cape Town. The number of addicts has increased ten fold in the last year (Caelers, 2005). Many of the boys I interviewed described selling drugs and earning up to R2000 a week for their efforts. This is much more than they could earn through legitimate means. They also told tales of wild parties involving 'buttons and tik' (mandrax and crystal methamphetamine) and being heavily influenced by these substances in many of their criminal endeavours.

Despite selling drugs to children and using children as dealers, gangs have a contradictory 'love- hate' relationship with their communities. Whilst they exploit the economics of poverty, dealing in, for example, drugs and alcohol, they also substantially help communities. They aid schools, sports teams, and lend money for rent. Although people may realise they are being co-opted by gangs, many have little choice because of their conditions of scarcity (Samara, 2005). One also hears tales of gangs driving by with open windows leaving trails of money, or the Americans gang simply giving Tafelsig (a particularly impoverished area of Mitchell's Plain) kids hundreds of silver scooters (Samara, 2005). Whilst the 'gang problem' is a common phrase in Cape Town, the mass mourning of the death of renowned drug dealer Colin Stanfield, illustrates this contradictory relationship.

In sum, gangs were born under Apartheid removals, reorganized in the turbulent 80s and grew substantially in the transition (Samara, 2005). The globalised, post-Apartheid Cape Flats, is therefore a hornet's nest of gangs, violence, drugs and poverty. It is in this context that the fragile masculine subjectivities of 'democracy's children' exist.

Of viruses and bulimia: understanding young men's crimes

This cycle of poverty and crime is extremely difficult to break. The underlying causes of the situation emanate from the unemployment and lack of opportunity available to young men in these areas. Criminologist Andre Standing (2004) posits that the criminal economy of the Cape Flats is a highly innovative variant of capitalism, based

on a free-market system where state regulation is minimal. Standing (2004) labels this 'predatory capitalism'. Whilst the mainstream exalts the accumulation of private wealth and demonises organised crime, the same underlying principles and values could be applied to both. Young men on the Cape Flats are therefore pursuing similar wealth, glory and respectability, as 'idealised' businessmen. Standing (2004) therefore sees organised crime as "less a social virus attacking an otherwise healthy society, but rather a symptom of an already sickening host" (Standing, 2004, p. 52), where 61 % of people under thirty are unemployed. We cannot stamp out crime without attending to the social circumstances which are producing criminals in the first place.

Unemployment and poverty clearly stimulate gang activity, as well as perpetuating the dire environment which was the genesis of gangs originally. Young men, unable to make a living and provide for their families through legitimate means, create 'entrepreneurial' opportunities through drugs and other criminal activities. The issue of men, crime and gangsterism is therefore moulded within the history of Cape Town. It is necessary to understand these historically contingent structures when analysing individual subjectivities.

To make matters worse, this local Cape Flats context exists within a globalised post-Apartheid South Africa, where the current generation of adolescents desperately desire the commodities and lifestyle they see on television and in magazines. Bill Dixon (2001) argues that the 'crime' situation is the result of South Africa moving from being an 'exclusive society' to a 'bulimic' one. An exclusive society, theorised by Young (1999), represents the change from modernity to late modernity. It is characterised by a post-Fordist labour market where fewer people have well-paid, permanent employment, relative deprivation due to the restructuring of capital in the 1970s, ubiquitous individualism and consumerism, as well as general ontological insecurity (Young, 1999).

This exclusive society existed under Apartheid. In the globalised, post-Apartheid era, South Africa has moved from being an exclusive society to a bulimic one. This change is epitomised by cultural inclusion and structural exclusion (Dixon, 2001). Bulimic societies gobble everyone up in their globalised culture, but are unable to

satisfy the population, as the structure lacks sufficient employment. These individuals are therefore 'puked' out by the system, leading to the term 'bulimic society'.

Participation in neo-liberal global economics, where South Africa embraces policies such as GEAR, has failed to increase growth and employment (Dixon, 2001). This results in structural exclusivity, whilst the masses, including the boys in the current study, are increasingly culturally globalised, desiring Levi Jeans and Nike takkies and other parts of global commodity culture. Huge crime rates and an increased appeal of gangsterism are a corollary of these economic developments.

Pulling it all together

These material dynamics of forced removals, the development of gangsterism and crime, of drugs and substance abuse, contextualise an analysis of subjectivity. As will be seen, these issues are interwoven throughout the boys' narratives. I am dealing with boys who come from the most violent, crime ridden areas, in a city with one of the highest homicide rates globally. South Africa's tumultuous history, the massively unequal distribution of wealth and rampant poverty, partially result in these crime statistics. But there are places in the world that are just as poor as Cape Town, so why are some young men performing certain criminal acts at an incomparable rate? In the following chapters I would like to give them a chance to speak, to see what they say. Maybe clues to this problem lie in their words, in how they tell their stories and which tales they choose to tell.

I am, in sum, proposing that it is essential to incorporate an analysis of discourse, subjectivity and the psyche, as well as the material context in which these exist, in order to understand these boys. By studying these children of democracy as inherently divided and complex experiential beings, as well as involuntarily inserted into the social and material realms, I feel we can begin to understand their lives in a meaningful way and come to terms with the terrifying acts they commit.

Chapter 3

Contexts part II: “Are men simply men amen”? Approaches to studying men

The most significant fact about crime is that it is almost always committed by men.

Newburn & Stanko, 1994, p. 1

In this chapter I will outline a second ‘context’ to the material one described in chapter 2. This theoretical context involves how ‘men’ have been and are currently studied and how I can use these theories to aid an investigation into the lives of these particular young men’s subjectivities. In line with the previous chapter, the types of men these boys aspire to become are located in a social and historical context. As Ingrid de Kok’s poem at the start of this project indicates, men are in many ways both the same and different. There is a great deal of heterogeneity within the category, as different “kinds” and “types” of men, who differ in time and space, exist.

Understanding the historical context is crucial in answering de Kok’s question “what kind of man?” and in coming to terms with these boys’ lives. We therefore need theory which incorporates a range of historically and socially contingent masculinities.

Critical men’s studies

In the past, men have often been studied through essentialist analyses of biology, such as hormones, genitals and chromosomes, followed by the development of ‘role theory’ championed by Talcott Parsons (Connell, 1995). The problem with these theories is that they are not able to delve into the inter-subjective aspects of gender (Segal, 1999). Gender is not an ‘individual person’ phenomenon, but is realised in relations between people, which always involve power dynamics. In addition, gender is a system. It is inscribed in institutions, such as the family, the workplace and the nation-state, where patriarchal ideologies permeate almost all aspects of social life and men dominate women. The unified individual as the unit of study negates these aspects of gender.

Recent theory has therefore turned to masculinity as, at least partially, a social construction. It is forged through human interaction and societal dynamics. This approach uses a combination of psychological, social and historical elements, incorporating materialism, feminism and critical theory, to the study of masculinity (Morrell, 2001). There are two critical points or foundational premises that inform this perspective on masculinity, which are integral to how I am trying to understand these boys' masculinities. The first is that gender is a relationship between men and women, men and men or women and women (Kimmel, 1987; Bohan, 1997). Masculinity and femininity are relational concepts. It is not purely masculinity as the object of study, but masculinity in relation to X. As stated, gender is not an attribute of individuals, but a way of making sense of interpersonal transactions (Segal, 1999). In understanding the boys in the current study, a thorough examination of how they engage in interpersonal relationships with family members, gangsters and girlfriends, illuminates a portion of how they form their masculinities.

Secondly and most importantly, masculinity is not a stable, monolithic construct, but varies over time and space and is enmeshed with other identity dynamics, such as race and class. We are therefore dealing with masculinities. Men and women are not homogenous groups and there is considerable heterogeneity within these groups (Edley & Wetherell, 1995). These insights are useful in the study of 'democracy's children', as the types of men these boys become are related to their historical position as working-class, coloured boys, in post-Apartheid South Africa. This project seeks to theorise this form of context-specific masculinity, whilst acknowledging that it may be paradoxical, changing and situationally dependent.

Context specific South African masculinities are substantially shaped by the historical forces of colonialism, capitalism and Apartheid, resulting in certain men being marginalised by others (Morrell, 2001; Campbell, 1992). Whilst patriarchy results in men benefiting from the societal domination of women, men reap the "patriarchal dividend" in different proportions and in different ways (Morrell, 2001, p.10). Furthermore, power dynamics occur between groups of men, such as between different race groups in the South African setting. Morrell (2001) describes how, for example, the masculinity of Africans was either predominantly related to the mines,

where groups of black workers were subjugated by white bosses, or rural life, where male dominance was uncorroded.

Brotherhoods and other hoods: Marginalised masculinities

The Cape Flats setting, influenced by these Apartheid and colonial dynamics, results in the boys in the current study being marginalised by race and class and this impacts on the types of masculinities they produce. Connell (1995) proposes a number of different contemporary *masculinities* that are not categorical, but fluid and result in some men subordinating others. These masculinities include *hegemonic* (which I will explore in more detail shortly), *complicit*, *subordinate* and *marginalised masculinities* (Connell, 1995).

Local, marginalised, coloured men have produced a markedly context-specific form of masculinity. As stated, gangsterism is rife in formerly classified 'coloured' areas, creating specific bonds and 'brotherhoods' between men (Pinnock, 1984). Pinnock (1984) perceives gang formation as a survival technique in poverty or as a form of resistance and compensation for what society fails to give. Through gangsterism, social cohesion is retrieved and a specific form of masculinity results from a limited set of resources available to these young coloured men, in their social context. The historical circumstances, largely influenced by Apartheid legislation, have therefore impacted on the types of marginalised masculinities produced on the Cape Flats.

This local 'coloured' masculinity has also been influenced by economic factors in the Cape Town vicinity. Salo (2004) describes how women have historically been the economic mainstays in areas such as Manenberg, where she conducted her research. This is based on jobs available in the Cape Town textile industry, as well as the Apartheid bureaucracy giving women housing grants. Group Areas Act evictions in the 1960s and women being economically empowered, led to racial, gendered and economic emasculation of men in coloured townships. Many men had to find work with blacks as unskilled labourers in the dockyards. These men often endured being called 'boys' by bosses (Salo, 2004). This emasculation led to the formation of gangs and increased crime, in order to reclaim a positive masculinity. Gangs will only commit crime in white areas or when gang warfare will not endanger the community

(Salo, 2004). The quintessential values of this masculinity are therefore toughness, loyalty to local men and loyalty to the community (Salo, 2004).

A local form of marginalised masculinity has therefore been produced in previously 'coloured' areas on the Cape Flats. This masculinity is the product of Apartheid forced removals and labour available in the Cape Town area. Through examining this context-specific gender dynamic we are able to characterise a form of masculinity and gain clues to the 'type of man' under question in the current study. In addition, through a study of discourse and subjectivity we are able to interrogate how this context-specific masculinity often varies according to situation and the particular 'blend' of discourses utilised by subjects.

A number of other studies exploring marginalised men, where gender interacts with race and class, have been conducted elsewhere, suggesting a plethora of general patterns. Marginalisation often results in a high degree of machismo, as these men attempt to reclaim power lost through race and class subjugation. In Willis' (1977) study of 'the lads' or working class Englishmen, masculinity is achieved through gay bashing and violence towards blacks, through talk of sexual virility, drinking and having a 'laff' (laugh) (Willis, 1977). They also made fun of middle-class men as less manly. Similarly, Williams & Taylor (1994) describe how working-class British men construct a heavily masculinised identity through a sub-culture of football and a system of taboos and ways of speaking. They postulate that this 'football identity' is more masculinised than elsewhere. These are examples of men marginalised through their class positions, attempting to reclaim power through a specific gendered identity as 'tough men'. Disempowerment through class may therefore result in marginalised men using a strong gendered identity, to compensate for other aspects of their lives.

Another example of marginalised masculinity, relating to race and class, is Bourgois's (1996) ethnographic fieldwork near a crack house in New York City. He argues that second and third generation Puerto Rican immigrants are not able to attain the rural lifestyle of their grandfathers, in the context of an America that is hostile to their culture and doesn't need their labour. These men reconstruct masculine dignity around interpersonal violence, economic parasitism and sexual domination (Bourgois, 1996). To support this notion, Gibbs and Merighi's (1994) research on African-

American masculinity found signs of “exaggerated pseudo-masculinity” in sexism/misogyny, dress and talk of money, as well as violence (Gibbs & Merighi, 1994, p. 75). In the United States a black person is three times more likely to commit crime than a white person. Black males of 15-24 years old form one third of all arrests (Gibbs & Merighi 1994). These sentiments are supported by Jefferson (1997) who postulates that African-Americans’ large-scale involvement in spaces such as crime and sport is related to economic and racial marginalization, resulting in the utilization of robust gendered identities (Jefferson 1997).

A form of masculinity may therefore be forged when gender intersects with other identities. Where dominant forms of masculinity are unattainable due to factors such as race and class, individuals, such as those in the current study, may utilize exaggerated or ultra-masculine values, in order to gain status and power. For the children of democracy, growing up on the poverty-stricken Cape Flats and being the products of major historical marginalisation, this will surely affect the types of masculinities they construct. How these boys describe violence and sexual relations will need to be closely monitored, in order to characterise these ‘types of men’. As Morrell (2001) states, poverty and emasculation give certain marginalised masculinities a dangerous edge. Whilst these studies of marginalised men pinpoint the way groups produce context specific forms of masculinity, they do not illustrate how contradiction and fragmentation structure subjectivity. As I will show, marginalised men may be violent in some contexts and passive in others.

Doing gender

These studies indicate that crime may be thought of as a specific form of ‘doing’ gender for certain marginalised men. As stated, gender is realised in interpersonal transactions and is not a preformed, reified entity. For groups of men marginalised by race and class, unable to ‘do’ gender through solid occupations, breaking the law may form a central part of their subjectivities. Gender is often accomplished in the mundane actions of social life. It is a resource that is used under certain social constraints, such as when marginalised men use gender, through crime, to ‘empower’ themselves (Messerschmidt, 1993, 1997). Messerschmidt (1993, 1997) theorises that race, class and gender are what people do under various social structural boundaries. These identities are produced through practices and limited by social structures.

Marginalised men may therefore use crime as a resource for *performing* gender. The types of actions and ways the boys in the current study do gender will need to be observed, to provide clues to their masculinities.

Performing gender through crime has been earmarked as a general phenomenon, linked to post-Apartheid masculinities in deprived areas. Although the new South African state is characterized by a progressive approach to gender, high poverty rates, rising expectations and the emergence of a commodity culture, underlined by globalization, has led to widespread criminal violence and masculinities which are destructive (Morrell, 2001). Many marginalized people (especially men), obtained positive identities through joining the struggle as comrades and violence was legitimated, in this context, by its aims of liberation (Simpson, 2001; Marks, 2001). Specific forms of doing 'struggle' masculinity were celebrated by marginalised men. With the end of the struggle, these youth have become depoliticized and disempowered from decision-making structures and express feelings that they have not reaped the benefits of democracy. This has led to an increase in gangsterism and many young men 'doing' gender through criminal violence (Marks, 2001; Simpson, 2001; Campbell, 1992).

Crime is therefore more than earning a living and survival. It is linked to identity formation for marginalised men, where virtues of fearlessness, bravery and power are exuded (Steinberg, 2001). This research also indicates that the line between political, social and criminal violence is somewhat blurred. The poverty and relative deprivation which motivated violent political resistance to Apartheid, also underpins the criminal violence we see today (Simpson, 2001). It may be that violence is integral to the construction of certain forms of masculinity where marginalization is present and these youngsters do not have alternative means to gain respected identities. The post-Apartheid situation has therefore produced context-specific forms of marginalised masculinity and a lot of young men doing gender through crime.

Men marginalised by race and class therefore often resort to other forms of doing gender, in order to become 'real men'. These individuals regularly produce exaggerated or ultra masculine values, displaying their 'hardness' in overt ways. On the Cape Flats, men marginalised by Apartheid and extreme poverty, display aspects

of these ultra-masculine, marginalised masculinities. Widespread gangsterism is indicative of this form of 'hyper-masculinity'. The post-Apartheid situation, where young coloured and 'black' men are no longer able to create heroic 'struggle' identities, has resulted in an increase in violence and crime.

This kind of theorising, therefore, helps us characterise the types of group masculinities expected from 'democracy's children'. It does not give us insight into the divided nature of these young, marginalised subjectivities. These boys may do gender through crime in some contexts, but may simultaneously have other performative masculinities. Masculinity is more substantially contradictory than Messerschmidt and Connell imply. Through a theory of subjectivity and an analysis of multiple anxieties, we are able to describe and account for contradiction and fragmentation, as well as portray the experiences of these marginalised young men.

This type of approach, theorising subjectivity as divided and fragmented, is utilised by Foster, Haupt & de Beer (2005) in their useful analysis of who perpetrated violence in the Apartheid struggle. Perpetration of violence results from a multiplicity of ideological subjectivities being compounded to emanate in strong versions of 'entitlement' (Foster, Haupt & de Beer, 2005). For example, aggressive masculinity and Christian nationalism may result in 'exaggerated entitlement'. Exaggerated entitlement is the result of a sense of superiority, where the 'other' is perceived as deserving of their fate (Foster, Haupt & de Beer, 2005). Particular forms of masculinity play a substantial part in this 'superior entitlement'. A strong endorsement of hegemonic masculinity is one version of masculinity which may therefore result in the perpetration of violence. It is to this concept that I now turn.

Stallone, Beckham and the unachievable: Hegemonic masculinity

Although it is important to theorise context-specific masculinities, the existence of a globalised world system results in a hierarchy of masculinities, as some men are portrayed as more 'manly' than others. I would like to expand on Connell's (1987, 1995) notion of hegemonic masculinity, as this concept has been central to the development of masculinity studies. Through performing forms of marginalised masculinities these boys are influenced by and positioning themselves in relation to *hegemonic* masculinity, the socially exalted form of being a 'real man'. Hegemonic

masculinity influences the context-specific forms of gendered identities these marginalised boys produce.

Hegemonic masculinity is the dominant form of what it means to be a man, amongst a range of masculinities. Most men position themselves in relation to hegemonic masculinity, even if they subvert it (Connell, 1995). The concept of hegemony is borrowed from a Marxist paradigm and the theorist Antonio Gramsci's class analysis. It implies a dominant power (or class in Gramsci's terms) within a set of competing powers: social ascendancy is achieved in a play of social forces. Hegemony is not totally based on brute force, it is maintained ideologically by the influential ideas of those who govern (Connell, 1995). Furthermore, it is not fixed and is contingent on historical changes. It therefore does not imply total control.

Hegemonic masculinity is primarily an ideal or fantasy, exhibited largely in public spaces, buttressed by, and embedded in, societal institutions such as the media (Connell, 1987, 1995; Jefferson, 1996). It is the Brad Pitt of Hollywood or the David Beckham of the football field (see appendix B, pictures 1, 2 and 4 for examples of hegemonic masculinity). Recently Connell (2000) has pinpointed trans-national business executives as the current global manifestation of hegemonic masculinity. This form of masculinity is almost exclusively white and heterosexual and "whilst few men are them, many support them and sustain their power" (Connell, 1987, p. 185).

What is the relevance of all this to the boys in question? Hegemonic masculinity has been found to be highly influential in relation to the types of boys being studied here, as they aspire to many of the values associated with it. The impact of hegemonic masculinity on the Cape Flats, in areas of high gang activity, was researched by Luyt & Foster (2001). They found that conventional hegemonic masculinity, as an affluent, white, heterosexual man, was not achievable for these boys. This results in a prominent display of values such as toughness, success and control, similar values to hegemonic masculinity, in order to achieve manliness (Luyt & Foster, 2001). Striving for these attributes associated with hegemonic masculinity was more prominent in areas of high gang activity than elsewhere (Luyt & Foster, 2001). Luyt & Foster (2001) state that the only arena available to these youngsters to achieve power was

their gendered identities. More recently Luyt (2002) found a relationship between low education and endorsement of hegemonic masculinity, producing a propensity for aggression amongst South African men.

This research therefore explicates how hegemonic masculinity influences the types of masculinities young men aspire to. The very public portrayals of hegemonic masculinity, in the mass media and elsewhere, impact on men everywhere. Although men differ in time and space, there are certain global forces which interact with local contexts, influencing the production of gender.

Hegemonic masculinity doesn't, however, tell us how masculinities may oscillate in a situationally specific manner. A theory of 'subjectivity' allows for a more contextual understanding of hegemonic masculinity. As Tony Jefferson (2002) states, Connell's (1995) notion of hegemonic masculinity peripheralises contextuality and undermines the complexity of individuals' attitudes and behaviour. Would trans-national businessmen like Bill Gates be hegemonic in the Bronx? Is hegemonic masculinity singular or are there multiple forms of hegemonic masculinity which are context specific? Furthermore people may display aspects of hegemonic masculinity in some contexts, such as the boardroom or the sports field, but may position themselves differently and contradictorily elsewhere (Jefferson, 2002).

An analysis of subjectivity therefore exposes how individual subjects position themselves, through discourse, in multiple and contradictory ways in relation to hegemonic masculinity. The boys in the current study may display aspects of hegemonic masculinity in some contexts or may produce multiple hegemonic masculinities, which are substantially context specific. The concept may therefore be overly rigid in terms of assuming a *universal* hegemonic masculinity (for debate in this regard c.f. Jefferson, 2002; Connell, 2002; Hall, 2002; Hearn, 2004), however it is indispensable because it allows us to examine totalities and the 'broader picture' of relations between men (Morrell, 1998).

A more divided picture of individual subjectivities, in relation to hegemonic masculinity, is painted by Frosh, Phoenix & Pattman (2002), studying young boys in London. They found that the ideal of hegemonic masculinity can be constraining for

young boys, as they position themselves in relation to it. Most of the young boys they interviewed had a complex understanding of the inherent contradictions in masculinity, saying they did not fit a hegemonic masculine identity and tried to justify how they were manly nonetheless (Frosh et al, 2002). The boys' construction of masculinity was based on differentiating themselves from girls and denigrating homosexuality. To be called gay was the biggest insult and displaying hardness, sporting prowess, coolness and affluence exhibited through fashion were the ideal. Yet contradictorily, most described emotional closeness with mothers and a degree of conscientiousness with regards to schoolwork. Frosh et al (2002) conclude that diverging from what society constructs as hegemonic masculinity is difficult for young boys.

Boys may therefore construct a sufficiently divided or fragmented gendered identity, as Frosh et al (2002) illustrate. They may be influenced by hegemonic masculinity in complex ways. Connell (1995), in devising the concept of hegemonic masculinity, is concerned with macro gender structures and not primarily with contradictions in individual lives. When investigating individual subjectivities, a more splintered picture may emerge. We need to have both an analysis of broader forces, as well as the way subjectivities may be divided and complex. In theorising the 'types of men' these marginalised 'children of democracy' wish to become, and how they are influenced by forms of hegemonic masculinity, these contradictions in their lives need to be accounted for.

Masculinities and Feminism

It is noteworthy that Connell's (1995) description of the 'gender order' is dominated by relations between men, such as those between hegemonic and marginalised masculinities. This point has not been ignored by feminists. As a final word on the theoretical context of this research, I would like to respond to a recent paper by Catriona Macleod (2005). Macleod (2005) argues that masculinity theory is not as pro-feminist as it initially appears, as the concept of 'patriarchy' is subverted in this discourse and 'masculinities' becomes the dominant explanatory position. Furthermore, phallocentrism is perpetuated with this obsessive theorisation of masculinities and focus on men. In addition, the potential for moving beyond the

binaries man/woman or masculinities/femininities recedes, due to the focus on masculinities (Macleod (2005)).

Macleod's (2005) position needs to be taken seriously, as we cannot forget that gender is a structure where men generally dominate women and we all live under the ideology of patriarchy. However, whilst not trivialising the oppression of women, some men are also oppressed by patriarchy, often in complex ways. By doing research which exposes these multiple gender dynamics, we can pinpoint solutions which effectively move beyond these binaries. We should not lose sight of patriarchy, but the most pressing social problems in contemporary South Africa involve men's sexual practices with regards to HIV/AIDS and men's perpetration of crime and violence, towards other men and women. Without studying these phenomena and understanding why violence and abuse are perpetrated, by certain subjects, with such consistency, how are we to propose solutions? Furthermore, I think the concept of masculinities is indispensable to this kind of research, as it is certain men, not all, who commit these acts. It is specific forms of doing masculinity which are problematic. We may perpetuate binaries by describing types of 'masculinities', but how else are we to describe these thoroughly social phenomena and ways of doing gender? I would therefore like to position this study within a feminist framework, acknowledging that patriarchy and phallogentrism are key issues which should be integrated with investigating men and masculinities.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the theoretical context of studying men. Critical men's studies show how research on masculinities illustrates the heterogeneity of the category 'men'. Differentially empowered masculinities may exist in different contexts. Groups of marginalised men may well resort to forms of 'exaggerated-masculinity', in order to gain respect. The masculinities of the boys in the current study are surely heavily influenced by Apartheid and colonialism, as well as the post-Apartheid situation, where excessive levels of violence exist and many young men do gender through crime. These boys are also placing themselves in relation to hegemonic masculinity, the idealised form of being a 'real man'. Through the concept of hegemonic masculinity we are able to see a hierarchy of masculinities and how some men dominate others.

Analysing a variety of masculinities, and how some men dominate others, is a useful approach to gender as a system or a totality, exposing macro elements of institutions, ideology and power, as well as the formation of group identities. It does not, however, inform us as to how subjectivities are contradictorily constituted and shaped by masculinities. By developing a theory of subjectivity, we are able to accept that different masculinities exist, but that individual subjects may also be fragmented and contradictory, depending on the blend of discourses they utilise. 'Democracy's children' will therefore be shaped by the masculinities that exist on the Cape Flats, hegemonic masculinity and a unique mix of contradictory discursive configurations.

Chapter 4

Method

We need a complex humanism, a good deal of interpretation underpinned by theories that take power seriously and a critical reflexivity that is embodied and grounded in forms of practice.

Parker, 1999, p. 34

Research process and sampling

Finding an institution

The research process began with an excursion to Bonnytoun in Wynberg, a state-funded centre for boys awaiting trial. I met with a social worker, gave her a proposal I had written and explained to her what I hoped to do. A few weeks later I phoned Bonnytoun and was informed that the proposal had been outright rejected by the management committee at their meeting. I assisted the social worker in writing the mandatory two page letter (this letter is appendix G) her senior colleague forced her to draw up, as was policy. At the end of our telephone conversation I asked her whether they presumed this was a bit of an "airy fairy" study. She said "yes" and explained that numerous social work honours students did very concrete projects in their institution. "and you are a psychology masters student!" Her rhetoric attempted to usher me in the direction of "couldn't you just write something to do with schizophrenia, depression and multiple personality disorder?" I became a bit despondent.

One of the challenges of this project, one that I will return to in the conclusion, is pinpointing ways of making this kind of research useful to people 'in the firing line', people who deal with the everyday challenges of anxious, difficult, adolescent boys.

I went elsewhere. I had conversed with the head social worker at Horizons Youth Centre earlier in the year. She asked me if I knew what crimes the boys at Horizons had perpetrated. When I admitted that I was ignorant, she informed me that many of them have raped and murdered. I went to Horizons anyway, armed with my apparently 'airy fairy' proposal and relaxed for about three quarters of an hour in the waiting room. I was going to speak to a different social worker this time, Luxolo

Malindi. I glanced at the pictures on the waiting room wall of the Horizons rugby team and all the constructive things the boys at Horizons were doing, all aiding their rehabilitation.

Luxolo paged through my proposal and said it would be fine for me to do my research at Horizons. He assured me that the boys would talk freely and tell their stories. We made a date for me to start.

After my meeting with Luxolo I prepared a range of pictures from magazines of different kinds of men (see appendix B). These were used in the focus groups to stimulate discussion and explore which figures the boys admired and which they didn't. I brought these with me, as well as refreshments for after the focus groups.

In the mornings, after Personal Growth and Development finishes at 9:30, the boys assemble in the quad. This was always a painful process. They would burst out of the dormitories like popped champagne and run around in complete anarchy, obsessively play fighting amongst themselves. Incarcerated boys use every opportunity not to conform to authority. The social workers and care workers would then proceed to do their utmost to make the boys assemble in rows. They would assemble, followed by some stragglers dropping out, just walking or running away to the outskirts of the quad. A social worker then attempts to retrieve the run-away carriage. This continues until they reach some kind of satisfactory assembly. One or two strays would always litter the periphery of the quad and a social worker would be left to do the consoling. In general, the social workers received much verbal abuse from the boys.

Sampling

Before the assembly, Luxolo would find five Afrikaans speaking boys for me. At Horizons there are approximately equal numbers of 'coloured' Afrikaans and 'black' Xhosa boys. I saw two white boys in my time there, who may have been English speaking. I decided to restrict my study to coloured, Afrikaans speaking boys, as I am able to speak Afrikaans almost fluently and was interested in the gang dynamics so prevalent in former 'coloured areas' of Cape Town.

Luxolo explained my research to the boys he selected, enquiring whether they were willing to participate. They loved any variation to their schedule and so they all appeared enthusiastic. Luxolo would nominate one boy as the leader, responsible for the other four. When I asked Luxolo which boys he was choosing he said that he wanted to give me boys that would provide me with some kind of “insight”. By this I assume he meant that he was choosing them according to intelligence and their ability to converse. My sample is therefore somewhat ‘skewed’ in terms of language abilities.

Once assembled, prayers would be addressed to three Gods. In Afrikaans they would both pray to the Christian deity and Allah for the Muslim boys. In Xhosa, a social worker would then conduct a prayer to the ancestors. Finally, notices for the day would be read out and the boys would be dismissed.

After assembly the boys would follow me to the waiting room or one of the dormitories and I would begin the focus group session. Individual interviews were conducted in the waiting room, the boardroom or Luxolo Malindi’s office. Once the focus group was complete I would usually interview one or two of the boys and then call it a day. I would always struggle to find the boys that I had already conducted focus groups with when I returned the following day. Although they were incarcerated, these boys remained highly elusive.

Out of the 25 boys I interviewed, 22 were from the greater Cape Town area. The remaining three came from Elgin, Saldanha Bay and Worcester. After the second focus group I asked Luxolo to limit the boys he selected to those from Cape Town. The boys from elsewhere in the Western Cape displayed a different dynamic. They were not part of the ‘gang scene’ that exists on the Cape Flats which markedly influences local constructions of masculinity. My research assistant, Duane Jethro, called these boys from elsewhere ‘Platteland Laaities’, referring to them being a bit ‘wet behind the ears’ and not accustomed to city life. The three non-Cape Townians have been included in the study, but hardly feature in the analysis sections.

