



COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

School of Social Science

**Exploring constructions of masculinity among young men in the
context of poverty: A case study of Kenneth Gardens, Durban**

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DECLARATION

I, Melusi Andile Charles Dlamini, declare that this dissertation entitled: Exploring constructions of masculinity among young men in the context of poverty: A case study of Kenneth Gardens, Durban is my own work and all the sources used are quoted and acknowledged by means of references. This work has never been submitted to any other University or College.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

DEDICATION

I dedicate this to the loving memory of my grandmother Nontsikelelo Eslina Dlamini and my beloved aunt Nompumelelo Precious Ndebele. I carry your love and your lessons in my spirit always. You are sorely missed.

To all the other beautiful, black and queer ‘children’ who were told they are not enough, know that you are capable of more than you think.

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This has truly been one of the most challenging expeditions in my life. And for that, I congratulate my Self.

I have been blessed to know powerful people who have, over time, contributed to the person I have evolved into and to the academic I am still trying to be.

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ABSTRACT

This study explored how young masculinities are constructed and enacted in the context of poverty, unemployment and violence. It sought to understand how poverty shaped young men's identities, and how they navigated the salient challenges in their lives. The study draws from ethnographic data collected in Kenneth Gardens in Durban, which focused on a group of unemployed men aged between 19 and 30. The study concerns itself with how young masculinities are shaped by social and economic dynamics that unfold in the lives of the young men. This study used the concept of structural violence and adopted a constructionist approach in order to interpret the data collected in the field. The participants' narratives suggested a dissonance between the young men's personal circumstances and their aspirations, which demonstrated limited agency. The social and economic marginality of the participants facilitated the emergence of 'impoverished masculinities' among the young men, which was marked by the recurrent use of substances and violence. 'Violent masculinities' also emerged among the participants as a reaction to instances of victimisation within and around their community. Moreover, the study explored how unemployment and poverty influenced the young men's enactments of masculinity in relation women as intimate partners. In the study, women were often (hyper)sexualised and objectified, with sexual relationships used as sites of negotiation and resistance in the context of disempowering material conditions. In a context that is increasingly challenging for young people, poverty and unemployment deepened the marginalisation the young men and resulted in the enactment of potentially destructive masculinities. Overall, the data suggests that the context of social and economic marginality lead to limitations in life choices that severely limited the agency of the young men and profoundly affected the construction of young masculinities in Kenneth Gardens.

Key words: Young Men; Masculinities; Poverty; Unemployment

CHAPTER ONE: DEFINING THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction and Background

Hunter's (2007) study of the significance of unemployment and inequality in South Africa highlighted the relationship between masculinities and socioeconomic status. Based on this, it can be argued that the legacy of labour migration of men to the urban context served to perpetuate expectations of men to earn and provide for their families. The existence of young men in urban spaces is coloured by these expectations and associations of manhood with employment. For young men, whose lives and experiences are punctuated by crippling socioeconomic realities and by normative patriarchal constructions of manhood, navigating daily life can become increasingly challenging. Perhaps a more contemporary illustration of these tensions in the lives of young men is the evolution of *izikhothane*¹ identities in urban South Africa, which has seen young men (mostly unemployed) use conspicuous consumption and fashion to enact their masculinities (Jones, 2013; Howell and Vincent, 2014; Mazibuko, 2014). Such identities have raised interesting questions about how contemporary youth identities are negotiated against the backdrop of severe social and economic pressures.

Poverty and unemployment have been highlighted as the primary factors that deepen the marginalisation of young people in South Africa (National Youth Development Agency, 2015). Makiwane and Kwizera (2009) have suggested that the quality of life among young people in South Africa remains low, with many still unable to access the labour market. Beyond poverty and unemployment, many young people are faced with daily structural challenges that make it difficult to improve their circumstances. A salient marker of these socioeconomic realities is the rising amount of young people who are finding themselves having to deal with unemployment. In the South African context, according to Moolman (2013), the contemporary structural shifts that have taken root have resulted in new dynamics and experiences in the lives of young men. This means that socioeconomic shifts have had a direct impact on the lives of

¹ *Izikhothane* identity is an alternative form of masculinity commonly performed in urban township spaces among certain groups of young men who identify themselves as the *izikhothane*. The *izikhothane* identity is often characterised by performances which include conspicuous consumption and destruction of expensive goods (see Mazibuko, 2014; Howell and Vincent, 2014).

young men. Thus, in urban settings young men increasingly have to adapt to changing social and economic contexts over time.

According to Schenck and Louw (2010) poverty is directly linked to unemployment, and it is the unemployed that are generally the poorest. Approximately 46% of the South African population live below the poverty line (Statistics South Africa, 2015). Over a quarter (26.3%) of the country's poor live in KwaZulu-Natal, which is the second most populous province. The poor are in the majority in KwaZulu-Natal (56.6%). Further to this, age and poverty are intertwined, with approximately two thirds (61.3%) of all poor people in South Africa being under the age of 25. More specific to the study at hand, just above half (50.7%) of the youth aged between eighteen and twenty four, and over a third (38.7%) of all youth aged between twenty five and thirty four (as defined by the NYDA) are living under the poverty line (Statistics South Africa, 2015).

Despite significant socioeconomic and political shifts, contemporary South African social and gender identities are still linked to the structural inequalities created by apartheid policies (Moolman, 2013). For example, South Africa is often cited as having exceptionally high levels of crime, gender-based violence and rape (Wood and Jewkes, 1997; Jewkes et al. 2003; Morrell et al. 2012), which is predominantly directed at women. Levels of violence and violent crime specifically among young people in South Africa are also extraordinarily high (Swartz and Scott, 2013). Studies into such behaviours have thus provided evidence which suggests that gender roles, which are socially constructed and influenced by persistent patriarchal ideology, are significant factors in structural vulnerabilities (Strebel et al. 2006; Redpath et al. 2008; Bhana and Pattman, 2009). Structural vulnerabilities in South Africa tend to be distributed along the lines of race, gender, age, socioeconomic background and even gender identity (Mkhize, 2012; Makiwane and Kwizera, 2009; National Youth Development Agency, 2015). As a result, poverty is experienced disproportionately by South African youth.

In South Africa notions of masculinity have been shown not to be immune to social, economic and even political shifts (Redpath et al. 2008; Mfecane, 2012; Mazibuko, 2014; Selikow et al. 2002). Varga's (2001) aptly titled study, *The Forgotten Fifty Percent*, demonstrated that significantly little is known about the experiences of young males in the South African context as opposed to young females. Barker and Ricardo (2005) have also highlighted the dearth of these experiences in literature, especially in the African context. The consequence has been that while there is a clearer awareness of the challenges that young women encounter, related

knowledge about the realities faced by young men is woefully limited in comparison. This is also evidenced by a growing need to “include men” in initiatives that seek to empower women and reduce gender based violence, which tend to offer limited insight into the lives of men. Izugbara (2015) has asserted that current analyses of urban masculinities continue to ignore the direct perspectives of men whose lives form the crux of such investigations. This has resulted in a narrative that portrays young men as the perpetrators of the atrocities commonly suffered by women. There is conspicuous mention of the extent of crime and rape in South Africa, often perpetrated against women, yet the fact that young men are eight times more likely than women to die from interpersonal violence is hardly mentioned (Ratele, 2010; Swartz and Scott, 2013; Barker and Ricardo, 2005). In addition, while statistics have highlighted the inequalities in employment prospects, very little research has delved into the consequences that rising unemployment rates may have for young men in urban South Africa.

Research indicates that low socio-economic status and the lack of formal employment and socioeconomic changes in sub-Saharan Africa have led to increased male disempowerment, leaving many unable to fulfil the legitimizing elements of their manhood (see Silberschmidt, 2001; Tersbøl, 2006; Aboim, 2009; Izugbara, 2015). According to Luyt (2003), men in South Africa exist within an uneven landscape of social interaction which locates each individual in pre-existing, whilst at the same time changing, notions of gender. Ratele (2010) suggested that the need for gainful employment is an important element in the construction of certain forms of manhood in South Africa. Despite increased male disempowerment, research among young men in Southern Africa has indicated that hegemonic masculinity and the increasingly elusive ideals of marriage, financial independence, employment and the provider identity remain central to constructions of masculinity in sub-Saharan Africa (Barker and Ricardo, 2005; Groes-Green, 2009; Izugbara, 2015). Research also suggests that drastic changes in the economy threaten the ‘masculine ideal’ (Groes-Green 2009) which dictates that men should provide, as well as have access to, material commodities, often placing young men in a context where even the expression of masculinity cannot be taken for granted (Tersbøl, 2006; Rebombo, 2006; Izugbara, 2015). The research fails, however, to capture how young masculinities are constructed and enacted daily in the context of growing social and economic marginality.

According to Morrell, masculinity is socially constructed and fluid, with “class and race being constitutive of the form that masculinity takes” (1998a:607). What this illustrates is the fact

that the life worlds of young men are susceptible to structural and contextual influences; their experiences and identities reflect these shifts. Overall, we seem to neglect the fact that there are likely to be young men who fall under the care of women, or by extension also experience these structural challenges (Tersbøl, 2006). There is growing evidence of the challenges that pertain to how the construction and expression of masculine identities intermingle with socioeconomic status and vulnerability.

Young men ‘inherit’ social expectations that inform how they should enact their manhood, particularly in contexts of social and economic marginality (Morrell, 1998b). The urban area is more monetised and thus presents a challenge for people who are already living in poverty. Kenneth Gardens, clearly located in an urban area, comprises all the dynamics associated with living in the urban context in KwaZulu-Natal. The urban context is often associated with socioeconomic growth and the higher promise of employment opportunities, which is typically a major draw card for people from the townships and rural areas (Schenck and Louw, 2010). Ironically, approximately a third (30.9%) of people who live in urban areas are poor. Poverty in this context becomes more complex due to the ever-growing numbers and diversity of the urban populations in terms of race, culture and economic power (Schenck and Louw, 2010).

This study focuses on the construction of youth masculinity as it hypothesizes that poverty and unemployment can have a direct impact on young masculinities. It takes into account the unfavourable economic climate and the high rates of youth unemployment as played out in the lived realities of young men in particular. Considering that the definition, construction and enactment of masculinities varies according to the context, this study thus seeks to explore how masculine identities among young men are impacted by poverty and unemployment in Kenneth Gardens. Taking into consideration the fluid nature of masculinity, it seeks to understand how these masculinities are enacted in the face of these social challenges in a particular social context.

1.2. Rationale for the Study: Why focus on (young) men?

“There is no typical young man in sub-Saharan Africa and there is no one African version of manhood”. (Barker and Ricardo, 2005:04)

Although there is a unanimous acknowledgement of the pliable nature of masculinity, literature often fails to document the effects of the context on the local constructions of masculinity and specifically among young males. Existing studies emphasize the fluid and socially constructed

nature of gender identities among men (Morrell, 1998; Courtenay, 2000; Barker and Ricardo, 2005; Peacock et al. 2009; Tersbøl, 2006). Considering the fluid nature of masculine identities, different social settings can therefore result in different expressions of masculinity depending on the historical and cultural nature of the setting (see Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005; Morrell, 2001; Connell, 2002). Shifts in the local social, political and economic landscapes ‘have contributed to the emergence of particular forms of masculinities’ (Redpath et al. 2008) and while the literature often reflects how masculinities and their expression are sensitive to the shifts that occur, there remains a dearth of literature on how masculinities have been shaped by contextual factors (Barker and Ricardo, 2005; Lynch et al. 2010; Silberschmidt, 2000; Peacock et al. 2009). It is therefore increasingly important to understand the nuances involved in the construction and realisation of masculinities among young men by delving into their experiences so as to better understand how their daily experiences interface with their understandings of manhood.

Among the youth, manhood is often located within a continuum of coercion, where certain behaviours within this continuum seem to serve the purpose of reaffirming the masculine identity (see Selikow, 2004). Moyo (2008) suggests that poverty has the potential to negatively influence and destabilise masculinities at the broader social level as well as at the individual level. Izugbara (2015) has also argued that poverty can, in some ways, define manhood for some men and Groes-Green (2009) has suggested that poor young men react to the conditions of unemployment and poverty by enacting violent or hyper-sexualised masculinities. As a result we find that young men are likely to be violent, to engage in risky sexual behaviour, to abuse alcohol or illegal substances, and impose their power over women (Barker and Ricardo, 2005; Woolf-King and Maisto, 2011; Masitha, 2012).

Despite this pattern of behaviour, young men are often overlooked in literature, with most research either concentrating on boys (under 18) and older men (30 and upwards). The proposed demographic, young men between the ages of 18 and 30, in this study is at a critical stage where the importance of economic and sociocultural participation is highly emphasised. This follows the completion of school and entering the job market. In this context, the young men are expecting to work towards becoming providers in their respective households.

According to Morrell et al. (2012:25) the “accused” are often young, black, unemployed men. It is important that researchers consider the ‘intersectionalities’ that play out in the lives of young men and how the varying factors impact the individual within specific contexts. This is

particularly important when considering how men and masculinities produce and reproduce social power and social identities (Moolman, 2013). It is through the same process that power is subdued and agency is limited. Connell (2000) points out the contested nature of masculinities and highlights how structures such as class and race have resulted in the dominant, complicit, submissive and oppositional categories among men. For instance, the high unemployment rate that disproportionately affects black youth limits the ability of young black men to escape their conditions of poverty. Thus, the intersectional framing of young masculinities would also assist in destabilising normative (and increasingly harmful and violent) constructions and expressions of young masculinities. In the South African context, establishing such modes of enquiry and understanding would enable a holistic response and a greater realisation of social justice. Anthropology, through its robust modes of enquiry, endeavours to provide the unique perspective and voice of those who inhabit such worlds in order to bring a better understanding of their respective contexts.

1.3. Review of Existing Literature

The field of men's studies has grown considerably over the last two decades and has seen an increased inter-pollination of ideas as the globe continues to grow smaller. In this context, young men may either demonstrate a reactive, accommodating or progressive response in the context of change (Brown et al. 2005; Morrell, 2001). As the arenas in which notions of masculinities are expressed continue to shift, an in-depth examination of the effect of these transformations on gender constructions is necessary (Brown et al., 2005). It is important to locate men's lives in light of the broader processes that affect their daily lives (Aboim, 2009). Prominent scholars in the field such as Connell and Morrell have revealed, over the years, the complexities inherent in the construction and expression of manhood. The work produced by these researchers and others who continue to contribute to the ever-growing bodies of work on masculinities have resulted in epistemological shifts and corresponding new ways of thinking/theorising some key concepts on the construction of gender identities among men. More importantly, their work has highlighted the plurality of masculinities, further necessitating focus on masculinities in the African context (Morrell, 2001; Aboim, 2009) and bringing to the fore the effect of modernity on masculine constructions.

With the understanding that masculinity is not a fixed and essential identity possessed by all men (Morrell, 1998b), there is a shift towards focusing on the processes involved in the

construction of male identities. Because of these shifts, we not only speak of masculinity, but also of masculinities. We also have to be aware of the constant power struggle between these masculinities as they are implicated in a hierarchical gender order. Connell (2000) describes four types of masculinities, all with varying access to ‘power’ or authority in relation to the other masculinities. Among these masculinities there are ‘relations of hierarchy’, which demonstrate the dynamics of dominance and subordination. Connell (2000) presents four categories of masculinities: hegemonic, subordinate, complicit and marginalised. Masculinities are thus collectively defined, constructed and enacted in culture (which is inherently social), and are sustained in (social) institutions (Connell, 2000). According to Connell (ibid.), masculinity is a social construction that either directly or symbolically refers to male bodies, although it is undefined by male biology. Furthermore, Connell posits that multiple patterns of masculinities are constructed at the same times, even within the same space. The patterns described above include hegemonic masculinities, subordinated masculinities, marginalised masculinities and complicit masculinities.

Gender is social practice that constantly, through communication, refers to bodies and what they might or might not do (Connell, 2000: 27). Gender governs and defines the expressions of the body, further guiding how the body engages in social processes. It is not, however, social practice that is defined by the body. As Connell aptly states, “masculine character is socially constructed, not inherited with the Y chromosome” (2000: 69). Gender is more than an individual trait based on bodily difference. Rather, the concept of gender is a complex and powerfully effective domain of social practice (Connell, 2000: 18). Therefore, masculinity as a gender identity provides the scope within which the subject may function to establish belonging and legitimacy. According to Hunter (2010: 11), gender represents a social hierarchy formed in relation to biological differences between males and females, which almost always advantages male-bodied persons and disadvantages female-bodied persons. Barker and Ricardo (2005) posit that there are specific versions of masculinity that are socially constructed, fluid over time and in different contexts, and are plural. Other scholars have also revealed that men do not all possess or access the same masculinity, but rather that there are plural masculinities (Morrell, 2001; Barker and Ricardo, 2005; Hearn, 2007).

According to Morrell (1998a), gender identities, as the qualities of either ‘being’ a man or a woman, are socially constructed. It is also what Hearn (2007) describes as the ‘collectivity’ of a social category which results in masculinity becoming a gender category. However, this

social category is not fixed and the meaning attached to it may vary with each collective and with each social context. Morrell (1998a) further suggests that masculinity is a collective gender identity and not a natural attribute. There is no universal masculinity rather there are multiple masculinities. Masculinities are constructed in the context of class, race and other factors with the added dimension of age; thus, boys develop masculine gender identities that are deficient relative to the adult masculinities of men (Morrell, 2001: 08). Specific historical circumstances shape corresponding masculinities, and as those circumstances change, the gender practices are contested and reconstructed (Connell, 2000: 14). These masculinities change over time, affected by changes occurring elsewhere in society, with those very masculinities shaping society itself (Morrell 1998a). Masculinities are thus continuously being protected and defended, and are constantly breaking down and being created (Morrell, 2001; Hunter, 2010).

Young men are often seen as a gendered social problem (Hearn 2007; Swartz and Bhana 2009; Barker and Ricardo 2005; Ratele 2010). In addition to this, there is the static picture cast of African men the world over, that of violent and sexually ravenous males (Bowleg 2004; Seedat et al. 2009; Hunter, 2010). While studies into such occurrences and behaviours are an attempt by the authors to form a basis for policy interventions (see for example Wood and Jewkes 1997; Jewkes et al. 2003; Swart 2006), these have functioned to cement the view of men as hardened perpetrators of violence and women as victims. Although this reality cannot be denied, particularly in South African urban spaces, it prevents any view of men themselves as being victims of masculinities that often have to be reinforced at all costs. As Hunter (2010: 158) suggests, apartheid worked through the patriarchal home to create patterns of respectability amid the plural ideas of masculinity.

In the South African context literature on masculinities outlines values and practices which have a strong influence on male attitudes and behaviours, which often increase risk taking behaviours and the propensity to use violence (Macia et al. 2011; Kaufman et al. 2008; Hunter, 2010; Msibi, 2009). All of these studies have studied the lives and experiences of African men as they navigate urban spaces and environments. The normative constructions cited in the literature include establishing a household through marriage and procreation, being the head or financial provider of the household, being in a heterosexual relationship, maintaining physical and sexual dominance, and enjoying cultural ascendancy as well as male promiscuity (Partab, 2012; Tersbøl, 2006; Selikow, 2004; Ragnarsson et al. 2010; Lynch et al. 2010; Hunter, 2010).

Research on men in South Africa focuses either on men's sexuality in the context of gender-based violence (Wood and Jewkes, 1997; Jewkes et al. 2003; Redpath et al. 2008) or HIV (Selikow et al. 2002; Ragnarsson et al. 2010; Mfecane, 2012). With the exception of Barker and Ricardo (2005) and Ratele (2010), very little research considers the realities of young men in light of patriarchal norms that regulate the construction and expression of young masculinities. While there seems to be an acknowledgment of fluid and multiple masculinities (Barker and Ricardo, 2005), the 'young' category seems to be understood as a homogenous grouping. While scholars (see Selikow et al. 2002) have ventured into the experiences of young people in the South African context, it is usually in the context of HIV/AIDS, often highlighting how male sexuality endangers young women (Selikow, 2004; Leclerc-Madlala, 2002; Wood and Jewkes, 1997). Research from an etic (outsider) perspective frequently results in a one-dimensional understanding of young masculinities – one that frames them as risky, having frequent and multiple partners, with insatiable sexual appetite and disproportionate power over women (see MacPhail and Campbell, 2001), without much understanding of the processes inherent in such constructions of manhood. I maintain that the realities that young men face are very different and it is important to consider this when exploring masculinities. It is thus increasingly important to gain an in-depth understanding of varied masculinities from an emic (insider's) perspective.

Race and class are of major importance in determining how men understand their masculinity, how they deploy it and in what form the patriarchal dividend comes to them (Morrell, 2001:10). In the South African context race and class continue to take centre stage even in the 'post-apartheid' era. As Moolman (2013) suggests, contemporary South African social identities are inextricably linked to 'the past', but are also informed by the substantial political and economic shifts. The major link(s) to the apartheid past that remain apparent in contemporary South Africa are the racialized social and living spaces, as well as the growing inequalities in terms of race, gender and geography. The urban dwellings such as townships occupied by the black (African) majority are located on the peripheries, literally and figuratively, of social and economic life – locating poverty mostly among black South Africans. Thus, masculinities among young men located in contexts defined by poverty, are susceptible to micro- and macro-forces (Farmer, 1996), and may display corresponding qualities. I am interested in how these categories have evolved and overlapped over time in the lives of young men as they navigate rising unemployment and the "lack of opportunities or prospects for advancement" (Wood and

Jewkes, 2001: 318). Not much research has been done to this effect, especially anthropological research.

According to Morrell (2001), as South Africa moved toward democracy so too have the gender identities of South African men. These complex processes, Morrell (2001) asserts, occur within the individuals, within groups and within institutions. This ‘change’, as described by Walker (2005), has the potential to destabilise what it means to ‘be a man’ in contemporary South Africa. Because of this Walker (2005) suggests that masculinities in South Africa, particularly among young men, exist in new embryonic forms as they try to establish themselves. According to Morrell, the history of South Africa produced “brittle masculinities” that are “defensive and prone to violence” (2001: 18). As a result, we still find that young black men in urban South Africa have a high capacity for violence (Wood and Jewkes, 2001). Several other studies in South Africa have established the tumultuous link between young masculinities and violence (Wood and Jewkes 1997; Jewkes et al. 2003; Redpath et al. 2008). Research among young men in townships revealed violence as a central feature in sexual relationships (Wood and Jewkes 1997; Groes-Green 2009; Ragnarsson et al. 2010).

1.4. Significance of the Study

According to Tersbøl (2006), social, economic and historical transitions shape the lives of young men in powerful ways, where poverty and the lack of agency for young men leads to loss of meaning and identity. Izugbara (2015) further asserts that low socioeconomic status significantly affects the social construction of masculinities, as it can become a constraint in the quest of becoming a ‘proper’ man. According to Groes-Green (2009), negative socioeconomic changes can leave young men without the legitimizing activities required to enact their identities. For young men structural shifts not only challenge their ability to fulfil their normative roles, but can also sustain a rigid patriarchal gender order that is often out of step with socioeconomic realities and thus detrimental to young men. Working with young men is therefore integral to addressing gender inequalities, strengthening human rights and improving the health and wellbeing of both men and women (Thomson-de Boor et al. 2013; Redpath et al. 2008).

The author pursued this topic because of the apparent dearth in literature that highlights the plight and experiences of young men at a time that socioeconomic challenges are particularly challenging for youth. The central thesis of this study is that social and economic realities have

a behavioural impact on the life worlds of young men. Research indicates that constructions of manhood have an impact for men's behaviour, but does not sufficiently illuminate the realities of young masculinities because of these implications. My interest was in the mingling of the construction of masculinity with contemporary markers of youth realities, which continue to be understudied in anthropology. An ethnographic approach was useful in allowing me to direct 'attention towards individuals in the context of the collective' (Tersbøl, 2006: 405). This study was interested in how poverty shapes young men's identities, and the salient challenges in their lives. It focused on how the participants negotiated daily life in the midst of these challenges and how this influences their experiences and actions.

1.5. Broad Issues Considered

This study sought to explore how constructions and expressions of masculinities came about because of reckoning with an environment characterized by growing socioeconomic marginality. This is in line with the findings which indicate that masculinities in sub-Saharan Africa have succumbed to shifting social and economic structures (Silberschmidt 2001; Tersbøl 2006; Izugbara 2015). Moolman (2013) suggested that social markers such as sex, race and class significantly shape the gendered nature of social identities. With the understanding that the social and economic structures have nuanced effects on the local context, this study broadly considered the impact of poverty and unemployment on the local identities of young men. Namely, the study aimed:

- To examine how young men construct their masculine identities at Kenneth Gardens
- To explore how young masculinities are impacted by poverty.

1.6. Key Research Questions

Given the sizeable presence of young men and the extent of socioeconomic hardship in Kenneth Gardens, the area presented itself as worthy of being explored, in order to uncover the effects of relative poverty (in an urban setting) on constructions of masculinity. Kenneth Gardens is the largest municipal housing estate in the city and is located in the area of Umbilo in Durban. It is an area that is "renowned as a place that is beleaguered with a wide range of social problems, such as alcohol and drug abuse, domestic violence, unemployment and limited access to education" (Kenneth Gardens Community Project, 2013). It was thus important that

I explore masculine identities in order to uncover how young men were impacted by this context. The following key questions were asked:

1. i) How do young men in Kenneth Gardens understand masculinity?
 - ii) How do these understandings influence their expression of their own masculinities?
2. What effect does poverty have on young men in Kenneth Gardens, Durban?
3. How do prevailing social factors (drug culture and violence) shape how young men enact their masculinities?
4. How do the young men feel men should relate to women?

1.7. Structure of Dissertation

CHAPTER ONE: Defining the Study

This chapter introduces the research problem and discusses the rationale for the study. This chapter also expands on key concepts and outlines the relevant literature that supports the study.

CHAPTER TWO: Research Methodologies and, Theoretical Framework and Paradigm

This chapter provides an overview of the research site – Kenneth Gardens. The research design and the methods used are outlined in this chapter. This chapter also expands on the core theories that shape the study. This chapter also introduces the research participants.

CHAPTER THREE: Unpacking the Impact of Poverty on the Young Men of Kenneth Gardens

This chapter considers how the young men interpret poverty and the impact they feel it has on their lives. It makes sense of the subjective meanings and symbols that are enclosed in the participants' responses by drawing on the concept of structural violence. The chapter further focuses on the experiences of young men within the framework of broader social structures and processes of society.

CHAPTER FOUR: Exploring the (Social) Factors that Shape the Young Men's Daily Realities

This chapter engages with the social influences and behaviours that are most prominent in the lives of the young men, as they navigate daily life. It aims to show how drugs and what seems

to be 'drug culture', crime and violence form the contours of young masculinities in Kenneth Gardens.

CHAPTER FIVE: Women and the Enactment of Masculinities

This chapter considers the presence of women in the lives of the young men involved in the study whose lived realities are punctuated by various social and economic vulnerabilities. It delves into the narratives and experiences of the young men to reveal how they interact with women and how these interactions are shaped by local ideas and enactments of masculinities.

CHAPTER SIX: Conclusion

This chapter engages briefly with the research findings and critically addresses the research question of how young men construct their masculine identities at Kenneth Gardens, and illustrates how these masculinities are impacted by the poverty, which is prevalent within the community. The chapter ultimately summarises the findings of the study and gives recommendations for future enquiry.

CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted the contextual nature of masculinities, mainly that masculinities are fluid and are always in a state of flux. It sought to highlight the central hypothesis: when young men are in situations of poverty and chronic unemployment, these factors can have a negative impact on the gender identities young men construct and enact. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the design and methods used in my study in order to explore how the young men constructed their identities. Through this chapter, I reflect on the processes and methods employed in the process of carrying out my study. Namely, it considers the process and combination of techniques used to gain an understanding of construction of masculinities among young men (Macia, 2012).

2.2. Research Site

The research for this study was conducted in Kenneth Gardens, which is a community located in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. The School of Community Development from the University of KwaZulu-Natal has previously prepared a general report on Kenneth Gardens as part of their Municipal Estate Intervention Project (2013). The report reveals that Kenneth Gardens is a diverse network of housing schemes with an estimated population of 1500-1800, largely constituted by Black people with the exception of a few Coloured and White people. In Kenneth Gardens, low-cost housing is allocated for rental based on their socio-economic standing. Specifically, a household has to make less than R4500 a month in order to qualify to live in this area. Kenneth Gardens has also been noted to have high levels of unemployment, which further contributes to compromised socioeconomic conditions. Other social challenges range from drug/alcohol abuse and family violence, ill health and varying levels of cultural intolerance.

Erwin (2015) describes Kenneth Gardens as a diverse estate, which presents a unique space that sits outside of the typically racially segregated low-income housing developments that characterize South Africa's landscape. Kenneth Gardens is located near the Central Business District and thus the high unemployment is juxtaposed with high economic activity taking place

in the city. It records a significant youth population, which falls mainly into the 18-30 years cohort, with males forming a considerable portion of this demographic.

Given the rates of poverty, crime and unemployment in Kenneth Gardens, it was important to explore the area in order to uncover the effects of related social challenges and their impact on local masculinities. It was important that masculinity in that particular context be explored, with the understanding that young men are at times endangered by their social constructions of their masculinity, as well as the need to prove and defend these masculinities (Peacock et al. 2009; Lynch et al. 2010). In conducting this research, the objective is to uncover whether in the context of poverty the manner in which young men construct their masculinity is somehow rooted in practices that endanger them. Furthermore, it aims to uncover if these resulting constructions of masculinity influence the realities of young men in the age of challenging economic conditions.

2.3. Gaining Entry, Rapport and Other Challenges Encountered

The challenge for me is my impulse to fit in and become one of 'them'. I realise now that this is incorrect and is probably the reason why it was such a painful and nerve-wrecking process. I tried smoking and speaking the 'language', which I am still learning. It cannot be approached from the outside; one must be located inside the group. This is not my story; their experiences have to drive this research. This is not about me discovering, interpreting or making sense of their lives. Just because we are all black, Zulu speaking and within the same age group, we are not the same (Field notes, 29 April 2013).

With the understanding that I was part of the 'world' I was studying (O'Reilly 2012:222), I sought to establish rapport and quickly collect data. However, this task proved challenging. My initial assumptions were that as a young black male rapport would be automatic; I assumed that it would be easy to gain entry into the field and even easier to gather data. As the above entry indicates, establishing rapport was a process that took longer than imagined. The social markers discussed by Moolman (2013), particularly class and socioeconomic standing, hindered my progress. While I could speak both English and IsiZulu fluently, I could not speak or understand their local slang nor was I exposed to the same realities that were significant in the lives of the participants. For example, I did not even listen to the same music, which (as the following chapters will demonstrate) while seemingly innocuous, surfaced to as a significant aspects in the social spaces occupied by the young men. There were glaring differences between the young men I intended to study and myself. These differences in effect created a (social)

distance that had to be bridged in order to have an effective ethnographic enquiry. In the bid to establish rapport, bridging this distance required that I be aware of my own position and my own effect on the field. According to O'Reilly (2012), this requires the ethnographer to be reflexive, key feature of participant observation. O'Reilly (2012:17) describes this as the ethnographer's full awareness of the myriad limitations associated with humans studying other human lives.

It is worth highlighting that reflexivity in this sense goes beyond just an awareness of these limitations. With the intersectionalities of masculinities in South Africa (Moolman 2013), there were similarities (and differences) I shared with the participants which enabled me to position myself both within and without (as the ethnographer). For example, had I been an older man, it would have been more difficult to converse with or even to approach most of the participants. The fact that I was young and within the age group of the participants enabled easier access to the language, the spaces and even popular culture – which frequently featured in their daily conversations. These realisations are in line with some of the insights that were shared by researchers (from the Community Development Project) that had done work in the area (who, for example, were White older women) and community members (mostly, the elders). As it will be highlighted in the chapters to follow, engaging with the young men in Kenneth Gardens was challenging initially. In the instance of the research at hand I was fully aware (to the best of my ability) of my position as the researcher and worked hard to diminish the distance between the participants and myself. Noting the emic and etic tradition of ethnography, I was aware of the potential effect my presence could have had on their reactions and behaviours of the young men.

Perhaps the most glaring of these 'differences', which I also anticipated to be the source of much discomfort in the field, was my own identity as a black gay man. This not only meant that I was even more 'different' from their surroundings, but I perceived this as a possible barrier in the field. In needing to circumvent this perceived challenge, my impulse was to become one of the participants; to not only inhabit their spaces, but to also 'mimic' their behaviour and acquiesce to some of the unspoken expectations. These behaviours included participating in the soccer games (which I never did otherwise) and even smoking occasionally. Over time, I quickly came to the realisation that while this was untenable but was also unsustainable on my part. Most importantly, I believe that my discomforts assisted greatly in the perspective that I came to take as an ethnographer. While I did not consciously hide my

sexuality, I also did not discuss it with the participants. It became more important for me to consider the narratives and experiences of the participants. What I believe proved more vital in the eventual establishment of rapport in the field, were the relationships I eventually formed with the participants and other members of the community. Unlike in the initial stages of my fieldwork, which included endless explanations of my identity as a researcher, the social capital I garnered over time in turn facilitated my access.

My aim was to understand the world from the perspective of the young men who lived in Kenneth Gardens. In order to gain better insights into the local realities, and to understand better how local notions of manhood were constructed, I further employed Geertz's (1998) 'deep hanging out'. The 'deep hanging out' made it possible for me to be immersed in the social experience(s) and realities of the young men on an informal level. As a result, I came to know the patterns in which the young men moved around Kenneth Gardens, although on the surface these patterns were seemingly unplanned. I realised that I needed to give myself ample time to develop a deeper understanding of the world I was studying. On several occasions, the young men invited me to accompany them to the local nightclubs in the CBD – we frequented the two most popular at the time, *Spank* and *Havana*. In such instances, the participants influenced my choices in terms of dress and interactions in the field. For example, non-branded clothes were the best to wear when I would be going into the field. For some of the participants, a person who wore wearing brands such as *Levi's* or *Guess* and carried an expensive mobile phone (*Blackberry* or *Samsung*) was perceived as privileged. This not only assisted in building rapport (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002), it also assisted with familiarising me with the other nuanced details inherent in the lives of these young men. For example, I came to understand some of the slang and contexts in which certain terms were appropriate. It therefore allowed for a deeper understanding of verbal and nonverbal cues in the field. More importantly, I not only had a wider scope for data that I could collect, it also heightened my awareness of the instances and occurrences that warranted probing and noting. The key defining feature of this ethnographic method in my study was my extended presence in Kenneth Gardens with the young men.

2.4. Research Methodology and Design

Connell, a seminal scholar in the ‘field’ of masculinities, acknowledges ethnographic methods as being key research techniques for studying the social constructions of masculinities (Connell, 2000). My research agenda was therefore to ensure that the inquiry at hand captured ‘the specific and the local’ constructions and expressions of young masculinities (Connell, 2000:9). The strength of my ethnographic enquiry in this instance lay in my ability to document and explain particular patterns in the context of Kenneth Gardens (Connell, 2000:9). This was an important aspect of the study, because I was interested in capturing not only what the participants said, but also what they did or did not do. This approach also allowed me to be part of their world, and participate in their daily activities and in their lives. In this way, I was able to peer beyond the veneer of normative manhood into the actual experiences and aspirations of the young men.

There is the need for research to move away from any limited view of the world that the subjects exist in. Preston-Whyte et al. (no date) suggest gaining a more sophisticated understanding of life contexts in order to uncover what otherwise would remain hidden. This means that it is important to come to terms with the phenomenon through actively engaging with young men and their environment. The aim is to discover the thoughts and actions of the young men around issues pertaining to unemployment and poverty, as well as the bearing they feel this has on the enactment of their masculine identities. As the Anthropologist Leclerc-Madlala (1999) asserts, the strategies and methodologies used in acquiring information in social research should not be part of a process of merely ‘finding out’. Rather, it should be to understand the lived experiences of the people whose worlds we invade for the sake of research.

While there have been pre-eminent ethnographies in sub-Saharan Africa (see Tersbøl 2006; Groes-green 2009; Izugbara 2015), not enough has been done in South Africa specifically to better understand the nature of young men’s challenges and experiences in daily life. Anthropology is strengthened by the capacity to take the perspective of the people on the ground, thus allowing the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomena – beyond what the researcher may already know (Ortner 1984: 143). As my study was anthropological in nature, I considered the subjective understandings and constructions of the young men’s masculinities. To this end, the study was conducted mostly *in* Kenneth Gardens as opposed to interviewing participants who are *from* Kenneth Gardens.

This is an empirical study, which is exploratory in nature. Qualitative primary data was gleaned between February 2013 and February 2014, in which intensive ethnographic research was conducted. Participant observation, as the term suggests, enabled me (as a researcher) to both interrogate daily occurrences while also being part of them or at least located within the context. This allowed me to be located in the field for extended periods engaging with participants through formal and informal interviews. This was also a good way of better understanding the daily realities and rhythms of the area. The fact that most of the participants were unemployed did not mean they were always available. Ethnography allowed for flexibility in building rapport, as my presence in the field over time assisted in creating a deeper understanding of my project. My involvement with the soup kitchen and attending the soccer games or even attending the local social spaces on the weekends gave me greater access to the young men's realities.

According to O'Reilly (2012:03), each ethnographic enquiry is an evolving practice, which "involves direct and sustained contact with human beings, in the context of the daily lives, over a prolonged period of time." The study was done through participant observation, a method of ethnography. An ethnographic enquiry opens up the never before perceived world of the respondent and enables the researcher to come to terms with other factors that perhaps contribute to the phenomena under study (Preston-Whyte, no date). This consists of exploring the context through fieldwork. As Izugbara (2015) notes, sustained contact with the field facilitated access to local developments, day-to-day events, processes and experiences. In this same manner I was also able to gain access to their daily developments and experiences of the young men. Connell (2000) recalls the ethnographic moment in the study of masculinities, in which the specific and local comes into focus. The expressive language used in qualitative research provides a far more sensitive and meaningful way of recording human experience by using words and sentences to qualify and record information about the world (Babbie et al. 2006).

2.4.1. Sampling and Selection

Literature often captures urban African masculinities as 'hyper-sexualised' and violent (Bowleg, 2004; Bhana, 2014). It was therefore important for me that this study peered beyond the social veneer that tends to frame young men as 'risky'. Thus, within Kenneth Gardens I sought a representative sample of young men. The challenge with being a participant observer was not only gaining access into the space, but also having to find people who would be

accessible for the duration of the fieldwork. The prospective participants had to be “young”, “male”, “residing in Kenneth Gardens” and “unemployed”. The National Youth Policy (2015) informed my definition of young which defines young people as those falling within the age group of 14 to 35 years. However, for the purposes of the study I only considered persons who were of legal consenting age and above (18 – 35). In order to have a study sample that was representative of the young men in Kenneth Gardens, I used the methods of purposive and snowball sampling. Purposive sampling was initially employed because I wanted to ensure that I could access a wider range of young that were representative of the given criteria (O’Reilly, 2012). According to Babbie and Mouton (2009:166), purposive sampling is appropriate when the researcher has prior ‘knowledge of the population’. Through the assistance of my key informant, *Tebogo**, I later used snowball sampling to identify more young men in Kenneth Gardens who could be part of my study. Using both methods helped in ensuring that the sample and the data gleaned were diverse.

The first key informant I met through the referral of an academic that had worked in Kenneth Gardens as part of the municipal intervention project mentioned earlier. Although some of his insights proved invaluable for my study, I later had reservations about the first key informant’s access to the wider youth population in Kenneth Gardens – he was an older middle-aged (White) male and could not speak isiZulu. I later met a second key informant who was African in his 20s, familiar with the local young men and fluent in both isiZulu and English. In total, 14 participants were recruited for the study, which also included the key informant. Their ages ranged from 19 – 30; eleven identified themselves as African\black, one identified himself as Coloured and two identified themselves as White. It is important to note that although a fixed number of participants were interviewed, other young men within the community were also involved, engaged and observed as part of the study. It is also important to note that since the study considers limited number of young men from a particular area, the sample is not representative and thus cannot be generalised (Gobo, 2004).

2.4.2. Collecting the Data

The study’s exploration of the constructions of young masculinities draws from ethnographic data collected in Kenneth Gardens. Over the twelve months, the ethnographic inquiry was informed by daily conversations and interactions in the field, participant observation, focus group discussions as well as individual interviews. Most of the descriptive data derives from extended participation and interaction with the participants in and around the area. Much of

this time was spent observing, asking and listening to their stories and conversations. Unstructured and semi-structured interviews were also administered in order to better understand the life worlds and thus the experiences of the participants. In addition, ethnographic methods contributed greatly to getting a holistic view and understanding of the lives of the young men in the field.

Owing to initial difficulties with recruiting participants and establishing rapport, in the first three months more emphasis was placed on observations, which were recorded in my field notes. I also used this period for initial individual interviews, in which I recorded the biographical information and the life histories of the participants. This also provided the opportunity for participants to speak about their personal narratives and life circumstances. This unstructured approach allowed the researcher to explore local interpretations and meanings attached to masculinity among the young men. Throughout the remaining months of the fieldwork, a second round of semi-structured individual interviews was conducted with the participants.

Young men who were present in the community were recruited on the basis that they were living in Kenneth Gardens, unemployed, between the ages of 18 – 30 and on their availability to participate in the study. Overall, in-depth individual interviews ranged between 45 to 60 minutes each, all were audio-recorded and subsequently subscribed verbatim. The interviews were conducted in the homes of the participants, when the opportunity presented itself. Since all of the participants lived with family members, the interviews could only take place in the morning and in the afternoon, when most of the relatives would either be at work, school or running other errands. This presented several challenges, as the interview schedule had to be flexible in order to accommodate the availability of the participants. For three of the participants, their homes were not convenient and an alternative space was thus organised (one of the unused rooms near the soup kitchen). As a result, the participants were approached on an ad hoc basis for the first interview and asked to indicate a convenient time (and venue) for the second interview.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with all 13 participants, and with the key informant. The second individual interviews were semi-structured, which enabled the researcher to engage the participants on specific aspects of their experiences while allowing them to draw from personal experiences and also contribute even more to the topic at hand (Howell and Vincent, 2014). Furthermore, the semi-structured interviews allowed the

researcher and the participant the leeway to develop ideas and to speak broadly on topics that were introduced during the interview (Babbie et al. 2006). An interview schedule was prepared beforehand and it contained open-ended questions, which enabled the participants to answer in ways that allowed for much flexibility; they were able to introduce other relevant issues during the interview. In this way, the participants were able to establish to the researcher the issues they perceived as more salient in their lives as young men, as opposed to the assumptions and observations of the researcher.

In addition to this, two focus groups were conducted which lasted 50 and 90 minutes respectively. All the participants were also part of the focus group discussions that also took place throughout the study. For the focus group discussions, the participants were allowed to choose a space where they felt there would be minimal distractions from other people who were not participating in the study. This also allowed the participants to speak freely and express their views in confidence. They chose a storage room that they often used when it was windy or raining. The unstructured focus group interviews were conducted with a group of 8 young men in order to better appreciate their understanding of masculinity and manhood. The above techniques assisted in uncovering some of the intricate details that provide an insider-centric perspective of the context and phenomenon, which ties in with the holistic nature of the anthropological endeavour (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002).

The nature of activity among the young men was ideal for focus group discussions. Even prior to my study, the young men congregated almost daily for at least two hours in the afternoons. It was common for these gatherings to go on well into the night, disbanded only by the fizzling out of conversation. According to Partab (2012:83) the focus group allows for a space in which the participants may create meaning among themselves, rather than individually. The focus group thus allowed the further exploration of some issues and concepts that had come up in the individual interviews about how the young masculinities were being impacted by unemployment and poverty. In the context of the focus groups, the participants were able to 'make sense' of their experiences as young men.

Overall, the participants narrated their experiences in their own words. All the participants could express themselves in English and indicated that they were comfortable with communicating in English; although they were not dissuaded from communicating in IsiZulu. Thus, the interviews, focus groups and most interactions were conducted in English. However, the reality was that the young men used English and IsiZulu interchangeably, with colloquial

terms featuring frequently in daily language. As a researcher, I am fluent in both in English and IsiZulu, so I was able to translate and capture what was said in English. In the case of colloquial terms and expressions, I asked for clarity and definitions in an ad hoc fashion. For example, I came to understand that words like *pozie* meant home, that *umjita* meant dude or guy and that *inkantina* was another name for *marijuana*. This also helped in enabling the participants to communicate in a manner in which they were more comfortable. Most importantly, the use of language was in some revealing of the subjective realities navigated by the young men daily.

2.4.3. Data Analysis

According to O'Reilly (2012), in ethnography data collection and data analysis are interlinked. As the researcher collects the data, it is important to go through the data to determine preliminary themes that may require further observation or probing. Ethnography is both proactive and reactive in its approach to the field, the phenomena or the subjects. The data collected was in the form of electronic (voice) recordings and field notes (which captured observations and conversations). With the African participants, most of them tended to mix isiZulu and English in their responses. In the process of transcribing all the data, passages and phrases expressed in isiZulu were captured verbatim and translated into English. During the course of my fieldwork, I was guided by Braun and Clarke's (2006) model of thematic analysis which assisted in framing some of the patterns that were emerging as I was collecting my data. As O'Reilly (2012:181) states, analysis of data is ongoing and in ethnography this process does not begin at the end of data collection. Rather, the data was analysed during and after the collection process. Once data collection concluded, the whole body of data was processed by searching through field notes and interviews conducted with the young men for repeated patterns of meaning in describing and understanding manhood. Different codes were then generated according to the preliminary patterns observed initially. Using thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006), each interview was coded, and these codes were matched across all the interviews conducted with the young men. Using the whole body of data, a thematic map that sought to address the research questions at hand was generated.

Ethnographic fieldwork is concerned with understanding the social reality as it is experienced by those who 'live it'. It seeks to provide rich descriptions of people and interactions as they exist and unfold in their typical, day-to-day milieu (Holstein and Gubrium, 2008: 374). A social constructionist perspective thus enabled me to understand the nature of young men's lives, and

how they made sense of their daily realities. The theoretical framework adopted for this study, namely the concepts of structural violence and social constructionism, helped guide and direct my enquiry. As opposed to simply venturing into the research field and reciting my experience and understanding of being in the field, my aim was to delve deeper into the lives of the young men. This study not only concerned itself with the activities of the young men, it was also interested how the lived realities of the young men came about. The data collected as a result of this process was a complex combination as it consisted not only of the responses but also of actions and processes observed in Kenneth Gardens.