To reiterate what was already mentioned in the introduction, by their own admissions, five were awaiting trial for murder (three boys for two murders), one for attempted

murder, three for rape, seven for house-breaking and/or car theft, three for armed robbery, one for possession of a gun, one for throwing stones and two for petty theft and one made no mention of what he was being tried for. According to the boys, the least serious crime involved one boy who stole oranges from a farmer and his mother couldn't pay the bail when the farmer prosecuted. At the other end of the scale, one boy said that he had killed 14 people. He was being charged for rape and no murders. Seventeen of the twenty-five boys I interviewed admitted to having fired a gun, although this may be male bravado.

This information comes from the boys themselves and should be interpreted with caution, as their criminal activities may well exceed these acts or these tales may be exaggerated. Cases are rarely made against opposing gangs, they are settled outside of formal legal structures. On the Cape Flats, shooting at, or killing another gangster often does not really constitute a crime. As in war, killing is a legitimate part of the 'game' (Samara, 2005). In addition, many other crimes are not resolved. The boys may also have exaggerated what they were being tried for, in order to appear 'heroic'.

Interviews and focus groups

After the first day of research at Horizons I got in my car and I wept. I had prepared all of my interview schedules, focus group materials and every other aspect of the research process down to the smallest detail. I had not contemplated how I would react to the boys' stories. I was particularly upset by one little boy, about 4 feet tall, who was being charged for two counts of murder and yet spoke so softly and seemed so passive. That evening I felt nauseous and struggled to concentrate. I identified with many of the boys and their lives, as they told me stories that reminded me of my not-so-long-ago adolescence. There was, however, a twist to their narratives. Like an acid trip, demons and bloodshed protruded from their tales at random. I wondered how I was going to endure this process and whether I would be able to make sense of their lives.

After that first day I became completely desensitised. Once one has heard a number of similar stories and become accustomed to a different worldview, it stabilises in your psyche. The brushstrokes of their lives still mingle in my consciousness.

I also became more comfortable at Horizons. One feels nervous entering an institution holding 'criminals' for the first time. I felt isolated and dependent on Luxolo Malindi for all of my research needs. You have to be forceful at Horizons otherwise you disappear at the wayside. You need to shout for things like doors to be opened and rooms to be given. I soon made friends with some of the social workers and care workers, got to know the receptionists and other staff and generally felt more confident in this initially alien place. I also became less intimidated by the boys. I remember trying to chat to the Horizons rugby team on the second day. As they passed me I said "rugby wedstryd" (rugby match) in my very English, middle-class way. This produced a roar of laughter and mutterings of "rugby wedstryd, rugby wedstryd". I was heartbroken at their making fun of me at this early stage in the research process.

At the start of a focus group I would explain to the boys that I am "writing a book about young men's experiences in Cape Town". During a refreshment break in a focus group, one of the boys asked me whether I was being paid for this book. I explained that I was not and that it formed part of my degree. He told me that I must be really rich to be able to spend my time doing something for which I was not being paid. I realised the distance between myself and the boys at moments like these.

In total I conducted five focus groups of five boys each and 25 individual interviews. In the focus groups I showed the boys the pictures I had prepared and asked them what they thought of the men portrayed. I tried to let discussion progress to their personal experiences and narratives whenever possible. Each focus group took on a life of its own, a unique dynamic depending on the blend of boys participating. In general the boys jostled for position and attempted to be the most humorous participant. In the fourth focus group I had what appeared to be five serious gangsters. They talked openly about their experiences and avoided my pictures. This particular session was very useful. In general the focus groups functioned well as an ice-breaker and I built up trust with the boys. I made it clear to them that they would not have to participate beyond the focus group session if they did not want to. All did. The focus groups ranged in length from 45 minutes to two hours.

The individual interviews were semi-structured, with interview flexibility promoting the exploration of "gaps, contradictions and difficulties" perceived by the participants (Burman, 1994, p.51). I tried to conduct life-history type research as much as possible. Starting with basic questions on family and areas they live in, moving on to first school experiences, involvement in gangs, crime, girlfriends, interests and whatever else they wanted to talk about (the interview schedule is appendix C). I broadly followed Hollway & Jefferson's (2000) biographical-interpretative method. This method aims to use open-ended questions as much as possible, in order to provoke subjective meanings. In addition, the interview was designed to elicit stories that contain personal significance and encourage free associations or 'whatever comes to mind', in order to tap into unconscious anxieties and desires (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000).

In the analysis chapters I have not created separate sections for the focus groups and the individual interviews, although I indicate with a 'FG' if a section of transcript took place in the focus group. The analysis focuses on the individual interviews, as this is where the boys told meaningful stories of their lives. In terms of the three discourses of masculinity analysed (see chapters five to seven), the mytho-poetic discourse and talk of 'mothers' would hardly have appeared in the focus group sessions and hyper-masculinity was dominant in this context.

Language

For the first focus group and first two individual interviews I spoke almost exclusively in English and encouraged the boys to speak in whatever they felt comfortable with. It didn't work. The boys were shy and they answered in broken and very formulaic English. They used clichéd American phrases that they had probably heard on television. I then tentatively attempted to speak Afrikaans. It was not a conscious choice, the research process simply evolved this way and by the end of the first day the interviews were taking place almost exclusively in Afrikaans.

This turn of events totally transformed the research process. The boys were more relaxed and comfortable and in a unique way they were empowered. I was the idiot. This also allowed me to ask for very detailed descriptions and explanations, as I was 'authentically stupid'. If I did not understand a concept they were forced to explain it

slowly and carefully, using examples from their lives. I understood the Afrikaans sufficiently to follow the stories and narratives and ask relevant questions. Some of the nuance was missed but could be analysed in hindsight from multiple listenings to the tapes. My research assistant, Duane Jethro, laughed at times in the translation process as, for example, a very long time was spent explaining to the masters student what “groundworks” are (a form of break-dancing which has become very popular on the Cape Flats, where groups of boys take turns in the middle of a circle to “strut their stuff”).

The interviews were then transcribed by myself and Duane in their original, predominantly Afrikaans form. After initially analysing the material, Duane translated what I deemed to be important sections of transcript into English. I held my breath as these boys’ stories were transformed into the language of white, middle-class Capetonians. The superb translation job done by Duane (who has published a book for second language English speakers and a few poems) resulted in relief as the individual boy’s voices came through strongly in English and their stories were clearly recognisable. All slang terms remain untouched and the reader is encouraged to use the extensive glossary (the glossary is appendix A). Words that were used in English in the original are indicated in **bold** and sections in brackets indicate that the interviewer is speaking. All names of individuals used in this thesis are pseudonyms. Gang names remain authentic, as changing them would result in meaning being lost, due to the names themselves forming part of the ‘gang discourse’.

Although some of the excerpts are fairly lengthy, I have not cut them substantially. I feel that meaning would be lost in shortening them and that the way these boys told stories should not be altered. At times the boys took a while to ‘get to the point’ and the reader is encouraged to be patient.

The boys generally speak in what has come to be called ‘Kombuistaal’ or ‘Kitchen Afrikaans’, a variant of middle-class Afrikaans (Stone, 1991). Stone (1991) postulates that 80-90% of adult working class coloured people converse in this form of Afrikaans. McCormick (2002) describes this vernacular as a “code for both love and war” (p. 117). Interviewees in McCormick’s (2002) study said they were more likely to swear or express affection in ‘Kombuistaal’, in contrast to English, which they

introjected in a form of code-switching. Code-switching between Kombuistaal and more conventional or middle-class Afrikaans, or code-switching between English and Afrikaans varies with situation and register (McCormick, 2002). Kombuistaal is described as a friendly, intimate language in comparison to the cold intellectualism associated with English. As an interesting aside, Stone (1991) states that neither he nor any of his informants had ever, over three decades, come across a dominant English-speaking, confirmed 'gang delinquent'.

The 'Kombuistaal' which the boys spoke to me could be described in Bernstein's (1990) taxonomy as a 'restricted code', as opposed to an 'elaborated code'. The semantic basis of restricted codes is particularistic, local and context-dependent, whereas elaborated codes tend to be more universalistic and less local or context dependent (Bernstein, 1990). Restricted codes are directly related to a material base, to objects and experiences immediately 'in view', as opposed to more abstract descriptions. In Bernstein's (1990) Marxist paradigm, working-class children used predominantly restricted codes and middle-class children elaborated codes.

Analysing the 'data'

The challenge to conduct research which produces meaningful and relevant Discourse Analysis (DA) has been explored in the previous chapter, with critical realism proposed as a relevant epistemological position for such an endeavour. Rather than be trapped in a theoretical landscape where research and politics are paralysed, we need to move away from deconstruction and critique for their own sake, towards research and dialogue that is useful, especially for oppressed subjects (Hastings, 2002). I have therefore utilised two somewhat linked methods of discourse analysis which I feel make these objectives possible.

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (DA)

Firstly, a Foucauldian DA has been performed. Foucauldian DA attends to how language relates to issues of subjectivity, power and institutions (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999; Parker, 1999). By contrast, Discursive Psychology (for example Potter & Wetherell, 1987), not primarily utilised in this project although there is substantial overlap, attends to the "minutiae of discourse and social processes" (Cromby & Nightingale, 1999, p.3).

Guidelines for social psychologists doing a Foucauldian DA are outlined by Parker (1992) and a 'Parkerian' style analysis has been broadly followed in the current study. This involves first looking for objects within the discourse, as "discourses are practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). Objects are the 'things' the discourse refers to.

Parker's (1992) method also comprises an examination of how the discourse contains subjects. Discourse produces spaces for particular types of self (Parker, 1992). From a Foucauldian point of view, discourses "facilitate and limit, enable and constrain what can be said, by whom, where and when" (Willig, 2001, p. 108). This form of DA looks at what rights we have to speak in the discourse and how power relations shape the positioning of selves in discourse (Parker, 1992). A thorough analysis of how subjects are positioned within discourse is therefore crucial.

Parker (1992) also stresses that we need to explore how a discourse refers to other discourses. Contradictions embedded in discourse allow us to examine how multiple discourses are inter-linked. It is crucial to understand the relationship between different discourses in an analysis. Identifying contradictory ways of describing something aids this endeavour. Furthermore, discourses need to be seen as multiple and historically located, emerging in an historical context (Parker, 1992).

Importantly, Parker's (1992) Foucauldian DA incorporates a critical realist approach, in line with this research project, as it involves an analysis of institutions, power and ideology. We need to explore how discourse buttresses institutions, reproducing the material basis of the institution. It is also necessary to theorise how discourse reproduces power relations and examine the ideological effects of discourse.

Willig (2001) adds an analysis of subjectivity to a Foucauldian DA, stating that "discourses makes available certain ways-of-seeing the world and certain ways-of-being in the world" (Willig, 2001, p. 111). This comprises of an analysis of what can be felt, thought and experienced from different subject positions. Foucauldian DA therefore "asks questions about the relationship between discourse and how people

think or feel (subjectivity), what people may do (practices) and the material conditions within which such experiences may take place” (Willig, 2001, p. 107).

The Psycho-Social Subject

The second influence on my method of analysis takes this exploration of how discourses influence subjectivity and experience more seriously. Hollway & Jefferson (2000) go beyond exploring how subjects are positioned in social discourses, to examine how subjects are influenced by investments and defences against anxiety. They posit that we are all ‘defended subjects’, warding off threats to the self which give rise to defences at the predominantly unconscious level. Furthermore, we have unique biographies which shape how we defend against anxiety by investing in discourse (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). This theory therefore allows us to account for individual differences, by looking at unique biographies and defences against anxiety. It also produces a more robust theory of subjectivity, as outlined in the previous chapter.

Hollway & Jefferson (2000) therefore seek to analyse, in their terms, the ‘psycho-social subject’, as these ‘defended subjects’ are located in a broader cultural context. The psycho-social subject is neither exclusively socially constructed nor purely rationally driven. S/he is affected by social discourses and personal defences, as well as real external events which are discursively and defensively appropriated (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000).

Although I am not focusing primarily on the boys’ individual biographies, as the majority of my analysis explores the discourses these boys insert themselves in, I will use aspects of Hollway & Jefferson’s (2000) ‘psycho-social’/ defended subject. Hollway & Jefferson (2000) encourage an analysis of how subjects perform defensive splitting, described earlier. This is done through unconscious projection (putting out) and introjection (taking in), in order to protect the self in the present. I will therefore analyse how the boys in the current study use defensive splitting in order to protect or defend themselves and seek to understand what purpose this serves.

This type of analysis aids an examination of how these boys invest in one discourse over another and why they invest in particular discourses in order to alleviate anxieties related to the fragility of their masculinities.

Chapter 5

“Gangs, guns and bitches”: Hypermasculinity

Crime too has a history and a future, a canon of myths and legends by which its practitioners understand what happened in the past and decide how to act in the present. As such, they (prison gangs) get too close to the bone. They show us why generations of young black men lived violent lives under Apartheid, and why generations more will live violently under democracy.

Johnny Steinberg, *The Number*

...The more the simile becomes dissimilar, the more the truth is revealed to us under the guise of horrible and indecorous figures, the less the imagination is sated in carnal enjoyment, and is thus obliged to perceive the mysteries hidden under the turpitude of images...

Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*

Introduction

The first discourse of masculinity partly constituting the boys' subjectivities I have called hyper-masculinity. In this chapter I will outline how this discourse manifests through depictions of the *initiation process into gangsterism*, the way the boys portray *shooting guns*, as well as their self-descriptions as “players” and denigration of *women*. This hyper-masculine discourse is characterized by violence, risk-taking, overcoming adverse conditions and subjugating others, as will be seen in these three interplaying portrayals.

As has already been indicated, this hyper-masculine discourse intersects with other discourses of masculinity. I use the term ‘ambivalence’ repeatedly. Ambivalence indicates the nature of being caught between discourses or experiencing oppositional, conflicting feelings, depending on whether one is using a post-structural or psychoanalytic framework for analysis. Masculinities are always ambivalent, dependent on exigencies of personal and institutional power (Berger, Wallis & Watson, 1995). Bhabha (1995) goes so far as to say that it is in fact *anxiety* that

typifies the masculine position. Anxiety is the result of these competing discursive frameworks or oppositional emotions. Hyper-masculinity is not independent or autonomous, it is continually intersecting with other forms of being a man and emotional turmoil.

Dotted through this chapter I refer to a 'Hollywood' theme. Cape Flats hyper-masculinity reminds one of a Hollywood blockbuster, where stories of overcoming extreme odds are heroically endured in the attainment of masculinity (Sparks, 1996). Similar to Sparks's (1996) contention that the mega muscles of Stallone and Schwarzenegger were a Hollywood reaction to instabilities or crises in masculinity, these boys invest in a hyper-masculine Hollywood discourse in reaction to their own disempowerment, albeit again somewhat ambivalently. These boys reproduce elements of mainstream society, such as popular film; however, these aspects of the mainstream are replicated in a distorted manner, as they create a specific sub-culture. Sub-cultures are therefore simultaneously both the same as, and different to, the mainstream (Clarke, Hall, Jefferson & Roberts 1975).

Chronologically, the boys' narratives contained hyper-masculinity emerging with adolescence and inextricably linked with entry into gangs. Their narratives usually began with exciting stories of childhood play and early school experiences. The detailed accounts of adolescence, with the bulk of the interview and their personal narratives revolving around this period, indicate the importance the boys attach to it. High school, new peer groups and the ubiquity of gangsterism were the focus.

"Sterkbene not bangetjies": Initiation into gangsterism

Initiation into gangsterism is a salient rite of passage for these boys, as they pursue a certain form of masculinity (Salo, 2004). It was frequently described as related to virility and women, as well as the desire to attain the power of specific individual gangsters, who act as role models in their communities.

In their talk of this process, a dichotomy was established between a status as 'sterkbene' versus a 'bangetjie' (see glossary). In many ways 'Sterkbene' epitomises the hyper-masculine discourse. It implies a position, a type of man and a character trait that is virulently esteemed by gangsters. The word 'bene' means both 'bones' and

'legs', implicating a strong core and nature 'down to the bone'. In order to prove oneself as 'sterkbene', be given the gang's tattoo or "chappie" and complete initiation, the boys told me you either had to shoot at a rival gangster or sometimes you could steal a large sum of money (approximately R2000). 'Sterkbene' generally formed a dichotomy with the term 'bangetjie'. Being a gangster, within a discourse of hyper-masculinity, is portrayed as a constant process of proving oneself as 'sterkbene' and not a 'bangetjie'. 'Bangetjie' designates smallness, weakness and fear. It is an accusation to be avoided at all costs. It is literally the noun for fear in its diminutive form.

'Sterkbene' comprises proving oneself as a man, to other men. It is partly achieved in the initiation task described above, but is a fluid, ongoing process never completely fulfilled:

G: so they saw 'jy' I'm really like they say sterkbene, you see meneer, with the ouense, righto they gave me a gun, you see meneer.

A: Why do you think most of the boys get involved in gangs?

*G: You see meneer, many of them mos went through hard lives you see meneer. Now they have all these experiences you see meneer from a gang and all these things. Righto, now he decides 'hey these people are taking me for a gat, for all these things man, I'm then not being seen in this place'. Then you soema koppel with us. When you're lekker small, first start to clean the yard. Righto we start to test you, righto maybe 10 pills ok make your own business, see how you can smokkel. Here's a gunnetjie or two, you see meneer. We watch how you smokkel. If those pills sell well that's a quick way that you smokkel. Now we give you a gun, now we want to see how you shoot people dead. And if you can't shoot then we teach you. We soema bring you three, four sick dogs. After that we take you to the enemies...we drive with a car or two taxis. We finish there. (War or just a geskieterij?). It's like a war meneer, ...we make a small war quickly you see meneer. We soema go right through those people's **turf**. (Everybody shooting gun?) No meneer, you alone through that whole **turf**. (You get two taxis and you take one person that's going to shoot gun?) We're a whole lot in those taxis but we let you out. (And you must go alone?). We let you go through there alone. If we see naai but the blok skrooi then we come and we're always there... (Did you do that? And what happened that night?). They gave me a big gun meneer, it's the*

*first time that I see a gun like that in **real life** meneer... I didn't know what's going on ...they gave me two uzzi's you see meneer. I must run through that whole **turf**, so I did it meneer. (Alone? How did you feel?). I felt kwaai meneer. (Kwaai, why?) You see meneer, it's almost like the people see, man hey you... you're not a bangetjie you see meneer and they know if I, if you make me cross...never mind who or what...you can ma be who's family, you can ma be the be the biggest drug lord's family, I shoot you dead. You can ma bring your people I'm not worried I'm not scared. And my belief is this meneer, that what you can do I can also do, I'm then also a human just like you are. You can also get hurt just like I get hurt. Now who are you to keep yourself like a wat wat...?*

The process of continually having to prove oneself as 'sterkbene' and not a 'bangetjie' comes through pertinently. Gangsterism is portrayed as revolving around this maintenance of reputation and status, achieved through the overcoming of extreme risk.

The first section of this extract exhibits Galen's amalgamation with The Firm, how he occupies a position of authority in initiating other youngsters, putting them through the stages of proving their worth and reputations as Firm Boys. The repetitive use of the pronoun 'you' indicates the outsider status of the hopeful initiate and also the fact that Galen is differentiating me as a non-gangster.

There is a naturalizing or rationalising element to the story, where gangsterism and hyper-masculinity are perceived as a legitimate outlet for the tumultuous lives these young boys live, in order to be "seen" and not made into a "gat". This notion of being seen indicates the very public or performative nature of this form of masculinity. Respect or honour is the most enduring virtue of contemporary cross-cultural masculinity, as most men feel the need to be esteemed by other men (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Being "seen" gains these gangsters respect, especially from other gangsters.

This 'public spectacle' produces hyper-masculinity for these boys and reminds one of a Hollywood blockbuster, where narratives of overcoming extreme odds are endured in the attainment of masculinity (Sparks, 1996). Galen's description of his own

initiation, involves two massive uzzis and crossing the battlefield. This unlikely story illustrates Galen's desire to be respected and esteemed through excessive risk-taking and violent hyper-masculinity. It exemplifies this Cape Flats 'Hollywood' scenario of being "seen". Other hyper-masculine values associated with becoming a Firm Boy include the ability to perform tasks of high-risk, business skills to aid his 'Firm' and intelligence in terms of smokkeling drugs, as well as a form of individualism, of being able to stand alone.

There was something intriguing about the way Galen said "we're always there", with a glint in his eye. It contained a warning, a message, that these were people not to be taken lightly and Galen assumes the authority to speak for the group as a whole. The boundary between the individual and the gang is blurred. Hyper-masculine gangsterism is discursively portrayed as dominated by power and control.

Through this initiation process Galen is describing how he is interpellated as a man, and becomes an equal, a human being as much as the next person. It is through violence and bravery that he gains equality, threatening anyone to challenge his status. The desire to be seen and equal, even to the biggest "drug lord" illustrates the manner in which these boys utilize and invest in this hyper-masculine discourse, in order to alleviate inadequacies, anxieties and the disempowerment they feel in their lives.

However, it is interesting that Galen challenges anyone to assume superiority, yet he is addressing me as "meneer" continuously in the interview. It seems unlikely that he would have offered such formalities to a 'non-white' person of my age. When Galen states that he is equal to the "biggest drug lord", he is implying that because of his status as a gangster, his masculinity is dominant in that context. However, in the interview, violence and risk-taking are not the only esteemed virtues. I am middle-class, white, and educated, not to mention older. My masculinity is more similar to the business executives that Connell (2000) labels as global hegemonic masculinity. Galen is aware of this, consciously or unconsciously, and is therefore always struggling to bridge the gap, to level our playing fields, even with his 'Hollywood heroism' and unlikely descriptions of "uzzis and battlefields". The situation is exacerbated and structured by the historical legacy of Apartheid and the way in which it has divided groups of people.

This illustrates Salo's (2004) contention that initiation into gangsterism is both a rite of passage into manhood and "signifies these men's embodiment of the contradictory meanings of race, class and gender" (Salo, 2004, p.35). Salo (2004) is indicating that a complex, fluid and historically changing power dynamic is inherent in becoming a gangster. A gangster may be esteemed and empowered in one context and as Salo (2004) puts it, a 'non-person' in another.

Hyper-masculinity, gangsterism, initiation and becoming a man are also described as related to attracting girls, as these boys are adolescents and girls are starting to play a more prominent role in many of their lives:

A: Um, and when you came to school what kind of friends were your friends?

*K: Standard six I at least had a few good friends, friends that were with me at primary school, did drama with me, sang with me. But when I got to standard seven my whole **attitude** towards the school changed. I wasn't interested in my schoolwork anymore, I wasn't interested in singing anymore and things like that. The dream that I wanted, my friends, they were still gangsters, they smoked buttons, they did drugs. Any type of drug, they shot gun and things like that. At that stage those things were nice for me but I never realised what it's going to do one day.*

A: How did you meet those friends?

K: As I now walked with the girls, I really liked girls, so one day this girl told me to come home with her. Her brother is a gangster, her brother didn't like me. The next day I again went home with her, so he told me "ok you come with me so long." She was busy, so I went with him. He introduced me to all his friends. Everyday after that I was with him, everyday, until he put a gun in my hand and told me to go shoot people. Ok I did it but I never hit anybody or so and from there I just became more interested in the gang.

A: What gang was this?

K: Young Americans.

A: Why do you think, if you think back now, did you decide to take the gun and go and shoot?

K: for me it was just, I really liked girls. For me it was like the girls are going to like me so much more because I'm not a hangetjie. I can prove to them I can walk in the

road with a gun. I am the man.

A: What is a bangetjie?

K: It's almost like you're scared of the people, of the gangsters. You don't want to walk there where they walk you're, maybe if you go to the shop you must look around you all the time [and think] 'who's going to rob me now' or something like that. But now if they see this man is with the Americans then he's the man, they won't bother you or try anything with you or 'skoor soek' or like that. They will just be careful with you.

A: And must you do something to be in the Americans?

K: Yes you must almost like prove yourself. You can stand with them. Like they give you the gun you prove that you're an American. So I had to go shoot, so I went to go shoot to prove to them that I am an American.

A: Can you tell me about that day?

K: So they gave me a nine-mil star. So I took the gun and walked down the road. They showed me 'Kenny you must shoot that one', you must go shoot at those people, so I walked. I had to shoot at my cousin menceer, but he mos belonged to another gang. So I first told them that I don't feel like doing it but I was still a bit scared so they told me again 'then we must do something to you because we already gave you the thing [gun], you have it in your hand.' So I was mos scared, they were going to hurt me. So I took the gun and went to shoot. I ran, the gun fell. I had to turn around again. I picked it up. I hid it under my bed in my mother's house.

A: And did they give you a chap?

K: No I refused to take it.

A: Why?

K: I don't like things like that because my father always told me if you have a chap you won't find work.

A: And that day were you a Young American?

K: Yes

A: And what does that mean?

K: I'm now with them. Nobody can do anything to me now.

This story raises a number of complex issues around what it means to become a hyper-masculine gangster and why this is desired. Many of the boys describe this process through a well-known cultural narrative of adolescence. This narrative

involves the 'bad kids' corrupting a resistant individual, who frequently has an abominable home environment, into the criminal context. This type of causal explanation dominates deviancy or truancy theories that inform mainstream developmental psychology (Patterson, De Baryshe & Ramsey 1989; Dodge 1993). However, these theories neither take the specific context of the Cape Flats into account, nor do they probe a gendered dimension of these accounts, that the boys' stories are functioning to achieve a certain kind of masculinity. Deviancy theories originating in developed countries cannot simply be applied to areas where poverty and gangsterism are rife.

Discursively, Kenny is justifying his entry into gangsterism as related to compulsory heterosexuality and being able to 'get girls', through becoming a man. He is describing a story of innocence, of being the effeminate singer and actor, only to be corrupted by various individuals to whom he was forced to prove himself. He was coerced, scared and unwilling. For Kenny, masculinity could not be accomplished through drama and singing, effeminate practices. To attract women, be potent and gain others' respect he has to hold and shoot a gun. Shooting a rival gang member is a common initiation task. Kenny is appealing to normative gender constructions on the Cape Flats, in order to justify his involvement in gang activity. In his eyes, he had to shoot a gun to become a man. Concurrently, he is indicating that he is also a different sort of man.

Shooting a rival gang member comprises what Marsh, Rosser and Harré (1978), researching British Football supporters, call ritual, symbolic or metonymic violence as opposed to direct aggression in the form of 'physical violence'. Although this rigid dichotomy may be false, symbolic violence is often used to inter-subjectively *demonstrate* the achievement of masculinity. It largely functions in relation to others and is not simply a direct outburst of anger. Whilst aggression may have a biological component, it always manifests itself in a cultural or historical context. Furthermore, Barrett's (2001) research with US navy personnel found that hegemonic masculinity was institutionally upheld by ranking and testing. Gang initiation is based on the performance of symbolic violence in order to be tested and ranked within the gang hierarchy. This hierarchy and status means avoiding being categorized as a

'bangetjie'. Kenny is appealing to the interviewer to empathise with the predicament of emasculation, through being labelled as such.

Through 'koppeling' with gangsters, being 'sterkbene' and not a 'bangetjie', one also discursively redefines the notion of kinship. This initiation rite of passage is both a public and private performance of redefining one's family. As Salo (2004) explains, gangsters have no ties to adult women in the community. Kenny's resistance to a tattoo indicates his ambivalence towards abandoning his former family through a visceral and permanent act of defiance. This is reinforced by his unwillingness to shoot at his cousin, a horrific initiation task.

Yet, he also envisages a form of group security provided by the gang, in the realigning of kinship networks. As Kenny says, if you walk with the Americans you are 'the man'. A worthy gendered identity is formed through the gangsters one associates with and the violence and power they can potentially exert. One needs to show one *is* an American, a gangster and an adult man. It automatically demands the respect of others. The gang identity instils fear in peers and gives this boy a rather tenuous sense of security. This process occurs in order to obtain women and gain their acceptance. There is ambivalence in the narrative, because of the contradictory allure of gangsterism (Salo, 2004) and the fact that hyper-masculinity, symbolized by the tattoo, is not valued in the family context, or possibly the interview context.

For Kenny, the initiation process involves proving authenticity as a man through violence without fear, in a performative manner for both male and female peers. The performativity which pervades many of the narratives is epitomized by the Afrikaans word 'loop'. The boys constantly mention who one 'walks with'. Hyper-masculine terminology relating to gangsters and gang activity is linguistically personified through active terms which entail walking, standing and shooting (not talking!). Butler (1993) describes performativity as "the reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains" (Butler, 1993, p.2). The discursive power of masculinity is therefore constantly performed, produced and regulated by talk of simple actions and body postures. Furthermore, this hyper-masculinity of gangsterism is vehemently embodied, much like the mega-muscles of Stallone and Schwarzenegger in mainstream popular culture (Sparks, 1996).

In addition to becoming a gangster in order to gain popularity with young women, initiation is often described as embroiled with the desire to assimilate with a local role-model who signifies masculine heroism. The boys anticipate a new, exciting world opening before them:

*Q: You do a lot of things, you smoke with them and everything, drink, party together. And these are boys they weren't like this, they come from big houses and their mothers and fathers are **educated**, but their mothers and fathers don't know what they're doing there.*

A: Tell me again how you got into the Americans?

*Q: Fancy Boys (Fancy Boys). How did I get in there? O I was first here by a game shop. This one he's now he's now, he's now the one. He stands with all the goedes, he knows everything and so on (This guy that lived in your street?). Uh uh, he lived in Mitchell's Plain. So they came to me, I didn't know them and they said to me, no, it wasn't the first, they played games. There's a boy and he wasn't like that, he's got murders now, he wasn't like that. He was also a lekker **cool guy**, he was **alright**, **lekkertjies**. We started school together (Your school?) Mmm, he was he was he wasn't like that he was just lekker, just lekker, he wasn't a gangster. But ok that day so, I'm at the game shop and so he said to me, he spoke to the others that are in his gang. He says to them 'we going to make like this and we're going to make like that'. They stood in a circle in front of the game shop, he soema plays kwaai numbers and so on, rolls joints in the car and so. He's just busy and busy. He sat there in the car and so, I look in the car, he's sitting there. He got out ok so they smoked their slow boats and so on. From that day onwards, so I said to him 'look here I also want to be one of you guys, I also want to be a Fancy Boy' (Why did you, why did you feel that?) Because I, friends, when I walk with friends I didn't know they were Fancy Boys, they didn't tell me, so they were Fancy Boys, and so they told me 'look here, become one' but ok they said to me first 'it goes like this and it goes like that. They teach you the whole skrif and so on (What's a skrif?). Almost like, they tell you let us so and so and so. We go to that place and so, ok, there in prison, or life's nice and it's hard, all that. The F has a meaning the A has a meaning, the N, the C, the Y, and the B, and the O and the Y. (What is the meaning?) The first one the F is **the fastest live the longest**, this one [A] is from the Fancy Boys in America. That's almost like the British flag, they were mos*

*at war. Then the N stands for **nice time** with your tweedende broer. The C stands for **come what may** come what will. And the Y stands for **reason why** and then you mos go on to the B and the B stands for **I'm a boy but I can change like a bastard**. And the O stands for **overlook every wrong, overlook every wrong cause overlook** that..... (for example).....he piemped you ok they will get him again. They soema shoot him dead. (Shoot him dead?) yes they shoot him dead, he can't do that because that's your brothers, its almost like he's your blood brother, that's the reason you're a gangster. ... I decided, they don't tell you you must do it, they look if you're sterkbene to go with them. If you're strong in your heart.*

Gangsterism offers another life of drugs, parties and women, but was often described as pertinently initiated by the desire to attain the power of a slightly older figure. This individual, who rolls joints whilst listening to music in his car, is described as luring these youngsters like moths to a flame. This depiction of parking the car outside the game shop, where the general 'proletariat' are gathered for some pacman and street fighter video games, is a very public display of status and almost seems like a 'Pied Piper' scenario. The boys' desire for this material and symbolic power is depicted as irresistible.