2.5. Validity and Reliability

For the purpose of this study, the sample was small in order to generate depth as opposed to breadth of information. Determining validity in research establishes credibility of the endeavour because it verifies whether the study at hand did in fact explore what it set out to explore. According to O'Reilly (2012), the iterative-inductive nature of ethnographic research, together with sustained contact with participants in the field, allows the researcher to seek constant clarification of any potential misunderstandings in the data. Mazibuko (2014) contends that qualitative validity is based on determining whether the research findings are accurate from the standpoint/s of the researcher, participant and readers. Thus, all documents and data collected were verified to ensure that the patterns and themes gleaned were in fact accurate and representative of the field.

2.6. Ethical Considerations

Full approval of the research proposal was granted pending submission and review by the ethics committee at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Seeing that my study was carried out in a residential area, no particular permission was required. However, to cover my bases I engaged the gatekeepers on any possible procedures that had to be observed. To this end, proof of ethical approval and information on the study were furnished to the local counsellor's office. All participants were made aware that their participation in the study was voluntary. Their informed consent was obtained and they were assured of confidentiality; pseudonyms were therefore used to ensure anonymity. Participants were informed that they had the right to withdraw their participation at any stage of study.

Prior to any data collection, potential participants were informed about my presence in the field; namely, the nature of the study and the expectations/implications of participating were explained. For persons who showed interest in participating in the study, informed consent was obtained through signing of the ‘informed consent’ form. Each participant kept a copy, which also contained my contact details and those of my supervisor. This process was done with each participant individually and privately. The informed consent form and information letter were both in English. Although all of the participants suggested that they could speak, read and write English, both documents were explained in isiZulu for the second language English speakers. Emphasis was placed on explaining that their contributions would remain confidential and voluntary in nature. Pseudonyms were assigned to the recordings and throughout the process of data collection and during the writing up. Permission was obtained to use a recorder for all the interviews and conversations. It was also highlighted that the participants could at any time decline to participate without any further implications for them.

2.7. Limitations of the Study

Qualitative research and ethnography in particular, is not a linear process. Rather, as O’Reilly (2012) puts it, ethnography is iterative-inductive. As I engaged in the field, many instances illustrated that gaining entry and eventually collecting the data was not a straightforward process. As highlighted above, gaining entry and establishing rapport with the participants was also a challenge. This consumed much time in the initial stages of the study. Out of the need to find alternatives, I established links with community leaders and elders. An example of this was my volunteering at the soup kitchen where the women who ran it were related to some of the men who eventually became participants in my study. I had initially aimed to recruit a minimum of twenty participants. This number was difficult to engage consistently in data collection due to the nature of activities and the geographical movements the young men were involved in.

2.8. Theoretical Framework and Paradigm

2.8.1. Structural Violence

Notions of masculinity are explored through the lens of structural violence. This concept considers the wider social, political, cultural and economic structures and how they can present

as obstacles to personal development (Tersbøl, 2006). Structural violence is a concept that outlines how the broader structural forces interact with the individual at the local level (Farmer 1996; Farmer 2004). These interactions thus serve to entrench political and economic oppression, which in turn results in social inequalities (Bourgeois, 2004). Such are the methods of segregation and oppression that became the hallmark of the minority government in South Africa; these are historically 'entrenched' inequalities which are responsible for some of the social issues that are evident today (Hunter, 2010). Considering the high rate of unemployment among young people in South Africa, using the concept of structural violence assisted in exploring the possible ways in which the social (in the form of normative scripts of manhood) and economic structures interact with young male identities.

Barker and Ricardo (2005) suggest that in any particular setting there is a set of values that are considered as constitutive of an ultimate masculine identity. Intrinsic in this masculine identity is a sense of independence, however structural violence can lead to limitations in life choices, which in turn limit their sense of agency and in turn potentially impact upon constructions of masculinity (Farmer, 1996). This means that an individual can be caught in a situation where he/she has to contend with personal suffering and disadvantage, yet he/she may find him/herself confined to that very suffering due to limited opportunities.

Based on the fact that masculinities are socially constructed (Morrell, 1998; Barker and Ricardo, 2005), the study considers masculinities as produced and performed against the backdrop of wider social structures. Structural violence can be understood as the manner in which individuals are denied access to the resources and opportunities they need to attain the capacities and practices that are valued within their communities, thus making it difficult for those individuals to be recognized and to have a legitimate place in the world (Kandirikirira, 2002). Silberschmidt (2001) and Izugbara (2015) have demonstrated how being unemployed prevents men from fulfilling their masculinity. Thus if normative gender scripts expect men to be independent breadwinners, structural violence can be understood as the process that prevents young men from obtaining the legitimising aspects of their manhood.

The concern with structural violence is that it eventually comes across as normal to the individual because it is created by and entrenched within the structures of society (Moyo, 2008) and there is no obvious target against which one can lay blame and direct retaliation. Unlike direct violence, which is often obvious and difficult to normalise, structural violence often appears to be legitimate and justified, and manifests itself as the limits of the individual or of

the community. Structural violence is thus the appropriate theoretical tool as it considers the phenomenon in the context of other mediating social forces (Ramin, 2007).

In the case of men and masculinities, research often postulates that poverty leads to men feeling vulnerable and thus may cause them to express themselves through violent acts when their lives seem to be subjected to external forces beyond their control (Morrell, 2005; Moyo, 2008; Selikow, 2004). Research further suggests that when men experience redundancy and the lack of life opportunities they tend to face a crisis in their perception of what it means to be a man (Silberschmidt 2001; Tersbøl 2006; Mfecane 2011; Izugbara 2015). Therefore, when the social status of men is threatened by structural violence it can often have dire consequences, which can present as either outward or inward manifestations of structural violence. Outward manifestations such as violent acts like domestic violence or even rape are in the realm of possibility as a way for 'victimized' men to re-establish their social position and fulfil the requirements of manhood in other ways (Moyo, 2008). In order to discover (that is to reveal what otherwise would not be visible) some of the normative features that have come to define masculinity, structural violence theory will help in exploring how 'large-scale social forces' come to be translated into the local or individual sphere of social existence (Farmer, 1996).

According to Bourgois (2004), structural violence is chronic social inequality reflected in the daily experiences and practices of individuals. Farmer (1996) illustrates how individual narratives can demonstrate which social forces most affect the lives of the local people. In this way, understanding the contours of the challenges faced by the young men would be less a matter of understanding geography and more a matter of understanding how the local events and processes reflect local forces, which in turn shape individual narratives and experiences of participants.

2.8.2. Social Constructionist Theory

In line with Connell's conception of gender as power, the study conceptualised gender as a system of social classification that influences access to power (1995). The assumption was that being a young man and having 'access' to masculinity conferred (social and economic) power. The study was thus interested in whether the young men enjoyed unfettered access to this 'power', or whether there were elements of the young men's reality that challenged this notion. Leclerc-Madlala (2002:35) suggests that among youth pre-existing patterns of gender norms can mingle with other experiences of labour migration, urbanisation, growing poverty and

family disintegration to produce instances in which young people enact ‘high-risk’ behaviours. Often, the said gender norms were such that young women were comparatively more subjugated (as against the young men) by these normative gender constructions. In the same way, through the social constructionist lens, this study sought to explore how, based on local gender constructions, young masculinities were entangled in social and economic structures. Courtenay (2000) and Ratele (2010) have illustrated how gender constructions can conspire against men and render them vulnerable through the expectation for men to fulfil the role of the invulnerable male. Ironically, this results in men having very limited (social and economic) power.

In exploring the lives of young men, this study also adopts a social constructionist approach. Social constructionist theory conceptualises gender as a ‘more than individual trait connected to bodily difference’ (Connell, 2000:18). It is a complex and powerful domain of social practice and classification which influences access to power, status and material resources (Strebel et al. 2006). Social constructionist theory views gender as a structure of social relations through which power is also exercised (Connell, 2000). Social constructionist theory in the case of masculinities is concerned with contextual masculinities and how these masculinities are marked and shaped by the spaces they exist in (Connell, 2000). In this study, I explored how young men within the community of Kenneth Gardens constructed their gender identities in the context of supposedly ‘emasculating’ elements such as poverty and unemployment.

According to Turner (2008), social constructionist theory shows how social structures are merely “man-made” rather than immutable conditions. Connell (2000) has also indicated the intrinsically social nature of the fabric that becomes masculinity or masculine identities. In agreement with Connell, Morrell has also observed the fluid and contextual nature of masculinity (1998b). The fluid and plural nature of masculinities means “there is no typical young man in sub-Saharan Africa and there is no one African version of manhood” (Barker and Ricardo, 2005:04). Fomunyam (2014) suggests that social constructionist theory attempts to uncover the ways in which individuals and groups participate in their perceived reality. She further suggests that masculinity is not a set of innate characteristics (ibid). Other scholars (Connell, 2000; Epstein et al. 2004; Barker and Ricardo 2005a; Brown et al. 2005; Sikweyiya et al. 2014) have thus suggested that masculinity is not only socially constructed, but also fluid and contextual. Thus, social constructionist theory recognises that norms and social scripts enacting or performing masculinity and femininity, roles allocated to men and women, will vary widely across communities. Social constructionist theory further affirms the dynamic and

fluid nature of masculinities (Izugbara, 2015). Thus, masculinities are not only socially reified and expressed, but are also ‘put together’ and perpetually modified using local social cues. This view is in line with the tenets of social constructionist theory, which, according to Holstein and Gubrium (2008), concerns itself with what people construct and how this process of social construction unfolds. This theory will therefore help in exploring the realities that young masculinities are produced in and how they are produced.

Mazibuko (2014) suggests that social constructionist theory provides insight into how society shapes and defines masculinities, while defining the parameters of what it means to ‘a man’ within a particular setting. The social constructionist approach seeks to address how the process of *becoming* what is recognized as a man in a particular context is fashioned. Through this study, we consider how the realities of poverty or unemployment shape the lives of young men. Turner (2008:493) observes that in some ways social constructionism is at times ironically “deterministic and preclude human agency”. Researchers often focus on the daily activities and strategies through which the lived realities of the participants are constructed or created, with limited attention to how agency in such circumstances may be constrained or limited. In conjunction with the structural violence, both concepts will assist in better understanding how (social) structures, which frame the social actions and processes of the people who live in them, can in their own way neutralize or minimize the agency of others. In the context of the study, I explored how the identities of young men are socially constructed and modified by the social and economic climate.

2.8.3. Addressing the Gaps in Literature

It is important to note that social structures such as race, class, ethnicity/culture, sexuality and gender are not only lived through daily micro-practices in a range of social spaces, but are also experienced as macro-practices which profoundly shape our social, gendered identities – albeit less visible (Moolman, 2013). A combination of both theories will effectively realise the objectives of the study. Previous studies looking at the experiences of young men such as those of Barker and Ricardo (2005) and Groes-Green (2009) only used social constructionist theory, while that of Tersbøl (2009) only engaged with structural violence. This particular method of interpretation is useful in studying young men and in considering the complex combination of individual, social and structural influences they contend with daily. This combination further lends itself to ethnographic fieldwork because it allows deeper insight into the lives and experiences of the young men.

2.9. Introducing the Participants in the Study

All of the participants who participated in this study resided in Kenneth Gardens at the time of the study. While the majority of the participants were black/‘African’², the cohort did also consist of other races that are present in Kenneth Gardens - namely Coloured and White. The ages of the participants ranged from 19 to 30. Kenneth Gardens, and thus its residents, has been an area of interest in terms of research from the municipality and surrounding higher education institutions. This helped in terms of explaining to proposed participants what I intended to do in the field. In the initial stages, I met participants who were familiar with the research process and who were particularly knowledgeable about the area. Tebogo was the first person I met when I arrived in the field. He provided invaluable insights and helped me meet the rest of the participants. For this study, he was the key informer. It is perhaps also important to reiterate here that the names used below are pseudonyms in order to maintain the anonymity of the participants.

Participant 1: Siya (29)

Siya is a 29 year-old African male. He is the older of two siblings and lives in Kenneth Gardens with his younger brother, who is in his early 20s, and their parents. His mother, in her late 50s, used to work as a domestic worker when he was young, but she stopped once they moved to Kenneth Gardens. His father became the main breadwinner until he became too ill to carry on working. Siya did not finish his high school education, but completed the tenth grade. He works casual jobs as a security guard, where he mainly fills in for other staff members. Siya and his family have lived in Kenneth Gardens for over ten years, having moved from the township when he and his brother were young.

Participant 2: Daniel (24)

Daniel is a 24-year-old White South African male who was born in Kenneth Gardens. His family has lived in Kenneth Gardens in the same flat since the 1980s when Kenneth Gardens was still legally designated as an area for White working-class families. The youngest in his family, he lives with his elderly parents, his two older sisters and his elder sister’s two daughters

² Black or ‘African’ is used interchangeably throughout the study to indicate a racial category and social identity of a particular racial/ethnic group. Such use of these terms is common in South African context. Racial categories such as White, Coloured, Black/African and Indian were inherited from South Africa’s racially segregated past; they not only remain in the common lexicon, but also in many official documents.

– his nieces. Although he has finished his high school education, he has not been able to find a job. This has been frustrating for him since he is at a point where he would like to live independently. He shared that he suffers from anxiety every now and then, and he felt that smoking marijuana helps alleviate the stress.

Participant 3: Kenny (24)

Kenny is a 24-year-old African male who lives in Kenneth Gardens. He is the oldest of three and he lives with his younger siblings and his parents. His family was one of the families that started moving into Kenneth Gardens from the surrounding townships in the early 90's. They were from uMlazi. He did not like the fact that he was 'stuck' there without work and any source of income. He shared that his fear was waking up one day and not seeing anything wrong with the daily routine he was currently living. As a result, he was always sending applications and trying to go to town to drop off his Curriculum Vitae. He was one of the few people who spoke candidly about the challenges of poverty in the area. He called himself "a hustler" and also shared that it did get tiring because he would only receive responses for part-time work when he was looking for something permanent and preferably away from Kenneth Gardens. He has a diploma, but being unemployed created a source of frustration.

Participant 4: Nkosi (26)

Nkosi is a 26-year-old African male. He is currently doing his Bachelor of Commerce degree through correspondence. He explained that he 'sat at home doing nothing' for some time because he did not have money to fund his studies. He also could not ask his family for assistance because his mother is not working and his siblings have their own families (of procreation) to take care of. He had been told by his family to find work, but he chose to study, so he could not ask anyone for money. He also spoke about the challenge of poverty in the area. In his opinion, the fact that the young men his age are unemployed is the cause of crime and the drug culture in the area. He stated that he worked hard to stay away from it, but he understood how so many of his peers found themselves doing drugs. What he also felt distinguished him from the rest of his peers was his faith in God.

Participant 5: Trevor (22)

Trevor is a 22-year-old Coloured male. His family moved to Kenneth Gardens when he was young, around the age of seven. He has completed his matric, but felt that he did not do well because he really struggled with mathematics. For Trevor, life in Kenneth Gardens is

uneventful for the youth because they hardly have anything to look forward to. He felt that the only time they have received attention in the area it has been for negative things. Trevor had been doing casual work at the local supermarket (prior to my research), but that had ended abruptly. He was a common sight around the neighbourhood and was always present when the other young men were smoking. He got along very well with everyone and he prided himself on that.

Participant 6: Frank (22)

Frank is a 22-year-old White male whose family moved to Kenneth Gardens from Montclair just over eight years ago. He lived with his parents and older brother, the other older brother worked away from home, but returned on weekends. He and his brother were passionate about sports and they coached a local soccer team for younger residents of Kenneth Gardens. As much as this was about giving back to the community, it was also about keeping busy. Their father was also very active in matters of the community, so it was important for them to follow his example. His family's main worry at the time of research was that their father had been diagnosed with cancer.

Participant 7: Lance (23)

Lance is a 23-year-old Coloured male. He lives with his maternal grandparents who are pensioners, his mother's younger brother (uncle) who is unemployed and his cousin (his uncle's daughter). He is currently doing his final year at a local tertiary institution and is doing his in-service training as part of the practical requirement for his Human Resources diploma. His mother works abroad and is the main provider for the family. He dreams of being able to visit her one day and he hopes to work abroad in the future. He feels that the young people in the area have very limited choices in life. According to Lance, this is why the young men get up to 'no good'. At the same time, he feels that they are lazy and they are not willing to apply themselves. For Lance independence is very important, which is why he has two part-time jobs to make an extra income.

Participant 8: Xola (23)

Xola is a 23-year-old African male who lives with his aunt (his mother's older sister) and her family in Kenneth Gardens. He moved to Kenneth Gardens after his mother died in 2007. He was in matric then, and his mother's illness and eventual demise affected his progress negatively. Due to other issues within the family, he has never really gone back to complete

his matric. At the point of the study, he too was unemployed. However, he had just begun selling *marijuana* and ecstasy to his peers, but especially in recreational spaces such as bars and taverns. He had to keep his business a secret from his family because his aunt would kick him out of their residence if she heard about it. Often he spoke of how he had clients from the local university and in town that for who he would regularly make deliveries.

Participant 9: Martin (30)

Martin is a 30-year-old Coloured male whose family lived in Kenneth Gardens for over five years, but they have since moved to a block of flats, which is about two kilometres away called Flamingo Court. A place is also known for poverty, crime and drugs among the youth. Despite moving, Martin still spent most of his time socialising with his peers in Kenneth Gardens. At the moment, Martin is not working. Martin considered himself “a hustler” and was determined to survive the streets.

Participant 10: Japhan (25)

Japhan is a 25-year-old African male. I came to meet him through informal interactions and hanging out with the other young men in the field. Japhan lived with his mother and two sisters. He was unemployed and had matriculated just over five years earlier. He attests to the fact that he has been unemployed and “sitting at home” even before the year 2010 and he was still without employment at the time of my study. He had been able to find casual work, but he was hoping for something more long term in the future. According to Japhan, the prospects for young people are very slim.

Participant 11: Noah (19)

Noah is a 19 year-old Coloured male whose family has been living in Kenneth Gardens for a long time. He was the youngest of the participants. He lives with his mother, his aunt (mother’s sister) and younger sister. He had just completed his matric and was looking for work. He wanted to pursue tertiary studies eventually, but he had to take a break because he had not qualified for financial aid at the local university. His mother, who is the only one who has a stable income, could not afford the university fees. While he was looking for work, he spent most his time with the other unemployed young men in community.

Participant 12: Lihle (20)

Born in Lamontville, Lihle and his family moved to Kenneth Gardens in 2002 and at the time of my research he had been living in Kenneth Gardens for over ten years. Unlike the many young men who participated in my study, Lihle usually stayed indoors and would occasionally stop by to chat with the young men. However, he explained that he grew up with most of the young men in the community and thus was on friendly terms with most of them. Having dropped out of university because of financial reasons, he was focused on getting back to his studies, which meant finding a job to cover his outstanding university fees. He explained that his best shot was a call centre because at that moment there were many vacancies. He believed that he could not just be ‘sitting’ at home.

Participant 13: Tebogo (27)

Tebogo did not live in Kenneth Gardens, but had worked there for almost five years. He moved to Durban for his studies, which he had completed and began working for the local government. He was also a supporter of the African National Congress (ANC), which was the governing party in Kenneth Gardens. His work with the ANC and local government had resulted in him being stationed in Kenneth Gardens and running services for other areas, which were close by. He carried out many initiatives in the area and had a great rapport with the residents in the area as well as a deep understanding of the complex issues within Kenneth Gardens. Being a young man himself, he knew most of the participants and had been instrumental in introducing me to them. Tebogo was passionate about community work and he was always running around busy with projects in the area.

Participant 14: Mandla (24)

Mandla is a friendly and cheerful twenty four year old young man. He is also street smart and resourceful. He revealed that he had not been able to complete his schooling because after his girlfriend became pregnant with their second child, his family told him to find work and support his children. He had his first child when he was in grade 10 and his second when he was doing his matric. Mandla is what the other young men referred to as *u-Meshent*³. His main products, however, were cigarettes and marijuana. He sold the cigarettes and the marijuana to clients

³ *U-Meshent* (the merchant) is a colloquial term that was used by the young men in the study to refer to someone who did informal trading, namely the trading of substances such as (but not limited to) cigarettes and *marijuana*.

who were both from Kenneth Gardens and other areas. He also sold 'pre-owned' cell phones and could facilitate the unblocking of any phone. Because of his business, he had had several run-ins with the law. He believed that as a man he had to provide for his family.

2.10. Conclusion

This chapter considered the process and combination of techniques used to gain an understanding of construction of masculinities among young men. In this chapter, I have attempted to highlight the research design and methods employed to explore the life worlds of the young men. The purpose of this chapter was to describe the precise design and methods used in my study in order to explore how the young men construct their identities. This chapter has attempted to go beyond the conceptual framework of the dissertation into the actual processes undertaken in the bid to explore constructions of masculinity in Kenneth Gardens. The exploration of these processes, that yield the data collected and reported on in the following chapters, assists in demonstrating the validity of the study.

CHAPTER THREE: UNPACKING THE IMPACT OF POVERTY ON THE YOUNG MEN OF KENNETH GARDENS

3.1. Introduction

According to Macwele (2014), poverty and unemployment are the two key economic challenges in contemporary South Africa and increasingly in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. According to Statistics South Africa (2015), 36.1 percent of young people between the ages of 15 and 35 are unemployed, which is almost double the 15.6 percent of adults aged between 35 and 64 who are unemployed. Furthermore, unemployment is concentrated in the African black population, which constitutes a significant group of those who experience low socioeconomic mobility. Contemporary urban realities in South Africa lend themselves to the identification of distinctive social categories, of which race and class are unavoidable features (Morrell et al. 2012; Moolman 2013). Young urban masculinities are thus rooted in this particular milieu, which colours their perspectives and their enactments of gender (and gender identities).

The need to be gainfully employed remains an important element in the construction of 'successful' masculinities across all races (and cultures) in South Africa (Ratele 2010). In the urban context, Morrell et al. (2012) have discussed how masculinities are increasingly defined by living and working in the city. The reality of high unemployment can be particularly difficult to navigate for young men owing to constructions of masculinity, which continue to define economic independence and fulfilling the 'provider role' as the key features of 'successful' masculinities. The idea that socioeconomic power is a privilege closely linked with masculinities (Partab, 2012:125), reveals how (young) men may define themselves by their ability to wield agency through their use of money. Therefore, in the urban context, where poverty and unemployment coexist, young masculinities are re-constructed in ways that reflect the nature of social and economic contexts.

For this study Kenneth Gardens provided the backdrop against which the unemployment and poverty were explored. While the urban context is often associated with socioeconomic growth and the promise of employment for many, the daily realities of the young men who participated in the study did not reflect this. What surfaced, however, is that life in the urban context was more monetised and required the inhabitants to generate income in order to fulfil the daily fundamental needs. Salo (2007) posits that escape from a life of economic marginality is more difficult for those living in poverty than it might be for those living in better-resourced

environments. As a result it becomes a “vicious, self-perpetuating cycle from which it is difficult to escape” (Schenck and Louw, 2010:366). This chapter thus hopes to reveal how young masculinities are negotiated in a world where daily life is increasingly monetised despite rapidly rising youth unemployment.

Within the broad framework of exploring masculinities in the context of poverty, this chapter considers how the young men experienced poverty and the impact they felt it had on their lives. I will consider instances in which the young men mentioned aspects of daily life that they see as indicative of poverty. This chapter makes sense of the subjective meanings and symbols that are enclosed in the participants’ responses by drawing on the concept of structural violence. I was interested in how the macro forces which in this case are economic and social, manifest in the lives of the participants as individuals. I focus on the experiences of young men within the framework of broader social structures and processes of society (Tersbøl, 2009). Further to this, the constructionist notions employed bring into focus the collective understanding and living of poverty by the young men. Beyond just the veneer of living in a “poor” neighbourhood and inspired by the anthropological imperative of moving beyond the ‘armchair’, this chapter captures the words and expressions of the young men as they expound on the personal impact of their experiences and daily realities.

3.2. Narrating Poverty: How the young men talk about being ‘poor’

The majority of the participants in my study had matriculated, with the exception of two who had not been able to matriculate. All the young men said they were still living at home, which meant living either with parents or with extended family. Of all participants, only one had managed to secure work for more than six months, while most of the young men remained unemployed. To counter this some of them were in some form of schooling to avoid “sitting at home”, a circumstance most of the young men were subjected to. The majority of the young had lived in Kenneth Gardens for over five years.

The participants’ views on life in Kenneth Gardens revealed evidence of personal challenges, which seemed to be mounting against the young men. Narratives from the young men in one way or another detailed instances of adversity that were either a result of or responsible for their current material circumstances. In order to paint an intimate picture of the workings of structural violence in the lives of the young men, I give the stories of some of the young men who live in the community. Siya, Daniel and Kenny could not be any more different in terms

of their demographics, their backgrounds and their respective life experiences. However, they find themselves at the same ‘intersection’ in their lives – poor and frustrated, without any obvious way out.

3.2.1. Siya’s Story

Siya was an accidental addition to the study. Although I had come to know him in passing, it was his younger brother who had committed to the study initially; however, when I arrived at his home on a Thursday afternoon, the brother was getting ready to go somewhere. It was their mother that notified me, an energetic Zulu woman of ample stature in her late 50s, who was seated outside on the steps. We had a brief exchange and she informed me that the son I wanted to see was actually on his way out. She then quickly added that her other son was there and then, in a bout of laughter she quipped, “*Usebenzaphi wengane yam’? Anisize bo nibaqashe!*” (*Where do you work, my child? Just [help and] hire them!*). She then proceeded to call Siya, who is her eldest, as I was ushered through the kitchen to the lounge where we sat and conducted the interview. He told me that he had been working the night shift as a security guard at a construction company for just under a year. He tiredly commented that I was lucky it was his day off, so he would catch up on his sleep later.

This somewhat timid twenty-nine year old man had the misleading appearance of a young boy perhaps in the latter part of his teenage years. It was when I started speaking to him, that he gave the insight and evidence of a longer life, which had seen Kenneth Gardens evolve over almost fifteen years. As we sat in the lounge of the house he shared with his younger brother, his aging parents and two other ‘relatives’, I asked him how his family came to live in Kenneth Gardens. He peered through the makeshift ‘wall’ that separated the lounge into two to ensure that no one else would be disturbed by our chatter. He gave a nervous laugh and volunteered a response:

“We lived in Lamont, we were renting [there]. We didn’t have a place that we could call home [esingathi isekhaya la]. We arrived here 1998, so it’s been over ten years, yah. So we also had problems. My dad lost his job and at that time a kid could still be sent home for not paying the school fees. They would call for the parents to come and explain why [there hadn’t been any payment]. So I realised that we were already struggling at home, so I thought that I should just find a job so I could help out at home. So that’s how it happened, but it was difficult. [Later], I did try to find [a school] around home [here in KG], but then my marks weren’t alright. In the White schools this side I had a problem that my marks weren’t good and so they couldn’t admit me. When I went back to Lamontville High, there was money outstanding which had to be settled first. I already knew that we couldn’t afford to pay the money they wanted because dad had

just lost his job at that time. He couldn't just take the last of his money he got from settlements and send me to school with it. I realised then that the journey would be long (and hard), considering that we still had to pay for the basic amenities (electricity). I also would have needed to then have transport money to commute from here to Lamontville. At that time, I think it would have cost around R8 – R10 daily for me to go to school! So with all of that I got a job as a security guard in a block of flats but even that wasn't good.” (Siya)

From his narrative we become aware of the challenges that have played out in the life of one young man. Furthermore, his individual experiences have become enmeshed with, and thus defined by, the broader social and economic structures. Siya's fate seems to be, rather tragically, linked to the fate and challenges of his household. As he shares in his statement, his challenges began when his father lost his job, which not only affected the family, but it also directly impacted his schooling. Overall, one gets the sense that he had very little control over his circumstance and the manner in which life has turned out for him. Siya's sentiment was that the pursuit of education had proven difficult for him owing to economic constraints and personal issues, although both are intertwined. The fact that his family was already struggling financially meant that he could not pursue his personal goals. Thus, through Siya's narrative we begin to see a connection between the household's financial struggle and the life trajectory, namely that of Siya. What emerges from Siya's narrative is how a complex array of social forces have influenced and shaped his life, thus resulting in his present circumstance. Although Siya is employed, he did not consider himself employed in the strict sense of the word. This is because his position in life was not that much different to that of other young men in Kenneth Gardens. In addition, his job does not afford him the life he expected.

Siya is the 'black youth' that Morrell and colleagues (2012) describe as disproportionately affected by unemployment and poverty. While his narrative is unique to his experiences, elements of his journey may also be observed in the journeys and narratives of other young men in Kenneth Gardens. Particularly, the same structural forces that have impacted his journey and the trajectory his life had taken have also determined where he found himself at that moment. Like most of the young men in Kenneth Gardens, Siya and his family moved to Kenneth Gardens from the townships of Durban. Most poignant in his explanation is the fact that they were looking for a place "to call home". This indicates the value and significance that the move to Kenneth Gardens had for his family. The common narrative among the participants is that with the move from their respective peri-urban (townships) spaces to the urban space (Kenneth Gardens), there was the hope and lure of a better life. Considering the socio-historical context of apartheid, the move from the township to Kenneth Gardens can be understood as

moving from a peri-urban space to urban. Underlying this migration were expectations of urban spaces that were better resourced and thus with more opportunities to offer, such as better schools and employment.

The effects of structural violence can be abstracted from the direct actions and inactions of individuals which are part of a wider set of processes and practices (Scott-Samuel et al. 2009). We may come to understand the significance of structural violence in Siya's narrative as it is also informed by a series of individual actions and inactions resulting from wider social and economic processes. This narrative presents a critical moment in which his future was decided and shaped by the family's move to the city. According to the manner in which Siya framed his narrative, all things seem to flow from the father's unemployment. I believe that this also indicates his thinking about masculinities. We see evidence of an intergenerational structural violence in Siya's narrative, where he is working in a minimum wage job and is not earning enough for him to escape the cycle of poverty. We also see how his fate and agency are linked to that of his parents. Siya's narrative further illustrates how his life has been impacted by a combination of broad structures. When his father became unemployed, this directly impacted on the possibility of him attending school. Owing to the poor implementation of educational policy at the time, which in itself is evidence of actions and inactions within broad structure, he was denied access to education, which has since affected him in the long term. First he was unable to access education in the township because of his family's finances, and then in the city it was due to his poor results. Effectively, this experience left Siya with very limited means with which he could make a living beyond his current reality. Evidence of these limited means is also reflected in his ultimate decision to find employment to help his 'struggling' family. We see here that the importance of education was negated by the interpretation and impact of poverty. Siya later revealed in our interactions the higher costs and demands of living in the city. The mention of the need to find shelter, the loss of a job and the subsequent release from school highlight the difficulty in trying to secure the basics that the household then needed for survival in the new urban context. All of these factors resulted in Siya fulfilling the traditional 'provider' masculinity, which had been fulfilled by his father. However, he is still not happy with the conditions of his employment.

It would seem that the move to Kenneth Gardens introduced a new set of challenges. Essentially, his access to the things he knew and was familiar with was limited. He was now stuck in a situation where he could not study in the "White schools" around his new neighbourhood, but also could not study in Lamontville because it was made unaffordable by

the new dynamics introduced by the move. Siya articulates how developments earlier in his life have shaped his present circumstances. Siya's story is one that illustrates the effects of the broader social matrix and how it can function at the individual level to limit agency.

3.2.2. Daniel's Story

Daniel, who cut quite an intimidating figure because of his tall physical stature, was one of the young men in Kenneth Gardens. Despite his reclusive nature, he seemed to get along well with the rest of the young men in the community. He would usually join the other young men for a smoke and conversation in the park and then, after a while, would withdraw back into his home. So over time he came to be aware of my presence in the field. One afternoon, I caught him on his way out to the shops, he did not seem keen to sit and chat, so I offered to walk with him to the shops – where his mother had sent him.

"I was born here, bra. My older brother and my sisters also grew up here. That's where I went to school and that's the high school I went to [pointing]. I have lived my whole life in this place, but now I just feel like I need my own space bra. I mean, I sleep on one of those foam sponges and it's not the best thing for a guy my size! [laughs] I would do anything to just get a kaya (a home/a place). Just a small little corner for myself, you know. But it's not like I can even afford that, bra. I can't even afford to help with rent and so that will never happen. My brother is so lucky that he has his own place now. It's not like it's a mansion bra, but at least it's his and he can even get some whenever he wants. It actually makes me miss working, because then at least I could even have time for fun every now and then. I actually haven't gone to a club for a long time, I just chill here with the KGBs (Kenneth Gardens Boys) and dop (drink). The fucked up thing about not working is being stuck here, with my parents who are pensioners and my sisters, the one works and the other doesn't. And this place just gets worse, look at it! It's so untidy, sometimes. You can be poor, but you can't be dirty! Just because you don't have money doesn't mean you must be filthy." (Daniel)

Daniel is a 24 year-old White South African male who was born in Kenneth Gardens. The context into which his family came to occupy their flat is absolutely different from how other families came to live in Kenneth Gardens. Daniel's family qualified to live there because they are a working class White family which moved into a community of other very similar families. In that context, they were located in a socially, economically and racially homogenous community, a far cry from the Kenneth Gardens he is living in at the moment. For instance, this is in contrast with the conditions that Siya's family had to fulfil in order to live in Kenneth Gardens. Siya's family moved from a township to a setting that was comparatively better in terms of resources, infrastructure and proximity to the central business district (CBD).

Daniel shared that he lived with his Dad, Mom and two older sisters and two of his sister's children. He is one of the few young people who were born in Kenneth Gardens and his family has not lived anywhere else. Having attended the local schools, he was able to point to everything within walking distance. He finished high school and went to work; he has never been able to further his studies. He stated repeatedly how he did not mind this because he preferred working with his hands. He felt that being "stuck in an office" as he put it, would not have been good for him in the end. However, at this point in his life, he is very envious of his brother who has managed to find a stable job and has since found his own place a couple of years earlier. Daniel now feels that he also needs his own space.

Sensing a particular concern about his living arrangements, I asked about how he is coping with living with his whole family considering the space constraints. His major frustration is with space and having no control over how it is kept. Not only did he feel that the house is cramped because of the number of people living in it, but he also finds that it is always untidy. For him, the untidiness of the area is an indication of poverty in the area. In the same breath, he not only made an observation about the unfavourable conditions in Kenneth Gardens, he also identified himself as living in poverty. He mentioned as well that he is unemployed and has no source of income.

We may understand the impact of structural violence in Daniel's journey through his narrative. For instance, the socio-political shifts experienced by family (from the apartheid dispensation to the current) have clearly changed the economic conditions of the family. In this context, poverty is experienced by most irrespective of race and it was evident through the living conditions described by Daniel. We were able to observe how the wider set of processes of poverty and unemployment directly interacted to limited Daniel's agency (Scott-Samuel et al. 2009).

3.2.3. Kenny's Story

Kenny, one of the participants, is an African male in his early twenties. The eldest of three, he lives with his younger siblings and his parents; they are part of a large group of African families that started moving into Kenneth Gardens from the surrounding townships in the early 90's. His narrative was not so far from what I had been told about Kenneth Gardens prior to starting my fieldwork. I had been informed about the poverty and the dilapidated state of the buildings,

something that was glaringly apparent, especially because just across the street is the comparatively affluent neighbourhood of Glenmore.

“Ya, true there are people that obviously they are battling, some of them battle to sometimes pay their lights or rent and end up having such a high bill. And when you haven’t been paying you end up being kicked out because it shows that you can’t afford to be staying here. Then you tend to realise that actually people who are renting out rooms, which is illegal. [laughs] We’re not allowed to have tenants, but it’s how we try and survive and pay the light bills and have food on the table. Things are even harder for me because I want to help out but I can’t because I’m not working. It’s not like we go to sleep without eating, but things would be easier if I was working. We used to live in uMlazi and I see that living is better here, it’s just that we have to rent and pay for things. But living in the township was also easier in some ways, it wasn’t a big thing if your electricity is switched off, there is always someone who sort it out for you. So we pay for many other things we wouldn’t be paying for. I went to school for years, so that I wouldn’t be in this situation, but I am back here sitting with the same guys who were not doing anything with their lives. Mjita (Dude), it’s frustrating, you have no idea.” (Kenny).

Kenny captures, in his response, what life is like for some of the residents in the community. While this might not apply to all residents, it is a stark reminder of the dynamics of the housing scheme – residents occupy the flats upon fulfilling a means test that proves limited household income. The effects of a struggling economy are also being experienced in Kenneth Gardens. Sachs (2005) suggests that poverty refers to extreme deprivation where individuals and households struggle to meet their basic needs (cited in Schenck and Louw, 2010). Just walking down the street that divides Kenneth Gardens from Glenmore one afternoon, I could see how clearly one side was well kept and serviced; while the other, Kenneth Gardens, was visibly unkempt. Kenny’s description of the lives that some of the residents led in his community was easily supported by what was visible in Kenneth Gardens. As he shared this information, he was sure to mention to me that this information was not to be repeated to anyone. As he sat on a single bed and I sat (less than two meters away) on the couch with my recorder set up on a small coffee table in a room that doubled as a lounge and his bedroom, I realised that what he had shared with me was also a reality for him.

I had met Kenny much earlier in my fieldwork, at this stage he understood my presence in the field and had been very helpful with explaining to the others. Therefore, he understood that I would not share this information. Kenny also shared the discomfort he felt with finding himself at the age of twenty four living at home, unemployed and depending on his parents with the very limited income they had. Renting out the extra room was one of the ways they had tried to maximise their income. He sees himself as a liability because he feels that he should be

helping his parents instead of needing their help. It was a demonstration of agency that the people who found themselves in difficult positions found ways of navigating these precarious situations – albeit illegal ways. This almost seems emblematic of the lives of the young men themselves – finding ways of surviving and thriving despite their circumstances.

3.2.4. The Intersections of Poverty

From the above narratives, we begin to understand how poverty is a common thread in the lives of young men in Kenneth Gardens. As opposed to a generalised understanding that Kenneth Gardens is home to working class families that confront the effects of poverty daily, we begin to see the impact that such a reality has on young lives. While the manner in which it has affected the young men is different, they all find themselves in the same intersection in terms of their daily struggles. Poverty has crystallised many struggles for the young men and education has become important as a resource, but it is not always attainable for most people.

Daniel attended the local schools until he finished high school; he managed to get the access that Siya (and Kenny, to some extent) was unable to get. Through Daniel's narrative, I became aware of the financial challenges that his family are experiencing. It became clear that while he desires a life beyond Kenneth Gardens, it is out of reach because he does not have the resources he needs to create the life he had hoped for himself. His emphasis on the importance of being in his own space indicates on his part a sense of being immobilised, of realising his discomfort and yet being unable to affect it. What can be noted, of course, is the relative privilege that Daniel was born into compared to Siya and Kenny.

Kenneth Gardens is a housing scheme built between 1943 and 1948 as a response of the minority-led government, which sought to benefit the 'White poor'. While Daniel was born into a system that awarded him and his family comparative advantage, he finds himself at the same intersection as Siya and Kenny – experiencing the same challenges and interpreting his circumstances as poor. There are though some marked differences in the lives of these three young men. While Daniel has been able to access some level of financial support from his family, Kenny has been under pressure to find work because his family has been experiencing financial constraints and Siya has fortunately managed to find work since both his parents are not working.

The narratives of the participants bore evidence of intergenerational structural violence, which has disadvantaged not only them as young men, but their parents as well. These young men

found themselves in undesirable life circumstances. Their narratives illustrate how poverty is manifested in their lives, namely how it has impacted their living conditions and their daily realities. We become aware of not just the statistically objective extent of poverty; in fact, their narratives allow us to understand their subjective experiences of poverty as men. More so, we begin to understand the pervasive nature of poverty and unemployment through the constructionist perspective that the narratives allow for this. The participants' narratives describe how they are confronted with broader social challenges which in turn impact on their experiences in the community. Most importantly, the narratives of these young men respectively mimic the elements of the lives of other young men in Kenneth Gardens. The young men have experiences of poverty that subjugate them, that challenge their construction and – perhaps – are experiences that are bounded in Kenneth Gardens as their community.

3.3. Poverty and the Lack of Education

Young men who find themselves unemployed after completing their high school education are likely to be on a relatively low socioeconomic trajectory (Nattrass et al. 2012). Education is viewed as a necessary resource in the modern economy, particularly for upward mobility and for sustainable income generation. Education is seen as a tool with which one can increase personal opportunities in life (Schenck and Louw 2010). This view is in line with the trend observed by Statistics South Africa (2015) which indicates that the higher the level of education, the lower the percentage of persons living in poverty. These results suggest that a higher level of education affords more opportunities. The inverse, however, is the precarious situation in which the lack of education can further entrench the effects of poverty and where poverty can itself become an obstacle to the attainment of education. Among the participants the target was not education, per se, but advancement and mobility in life. However, the only way the young men could express their desires to move beyond their circumstances was to speak of education. The common thread and perceived defining feature of their poverty was their lack of education. They felt that their material conditions were dependent on their ability to access education. In their view, if you are without education, you cannot hope for much. This is in line with Silberschmidt's (2001) assertion that poverty undermines the normative order of patriarchy.

Young men in South Africa still have to confront harsh circumstances often on the edge of poverty with the increasingly emasculating certainty of economic and political powerlessness

(Morrell, 2001; Hunter, 2010). The lack of education as a means of eschewing the conditions and experiences of poverty mean that the participants' masculine identities are also challenged. The participants had varying levels of education among themselves and considered education a necessary skill for securing meaningful employment. Thus, the young men viewed their respective lack of education (at various levels) as the reason for being out of work and for being in their circumstances. The general view was that they needed more than just high school education in order to be 'economically viable' beyond Kenneth Gardens. Most importantly, a majority of the participants felt that they held insignificant matriculation certificates which either barred their entry into higher education or were not considered as good enough to at least secure any other work. Perhaps as a reaction to the growing unemployment rates among the youth, the young men felt that they needed more skills or education in order to endure economically. However, this understanding coexisted with the material realities of most participants, which meant that the possibility of advancing in this regard was limited. Frank's statement below illustrates his scepticism about his own employment and educational journey.

"The role of education means a lot; because today matric, to me, doesn't mean anything. My dad's a qualified Fitter and Turner, and he's been struggling to get a job from 2009 to 2013, it's not easy! You need more than [basic] education to just get a job outside now! You need a degree. When I finished matric I knew my parents wouldn't afford university 'cause even my older brother couldn't go, so I didn't even bother! I just think there's no hope for someone like me." (Frank)

Education had surfaced in Frank's narrative as he ascribed much value to possessing more than a high school level education. Unlike most families in Kenneth Gardens, Frank's family is part of the very few White families that remain in the community. He finished his schooling at a local high school, but said he was unable to carry on with his studies because of finances. Despite this, his statement illustrates his view of education and particularly its meaning in contemporary society. In fact, according to him, his inability to further his education was the main reason he was unable to move beyond his circumstances. To illustrate his point he explained how if his father, who has a tertiary qualification, had been struggling with securing employment; then clearly his high school matriculation could not compare in the job market. Frank lives with his parents and his two brothers, one older (30) and the other younger (19). It is only his older brother who is employed and he does not live with them. On the other end, his parents are unemployed and not only is his father struggling to find stable income, he had also recently recovered from cancer treatment. He explained that this put considerable pressure on his older brother. He further supported this perspective with the suggestion that he would need more than just a matric for him to have something valuable. Considering the domestic

challenges Frank would have to overcome in terms of health and finances, Frank has good reason to view education as a possible vehicle for his empowerment. However, it remained woefully out of reach because of the more immediate conditions.

“Most people I’ve interacted with ‘abantu aba achieve-ile’ (people who have achieved) through education and it’s not people [who have achieved] just for luck.” (Nkosi)

For Nkosi, education is a tool. Like other participants, he acknowledges the challenges that are presented by not having an education. More significantly, in the above statement he draws the positive association between education and achievement. Most poignant, however, is the fact that he did not identify himself as belonging to the category of those he identified as achievers. At the time of the study, Nkosi shared with me that he was studying towards a Bachelor of Commerce degree through distance learning. He lives with his elderly mother, but has two elder brothers and a younger sister all of whom have had to move away from home because of work. Although he felt that he was under pressure to start working and contribute at home, education is important for him as a means of achieving success. His demeanour was quite stoic as he explained that for him success and achievement could be ensured through education. As a result, he has put much effort into applying for bursaries. He was able to eventually secure a bursary which enabled him to carry on with his studies. He did, however, reveal that it had taken him longer to make his vision a reality because he did not have the funds himself. What Nkosi was trying to illustrate through his statement is the need to surmount his current circumstances. The term ‘achievement’ in this context was broadened to encompass the prospects of doing better, of surpassing through education. Sadly though, because of limited resources, his journey to achievement had taken longer and was not entirely dependent on his progress. So although he was able to illustrate the importance of education, what was also highlighted was the inhibiting effects of poverty on this endeavour.

Lance, another participant, presented another aspect of how poverty inhibits the lives of young men in terms of pursuing education and self-actualisation.

“The fact that you don’t study also kills you! First of all they doing nothing. Not everyone is made for varsity, but then again not everyone is made to sit on the corner here. It doesn’t look right at all, young healthy men.” (Lance)

Here Lance was addressing how poverty and unemployment among the young men has created a sense of apathy. Clearly, his view was that not being able to study meant death. This is telling considering how Lance viewed himself in relation to his peers. Unlike most of the participants, he was completing his diploma at a local tertiary institution and was expecting to find

employment upon completion. Beyond this, he held two part-time jobs as a means of generating income. He thought it was important that as a man he could do things for himself such as paying for his bus fare or buying his own clothes; he did not want to depend on his grandparents. Thus, his observation on the status of young men reveals how he saw education as necessary and life changing. It was interesting to hear his views, especially considering that he is someone who has grown up in the community and knows most of the young men. His view was that not being able to study meant that young people are doomed because employment prospects are dire. To contextualise his argument further, the phrase “sit on the corner” signified unemployment and becoming embroiled in the local drug culture, which are the results of poverty. Therefore, in Lance’s view, education is also a possible escape, which is why in his view being idle is tantamount to death for young people. Lance’s statement was also quite telling in terms of how he perceived his own community - as unhealthy and detrimental to young people in the end. According to Lance, education can provide an escape specifically for young men from the negative elements that are prominent in his community. Lance’s statement seemed to make clear, however, that the challenging reality faced by young men is further complicated by poverty.