Assimilation with this individual, and the gang, involves an alternative education, familiarizing oneself with a different 'script' and understanding of how life works. In examining the FANCY BOYS acronym, the tapestry of gangster values and traits manifest themselves. Initiation is discursively constituted as imbibing a form of moral code. Speed, survival, American materialism, camaraderie, accepting the harshness of life and the ability to instil fear, are exuded. It is interesting that Quinton closes by expressing 'sterkbene' as synonymous with being 'strong in your heart'. This strength of heart implies courage, but also an ability to repress emotion, to kill without fear. It includes an inherent spirit of passivity at times, with teleological acceptance that life's vicissitudes simply pass one by: "there is a reason why" and "come what may come what will". This hyper-masculine discourse encourages subjects merely to "go with the flow", as one boy put it.

The Fancy Boys' mantra includes typical components of a form of hegemonic masculinity, relating to Luyt & Foster's (2001) success, toughness and control.

amongst other traits. Steinberg (2001) posits this as a general aspect of post-Apartheid crime, whereby youth are seduced into criminal activities by masculine values of fearlessness, bravery and power. Yet in all three of the boys' accounts above, there is ambivalence to this form of masculinity. The residue of different discourses of masculinity is lightly stained through talk of education, singing and drama. I will attempt to pry open the crevice of this contradiction throughout my analysis.

The use of the term 'wrong' indicates how prison "sabella" or prison gang's lingo has infiltrated street gangs in post-Apartheid South Africa (Steinberg, 2004). This type of language directly inscribes a form of 'tough man' masculinity. Furthermore, 'rights and wrongs' exemplify this 'either or' split world these boys inhabit. This 'either or mentality' manifests in the way the boys struggle to integrate 'good' and 'bad' into the same object, as they perform defensive splitting (Chodorow, 1994; Benjamin, 1995). Twice in the above section Quinton indicates that people involved in devious acts 'weren't really like that', because they come from big houses and have educated parents. He proposes that 'deviance' could happen to anyone, even those he went to school with could become murdering gangsters, "but they're not really like that". The 'true gangster' was often projected onto others, not 'us or our friends'. It is the 'Americans' or the 'Mongrels', but never 'us'. The 'fall' into gangsterism is portrayed as illegitimate, especially in the context of incarceration and the indication is that being an erudite, middle-class "gentleman" (see the following chapter), is a more befitting identity.

The passage is confusing as Quinton tries to articulate who is a gangster, who is 'good' and who is 'bad', struggling to perceive himself and other gangsters as a combination of 'rights and wrongs'. This splitting is also prominent in Kenny's divide between 'those violent gangsters' and 'my innocent family' and the general schism of 'sterkbene' versus 'bangetjies'. The weak, 'feminised bangetjie' was often projected elsewhere, alleviating the boys fears of becoming 'bangetjies' themselves. I will return to this defensive splitting throughout this analysis as the extent to which these boys see the world in bifurcated black and white terms, is significant.

Being initiated as a gangster means inserting oneself into a discourse of hyper-masculinity, based on violence, strength and status. A dichotomy is established

between being 'sterkbene', which is desirable and a 'bangetjie', which is denigrated. However this process can also be understood by examining the very frail sense of self these boys display in relation to girls, their families and other powerful men. Their subjectivities are partially constituted by this attempted empowerment through a gangster discourse of hyper-masculinity and the realignment of kinship networks, yet there is constantly a sense of ambivalence in the narratives. This hyper-masculinity is also expounded through chronicles of shooting guns.

"I am gevaarlik": Guns/ shooting gun

Shooting guns buttresses the discourse of hyper-masculinity inherent in gang practices, as well as providing a resource for *doing gender* in a way that is both symbolic and material. Guns are a key feature to acting out hegemonic masculinity for many South African youth and are associated with fast cars, flashy clothes and glamorous lifestyles (Cock, 2001). In this section I will interrogate how the boys describe this activity of shooting guns and what these descriptions function to do, in terms of their status as men.

Whilst mainstream Psychology often perceives aggression as deviant, as Harris, Lea & Foster (1995) explain, it is an integral part of normal gender discourses. In order to understand it we need to observe how it functions in its social and historical context, how it concurs with hegemonic societal expectations and values (Luyt, 2002). Aggression displayed through the shooting of guns seemed to represent the pinnacle of gangsterism, as well as the most respected and heroic act.

As one boy said, *The reason why people want to be in the gangs is because they all want guns. (They want guns?) It's over the guns that they want to be gangsters.*

The gun is a means to easy theft, but it also informs their male subjectivity through conferring a special type of rank on the shooter. Alder & Polk (1996) postulate that for men homicide is generally the result of fights over establishing status, resolving conflict or risk-taking behaviour and all of these themes run through the narratives of what it means for the boys to shoot guns, to attain hyper-masculinity:

A: And how does it feel when you shoot gun?

E: It feels almost like you're a wat wat. Like a man when you go shoot gun. Just cool when you go shoot gun.

A: What's a wat wat?

E: A wat wat is almost like someone that he's got lots of money, a big house, a big bar. (A big bar? To drink?)[laughs] Yes.

and:

A: And how do you feel when you shoot a man?

*H: I always feel **proud** you see. They like me, they grand me...*

The first passage clearly demonstrates the status attached to shooting guns. The notion of success manifested through material possessions, like houses and money, seems implicit in this act. The way these boys attempt to integrate material, often middle-class notions of achievement with a gangster lifestyle, illustrates their ambivalent oscillation between masculinities. They try and reconstruct themselves positively, from the position of incarceration, on a discursive playing field engaged with my very different type of masculinity.

The direct implication of being a man as linked to extreme violence, informs the subjective experience of shooting guns. Pride, respect and success, having others like one or admire one, because of this heroic deed, is inherent in this act:

A: Tell me, how do you feel when you shoot gun?

*L: For me when I have a gun in my hand then my hand is hot and I sweat. You see when I shoot it's lekker, for me to shoot the gun, it was lekker for me to shoot gun because I mos had the **rhythm** in me already. It's mos lekker in your hand, **trigger happy** mos you see. (Why do you think it's lekker?). The sound that you hear KaBA, that sound that you hear. Those people that are shooting at you, you're shooting op a tellie like that, that people can respect you mos, other people other gangsters and so on. That they can respect you see, now you can also go to those big merchants and tax them. (And what does it mean to tax them?). You look for money by them, and you look for drugs and you look for guns or cars now by them, they must give it to you.*

In addition to the status bestowed on the shooter, shooting guns is significant in its corporeality. When describing how they shoot guns, the boys gesticulated violently and made lots of noises of “Kaba kaba!!” The description of warm sweat in his hands and the rhythm one has when shooting guns reinforces this notion. It adds to the performativity inherent in standing, walking and shooting that pervades the narratives (Butler, 1993). This “rhythmic” bodily act performed with a gun has clear phallic and sexual connotations. This indicates the power and authority inherent in the status of the shooter.

Hyper-masculine shooting aspires to a unified masculine self, constructed around a muscular body. This diverts attention from emotional sensitivity and leads to repression (Frosh et al. 2002). Furthermore, esteemed masculinities are often centred on “specific body-reflexive practice such as sport, violence, heterosexual performance and body-building” (Connell, 2000, p.86). Similarly, these boys find a form of bodily expression through shooting guns. The concept of being trigger-happy returned later in the interview as the same boy said:

*L: But if you have the feel for the gun, if you're **trigger-happy** it isn't nice to be **trigger-happy** because it will take long to come out of you. Because why you just want to go everyday shoot, shoot, shoot. Everyday isn't nice to be **trigger-happy**.*

‘Trigger-happy’ delineates an image of being drunk on power. It penetrates and controls a person. The account depicts an addict of a dangerous practice, a practice that can corrupt a person totally. Indulging in this act is therefore evil and nullifies the heroism associated with it.

All of these elements relating to shooting guns, including the need for respect and status, power, violence and an esteemed reputation, as well as bodily expression, illustrate how these boys use shooting guns as a means of *doing* gender (Messerschmidt, 1993). Although shooting guns may be a resource for doing gender, the material reality and emotional sensitivity related to this act comes through strongly:

Q: We soema shoot three of them dead. (Dead?) Dead, their mothers cried. That boy came out the door, then this boy. (You're at the Americans house?) Yes the Americans house, but it was in his mothers house, they mos have their own house where just broese live. He was at his mothers house that day. I was with that day when they went go shoot that boy, they shot him through his head through the window. (In his mothers house?) His eyes just went so in his head, we ran.

Žižek (cited in Frosh, 2002) describes 'the Real', the extra-discursive as that which keeps words out. It is unnameable at the moment of enactment, although it can be made sense of later. It is in these silences that sense can be made of emotional and relational factors. In addition, we need to look at the object that caused words to stay out in order to identify the Real (Žižek cited in Frosh, 2002). The regular description of body parts and flashes, of what was seen when alluding to death, indicates the 'Realness' in this context. The boys are unable to articulate the situation, as words stay out.

The role of mothers in the boys' lives will be fully dealt with elsewhere. Mothers and guns are another dichotomy; they live in different worlds, contrasting parts of the boys' fragmented subjectivities. It happened in his mother's house, in a space not supposed to be infiltrated by violence. Whilst hyper-masculinity involves gangs and shootings, mothers belong within a different discursive paradigm. The nature of conflicting masculinities is therefore painfully enmeshed at times. The body and the reality of shooting guns are always present:

A: Did you shoot many people?

R: lots of people. I don't even want to talk about it. How can I now say, if you shoot someone its almost like a flash, you keep it in your mind...If you've shot someone you just feel nothing, you meant to shoot him dead, like when we shoot and he runs or he stands still and he's still convulsing then you shoot him maybe in his head... went to him till right to him and sat on his chest and shot him here in his head, so the flash was here by me, the blood spat. When I ran away, when I came home, so I just thought, so I could still see his face in my eyes, so I could see his face.

A: and how did you feel?

R: Afterwards you don't feel, you feel bad because this one's dead and you're still

alive, it's junk if they shoot at you, you don't like it, you must run. They shot at me already and I ran, they haven't shot me yet.

A: And what do the other gangsters tell you when you killed someone?

R: They don't know, just the Nice Times know. If they know I killed someone or wounded them then they take my hand or give me a hug then I feel ok, as long as how can I say... we keep score. Maybe we shot someone dead and they wounded one of us maybe it's one nothing. They killed one of us and we killed one of them then it's one one.

A: Why do you keep score?

R: How can I now say, if they shot one of us and we killed three of them then we know we're leading them. Now we must make more Nice Times to be more than them.

R: I shot at the police already, we shot two dead already.

A: Two dead?

R: As they came down with their bakkie how can I say, then we call them to 'stop stop stop there's people inside here'. If they stop then we take out our guns then we shoot at them, we shoot them dead... take their guns then we run away, we just run away.

The description is one of flashes and body parts, of heads, stomachs and blood. However, this very Real event, which Žižek (2000) posits keeps words out, does carry a great deal of status and bravado, as demonstrated by the fact that the hero is embraced and cherished. 'Shooting gun' gains an individual respect and reputation, as well as direct economic benefit at times. The interlocking of the symbolic and the material, identity with the body, wealth and status is therefore fused in the very Real act of shooting a gun, within the paradigm of hyper-masculinity. Whilst it is not my intention to trivialise death through post-structural analyses of subjectivity, the way these boys portray this act indicates what it means to them and why they engage in it. It also gives clues to how they repress the horrible reality of these shootings.

The macabre tale is made more startling by the sporting metaphor of counting death scores. Connell (2001) explains that sporting heroism is the most glamorous aspect of contemporary hegemonic masculinity in Western countries. Sporting heroism takes on a much more violent form in the Cape Flats hyper-masculine gang world.

It is an austere truth that the most heroic gangster act on the Cape Flats is murdering the highest form of authority, the law. Whilst the very Real violence and poverty of these areas cannot be denied, this research project is focusing on the boys' portrayals of 'criminal acts', in order to gain insight into what these acts mean to them. Whether Rafiek's story is true or not, it is indicative of an attitude of being intimidated by no form of authority. Messerschmidt (1994) labels non-violent youth crime as 'opposition masculinity', where boys oppose school ideals and authority. On the Cape Flats, the mark of opposing authority involves killing policemen, opposition in an extreme form. The discourse of shooting gun therefore involves an ostentatious, Hollywood blockbuster like quality, of sporting heroism, overcoming adversity and extreme risk-taking. Through these types of narratives, protagonists, marginalized working class coloured boys, are transformed into demigods:

A: And were you already in a war, a gang war?

R: Yes, they kidnapped me already.

A: Who kidnapped you?

R: The Naughty Boys.

A: And what did they do to you.

R: My mother was my saviour there. One day so I was standing at the shop stoep but I didn't have a gun. I had lots of pille on me, dagga and money of the camp. I see this golfie come on but I mos didn't know. They first drove past, the windows were tinted. A white golfie. So they came past again, loud music playing in the car. So they came, the pavement is here and the road is there, and the shop is there. So they came onto the pavement and stood in front of the shop. They all jump out, I mos didn't know that these were Naughty Boys. So they came, they grabbed me and in the car and they drove off with me to their house. Now their leaders name is Gershwin, Gersh. When we got to their house so I told them 'look here you must kill me' you see they must do it, then wait they said 'we must wait for Gersh, Gersh isn't at home. They were four in the car but two went to go fetch Gersh. I don't know where Gersh went to. Now I tell them 'look here Gersh's mothers whatever and wat wat, he can do nothing to me'. I mos know now I'm already going to die, I can do nothing now, I mos know I'm going to die. They hit me with pik steele, with sjambokke one had an Oukaapie to my throat, they want to slit my throat. I told him 'you must do what you must do' then I soema smack him ba, because I know now I'm going to die. Gershwin doesn't come. Luckily

the people at the shop saw and called the police and the police came there with my mother. My face was dik geslat, my mother came there and she asked 'you don't want to listen about these gangsters' and wat wat. And the police asked me if I'm going to lay a charge and so I said I wasn't going to lay a charge. So they told my mother 'you see your child wants to be involved in these things, he doesn't want to lay a charge. He wants to go shoot those people.' I told them naai it's duidelik man and got in the van. That same night when I got to the hospital I ran away from the hospital and got a gun at the yard and went to go shoot on those people. I shot one dead.

A: Just one?

R: Yes I shot one of them dead. They were still drinking in their yard, he was standing with his back in a corner and peeing, when he turned around I shot him in his head two three shots.

A: How did you feel after that?

R: I felt nothing, I feel nothing for those people. Then I just went back to the camp and then they heard 'jy there's someone dead in the Naughty Boys camp'. So I came back and we had a party because I mos shot that man dead. Everyone is happy because we verdalla those people, everyone's happy because we go on now.

A: And how did you feel

R: I felt happy, I must mos just feel happy because I shot someone, I feel gevaarlik. They all, they look up to me. They know I can stand for the camp, I can stand for the Bad Boys. But it also brought me nothing in the pocket. Today I'm sitting here, they can't come and visit me, they can do nothing for me, they can bring me nothing.

Some stories seem so alien to a white middle-class researcher they almost defy analysis. Remaining alive is celebrated with a gang party and life goes on. Collison (1996) describes English street youth as striving for a reputation as 'mad'. In addition to the money, consumption, toughness and respect usually attributed to male self-identity on the street, these youth attempted to:

“ ‘munch’ the image and fill the ‘no place’ of structure and identity-to get a reputation as mad”, through extreme forms of risk-taking” (Collison, 1996, p. 441).

This is similar to the way African Americans use the term 'bad' (like the gang name 'Bad Boys' above). Remo's story has an element of this spirit of extreme risk, rebellion and 'cool craziness'. He describes himself as feeling 'gevaarlik', literally

meaning 'dangerous' but slang for 'awesome'. 'Gevaarlik' comprises these boys' form of 'bad' or 'mad'. Through this high-risk experience, overcoming extreme adversity and revenge shooting, this boy creates a uniquely 'gevaarlik', respected and feared identity for himself.

The act of killing an opposing gang member is glorified. Segal et al (2001) remark that whilst society generally condemns crime and violence, in Soweto a lost generation tolerate and celebrate crime, where law and responsibility are negligible and nihilism reigns. The context of Western Cape gangs is far more nuanced than this simplified explanation of township youth violence based on anarchy. It is partly based on certain "rules of disorder" (Marsh, Rosser & Harre, 1978). Furthermore, the manner in which these gruesome acts occur gives clues to subjectivity, to how these boys experience life and themselves. The narrative above illustrates the way these coloured, working class boys construct discourses of masculinity whereby they are exalted and empowered in their lives. The details in the story, of how for example Remo uncontrollably insults the gang leader's mother, the highest form of insult, indicates the complex gendered nature of violence here, of what is sensitive to these boys and to their emotional make-up.

Subjectivity is more complex than nihilism, it involves experiential and discursive components. These boys have agency and are using it to empower themselves discursively, taking up positions or making investments as hyper-masculine heroes with Hollywood style lives. There are also protective emotional dynamics, which are experienced in these escapades, as the boys attempt to deal with the multiple anxieties they experience in their lives. Only by looking beyond what the media portrays as simply 'the gang problem' or 'the youth of today', do we gain a more nuanced understanding of this situation.

Some of the boys portrayed theft in a similar manner to these stories of shooting guns:
T: For me it was the best, if I rob people then I soema get the money. But if I break into houses like one time I broke into a house, me alone... now I see, here's a darkie woman that's working in this white woman's house in Mowbray. Now I break into the house, now I see, I look in the garage first and I see four bikes afterwards I see 'jy, that's not all there's golf clubs'. There's everything that I can sell, so I thought I'm

going to go into the house now as well, nobba there's a woman there. Like it is I'm just going to go take the stuff, if that woman screams then I'm just going to knock her out. Like make her flou. Afterwards I saw here's a photo dinges that 's hanging, the DVD's standing there, the tape is standing there, a CD player, so I thought what am I going to take of those two things. So I saw there's so a black bag, put the tape and the DVD in there but afterwards that thing got too full. I took those golf clubs and everything, and the bike and I rode on the bike to get away quickly. Afterwards so I saw there's a photograph, I went in there and looked and made so and so there 's a block there with a hole and a small hole in that hole. And there 's another block in that hole. I felt there and felt a bankie and I made so a block of money that I found. Afer that I just got out of the house, out of there. That woman screamed so I hit her with the golf clubs, one time over the head, so she just lay there. I took the bike and gooied.

A: And why do you do all these things?

T: It's all just to get hold of buttons.

A: And how do you feel when you break into a house?

T: Nothing (Nothing?). If I maybe break into a house I mustn't feel scared to go in here. I must just prove it to myself that I can break into this place. I mustn't also worry that they're going to catch me or wat wat. I just think if they catch me or not it's my thing. Why, because I'm doing this to get hold of money.

There is clearly material gain from robberies such as the one above. DVDs, blocks of money and golf clubs are valuable possessions. But there is something exceeding the pure material reality of this description. The simple fact that 'photographs' are mentioned twice indicates that Taariq is aware that these are real people he is stealing from. The story is told almost like an ostentatious myth or fantasy being recounted, the 'pot of gold at the end of the rainbow' is revealed with suspense, as blocks with holes are opened. The richness of this description illustrates how in this context there 'are words', unlike when people are shot dead and engage with the Real (Zizek, 2000). Individual heroism is reinforced by the fact Taariq spurs himself on to perform the robbery without fear, without self-doubt. His strength and bravery are exemplified by beating the woman with a golf club, needing only one shot. This section illustrates one of the few examples of open racism expressed by the boys.

The passage illustrates how theft may also be used as a resource in the situational accomplishment of gender (Messerschmidt, 1993). The boy is overcoming adversity to perform a heroic act successfully, without a trace of fear. He even innovates with the resources at his disposal. 'using the bike to get away quickly'. Risk-taking is about independence, identity and maturity and certain types of risk form part of hegemonic masculinity (Collison, 1996). Furthermore, heavy intoxication at the time of theft and using drugs in general provide a level of security for a vulnerable male self, as the buttons (mandrax) indicate (Collison, 1996). 'Normal' crime, such as theft, serves as an invaluable cultural and emotional resource for scripting a powerful masculine identity on the street (Collison, 1996).

Shooting guns is a hyper-masculine means of doing gender. It is discursively portrayed as achieving status, power and respect from others. It is also a material and corporeal activity. Shooting buttresses the discourse of hyper-masculinity inherent in gang practices, where violence, toughness and intimidation are paramount. Similarly, theft is also described as an heroic act which the individual must overcome. Through these performative and discursive ordeals these working-class 'children of democracy' find a means of empowering themselves. In some respects they do the same with their vignettes to illustrate their relationships with young girls.

"Money over bitches": women

This hyper-masculine discourse informing the boys' subjectivities through becoming gangsters and shooting guns is also expressed in some of their descriptions of women. The sub-title of this section "money over bitches", was a tattoo one of the boys had and epitomizes this hyper-masculine attitude towards women. Many of the boys aspired to be 'players', having multiple sexual partners. The boys naturalized this discourse, portraying it as an integral part of life. Brittan (2001) calls this ideology of natural male dominance "masculinism", as it justifies men's domination:

A: And do you think it's lekker to have lots of women?

*R: Lots of women...I know some women get madly in love with you and it hurts their hearts if they find out I have so many and so many women. But for me it's actually lekker. I don't know why it's lekker. **Because why** I don't like just one woman, I don't know why I must have a lekker vrag.*

A: *And what does your mother say about it?*

R: *my mother tells me a lot that I must leave these things. I'm playing with other peoples emotions. it can be dangerous and so on, women can also start fighting each other, maybe each other...maybe stab with the knife. Or anything can happen, so I don't know. I don't want to take **note**. I'm just always mal over women.*

A: *And if she wants lots of men, one of your girls?*

R: *Have many men, they know mos already they can't.*

A: *Why cant they?*

R: **Because why** *the thing is this man... now men have lots of women but not women. **Because why** it looks, it looks scandalous a woman with many men (Why?) Because why then she has sex with this one and that one. Then this man says maybe "yes I sexed that one like this, she looks like this" and lots of things, they talk dirty about the women.*

A: *The men talk amongst themselves?*

R: *Talk amongst themselves yes, 'no that's a old jinto that. I already sexed that thing', lots of things like that. Now I can't take it that's why I don't like a girl must have a lot of berkies. If I here you have a lot of berks and wat wat, she's after me then I tell her soema just there shit: 'Kyk'gie jy, go play somewhere else. I don't lus for you, look you're a jinto, loop loop loop' and so on. 'I know you've got a lot, kyk'gie I'm not lus for trouble' lots of things like. If I hear you've nothing, women, nobody knows you and wat wat then I keep out there by you. That's why a man, yes a man can have lots of women, but not a woman.*

A: *A man can't be a jinto?*

R: *I hear lots of people say so but I don't believe that.*

The excerpt begins with a form of blasé innocence, as Romario ponders why it is desirable for him to be promiscuous. He distances himself from responsibility, merely admitting ignorance with regard to his actions, not wanting to take 'note' or care.

His logic then turns on its head as he tries to explain how it is illegitimate for women to have multiple partners. His reasoning relates to 'scandal' and other men talking about sex with the same woman. This illustrates Segal's (2001) contention that sex gives men their greatest fears. Men often experience confusion and are scared of

failure with regards to sexuality (Segal, 2001). Other men talking about sex with the same woman provokes this response, as the fragile male self is threatened.

Sexual domination and authority are therefore partly an illusion linked to cultural fantasies, when many individual men are in fact very sexually anxious and insecure (Edley & Wetherell, 1995). This could alternatively be seen as linked to Hollway's (1984) positioning theory, as men and women are only offered certain positions within discourse. Women cannot be the subjects of Hollway's (1984) 'male sex drive discourse', they can only be objects. Again hyper-masculine ambivalence is apparent.

The pressure to be successful leads to individuals experiencing anxiety when they engage in intimacy. It also produces disapproval with regard to women's equality in relation to sexuality and promiscuity. This results in anger and resentment, as Romario pronounces the promiscuous girl a common 'slut', instructing her to 'move along'. The fact that a category of male whore is not a legitimate subject position (Romario's interview indicated that he was certainly in line for this title by his own standards), results in him misunderstanding my final question, assuming that a male 'jinto' is literally a paid sex worker, not simply somebody with multiple partners. As Frosh (1994) posits, femininity is often constructed as projected male fantasies, "a receptacle for what is disowned and feared" (Frosh, 1994, p. 89), hence "they are 'jintos', not me." Romario therefore utilises defensive splitting, projecting his own fears regarding sexuality onto the 'bad prostitute' of a woman. Through this splitting he invests in the hyper-masculine discourse.

The same boy described a time when he was cheated on:

*R: That was my girlfriend. So I also afterwards, and so I got, so I came across them, the two of them having sex. I stand and watch them so, so the two of them were having sex (Your friend and her?) my friend and my girlfriend yes, the two of them were having sex. So I was already drunk and wat wat. So I couldn't take it, so I assaulted her. Took a brick hit her over the head open here, take her around her neck ram her head against the vibracrete. Take whole brick throw it against her head but she was still alive. Throw her head and so on. I don't know when I'm drunk I can't stop myself. I can't **control** myself.*

A: How did you feel?

R: Afterwards the next day (Then, that time?) The same night when I was finished assaulting her, you had to see how she looked. Took her home so I felt blind so the wine had started pulling out already. So I felt blind. So I couldn't believe that it was me that assaulted her and so on. Till today I can't believe it. And it's the first time that I assault a woman. So I took her home. So I told her mother that it was me that assaulted her and so on, they can lay a charge if her mother feels that way and so on. So she didn't want to because she knew she was wrong. And so her mother pressurised her to lay a charge and so on. That's the reason why I'm sitting here today.

A: But you didn't...you didn't rape her?

R: Yes I didn't rape her, ha u I didn't rape her. (But she says you did?) She says that I raped her yes. (Why does she say so?) probably when her mother pressurised her, her mother said she must lay the charge. And I'm hearing other things at court, with the charge sheet, her statement, I tore her bra, I tore her panty, tore her pants buttons, lots of things like that I'm hearing.

Whether Romario is guilty of rape and twisting the story I am unsure. The alternative saga, including 'bricks to the head', is also horrific. Romario attempts to purge himself of responsibility, blaming intoxication and a propensity for losing control, although this was apparently his first assault. He even claims he 'honestly' admitted to the girl's mother that he was guilty of assault. It is fascinating that he believes she did not want to make a case "because she knew she was wrong". In his eyes, cheating on him is therefore worthy of such a beating.

The relationship between sexuality and violence is important. Luyt (2002) claims that sexuality is a strong predictor of aggression, with aggression comprising one of the central tenets of heterosexuality. Romario, as a self-confessed *uber-player*, supports this correlative relationship. These young boys' very tenuous senses of self are violently threatened by rejection. The identity constructed as a 'player' is fragile and when it breaks down aggression acts as compensation. Furthermore, power relations between men and women are often manifested in sexual violence and assault (Wood & Jewkes, 2001). For some this is the only way of establishing control and gaining power, as the dominance obtained through promiscuity is rather fickle.

There is a considerable amount of detail in the story, with descriptions of ‘vibracrete, heads and necks’. The event may have shocked Romario in retrospect and again indicates aspects of Žižek (2000) Real, interspersed with discursive components. Although Romario earlier says he does not wish to ‘take note’, his detailed account indicates that ‘the Real’, the element of death and the possibility of taking a life, actually do force him to take note.

Another boy justified being a player with a religious discourse:

M: How do I say this, a Muslim must have seven women...now I have more than seven women.

A: More than seven women...and how do you feel about it?

M: Yes, it's alright to be a player.

A: Do you think it's good that a man can have many women?

*M: Yes it's good. It's **human being**.*

Again this hyper-masculine, masculinist ideology is apparent (Brittan, 2001). It is an innate component of *being human* that men have multiple partners and women are naturally monogamous, in Rafiek’s eyes. Rafiek’s paradigm is extremely rigid and deterministic, with religion and humanity teleologically predetermining certain gendered dynamics. His attitude does not even need to be forcefully justified and logically teased out; he is comfortable with the status quo and it works in his favour. Some of these boys’ attitudes towards sex mirrored Bourgois’s (1996) finding that Puerto Rican men in New York City ‘invested’ in sexual promiscuity, sexualising notions of male power. The boys therefore use a hyper-masculine discourse of being a player and subjugating women in order to empower themselves.

Even more disturbing than the naturalisation of the unequal status quo portrayed in the hyper-masculine notion of the *player*, were the boys’ attitudes towards rape. Moolman (2004) argues that gang rape buttresses heterosexual masculinity and group identity on the Cape Flats. Sometimes individuals may attempt to partially resist gang rape:

A: And do you think it's good for a man to have many girls or it's better to have a vaste girl?

J: It's better to have a vaste girl. (Why?) It's the best, you get when you want [inaudible] by another girl you must now first 'stry' there by her. My chommies are like that, they just take away. Then I stand and just look like that, they tell me 'vang a pos here'. Then I tell them 'naai I can't poste, tomorrow the next day then that girl says that I had a pos....(I say) "Kykgie girl you must know I'm not with I'm leaving now." Then she says now 'help me' then I say 'kyk'gie ouens naai man leave the kind man'. Then I walk in my direction to my girl, I'm rather going to her house, her mother them invite me mos. I rather go lay by their house, not worried about these people. Then [inaudible] maybe me and her lay [inaudible]. The girl asked me for help and those people didn't want to stop I don't force myself [inaudible] didn't want to stop. So I told her 'now you see I mos came here to you and you're now the only one that knows about these things. So if it gets to court, that girl lays a charge you'll be a witness in court. I came to tell you about this.