In line with the work of Sorrell and Raffaelli (2005), education among the young men was seen as the potential solution to improving personal material conditions. Almost all participants were of the understanding that education is the main path through which they could secure (better) employment (Sorrell and Raffaelli, 2005: 592). While the young men were aware of the importance of furthering their education, they are more aware of the immediate challenges of poverty in their daily lives. The very elements (owing to household and individual poverty) that motivate them, however, also become their obstacles (lack of material support). The responses of the young men in this study strongly suggest that being poor challenges their enactment and sense of agency as men because of the very limited resources (both social and economic) at their disposal. The young men are essentially ‘disempowered’ by the absence of resources and access. Most important to them is their ability to access employment and the resources that allow them to become self-determining individuals. However, Kenny’s experience, though slightly different, demonstrates that even education does mean automatic employment.

“Basically, erh, I finished my diploma, I’m just battling finding a job at the moment. So basically I’m not a person that is always around the area as I said earlier. And yah, I don’t really communicate much [with the others]; most of my friends are people from outside, not really from within the area yah.” (Kenny)

Unlike most of his peers who have become frustrated by their inability to reach higher education, Kenny was further frustrated by being in the same position as his peers despite having the education. Regardless of the difference in backgrounds and levels of education of participants, most of them still found themselves at the same ‘intersection’ – unemployed and poor. Kenny finds himself unemployed despite obtaining a tertiary qualification. He further explains that he is still looking for a job and is actively avoiding ‘sitting at home’, which had been the case for two years. The first time I met him he presented as an energetic character seated with the other young men from around the area. He had his phone blasting out a house music track; he was talking also, about how that song had been a soundtrack for the past weekend. On the day of our interview, as I knocked and asked for him, his mother gestured for me to go through to the lounge. I found him asleep on his bed that had been squashed into a corner of their lounge. He was very removed from the person I had come to know in the company of the other participants. As he revealed, going through the motions of secondary school and tertiary education had still not resulted in the outcome he had expected – a job. He was determined to highlight the fact that Kenneth Gardens was not where he belonged and where he would end up; he had grander plans and was just frustrated with the lull. Kenny constantly compared his position with the people he had gone to university with, hence his mention of the friends from outside, and was frequently absent from the area in his active pursuit of finding employment which would aid in his leaving the area on a permanent basis.

As we have seen in the other responses, the notion of being unemployed worked against the normative expectations that existed among the young men themselves. This suggests that the young men were actively playing into (and thus constructing) social scripts that suggested the importance of work and of education for young men in society. It is important to highlight the context in which the young men find education important – which is urban. So we begin to see how in these constructions young men began to weave in the significance of education as a means of fashioning and enacting identities that would enable them to cope with their material realities. We see a masculinity that seeks to circumvent the challenge of poverty through incorporating education as a significant aspect of contemporary urban manhood.

3.4. Young Men’s Experience of Poverty as Immobility

Poverty is directly related to unemployment (Schenck and Louw, 2010:370). For people who are already living in poverty, unemployment can further deepen the effects of poverty while

poverty can itself limit the ability of some to secure employment. Thus, taking into consideration the high economic and social inequalities in South Africa (Hunter, 2007), the high levels of unemployment in Kenneth Gardens can be understood to be having the same effect in the lives of the participants – deepening poverty and making it harder to secure employment. Job opportunities, as suggested in their narratives, were difficult to come by for the young men. This reality further links the lived realities of the young men to poverty. However, through articulating their personal experiences they made it evident that most of the young people in the community are also unemployed.

As stated earlier, unemployment is high among the youth, with poverty also being higher among young people. Thus being young in South Africa, in the urban context, with its increasingly complex aspects of living, makes one vulnerable to the impact of poverty. Often, the absence of employment signals the absence of economic powers and social status. As Izugbara (2015) suggests, massive unemployment and intractable poverty can have adverse effects on men and masculinities. This is also about agency of the individual when understood through structure, but also how the individual negotiates identity as part of a collective.

Most of the participants identified themselves as unemployed as they had no formal source of income and they often depended on their families for financial support and subsistence. This in turn influenced how they felt about their lives in Kenneth Gardens. However, very often it was evident that their perspectives were influenced by their ideas about how their lives should have played out at that stage of their existence. As young men who had expected to find work or at least become economically viable, the young men were frustrated with where their lives were at the time of the study. Trevor's comment about life in Kenneth Gardens captures the sense of disenchantment with his lack of mobility:

“Boring, boring, boring, bra! It's quiet here, eksê (I say)! Over quiet! It's so quiet, it's like even on the weekend it's the same like during the week. [laughs] Waarheid (Truth)! It's like the ouens smaak (guys like) to party and dance, you check (see), certain ouens (guys). We most of the time we are by the pozie (house), and sometimes graafing (working) too.”(Trevor)

As Trevor outlines, life in Kenneth Gardens can be interpreted as uneventful for some of the young men. The emphasis on the silence suggests a silence specific to the lives and needs of young men, that they might be caught in a situation where they have nothing productive to occupy themselves with. This statement is telling considering that unemployment can be a determinant of risky behaviour (Hunter, 2005; Hunter, 2007), violence and substance abuse

(Silberschmidt 2001; Tersbøl 2006) among young men. As a result they seek to make sense of their circumstances by amplifying other aspects that are often associated with being “a real man”. What these young men share through their narratives, is the experience of ‘occupying the bottom rung’ of society. The ‘rung’, in this instance, is symbolised by the positions in which they individually experience limited agency. Further to this, their narratives, seemingly uncommon and disconnected, all provide an account of life in Kenneth Gardens from their perspectives.

Despite most of the participants having completed high school education, it was only a few that were able to pursue post high school education or training. Not only were the young men victimised by a struggling economy which was doing very little to support young people, they were dealing with the increased demands of living in the city. Lihle, one of the participants, noted the challenge of being unemployed in the following words:

“I feel helpless. I feel like a failure, cause now I’m here just sitting in the house not doing anything. I’m trying to be a student lapha phezulu (up there) and I don’t have the finances to do that.” (Lihle)

Born in Lamontville, Lihle and his family moved to Kenneth Gardens in 2005 and had been living there for over eight years at the time of my research. Unlike the many young men who participated in my study, Lihle usually stayed indoors and would occasionally stop by to chat with the young men. However, he explained that he grew up with most of the young men in the community and thus was on friendly terms with most of them. Having dropped out of university because of financial reasons, he was focused on getting back to school, which meant finding a job to cover his outstanding university fees. However, like most of the young men in his community he found himself unemployed and out of university. He explained to me that this experience was rather disheartening and he found it difficult to adjust to the restrictions of “doing nothing” compared to the freedom of living on campus and being away from home. In the above extract he resented the feeling of being cooped up in the house and being cooped up in Kenneth Gardens in general, often expressing the desire to just escape a bit. ‘Not doing anything’ thus resulted in him feeling helpless and like a failure because he was having trouble executing his vision. As a result, he resigned himself to not doing anything because he was without the necessary finances.

Another young participant who is fortunate enough to be still be enrolled in university is Lance. However, Lance had a different perspective on the lives of other young men in Kenneth Gardens.

“No job opportunities I guess, but that goes for everywhere. But it’s more specifically here because there’s so many young people here, I’d say there’s no job opportunities. And then there’s the drug abuse, but it depends on who you are (basically) if you’re gonna get into it. So you can’t really blame drugs or whatever if you know where you want to go in life. But that is a issue, to be honest. That’s the disadvantage. Well they go together because either they do the drugs and then they don’t go to work, or they do the drugs because there is no work. So they go hand-in-hand, depends on the person themselves, on the situation they in. Because I’ve known some to have work and then this thing takes over and then some do it because there is no work.”(Lance)

Lance here notes the high number of young people who are unemployed in the community. Although he is employed as part of a practical component for his qualification, he also holds a part-time job on the weekends. It was interesting that he also identified unemployment as a significant challenge for young people in the community, considering his own circumstances. In the process of our conversation, it surfaced that even though he is working, a job is not guaranteed in the future and he was trying to ensure that he would be employed. Lance’s insistence on being employed highlights the outlook and value placed on having an income as a man in society. Unemployment is located here as the central issue in the adverse circumstances of young men in Kenneth Gardens. The fact that young men end up embroiled in other risky activities in the community is connected by the participant to the inability to find work, which he has acknowledged as a general challenge in the rest of society. Thus, the overall suggestion seems to be that if young men are not employed, then they will find other ways of asserting their manhood and recapturing those qualities and expectations embodied in the normative models of masculinities. Economic adversity can thus be seen as a significant factor in the lives of young men, and it has the potential to negatively impact social identities of young men.

Lance suggests that young men are trapped in a cycle in which they have very little choice or possibilities for mobility. As Silberschmidt (2001) has suggested, it is disempowering for men to find themselves without the legitimising aspects of their masculinities. Lance also interprets having work or being able to find work as demonstrating a sense of direction in one’s life. As a result, he suggests then that as opposed to viewing drugs as the problem, it is the lack of direction and the lack of employment that facilitates entry into risk and disempowerment. He establishes a strong connection between the two. However, when considering the fluid and subjective nature of masculine identities, it is important to remember that not all the young men will experience it in the same way. How they construct their masculinity is also how they experience they poverty. What is apparent from the narratives, however, is the pervasive presence of poverty in the lives of the young men.

Nkosi, a twenty six year-old participant, also spoke about the challenge of poverty in the area and the issues that have since materialised because of it. In his opinion poverty, or the lack of money as he describes it, is the reason for some of the challenges that he considers to be most pressing or prevalent in his community. Nkosi's opinion is that all the social challenges of Kenneth Gardens flow from the lack of money or income which most people in the area are experiencing. This is evident in his words:

“There are advantages of living here, first of all it's closer to the hospital and other amenities, and it's just a walk to town, erh closer to the university. The disadvantages of living here is the increasing rate of crime. It's something I have seen happen - first hand. Cars get stolen and people get mugged. It's the lack of money [in the area].”
(Nkosi)

Japhan, another young man from within the community, attests to the dearth of youth-focused activity in Kenneth Gardens. He is another participant I came to meet through my informal interactions and hanging out with the young men in the field. According to Japhan, the prospects for young people remain very slim despite having matriculated from high school. He attests to the fact that he has been unemployed and “sitting at home” even before the year 2010 and he was still without employment at the time of my study. His statement seems to paint a sense of apathy.

“Nothing really happens here, especially for young people. Most young people have matric, but most of us are sitting at home. At some point we thought '2010' would help, then it came and went. If [only] there was a way of getting young people active. I have noticed that most of us have the vision but they don't have the tools.” (Japhan)

Japhan suggested that the lack of youth-focused activities in his community left many young people without any sense of direction in terms of bettering their respective circumstances. Normally upbeat and jovial, his demeanour was uncharacteristically subdued when I interviewed him at his home. Outside with everybody he would actively participate in the conversations and other activities observed by the group of young men. Often times I found him and his friends rolling and preparing marijuana. For him the major thing was that he felt like he was constantly waiting, but for what he had no idea. Like he says in the above statement, he felt as if young people in the community did not have exposure to meaningful opportunities that would allow them to escape their current circumstances. His view suggests that despite young people being educated, it is still not enough and they are trapped with very few options at their disposal.

The accounts by these young men illustrate a dissonance between themselves and their community as a living space. The picture they are painting seems to suggest that it is not easy to be ‘young’ in their environment. Most importantly there also seems to be differentiation between young men who are ‘doing something’ about their circumstances and those who have given up and resigned themselves to the shortage of youth engagement in the community. From the perspective of ‘doing nothing’, Martin briefly, and succinctly, captures the general sentiment around the actuality of daily experience of young men in the neighbourhood:

No, I don't work and it's kind of shit! [Laughing] Because every day you wake up and meet up with the same ous (guys), sitting by the road, hustling, drinking. (Martin)

In fact Martin's mention of his encounters with the “*same ous*” indicates a collective experiencing of this phenomenon among young men in Kenneth Gardens. He makes an interesting case for the limited alternative life options at the disposal of young men within the community. Martin bemoans the almost sure progression towards “sitting by the road, hustling, drinking” because young men are increasingly finding themselves without work. For Martin, his reality is such that he has developed negative feelings towards his current circumstances. In the process of the conversation I was able to establish that he has been out of school and unemployed for two years. Unlike his friends, he has been unable to further his studies. He explained that he could not afford university fees and was still struggling to find a job. His attempt at humour seemed to fizzle out quickly. According to what he has described above, daily life is difficult to navigate because of the lack of options for him and other young men within the community. This in turn ensures that they are caught in a negative cycle which they have to live out daily without any obvious escape from the certain poverty which follows not having a formal and regular source of income. The infrastructure is such that he, as a young person, is struggling to find ways of engaging productively with his immediate surroundings. This feeling was also echoed in other young men's realities.

What Martin was saying here is that young people, and in this case young men, often do not have any other outlets for their skills or talents. The lack of resources means that youth talent and skill in Kenneth Gardens has gone unnoticed and unrealised. Martin articulated how it has become normalised for young people to be disengaged. Even though there are young people in the community who are clearly talented or skilled in various fields, Martin notes that it is difficult for them to hone those talents and skills. As a result, some young men become apathetic about the future and even about daily life. This spoke to the fact that most of the

young people were unemployed despite most of them having some form of schooling, the minimum being matric.

In seeking to understand the workings of poverty, especially how it comes to be embodied in individual experience, Farmer (1996) contends that suffering is structured by historically given forces and processes that conspire to constrain agency. For many, their life choices are structured by the suffering or social environment they find themselves (Farmer, 1996). It thus emerges that for most of the young men who have participated in the study there is a struggle for finding relevant spaces and significance in their daily lives. This is the time in their lives when the young men expect to experience more personal freedom in terms of work and being able to gain independence. However, the responses portray that life can be uneventful for young men in Kenneth Gardens. Furthermore, the suggestion is that young men often struggle to find relevant outlets for their abilities, which is frustrating for many in the community. While it is worth noting that most of the young men have been without any form of occupation, it becomes clear that not all of the young men have the same experiences nor do they have the same daily outlook.

It is an effect of poverty for the young men to be without work. Thus, the observable aspect of poverty in the lives and narratives of the young men is socioeconomic marginality. This means that the young men are often without money, and thus are often without the opportunities that other young men from more socioeconomically sound contexts would be able to afford. The lack of resources limits their ability to go out and look for work. The notion of “just sitting” relates to the limited mobility that the young men are experiencing in their life worlds. This limited mobility is observed both in the case of their daily inability to leave their homes and their community to go and look for work or to make other moves that would allow for this. We can also observe the limited mobility in terms of quality of life. The young men survive on very little because they come from austere households without any disposable income. As a result the quality of life is such that they cannot progress in their respective lives for want of the many opportunities which are often provided by having regular sources of income.

The young men feel ‘stuck’, with very limited options for them in terms of leaving Kenneth Gardens. They are able though to provide an escape for themselves through congregating with other young men who understand their current experiences and frustrations. While it was understood and generally accepted that most of the young men were without work, disapproval of their activities was widespread in the community. As a result the young had to find other

ways of supporting themselves, of making sure they had tobacco and *marijuana* to smoke every day, as well as to afford drink and other narcotics on the weekends. The young men viewed this as an important time in which they could catch up with their contemporaries. As a result the young men bartered – they had a bring-and-share system going. So when one of them had something to bring, almost everyone would share in the spoils. If not, they would put money together, with people contributing as much as they could. Often the working friends would help out especially on weekend when too could partake in the festivities.

3.4.1. Young Men's Ways of Dealing with the Reality of Unemployment

Because every day you wake up and meet up with the same ous (guys), sitting by the road, hustling, drinking. (Martin)

It seemed that the young men in Kenneth Gardens responded differently in their reaction to their circumstances. According to Martin, some were actively trying to find alternative ways around their current challenges, namely unemployment. This would indicate an awareness of their circumstances as undesirable and limiting. However, Martin observed that there were also those who did not make the effort, those who just simply smoked their “*zol*” (*marijuana*) all day. I found it interesting that as Martin was saying these words, he himself was intricately assembling a ‘joint’ for him and his friends to smoke. In fact, for the majority of the time he and I were speaking, his gaze was fixed on the joint he was crafting, lifting his eyes only when he had done rolling and was now licking the end of the wrapping paper to seal the tobacco and cannabis mixture inside. He would later reveal that he was also looking for work currently.

“The guys here don't care, mf'wethu (my brother). It's so frustrating because I see how much they need these things, but all they want is to drink and smoke their stuff. They don't even care about their future. I don't know how many times I have tried to engage them. I don't know, maybe your research will tell us something different”. (Tebogo)

Tebogo's sentiments were similarly communicated by other participants and other members of the community. In the context of the conversation Tebogo and I were having, he expressed frustration with his inability to work constructively with the young men in Kenneth Gardens. Tebogo was passionate about community work and he was always running around busy with community projects. Before we could be introduced officially, I had managed to find out from other community members that he worked for the local ward councillor and was stationed in Kenneth Gardens. One afternoon, I had boldly ventured into his office and I found him sitting with Nkosi, another participant. The words he expressed above were also witnessed by Nkosi who agreed with Tebogo. He had worked in the community for over three years and had

experienced the young men's apathy towards his efforts. Tebogo also knew most of these young men on a personal level and was at a point where he did not know how to help them. His understanding of the poverty and other challenges in the area motivated him to work with these young men; however, the young men did not cooperate as anticipated. Tebogo also made the observation that all the young men are interested in is the consumption of their substances as opposed to being interested in changing their own life circumstances.

About a month earlier he had organised a career information session in collaboration with a local college. The event was targeted at the youth of the area and he had optimistically booked a hall which looked like it could fit about 300 people. He nervously commented, with his heavy seSotho accent, "*Ngizamile mina mfethu (I tried), I hope they come*". Unfortunately, less than 50 people attended the event and about half of the audience were mature women, mostly the 'aunts' and mothers of the young men from Kenneth Gardens.

Now, a month later, I was helping Tebogo distribute flyers in and around Kenneth Gardens for another event he was organising. We then walked to the library, which is located in a local shopping complex. As we were about to enter the shopping complex we passed Mandla, Martin and Xola crouched along the wall of the complex. They greeted us as we passed. When we entered the library, Tebogo made the comment, "*you pass them there instead of making use of this place*". Clearly still disillusioned by the behaviour of the young men, he expressed his disappointment at the lack of young people's presence at previous events. His complaint was based on his observation that young people in Kenneth Gardens and the surrounding communities claimed not to have any opportunities at their disposal, but had shown little interest in pursuing them.

The park and other similar spaces were where the important issues in the lives of the young men were discussed. Because of the living arrangements in most of the participants' homes, with family members being around all the time, and most of the space having to be repurposed, it was hard for some of the participants to stay in the house at all times. Beyond, the spaces that were created by the participants allowed them to have exchanges and catch up with each other on the weekend's activities. This was an important time to construct and reconstruct masculinity through the narration of individual or collective experiences. In this way the young men were able to make sense of their experiences to the extent of exchanging and expressing ideas around masculinity. This was where the young men were able to agree on the traits of desired masculinity. However, what surfaces is that for the young men, poverty is often a

barrier and is inhibiting in most respects. While this might be true for anyone who might be unemployed, young men are further compelled by the expectation that they will grow up to be providers for their own families. Much of the power that the patriarchal dividend bequeaths onto male bodies centres on the establishment of financial and social autonomy, which further marginalises unemployed and poor men (Izugbara, 2015). Thus, the ability to generate an income and to become a breadwinner is an important feature of urban masculinities, especially considering that young men offset the obstacles of poverty and unemployment through risky sexual performance and violence (see Groes-Green, 2009). More importantly, the young men have come to understand their own situation as dire and immobilising; with that a sense of apathy has developed as for them daily survival and other daily rituals have taken on more significance and have become of utmost importance for them.

Moyo (2008), drawing on the work of Malley and Morrison (2004), refers to the notion of constructing subjective meanings about a given phenomenon. This in turn offers a social constructionist glimpse into the lives and experiences of the young men as they navigate the levels of poverty and unemployment. The young men have illustrated that despite the illusion of change in the country in terms of employment, many have grown apathetic about exploring real opportunities, skills and talents. The young men have thus opted to protect the little resources they have available to them from others they perceive as outsiders. This is also a way of them enacting violent masculinities. As suggested earlier, in such a climate young masculinities may perceive themselves as threatened and thus seek to defend themselves through violence (Morrell, 2001).

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter has considered how poverty is manifested in the lived realities of young men in Kenneth Gardens and how this has impacted on their lives. It has engaged with instances and aspects of daily life which the young men feel is indicative of their poverty. Using the life stories of the participants, this chapter has illustrated the extent to which structural violence limits the agency of the young men and how poverty neutralises their agency. I observed that financial constraints and economic hardship are the symbols of this difficulty in the lives of the young men of Kenneth Gardens. Living in poverty was however seen and expressed differently by the young men, with some seeing it as a part of life and others itching to move beyond the lack. Mostly the data revealed that for the young men the main issue was limited resources.

There was a clear dissonance between the young men's personal circumstances and the lives they wanted to live. The data collected also demonstrates how the macro forces, in this case the most significant being the state of economic and social marginality for the young men, have become normalised. What the experiences of participants help illustrate is how the young men are experiencing poverty 'as men' – which is acted out as a direct challenge to their manhood.

The narratives relayed by the young men were replete with the challenge of unemployment, drug and substance use within the community. While there was evidence that pointed to the general poverty in Kenneth Gardens, for instance the soup kitchen and the many people who would converge there every week to dish up, it is important to understand the struggles that were unique or at least mattered most to the young men. Therefore, even though the assumption is that experiencing poverty can have negative outcomes for all in the community, we cannot assume that poverty will have the same effects in all societies and affect all people in the same way. Just as the causes of poverty are diverse, so too are the varying effects it might have on the lives of persons and communities it affects. Thus, the young men in the study also experienced poverty in different ways. Overall, there was a sense of frustration from the young men with the situations that they found themselves in, despite having gone through high school for most, and university for two of them. The lack of mobility they experienced every day also took on the symbolism of the absence of upward mobility in their own lives. Poverty, in the context of this study, extends beyond not having formal employment and income. As the young men grappled with daily life, their articulations pointed to a general lack in their lives – of progress, of money, of space and other resources which they could use to legitimise their masculinities.

According to Erwin (2015:190), Kenneth Gardens “is a very diverse space in terms of racial identities as well of other social-economic demographics”. Such diversity is especially novel when we consider the socio-economic demographics within the space, which makes the space unique. However, given the rapidly changing social and economic landscape, what we see in Kenneth Gardens might not be novel in a few years to come and may become a microcosm of South African society, a snapshot of a wider societal existence. Therefore, while the buildings and policies that govern Kenneth Gardens are set, it is the people who live within, as well as those who move in and out, that help construct the space. It is the members of the community that make meaning of Kenneth Gardens. In terms of the impact of poverty on the construction of masculinities in Kenneth Gardens, lessons may be gleaned from the lives and realities of the

young men. These are especially important for lessons on contemporary urban masculinities in South Africa.

CHAPTER FOUR: EXPLORING THE (SOCIAL) FACTORS THAT SHAPE THE YOUNG MEN'S DAILY REALITIES

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I describe the participants' daily realities. The chapter attempts to show how the young men's lives have been shaped by their subjective and collective experiences. As has already been illustrated by literature, masculinities are not static and heterogeneous (Morrell, 1998b; Barker and Ricardo, 2005). While there is a considerable amount of research in this area, a limited number of researchers (see Barker and Ricardo 2005; Tersbøl 2006; Groes-Green 2009) have explored young masculinities with specific consideration for how their lives are shaped by social and other contextual factors. Tersbøl (2006) has contextualised young men's experiences by demonstrating how socio-economic shifts can significantly shape their lives. Groes-Green (2009) has also demonstrated how socioeconomic transitions can result in young men finding alternate ways of asserting their social power and standing. Thus, in an attempt to fulfil the overarching imperative of exploring the construction of masculinities among young men, this chapter engages with the influences and behaviours of the young men as they navigate daily life.