So I just wysed Paul 'no I told these people they must leave her. And they didn't want to, and it happened like that already. Yes it happened like that already. [inaudible] she mos asked me for help, they mos, they raped her. So she asked me for help, so I wysed them 'naai ouens you's cant do these things' and wat wat. Here soema next to the yard, here soema next to the yard they rape the kind [inaudible]. At court soema with eye's wide open I said here is the man, and that man and that man. Because why I told them to leave the kind alone. So that kind said he said but they didn't want to listen, and so the court asked what did I do, 'your honor I didn't want to be long there. Tomorrow or the next day then this girl says that I also raped her, or that I was keeping a pos even when I didn't rape her, no I rather walked off to my girlfriend.' So they went to my girlfriend and they asked her now where was I, so she wysed that I came to her and that I told her about these things. So the hof said "aiw". There those mense get buite straf, buite straf. There they cross for me. So I told them, you can ma be cross for me but don't bring me into a thing. And they came to me I must now say naai they didn't. Here this kind already said and my girlfriend also already told the boere already. So I told them sorry homeys man.

The central concern in this passage is to evade prosecution. The ethical stance that rape is wrong is largely peripheral. More important is justifying to his girlfriend, to the magistrate and to the girl who was raped, that he was not present. The situation is split into an either 'guilty' (the other bad gangsters) or 'not guilty' (innocent me)

framework. The complications and difficult ethical issues around making minimal effort to seriously aid the girl, eclipsed in this 'either or' world. This is another example of defensive splitting.

The passage opens with the assertion that a girlfriend is better than many flings because you can obtain sex without a struggle. Women are therefore largely perceived in terms of their sexual value. The laboured chore of having to 'stry' with a girl for sex is frowned upon, a girlfriend perceived as a more desirable option. 'Stry' means both 'argue' and 'fight'. The lines between 'normal' sexual engagement, involving a 'stry' and rape are therefore somewhat discursively porous for some of the boys. If normal sex involves a fight, what is rape? Aggression is a normal part of mainstream gender discourses (Harris, Lea & Foster, 1995). Sex in this hyper-masculine discourse, whether it be 'consensual' or rape, is therefore aggressive, violent and an achievement.

The difficult situation of having to break the collective identity, as outlined by Moolman (2004), is illustrated by the detailed portrayal of testifying to the court "with eyes wide open". Jonny's ambivalence is further displayed by his belated apology to his compadres. They are still his "homeys", his brothers and they are not dismissed by Jonny as immoral, they simply would have landed him in hot water. Yet at other times they are split off as 'those people' or 'that mense', indicating Jonny's ambivalence as he both distances himself and identifies with this group of 'chommies'.

Discourse is also partly constituted through space, as was seen in relation to 'mother's houses'. The rape happened next to the gang's "yard" and this fact is repeated twice. Jonny is leaving this space, going to his girlfriend's house where he has been invited. He is attempting to distance himself from the hyper-masculine discourse which exists in the yard, inserting himself into a different discursive position and space.

This narrative somewhat justifies Moolman's (2004) controversial contention that normal heterosexual values of dominance, toughness, competition and loyalty are all inherent in gang rape. The fact that the values are identical for regular heterosexuality and the act of rape may result in these boys assuming that rape is acceptable. Alternative subjectivities may be forged out of standard psychoanalytic structures.

The boys' internal logic with regards to rape often seemed initially peculiar:

*T: I say if you **rape** a woman then it's like you can't get a naai...*

Taariq is explaining that if you rape a girl it doesn't count as sex, it is illegitimate. Again the normal gender discourses blurring with the clearly perverse concept of rape is apparent. Kersten (1996) posits that rape is linked to power and domination, increasing where traditional masculinity of protection and provision is dwindling. For the boys I interviewed the situation is more complex than this simple correlation. Hyper-masculine rape and traditional masculine values are often inter-linked and the peculiarities perceived initially in the boys' talk become more comprehensible when this is understood.

For many, a large part of their identities is constructed around the girls they are able to attract. Pursuing what others label as 'unattractive' women is a direct threat to identity:

*W: Now one time so we went to the jol, now I chise, I don't actually chise this girl...
...now my brother says 'jy what women are you then chising?' Now I think he's making a joke because this girl doesn't look right, not pretty. Afterwards and so, the next day, Sunday, we're first at home, he asked me 'why did you chise that **goose**?'. I tell him 'naai I didn't chise that goose' then he said 'maybe next week then we go back there then I want to see what goose you're going to chise. The Monday so we had to go work, so he started telling about what **goose** I chised, now this bra James, he wys 'auw you chise kak kindes and wat wat. (laughs) Afterwards and so he kept on and so I told him he must stop because I know I didn't chise that kind. He kept on and on and on and on. Afterwards I took the knife and stabbed him here by his head but not still deep so I pulled away. When I wanted to stab again the knife caught him like this and so it slammed into my hand. Afterwards so this part was open here, I would have stabbed him dead that day, because why I've committed a few murders already. Why, I think ja he's lucky my hand was bleeding otherwise I would have stabbed him dead.*

Masculine status is linked to the women one is able to attract and the failure to live up to 'standards' results in ridicule. Courting is therefore a very public performance.

where individual men demonstrate their potency. Women are discursively constructed as 'kinds' and 'that goose'. 'Kinds' literally means children. Women are infantilised, as not fully grown people or objectified and animalized as 'geese'. The status of women is therefore denigrated.

Again the sensitivity and insecurities around sexuality are obvious. Taariq retaliates at the individual who is the cause of the ridicule and the palaver almost results in death. Why are these boys so sensitive to their sexuality? In a world where identity is constructed around violence, continually having to prove ones worth, extreme risk and constant danger, dealing with sensitive emotional issues are not part and parcel of being a hyper-masculine man and being accused of impotence violently threatens reputation. Elsewhere, when expressing affection for their mothers, a different scenario appeared.

The boys therefore use this hyper-masculine discourse to construct themselves as players, partially justify or rationalise rape and illustrate how gendered violence is part of their everyday lives. Girls who fail to remain monogamous are dismissed as whores or 'jintos', as the boys utilise defensive splitting to protect their own fragile male egos. Furthermore, being a male player is naturalised as part of life. This is used to discursively establish dominance and gain power. Rape is not generally perceived as fundamentally immoral and bonds with one's 'honey' appear as more important than helping girls. In conjunction with this hyper-masculinity, a fragile masculine sense of self is observed, relating to insecure aspects of sexuality and the rather feeble nature of hyper-masculinity. Weakness, dependency, intimacy and crimes against women and other men are largely based on fear (Segal, 1990). In the following chapters different discursive constructions of masculinity illustrate a gentler side to these boys, expressed in relation to their mothers and to girlfriends.

In this chapter I have explored three areas of these boys' lives, namely their narratives of *initiation into gangsterism*, how they *shoot guns* and some descriptions of relations with *women*, in order to illustrate a form of 'Cape Flats Hollywood hyper-masculinity'. This hyper-masculinity is violent, often involves proving oneself by taking risks and overcoming danger and includes tales of establishing dominance over

women. Simultaneously this hyper-masculine discourse is naturalised as an integral part of life on the Cape Flats, where these 'children of democracy' have been historically marginalised and emasculated. Yet hyper-masculinity is still markedly ambivalent as it intersects with other forms of being a man. The nature of this ambivalence will be further teased out in the following two chapters, as I explore two other discourses of masculinity within which the boys are positioned.

Chapter 6

“A gentleman never hits a woman”: Traditional masculinity

She beamed at him benevolently. “We love you. Maybe you did bad by other people, but not by me. I like you. I like your manner. You are a gentleman”. The Uka people smiled and I smiled and Magadien stared at his new shoes.

Jonny Steinberg. The Number

Introduction

A different discourse based on values of provide and protect, respect and discipline, also appeared in these boys’ talk. I have labelled this discourse as *traditional masculinity*. The term ‘traditional masculinity’ is somewhat problematic, ambiguously omitting exactly whose traditions are alluded to. I am referring to mainstream, middle-class, ‘family values’ masculinity, equivalent to the man of the American dream. Although this term is not ideal, it will suffice.

I would like to explore this second discourse by analyzing a type of man the boys described initially in the focus groups, one they called ‘*the gentleman*’. This notion of the ‘gentle-man’ shapes their fantasies in terms of what idyllic *success* in life means to them, as well as the future *wives* they desire. Each of these elements within the traditional masculinity discourse will be dealt with in turn. I will then explore the boys’ perceptions of how their *communities* view them as gangsters. These youngsters use their malleable gangster identities to function very differently within an alternative discourse of traditional masculinity. Let us begin by having a closer look at the face of this ‘gentle-man’.

Who is this gentle-man?

The term gentleman was consistently used in the focus groups to identify some of the pictures I presented the boys with. Picture 1 in Appendix B most accurately personifies the gentleman. Here is one section from a focus group where this figure is being discussed:

(FG)

A: Tell me, what does it mean to be a gentleman?

R: um...to have discipline (discipline?)

To stay out of trouble (is it nice to be a gentleman?) Ja, to have a good personality (why would it be nice to be a gentleman?)

People like you...you are respected if you respect other people.

The gentleman is the antithesis of the gangster. He eschews trouble, he is respected and liked by the community and he conducts himself with discipline. A gentleman displays a "good personality". The concept of being an individual arises here.

Whereas gangsters are expected to conform to gang laws and codes of behaviour, not displaying spontaneity or individuality, gentlemen can be unique. A gangster is partially dissolved into a group identity, a gentleman can be idiosyncratic. Connell (2000) posits that violent masculinities are predominantly collectively defined and institutionally buttressed. The individuality of the 'gentle-man' therefore acts as a conduit for producing a non-violent form of masculinity, within this traditional discourse.

Gentlemen are autonomous with admired personalities, but they can also be family orientated. Many of the boys envisaged a stable home and conventional middle-class, family values as part of their understanding of a gentleman:

E: One day my wife and kids you see...the people...I want to every Friday or Saturday or Sunday go out with them and talk about life. How life is going on and wat wat.. I'd really like to be a gentleman...(What's a gentleman?) You dress nicely and wat wat. Your shoes are nice and shiny, your hair's neatly cut you see, wearing a tie also.

This image of the gentleman is displaced from the world of gangsterism and crime. In this vignette the salience of family life and values pervade Eddy's sense of identity. Dressing well exemplifies this gentleman, as part of a clean cut image, taking care in one's appearance, shining your shoes and brushing your hair, evading any connotations of gangster 'skolliness'. He is the respectable family man, the subject of a traditional masculinity.

To be a gentleman entails talking about life. In the previous chapter, performativity, within a hyper-masculine gangster discourse, was constructed through acting.

walking, standing and shooting. Performativity, the way that discourse constitutes and regulates a gentleman's discourse (Butler, 1993), is often achieved through talking and more so, by talking "about life". This isn't the "come what may come what will" philosophy of the Fancy Boys. An active interest in life is displayed in this traditional discourse of masculinity.

In the previous excerpts, the 'gentleman' of the traditional masculinity discourse is positioned somewhat in opposition to the gangster. He is an individual versus a collectivity, he is a family man in the conventional sense of the word and his appearance resonates with middle-class culture and propriety. However, there was consistently an ambiguous zone between being 'cool' in a gangster manner and being 'cool' in the sense of a gentleman, as discourses of masculinity interact:

A: Why do you have a dollar sign and a pack of money? (tattoos)

E: ...I want to be a cat a cool man, ja.

A: What is a cat?

E: A cat is like...you are just in the mood, in the style...(mmm) Nike, maybe a nice pants, a lekker jacket and a cap and glasses, earrings, gold...that's a cat.

A: And why do you want to be that?

E: Why do I want to be that?...(mmm), I like...dress like a big, lekker gentleman...I want to be a gentleman yes. (Why: what is a gentleman?) A gentleman is like...uh...a gentleman is someone that wears a suit everyday, a black suit, shoes and a brief case.

Tattoos signifying American capitalism and name brand clothing could not be more typical of a hyper-masculine gangster identity. To be a 'cat' or a 'cat laaitie' was a common term used by the boys. It refers to the "coolness" of being dressed in name brand clothing. Salo (2004) states that name-brand clothing and cosmopolitan, hybrid spaces are central to the construction of personhood for young people in places like Manenberg. In a confusing way, the participant then proclaims he desires this image in order to assume gentlemanly status, a radically different 'brand of man'. His description of the gentleman's "black suit" (not just any suit) is a far cry from the gold earrings and Nike takkies of the cat laaitie.

Elroy is transferring what he hopes to accomplish in being a stylish gangster, onto what is achieved through being a successful, middle-class, family man. He would like

to be a 'cat laaitie', because in his eyes, this renders him a gentleman. Whilst being a 'cat laaitie' is realistically attainable for these boys, being a corporate man in a black suit is probably not. Although these two pictures seem irreconcilable, the values underpinning the cat laaitie, the gangster and the gentleman, of affluence, success, power and style intersect in a counter-intuitive manner. They drink from the same fountain of hegemonic masculinity. It is therefore understandable that these boys juxtapose and oscillate between these contradictory subject positions.

For some of the boys, instead of using these somewhat contradictory identities interchangeably, they attempt to 'inauthenticate' themselves as hyper-masculine gangsters, in favour of traditional masculinity and gentlemanly stature:

*Q: I feel very **guilty** (Guilty? Why?) Because why it goes to my **conscience**...yo I'm not like that, I wasn't a jongetjie like that...I was alright, I had friends, I had lekker friends (Played cricket?) Played cricket, and cricket's a **gentleman's game**, my mother said, (You look like a gentleman.) ...*(laughs)* lots of people say that, I don't like being a jongetjie that does wrong things...*

A: Can't you talk to your friends?

*Q: Yes if it's positive friends ...from yes I can talk to them because you always go to your friends, but have positive friends what look. (Not Fancy Boys?) No no they're not they're mos not really...never **positive**, such a thing isn't **positive**, you get negative, do drugs, you go here, you go there, things that's wrong, everything they talk about is wrong because why they talk about guns, they talk about girls, "we're going to soema klim that girl, and we're going to..." They just concern themselves with gangsterism, guns all those things.*

Quinton strips off his gangster facade, attempting to reveal his 'true nature' as gentlemanly. A rigid dichotomy is proposed between the two positions. Gentlemen play cricket, talk and are positive. 'Those other' gangsters use guns, jump women, are negative. The defensive splitting of right from wrong is stark, with an inability to integrate good and bad into the same object, as the 'bad' is split off and projected elsewhere: "everything *they* talk about is wrong". Quinton is struggling to justify that he is a boy who belongs with the 'good', the 'light', despite landing with the hyper-masculine 'bad' awaiting trial. His investment in traditional masculinity aids him in defending against the anxiety of awaiting trial.

Field (2001) describes displaced coloured men lamenting the failure to live up to childhood myths, resulting in unfulfilled expectations and desires. This is partially the result of disempowering practices inflicted on them by Apartheid (Field, 2001). The impoverished material context of the Cape Flats impacts on the boys I interviewed and their constitution of subjectivity. The consequence of unachievable masculine myths, in restricted social circumstances, is that these men endure the failure of their own and others' expectations (Field, 2001). This could lead to frustration and aggression and these boys possibly attempting to fulfil those myths through alternative means, such as gangsterism.

The reference to cricket, played by gentlemen, is significant. Cricket is directly linked to a British colonial history, indicative of education, propriety and respectability. 'Colouredness' is often constructed in the interstices of white and black, as middle ground and marginalized. Quinton is distancing himself from stereotypical 'black' connotations as thief, skollie and criminal, positioning himself within a European legacy of 'purity' and traditional masculinity.

A co-constructed dynamic between Quinton and I appears in this excerpt. I identified most pertinently with this boy, with his family situation, his cricketing fantasies and general nature. I therefore told him, in the excerpt, that he looks like a gentleman and I partly denigrate the Fancy Boys. I wanted him to feel that an identity as a gentleman was authentic for him, as a working-class coloured boy. That he could wear it if he pleased. Quinton and I are therefore interacting to uplift certain forms of masculinity over others, gentlemen over gangsters.

The 'gentleman' therefore appears both in opposition and as contingent to the gangster. He is independent of a *hyper-masculine* discourse, opposing violence, able to converse freely and demonstrate his personality, as well as desiring family life. However, many of the values and traits related to the gangster, the hyper-masculine man, overlap with a *traditional* discourse of masculinity. At times the boys drift between these two subject positions and discourses, using them at their convenience. Others defend against the pariah status of the gangster, elevating themselves as a gentleman within a discourse of traditional masculinity. The multiple discourses of

masculinity that inform these boys' fragmented subjectivities therefore result in contradictory portraits of their lives.

"Not this local work": A different brand of success

This ambivalent relationship between discourses of masculinity was further apparent when I asked the boys about their notions of *success*. It is clear that success is associated with traditional masculinity and hyper-masculine gangsterism discursively appears as an inauthentic measure of success. Yet the differences are often thrown haphazardly together into a salad style masculinity that these boys concoct:

A: What do you think it means to be a successful man?

R: What does it mean...to keep yourself away from the gangsters, to focus on building your family, to build your family maybe you and your girlfriend to have a baby. Build your family, if you're away from the gangsters and trouble like that. Then she can come to my family and I can go to her family. That's the best. To have your own house, your own car. That's my dream to have my own house and my own car.

A: What kind of work would you like to do?

R: I will...how can I say want to...um...I wanted to say smokkel but that's not really work to me. Maybe engineering, or um...Make plans that people don't have, that go on computers, then you sell that maybe, that money, then they must buy it from you for lots of money then you have lots of money. In a factory, in a clothing factory, Levis and it's mos expensive, Quicksilvers, Nike takkies.

A: Why do you like that?

R: Because I wear that, I have a lot of that at home, my friends wear it, my sister wears it, cousins wear it.

A: Why do people wear those clothes?

*R: How can I say, it's **name brand**. Levis, Nikes,*

A: And why do people like name brand?

R: How can I say, they like they, you walk lekker in the road, never untidy. Always lekker Levis lekker takkie, sweater.

A: But why do people like name brands?

R: I don't know.

The section starts with a traditional family being idealised as a measure of success. This is a middle-class family with their markers of relative comfort desired by these boys. This is distinct from the gangster family or 'blood brothers' and he indicates this would have to be avoided.

Rafiek initially says drug dealing would be a source of employment and then realizes this is illegitimate in terms of the lifestyle he is aspiring to. He considers engineering and then settles for selling and working with name-brand clothing. Many of these boys see these objects of global capitalism as a means for constructing an identity for themselves, using Levi jeans and Nike takkies to become respectable middle-class men. Rafiek indicates this means being 'tidy' and respectable, not a scruffy 'skollie'. Salo (2004) postulates that young people in former 'coloured' areas of Cape Town use these global objects to construct identity in ways that take on new local meanings, in a form of bricolage. Globalization is not necessarily Westernisation and people are not simply passive subjects of power. They exert agency too, using these objects to signify new identities from their origin (Salo, 2004). Here Rafiek uses these global objects to become a respectable man in a locally defined notion of traditional masculinity. When the promise of democracy fails to provide all of its 'children' with legitimate access to these global objects, some may resort to alternative means and subjectivities to become 'bricoleurs', in a unique manner.

In a different context, Frosh et al (2002) found that amongst London youngsters, fashion was more important in the construction of gender identities for working-class and middle-class boys, whereas upper-class boys did not feel the need to wear these items. The more disparate distribution of wealth and rampant poverty, in the South African context, may result in more militant practices in achieving these gendered identities for some boys.

Despite ambitions for respectability, Rafiek proclaims you 'walk lekker in the road'. It is hyper-masculine gangsters who 'walk in the road' and who 'smokkel'. Negotiating a position within traditional masculinity, as a gentleman, is therefore often embroiled in the interstices of the gangster's hyper-masculinity. Their positions interlink in their performativity and the values of success and prosperity have considerable middle-ground. There is an atmosphere of Rafiek attempting to eliminate

the hyper-masculine gangster aspects, spraying a cheap deodorant to hide the smell of, for example drug-dealing, even though it odourises his worldview.

Traditional masculinity is pertinently linked to work and a career:

A: What do you think it means to be successful man in life?

*J: What's it like? (What's it like?). Like this now, almost like this here, put on a **suit** here next to my **computer** and fax things and work like these people work. That's not like *gehou* work or heavy work.*

Traditional masculinity and the gentleman are clearly related to a class dynamic and the possibility of alleviating poverty. The boys see office work as easy and desirable, whereas arduous manual labour forms part of a domain of work and personhood that is unattractively working-class. They demonstrated little comprehension of the nature of office work or the broader context and purpose of this labour, merely assuming one 'faxes and types'. Although Jonny refers to the social and care workers type of 'work here', it is not the actual work they aspire to. It is the status and class-based identity encapsulated by the job and the possibility of being inserted within a discourse of traditional masculinity.

This differs from Willis' *Learning to Labour* (1977), where working-class British boys displayed a 'counter-school' culture which tied directly into the kind of labour these boys would perform after school. This was based on masculine toughness and chauvinism of the shop-floor. Willis (1977) posits that these boys used aspects of the larger culture in their own praxis and he perceives this as a form of preparation for adult life. He was attempting to explain why working class kids obtain and accept working-class jobs. Alternatively, these boys on the Cape Flats, living in an era of globalization, attempt to penetrate class-boundaries, to exert upward mobility in terms of the labour market. Whilst Willis' (1977) participants accomplished a gendered identity through reinforcing the masculine values of their broader culture, the boys I interviewed attempt to achieve this through status and prestige, seeing class and race boundaries as somewhat fluid.

Post-Apartheid democracy has therefore presented certain impossible expectations for some of its 'children', who may resort to other means to attain these dreams of wealth

and prestige. The fact that mobility and alleviation of poverty is often not possible, exacerbated by global economic restructuring decreasing entry-level employment for the working-class (Bourgios, 1996) and Cape Town's employment market more favourable to women (Salo, 2004), are reasons why alternative means of dubious upward mobility are often sought.

When asked about what 'success' means to them, the boys utilized a discourse of traditional masculinity and avoided hyper-masculinity. Success was based on the stability of family life, something few of them had actually experienced, as well as middle-class employment and respectability. A gangster is not discursively perceived as a 'successful' person, although he may be resorted to when idyllic notions of success become a mirage for some of 'democracy's children' in post-Apartheid South Africa. Future wives were also portrayed as existing within the realm of traditional masculinity. It is to this that I now turn.

"A Wife like my mother"

These 'family values' depictions of success were also expressed with regard to future wives and divisions of labour:

*H: it's going to be lekker **equal** in the house, you see sir. She buys the food for the house, I pay the water, the rent maybe, so the car money.*

Divisions of labour are substantially genderised according to normative assumptions about men and women in this traditional discourse. However, they are based on a lay notion of equality and differ from the masculinist ideology described by Brittan (2001) in the previous chapter. Other boys perceived things slightly more conservatively:

A: And a good woman, what's a good woman?

J: Mustn't drink, she can smoke a entjie ja that's alright, yes a woman like that. Not still a woman that drinks, other men that sleep with other men, must just sleep with me not other men. (Will she work?) Haai she mustn't work. (Why?) Her work is at home ... I'm the man, she mustn't work (If she wants to work?) If she wants to yes, then she can work yes, but if she gets pregnant then she must leave the work. (Why?) Who's going to look after the children? Who's going to clean the house? I can't do it no she must do it? (Why can't you do it?) I can't can never while I'm working...I go to

work then she must be at home...she must do the stuff, look after the children.

A: You don't want to look after the children?

J: I can, but weekends yes then I can do it, but in the week she must stay at home, if she wants to work, we can get a crèche....

and

A: But the woman you're going to marry one day what will she, what kind of woman will she be?

*R: She must, she mustn't smoke or drink, she must be **saved from God**.*

Enseoned within this traditional masculinity is the fundamental assumption that men's work is not domestic and women's work is exclusively so. It is taken as given that women cook, clean and look after the children, "who else would?" Ideal wives are constructed as emphatically *pure*, uncorrupted by alcohol, drugs and promiscuity. They are religious, safe from these 'worldly evils'. Moolman (2004) states that women being placed within a Madonna/whore binary is common on the Cape Flats, with the 'aunties' usually doing the labelling. Similarly, these youngsters see women in terms of this 'either or' bifurcation, desiring the pure Madonna as a wife. This figure is often based on the prototype of their mothers and many said they want a wife who:

R: musn't still smoke or drink she must be like my mother, she don't smoke or drink.

This may also be due to insecurities they feel in relation to their girlfriends. Messner (2001) found that male athletes in the U.S., displaying many of the characteristics inherent in hegemonic masculinity, were in fact incredibly insecure about their girlfriends. The high rates of drugs, alcoholism and general family turbulence these boys have experienced, probably result in their fearing a wife that loses control. Their own lack of control also produces projection onto future wives, as the boys split off 'negative' parts off self and displace them elsewhere. This discourse is therefore heavily paternalistic, although the violence and multiple partners observed in the hyper-masculine discourse of masculinity is eschewed.

For some the level of paternalism was even more acute:

A: And what kind of wife will you have? How will that girl be (How do you mean?)

How will...what will she do, will she work?

*R: Uh u, my wife most **definitely no because why** why's the man there? I just take it so why's the man there? I want to have lekker sex, I want to eat nice food, I want to come sleep in a warm bed with clean bedding, clean things, I want, my house gets cleaned up and so on. She now actually works at home. That's the whole thing, why must she now still work. (If she wants to work?) If she wants to work and then...it's not going to happen, it's not going to happen.*

A: How will she, how will she treat you? Your wife, one day?

R: She must actually, how can I say, treat me like a man now and so on. (What does it mean like a man, treat like a man?) A man is actually a person like this, he likes when he gets home maybe tired from work and so his food must be ready and so on. So yes things like that and so on.

The division of labour is blatantly sexist and favourable to this young man. His future wife is partially enslaved, providing him with food, cleanliness, sex and whatever else he desires. This fidelity is naturalised, as the way it has to be and is deterministically fixed in place. Furthermore, it is a dream, a discursively constructed fantasy with only a dubious relationship to 'future' reality. It is again part of the talk and the 'Hollywood Cape Flats' image where these boys are empowered through their gendered position as 'the man'.

To be the traditional man is to be the breadwinner, the 'hard-worker who actually puts the bread on the table' and so when he returns home tired he deserves a reward and good service with the food "standing ready". Edley & Wetherell(1995) posit that masculinity is historically and discursively self-defined by men. They add that we need to see who benefits and who is excluded in order to understand how these definitions are formed (Edley & Wetherell, 1995). It is clearly in Romario's interests to define masculinity in the self-serving manner above. I wonder what type of person a woman inherently is, in his eyes? One that enjoys waiting on the other type of person? This local interaction of power creating gendered knowledge and definitions informs these boys' talk with regards to future wives. However, this discourse of masculinity is not overtly violent and traditional family values appear to be entrenched.

Building on the figure of the gentleman, the educated, middle-class man, these boys use a discourse of traditional masculinity in portrayals of success. Success is based on American family values, stability and is again partially a 'Hollywood Cape Flats' fantasy. Future wives are depicted with varying degrees of sexism, yet they exist within a peaceful family home, safe from the hyper-masculine anarchy of ganglands.

"We are neighbourhood watch": Community

I would like to take this 'traditional gentleman' away for a moment and insert him into the context of the Cape Flats ganglands. I would like to see how he copes, what discursive strategies he uses to defend himself, how he justifies his place in the world. In this section I will analyse the boys' perceptions of how their *communities* view them as gangsters. Many tried to transform and mould the gangster. The desire for respect in the community, as protectors and not 'skollies', illustrates the gangsters' struggle with their identities. They attempt to break from the discourse of hyper-masculinity, to a more respectable role within a discourse of traditional masculinity.

This rhetorical strategy also demonstrates the need for acceptance or at least tolerance, in order to live on the Cape Flats. Without this, locals may take action in order to protect themselves and their children, as was demonstrated in the PAGAD fiascos (Kinnes, 2000). However, relationships between gangsters and their communities have been genuinely ambiguous, as was shown in chapter two. The boys too had contradictory accounts of their relationships with their communities:

*C: How can I say, the **community** stands with us, why because they shoot and injure **innocent** people. They then shot a woman off the toilet pot, dead.*

A: Who did?

*C: Those Mongrels, the way they come shooting over the field so one of those bullets went through the window where that woman was sitting on the toilet dead, through her stomach. And she's a woman. So at that place, the **community** stands with us, their doors are open anytime for us. If we now shot and the boere maybe come, right there's a door open for you, or I just throw the guns there to that door, then that woman will go and hide the gun away.*

Chesney's 'gangsters' protect the children from the 'others', the malevolent gangsters. This is a constant rhetorical strategy used in the interviews and is another example of splitting 'good' from 'bad' (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Whilst other gangsters are rambunctious and evil, we are different. The inhumane nature of *other* boisterous gangs that viciously shoot innocent old women off the toilet seats is startling. It constructs an image where the local gang is distanced from that kind of violence and cruelty, perceived rather as 'traditional protectors'. Salo (2005, personal communication) postulates that the term 'gangster' refers to foreigners from outside of the community. Local boys who are personally known are not discursively constructed in this manner.

Sometimes the extent of 'our goodness' is startling and the expression of this community protectiveness is very important to these boys:

R: How can I now say, it's almost like neighbourhood watch the way we look after the community. That's why the community always, always stood up and said to the police people if they were searching people then the community would say 'they're not drug lords, they're not gangsters, they're neighbourhood watch' but they knew we were gangsters.

This time Rafiek attempts to blend the image of the gangster as a skollie and non-person with the traditional masculine protector. The community says they're not gangsters, indicating that gangsters by definition carry an emphatic negative connotation. The boy is miraculously transformed into a coveted masculine position, as community hero, illustrating how he attempts to achieve a specific type of manhood through resources available to him. In the focus group, the same boy who described his gang as "neighbourhood watch" said in relation to picture 2. Appendix B:

(FG)

A: Rafiek, do you think it would be nice to be a gentleman

*R: ja (why?) you can go where you want, no trouble will come to you. You won't make trouble. (Is it better to be cool or a gentleman?) to be cool..(why?) people won't say he's a **troublemaker** by how he looks. (not a troublemaker?) he doesn't look like a **trouble-maker** (Ok). Now if I dressed like that, and I come into the road, people*

won't look at me like a troublemaker. Anyone who dresses like that is like that. (do you think when people see you they think you're a troublemaker?) [acknowledges yes] (why?) they mos know me man (mmm)

Why does this boy perceive himself as “neighbourhood watch” in the individual interview and a “troublemaker” in the focus group? These boys are sometimes running on a treadmill with which they cannot keep pace. Although they discursively attempt to reconstruct themselves as respectable, middle-class citizens who protect communities, the reality of their context is that they are awaiting trial in an institution where they are merely a number amongst two hundred others. This often results in their capitulation to the common ‘skollie’, the trouble-maker. The use of English is interesting in this context. The term “troublemaker” is probably used by their own communities, taking a position as respectable English people. Although these boys attempt to subvert their status as social pariahs and position themselves within a discourse of traditional masculinity, at times they revert to a position as gangsters, men with their own alternative power and capabilities.