This chapter makes use of data collected through interactions, exchanges and observations while being in the field with the participants. The chapter thus explores how drugs, and what seems to be 'drug culture', crime and violence form the contours of young masculinities in Kenneth Gardens. Social elements often influence what forms of masculinities are created and how these masculinities are crafted. The geographical location of Kenneth Gardens as an urban setting with all the tropes of being within a city and yet without because of its socioeconomic standing, further contributed to the 'intersections' that the young men found themselves at.

4.2. Crime and Violence in Kenneth Gardens

4.2.1. Young Men as Victims of Crime

In my conversations and interactions with the participants, it became evident that violence – both experiencing it and expressing it – occurred regularly within and around the area. Instances and experiences of violence occurring among and against young men within Kenneth Gardens were common. However, in the ways that it was expressed, it was as though it was a

collective reaction to the attacks they had experienced from outsiders. Very often, the participants blamed violent actions on outsiders. For example, other young men from the neighbouring townships of Cato Manor and Chesterville were seen as coming to start trouble in their community. Among the young men in Kenneth Gardens, violence in the community was seen as a reaction to the crime and victimisation that the young men were experiencing. This is especially the case considering that crime had also extended to their family members, such as their mothers and ‘aunts’ or those of their friends within the community. Increasingly there had been accounts of muggings, burglaries and vehicle thefts in the community. In fact, just a couple of years prior to my research, the level of crime had become so severe that a community-policing forum had to be established. According to the participants, such crimes and acts of violence were being inflicted upon their community by ill-willed outsiders who were not only mugging people as they made their way from the bus stops at night, but were also perceived as specifically targeting young men and their peers. This, the young men perceived as inhibiting their movement within their community, a direct challenge to their own manhood. Martin related how crime had not only become a growing concern for the community in general, but it also impacted them directly.

“You see eksê (I say) bra, check (look) here, sometimes you see this gully (neighbourhood), there’s other ous (guys) that come in here from Chesterville, uMlazi. They come and rob ous (guys) here, they come with a cab. If you walking down the road about maybe ten or eleven in the night, by yourself, going somewhere; even if you with your crew and you’re drunk, they stop and they rob you. Plenty ous (guys) have got dalla’d (robbed) and there’s cabs that got hit down over here bra. So it’s not actually safe here, eksê (I say).” (Martin)

Martin, like most of his peers, was unemployed and without any source of income. Thus the threat of crime worsened an already challenged reality of limited means and movement. He illustrates how something as simple as walking in the road with his peers could quickly become an opportunity to be robbed or mugged. From the above statement, we realise that even some of the young men in the community do not feel safe. This is telling considering the fact that as unemployed young men they spend most of their time in their community, a challenge the participants were experience as they negotiate their daily life in Kenneth Gardens. Martin sees the violence being perpetrated here as specifically against him and his peers. He describes how “ous” (his peers) have been robbed while walking around (drunk) in the community at night. Martin articulated the general feeling of vulnerability as a young man, which he extended to the experiences of his peers who, as young men in the community, also did not feel safe. This suggests that the opportunity to experience violence and crime was more than just a threat; it

was a highly plausible reality for most of the young men. More importantly, Martin spoke about the experience of being robbed as if it was a direct challenge to his sense of being an “ou” - a man. According to Martin, the actions of men who are outsiders rendered some of the young men from within the community vulnerable. Lihle echoed the feeling of being vulnerable as he related an incident that he had experienced a few months earlier.

“You can get, like, crime la eduze (nearby). It’s (Kenneth Gardens) more vulnerable to crime, that’s what I think, because people from the township come around here to rob people because people from around here have more stuff, you know. It’s seen as more “urban” than the other places. I have been a victim. I was robbed, ngala ngaphezulu (over there, by the top). There’s a park right here by the top, I was there with a girl [laughs]. And then these two guys came up to me and just robbed us. I mean as a man you know you just feel bad, for your girlfriend to get robbed in front of you. They were carrying knives. There were two of them. There was nothing much I could do. I was vulnerable. I mean, I don’t carry knives. In that moment you want to protect the person you’re with, but I couldn’t. So we had to comply with whatever they wanted. We had to give them what they wanted because we could get stabbed for just a phone and 20 bucks, imali encane (small change).” (Lihle, 20)

Lihle’s experience reiterates the rhetoric about outsiders and crime that renders young men vulnerable. Not only did he have first-hand experience of being a victim, but he also elaborated on the frustration of not being able to react “as a man”, of not having any agency in that particular situation. In that situation he had no choice but to comply and relinquish that little which he had in his pockets because both himself and his partner were in immediate danger. What surfaces from Lihle’s comment is how emasculating it was to be vulnerable and to be a victim, as a man. His laugh as he recounted the incident belied a sense of frustration and sadness at his situation. “As a man”, Lihle had expectations of himself of being able to stand up to the perpetrators and protect his girlfriend. His sense of being a man was challenged in that moment and he was left unable to protect or assert his manhood. As he told this story, it seemed to take on the theme of so many other young men I had interacted with who had seen themselves as vulnerable and had been left unable to navigate their way through life, so to speak. Moyo (2009) suggests that such experiences exemplify structural violence because marginalized young men are further rendered powerless by the workings of social structures.

Lihle spoke of Kenneth Gardens as being perceived as ‘urban’ and the assumption that residents had more ‘stuff’ than the neighbouring townships. As he said this, he made the effort to make inverted commas with his fingers as if to emphasise the irony of such perceptions. According to Lihle, the crime in the area was due to Kenneth Gardens’ proximity to townships. He believed that it was the people from the townships who came into his community to rob

residents. It surfaced later that the incident was harder hitting than it might have appeared initially. While on the surface Lihle and his girlfriend were able to get away without being physically harmed, he was careful to mention losing his possessions. Such experiences cut even deeper for him as a young man who had very little (small change) in his pockets to begin with. Being mugged seemed to reinforce Lihle's frustrations about his unemployment and his financial situation. Essentially, not only did being unemployed and poor chip at his sense of being a man, the experience of being mugged and admitting to this vulnerability eroded any sense of confidence he might have had in being a man. The challenge to his ability to protect his girlfriend and himself also challenged his identity as a man. Witnessing crime, or being victims of it, intensified the young men's experiences of poverty. On a separate occasion, Nkosi's response also supported Lihle's observations as he also noted a rising amount of crime in the area.

"I don't have a problem with living here, other than the fact that there is high rate of unemployment, yah, so it makes crime. The disadvantages (of living here) is the increasing rate of crime. It's something I have seen happen (first hand). People become vulnerable to crime. Cars get stolen and people get mugged and the lack of money [in the area]. First of all [there's no] security. Just to fence around and have designated gates, so that people have to either swipe or buzz at the gate." (Nkosi)

Nkosi's concern about crime suggests that it is an issue that he, as a young man, cannot overlook. In his view, and in agreement with elements of Lihle's response, the level of crime seemed to be on the rise in the area. Like Martin and Lihle, the idea of vulnerability was also strong in his narrative. Nkosi drew a clear link between unemployment and the increasing levels of crime in the area. This was to say not only was unemployment directly affecting their immediate material needs, it was also, in another way, indirectly increasing crime in the area to the level that he had witnessed first-hand. He made specific mention of cars that have been stolen as well as people who have been mugged in the community. For him these incidents also brought into focus their limited ability to protect themselves because of the limited resources they have at their disposal. Here Nkosi not only considers the reality of living in a 'poor' community, but links living in such a community to being a man in such a community. Being a man in such a community comes with the challenge of being vulnerable to crime, which essentially challenges the notion of the invulnerable male who is always able to protect himself. Siya's experience of almost being mugged links with what Nkosi and the other young men have touched on above.

“Eish, crime. There is a lot of crime here and we are not safe [pointing at himself]. Like last month, I was walking from here to KFC and chatting on my phone. It was in the evening and empty, there wasn’t anyone on the street. And then suddenly these two guys appear and tried to mug me [stands up, re-enacts scenario]. Luckily, about ten guys were walking in my direction, I think they were students walking to campus. So that saved me. But what we know is that it is usually guys who come from outside to start mischief here. Another frustrating thing is that the cops around here don’t do their work.” (Siya)

As Siya’s experience illustrates, the threat of crime is a growing concern among the young men in Kenneth Gardens. I came to realise most of the participants had either a harsh personal experience or an incident that had befallen a fellow community youth. As Siya and the other participants have highlighted, crime in the area has threatened more than just their collective sense of safety. It has been interpreted as a direct challenge to their masculinity, their sense of being men, as not only are they unemployed and living in poverty, but their state of want is compounded by the ever-present threat of being mugged or robbed. It is important to note this perspective as it has bearing on how the participants navigated their neighbourhood and spaces beyond. Beyond their socioeconomic marginality, the perceived vulnerability of the participants also had implications for how they react to other men, particularly those that they perceive as ‘outsiders’. We thus see evidence of masculinities that most of the participants themselves recognise as unlike theirs, lived out and enacted in the townships. At some point in the interview Siya stood up to demonstrate his experience and how he was immobilised as his assailants searched his pockets. His experience symbolises the broader experiences of his peers in the community. For that moment, he was trapped in an undesired position, vulnerable and unable to affect his own circumstances.

4.2.2. Violence and Crime among the Young Men

“It’s either we getting dalla’d (robbed) or we dalla (rob) and vie (go) mad! There’s been parrows (brawls) over here, too many and shoot outs! Sometimes you pak (sit) in your pozie (house) and you hear someone shouting and to us it’s like ‘it’s the weekend’.” (Mandla)

During my time in the field the young men would use a term that was not immediately familiar to me. After noticing the term being mentioned on several conversations, I asked two of the participants what the term meant. The participants explained that this was a word the young men only used among themselves, that made sense only in their context, like a standing joke. The young men used the term *mfoloka* which was code for ‘relieving’ someone of their possessions. Mandla had jokingly described how he had witnessed his friend “*mfoloka*”

another young man just a few weeks earlier. He described how this was as a display of power, a way for his friend to prove his manhood. To ‘*mfoloka* someone’ meant appropriating power, establishing a hierarchy and not being perceived as weak.

In the context of these young men from Kenneth Gardens, it was also about proving themselves as ‘street smart’. Another word, used interchangeably with “*mfoloka*” was *dalla*. To ‘*dalla*’ in the Kenneth Gardens context meant to rob someone or cause harm to someone. This meant that they could not be taken advantage of and also demonstrated that they could defend themselves if the need arose. More than anything, it was also a way for them to have money and other material things they wanted, most of which was a phone. The adoption of a term for such a deed signalled a normalisation of violence among the young men. The person who had become their victim would be laughed at for being *ibhari*. The term *ibhari* is an old slang term meaning someone who is lousy and is the antithesis of hegemonic masculinity in that context (Mfecane, 2011). It was used by the young men in this context to signal someone who they did not see as street smart and thus not deserving of their respect.

“I can tell you one thing, this guy is not scared of nothing. He’s fought with kerrels (cops)! He’s fought with umlazi ous (guys), kwamashu ous and Claremont ous!”(Noah)

Collectively the young men in my study, and by extension of Kenneth Gardens, had a mutual respect for each other. In this way the young men were co-constructing ways of being men through demonstrating violence. The presence of ‘outsiders’ was perceived as a direct challenge to their manhood, thus they would pre-emptively attack. Such a process imbued the enacted masculinities with qualities such as being reactive, meeting violence with violence, being fearless and challenging authority. Thus, a real man was actively being constructed as the person who would take advantage of the *ibhari*. They would only *mfoloka* or clash with other young men from outside, not those they knew to live within the community. I then also came to understand that while some of the young men were trying to protect themselves, their families and their peers, criminal elements were also emerging in the narratives of some young men. In a conversation with Lihle, he mentioned that some of the young men from Kenneth Gardens had begun to rob people when it became dark. Since the young men from the community were known to most people within, the only other option was to go where they would not be recognised, which in this case was the neighbouring suburbs. Lihle also mentioned that this has been met with some resistance from people in the more affluent Glenwood. He explains below:

“But then nobody from around here robs us, but there are criminals from these flats. But we know them. You can’t rob people that you live with, because they know where you live. So it’s okay. I think crime is basically people trying to get money for whatever they using, like drugs for an instance.” (Lihle)

Lihle, in his observation, relates the criminal activity that the young men from the community are involved in to their substance abuse. His statement suggests that the fundamental reason why the young men would even consider criminal activity is because of their need for narcotics which their families would not fund. He later also made an observation that the rest of the community had such little faith in the police and the legal system. However, more than anything, the fact that the residents knew who the criminals were and where they lived meant that they could complain about the young men to their families. There is also a sense that with growing up in Kenneth Gardens, there is a certain code among the young men as to what they can and cannot do – stealing from the community being one of those things. My interaction with the women from the soup kitchen also supported the suggestion that young men from the community were involved in illicit behaviour.

I began volunteering at a soup kitchen which is based in Kenneth Gardens in March 2013, the second month into my fieldwork. The soup kitchen was located in the same block as the local clinic in a small building at the centre of the flat complex. Both were busiest on Wednesdays, with the soup kitchen dishing out food between 11am – 1pm on Wednesdays. At the soup kitchen, meals were prepared by three elderly women who lived in Kenneth Gardens named Thobile, Rachel and Zonke⁴, two of whom had since retired, while one was a ‘housewife’. The women were helpful in orienting me to the area and I also benefitted from their ‘sharing sessions’ as I was able to pick up on the pertinent issues in the area. Of course, crime, violence and drugs featured prominently in their conversations when discussing the young men from the area. For the women, the behaviours of the young men from the area are troubling. Since they lived with their grandsons, they worried about the ‘negative influences’ from the other young men. Lihle was Thobile’s grandson and Lance was Rachel’s grandson, while Zonke’s grandson was much younger.

As we were cleaning up two hours later, after the service, Zonke had an interesting response for why they had started the soup kitchen in the first place: *“we do it to help...to lower the crime in this area. We believe that when people are full they will not do bad things.”* It was

¹ Not their real names.

interesting that for the women drug use and crime are seen as directly related to hunger. They too, had noted the rising rate of crime in the area. My interaction with them helped to give another perspective into how young men are perceived in the community. Zonke's statement supported Lihle's observation that they know who the criminals are. The women spoke about how crime and drug abuse among the young men was an escalating problem in the area. Thus, for them these "bad things" that the young men in the community were getting up to were not just distant behaviours, they also represented their fears of what their own children and grandchildren might become involved in if they did not do something. Consequently, some of the participants frequented the soup kitchen. I encountered most of them coming to dish up.

The young men demonstrated (and experienced) violence which was not only about protecting themselves or their community. It seemed to dovetail with other concerns of not having money, of needing to prove oneself to the rest of the group and to demonstrating ones power. What I noticed is that all of these activities that the young men engaged in were almost always done in the context of a group. The display of power and aggression in the context of a group is thus a way of asserting oneself. One could view this coalescing, arranging and posturing as the process of fabricating a masculinity that the young men recognised as legitimate in that setting. In the group setting the young men began to explore new ways of establishing and exerting their authority. Within this space, with the limited resources they had, they fashioned a masculine identity that was further legitimised by their collective existence and behaviours.

The rejection of outsiders also seems to be a way for the young men to prove themselves and their masculinity to the men from the township. Often, the view that became salient throughout our interactions is that the young men from Kenneth Gardens felt that they were perceived as weak because they live in the 'suburbs' and speak English. The other young men from the surrounding townships, they felt, viewed them as privileged and protected. This is why they often had to prove that they too are tough and cannot easily be taken advantage of. Noah's statement paints a vivid picture of the behaviours that exist among young men in Kenneth Gardens:

"Say you come here on a weekend, you gonna get robbed or something, and no one knows you and most everyone is dronk (drunk). During the week it's quiet, cos they just smoking zol (marijuana), shova'ring (gambling) and robbing people for the mucha (money) for the weekend. You'll check after like seven or eight o'clock, you won't see people walking on the road." (Noah)

Increasingly, I began to notice statements like the one made by Noah above. From the young men's daily conversations and interactions it became evident that the social relationships that the young men have cultivated with each other centre on violence. Walker (2005) suggests that among young men respect is often exacted through violence. Unlike the instances where it had been outsiders who were to be blamed for crime and violence within the community, the young men from within the community began to blur the legal-illegal line in their expression of violence. With the increased interference from outside, so too were the young men from within the community becoming bolder in their aggression and violence. In other instances the violence became a means to a material end for the young men who are often without an income. This is also in line with the masculine virtue of being seen as having an income. Thus fulfilling this virtue means being respected among one's peers. Therefore they do this through increased demonstrations of violence and force against other young men they perceive as from outside the community or those they see as weak within the community. On the weekends the other local young men who worked, and thus had money, would also be around. In most instances they would be the ones to fund the drinking and the smoking for the weekend. Also, the other young men saw the gambling as way of siphoning some money off of their peers. Based on my observations in the field and on what Martin is suggesting above, on weekends it was common for most of the young men to be intoxicated as part of their social process. This is also in line with the suggestion that among men in South Africa substance use can be seen as a virtue of masculinity (Mfecane 2011), especially among young men.

The behaviour of the young men on weekends illustrates how the practice of robbing, drinking and smoking "zol" is in fact a "gendered social practice" which is shaped by social dynamics and in turn shapes masculine identities (Tersbøl, 2006:405). The 'publicness' of the drinking, of the gambling and of robbing of people eventually came to be seen among the young men as typical behaviour. This development thus shapes how they construct and express their masculinities while the behaviour informs their social expectations of each other and other young men. Even the manner in which this behaviour is reported is very matter-of-fact, without much consideration or regard of the illegality of using substances such as marijuana. This is the process of collective construction which most of the young men within Kenneth Gardens get drawn into.

4.2.3. The Emergence of ‘Violent Masculinities’ within the Community

A dominant feature of violence in South Africa is the disproportionate role of young men as both perpetrators and victims (Seedat et al. 2009). Elements of such a reality became more evident as I engaged with the participants. Often their conversations would touch on fighting, hitting and being hit by other young men or their peers. In fact, several soccer matches, which were quite frequent, ended in brawls between the young men. Of course from my perspective, especially with the lens I was engaging, most of the young men’s behaviours were violent or at the very least aggressive. However, in seeking to present a situated perspective of the young men’s life worlds, it was important for me to understand how they perceived violence in their daily lives.

You fight, it’s a boy thing and you leave it at that. You shake his hand the next day, get it over with. There’s no stabbing and killing or shooting or whatever. Some people think it’s the Wild West here, nope. If I have a problem with you it will boil over then we’ll sort it out and from there it’s finished. It moves on. (Lance)

For most of the young men, the fact that they are unemployed and are also without most of what may be considered as the typical legitimising aspects of their respective identities, they turn to physical violence as a marker of masculinity (Moyo, 2008). As a result there is an emergence of violent acts among the young men. While most of this behaviour is directed towards ‘outsiders’ (other men from outside the community), it did in some instances occur among the young men themselves. The emergence of violence can be regarded as a reaction to the emasculating daily realities (in particular, their vulnerability to crime) that the young men are constantly faced with. As opposed to the experiences recounted in the previous section, where the young men spoke of being victims and how those incidents impacted them, the young men also spoke about how they began to react to these experiences. They began to exercise a sense of agency despite the circumstances they found themselves in. While interacting with the young men in the field, they recounted an incident that had occurred, which involved Peter and another young man from within the community. Although this excerpt is not about Peter per se, it illustrates how the young men began to rally around the issue of crime and victimisation in the community and began to confront such situations with the threat of (and in some incidents with actual) violence.

“[Peter] stays there [pointing to the flat], but you don’t see him. You see, like me, I never get robbed in this place I guarantee that! You see that bra there, he’s more the larnie (fancy/boss/with money) type, he doesn’t walk – he stays in the house - if he doesn’t use a car, he stays in the pozie (house). If he’s going somewhere he jumps in

the car and moves. So he came around here looking for weed and apparently no one was around here, even at the gates no one was here. I was on the top with other guys and he walked past us and greeted all of us. Next minute we saw him running back up holding his pockets, he had his (Samsung) S3 and his Blackberry on him. The ous (guys) saw the phone sticking out his pockets and tried to grab it. Peter bamba'd (held) his hand and they attacked him, jeans tore, they ran with his phones. But if we were there, bru! After that, when any ous (guys) we didn't know who came here we stopped them [and asked them] 'who [are] you?'" (Trevor)

Peter, according to the participants, was accosted by a group of men who seemed to be loitering on the road. Although Peter was known to Trevor and the other local young men who were present that day, he was not a regular face among his peers. According to Trevor, this was dangerous because the other young men could take advantage of him. One of the reasons why Peter was taken advantage of, Trevor suggests, is because nobody knew him – he was not as familiar with his peers as he should have been. As a result, the observation is that Peter led a relatively sheltered existence (that of a *larnie*) which distanced him from the realities of the area he lived in. Based on Trevor's assertions, Peter was robbed because he was a '*larnie*' who was not street smart enough to protect himself. He, on the other hand, considered himself to be street smart and was thus of the opinion that it would not have happened to him. He believed that he was visible, people saw him often, which is an important part of being a young man in Kenneth Gardens. Although Peter was living in Kenneth Gardens he had maintained a distance between himself and those who live in his neighbourhood. This perception of Peter was influenced by the material possessions that the other young men perceived him to have. Further setting him apart from the other young men in the community was that he had a job, he had a car and (as described above) could afford high end goods.

The way that Trevor discussed the incident suggested that it was reckless of Peter to flaunt his items in a neighbourhood where he knew there was crime, where he knew that the young men from there were not so well off. This was also an implicit suggestion that Peter was distanced from his peers. Peter's '*larnie-ness*' is thus perceived as having facilitated his vulnerability. As a result Peter is seen as possessing a deficient masculinity that is weak and vulnerable in comparison. So the collective turn towards violence is seen as the rejection of a deficient masculinity. As the other young men I was sitting with were nodding and exclaiming in agreement, it was clear that what Noah was explaining was something they all believed in: *larnies* who stayed indoors were vulnerable to crime because they were not street smart and did not know how to protect themselves. The young men suggested that since Peter was a *larnie* – which in this context can be understood to mean someone who is fancy and has money in

comparison to the other young men – he was insulated from the life they lived, and was hence moving from the house to the car. At the same time the young men also suggested that the insulation lulled Peter into a false sense of security, which in the long run made him an easy target for criminals.

“I was gonna tell you another thing about another gullie (neighbourhood) down over there. You see when you go down, you know that flat Flamingo? When you go there sometimes the ous they attack you, you check (see)? Like maybe they parrow (fight) with you or something, you check (see)? No ous will tune (talk) cos they’ll think you coming to report for the kerels (cops).” (Lance)

It is worth mentioning that Kenneth Gardens’ geographical location is such that people walking from the neighbouring townships to town or Umbilo are likely to walk through Kenneth Gardens. The young men had thus developed a strong sense of suspicion which was apparent in the earlier stages of my fieldwork as I was trying to establish rapport. I constantly had to explain why I was in the field and why I wanted to speak to them specifically. It was clear at this stage that the young men found the presence of outsiders (especially male outsiders) to be exposing and perhaps threatening to some extent. This is why outside male presence came to be met with much animosity. The narration about Peter’s experience brings into focus the immense distrust of outsiders and the effect that being victims of crime has had on the young men in Kenneth Gardens. This has also resulted in young men from the neighbouring blocks adopting a similar sense of distrust and dislike of outsiders. We also see in this instance that the young men use violence as a means of control and retribution. Of course, this has also (without much surprise) caused some of the young men to become entangled in the crosshairs of the justice system. Some of the participants often admitted to committing acts of violence against others which pitted them against the law.