There is, however, an element of truth in their sentiments that “we protect and others are bad”. As Salo (2004) points out, gangs are not permitted to commit crime within their own territory. Gangs attack other gangs’ territories and former ‘white areas’. Yet these boys fail to see the broader context, that they are in fact the villains in other communities. The war metaphor that is displayed through the interviews, of territory, battlefields, fighting for a side and enemies, partly justifies this claim. In war, killing the enemy is a legitimate exercise (Samara, 2005). Similar to ‘official wars’ these boys battle people from other areas, although their gains are largely personal and do not substantially benefit the community at large:

*T: That's all that I've seen already. Because, ok the people they're **alright** with us, their doors are open for us anytime but if their laaities start walking with us, they come and fetch their laaities away there **first time**. Because why they don't want their laaitie's to get involved in this lifestyle. Then they hit (them). And most of those laaities they, how can I say, we're almost like heroes to them, you see now.*

This passage sums up this paradox of how the people feel about gangsters, how this affects the way they feel about themselves and how it constitutes their subjectivity. The communities may tolerate the gangsters and in some ways respect them, but they wouldn't want their children to become one of them. To have this tumultuous 'lifestyle', illustrates the condescending attitude towards hyper-masculine drugs, guns and crass materialism. This boy was therefore aware of the flimsy nature of this traditional masculinity in the gang context.

The fact that people in the community show this ambivalence may relate to the way Jensen (1999) describes people who develop coping strategies by symbolically constructing violence as predictable and controllable through certain discursive ploys. However the symbolic order often breaks down due to unpredictability and for example, a child gets killed in the crossfire or a woman gets shot off the toilet, resulting in antagonism towards gangsters (Jensen, 1999). Mixed messages from the community may exist in this way. One boy was able to see a more complex and often pessimistic situation:

T: deep down you know that it's (shooting people) not right. You can live in the community, you're a woman you'll tell me its right what you're doing that you shot those people away and they could have shot my children but you know its' wrong. And I know you don't like me because I'm a gangster and you'll make as if you like me but you don't like me... you understand?

Tino provides and protects, the most respectable of traditional male virtues, yet he perceives those deeds as somewhat illegitimate because of his involvement in gangstersism and the violence it entails. In this section it is clear that gangsters are not simply respected and esteemed by the community. They may attempt to reconstruct themselves as "neighbourhood watch", as "traditional family values men", but their status is at best ambiguous. The boys are attempting to utilise a traditional male discourse as the provider and the protector but they are often dismissed as subjects of the hyper-masculinity discourse, violent criminals with a bellicose lifestyle, who are a danger to young children. The result of being multiply positioned between contradictory discourses of masculinity ultimately leads to the confusion and ambivalence these boys experience.

“Even gangsters are gentle-men”

In this chapter the boys’ portrayals of traditional masculinity have moved from idealized notions of ‘Hollywood’ success and wives, to the Cape Flats ganglands and how they construct themselves as ‘good guys’ in relation to their communities. I would like to travel even further into the heart of the gangster paradigm, to examine descriptions of gang laws and how they too illustrate the way these boys oscillate between two discourses of masculinity, one as a form of *hyper-masculinity*, the other as a form of *traditional masculinity*:

A: And when you become a gangster and you are gechap is it always on a Saturday?

C: it’s not always but mostly they do it on a Saturday or on a Sunday when the gang now sits in a kring. Ok they now, almost like, almost like here now like a boardroom, like a round table. Right now they talk maybe, right maybe there’s wette like we mos said in gangsterism, that means to say, now... You can’t swear his mother out, me, me like the one that is my JFK brother I can’t swear his mother out or, it means to say I’m slamba. You may not slamba your tweedende broer, that’s one wet now.

A: Slamba?

C: Yes and what else now, let me see. Respect and discipline, truth and geloof and you will verdalla, how can I now say, you will always, you will always do things with your JFK brother. Now that’s the wette. Now if you don’t work according to the wette, now maybe the whole week you didn’t walk according to the wette then we will sit then they will call you out, you that didn’t follow the wette during the week. Right now you will get punished, a hiding.

A: A hiding? Pak?

C: Yes now he must down, now we’re in a circle, now he downs maybe, then he must maybe sit like this [gesticulates], then we hit him with socks with sunlight soap inside and maybe planks, anything. Like that he gets a hiding. Right when the hiding is finished then he must just show two thumbs, right and then he can continue.

.....

A: And truth what does that mean?

C: You must always have truth. Right that means to say, say now I went to break in, right I go and sell the stuff that I stole and so on. Now maybe he asks me, now maybe I have a thousand rand or a two thousand rand on me, now he asks me ‘how much’.

now one JFK asks me how much money did you get and wat wat. Now I maybe say I got a five hundred rand, now that's not the truth. Now when he hears about it then I lied to him, then actually I'm mos lying to the whole camp, furthermore you get punished because of your lying. So you must at all times have truth.

A: And geloof

C: geloof, in your heart you must be strong. Maybe like, I go on a mission, I'm going out on a hit, I'm going to go shoot there opposite on those people, now they will say to me 'march in geloof in'. Like in your heart mustn't abandon you like that. Right then I will say yes, I will march in geloof, right now I move again, I go shoot again, then I come back.

A: In your heart do you really believe...?

C: For me it's almost like an adrenalin rush. My heart beats fast, and I just arrive on the scene and then I just shoot anything that moves, what I see I shoot there. Why because I know that whole place is our enemy's, I'm on the battlefield. Maybe on a Sunday then I'll go shoot on the field.....

A: You can't be rude to your own mother?

C: No you must, it stand there in the wette respect and discipline, truth and geloof. Now the respect is part of in your own house you must respect the people that live there. How can I now say, nobba you're a gangster you must have respect in your own home. Here outside you can do anything you want to, but as soon as they hear you don't have respect towards your mother or your father or towards anyone then you get a hiding.

A: And why do you think, that the gang has these wette that you must have respect for your people?

C: How can I say, it's all part of the image, you can ma say it's like that. Because how can I say, the community aren't going to stand with people that's now, he's rude with his mother, they're going to talk, 'hai that boy he's noggals so rude with his mother and I noggals don't like him' and things like that. Now that's the reason we're like that, we like that the people must like us, because we shoot gun for their place.

There was only one occasion that boys went silent when I asked a question. They would talk easily of rape, murder and theft and yet when one boy mentioned wette and I asked what these were, all eyes looked at the floor. Finally one of the boys said I should ask them in the individual interviews because there were members of rival

gangs together in the focus group. This indicates the deep devotion and fear towards the relevant gangs' laws and the level of secrecy attributed to them. Clues to meaning and emotion are often found in the silences and the secrets (Frosh, 2002).

The boys proceeded to tell me about these laws in the individual interviews. This local form of legislation does not appear to be incredibly complicated and most of the gangs had almost identical laws. These 'wette' involve simple values like respect, truth and discipline. These values appear to be synonymous with the traditional masculinity outlined in this chapter and yet they exist in the context of one of the fundamental components of gangsterism, a world usually associated with hyper-masculinity. These discourses of masculinity are not independent of one another. They constantly interact, creating ambivalence in these boys' fragmented subjectivities.

In part, the laws also involve a form of structural functionalism, whereby they are designed to protect the gang. Included are upholding a respectable image in the community, having the courage to fight at all times and being 'honest' towards one's brothers. Punishment is harsh if a wette is transgressed. To a layperson the laws may seem ironic and illogical. "Honesty" involves telling one's brothers how much money one 'honestly' stole. One may not insult another mother and having respect for the community is imperative, yet having the courage to murder is condoned and sometimes encouraged. From an external vantage point this may appear to be anarchic and senseless and the media often acts as a conduit for projecting images of hedonism, irrationality and animalism (Scharf, 1986).

Yet from within, the values, rituals and logic ensure the preservation of the gang. In their research on British football fans, Marsh, Rosser & Harré (1978) posit that what the media and dominant ideology claims is disordered, is actually a "distinct and orderly system of roles, rules and shared meanings"(pp. 97). Action is not chaotic and senseless but structured and reasoned. In addition, the gang is heavily regimented with rituals and patterns, involving meetings and punishment.

The practice of not insulting another's mother is indicative of the exoneration older women demand in the community and the social position they assume (Salo, 2004).

Furthermore, it relates to the fact that these boys have a close bond with this figure and she arouses much emotional turmoil for them, as will emerge in the next chapter. In terms of functionality, this law attempts to protect the gang from infighting. The fact that a word exists, 'slamba' for this practice, indicates it is a regular form of conflict.

This section on gang laws therefore illustrates how these different discourses of masculinity may be used in varying contexts, overlapping in fluid ways and that forms of traditional masculinity may also be used in the gang paradigm.

In this chapter I have explored how the boys construct the figure of the gentleman, as well as notions of success and idealised future wives, inserting themselves within a discourse of traditional masculinity. This discourse is based on sentiments of provide and protect and is thoroughly non-violent, although at times heavily patriarchal. It is also largely based on certain class assumptions, as these boys attempt to uplift themselves from the poverty in which they live and create a masculinity based on middle-class family values and being men who own property, cars and name-brand clothing. This traditional masculinity intersects with the hyper-masculinity described in the previous chapter and the section on *communities* illustrates how this causes ambivalence in the narratives. In the next chapter I will look at how the boys are also able to engage with a different discourse of masculinity involving open emotional expression and giving up the control and authority largely displayed in hyper and traditional masculinities.

Chapter 7

“Martians need to talk more”: Mythopoetic masculinity

“When you’re locked up, you think about your mother all the time,” Jimmy said.

“That’s true of everybody here. It’s like it’s genetic.”

Marc Salzman, True Notebooks: A writer’s year at juvenile hall.

Introduction

When I arrived at Horizons I expected a group of wild, uncontrollable youngsters. I thought doing research in this context, with these participants would be an uphill struggle of chaos and a lack of co-operation. On the contrary, these sanguine boys filed in, sat down and spoke openly and emotionally about their lives.

Contiguous to this subject position as the gentleman, a new discourse of masculinity emerges. This discourse is the product of a crisis in masculinity, based on the collapse of men’s traditional work, the rise of feminist consciousness and the ubiquity of technological culture which cannot be transmitted inter-generationally (Frosh, 2002). In sum, a crisis of authority has resulted. In particular contexts a new ‘emotional, in touch with his feelings man’ may appear in reaction to these structural changes.

I have labelled this discourse as *mythopoetic masculinity*. It is typified by the mythopoetic movement and writers such as Robert Bly (1990) with his *Iron John*. Mythopoetic masculinity encourages men to express emotion, to talk about their feelings, whilst essentialistic and categorical conceptions of gender remain (Connell, 2000). Homogeneity between gendered groups is overlooked and heterogeneity within groups ignored. Men are from Mars, women are from Venus, but Martians need to talk more. In this chapter, I will explore how the boys utilise this discourse of mythopoetic masculinity when talking about *emotion and communication*. I will then analyse some of their more tenuous encounters with young women, as well as looking at how they portray their relationships with their *mothers*. Within this mythopoetic discourse, it is acceptable for men to show vulnerability, relinquish control and portray behaviour which is not authoritative. This discourse is largely constructed in

relation to women, although it was observed in interviews with me. It was certainly absent from focus groups where the boys interacted with their peers.

“I don’t understand so n’aa if you don’t cry”; Communication and emotion

The discourse that I have labelled *mythopoetic masculinity* is in many ways similar to traditional masculinity, especially in relation to pacifistic behaviour. Some of the boys described what it means for them to be successful within this mythopoetic discourse:

*Q: I am trustworthy, I can (trustworthy?) be very... be very **nice** to other people. You talk sensible things with someone, not like these languages this sabella, the nommerskap again olden times, a good **conversation** with someone that I can also **socialize** with, and we **communicate** lekker with each other, that’s someone that’s successful.*

The successful, gentle, somewhat mythopoetic man is based on communicating in a non-violent manner. The difference between gangster sabella discourse, associated with intimidation, violence and a rigid code of laws, is contrasted with ‘conversation’. Although gangsters are conversing, it appears as if conversation and talking happens between ‘free’ people with personalities, whereas gangster ‘sabella’ comprises of a scripted role-playing exercise.

There is a substantial amount of English used in this section and Quinton uses words like ‘nice’, ‘conversation’, ‘socialise’ and ‘communicate’. Discourse relating to interactions of the mythopoetic man is heavily Anglicised. The subject attempts to evade working-class ‘skolliness’ and become sufficiently pure, passive and middle-class. Code-switching to ‘middle-class’ English indicates an attempt towards upward mobility (Stone, 1995).

The concept of trust appears for the first time. Gangsterism revolves around competition, status and continual one-upmanship, to prove one is ‘sterkbene’. Whatever trust exists is enforced through laws and punishments. Gangsters trust their bloodbrothers will not desert them on the battlefield, due to the fact that they will probably be heavily punished if they do. ‘Trust’ in the context of the mythopoetic

gentleman takes on a different form. Benevolence, being 'nice' to others, is implied in this context.

This trust provides the basis for relationships to develop, contrasting with gangster 'relationships' established on the basis of the same tattoo:

A: What makes a relationship a good relationship?

R: A relationship a good relationship, um...to trust each other, yes to love each other and not to put people down, that makes for a good relationship.

Mythopoetic masculinity contains relationships based on "love and trust". The 'emotional' discourse is startling after observing the hyper-masculinity described in chapter five. Walton, Coyle & Lyons (2004) found that British men constructed men as emotional beings within certain rule governed contexts, such as death, football and nightclubs. The boys at Horizons appear to be open to emotional expression in other domains, for example relationships.

My own role in this regard cannot be underestimated. The boys obviously assumed that it would be desirable to express emotion and portray themselves as 'peaceful and sensitive' in the individual interview context, where this white researcher asked them about their feelings. Furthermore, investing in a discourse of mythopoetic masculinity may aid them in defending against the anxiety of awaiting trial. The "mythopoetic man" is a western, middle-class construction and the boys were certainly interacting and reflecting parts of this discourse back at me, the psychology student:

D: How are you going to make now if you don't talk about your feelings, just keep it inside you, you can keep it inside you, you must talk to someone, to someone else and he talks to you about his feelings with you mos.

and

*R: If you keep it inside and you don't talk about it then you're just going to **doubt** yourself every time.*

From a post-structural perspective, these boys are inserting themselves within a discourse of mythopoetic masculinity, a discourse of not 'bottling things up' and

'talking about your feelings'. This seems contradictory in relation to the discourse of hyper-masculinity described in chapter five, as that paradigm was based on being strong at heart, never displaying fear and 'going with the flow'.

Psycho-analytically, the feebleness of masculinity is clearly displayed by the pain involved in repressing emotion, in not being able to talk. 'Doubting oneself' illustrates the identity confusion and fragility inherent in a hegemonic position of violence, competition and toughness. The notion of masculinity as fragile is also illustrated by the "going mad" and "committing suicide". Gangsterism is associated with going mad, something that was not shown to be wholly undesirable, as some boys described themselves as 'gevaarlike' gangsters, similar to Collison's (1996) account of 'mad' British street youth. In a different subject position and discourse, 'mad' is repugnant, as these young boys yearn for a gentler side, for communication involving emotional expression that is reciprocal, and inter-subjective. I think it is important to see the discursive and the psycho-analytic positions, as the effects of discourse are real and the emotions these boys feel no less painful or maladaptive because they are the result of a particular discursive framework. One of the boys described his reaction to his father's murder, stabbed by a gangster, in the following manner:

E: I just cried, I cried so that I fell over. (How did you feel?) I didn't feel like a normal man, my hair was, it felt like I didn't have hair, it was different. (what's a normal man?) It didn't feel like I was a person that could see, I could see nobody, I just lay and I cried, and the tears soema got dry on my face. (do you think it's good that men cry?) You must mos cry, if you don't cry, don't understand (don't understand?) I don't understand so n'aa, if you don't cry, I don't know what sort of person are you.

Emre describes his vision being impaired in response to my question on normative masculinity. Overwhelming emotion results in distorted vision and signifies irrationality, in opposition to masculine traits of cool, rational, structured action. Despite not feeling like a 'normal man', Emre proclaims the inhumanity of not being able to cry and express emotion. Is he implying that being a normal man is inhumane?

Is there a paradox here, one that realises expressing emotion and grief are necessary, in fact constitutive of normal human activity, yet they are emasculating? Gough (2004) argues that the psychoanalytic focus on irrational emotion as a threat to rational self-presentation aids in comprehending the discursive construction of masculinity. Emre is therefore defending against this emotion, saying he couldn't see properly, yet he fully endorses this crying. Some men may therefore be able to partially accept the 'irrationality of emotion' as a part of a 'normal' male self.

In this sense, these boys are therefore interacting with a global and a local context. They are responding to global challenges to traditional conceptions of what it means to be a man, the 'crisis of authority' (Frosh, 2002). Furthermore, they are using particular locally endorsed cultural constructions of masculinity, to constitute a gender identity in post-Apartheid South Africa. At times democracy's children adapt to the 'crisis of authority' (and the social dislocation caused by Apartheid) through the mythopoetic gentle-man. Alternatively the backlash against a crisis of authority is demonstrated by hyper-masculine gangsterism. These boys are therefore multiply positioned within contradictory discourses of masculinity.

"You took my love and run": Girls

This mythopoetic masculinity, based on open talk about emotions, was also utilized in relation to some of the romantic relationships the boys have experienced. One boy even sang a song he had written about a girl, for me, in the interview:

K: It's almost like this girl, I'm love, very in love with this girl but in the meantime I didn't know she had other boyfriends. But she also played the part that she's also in love with me but she's really not in love with me. But at the end I found out, so I saw she now has this berk, I caught them together mos now.

A: So why is it Just for Fun?

K: Because she took my love for a alles. Just for fun she took my love and run.

A: What are the other words to the song?

(K sings the song for me. **The lyrics are in English** and are appendix D)

A: And how do you feel when you sing?

*K: Sometimes I feel **emotional**, sometimes I feel happy. Different sort of **feelings** that I get.*

Discourse analysis is useful for looking at how talk about emotions opens or closes subject positions (Walton, Coyle & Lyons, 2004). Kenny is taking up the subject position of the abused boyfriend. He is the passive partner who has been exploited. In Hollway's (1984) positioning theory of heterosexual relationships, Kenny is inserted as the subject of the have/hold discourse, unusual for men. The fact that he is openly expressing emotion within a mythopoetic discourse, in a way normatively perceived as 'feminine', allows him to take up this position.

Words like 'emotional' and 'feeling' are again used in English, as are the words for 'Just For Fun'. The respectable 'English gentle-man' appears within this discourse of mythopoetic masculinity, as the boys attempt to subjugate gangster 'sabella' and 'skolliness', exerting upward mobility (Stone, 1995). These discourses of traditional and mythopoetic masculinity therefore fold into each other and overlap at times.

Singing may be a rule-governed space where men can legitimately express emotion, as posited by Walton, Coyle & Lyons (2004). Many men have historically been successful musicians and are able to display many of the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity, such as success, affluence and fame, within this paradigm. Furthermore, many of the boys dreamt of becoming famous musicians.

Some of the boys described being shy and insecure in their first sexual encounters:

R: I don't know what to say to her, I'm still shy that time. I walk home, I get home. Now this afternoon I'm shy for her I don't know what to say to her, rather gonna go home. Now I say to her 'Anna, u ... I'm ma going now. [section of tape inaudible] I put a cassette in for us that we can listen to music. Now we smoke a entjie. Now I sit on the bed, now I don't know what to say, now she just soema falls on me and we get bymekaar.

A: And that was the first girl that you vryed?

R: Yes, first girl.

A: How did you feel?

R: I felt shy, when when we're now finished vrying I couldn't look into her eyes I don't know I don't know what to say to her. Now she tells me she feels to have a relationship with me and I said 'it's the same for me man Anna, but I don't know how

to tell you.' Now she says I mustn't worry man you see, 'me and you are already hyniekaar'. Now she falls again on me now we vry again, now like that I met her. And so we got used to each other and talk lekker to each other.

In this excerpt Remo both admits three times to being shy and is substantially passive in his portrayal of the first kiss debacle. Again it seems that he takes up a position as the subject of Hollway's (1984) have/hold discourse, wanting a relationship. Remo does transfer this to the past tense, that he 'used to be shy', but still openly describes the insecurity experienced in this event, relinquishing authority and control of the situation.

Talking is omnipotent in the way this mythopoetic masculinity is performed (Butler, 1993). This is linked to "getting used to each other", implying personalities and individuality, as discussed in the previous chapter. Remo added later in the interview:

R: The Bad Girls they just want to party, I learnt that they just want your money is all. They just want money and they just want to drink. But that first girl that I had Anna naai she, she wasn't still after the money or things like that.

A division is created between gang girls who desire money, alcohol and drugs, inherent in hyper-masculinity and the type of girls who you 'get to know' and have a more substantially 'authentic' relationship with. Different types of men exist within each of these paradigms and the shy, insecure, mythopoetic gentleman could never exist within a gangster world. Sex is also different in these contrasting paradigms:

B: They just want to have sex (gang girls) I can't mos be like that man. (did you have sex with them?) Yes lekker, I can't be like that man...I want a lekker conversation as well you see...I want to know who you are, where you come from. How's your background, how's it in your place...you see now...here comes this kind soema grabs your head starts kissing you. That's not right (not right) it's like that every time...you see.

A: But tell me about one of the girls that you liked?

*B: Naai this one girl that I had she's...tram (tram?) She's tough. She doesn't still like that you must...or so you see. We **treated** each other in a lekker **way** you see. (What*

did you do together, what kind of things?) We tiked together and rocked. We did that together everyday... (and you like that?) I liked that that time yes... then we play with each other. You see meneer, then she grabs my privates I grab soema her tit. So that goose plays o pel. I like that yes.

This story seems confusing. Bradley initially portrays crass sexuality as an illegitimate form of interaction with a girl and then describes a situation where he and a 'goose', do exactly that. The point is that you first have to get to know the person and treat each other well. Like in the other excerpts a degree of trust has to be established for the mythopoetic man, he cannot simply 'dive straight in'. After the interview this boy told me that the gang girls used to tease him as being ugly. For many of these boys the insecurities around sexuality and fear of failure are stark, as was shown in the Psychoanalytic theory to be a general feature of masculine fragility (Segal, 2001). It is an area which they struggle to control and may gain more security from getting to know a partner.

Interestingly, the romantic activities Bradley enjoyed with his girl were 'tikking' (smoking chrysal methamphetamine) and 'rocking' (smoking crack cocaine). When Bradley participated in the focus group I thought he was slightly mentally retarded because of the way he talked. In the individual interview he spoke in a stuttering manner yet was clearly intelligent, saying he had read the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy and had had to teach other children English at school. The effect of smoking 'rocks' from a young age had certainly taken its toll. Drugs play a major role in life on the Cape Flats and cannot be excluded from an analysis of men and crime (Leggett, 2002).

Others shared these sentiments, constructing sex as more than a purely physical act:
*E: She's not like other girls, just now talk everything talk nicely and wat wat. You must first speen two or three days with this girl, you can't just sex and wat wat. (And you think that's right?) Yes for me it feels right, talk to the girl, maybe so two, three months I will talk to a girl you see... (why must you do that?) Yes she gets mos lekker **normal** on you. (Normal?) yes, you let her get used to you... the love mos gets big that time... bigger and bigger and bigger... (and were you in love?) yes I was in love with her... (and how do you feel then?) I just feel **proud** here inside.*

The notion of waiting for sex is again apparent, differing from the hyper-masculine discourse where multiple partners prevailed and attaining the status of the player reigned. The extent to which talking is central within this discourse is significant. Emre also uses the word 'normal' again. The implication is that relationships are initially stressful and one needs to act in a specific way which is out of the ordinary, in the preliminary stages. In time she is able to show her personality and 'be herself', be 'normal'. The vulnerability inherent in these boys exposing themselves through intimacy is again visible, yet Emre projects this onto the girl needing time to acclimatise to him, when clearly he also needs this.

The term 'proud' is used to illustrate the feeling of being loved and valued by a girl, not for shooting guns (as was demonstrated elsewhere) or performing acts of overcoming great risk, but pride may be attained simply through being a man in a relationship. The values inherent in this mythopoetic masculinity therefore include patience, the ability to be intimate and excelling at relationships. Authority is not of primary importance in this discourse.

In this section I have illustrated how many of these boys buy into a mythopoetic masculinity when describing their relations with women. They are fairly passive and insecure around physical sexual contact and yet many desire this intimacy, beyond being the gangster player.

"I am the apple of her eye": Mothers

One of the most surprising aspects of the 25 interviews I conducted was the central role that the boys' ascribed to their mothers, in the portrayals of their lives. These violent gangsters, who in some respects attempted to construct an identity around toughness, status and control (Luyt & Foster, 2001) were also sons who conversed freely with their mothers:

A: And your mother, are you and your mother dik chommies?

G: Yes, we're almost like brother and sister. I tell her, like when I also started getting into girls, bowling girls and so on, I come and talk always to her, always come and find things out by her, what I must do if a girl is like this and so. Later, and if I had sex then I come and tell her me and this girl had sex and so on, then she always tells

me to use a condom and lots of things like that. She always says I must never hit a woman, it's not worth it to hit a woman.

Being brother and sister indicates a level of familiarity beyond the hierarchical relationship normally existing between parents and their children. They are comfortable and secrets are not kept from one another. The excerpt above is taken from the same boy who threw a brick at a girl's head. Romario's non-violent side may therefore be expressed through his mother, inherent in saying what *her* values are, when in fact they are a repressed part of *his* self. Boys may incorporate gendered aspects of all loved objects into the self, although 'feminine' components may be repressed (Benjamin, 2000). Investing in a discourse of mythopoetic masculinity may therefore alleviate the anxiety related to repressed 'feminine' parts of the self.

Whilst Romario 'talks' to his mother, he 'bowls' girls. This cricketing metaphor implies the active performance of trying to 'take a girl's wicket', to score. The discourses of mythopoetic and hyper-masculinity therefore rub shoulders in relation to different kinds of women. Romario is using his mother to show that he 'bowls girls' in consultation with someone responsible, someone who oversees the process. Again discourses collapse into one another at times, in a paradoxical manner.

Whilst some boys may have a sibling relationship with their mothers, a process of individuation is also occurring, as the boys attempt to dis-identify with their mothers and find male role-models (Chodorow, 1994). In relation to the boys I interviewed this presents insight into the 'turn to gangsterism', in order to find a masculine identity, in a world where fathers are largely absent:

"Faced with a dissolving gender identity, men often retreat into more fantasy masculinity, anywhere that will take them from the world of the mother, the world of dependence, intimacy and boundary loss.....the more fragile the source of this identity, for instance because of social conditions militating against secure identity formation, the more vivid and vicious this repudiation can become." (Frosh, 2002, p.33)

The boys may therefore also invest in hyper-masculinity to deal with fragile gender identity formation.

This sets the scene for conflict between mothers and gangs, for interaction between mythopoetic love expressed for mothers and hyper-masculine gang violence. The gang or in Frosh's (2002) words 'fantasy masculinity', stands in direct opposition to the mother. This opposition is symbolised by the tattoo. This symbol permanently marks one's allegiance through the body and defines who an individual gangster's family is, much like similar physical characteristics designate conventional families. Tattoos mark men's bodies with values of toughness, courage and loyalty and designate ownership and submission to the gang. The boys always showed me their tattoos proudly, describing the circumstances in which each one was earned. I had only ever seen 'professional' tattoos drawn by tattoo artists prior to my research at Horizons. These boys' tattoos were often hastily done and the symbols difficult to discern, yet they wore them much like a war veteran's medals of honour.

The simple logic of 'we are brothers because we have the same *tattoo*' constantly reoccurred. It illustrates the symbolic weight of this material marker of identity and the commitment it demands. As Nichols (2002) explains, a tattoo is a social fact, allowing the body to 'speak'. In the gang context it tells others who one is aligned with and who one is opposed to and is a direct contravention of 'mother's law':

A: And show me where's the chap that they gave you? It's small, why is it so small?

B: I mos asked them, so I put it here by me because I didn't still want that my mother them must know mos. Because my mother [inaudible] then they would have had it uitgebrand and so on. (Uitgewat?) Then they would have it uitgebrand. (Uitgebrand't, throw you out of the house or...?) They would have thrown me out of the house but, one Saturday so we went to a funeral. Another gangster that died, another gangster that so we went to the funeral. Now the truck of ours must come, but the Mongrels were shooting whole day, we weren't there, so they were shooting whole day there by us. So we never had bullets, so we waited for bullets, so it came that we got hold of bullets, then two men, we were three men, so we went out on a hit. You see it's the main road, then you get the field, it's now a road like that now, we just came over and the cars were coming on, we were three men. Now we stand in front of the car, it's still coming on, and on it's close range. Now we shoot at the car, then my mother came out of work and she saw me. (She sees you, that you're shooting?) Yes, so she got a fright, because, we can mos now, then we shoot that car siv. Two or three

people there. Then when I was finished we put the guns away, so it came that my mother came to fetch me. I know mos if my mother comes to fetch me there she's going to hit me, then I just pull myself away and walk, you see. Then I don't go home the weekend. Then my mother comes to look for me, then I just hide myself away.

A: What did she say when she saw you the next time?

B: Naai, so she only hit me. (Hit you?) Yes, and then she took me to the doctor to get the chap uitgebrand, and so they took me. (Took you to the doctor and got the chap uitgebrand?) Taken out, there by the, by the hospital, so they said naai they don't do that there.

A: And why do you think it's so important for your mother that you have the chap removed?

*B: Because my mother has already been through those things man, my mother knows what it is. My mother's seen many things already, from these things already so my mother wouldn't **like** me becoming a gangster..... Yes I'm the apple of my mothers eye. (Why do you say so?). My mother, she will give me more than for my sisters and brothers. (Why?) I don't know. She's proud of me.*

The above scenario seems bizarre, with kids playing outside in the form of a gang war, only to be scolded and beaten by an over-caring mother. Bruno narrates the tale like a naughty schoolboy who has been caught with his hands in the cookie jar.