He knocked another mums over here on purpose, she is an old gogo (granny). She was walking with her packets, he’s telling her to move, I think he was having a bad day or something, and he knocked her packets. She came back and she told us, the guys were sitting over there smoking. As darkies (African) you supposed to have respect for the mama. Me I won’t lie, all the mamas I call them ma, they all know me. Even the last time we stopped the taxi, fucked the driver up, took all his mucha (money) he was sleeping on the road. Next day he woke up and he was fucked up. (Xola)

There is a strange sense of vigilantism in the young men’s violence. It is almost as if they are doing this to protect themselves, their families and the community while at the same time using the power they have at their disposal – their masculinity. Once again, they are exercising agency with the options they have before them. The above excerpt illustrates that some young men were governed by a code which did not condone violence against certain categories of

people – in this case against an elderly women. However, the manner in which the young men dealt with the taxi driver was through physical violence as punishment for knocking over an elderly woman – someone they perceived as defenceless in that situation. Culture was also interpolated as the reason for this reaction. As a ‘darkie’ (African) the young man believed that he should show respect for his elders, something that they taxi driver should also have done. So with the other young men from Kenneth Gardens, they enacted their own sense of justice through violence, which they felt was justified. However, they went beyond punishment and took the driver’s money. Two things can be gleaned from this: their need for money as unemployed young men and the criminality of their violent actions.

Mandla, one of the participants, shared a similar experience as a result of his frustration with where his life was at the time of the study:

“As a dude you have to hustle, you can’t always wait for hand-outs so even sometimes I buy bread to take home even though they know I don’t work, and that makes me happy”. (Mandla)

When we were having this conversation, it had been almost two months since I had seen Mandla in the field. His absence was immediately apparent because he was always visible in the community. In one instance, I had enquired about his whereabouts and one of the young men had explained that he sometimes went to visit family in rural KwaZulu-Natal. I thought nothing of it. I would then eventually bump into Mandla as I was going into the field on my way to the soup kitchen. We chatted briefly and I asked him where he had been and he said *“beng’sahlanganisa outie yam”* (I was still hustling my bra) and then very swiftly diverted into conversation about an Arsenal game that had taken place the day night before. After my service at the soup kitchen I went to join the young men under the tree and Mandla was conspicuously absent. About an hour later Mandla appeared and everyone cheered and Mandla’s response was, *“ngibuyile zinja zam!”* (I’m back, my boys) as he shook everyone’s hand. He then launched into conversation explaining that he had been arrested. This was not news to the rest of the group. *“Bafethu bathi ngintshontshile!”* (dudes, they said I stole something) and the whole group laughed. Mandla had been caught with a stolen phone. I remembered that apart from selling marijuana, he had offered on several occasions to sell me a new mobile phone because my Blackberry phone was ‘out of fashion’. He mentioned that he could get any phone I wanted, and that he could also unlock blocked phones. He himself carried a touchscreen Blackberry handset (one of the priciest) despite his piece jobs. This was not the

first time he had been arrested, but he had managed to get help from his family and the whole matter was ‘sorted out’.

While on the surface the violence was interpersonal, as the young men were themselves exerting violence on others, at a deeper level their actions were due to the effects of structural violence. Effectively, the young men found themselves lodged within the broader social matrix and their violence was a reaction to this as they were finding ways to enact their masculinities. The young men were at stages of their lives where they expected themselves to have either realised their identities or at least be well on their way to doing so.

4.2.4. The Presence and Duality of Crime in Kenneth Gardens

The above incidents exemplify that the young men were both victims and perpetrators of crime within and around the community. This was a reaction to continued victimisation of some of the young men and other community members by ‘outsiders’ from neighbouring townships. In addition to this, being vulnerable to such experiences was also seen as emasculating by the young men in the community. This is the lens through which criminal activity finds legitimacy in their daily lives – it becomes a survival strategy where as men they placed importance in defending themselves and “fighting back”. Male bravado and macho-ness was invoked in order for them to become victims. Overall, the collective reaction to the perceived dangers resulted in typically masculine responses that were oppositional to the crime they and the community had experienced. However, what this also did was to establish violence and criminality as features of their masculine identity.

4.3. Pathways to Drug Use among the Young Men

In the previous chapter we were able to capture how unemployment was experienced by the young men as poverty. I realised that when combined with the other social dynamics, poverty could become a pathway to other behaviours among the young men. Being without an income resulted in feelings of frustration which increased the vulnerability of the young men to substance use. Such feelings are recognised by Fourie (2004) as emasculation (cited in Moyo, 2008). These feelings can thus lead to destructive behaviour such as abuse of substance and violence in a bid to reinforce manhood (Moyo, 2008).

“So, at the beginning it was money but then I learnt that a job is needed, especially staying here. If you don’t get something, you can become self-destructive.” (Japhan)

I was interested in probing the outlook of the young men regarding their own circumstances and the extent to which their lives have been impacted by the presence of poverty in their community. I thus explored their perceptions of daily life as influenced by factors that they felt were significant in their lives. The objective of this line of enquiry was to find out and articulate in their own words the impact of poverty in the lives of the young men. Poverty was enmeshed with daily experiences and activities that young men engaged in. Often, the young men struggled to find constructive/alternative means to occupy themselves with the very little resources they had at their disposal. The fact that they were out of work exaggerated their sense and perception of scarcity. Most of the young men in the study described themselves ‘sitting at home’ with very little to do. Not being able to afford alternatives meant that their own mobility was limited and this influenced their outlook.

The first time I met Trevor, Martin and Noah I had found them in the company of other young men sitting around and smoking *marijuana* under the tree. Among the young men of Kenneth Gardens this was commonplace. While hanging out with these young men, it surfaced that they recognised their circumstances as undesirable. The situations they found themselves in did little to alleviate these feelings; they were not employed and considered themselves to have very limited life prospects. There was also frustration with the pace at which life was moving for them. As a result the participants expressed feeling trapped by not having alternative solutions to their current realities. The young men expressed the following responses:

Trevor: Ei you see this gulley (neighbourhood) over here? This gulley has talent but nobody knows where to put it, you check (see)? There’s one, two ous (guys) who sit over here, you see if you come over here in the night time, you’ll see them full over there. There’s ous over here who can play soccer, better than... yo! There ous that can beat-box, ous that can dance.

Noah: There’s ous that can rap over here, bra!

Martin: Ya, ous who can rap...you see these ous on the top over here? They got their own rapping thing, I think you’ve heard of GroupX there by Gateway? That’s their thing over there... those ous are doing things! And the other ous they just sit over here smoking zol doing their own thing, they not even worried!

The above comments are rather telling of the elements that feature in the daily lives of young men in Kenneth Gardens. More importantly the above extracts highlight the sentiments of young men about their realities and the challenges that they face while living in this particular space. The extracts from the three young men, in this instance, provide a glimpse on the interaction of the youth with their immediate environments as well as with each other. This

seems to replay a widespread dilemma faced by youth without jobs and without options, across the country. The young men describe how life can be uneventful for young people in Kenneth Gardens and illustrate how frustrations can set in when, despite demonstrating considerable skill and talent, employment remains unreachable. Some of the young men had taken to starting music bands as a means to develop their own talent, however, they often became discouraged by the shortage of avenues they could explore for assistance and support. Invoking slang, the young men highlighted the fact that despite the valuable traits of some young men in the community, they still struggled to make any positive progress and were thus faced with the same realities every day.

4.4. How Drugs Shape the Lives of the Young Men

According to Barker and Ricardo (2005:27), young men often describe drugs and alcohol as giving them the courage to do the things required of them to be seen as men. Part of understanding the young men's realities was to also explore their interests and ways in which they socialised beyond just being the community. Often conversations on Mondays would be determined by the events of the weekend. I consider here some of the recurring trends I observed among the young men while I was in the field. As mentioned in the previous section, substance use was a prominent feature of the behaviours observed. It was common to pass young men huddled in the unused buildings in the area crushing *marijuana*. To an outsider, this was not immediately apparent. However, with time in the field and as my rapport developed with the young men, I realised that it was a significant motif of daily reality. I also noted that, over time, the young men became comfortable enough to prepare the *marijuana* in front of me. Recreational drugs such as marijuana are synonymous with poverty and urban spaces (Swartz and Scott, 2013); they are easily affordable and can be procured daily.

Quite often the almost ritualistic crushing, rolling and smoking of *inkantina*⁵ by young men was commonplace. The smoking of *inkantina* is a frequent feature of daily conversation sessions as the young men convened at the usual spots. The young men of Kenneth Gardens pool resources and collectively contribute in order for all those who want to partake to be able to do so. Since most of the participants are unemployed, they would frequently ask for 'small

⁵ *Inkantina* is the colloquial term the young men used for marijuana. The different names that the young men used for marijuana denoted a familiarity with the substance. Other terms that the young men would use were *zol* and *weed*, but *inkantina* was the more common term used by most of the participants.

change' from their family members or borrow money from others to purchase the materials required. What was needed included marijuana, tobacco and a special rolling paper called *Rizla*. The product would then be passed around in the group, with the smokers having a puff and passing it on to the next person. Possibly, because of the costs involved, this was a highly social process.

Comments made by Martin and Noah can be interpolated again to illustrate the pervasive nature of drug use and its close association with the young men in Kenneth Gardens. While on the one hand the comment can be considered as illustrating apathy among the young men, after continued engagement with them I realised that the apathy belied a deeper sense of frustration. The young men also found a sense of escape through the daily rituals and processes, which were heavily punctuated by the use and selling of substances.

"During the week it's quiet, cos they just smoking zol (marijuana), shova'ring (gambling) and robbing people for the mucha (money) for the weekend." (Noah)

"Those ous (guys) are doing things! And the other ous (guys) they just sit over here [pointing at the floor], smoking zol (marijuana) and doing their own thing. They not even worried!" (Martin)

I eventually realised that while smoking *marijuana* was a common feature of weekend socialising, *marijuana* was as much common feature of everyday life. What was significant was when and how it was consumed. Observations around this process revealed that smoking *marijuana* became incorporated into the fabric of local masculinities. The young men in their daily interactions normalised and adopted the substance into their lives.

"I hate just 'sitting around', dude! Sometimes I feel like going away for a bit. It's even worse when you couldn't do anything on the weekend. I'll be back in time to see the others guys later...to smoke with the guys." (Xola)

On several occasions in the early stages of my fieldwork, I would arrive at around nine in the morning on a Monday. My expectation was to find the young men huddled somewhere under a cloud of smoke discussing what had transpired over the weekend. It took Xola to spell it out to me one morning as he was on his way to town. He did not live in the main complex of Kenneth Gardens and I happened to meet him as he was leaving. I offered to accompany him to the bus stop where he would wait for a taxi. During our conversation, he explained that most of the young men were at Kenneth Gardens, that they would probably still be recovering from the weekend. This was not the case for him and that's why he was so eager to get a change of scenery. What Xola was referring to in this instance was his experience of being unemployed,

which he described as just ‘sitting at home’. He found it exceptionally restrictive that he was not working and this shortfall was felt mostly over the weekend when he would go and socialise with friends. As a result, he was quite upbeat about being able to go to town even though it was to run errands for his aunt. For him this was an opportunity to run his own errands, like to see his girlfriend who worked in town. He clearly meant to maximise the opportunity, then return to Kenneth Gardens in time for their smoking sessions.

The myriad of experiences that the lines and binaries of having achieved manhood or not, of being violent or not, of being a criminal or not, are not clear cut at Kenneth Gardens. The young men’s lives and the activities they engage in on a daily basis are shaped and influenced by the opportunities and resources that they have at their disposal. However, smoking *marijuana* is not only about making use of available resources, it is simultaneously a response to their daily realities, and at the same time, it shapes their masculinities by making the use (and sometimes the selling) of *marijuana* a feature of the construction of local masculinities. The concept of structural violence helps us understand that it is not only their individual actions that have resulted in their current situations, but rather it is the inability to engage with the broader structures that have also created a situation in which the young men are unable to productively engage with society. As Farmer (1996) suggests, structural violence is often very difficult to see. Their respective levels of education, the availability or unavailability of resources influence whether the young men are able to generate income and thus improve personal circumstances. When young men are unable to achieve their goals or aspirations as a result of broader structures, they are effectively rendered hopeless. The frustration and the apathy is thus evidence of structural violence. This shapes outlook and personal agency in the long run. The challenges that the young men experience and encounter are the consequence of human agency, particularly their ability to negotiate their circumstances in the context of economic marginality.

4.5. Drug Culture and Young Masculinities

Mandla is what the other young men refer to as *u-meshent* (the merchant) which is a dealer or trader of the substances that most of the young men use. His main products, however, include cigarettes and marijuana. Mandla sells the cigarettes per piece (or ‘loose’, as the young men call it) and the *marijuana* is packaged in tiny transparent sealable bags. At any given time, he does not keep the *marijuana* on him; it is always stashed away somewhere close by and he can

easily retrieve it as his customers place orders. The demand for *inkantina* is quite high among the youth that live in and around Kenneth Gardens, and in the duration of my fieldwork I realised that it was a lucrative informal trade because of the high demand.

Mandla is a friendly and cheerful 24 year old male. I was very interested learning how this young man, who was evidently street smart and resourceful, came to sell *marijuana* considering its status in terms of the law. Understandably, he was not open to sharing anything about his business initially; however with time I got learn more about his experiences and about his life in Kenneth Gardens. Mandla had gone as far as matric in high school, however he did not pass. Following that, and with the situation that he had found himself in that point in his life he began doing “*piece jobs here and there, but in the Morningside area*”.

The most significant barriers to his education include the fact that Mandla became a father when he was in grade 12. At the time of the study, he had two sons, with the first one aged four years old and the other two years. He discussed that he feels as if he never really contributed to his first child’s life, both of whom do not live in Kenneth Gardens. He explained that he had blatantly denied having anything to do with the child’s mother and it was his family that had to take the responsibility for his son. He felt that he was too young and just was not ready for a child at that particular stage. With his second child, he explained that he ‘owned up’ and it was only then that he experienced fatherhood – especially the responsibilities that came with it. He presently lives with his mother, his mother’s younger sister and younger cousins, and he often feels that as the eldest male he should help out in the house.

Mandla’s story is an illustration of the frustrations that young men contend with on a daily basis in Kenneth Gardens. However, whereas in most instances young men do not have, or are unable to exercise agency within their circumstances, Mandla attempts with the limited (and questionable) resources at his disposal to make the most of his situation. As a result Mandla has created a business by supplying the demand for the very resources that they, as young men within and around the community, use regularly (namely *inkantina*, *Rizla* and cigarettes). I realised that in doing this Mandla was demonstrating a degree agency despite his limited access to resources and was also part of the production of new masculinities which like the normative ideas around masculinity require the male person to be the provider who actively seeks to affect his own circumstances as well as those of his family. Mandla was not the only ‘merchant’ I met in the field. Xola was also *u-meshent*, but he sold ecstasy, which was a party drug that the young men also liked to take when they went clubbing or partying. On several occasions, as

we would sit in a circle, with one of the young men playing music on his phone, they would recall and discuss different experiences or instances in which they had had fun as a group. They would rename details and recall the song that had been their favourite at that particular event and, often, this involved the taking or administering of the drug ecstasy. The terms *umgwinyo* and *ukuqhafa*⁶ described the process of taking ecstasy. More precisely, these are colloquial terms they use for the drug ecstasy.

Xola was often the rabble-rouser among the young men. He was street smart and liked to look the part. Like Mandla, he was a constant presence in the community, especially among his peers. He would often be seated such that he was the focal point of the conversations, often getting up and gesturing when the soccer rivalries came up – which was often. He is someone all the young men in the community knew. He would always be busy with crushing his *marijuana* as he mused over whatever topic the young men were discussing at that time. I noticed that he would often prepare enough for the group to partake in and later be passed around to all who were there.

“I have my own clients, I don’t just sell to anybody. You have to watch out! This is money, I don’t mess around when it comes to my money.” (Xola)

This clientele, Xola established, consisted of people from Kenneth Gardens and people from outside. Often he spoke of how he had clients from the local university and in town that he would regularly make deliveries to. While for Xola and Mandla, selling these substances had become a way to supplement their respective incomes, it was also a way of connecting with their peers. Essentially, they have been able to monetise what was already in demand among their peers. This attests to the necessity (but also insight) created by living in poverty for the young men. For the young men of Kenneth Gardens, the need to survive often became entwined with the individual and collective process of constructing a sense of manhood. Being perceived as resourceful was important to them.

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter explored how the social factors prevalent in Kenneth Gardens impact the lives of young men. The narratives of the participants show evidence of a ‘drug culture’ among the

⁶ Increasingly as I continued to interact with the young men, especially in their recreational spaces, I came across these terms. I thought that this denoted their familiarity with the drug and perhaps its wide availability.

young men. Substances such as alcohol, *marijuana* and ecstasy were constantly mentioned and administered in recreational spaces. Beyond this, items such as cigarettes and *marijuana* feature daily in the field as the participants ‘hang out’ in the park and on the streets. It is also significant to mention that the constant reference to terms such as *inkantina* (*marijuana*) and *umgwinyo/ukuqhafa* (ecstasy) demonstrates the popularity and familiarity of these substances among the young men. The use of these illegal substances, however, made the participants unpopular in the community, which further facilitated their marginality in daily life. Essentially, young masculinities among these young men are about living on the outskirts of the economy, of the community and of the law.

Mfecane (2011) has suggested that substance use among men can become a significant social marker of manhood. The poverty experienced by the participants certainly had a role in the kind of masculinities enacted within the community. While, in this instance, the use of substance is seen as a way of reifying their manhood, the poverty and unemployment experienced by the participants poses greater challenges in the long run. The practices of robbing, drinking and smoking “*zol*” represent a “gendered social practice” which is shaped by and, in turn, impacts social dynamics (Tersbøl, 2006:405).

This chapter thus explored how social dynamics in Kenneth Gardens shaped young masculinities. As a result of the social factors prevalent in Kenneth Gardens, there exists the emergence of what may be identified as ‘impoverished masculinities’, which is a reaction to their social and economic marginality. While there is evidence of the young men becoming victims of crime, there is also evidence of ‘violent masculinities’ among the participants. Beyond the experiences of being victims of crime, these violent masculinities can be understood in the context of this study as a means of enacting masculinities that are reactive in order to assert their agency. Further to this, among the young men of Kenneth Gardens, their own marginality makes them wary of other young men that they perceived as “outsiders”. The continued victimisation by ‘outsiders’ results in them being wary of any strangers coming into the community.

CHAPTER FIVE: WOMEN AND THE ENACTMENT OF MASCULINITIES

5.1. Introduction

Morrell and colleagues (2012) have criticised how academic work has focused primarily on relations between men, often to the neglect of relations with women, while paradoxically acknowledging the power that men still wield over women. In South Africa, we are constantly reminded of this power by the daily experiences of violence that women endure at the hands of men. However, very little consideration has gone into exploring how the identities constructed and enacted by young men are influenced by other social and structural factors which impact the individual. The urban context introduces so many structural ‘forces’ that may seem to be pulling in various directions. In the light of these forces I consider the concept of “brittle masculinities” as introduced by Morrell (2001:18). In relating to this concept Morrell observed that the history of South Africa has produced masculinities that are increasingly “defensive and prone to violence” (2001: 18).

This chapter considers the presence of women in the lives of the young men who were involved in the study, whose lived realities are punctuated by various social and economic vulnerabilities. Namely, the chapter delves into the narratives and experiences of the young men to reveal how they interact with women and how these interactions are shaped by local ideas and enactments of masculinities. Conversations about encounters with women were legion among the participants, which prompted the author to consider how these experiences are impacted by the young men’s own material realities. If, as Connell (2002) has suggested, gender and the associated enactments are a way in which social practices are ordered, it thus follows that the encounters and enactments observed among the young men are more symbolic and can offer deeper insight into the constructions of masculinity among young men. This line of enquiry is relevant considering that social scripts and expectations are for males to engage in sexual activity as evidence of maturation (Nyanzi, Nyazi-Wakholi and Kalina, 2009). According to Redpath and colleagues (2008), normative constructions of successful masculinity in South Africa are predicated in many ways on notions of sexual desirability and success with women. This also includes the enduring/growing need to dominate women and fulfil the role of provider (see Silberschmidt, 2001; Strebel et al., 2006). In instances where these roles cannot be fulfilled, owing primarily to socioeconomic challenges, research has also show a rise in the exaggerated performances of masculinity among men (Silberschmidt, 2001;

Tersbøl, 2006; Mfecane, 2011). This chapter presents the perspectives of women that are inherent in the men's own narratives.

5.2. Young Men's Narratives about Women

Men are often expected to appropriate and assert power through assuming the provider role in society (Aboim 2009). These expectations inform the social and internal scripts that men have to live by and live up to. Furthermore, these 'scripts' further frame the young men's expectations and perceptions of women. Conversations among the participants often revealed how they either experienced or felt about the power dynamics between themselves and women. This was at times pitted against the need to achieve social status and other related advantages among their peers, which was seen as a challenge in the face of shifting gender roles. For most participants this meant engaging with women in the physical and social sense as a way to reify and enact their own masculinity in their daily lives. As part of these daily processes, ideas about women, and the pursuit thereof, were routinely expressed in their daily interactions and in the utterances of participants and their male peers. As will be outlined in the paragraphs to come, the young men have their own ideas about how women should be, how they should behave and even how they should be treated. These broad constructions about women reveal the participants' own experiences and enactments of masculinity.

5.2.1. *Women are Weak, Men are Strong*

I think women are more vulnerable to a lot of things that are happening around them. Cause we tend to take advantage of them as guys because they are more vulnerable. (Martin)

Martin's statement is evidence of some of the conversations that were common among the young men. Like many of his peers, as will be outlined below, there was often a subtext which sought to cast women as weak and men as stronger in comparison. Increasingly, the participants spoke of women as 'weaker' in comparison to men. In instances where men were acknowledged as responsible, it was because they are considered 'stronger'. This is evidence of how gender norms are reproduced in daily conversation and within the spaces shared by the participants, often informing how the young men related to women. Nkululeko also echoed this understanding of the position of women as he commented on equality.