Bruno's assumption of "being his mother's best child", "the apple of her eye" seems absurd considering she has observed him shooting and trying to kill. Many of the boys boasted that they are their mother's favourite child. This fact is difficult to fathom as they are all awaiting trial and costing their mothers much time and money, not to mention emotional distress. For many of these boys, their mothers are the only genuine source of stability in life, therefore providing partial unity (Frosh, 1994). This is reassuring in a life based on excessive risk-taking in order to achieve being 'gevaarlik'. The boys may exaggerate the amount of love their mothers bestow on them in comparison to siblings. This may function as an effective defence mechanism in a world where they receive minimal love and affection, have little stability and reassurance.

Although these boys somewhat break kinship lines through gangsterism, they are only 16 or 17 years old and their mothers still exert influence in their lives. The divided nature of the gamut of worlds these boys live in presents itself. Discursively, Bruno is caught between the hyper-masculine gang world based on shooting guns and bravery and being the mythopoetic "apple of his mother's eye", the sweet boy who is most loved and cherished. The respect for his mother's wisdom and support buttresses this expression of emotion towards her.

Mothers often attempt to nullify the hiatus in the relationship, the inter-discursive conflict between hyper and mythopoetic masculinities, by removing the tattoo and gangsterism. Having a tattoo carries a status of personhood which forecloses certain paths in life, affects the type of jobs one may obtain, the women one may realistically marry, as well as the way a community perceives an individual. In *The Number*, Magadien Wentsel, was forced to wear a long sleeve shirt everyday of his working life in order to conceal his status as a gangster (Steinberg, 2004).

Protective mothers therefore do their utmost to ensure their sons avoid a life path of massive turmoil, that they become gentle-men and not gangsters. It is also extremely humiliating for these women if their sons become gangsters and reflects badly on them as mothers. The huge expense to working-class mothers, of having a tattoo burnt out, in order to recreate a different identity, may appear trivial to outsiders, but can only be understood by not under-estimating the social power of the tattoo. The description of *burning* it out carries devilish connotations of mothers exorcising immorality and gangsterism. It also subtly indicates a more substantially ambivalent relationship with the mother, the 'witch' who burns out tattoos, more so than the boys may admit. Many mothers on the Cape Flats are alcoholics and neglectful parents, in no small part due to poverty (Stone, 2005, personal communication). Yet these boys establish a social identity and respect in the community by coming from a 'good' family and having a 'pure' mother (Stone, 2005, personal communication). Stone (2005, personal communication) states that if a coloured boy from the Cape Flats did not emphatically sing his mother's praises, he would be seriously worried about this boy and the child could even be suicidal.

Earlier, many of the boys described resorting to violence at the most trivial of provocations. A rival gangster may only look the wrong way and yet be punished with bullets. However, mothers are portrayed as a different category and would never be the object of violence. In relation to their mothers these boys are firmly placed in a mythopoetic discourse, where violence and retaliation are not performative options:

E: Ok one day...so...me and my brother was mos playing in the room, and now like I said rough. My mother told us we mustn't, we must stop, but we just played on and on. Later on she got cross and she came in, she opened the door and she threw me mos with a, with a, with a pliers here.

A: And how did you feel towards your mother?

E: And when we came to the hospital so the doctor asked how did I get hurt so my father said that I fell, wait man, they threw me...but they didn't say that my mother threw me, I know mos my mother would get into trouble.

A: And do you think it's right that he said that?

E:Yes because, I, I also wouldn't allow my mother to get into trouble.

Here Elroy acts as his mother's protector, realising the severity of the situation and the possibility of her being prosecuted for abuse. Her violence is legitimate in his eyes. This illustrates the extent to which mothers are only 'good'. This could be the result of "militant mythopoetic passivity", or the splitting these boys continually perform in their 'either or' lives. Again discourses, here possibly all three, blend into a unique cocktail of masculinities.

Although these boys openly talk about the love they have for their mothers and the fact that they are exclusively passive in relation to her, in many instances 'the mother' is the subject of violent conflict, as well as the source of tumultuous anger when disrespected by another. After all, it is inscribed in gang law, in the form of 'slamba'. Many fights start or progress due to provocation related to mothers:

C: ...Ok this one other JFK, his name is Jerry, what means to say, his mother is dead and his father is dead. Now we were sitting there on this spot where we always sit, we were three JFK that were sitting there. Now they're making gat of me whole time, of my mother and things like that. Ok I got angry, I sat and kept it all in, I told them

'naai man guys don't make gat of my mother, stop with these things that you guys are on about.' Now they were houing dik, they were houing dik, so I told this one, 'you talk like that about my mother but your mother is a dronk lap, your mother doesn't even care about you guys,' you see meneer. 'Anytime there's no food in your house then you want to come and ask me but you talk about my mother and you Jerry, you don't even have a mother to talk about man'. So I soema told him because he was gaing my mother, furthermore he says 'jy what you talking about my mother, your mothers this and your mothers that' he says to me, now I tell him 'your mothers that also man'. So this man said 'you must fight with me man' so I told him yes we can fight. Ok right he walked first to the park there where we hang out and I came and we fought with our fists. I hit him so he couldn't take it that I hit him so he went to go fetch a knife, I didn't go fetch a knife, I left him and so he stabbed me.

It is the highest form of disrespect to insult another's mother. The boys' mothers almost function as a mark of social respectability, the state and extent of her kitchen gauging a family's prosperity (Steinberg, 2004). The situation is made markedly worse when a mother's genitalia are brought into the equation by a rival. This is usually described as the time when physical conflict ensues.

There is certainly a considerable social and personal 'honour' element to all this, but I feel there is a complex emotional dynamic too. In psychoanalysis the mother is both the sign and repository of painful feelings (Gough, 2004). It is almost as if something tender inside them explodes as this woman is insulted. A fragile part of them that has not dis-identified or possibly their investment in mythopoetic masculinity, is being insulted via their mothers:

A: Tell me Glen, when do you get cross?

G: When someone swears my mother out.

A: Ok...and why do you get cross when someone swears your mother out?

G: They can mos swear me out.....I don't like people that swear mother out....I hate it if someone swears my mother out, I tell them swear at me but don't swear my mother out.

Even though Glen differentiates between swearing at him and at his mother, it seems as if these boys' soft, repressed feminine selves are being directly interrogated and probed by these derogatory remarks. A place where difficult feelings are held is under attack.

Mothers are therefore a major object within this discourse of mythopoetic masculinity. They become confidantes for intimate advice in relation to girls and the boys want to become 'apples of their eyes'. Mothers physically and symbolically oppose hyper-masculine violence and gangsterism and its bodily markers, such as tattoos. The boys struggle to individuate from their mothers and find an authentic masculine identity, whilst keeping the pacifistic aspects of self they have internalised from her. They therefore make investments in multiple discourses of masculinity. As has been indicated, a more substantially ambivalent relationship does probably exist between these boys and their mothers, more so than they portray.

The question arises as to how do I know these boys were being genuine about this mythopoetic masculinity? Surely it would be in their favour to declare themselves gentle and harmless to society. They obviously assumed that this young white man would have some kind of power to help their cause, even though I emphatically claimed otherwise. Discourse analysis is less concerned with these boys' essential selves and more with why they use certain identities for specific effects. All of these mythopoetic examples are from individual interviews and the gentle-man and his mother were considerably silenced in the focus groups, where the boys jockeyed for status and competed for attention. To some degree the context of our interview allowed these boys to express a side of their selves which is often repressed, to invest in a discourse of mythopoetic masculinity which lurks at the boundaries of their subjectivities. Furthermore, the extensive use of English indicates that these boys use this discourse as a means of upward mobility, attempting to become respectable English 'gentle-men'.

Chapter 8

Jerome the Dixie Boy

Jerome: You're high...they see you, all the people see you...if they see you in the road, everyone respects you...in their heart they're scared of you...Your words have weight, your voice has weight...they listen to you.....

Adam: and how does that make you feel?

Jerome: make you feel cool...fucking cool...in other words you're a murderer...they respect you.

Excerpt on gangsterism from focus group one.

Why analyse one boy?

I would like to pull together the analysis chapters of this project by looking at the life of one boy. Hollway and Jefferson (2000) encourage 'holistic' analyses, not obliterating the participants into discourses or coding schemes across the interviews. I feel this approach gives the reader a picture of one of these boys' lives in a more coherent and synthesised form. It also returns the subject to the centre of analysis, not abstractly focusing on the 'narrative' or the 'discourse' as the primary object of study. This device is an attempt to rejuvenate the experiential, the humanism and imagination of discourse analysis and post-structuralism, as indicated in the introduction (Frosh, 2002; Jefferson, 1994).

When analyzing the data I found it unsatisfying to convey my findings, without looking at the life of one boy. The different discourses of masculinity and subject positions occupied by these boys cannot easily be neatly dissected and separated. They are tangled in a fluid web of overlapping and contradictory meanings, which make more sense when seen in the context of a real person and his life.

I have chosen the story of Jerome not because he is an 'ideal type' in the conventional sense of the term. Jerome represents the central contradiction, the anomaly in the data. He is simultaneously the subject of a *hyper-masculine* discourse of gangs, drugs and guns, as well as the 'sweet son' and boyfriend, the provider and protector, inherent in

discourses of *traditional and mythopoetic masculinities*. He embodies this contradiction vehemently and it is this that will be probed in the chapter, highlighting relevant issues and raising questions central to the research as a whole. I will begin by giving an overview of Jerome's fairly short life to date, as he portrayed it in the interview to me and then concentrate on some sections of transcript which I think draw out this intermingling, overlapping discursive labyrinth most clearly. This is Jerome's story.

Jerome the Dixie Boy

After the focus group Jerome disappeared and I was unable to interview him in the afternoon. Two days later I found him amongst the Horizons rugby team and he agreed to come and talk to me. He is a short boy, no taller than five foot, although he is physically mature and well built, with scruffy facial hair. Jerome was shy, grinning compulsively, with a radiant, warm smile erupting on occasion. He was very likeable.

Jerome is 17 years old and comes from Kalksteen on the Cape Flats. He has six brothers and no sisters and is the second youngest child in his family. Jerome's mother earns a living as a domestic worker in a white family's house in Durbanville in the northern suburbs. His father vanished a long time ago and his parents are now divorced. Jerome's mother remarried and he complained that his step-father gave all of the children money except him. At the same time, Jerome described himself as his 'mother's best child' and praised her as 'the best mother in the world'.

Jerome continued to describe his first day of high school, when some of the bigger boys bullied him, forcing him to pick up packets of chips off the floor. When he refused the boys hit him. Jerome went home and got a knife and proceeded to attempt to stab the older boys. He claims they were all scared of him after that. Some teachers tried to convince him not to resort to violence.

When he was twelve Jerome became involved with the Dixie Boys gang in Kalksteen. He was seeing a girl whose brother was a Dixie Boy. After spending time with these Dixie Boys they asked him if he wanted to join them and whether he was 'sterkbone'. Jerome told them that he was. He informed me that to become a Dixie Boy you either had to shoot at somebody else or you had to 'smokkel' drugs. Jerome had to sell 75

grams of 'tik' and although the story was confusing it seems as if this 'business deal' happened largely in one transaction, with a local 'merchant'.

Jerome described how once initiation was complete, he became part of a world structured by the strict laws of the gangs and relationships with other gangsters. He felt a passionate sense of loyalty to the Dixie Boys, analogous to a dedicated football team supporter and Jerome explained to me that the "Dixies are a very dangerous gang".

The Dixie Boys often went to 'jols' together, such as *The Galaxy* and *Rio* nightclubs, which have afternoon matinees for younger clientele. There were frequently fights at these events. On one occasion the Dixie Boys found a 'Yakkie' or opposing gang member in the party. One of the Dixie Boys took a bullet out of his bag and told the Yakkie "this is for you". They then went to the car to fetch the guns and told Jerome he had to shoot the boy. When Jerome refused they labelled him a 'bangetjie'. He beat the Yakkie up as a compromise.

From time to time the Dixie Boys would meet on a field and 'war tactics' were discussed. Guns were distributed depending on the circumstances facing the Dixie Boys in each area. There were boys and men of all ages at these meetings and 'many leaders' were present, not one 'king'. Jerome said that he soon became the Kalksteen Dixie Boys leader's right hand man, accompanying him to his major drug deals. By this stage Jerome said that he was not well liked in his community, as his foul temper often resulted in children getting hit and the people knew that he was 'shooting gun' a lot.

There were also Dixie Girls, who were used to carry pills and guns and had to have sex with the Dixie Boys whenever the young men desired. Jerome said that he didn't waste his time by having sex with these girls. Jerome then impregnated one of his three girlfriends. Having a child resulted in him pulling out of the gang work and getting a real job, working for a tiling company in Hanover Park. This job only paid R500 a week and he described how he gave R150 of this to his girlfriend and R200 to his mother.

Jerome was then arrested for attempted murder. He claims that he is innocent on this occasion, stating that the witness was a woman in his community who doesn't like him. Jerome complained bitterly about his current situation and about the staff and conditions at Horizons. His child's mother won't bring the baby to Horizons because it's "no place to bring a child" and she doesn't want the boy to follow in his father's footsteps. Jerome, like many of the boys, had little understanding of the South African legal system, hinting that all he needed was someone to write a letter to the magistrate, explaining that he was actually a good boy and should be let free.

Analysis: "The discursive lattice"

Early in the interview Jerome described himself as a man who likes to talk. This proved true and he spoke for almost 2 hours, needing little encouragement or probing:

*J: ...I think it's good that you can talk about your problems, I think that if you keep it in your **mind** then I think that you can go mad or something like that. In the old end you can commit suicide. It's better to talk it out.*

Most of the boys agreed that talking about your feelings and problems is a positive form of behaviour, asserting mythopoetic masculinity. They buy into a modern, western psychological discourse, stating that letting your feelings out is healthy and, in Jerome's eyes, prevents mental illness or suicide. This is a legitimate position for a man within this framework.

The Dixie Boys

In contrast to this mythopoetic discourse, Jerome's gang involvement hinted at a different 'kind of man'. He described his decision to join the Dixie Boys as related to both a girlfriend and his tumultuous home environment:

A: And how did you guys meet?

*J: It's through this **girlfriend**, this **girlfriend** that I had. Her friends, her dingise was also a Dixie boy, her brother, was there. So I went to their house, I always went to her, go to the **game shop** with her play games, drink a drink and so on. Like that I became friends with them and so on, with her brother, her brother took me to his friends and I spoke to them, I'm always at her house. I sleep now and then by her house. **Party, nice time** and so on, drink a beer and cool off. And afterwards so it*

*came that I smoke with them, so they told me 'ja you must ma now also become a Dixie Boy, what do you say?' So I said yes, I am, they ask you now in other words are you sterkbene, it means how do you feel, they don't threaten you or anything. They ask you, do you want to be a Dixie Boy or don't you want to, so I said naai it's **alright** I want to be a Dixie Boy.*

A: Why did you want to become a Dixie Boy?

J: Because there's a lot of pressure on my head because my brother that they made that is gedingsese and my step father that my mother, he also dingsese'd my brother, mos gedingsese, mos rape. My mother made a case against him. Everybody puts pressure on my head they say [inaudible] I said yes I'm just going to become a dingsese just to get a gun in my hands. Just hurt that ou but I didn't get that far to hurt him. He moved out.

For Jerome, becoming a gangster and entry into the hyper-masculine gang world, is intertwined with the need to protect his family. The discourses of hyper-masculinity and traditional masculinity therefore overlap. Becoming a Dixie Boy means proving that one is 'sterkbene', implying bravery, overcoming extreme risk and the willingness to use violence. Although he says he wasn't forced, Jerome is performing these acts in relation to a group of men and a girl who he likes. It is therefore a fairly public display of one's manhood.

However, Jerome justifies this decision not only in relation to liking the girl, but because he feels an unequivocal sense of responsibility for his little brother and the family, even though he is the second youngest of six brothers. Violence and destruction mingle with protective intensions. The rite of passage into gangsterism is therefore discursively constituted through a more traditional understanding of what it means to be a man. It is enmeshed with the notion of 'provide and protect' for your family, even though Jerome was very young.

The word 'dingsese' is exceptionally vague, roughly translated as 'thingy'. The clear emotional turmoil and anxiety around Jerome's brother's rape resists verbalization and discursive expression. Through the stress experienced in the very Real event of his young brother's rape, Jerome attempts to alleviate that anxiety by 'investing' in a discourse of hyper-masculinity and the acquisition of a gun to protect his family.

Furthermore Jerome says “dingese” instead of ‘gangster’ in the final instance, suggesting he is inserting himself into a discourse of traditional masculinity and attempting to avoid hyper-masculine gangsterism, although the mention of a gun may suggest otherwise. He therefore tries to gain traditional masculinity through hyper-masculinity. These two discourses are heavily interlinked in this passage.

Jerome's Women

Jerome is involved in a variety of contrasting relationships with the women in his life and he plays with different notions of masculinity through his descriptions of these women. He portrays his dealings with ‘vaste meisies’ (solid girlfriends), other girls and his mother:

A: Do you think it's all right to have a vaste girlfriend in Kalksteen?

J: Yes. (Why is it all right?) She had my laaitie and I love her a lot. I don't still want that she's loose. (You want to leave this?) I wanted to leave this a long time ago. (What did you leave a long time ago?) that gejollery. (Now that you have a laaitie?) Now that I have a laaitie yes.

A: But was she a vaste girl then also when you were jolling with the other girls?

*J: Three girls that I loved a lot. (At the same time?) At the same time, three that I loved a lot. One's name is Saneema. I have her chap here, here's her initial here. I loved her very much and she loved me a lot and that meant we got together, you understand, we soema came **straight** and made **checks** and so on. Ok and she's now **obviously** into me because they say you break your, how now, break your virgin or something like that like they say, I got her clean. And this girl that has my child Deseree. I got her clean as well, and another girl from Park Town there in Gatesville near Athlone, her name was Malika. She's geslat with a **cellphone** and she's geslat with Levis, all my kine's mos they're lekker geslat, Levis with your 24 Shocks or your Caterpillars and so, lekker man. Yes and so I fell in love with all three of them.*

A: Do they like that you're a Dixie Boy?

*J: Yes they like it, they see that I can stand for them. They mos like the gangsters, the young girls like the gangsters because you've always got money and all that. I mos always walk with my **wallet** in my pocket, like it is, I take my **wallet** out and it's just so thick with hundred rand notes and so on. Maybe my **pay** that I got, a thousand rand, then I keep the thousand rand buy maybe two three beers for the brasse, I buy there*

two three beers ok I'm done drinking for the day. I smoke my cigarette.

A: And is it alright to have a vaste girl and have sex with the other Dixie Girls?

*J: Hu u, I don't still worry with the other Dixie Girls. My friends' girls, I'm honest, I always went for my friends girlfriends, soema now I have the straight. Always with my girlfriend, my own brasse's girlfriends that I have sex with, that they don't know about. They still don't know about that but I also have sex with my own girlfriend but I use at **all times a condom**. I always **use condoms**. I don't do it without that, that's one thing that I always use, I won't do it without a condom. I use that. But with my own girlfriend I won't use a **condom**. (Why?) Because I love her, I don't mos want to do it with a **condom**, I don't know what she's going to think. You see, if you love someone what's the use you still want to use a condom, she thinks mos maybe 'no he thinks I've got a sickness' or like that while I know that she doesn't do things like that. She's mos not going to feel lekker but she won't show it. You'll just see she's cross, then she keeps herself cross, she's angry about that but you don't know what it's about. Now you hit her then she tells you what it's about. But the best is to think your **way** what you think what's right then you ask her is it so, if she doesn't want to tell you then you just tell her that 'I'm going to hit you' or 'I'm going to trap you in your masse, I don't want to trap you in your masse' then she tells you 'ok that it's that'. Then I rub her finger like that, here where the wedding band goes on. Yes further she's happy then I give her a hug and a kiss and I tell her I love her then she tells me she also loves me. Small kisses and a hug, I love her ...with so a blow.*

In this section all three of the discourses I have described fold and collapse into one another, through Jerome's descriptions of the women in his life. When he spoke about girls Jerome's voice become softer and a coy smile flirted with the dimples on his cheeks. He became shy yet playful, almost like a naughty little boy trying to convince me that what he was doing was natural and harmless.

Jerome depicts himself as a prolific player, sleeping with all his friends' girlfriends and not the common Dixie Girls. He has three girlfriends of his own and marks his ability to provide for them by ensuring they are all adorned with the latest Nike takkies and Levi jeans. These women are status symbols for Jerome and he is proud that he can "stand" for them. Again traditional masculine values of 'provide and protect' merge with hyper-masculine sexual promiscuity. This is performatively

encapsulated in the word 'stand', indicating bold, active intentions of hyper-masculinity, yet it is also producing the type of man associated with a 'family values lifestyle'.

An interesting discourse of being loved because one "breaks her virgin" emerges in Jerome's talk. It denotes a sense of conquest and not being involved with the 'impure' Dixie Girls. Jerome's women are wholly devoted to him and emanate purity. The fact that they "say" you break her virgin indicates this is a common discourse where Jerome comes from. There is a sense of hyper-masculine conquest and achievement in this sexual act. Condoms being used for girls other than his girlfriend enhance this sense of 'purity' versus 'impurity'. Through his sexuality and sleeping with multiple partners, who are all 'pure', Jerome constructs himself as the successful 'hyper-masculine player'. He maintains respectability by providing material commodities for all of these women and is not a common 'dirty skollie'. Shades of traditional masculinity are therefore present, partially 'purifying' him.

The use of violence appears as substantially naturalized in the passage. Jerome has the right to use it as he so desires and it is an integral part of relationships and the way one controls women for personal benefit. Jerome's interactions with young women are therefore strongly influenced by a discourse of hyper-masculinity. As the player and conqueror he uses violence where 'necessary'.

However, in the end, when conflict ensues he both hits the girl and tells her that he loves her, talking the problem out. This notion of talking about your feelings is one I have classified within a discourse of mythopoetic masculinity. Here it is used in conjunction with hyper-masculinity, in relation to young girls, in order to deal with relationships. At the same time Jerome is rubbing her wedding ring finger. This indicates the future family he will possibly create. He is also using traditional masculinity in order to manipulate this girl, satisfying her with the allure of 'commitment'. The three discourses I have described therefore enmesh at this stage, through Jerome's relationships with young women.

Mythopoetic masculinity, involving an expression of your 'love and feelings', also appears in Jerome's talk of his mother:

A: And what kind of laaitie were you? A good boy or...

*J: I was my mothers best child, best child. (Why?) I do everything that she tells me. (And what does she tell you to do?) If she gets home from work then I make her a cup of tea, give her a cup of tea when she comes home she's tired. She comes home the house is clean, neat, we help her with everything. Now and then I put the rice on, maybe make the food the rice, cook the food so lightly so that when she comes home she just have to finish the food off, I like helping my mother. Such a mother... Yes that's my best mother, that's the best woman in the world. For me now, my mother. (Why do you say so?) She does everything for me, **although** she can't buy me such a thing she will **lay bye** it off or anything. If I ask her she'll do it for me. My mother will tell me she can't buy it for me cash but she will pay it off. Anything I ask her she'll do it for me. Because why I'm sweet, I'm the only son that went to standard eight (You went to standard eight?) Standards eight, I left school in standard eight. (and that was because of the gangs?) Before the gangs yes, I started becoming a gangster. My mother loves me very much. (But did she know that you were a Dixie Boy?) she knew I was a Dixie Boy. She didn't know at first, she got a fright afterwards with the fighting that went on, then the people told her 'o your child was again shooting' and that and that and so it went on so I mos started shooting gun. I was another one, shoot gun then I come and shoot you. And if I go for you I must shoot you dead. I was a very evil man (Why do you say so?) Because when you go shoot, I don't say no, I just want to take the gun and I'm in a hurry. I just want to take the gun and go and shoot now. (Why?) To show the Dixie Boys now I'm kwaai and wat, I'm not a bang laaitie. That meant I became the leader of the Dixie Boys right hand. I fought a lot, shot gun a lot menceer. I was the most evil man, the most evil amongst all the Dixie Boys. (Are you proud of it?) I don't feel happy about it.*

.....

Jerome displays Jekyll and Hyde faces in this section, one 'sweet', the other 'evil'. On the one hand he aspires to be 'sweet' for his mother, succeeding at school for her and aiding her domestically. He pronounces his untainted love for her. Yet he is the most 'evil' man as well, shooting guns and gaining respect and esteem through violence. 'Evil' is discursively produced as powerful and awe inspiring, almost like a revered film villain. Although Jerome says he is not proud of this fact, the section quoted at the beginning of this chapter suggests otherwise. Jerome therefore inserts himself

within contradictory discourses, as he describes the different facets of his life. It is only possible to understand his divided subjectivity, by theorising his positioning within multiple discourses.

Jerome's mother is portrayed as playing a prominent role in his life. He is torn between forging an autonomous identity in becoming a gangster and being the son his mother would want. Jerome admires and respects her kindness and love, expressing these 'feminine' elements of his self, albeit indirectly. However, his gendered identity is largely achieved through gangsterism and independence, creating a chasm in his life. Jerome therefore *incorporates* and *rejects* aspects of 'femininity', depending on his discursive positioning. Benjamin (1995, 2000) and Chodorow's (1994) theories of how boys develop gendered identities are therefore both relevant.

These theories may be enhanced by an understanding of how discourse operates in a fluctuating manner and how these young boys 'invest' in discourses. Jerome defends against his difficult home environment and insecurities in relation to his peers, by investing in a discourse of hyper-masculinity. He also invests in traditional and mythopoetic masculinities, in order to deal with the anxiety inherent in 'betraying' his mother. The stress of awaiting trial and the desire to appear innocent may also stimulate an investment in these 'nicer' discourses, as well as the fact that Jerome is now a father. Inserting oneself within a variety of discourses of masculinity is therefore linked to, and mediated by, important relationships, gender identity formation and emotional factors.

Lacities, Bunnies and Communities

This fragmented world is further displayed in Jerome's relationship with the community and his attitude towards homosexuals. He distinguishes between homosexuals and gangsters, creating a hierarchy of types of men:

A: And tell me Jerome what do you think of gay men? Bunnies?

J: No sir I don't do such people, no where. Not nice, never with a gay one. I don't even bother about such people sir.

A: But do you know such people?

*J: Yes I know people like that, soema a lot. (Dixie Boys?) No you don't still get a gay, a Dixie Boy that's gay. (Why?) They're not still that type of people, they will never make you a Dixie Boy if you're gay. They will rather, you must rather not be gay, you must, all the Dixie Boys like women because they're cool man, like Cats. The Dixie Boys actually stand with the **community**.*

*A: They help the **community**?*

*J: Yes we help the **community**, people that want to come take over in that place or fight with other people or so, we help. If we see the community gets a gestriery or so with. For example another auntie's child gets in an argument with other gangsters, then we come there, they maybe want to take that laatie's life or so then we're going to stand with that auntie. Then we'll rather fight, then we'll tell that auntie 'you rather stand back, leave this to us, we'll deal with this ourselves,' so then we talk. But then they don't want to talk, they soema just come shoot then we just shoot back, then we shoot you out of the place just the community. And we deal with the community every week, that's maybe Tuesday, every Tuesday that's when the bread truck comes around, then it comes to deliver there. So forty fifty loaves of bread and then we deal it out to the people in that place. Give the people bread and so on, those who don't have, you want to borrow money come borrow we don't ask for it back.*

A: And the community likes you?

*J: Yes. (They don't say naai they're gangsters we don't like them?) It's because we don't **react** like gangsters. We aren't like minute jy en jou in front of the people, like you're a older lady, we respect you. We won't like "jy antie ek sal vir jou".... You see sir, that's noggals not us. (You respect all the auntie's?). We respect older people yes, we stand with them. We can go into anybody's house in Kalksteen, I can go into anybody's house. Now last time I went to go sit there, 'isn't there a cup of tea for me please, a biscuit maybe.' Then I sit and chat maybe, then I sit with the mother maybe, the auntie, she's maybe also got a nice daughter and so on. You know mos I'm a skollie, I'm a Dixie Boy ma, it's cool we're noggals not like dingese. Then the mother soema tells me no you can soema have my daughter and so on, then I say I am that and wat wat. Then the mother says you must leave this kak of yours, then I say you mustn't worry I will leave this kak, you know I'm not here for trouble. We're just here to **avoid** trouble out of the place, walk with the people, to stand with them. Maybe with that woman's daughter, she doesn't worry she knows mos it's cool man, stand with her daughter, drink a cup of tea in the house with her daughter, chat to her*

daughter, chat to the mother. Like that nice chatting with the mother and the father and the daughter soema the whole family, soema make jokes and wat wat chat a little about the cricket with the father maybe.

Homosexual men are dismissed as the antithesis of 'the gangster'. The ability to be potent with women and a cool 'cat' are core traits of gangsterism. Homosexuals are 'othered' and subjugated within this paradigm. Interestingly, gangsters are depicted as part of the community and homosexuals excluded. Jerome is alluding to the fact that *hyper-masculine* gangster men and *traditional* family men are synonymous, whereas homosexuals are marginalised.

However, in this passage the status of the hyper-masculine gangster is confusingly ambivalent. Gangsters are protectors, providers and potential procreators, all the epitome of the discourse of traditional masculinity (Kersten, 1996). These gangsters benevolently give bread to the people and distribute money not to be returned. Jerome claims the respect they have for older people justifies their status as responsible protectors of the community. Images of a 'gentleman', the one who is worthy of your daughter and can talk with the father about cricket, the 'gentleman's game', recur.

This boy sees his gangster identity as transient and fluid and he believes that he can shed it by 'talking' his way into the hearts of the people. *Talking* to the mother, daughter and father is central in this context, as Jerome tries to reconstruct himself as a sensitive man. Whereas gangsters walk, stand and shoot, 'mythopoetic' men usually talk. The word 'skollie' is used for the only time in all 25 interviews. This sentence is interesting as Jerome is saying 'we are officially delinquents and gangsters' (ironically he has just been explaining how much the community officially loves the gangsters) but 'you know me personally, that I am good at heart'. His masculinities therefore overlap in a counter-intuitive manner, which can only be understood through the intertwined discursive lattice, which partially constitutes Jerome's subjectivity.

Conclusion

Jerome's identity is therefore heavily ambivalent and contradictory as he struggles to portray his life, from the position of incarceration, in dialogue with this white researcher. The three discourses of masculinity, and the subject positions as 'gangster'

and 'gentleman', are used interchangeably in Jerome's stories, as he struggles to make sense of his life, as well as find esteem and respectability. By looking at his unique biography, one can see how Jerome invests in these discourses in consciously and unconsciously attempting to alleviate anxieties. For example, he invests in hyper-masculinity as he tries to deal with his little brother's rape and as he does not want to be humiliated by his peers. The fact that he has had a child also influences the blend of discourses informing his subjectivity, as being a respectable provider becomes more pertinent in his situation. Through an analysis of discourse, inner experience and his material context, we are able to comprehend Jerome's life in a meaningful manner.

A few days after the interview, Jerome brought a friend of his at Horizons to me. As the two boys stood arms around each other, Jerome announced that his friend was also a revered Dixie Boy, had also 'shot gun' and robbed people and that it would be very beneficial for me to talk to him. The picture of these two little boys, proudly grinning at me, like children who are involved in naughty pranks, yet are already fathers and have participated in murder and rape, sticks in my mind as one of the clearest images of the research process.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

...until a thousand and one midnights have bestowed their terrible gifts and a thousand and one children have died, because it is the privilege and the curse of midnight's children to be both masters and victims of their times, to forsake privacy and be sucked into the annihilating whirlpool of the multitudes, and to be unable to live or die in peace...

Salman Rushdie, *Midnight's Children*

Democracy's children

Salman Rushdie's poetic uttering on the fate of the 'children of the Indian democracy' has relevance to the children of the new South African democracy, who form part of the current study. These boys are involuntarily positioned amongst social and material forces that make it very difficult for them to succeed. With the end of Apartheid and the birth of the new South African 'democracy', expectations rose that could not be fulfilled. Repression and policing decreased and crime increased dramatically. In the new democracy, these boys live with widespread poverty, a destructive gang structure and an abundance of cheap drugs and few real opportunities. 'Democracy's children' therefore struggle to avoid the pitfalls of their situation and many end up doing gender through crime.

This does not mean they are automatons, simply the dupes of fate. They exert agency through their discourse, temporarily becoming 'Hollywood heroes' and creating 'brotherhoods' which resist the social dislocation produced by their historical situation. To some degree, 'democracy's children' use the very discourses which form and limit them, to exert agency. Like a surfer choosing which wave s/he wants to ride, there is still limited manoeuvrability within and through the range of discourses these boys utilise. Judith Butler (1997, p.17) succinctly summarises this point as follows:

"The subject might yet be thought as deriving its agency from precisely the power it opposes...if the subject is neither fully determined by power nor fully determining of

power (but significantly and partially both), the subject exceeds the logic of non-contradiction, is an excrescence of logic, as it were. To claim that a subject exceeds either/or is not to claim that it lives in some free zone of its own making. Exceeding is not escaping, and the subject exceeds precisely that to which it is bound. In this sense, the subject cannot quell the ambivalence by which it is constituted.”

Butler is indicating that although subjects are formed and constrained by discourse, they also use discourse to exert agency. In a paradoxical manner, subjects utilise the very power which dominates them, in order to ‘exceed’ power. Through temporarily becoming ‘Schwarzenegger’s with uzzis’, as well as mixing unique configurations of the three discourses I have described, these boys exceed discourse, through discourse, in small proportions.

Material and discursive power usually ‘catch up’ with these ‘excesses’, reeling the boys in and leaving them in places like Horizons, where they await trial. The very power which renders them the most ‘evil’ men in their communities leaves them as little children or ‘monsters’, awaiting trial alone. These boys can’t win: the material and discursive odds are stacked too heavily against them. After I had conducted a few interviews I told a group of the social workers how much I liked the boys and that they all want to reform and that the future holds much promise. The social workers laughed heartily at these sentiments, telling me that some of these boys were at Horizons for the fourth time and each time they preach about reform and “choosing the right path”. In many ways these boys too are “masters and victims of their times”.

Their subjectivities are therefore both constituted and constitutive. Whilst they insert themselves within multiple discourses, sliding between them, discourse also constitutes them as subjects, constricts and produces the very fragile subjectivities of these children of democracy. It limits what can be said, where and when and constrains the range of possibilities for young working-class coloured boys on the Cape Flats.

Stuffed: masculinity as fragile subjectivity

The characteristically ambivalent nature of these boys’ subjectivities is by no means a unique phenomenon. There seems to be a strong tendency, especially in the psycho-

analytic literature, towards a certain position in relation to the study of masculinity. Although patriarchy results in men being ideologically and institutionally empowered, masculinity is portrayed as fragile, defined by 'what it is not', based on an 'emptiness', its own repression and harbouring a lack at its core (Frosh, 2002). Although men are depicted as confident, strong and empowered in the dominant institutions of society, that power is based on ideologically denigrating and 'othering' women and is actually an illusion when individual subjectivities come under the spotlight:

"The symbolic power or 'phallic phantasies', of masculinity neither arise from, nor reduce to, any specific set of social expectations or individual behaviour patterns... 'Masculinity' is an abstraction, condensing notions of power and authority: it is that which makes it always so precarious, rather than the individual foibles of frail and damaged men" (Segal, 1999, p. 165).

The power of masculinity is therefore partially a chimera, built on cultural narratives and mainstream discourses which often do not correlate with individuals. This is not to deny the influence of patriarchy or the institutional power of masculinity in various spheres. It is to acknowledge that the massive hiatus between immensely powerful 'phallic phantasies' and the very fragile, often disempowered subjectivities of individual men, produces anxiety and ambivalence. When this power does 'exist' in individual subjectivities, such as these gangsters, it is partly an illusion created by story-telling and it is often juxtaposed with other discourses. By exploring multiple discourses of masculinity, these contradictions become apparent.

This anxiety also needs to be seen in a historical moment. Modern industrial society has created a confusing multitude of positions for men (Frosh, 2002). This is linked to the breakdown of traditional men's work, communication and tradition between fathers and sons eroding and the liberation of women impacting on domestic and economic domains (Frosh, 2002; Pattman, Frosh & Phoenix, 1998). Susan Faludi (1999) in her classic *Stiffed: the betrayal of modern man*, indicates that post-war society offered so much promise for a generation of men. They anticipated the expansion of frontiers including space and general economic prosperity. However, the development of 'ornamental culture', a culture 'without society', rendered that dream

a mirage. In this culture, men struggle to play useful roles in public life and mass-media constructions of glamour and success dominate, demolishing men's sense of belonging (Faludi, 1999). Men have also become 'objects' and ornaments in this mass-media age, constantly judged by "were they 'sexy'?", "were they 'known'?", "Had they 'won'?" (Faludi, 1999, p. 598). The current confusion around male roles and how men can constructively contribute to society therefore seeps into a range of contemporary masculinities.

For the children of democracy in the current study, these global dynamics in gender relations are amplified by the context of the Cape Flats. Here economic prosperity and social cohesion have never been a reality and the post-Apartheid promise has not (yet) materialized. A corollary of these global and local developments is widespread anxiety and confusion for these boys. The ubiquitous defensive splitting observed, where their worlds are largely divided into black and white, is labeled as a 'paranoid-schizoid' position by Melanie Klein (cited in Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). A paranoid-schizoid position ensures that the 'good' is constantly being protected from the 'bad' and very defensive states result.

Splitting was observed in the way 'our' gang is defended as positively perceived by communities and yet other gangs are 'bad', as they "shoot old women off toilet seats". Jerome also indicated that homosexuals are not part of the community and were rejected as 'bad' too. This mentality of our gang is 'good' and they (other gangs or 'bunnies') are 'bad', pervaded the narratives. Splitting was also observed in the way mothers were internalized and idealized as quite angelic. This may indicate how repressed 'feminine' parts of self are valued, and expressed through the mother, and why violence ensues when this sensitive 'feminine' part of the self is insulted. We should be careful not to read too much into these psychodynamics, as the explanation may be more social in origin, related to dignity in having an upstanding mother. It does indicate that the way these boys paint pictures of their worlds, through their talk, results in realities that are constantly divided into 'good' and 'bad'.

This ubiquitously split world represents a lack of ontological security. Only one boy was able to see and express a more complex understanding of his context. When he spoke in this coherent manner, I immediately saw how the others were unable to

integrate 'good' and 'bad'. An example of Tino's talk can be seen at the bottom of page 90 and on page 91, where he is able to describe gangsters as both adored and hero-worshipped by young children, as well as despised by their parents. The gangster is therefore perceived in a 'grey' light.

An investment in hyper-masculine gang discourses, which eases the anxiety, may act as a backlash in these insecure global and local circumstances. Let us keep in mind that these boys come from the most violent areas in one of the most violent cities in the world. The opening of borders in post-Apartheid South Africa, allowing drugs and guns to flow more freely, exacerbated by the already chaotic spatial dynamics, provides the context for this backlash to materialize. The social and material realms therefore intersect to provide these boys with a 'legitimate' discursive position from which to try to attain succour from this anxiety, in the form of gangsterism. Particular masculinities are attempted collective solutions to specific cultural problems and contradictions (Pattman et al 1998). The masculinities which these boys produce are therefore inextricably linked to the history of the Cape Flats and the marginalization of certain groups of people in South Africa.

Slipping and sliding: Three Discourses

This historical context results in the types of men these boys aspire to become being extremely fragmented. Contradictory discourses slide into one another, as the boys attempt to assuage the multiple anxieties they experience in the different contexts of their lives. These discourses do not fall into the neat boxes I have constructed. They bend, fold and collapse into one another in a signifiatory labyrinth that is often difficult to discern:

A: And tell me about your girlfriend...is she still your girlfriend?

H: Uh uh, she was a long, I don't still worry about girls but that girl was alright. (Was that the only time that you had a vaste girl?) Na ha, yes a girl, a regte girl she, looks always right for me but when I showed her my chap, showed her my chap, yoooo (You showed her your chap?) she walked away first time. (Walked away?) Yes... (Why do you think?) she said she didn't want to be with a gangster (Not?) She said she knows about the Fancy Boys, she knows what they do. (And what does she say?) She just walked away when I showed her. (Why did you show her?) Yo, I

thought 'jy I'm going to be kwaai now' (laughs). I'm going to feel kwaai now jong jyyy. I'm going to show my girlfriend my... no the same time she left me. (What did she say?) She said hu uh and shook her head like that and said that's not right. (And most of the girls that live near you, what do they think about the gangsters?) Jooo, they like the gangsters, when I was at school then I say ja I'm a Fancy Boy they say 'fancy Boy!!!' then I say 'ja'. (They like it?) they like it, if you come to parties, yo the girls and other people say 'here's the Fancy Boys, here's the Fancy Boys!'... We get out of the car, walk to the party (And why do you think girls like the gangsters?) They see also 'jy these gangsters have everything, look how they're dressed, look how they are, they're kwaai and they skud kwaai' but, they don't know the consequences of that though. (They don't know?) Uh uh and some of them just want sex. (They just want to have sex, they don't want boyfriends?) Uh uh... (But are there different types of girls? Do some of them not like the gangsters?) Yes some of them don't like the gangsters, they just watch you like that, and they're pretty and you want to chise them, you want them, but they just watch you like that further then then they just phone someone to come and fetch them like by the party or so. (To ask?) No to take them home, because they're, we're there, we're there by that party, yo those people look soema so rough. (Rough?) Rough, yes, the numbers are playing and there's a strobe light, yo we go on mal jussie. (And the girls like it?) The girls like it yes, (But why did your...what's her name.) Tara (Tara???) she she, I know her she isn't like that, I know her from primary school (so some of the girls they say uh uh. Going to do nothing) Get nothing there (Why?) Because they're scared they're going to die, they mos know how it goes in gangsterism (And did the, did the men in the Fancy Boys, the ouens, did they fight over girls?) Uh uh never. (Never?). We don't check poison, they're almost like they're poison (Why? What do you mean?) You know that number from Tupac (yes) it goes so 'fuck the bitch... (inaudible) the day, wesside till you die when you the day' then you get the Bad Boys, they're just over girls and so. They just sing about girls, now we're almost like Tupac's side there, you get the Americans, we have girls, girls part of us but ok we're not going to argue over those girls never. (Why?) Because why that's going to effect our broese, one girl for us! Never, she's a frans, a frans. Or something like that. You understand nothing, you don't understand what we understand, you're nothing, you have something but you don't understand what we understand, maybe. You know nothing that's a frans. (What's a frans?) A frans is you're, you're, you're a maybe you're in prison you're. We look first. We first look at you.

Quinton is expressing the contradictions observed in many of these boys, as these different discourses of masculinity collapse into one another. He is subsumed by a hyper-masculine gangster paradigm which ideologically 'others' women to a marginalized status, of not understanding what 'us' men understand. She is a 'poison', a danger and a threat to the coherent identity he attempts to assume, to the power he grasps for. Quinton also uses the heavily masculinised prison 'sabella', describing the girl as a "frans", a foreigner and an outsider. He flaunts the glory of the Fancy Boys, their heroic status in the community and how they walk in a group to the party.

Simultaneously Quinton wants a 'decent' girl, one who knows his 'real' character, has known him since "primary school", before Pandora's gangster box opened. There is an underlying connotation of respect for the girl who walks away from his tattoo, who acknowledges the evils of gangsterism and the other 'good' girls who reject gangsters. Part of Quinton sides with this outlook.

Through positioning himself in relation to young girls, Quinton exhibits the sliding nature of these forms of masculinity. He oscillates between the glory and esteem associated with the heroic gangster who will not be weakened by 'poison' and, alternatively, the shame of its 'skolliness'. The 'bad' is projected onto other gangsters, "those people are rough" and not himself. The way Quinton says "they" and then changes the pronoun to "we're there by the party", indicates his ambivalent relationship with gangsterism. He wishes to both project it elsewhere, as well as internalize it in his self. "Poison" also indicates how, 'the feminine' may also be projected and split off elsewhere, as a dangerous, bad object.

The anxiety of disempowerment, alleviated through the status of the gangster, co-exists with the stress of becoming a rough 'skollie' who is not worthy of the 'proper' girls. Only a 'gentleman' with a good personality or a person who is able to engage in a 'relationship', would be fit for such a woman. He both respects and subjugates women and himself in a manner which is often counter-intuitive. It can be understood through the entwined discursive lattice and compounded anxieties which constitute these boys' subjectivities. These children of democracy, who roam the battlegrounds

of post-Apartheid Cape Town, therefore display markedly 'defended' and splintered subjectivities, as they deal with their stressful lives as best they can.

I have rated the boys in terms of how strongly they express the language and practices of each of the discourses (see appendix E), with 0 being least apparent and 10 being most observable. Although it seems strange to quantify a discourse analysis, it is necessary to observe the 'spread' of these discourses. I have argued that these boys' subjectivities are fragmented because of the multiple discourses they position themselves within. The estimates support this statement, showing that there is not a simple pattern of half of the boys being violent gangsters and the other half romantic poets. There is a fairly 'even spread'. These ratings should be accepted as a very rough guide and by no means an exact science. I feel that they are a good rough guide though, with an 8/9 indicating a fairly strong discourse, 7/6 being noticeable but not overt and a 5/4 indicating little expression of the particular discourse.

These discourses are also utilized in conscious and unconscious ways, in attempts to deal with anxiety in their very stressful lives. As mentioned, through violent, ostentatious hyper-masculinity, these working-class coloured boys attempt to transform themselves into Hollywood heroes, countering the anxiety and disempowerment contiguous to their historical, economic and racial positions. The boys try to empower themselves through defensive splitting, constructing women as weak or 'poison' and homosexuals as not part of the community.

Investing in a discourse of 'mytho-poetic' masculinity demonstrates that they are sensitive and emotional beings, not violent creatures deservedly incarcerated. The stress involved in awaiting trial buttresses an investment in this discourse. Furthermore, the fact that the interviews were conducted in relation to a white, middle-class, student, stimulated the production of this form of masculinity. Many of the boys suspected I might be able to aid them in their dire situations, especially if they appeared to endorse passivity. Few understood the rigid nature of the legal system.

The 'object' of the mother was also central in this mytho-poetic discourse. In striving to become an emotional, altruistic man, the subjects may feel they are imbibing what

their mothers would have wanted from them in a son, the “apple of her eye”. Overt love for their mothers could also be the way that these boys express somewhat repressed ‘feminine’ parts of self, in line with Jessica Benjamin’s work (1995, 2000). By contrast, hyper-masculinity may be perceived as a strong rejection of the ‘feminine’, as weakness is split off and projected elsewhere (Chodorow, 1994).

There seems to be disagreement on the general relationship between sons and mothers in working-class, coloured areas. Don Pinnock (1984) dedicated his book to ‘the mothers of Manenberg’, while Gerald Stone (2005, personal communication), who has done research in coloured communities for 30 years, told me these boys despise their ‘constantly inebriated, abusive mothers’. My point is that there is a reward for taking up a position as the mythopoetic man, within this discourse. Being the ‘sanitized son’ gains one a specific moral and social status within the community, abandoning the position of the common ‘skollie’. It may also, ad hoc, diminish the guilt of betraying their mothers in embarking in a bellicose gangster lifestyle.

The traditional discourse alleviates a range of anxieties. Salo (2005, Personal communication) sees this as primarily related to the pressure on men to become bread-winners and providers in areas where poverty is rife. The fact that most of the boys described their dreams and notions of success as materialized through a ‘family values’ lifestyle, illustrates their ontological insecurity in this regard. The notion of ‘the gentleman’ also indicates the displeasure at possibly being perceived as a common ‘skollie’. This discourse may be a subtle refusal to being labeled within a specific class-position. Through conscious and unconscious investments in these discourses, these children of democracy attempt to deal with the multiple anxieties in their lives.

Hegemonic masculinity

Exclusively assuming a simple, universalistic notion of hegemonic masculinity therefore appears to be heavily reductive, with regards to these boys. Hegemonic masculinity changes with the particular scenario in which they are engaging. What is hegemonic from the position of the hyper-masculine discourse may differ when the boys are positioned within more traditional forms of masculinity. The fact that the discourses within which these boys are subsumed are constantly multiple and

contradictory asserts a notion of multiple hegemonic masculinities, which are substantially context-specific.

The Tupac (appendix B figure 10) example, as mentioned by Quinton, gives clues to what sorts of men these boys idealise and seek to emulate in terms of hyper-masculinity. Tupac Shakir was an American rapper who preached the culture of “thug’s life”, with all the associated glory of being criminal, rebellious and oppressed. There was a painting of Tupac in one of the social worker’s offices at Horizons and the Americans gang has commissioned a two-storey mural of this figure in Manenberg (see appendix F for a photograph of it, taken by Lurie [2004]). Whilst these boys made almost no reference to the history of Apartheid in 25 interviews, the history of Tupac made intermittent appearances (all of the following extracts are from focus groups):

RG: *He made history (he made history?)..ja the songs that he sings...*

WL: *killing people...armed robberies*

RG: *he wasn't scared for the jail.. Get anything...maybe a lot of girlfriends...*

And:

A: why is it cool to rap about racism? Do you think it's an important thing to rap about racism?

R: because you can learn something from it (what can you learn?) like you can just, for example, he [Tupac] made a lot of mistakes in life, now he says to you, you don't have to make the mistakes that he made. See meneer

A: and racism Nazmeer?

R: his father was a Black Panther in America, he wasn't a rapper yet and when he grew up and started to rap they shot his father dead and I've seen that piece that Above the Rim, all his pieces (and who were the Black Panthers?) that was a black group in America, now they wanted to stop racism. Then they shot his dad dead, now from that day on he started to rap about life

And:

R: in his songs he just talks the truth, how his life was (what is the truth? What does he say that you think is true?) how they are, the way he was bad. His life was bad (life

is bad?) his life was bad, hurt the people. Ok he says, I don't know if its true, he was born in jail...he says that in one song...His mother was pregnant in prison. And his mother, and he came out in jail. That's why he says the jail is his house

The boys take fragments of Tupac's life and apply it to their local context, engaging in a form of mythopea. Bits of his life become elaborated and made more comprehensible, more applicable to their own lives. His struggles, his fame and undoubtedly a racial identification with this hero, elevate him to iconic status in this local context. His bad boy image and 'thuggery' also resonate with these gangsters.

It is interesting to note the attention to 'history' in this fascination with Tupac. Whilst many of the boys probably know little about South African history, Nazmeer seems to take an interest in the Black Panthers and civil rights. It struck me that their construction of heroic men incorporated the notion of 'struggle', as it resonates with their own lives. "Die lewe is lekker en dis swaar" (life is good and bad), was a very popular mantra they recited to me. The South African situation is complicated by the thorny racial dynamics which are present, making it difficult to analyse hegemonic masculinity (Morrell, 2001). Although these coloured boys expressed no overt racism in the interviews, the African National Congress underground struggle or a South African black man, such as Steve Biko, do not form part of their notions of hegemonic masculinity.

At the same time, the boys also readily pointed to figure 2, appendix B, as a man they would want to be. They clearly also aspire to the power and wealth associated with a white, middle-class man, somewhat akin to the trans-national business executives pinpointed by Connell (1995).

The concept of hegemonic masculinity is therefore in question, as multiple hegemonies seem to undermine the meaning of the term. Jefferson (2002) warns against using hegemonic masculinity attributively, to describe universal sets of traits and hence make a specific form of masculinity normative, appearing inherent and naturalised. He stipulates that the initial advantage of the concept of hegemonic masculinity was in its relationality, that it revolved around multiple masculinities which interacted, complaining that it has digressed to a list of stereotypical traits

(Jefferson, 2002). Connell (2002) replies that post-structuralists, such as Jefferson, peripheralise materiality and the massive influence of powerful institutions, such as global capitalism, corporations and the military, in which this hegemonic masculinity is institutionally inscribed.

I think the answer to this debate is implied in the title of Slavoj Žižek's (2000) essay "class struggle or postmodernism? Yes please." The justified rejection of falsely essentialising universals does not mean that we have to limit ourselves to partial problems. We can have both, "yes please" (Žižek, 2000). It is imperative to be able to make critiques at a systemic, totalizing level, whilst also attending to the complex and divided specificities of individual behaviour. It must be accepted that there is a culturally exalted, institutionally engrained, very public form of masculinity, which these boys position themselves in relation to and to which they aspire. What else are the Hollywood style narratives about? The core values associated with hegemonic masculinity (the list of traits which Jefferson despises), of autonomy, overcoming difficult conditions and extreme risk, of success, power and control, impacted fairly heavily on the subjectivities of these boys. Both hyper-masculinity and traditional masculinity may be perceived as directly related to these boys positioning themselves vis a vis universal forms of hegemonic masculinity, translated and hybridized in the local context.

This does not mean that these traits are somehow natural or inherent forms of behaviour. They are social in origin, linked to both the immediate and broader contexts in which these boys find themselves. These traits are also always contingent on other attributes or values, which interact in a relational manner. Žižek (2000) perceives the key component of hegemony to be contingency, the connection between "society and non-society" (Žižek, 2000, p.92). Non-society is only able to articulate itself through difference and the hegemon. The hegemon relies on non-society for its definition and is often partially invisible, it is simply accepted. Butler (2000, p. 13) agrees, defining hegemony as "the historical possibilities for articulation that emerge within a given historical horizon". Hegemony is therefore a relationship between what is possible and what those possibilities eclipse, rule out.

The hegemonic masculinity which manifests for these boys is constantly contingent on other traits and values, for example expressing emotion within a discourse of mytho-poetic masculinity. They interact with forms of hegemonic masculinity in a context-specific manner, causing contradiction and confusion. Whilst seeing the dangers of essentialism, we cannot ignore totalities. The impact, for example, of the modern mass media in ideologically instilling certain forms of masculinity in young boys, at least partially through their own consent, justifies the retention of the concept of hegemonic masculinity. We need to accept that it is translated into local contexts, always interacting with other forms of masculinity and thoroughly social in origin. It is also affected at the micro-level by individual psychological dynamics.

Tupac meets Table Mountain: The global/local nexus

These discourses of masculinity, which these “children of democracy” are asserting, are therefore a complex hybrid of the local/global nexus. The boys are performing a kind of bricolage, using global and context-specific constructions of masculinity in the constitution of their subjectivities. They are utilising a combination of the global Hollywood/ mass media world which portrays heroes like Tupac Shakir as overcoming extreme adversity, as well as the local language, such as ‘sterkbene’ and ‘bangetjie’, and prison gang ‘sabella’ which throws terms like ‘frans’ into the mix. It is a combination of universal American family values and local poverty stricken families which encourage traditional masculinity. Aspects of the colonial legacy even protrude in the reference to ‘gentlemen’.

This hybridity is seen in the mixture of the mythopoetic men’s movement which encourages the expression of emotion and local discourses linked to mother-son relationships, which gain prominence in Cape Flats communities. The mythopoetic discourse even seeps, in a specific form, into Horizons. In the fourth focus group we were situated in one of the dormitories and a care-worker joined the session. He was watching the door for us and then started to engage or ‘oversee the boys’ participation’. I let the session progress like this and felt a degree of trepidation in asking him to leave. A strange dynamic came over these five hard-core gangsters. I can only describe it as akin to a fanatical religious service. The boys largely ignored my pictures and came forth with notions of ‘the right path’, ‘letting my family down’ and radically changing their lives. The fact that these boys are being exposed to

psychological 'technologies of self', as Foucault would have called them, such as personal growth and development sessions at Horizons, partially produces their version of this mythopoetic discourse.

These discourses are therefore substantially hybridized, a mixture of the global and the local. The concept of hybridity emphasizes those spaces or performative identities that remake boundaries, the hybridised product being not one or the other but something else, something in-between (Bhabha, 1994). These boys from the Cape Flats therefore combine these discourses in the interstices of the local/global nexus, creating unique identities in their particular configurations.

Masculinities sculpted through language

Furthermore, the hybridized *language* used by these young 'bricoleurs' directly inscribes certain forms of masculinity and subjectivity. The different kinds of language these boys use partially constructs the kinds of men they become. By examining their language, clues to social activity and subjective meaning were obtained.

The 'kombuistaal' Afrikaans largely prominent in hyper-masculinity, contributes to producing the type of man who is violent, tough and unemotional. He is 'sterkbene'. Interestingly, Stone (1991) states that neither he nor any of his informants had ever over three decades come across a dominant English-speaking, confirmed 'gang delinquent'. It is also noteworthy that prison sabella is being used much more frequently on the Cape Flats, by street gangs. Steinberg (2004) states that street gangs are controlling drugs in prison to a larger degree and this may result in their taking sabella back to the streets. It would be interesting for further research to explore how the dissemination of sabella affects masculinities on the Cape Flats.

Language used within the mythopoetic discourse involves fuller sentences and the production of elaborated codes (Bernstein, 1990). The more extensive use of English was also readily observable. The use of English terms, such as the 'gentleman', with its colonial connotations, construct purified forms of masculinity, as the boys attempt to evade perceptions of working-class ruffians.

Language, therefore, inscribes certain forms of masculinities. Discourse analysis is useful in fleshing out what the significance of this inscribed meaning is. Events and objects gain social significance through being embedded in certain "forms of life". Through a thorough discourse analysis of the language which these boys use to describe the objects and events integral to their lives, clues to their 'forms of life' can be gleaned. This 'form of life' is heavily fragmented and contradictory. It is simultaneously violent and passive, belligerent and insecure, local and global.

Thesis limitations and possible applications

Through this project I have attempted to describe how 25 young boys insert themselves within various societal discourses of masculinity and how this is related to anxieties they experience in their lives. I have followed Pattman, Frosh & Phoenix's (1998) statement that the best research on boys is interpretive and critical, prioritizing how the boys make meaning of their actions, whilst locating those actions in institutional practices and power relations. I have not claimed to be able to resolve the issue of why men commit violent acts. Neither have I proposed to offer models of juvenile delinquency. I would, however, like to suggest some tentative contributions of this research, to grapple with the issue of young men and crime.

This thesis implicitly critiques models of 'delinquency' which continue to perceive deviance as related to a 'lack' of some kind. This usually assumes the form of cognitive functioning or socialization. In the mainstream, the study of delinquency is still problematically rooted in mass society theory (Emler & Reicher, 1995). This theory perceives modern industrial society as lacking major external controls, such as religion or sovereignty. It therefore builds internal controls in order to regulate citizens (Emler & Reicher, 1995). Psychologists using mass society theory explore how individuals fail to develop healthy intra-psychic structures, resulting in delinquent behaviour. For example, Kohlberg's phases of moral reasoning, based on a Piagetian stage-like model of cognitive development, completely ignores the symbolic significance or social meaning of a task (Emler & Reicher, 1995). By contrast, sociologists look at broad social conditions and location within this mass society, such as class dynamics, in order to predict delinquency. I have tried to show clearly that these boys are not cognitively incompetent and that they are able to engage

adequately in the 'nicer discourses', should the context and rewards present themselves.

A more appropriate approach to the issue of young men and crime (I would avoid the term 'delinquency' as labels constitute an object as much as they describe it) is offered by Emler & Reicher (1995), who look at how adolescents manage their reputations in a complex and situationally relevant manner. They examine how reputation management is achieved by the way in which the self is forged through social processes. Adolescents have multiple representations of their worlds and reputations which are often contradictory. They will, for example, pursue a 'good' reputation most emphatically with their parents and sometimes a 'bad' reputation with their peers (Emler & Reicher, 1995).

To expand, in this theory of reputation management, 'delinquency' is perceived as meaningful communication, not a 'lack' or incompetent cognitions. It explores how we are judged by others and how we attempt to influence those judgments. 'Sins' are usually a public performance and anti-social behaviour is not covert (Emler & Reicher, 1995). Furthermore, these acts are collectively achieved. Disobedience is usually engaged with in groups or influenced by group norms, yet it is simultaneously an autonomous individual stance. Finally, 'delinquency' is a consciously oppositional stance. It is how adolescents accept or avoid formal authority (Emler & Reicher, 1995). 'Non-delinquents' are generally committed to the institutional order, whereas 'delinquents' oppose it. Bad reputations are more noticeable than good ones and they allow the individual to stand out more substantially (Emler & Reicher, 1995).

I believe that the theoretical underpinnings of reputation management theory allows us to understand these boys' lives in a manner which is nuanced and fluid. Furthermore, when amalgamated with a gendered lens, this theory can carry more weight. These boys are not cognitively incompetent: they can be perceived as managing their multiple reputations, which are significantly situationally specific. The reputations these boys aspire to differ according to whether they are interacting with peers, with their families, with the social workers at Horizons, or with me. Consider the following extract:

A: And tell me, one more question, if you think you, why do you think you started to break into houses?

J: That was now all just for buttons money. (For buttons?) Not, not for buttons, that was just me stealing money for my friends button money.... In the meantime I told my chommie, now us if you smoke buttons then you sit on one side. There I decided to go and steal for everyone. I'm going to entertain my friends a bit now. Then I soema steal, then I maybe get a five thousand rand. Then I give my mother maybe a thousand rand. Ma this is food money maybe. (Does she ask you where you got it?) Yes she asks me, then she tells me I must stop with this stealing and wat wat. I don't want your money, then I say no take it, you're going to need that money in future. Then she says no she only wants honest money from me. Then I just tell no don't worry and wat wat. The other money is just for my friends wine moneys and lots of things, sweets and pies. I buy soema man man two pies, and man man a two litre drink. Man man a whole gatsby or like that. We go to the beach, eat ice cream cones, rings are saya on the fingers, chains and wat wat. We go to the beach and we're just cool, we're just like merchants now. (Merchants?) We're now noggads just merchants and so. We just speak English, high English.

A: And why is that nice?

J: Girls, women. If we steal, we dress up kwaai, we're going to go voel women on the beach.

This language clearly illustrates how Johnny uses the portrayal of certain acts to achieve a specific masculine reputation. Criminal acts are contradictorily linked to becoming a 'merchant', speaking 'high English' and dressing up to be attractive for the women. The ambiguity is prominent in the fact that he wants to become a 'merchant', a drug dealer. This dubious status is tarnished by its criminality, yet it pervades a notion of wealth, so esteemed on the Cape Flats. Furthermore, the 'high English' attempts to claim a reputation as a middle-class subject, as educated and desirable to women. Although his mother resists the money, he still achieves being the provider for her, linked to what I have described as a 'traditional masculine' discourse. The reputations this boy strives for through performing crime appear contradictory, yet they can be understood through the types of masculinities Johnny is asserting. These reputations are substantially genderised and I believe further enquiry, combining reputation management as it manifests in contradictory forms of

masculinity, is one productive way in which this type of research can be made useful to 'people in the firing line'.

Luxolo Malindi once showed me a chart that the social workers complete for each boy, examining his self-esteem and competence in a range of areas. Whilst these forms of measurement are productive, I am arguing that the issue of young men and crime needs to be perceived as related to situational and group factors, complex forms of inter-subjective communication, as well as emotional dynamics. Whether we are able to devise programmes and charts that take this theoretically informed and empirically based research to institutions like Horizons, is a concrete challenge that I hope this thesis has laid out. Whilst it may not replace personality assessment and intra-psychic measures, it may be used to buttress these.

"The poorest man is the one without a dream"

I am sitting in the boardroom at Horizons waiting for one of the boys to come and join me for an individual interview. I look out the window and down over the quad. These hyper-active youngsters are charging around after each other as usual. I see Peter, the non-Muslim boy who wears a fez anyway. He is a natural leader and the other kids seem to gravitate towards him. They follow his movements, imitate his mannerisms.

I am feeling a bit tired after already having done two interviews. I wander over to the notice board. On the board there is a big printed sign in black and white. It says:

"the poorest man of all is the man without a dream"

The boys I encountered at Horizons could be accused of many things, most of them not nice. Many of them have committed acts that make your stomach turn. While doing research there I felt like I was in the Rio de Janeiro film set of *City of God*. These boys were so small and their stories so ghastly, they literally made me feel sick.

When one imagines gangsters, an image of an American style convertible car with pumping tunes and 6 feet 3 inch, 150 kilogram men dripping in gold, comes to mind. But these were little boys, in takkies and tracksuits, who got embarrassed when they burped and shouted at each other to thank me for the coke which they claimed not to have drunk in 6 months. And when I showed them pictures of different men they asked me for the original magazines so that they could read something interesting.

And one of the boys asked me if I would buy him the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy because it had been stolen from him. If there's one thing I realized at Horizons it was that all of these boys have dreams. "Big dreams", as Galen who apparently ran across the battlefield with two uzzis told me. Many of the boys' dreams were linked to running away, to transcending space and the Cape Flats:

A: and what sort of work do you want to do?

*H: a truckdriver (laughs) (why?) you see different things man, you see...you learn a lot of things...you see a lot of things...it's nice to ride the long path...put your music on...put the steering wheel on lock...**power steering...** the path is straight. And the wheel...the wheel can't move, he's stiff...if you're off you can maybe take your laaitie and your wife one day also for a lekker ride...maybe to Lesotho (Lesotho!) (laughs)... or to Kimberly*

And

N: to be a pilot (a pilot, why?) then I'm in the sky. I want to for the army, I want to fly the army jets

And

A: Kenny, what would you do if you won the Lotto money?

K: First, the Lotto money is too much for me, I don't know if I won if I would carry on living because the shock would be too big. First I'd sort my family out. Second, I'd like to travel around the world. Maybe some for those who don't have anything, I know it's not enough but I'd leave some for them I know. Like the Lord says in the bible, you reap what you sow. Now I'll make an example, I give to those who don't have, there'll come a day when they'll also be big, he can maybe be the president or the biggest singer. Then he'll also say that Kenny...maybe on the TV one day, that Kenny, I look up to him, he's my role model. I would like to be a role-model for someone in life. Like my brothers and other people. Any people that I can be an example for. At the moment I am an example for nobody. Now look where I am.

Although I have not yet been to court to see the faces of families who have suffered at the hands of these boys, I think it is these dreams which should challenge all of us to listen to their stories and to strive for a true democracy, which provides the

infrastructure, the support and the guidance, in order to stimulate real opportunities for all of its children.

“Oh very young what will you leave us this time, you’ve only been dancin’ on the surf for a short while and though your dreams may toss and turn you now...”

Cat Stevens

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Appendix A: Glossary

1. **Alles** – everything. Also (2) as in the phrase “don’t take me for a alles” meaning don’t take me for a ride, or a fool.
2. **Au’we** - used to call attention to something also “au”.
3. **Baanzla** - means a lot. 'Os het a baanzla wyn uit gesuip' or 'Os is a baanzla vrag ouens by die jol.' Also when referring to your back speen you will term your friends as a "rush" of people.
4. **Back speen** - the people who you can call on in case of emergency e.g. when you're in a fight you know gangsters that will come help you out.
5. **Bakkie**- small pick-up truck
6. **Bangetjie** – someone who is scared. The opposite of sterkbene.
7. **Bas** – burst.
8. **Bekeur** – to convert or be converted (as in being a reborn Christian)
9. **Benefit** - any form of material gain, closely associated with money.
10. **Berk** - boyfriend.
11. **Bevoel** - to fondle or feel up a girl.
12. **Blatjang** – to increase.
13. **Blok skrooi** – shit hits the fan.
14. **Blokke** – when the environment isn’t safe mainly like from the police but other things as well. You’ll also say it’s blok benoud. ‘it’s too hot’.
15. **Boef** - con artist or a con itself. (2) to steal, but more con. "They boefed me with a kak watch."
16. **Boere**- farmers or police.
17. **Bot** - boring.
18. **Bra** – guy. (2) friend. Diminutive bratjie. Extensions: Broe as in one friend. **brasse** as in friends also sometimes pronounced broese (said like with a z) but this version is more strictly masculine. Synonyms includes. chommies, ouens, homeys, getuies.
19. **Bristen** - full of confidence, ready to stand for whatever, sort of like sterkbene and vol mas.
20. **British** - usually pronounced as gebritis or britis meaning, to have a weapon (gun or knife) on your person or at your immediate disposal, closely linked with a gun though.

21. **Buite straf** – parole or suspended sentence.
22. **Button kop** - or button koppe, someone addicted to mandrax.
23. **Bunny**- homosexual
24. **Bymekaar** - together as in going out. Also (2) to kiss or “vry” as in “raak bymekaar”.
25. **Chappies** – tattoos also chappe.
26. **Chilla** - verb, meaning to get away with or receive a benefit or. hit the jackpot. Also used as adverb, eg 'I chilla'd the money'. ' or noun 'The whole chilla.'
27. **Chise** - to seduce eligible women. (2) to engage in the activity of negotiating a benefit, and noun for that. 'I chised my shoe by Sport Scene.'
28. **Chommies** – friends. Synonym for brasse.
29. **Dalla** – verb or adverb meaning to engage in, or engage, also noun use. 'I dalla'd that kind'. 'We dalla'd the bottle'.
30. **Dik**- thick
31. **Dik ding** – someone who's a “big shot”.
32. **Dik nek/nekke** – synonym for dik ding, “big shot”.
33. **Dinges** – general term for thing, event or person. People will say that “dinges man, that dinges that you open the door with.” Also dinges'e.
34. **Dite** – food. (2) to eat. “I'm going home to dite quickly.” Synonyms: vrete and derb.
35. **Dronk lap**- drunkard
36. **Druip** - cool clothing or the wearing of cool clothing. 'Hy'die julle druij' similar to saying your decked out, or dressed to the nines.
37. **Druk** - to leave. Synonym for line, gooi, march, trap.
38. **Duidelik** - common word meaning cool, lekker, nice.
39. **Ek se** - general suffix.
40. **Entjie** – cigarette.
41. **Flou** – unconscious.
42. **Forcha** - means to see or to look. 'Het jy hai geforcha?'
43. **Frans** - sabella word referring to someone who is a nothing or a weakling.
44. **Gaiing**- making fun of
45. **Gat** – formally hole. Also (2) bum; (3) verb as in going “Ek gat vi dai bra nog vra.” I'm still going to ask that guy.
46. **Gatas** - police, synonym includes boere. City police: Pizzas or Pizza boys.

47. **Gazi** - blood. (2) a close friend of yours. Comes from sabella. You'll say "The julle gazi was pouring down his face after they stabbed him." alternatively "Die's my gazi." Referring to your close friend.
48. **Gebruike** - means cigarette. Root: button smokers throw cigarette tobacco in their dagga when they smoke. That cigarette is called a gebruike.
49. **Gechap**- see chappe
50. **Gedagte** - thoughts, or the noun towards someone or thing. "Jy'd a kak gedagte." "You think shit of me."
51. **Gehard** - similar meaning to duidelik. Good, nice, lekker etc. Formally though, means someone or thing that is hardened.
52. **Gekoppel**- see Koppel
53. **Geslat**- decked out in
54. **Geloof** – formally belief, but colloquially meaning with confidence. People say 'march met geloof', meaning march with strength, with power as ascribed to sterkbene.
55. **Gerook** - stoned. Also used as kak gerook, jitz gerook, in your poes, vedaalla'd.
56. **Gesuij** - drunk. Drinking as suiping. Also dik gesuij, kak gesuij, vedaalla'd. in your poes gesuij etc.
57. **Geskietery** – a shooting or shoot out.
58. **Getuie** - formally one who testifies, witness. Colloquially: a person you're closely connected with as a friend but also (2) someone who is being played, as referred to as "getuietjie". One who is being used and conned in a friendly relationship.
59. **Gevaarlik**- dangerous and awesome
60. **Gimba** - a gluten, specifically for food but can be used in relation to other things.
61. **Golfie**- a volkswagen golf
62. **Gooied** – threw, throw. Also (2) **leave** like 'line' and 'trap'.
63. **Grand** - like. "I grand your car or that kind."
64. **Gunnetjie** – a small gun.
65. **Gwala** - a word used to call attention to something. "Gwala my man!"
66. **Hip hop** – awake, alive, energetic. Synonym, bobbin.
67. **Homeys** – friends or guys. Synonym for brasse.
68. **Hosh** - pronounced hos. term used to call attention towards one. Similar to oi.
69. **Houing dik**- to be arrogant, condescending or 'too big for your boots'
70. **Ja** – yes.

71. **Jas** - horny. (2) lascivious in nature. (3) crazy, mad etc as in "Is jy jas! I'll never pay so much for a book."
72. **Jep** - to steal. Synonyms include penzula and ses.
73. **Jiga** - to leave. Similar to line.
74. **Jinto** - a loose woman or girl. (2) prostitute. Synonyms include naiertjie, steekertjie, ou roll.
75. **Jol** - to go clubbing. (2) to fling with a girl in a non-formal relationship, or the noun of that to kiss. Can also be said as gejollery or we're jolling.
76. **Jong** – person or guy. Also said as jongetjie as the diminutive like boy or person. Plural jongens or jongetjies guys sometimes denoting type, as in 'those guys'.
77. **Jou ma se poes** - the highest insult, roughly translated as 'fuck your mother'.
78. **Jussie** – expression of delight or surprise.
79. **Jy** – you. Can also be employed in a derogatory sense "Jy, who do you think you are!?"
80. **K'aan get** - from the English root can't get, meaning, hard to find.
81. **Kaantie** - in truth or in reality. "She told me she doesn't have a boyfriend but kaantie, her boyfriend is the leader of the Americans."
82. **Kak**- shit.
83. **Kamka** – come here or listen up.
84. **Kap om** – pass out. People will say especially button smokers that the 'bra kapped om cause he was dik gerook.'
85. **Kap vas** – to make a girl pregnant. "He kapped vas with her."
86. **Karde** - virtually silent d, formally meaning cards more specifically the telling of lies or (2) being sharp with the tongue. Usually said as "Ek skiet die julle karde". You do this especially when chising kine's.
87. **Kind** – formally a child, colloquially an eligible woman usually young woman or (2) your steady girlfriend. Plural **kine's**. Synonyms include Ape, Pajero's, Luiwe, Peere, Meire.
88. **Klim** – formally climb. Also (2) synonym for nai, as in to climb a girl, to have sex.
89. **Klop an** – make an attempt with someone for something, like for a benefit. (2) in relation to kine's, making a pass.
90. **Koppel** - also used interchangeably with gekoppel, means connected with or associated with or to connect.

91. **Kring-** circle
92. **Kroon** - money. Synonyms include, rouble, dollero, meiring, clips (as in hundreds), hunnie's, pitte, dough.
93. **Kwaai** – nice or good.
94. **Kyk a lewe** - making a life or a way for yourself, not like a career as such, more as a means of survival or the forging of that survival or that act of making a material survival. Like you're hungry so you kyk a lewe for food money or for cigarettes or general income.
95. **Kyk'gie** - look here, but applied as general prefix especially when talking to someone. 'Kyk'gie, os line.'
96. **Laaitie** – a child or young person. Synonyms include jong and jongetjie.
97. **Lam** - to hang out with. (2) to be associated or connected with people. "Ek lam saam hulle." I'm with them.
98. **Lekker** – nice or good. Also pronounced as lekkertjies. Synonyms include duidelik, gehard, n'aa, mooi, kwaai.
99. **Lem** - knife.
100. **Line** - to leave. 'Come we line.'
101. **Loop-** walk
102. **Lus** – crave, desire, feel for or want. Synonyms include smaak.
103. **Ma se kind** – general suffix as referent towards someone, often closer friendly relations.
104. **Mal** - good, lekker, nice, crazy about. 'Dai kind is mal oor my.' That's a mal takkie/sweater/jeans.' His music is mal.'
105. **Mammok** – vomit, and that verb.
106. **Mang** - to go to jail. Also the noun version of that, i.e. jail.
107. **Maningle** – dead or death.
108. **March** – to leave, as in hit the road. Synonyms include line and druk.
109. **Masse-** mother's, usually as in mother's vagina ie. masse poes
110. **Mejat** - fake. As in a fake product or thing. "He's a mejat gangster."
111. **Meneer** – sir.
112. **Mert** - root word merchant, used interchangeably as referent to someone who deals exclusively with drugs and/or their place. The merchant is also associated with lots of money but not always associated with gangs.
113. **Met die lyf** - pregnant.

114. **Moenie kak praat'ie** - don't talk shit.
115. **Mol** - to scamper for or rush towards.
116. **Mooi** – formally pretty, colloquially also nice or good. As in the English version 'sweet'.
117. **Mos** – have, did or must. "Jy moet mos." You have to. "Hy'd mos dai gedoen." He was the one that did that. Also just a general free signifying word, no English variant.
118. **N'aa** - said with a small click on the N. Means good. 'Psychology is'ie nog n'aa nie.' Psychology really isn't nice.
119. **Naai** - no.
120. **Nai** - sex. Synonyms include vedalla, dalla, slat, steek, kap, goie slorpie, maak werk, brand, vreet, globber.
121. **Ndota** - sabella word from the Zulu for man. Commonly used for someone who wants to be authoritative, standing out of the rest, the man etc. Synonyms: vrag trekker, dik nekke.
122. **Nobba** - even though or regardless of the fact. 'Nobba jy'd a berk ek chise vir jou.' (even though you have a girlfriend I'm gonna go for you)
123. **Noggals** – really, actually, still (the same).
124. **Nommer** - number, to do with prison gangs system code and belief. Also referred to as nommer skap, 'number things'.
125. **Nwata** - bullshit, as in someone who talks this or a thing that is like this.
126. **Od** - pronounced almost like ot. Means odd or small change.
127. **Outjie** – guy or extension of that Ouens as in guys. Synonym brasse. Also (2) boyfriend. Synonym for berk.
128. **Ouense** – men or guys. Similar to brasse.
129. **Pagamisa** - sabella word, used to call attention to something. Commonly used as 'Hos jy moen nog pagamissa' Hey you must take note or 'Jy gat nog pagamissa' You're still going to see or be shown.
130. **Pak** - formally meaning hiding. Colloquial meaning, firstly, the jackpot, closely associated with money. 'Os het a pak geld geslat.' (2) a lot of something. (3) to flood or overrun (as in a lot) in terms of fights like when two people fight then one's friends pak the opponent on.
131. **Pak uit** – to reveal (talk) in detail, or (2) to talkatively express oneself in detail.

132. **Panghor** - sabella word, means to talk incessantly, like going on and on and on.
133. **Permi** - always. "He's permi sitting with those people."
134. **Perselie** – to dictate. Common saying that expresses this. "Ek persellie die valley."
135. **Piemp** - to squeal. Person who does this, piemper or piempertjie.
136. **Pille**- pills
137. **Poes** – the vagina. (2) derogatory word for someone stupid or weak. (3) used as an adjective of extremity like 'It was poes hot.'
138. **Pos**- see 'vang a pos'
139. **Pyp** - refers to the pipe for smoking cannabis. Synonyms include. chala or challace from the root chalice. (2) also gun. 'Ek het a pyp by die joint.' Synonyms include. Vuur wareme, britis, uyster.
140. **Raffel** - formally to unravel. Colloquially, when someone reaches the point where they snap after being provoked, getting into that mad state of violence. People will say "Moenie lat ek uit raffel'ie."
141. **Reg** – right, proper, decent. Also said as regte.
142. **Rock** – crack cocaine or to smoke that, also said as rocked.
143. **Rol** - fight. Synonyms include bots (a little out of fashion now) and vedalla.
144. **Saak** – a legal case or (2) make a story or a big thing.
145. **Sabella** - pedantic form of gang language built on elaborate underworld lexicon. Prison gang language
146. **Sien'ie ou** - general suffix meaning 'you see' or 'you check'. Synonym includes sien jy.
147. **Sien jy** – you check.
148. **Sit a kop an** - to con someone or a con. "They wanted to put me a kop an with the watch." Synonym for boef.
149. **Skangaga** - duidelik, cool, lekker etc.
150. **Skep** - pick up or to fetch someone.
151. **Skop teen die kar** – to say no or to resist something. Eg you want to go out and your kind skop teen die kar.
152. **Skoor sock**- look for trouble
153. **Skrif**- script

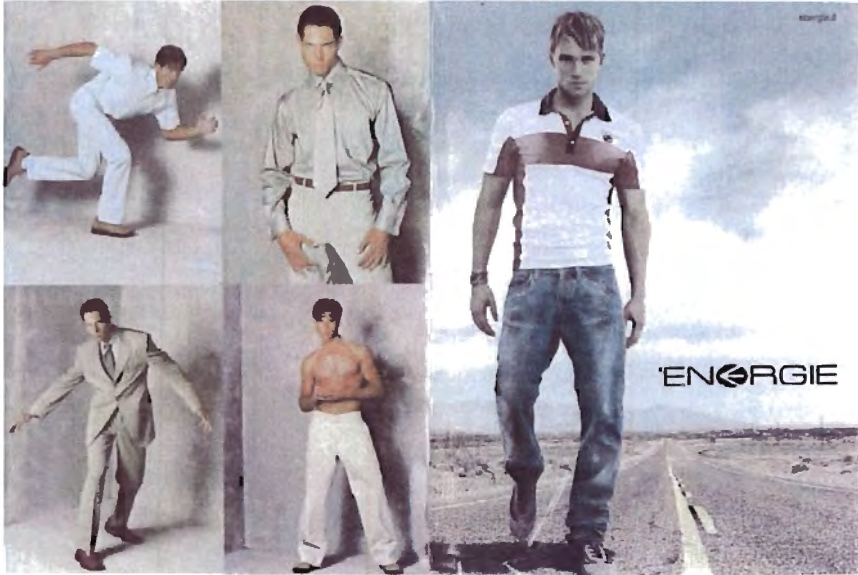
154. **Skud** - to drive around and have a good time. (2) Also refers to people that you associate and move around with. "I skud with Adam Funky and wat wat." (3) dance
155. **Skuif** – a half a cigarette. (2) also means a drag of a cig. Other increments include. leintjie (a drag) and a gatjie (a quarter cigarette). Also an "effort" which means anything on this continuum.
156. **Slat** - in the formal to hit. used as geslat as well. (2) to pull of something like a burglary or a robbery or anything. (3) Also a synonym for dressing cool: (4) performing (burning your car tires): (5) and having sex.
157. **Slorp** - used as slorp or slorpie meaning to wear cool clothing. or verb. (*n*) slorpie. relating to sex. Synonym for geslat and druip. 'Jy's geslorp vedag.' or 'Hy's altyd lekker geslorp.'
158. **Slow boat or boatjies** - joint or joints.
159. **Smaak** – formally to crave or feel for something. Also (2) to like or be attracted towards someone. "I smaak her."
160. **Smokkel** - to deal in contraband of any sorts. alcohol. clothing. drugs. etc.
161. **Smokkie** - shebeen where alcohol is sold.
140. **Soema** – just. but in the adverbial sense. "He soema took the car." "We soema drink two bottles in an hour."
162. **Sout** - the cigarette tobacco thrown in the dagga. (2) to keep a look out for people when things are being done that have to be kept under cover.
163. **Span** - work as in formal work.
164. **Speen** - to go out with, or going out.
165. **Staan** - as in 'hoe staan jy?' How do you stand. meaning what is your capacity in the given situation: do you have money. are you drunk. can you handle it [sterkbene].
166. **Steek** – to stab or (2) to have sex. "Take a steek". Synonyms include naai. slat. druk weg. on the job. dalla. vedalla.
167. **Sterkbene** - means to have balls. to be able to stand for something (2) but also means to be empowered or possess power. as in when responding to the question about your capacity or potential in a given situation. Direct opposite of bangetjie.
168. **Stoep**- porch
169. **Takkies**- sports shoes
170. **Tani** - mother or older woman figure. 'Did you chise that tani?'

171. **Tikking** – to smoke crystal meth, or crystal meth itself as in tik. Also referred to as tjoef, speed, wire and werk. People who deal are also referred to as gooiing uit (throwing out). Paraphernalia include the lolly or lollipop.
172. **Topi** - father, also referred to as ou. 'Hai's my ou.'
173. **Trap** – formally walk. Colloquial: the line you're in or the way you are. For example, you're a person that likes to chise kines, or you like smoking buttons or tik. That's your trap, your line.
174. **Tydjie** – short period of time. Tyd is time.
175. **Uitgebrand-** to burn out
176. **Vang** – to catch or be caught.
177. **Vang a pos** - locate yourself, place yourself in a situation. (2) to keep a look out similar to sout.
178. **Vang kak an** – catch on shit.
179. **Vang saake** – to get arrested, or in trouble with the law.
180. **Vaste kind\girlfriend** – your steady girlfriend. Also just your kind, your girl.
181. **Vat vir a pop** - taking someone for a, ridiculing them or conning them.
182. **Vedalla** - similar to dalla. (2) also specific relation to violence as in force of that as an adjective. 'I'll vedalla you.'
183. **Vissin** – stupid.
184. **Vol mas** - full of confidence or being brazen.
185. **Vrag** – a lot.
186. **Vry** – to kiss. Synonym include jol and raak bymekaar.
187. **Waarheid** - truth or really.
188. **Wat wat** - general suffix meaning etc. (2) also means that and that as in having all the extra's, the trimmings. (3) Relates to people in them being "the shit". "He's almost like a wat wat."
189. **Watte gwaan** - what's going on. (2) sometimes just watte.
190. **Werk** - the thing that you deal with in any capacity: women, drugs etc.
191. **Wette-** rules or laws
192. **What kine** - general term meaning "what's going on" in a situation or with a thing. "What kine with that kind?" or "What kine there?"
193. **Wietie** – to talk or speak or to keep company.
194. **Wit bene** - sabella for killing and that noun. 'Hy's wit bene.'
195. **Wys** - means to show, tell or indicate. 'Wys me your new CD.'

196. **Yaad** - from the English root yard. Shebeen, more specifically the place at the shebeen, usually an enclosed outdoor space, where people sit and drink or use drugs.

197. **Zebo** – stupid or crazy.

Appendix B: Pictures shown to the boys in focus groups



1

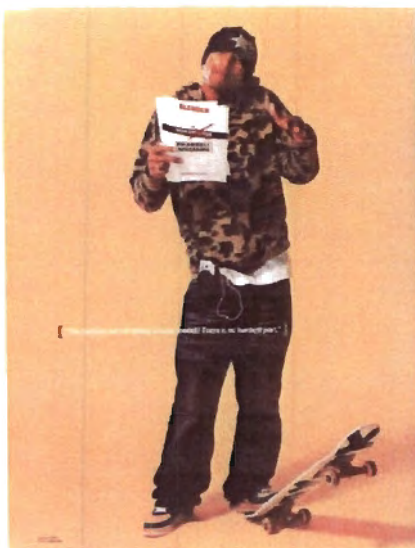
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Appendix C: Interview schedule

Introduction: I am writing a book on young men's experiences in Cape Town and I would like to hear the story of your life. If you don't want to talk about something please let me know and that's fine: you can stop the interview at any stage.

Proceed to ask about the story of their life. Questions for if you get stuck:

Growing up:

Could you tell me where and when you were born?

What is that area like- I've never been there?

Describe the house that you grew up in

Where you grew up, who were the people you liked the most and who were the people you disliked?

Who were the scariest people in the neighbourhood? Could you tell me any stories about them?

What did most of the men do for work in that area?

Family:

How many brothers and sisters do you have?

Describe your relationships with your brothers and sisters

What do your mother and father do for a living?

Who looked after you when you were small?

Who did you play with, what sorts of things did you do?

Do you remember a time when there was a fight in your family?

Tell me about things the family did together

School:

Could you tell me about your first day of school?

What were the teachers like?

Were there any gangs in the school?

What sorts of rules were there at the school?

What happened when you broke the rules?

Gangs:

Do you know any gangsters?

Have you ever been in a gang?

Why do people join gangs?

Can you tell me any stories about gangs where you live?

Other:

What are your favourite things to do?

What sports do you like to play?

What kind of music do you like?

Do you have any heroes?

What does it mean to you to be successful?

When do you feel angry?

Do you think that men should talk about how they feel?

Women:

Have you ever had a girlfriend?

What kinds of women do you like?

How do you feel when you're with your girlfriend?

Describe your future wife

Should women work?

Horizons:

What's it like here?

Where do you sleep?

How is the food here?

Are there gangs here?

Do you have friends here?

Appendix D: "Just for fun", sung by Kenny

K: The first time that I saw you

You took my breath away.

But then I didn't look

You were in love with someone else.

I really did believe

That we could be much more

More so much more, than just friends.

And Just for Fun

You took my love and run.

The love that's just begun

Only just begun for me.

And just for fun

You took my love and run

The love that just begun

Only just begun for me.

For me'e.

And now

I must sleep with this conscience of dismiss

I know I must move on

But I don't know if I can.

Consider my true love

And then you'll understand

Understand what my love is all about.

Appendix E:

Discourses invested in

	<u>Hyper Masculinity</u>	<u>Traditional masculinity</u>	<u>Mythopoetic masculinity</u>
Jerome	8	8	7
Peter	4	8	5
Simon	6	8	2
Rafiek	9	6	4
Dino	3	9	8
Eddy	6	8	9
Bradley	7	7	7.5
Romario	8	9	8
Quinton	6	7	8
Dimo	4	8	7
Emre	5	7	7
Chesney	9	7	8
Tino	7	7	7
Chris	6	7	7
Taariq	8.5	7	5
Bruno	8	6	7
Alex	6	7	8
Remo	7	6	8
Russel	7	7	6
Jonny	8	7	6
Galen	9	7	7
Glen	6	5	6
Nazmeer	7	7	7
Kenny	7	8	9
Elroy	7	8.5	7

Appendix F: "Tupac in Manenberg"



Appendix G: Letter from first institution approached

Mr. A Cooper
3 Greenlawns Square
CLAREMONT
7708

Dear Mr. Cooper

RESEARCH PROJECT: MASCULINITY AMONG YOUNG OFFENDERS AT(name removed) (preferred wording would be "young persons in conflict with the law placed in alternative care and/or in a most empowering and most restrictive environment")

The Management Committee has considered your research proposal dated 29 July 2004 and decided that your request to conduct the research cannot be favourably considered at this stage unless you can provide clarity on the following considerations:

- How you would ensure the protection and promotion of the rights and safety of the participants
- Specifics of how you envisage to facilitate the engagement and disengagement processes phases with the participants
- The essence of your interaction with the children is to allow them opportunity to "voice" their views. The assumption but reality is that you do not automatically detach from such emotionally expressions and experiences, therefore it is imperative that the multi-disciplinary team be informed what type of follow through and support would be provided should such situations surface.
- You underpin that confidentiality is a key principle you would adopt in conducting the research, whilst one of our key activities are to have the children under constant supervision of the child and youth care staff. Should you commit to take responsibility for their supervision during your individual interviews and focus groups sessions, how would you ensure safety and protection of the children? You might argue that the venue made available to you should allow for such security, but we would want a guarantee that you would be able to contain the children during the period that you engage with them.
- The management does not have clarity on the screening of the applicants and your expectations of the facility staff in this regard. As you are aware we provide a service to 160 boys at any given time and only 20 would be included in the research project. How do you envisage communicating this to the rest of the children and informing the specific group of 20 why they have been selected as participants? It is accepted that your target group has been minimised to children resident in the Cape Peninsula area.
- With reference to your research results, you have confirmed that a copy of your research report would be made available to the facility, but your proposal is silent on how you consider communicating the results to the research participants.
- A stated intended outcome of your research is to provide the boys with appropriate alternatives in asserting themselves. It would be necessary to be informed of how you predict this process to be managed beyond the research project.

- A further variable you will have to contend with is the constant movement of the boys which implies that a high level of flexibility need to be built into the research project as the research participants might change periodically. This has relevance on building rapport within the group.
- A further concern is the fact that you focus on Coloured boys as research participants whilst you also endeavour to include issues such as race and class.

I regret not be able to give you a positive response at this stage as we pride ourselves in creating opportunities for learning and teaching.

Yours in childcare

Kind regards

FOR MANAGER

DATE