Well, we are made to believe that we are equal. We are not equal. Well, first of all, a man has a big influence, okay. A man is someone who directs more especially. You find

that women have a, erh, they can't direct most of the time. Well there are exceptions to the rule. There are some women who are able to direct, but most of the time men are the ones who direct. So the responsibility or the expectations from men are one of a head and a woman is seen as someone who's an assistant to the head. So, these two are not the same. And even their roles be it in society or a family setting, it's not the same.
(Nkululeko)

The man's role as the leader was highly emphasised. Nkululeko suggested that although his own life and perhaps identity was in flux, his own views of women were in a sense unchanging. The irony in this situation of course is the glaring absence of this 'influence' in his own life, thus essentially rendered him unable to practise what he had preached. Central to his statement is the conceptualisation of women as subordinate to men, or at least the need for men to occupy the influential roles in relation to women. Nkululeko's statement revealed the complex view that some of the young men hold about gender relations and how such concepts relate to their lives. Despite his socioeconomic situation, Nkululeko sternly maintained that in his view men and women are not equal. His statement suggests that he is aware of policies and realities that seem to be shifting in favour of women's agency, but his words reveal a resistance to such a reality. What this illustrates is not only the expectation of how men, in his view, are positioned in society, but it also gives insight into the young men's perspective as to how they believe women were positioned. He further suggested a discontinuity between political realities and the daily social realities of young men. Despite the social, economic and even political shifts, which have taken place in South Africa, Nkululeko still expects a 'woman' to understand that she was not his equal. Rather, she may be construed as his 'assistant'. As has been established in the previous chapters, the realities of the young men in Kenneth Gardens are far removed from the masculine ideal that Nkululeko seemed to be constructing.

The reality for him and many other participants was that, in his household, he did not occupy the role of leader in the sense that he had expressed it. His siblings had moved away for work, but he was unemployed and depending on the material support he received from his mother. Perhaps this is why he acknowledged the exceptions. He spoke quite passionately about this and acknowledged that *'even though I am not living this now, I will live it one day'*. By constructing the man as someone who 'leads', assumes 'responsibility' and who is the 'head', he was also constructing women as the diametric opposite of these concepts. Japhan also shared similar sentiments of women as subordinate to men. Expressed in terms of their vulnerability, he recognised that men have power over women. Japhan's views further supported Nkululeko's sentiments in that he also interrogates and criticises the idea of gender equality.

We need to understand each other. I see the world from a man's perspective and her perspective as a woman might offer alternatives which complement my life. So this fifty-fifty [equality] thing I do think it's right on the one hand, but I also think it's wrong on the other hand. At times, we can understand equality incorrectly. There just has to be an understanding between a man and a woman then I'm sure it can benefit both. But if you look at the olden days, the 50-50 thing wasn't there and people would stay in relationships for longer. So I think equality has destroyed [relationships] because back then women did not have many freedoms, they would stay at home, wash, cook and bare children. Nowadays women have the opportunity to go into the world and work, and we see that women are just as capable. But now men are at a disadvantage and are exposed, we are being replaced by women! (Japhan)

In the above statement Japhan touches on several significant points. Namely, he mentions the necessity of a woman in a man's life as a qualifying agent for his own masculinity. Further to that he trivialises the notion of gender equality as "this fifty-fifty thing" and he reveals that in his opinion men are being challenged by women. Further to that Japhan qualifies the significance of women by defining and locating them only in terms of their relationships with men. The need to 'understand each other' was simply a muted suggestion of how women should understand their position in relation to men – as secondary. Japhan's statement, made in the company of his peers, received wide approval in the form of laughter and applause. He repeatedly suggested that in its current form the idea of equality was untenable, citing this as the primary reason for fragile relationships. Once again, it was interesting that Japhan shared these views because it was in contradiction to his own reality. I then asked him if his partner worked, to which he responded 'My girlfriend? She works and that makes things weird'. Beyond just objectifying women as means of legitimising manhood, Japhan was actively constructing the ideal woman – one with whom he would have 'an understanding'.

Based on Japhan's perspective, the shifting social landscape had resulted in the blurring of lines in terms of gender roles. Central to this is the employment of women which, in his view, disadvantages men. By defining that which is negative in women and detrimental to men, he actively constructs that which is desirable for men – a woman who does not expose men nor replace them. Beyond this, ideas about male dominance were prevalent and inherent in his argument were ideas of control, particularly over women were expressed.

The idea of control and of maintaining a certain gender order was echoed by another experience that I had with the young men, in light of my volunteering in the Soup Kitchen. The women at the soup kitchen had offered me an apron so I would not get dirty as I was helping them. Viewing this as a good gesture on their part, I donned the apron and proceeded to assist. Mandla had seen me there as he came to dish his serving and he received his meal with a smirk on his

face. He jokingly said “thank you ma” and we both laughed at his joke. Later, when the soup kitchen shift was done, I joined a group of participants that had congregated in the park and I was promptly teased for this. It was strange for the young men that I would willingly help to the point of wearing an apron.

Sometimes as men we want to control everything, we want to be in control all the time. There are departments that we should not want to control. For example, I believe that a man doesn't belong in the kitchen; it's the woman's department. No matter what home you come from, even if you were taught to do everything, but you have to give the woman her space. If as a man you go into these places, it is only to help not to take over. (Mandla)

To most of the participants, by adorning the apron I was exploiting my position and not just helping but was taking over a space that should have been for women only. By wearing the apron and performing the roles of women, the young men felt that such behaviour was awkward, but they justified it by saying I was not from around. In their view, there was nothing wrong with being in that space, but the apron was specifically seen as emasculating, almost as if I had worn a dress. In that sense I was no longer enacting manhood, but rather was performing the role of being a woman. However, Kenny offered a different narrative although he felt he had to justify himself. He did this by highlighting his own position as a man in his household.

Before I got here actually I was cleaning the house. I clean everything because I'm staying at home; I'm not doing anything. We can't still think that the kitchen is a woman's place, that only women cook, does dishes and everything. We are equal, so when I get the time to do it, I will do it. I also know how to cook, I cook when I have to, but I don't like it, it's not nice. (Kenny)

On the one hand, as Kenny was saying this statement he acknowledged the uncomfortable irony of their situation – the fact that he had gone to university and yet still found himself cleaning. On the other hand, he was providing evidence of a shift in his own reality and the necessity to adapt. While on the surface this could be seen as simply a statement about the reconstruction of gender roles within the household, there were undercurrents here that I picked up on and proceeded to probe further. I began to realise that while the men acknowledged certain shifts that required them to re-examine their own constructions and enactments, they simultaneously bemoan the tilting of the scales, rather than celebrating them. The last bit of his statement also evidences this where he tried to retain a sense of resistance in the eyes of his peers. He could do all these things, but he could not like it because he was still a man.

The conceptualisation of women as domesticated and as belonging in the kitchen was prominent. The construction of women as ‘vulnerable’ seemed to legitimise the claim that men

were meant to lead and to protect women. The above statements illustrate how the young men through their daily discourse prescribed gender scripts which subverted the significance of women. However, constructions and enactments of masculinities were consistently vested with power. In the minds of the young men, their roles were the opposite of their perception of women. This construction of women in very patriarchal terms demarcated the position of women not only in the home, but also in society. It could be inferred from their statements that these constructions extended to their views of women in their own lives. Implied is also the idea that men should not be able to exercise control over a women, although sometimes there are spaces in which he should do this (like in the kitchen). These constructions inform their social expectations of women, themselves and other men. It was important that the parameters of gender identity and enactments be clearly delineated. My presence and participation in the soup kitchen was instrumental in enabling the participants to voice their views on gender roles. The reactions of the participants not only gave insight into their perceptions of gender roles, but through their reactions I was able to glean how their enactments of masculinity were constantly repositioned.

The young men had a high awareness of an irony in their lives, a recognition of how (daily) life was not as they expected it to be. This was because of the high levels of unemployment and poverty, which had shaped their reality such that they could not fulfil roles that they perceived as those of the ‘man’. In addition to this, their understanding of gender roles were framed by their constructions of (hegemonic) masculinity, as a form of power which is determined by their social and economic relations (Scott-Samuel et al. 2009). Thus, in relating to women or in narratives about women most of the participants tended to frame women in subservient roles or as sexual partners who had to submit or be controlled in one way or another.

5.2.2. Women want Things, Men want Sex

As a man, I am incomplete without the knowledge of someone [a woman]. If you can make your body happy with [ecstasy], then you must also make the boy happy [with sex]. (Xola)

Xola’s statement was made during what had become a spirited conversation among the young men about women as their sexual conquests. As if to sum up the whole point of the conversation, he had stopped crushing his *marijuana* and looked up at his peers. The point he was trying to make is that despite their circumstance it was still important for them to have ‘knowledge of someone’ – to have sex. His suggestion was that women (and inherently, sex

with women) provided an important component of the masculinity 'formula'. Thus, not having this knowledge meant that one was incomplete as a man. For these young men, enactments of their masculinities were contingent on their pursuit and subsequent sexual engagement with women. Xola's statement was met with laughter and handshakes in agreement from his peers. In that moment he had articulated a widely acknowledged reality among the participants; the significance of sex with women in the process of reifying masculinity. At the same time, the subtext of his statement referred to the challenge of fulfilling the criteria of manhood as unemployed men who could not provide for women materially. So as important as it was, it was not always within reach. As a result, there was a sense of cynicism about women.

You find that we as young men get the blame when it's our girlfriends who go out with older men. These guys have money and things that we don't have, so the younger girls give it up easily. Even when you're prepared to wait for a girl, by the time you have sex with her, she is probably infected because she ended up having sex with the other men. (Siya)

The admission that their girlfriends go out with older men revealed that for the young men women are considered to be high maintenance. More importantly, he highlights how money or at least material possessions have increasingly become an issue that they too have had to consider. As unemployed men, this poses a significant challenge. The inverse of this, perhaps bred by frustration, is that the women begin to be seen as materialistic. Among the participants, when discussing women, they were constructed as sex objects and hardly as people that the young men could have long term, fulfilling relationships with. Often, the issue of being unable to provide focused their observations on finances. Based on the above statement, women are also cast as untrustworthy, particularly in the case of monogamy as Noah and Kenny point out below.

Never trust a woman, dude! The more beautiful, the more tricky they are. Just do your thing and move on. Besides, so many ladies need love, why concentrate on one? (Noah)

On a separate occasion, Kenny had explained the following to a peer:

You'll see when they take your girl, dude! You should just put a condom on the boy and make the boy happy. There is plenty to make you happy in town!

There was stark awareness of how their material conditions created a hindrance to their ability to live up to the traditionally significant enactments of masculinity such as having sex with women. In frustration with their material realities, the young men developed a sense of cynicism with young women, often viewing them as materialistic and thus not to be trusted. Essentially, the above statements refuted the thinking that women would deny sex if the man

had the resource, which rendered being faithful impractical. The suggestion was that in the context of poverty that they found themselves in, trust and emotional investment were untenable. The term 'love' in this instance was used interchangeably with sex. This I discovered after I had queried what he had meant by the term love and he had motioned with his pelvis, much to the amusement of his peers.

Lihle discussed how in one instance while in the club a woman had commented "*you keep giving me uqoh (ecstasy) instead of fucking me!*" This received much attention from the other young men, with some of them even saying they could not believe that Lihle was brave enough to even share his story. Most of the young men found it embarrassing that a woman would be so blatant in asking for sexual attention. The general sentiment was that sex was always an option with women that they provided for; if she was taking his drugs than it was certain that she was willing to engage in intercourse with him. According to the young men, she could not be benefitting for free and in their opinion Lihle should have known this. The opinions persisted despite Lihle expressing that he was not attracted to the woman, especially because she was his friend's "straight"⁷.

As you're sitting here your girl is probably whoring around with other guys! By the time you get to fuck her she's already sick! (Martin)

This brief yet poignant rebuttal of Lihle's story encapsulated what some of the young men thought when it came to trusting women as sexual partners. In their view, women were simply after material gain and only out to gain advantage in one way or another. His peers promptly reminded him of their realities, even suggesting that while he was busy pontificating, his own girl was probably cheating on him at that very moment. At that point the conversation moved to the level of variety and opportunities for sex in town. Therefore, in their view, and rooted mainly in their experiences, women were not to be trusted.

Material conditions seemed to breed rhetoric that constructed women as being materialist. However, keeping with the view of women as vulnerable, the men viewed themselves as having to fulfil the 'provider' role even in their largely sexual relationships. In most of the participants' experience, young women were hyper-sexualised and with this sentiment was the thinking that

⁷ A "straight" in this context refers to being the main girlfriend, as opposed to other secondary girlfriends that a man might have. The "straight" is the one a man is committed to, while he has casual relationships with other women.

no matter what the young men tried, they could not win because they did not have what it ultimately took to 'tame' women - income and the resultant means to satisfy not just the sexual urge. Increasingly money or at least their material conditions surfaced as significant factors in their relationships with women.

The young men viewed some of the women they had sexual relations with as simply a means to an end. This end, though mostly physical, was also social in the sense that they were then able to have currency or sway with their peers. Both of these fed directly into their enactments of masculinity, which were constantly being socially performed and socially recognised.

Their unemployment limited the control they could exercise over women, thus in most instances rendering relationships unattainable. According to Noah, women (or at least the ones they were interested in) were 'tricky' and 'high maintenance' because they required more than what they, as young men, could offer. As a result the sentiment among some of the participants was that it is perhaps easier to just have sex with them and move on. So while women are necessary as suggested by Xola, the reality was that they could not cater for them in the way society expected. As a result, the material conditions that the participants lived in framed how they viewed relations with women. While as young men it was deemed important for them to have relations with women, it was also apparent that in their view, men should be cautious of women and that women should be seen as dangerous objects capable of doing damage to men. Women and their significance in the lives of the young men were actively repurposed to agents of the young men's enactments of masculinity. Thus, the notion of needing women was increasingly met with fervent disdain from some of the participants because of the consequences for having the need to invest in a female sexual partner.

There was a high distrust of women. In the earlier statement Siya was commenting on how there tends to be more focus on the wrong that men do in relationships than what women do. According to him, women go out with older men because of the benefits that such arrangements secure. He was referring to how since they are unemployed and they do not have "money and things" their partners often look for other men who could offer these things. He further established a connection between the material possessions and women's propensity to "give it up easily". From his perspective, the capital that other men had gave them greater access to women. This statement reveals how Siya thought of his own situation; because he was unemployed, he could not easily establish a partnership with a woman and to him women's affection was determined by the availability of material resources. This construction of women

suggests that, from the perspective of young men at Kenneth Gardens, women (they believe) are actually the ones who threaten their wellbeing because even when men are willing to wait, women would probably have been unfaithful. Women are cast as unworthy of trust or emotional investment because they will disappoint you either way. As a result, this was used to justify how they were treating women.

5.2.3. *Perceiving some Women as ‘Ama-Tega’*

On one of the afternoons during my fieldwork the conversation had begun with some of the participants commenting on an occurrence from the previous weekend. One of the young men from the community had invited a group of women and requested that some of the participants join in on the festivities. The staples of such a gathering were women, drugs and alcohol. Having organised the latter two, he left it to one of the participants (Japhan) to organise the women. Relating to the particular event, there were comments on the type of the women that had been invited. Emerging from the discussions was the fact that the women who had been invited were not the type of women most of the participants would have typically associated with.

The young men used words like “bitches” and “*ama-tega*” (plural), several times. I then came to notice the use of the term *i-tega* (singular) over the duration of my fieldwork. *I-tega*, as explained by the young men, was a woman who was low maintenance (emotionally and financially), whose company often did not require too much of the man and who would (with the right nudging) ultimately return the favours in kind.

Majita (Dudes), I met this chick at Spank (bar), her name is Linda! She’s a nice girl, nothing hectic. I just remember that when I offered to buy her a drink she asked for Savannah! [laughter] So I figured we would be cool with that one, we drank and had our fun. Since Sunday morning I’ve been there - three bloody days there. She has a nice place and no kids, but eish, I’m over her now, she keeps on calling. She even bought me airtime! (Xola)

As Xola was telling his story, there was a huge commotion among as the young men exclaimed that Linda was worth keeping. The general responses was, “*menze i-tega lakho! (make her your side chick!)*”, meaning that he should carry on the secondary relationship with her because of all the benefits she came with. She had her own space and disposable income, and he had already started to experience some of it with the airtime. One of the young men shared that if he had been the one who met this woman, he would not even be there at that very moment. For

Xola the arrangement was merely about socialising and his being used to the offer of refreshments to guarantee his reward later.

On the weekends we dalla (connect) speakers and all that. We fetch them bitches my bra! Otherwise it's not a party. [laughs] We bring them over here and chill, we talk and we hit a dop, maybe even hit one or two pills. (Martin)

Ama-tega can be bad news sometimes! You get the street-smart one who smokes your shit and drinks your money, next thing they are vying (going) with another dude. (Trevor)

Above, Martin is relating what he and other young men engaged in during the weekends. As indicated earlier, women are considered an integral component of the socialising experience. The majority of the participants did not believe in having fun without the presence of women. Essentially, an *i-tega* marked the potential for a casual sexual exchange – the proverbial low hanging fruit. The type of woman that the participants considered an *i-tega* was associated with spaces of leisure such as parties or bars. For instance, the young men would identify or earmark someone as a potential sexual partner either for the night or for other future casual engagements. It was the intentions of the particular man that determined whether a particular woman was categorised as *i-tega* or not. More often than not, it was meant to be a momentary exchange of sex for a host of things, which could include alcohol, drugs or even just company. It was not a purely transactional sexual relationship as described by Leclerc-Madlala (2008), although some elements persisted. The main difference in the context of this study had to do with the context and the nature of the relationship. Oftentimes, as the participants indicated, the category of *i-tega* was not something that the women were aware of, it would be the men who would decide what their intentions were.

In conversations with the young men we discussed their experiences in relation to women. For almost all of the participants, there were women family members and that served as a departure point and also as a point of contention. For the most part, the young men spoke reverentially of the women in their lives, the women they had familial bonds or some kind of affinity towards. In most cases, through the narratives it was revealed that it was mostly the women who were working the households and the young men contrasted this reality with their own perceived expectations of enacting manhood. There was ambivalence about the position of women and their own positions in their families and in their own lives. While the position of women was improving, their circumstances and their masculine identities in particular seemed to be in a liminal state.

The majority of the young men involved in the study viewed their financial and material situation as unfavourable in terms of being in a relationship with someone. The young men viewed being in a relationship as a step that followed financial independence, because for them they had to be able to provide for their significant others. Heteronormativity, or the view of heterosexuality as the norm or as the only way of enacting masculinity, was pervasive among the young men. I say this because the majority of the participants performed hetero-sexuality, which saw most of the young men sexually partner with women or express a preference or affinity for individuals who are female. The young men exclusively spoke of sexual exchanges with women. This suggested that the young men performed, at least publically, manhood that was heterosexual. This is in line with the characterizations identified by Morrell (1998a) as constituting “black” masculinity in urban spaces in South Africa (see also Morrell et al. 2012). Masculinities often express themselves through dominance, violence or sexuality in relationships to female partners (Groes-Green, 2009) While there was no overt and verbal indication, heterosexuality was heavily implied among the men involved in my study. This was observed in daily interactions and recounts of their own experiences.

5.3.Conclusion

Most of the participants were at critical stages in their lives where the importance of economic and social identities were increasingly emphasised. This often included the completion of school and entering the job market, as evident in the narratives outlined in previous data chapters. The young men frequently spoke about or demonstrated the significance of sexuality in their lives and also revealed how they related to their sexual partners. The behaviours observed among the young men of Kenneth Gardens were often coupled with a continual commodification of women as sexual partners and coping mechanisms to repair their otherwise broken identities as men. Persistent patriarchal ideas about the role of the women in their lives were evident in the narratives of the young men and in these ideas perspectives of power were also present. How the young men made sense of their sexual relationships was revealed in the daily conversations among the young men and also in the individual narratives they shared in the interviews and other casual exchanges. There was also an awareness of a changing social landscape in favour of women and they were responding to these changes as men. Being unemployed constantly (and actively) undermined their enactments of masculinity.

The chapter engaged with young men's perspectives on women, which are not developed in isolation. Much of the gender behaviour among the young men is constructed in relation to what the other members of the group or the community deem appropriate. The enactments of gender are not random but, like a language, are a set of ideas expressed through behaviour and are recognised by the rest of the members of the group as legitimate. In other words, it is the group that legitimises behaviours or enactments that are meant to make sense of one's masculine identity. For there to be hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2000), there has to be subordinate masculinities. How gender identities are constructed has implications for the body and the social processes that the body is drawn into (Connell, 2000:70). This also has implication for how men construct and enact their masculinity, even the manner in which they view or relate to women. For example, according to Connell (2000), an aspect of contemporary patterns of hegemonic masculinity is the subordination of women and the connection of masculinity to toughness. This view is highly pertinent in the South African context of high violence against women (see Jewkes et al. 2003; Strebel et al. 2006) and is evident too in the microcosm of Kenneth Gardens.

Fieldwork for the present study revealed that unemployment has significantly undermined the social status of young men in Kenneth Gardens. Evident in the responses of the participants is the juxtaposition of women's increasing agency against the backdrop of diminished men's agency and increasing frustration. The experience of being unemployed (or under-employed) and/or not having a constant source of income has resulted in the young men having to revisit some of the values they considered as important or emblematic of masculinity. According to Silberschmidt (2001), the lack of employment and the inability to fulfil the role or provider or that of leader within the household can have a disempowering effect on men which may result in more physical and violent demonstrations (as assertions) of masculinity. My participants adhered to the view that the comparative empowerment of women has a corresponding disempowering effect on young men. While the young men were (in their own spaces and in their own 'language') enacting their own masculinities, these enactments are, largely, informed by an awareness of the female agency and male disempowerment dynamic. Therefore, enacted masculinities seemed to be in reaction to women's agency, or rather an effort to reassert themselves, an attempt at exercising their agency.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

This study has explored how young masculinities are constructed and enacted in the context of poverty, unemployment and violence. It focused on a group of men aged between 19 and 30, who identify themselves as unemployed and who are living in Kenneth Gardens in Durban. Having highlighted the challenge of unemployment among the youth who interacted with pre-existing conditions of poverty and economic marginality in Kenneth Gardens, the study concerned itself with how young masculinities are shaped by these dynamics. Drawing on Connell's (2000:76) suggestion that masculinity is defined and determined socially, it is increasingly important that we consider not just the male body, but on the identities, which are in turn constructed and ascribed meaning. It is these constructions and meanings that this study has explored. This chapter provides a summarized overview of the study and briefly discusses the findings of the study. It also considers the implications of these findings.

Morrell and colleagues (2012:25) highlight the extent to which the “accused” are often urban, young black men, who are also most likely unemployed and poor. Research in the African context has tended to emphasise the dangers of young masculinities, often highlighting the involvement of young men in deviant and criminal behaviours (Wood and Jewkes 1997; Barker and Ricardo 2005; Groes-Green 2009; Redpath et al. 2008; Swartz and Scott 2013). A limited body of work has considered how young men's bodies are ‘drawn into’ current circumstances and become ‘arenas’ of new and emerging ‘gender patterns’ (Connell, 2000). Thus, young men's bodies are not blank slates, and this study was concerned with understanding how young men are drawn into the presence of poverty, and what gender constructions emerge as a result. According to Ratele (2010), currently, black men are still most likely to die violently from interpersonal conflicts. Thus, it is important to understand the realities faced by young men in South Africa and how these realities impact their lives. It is further significant in this instance to explore the life worlds of young men because these realities are seldom studied in anthropology and in South Africa.

Literature indicates that in South Africa unemployment is high among the youth. Furthermore, while unemployment is jarring for youth in general (Selikow et al. 2002; Makiwane and Kwizera 2009; Hendricks et al. 2010), poverty challenges men's ability to realise their masculine identities by undermining patriarchal structures and stereotyped notions of gender (Silberschmidt 2001; Tersbøl 2006; Aboim 2009; Groes-Green 2009). More recently, Izugbara

(2015) has expounded on how economic adversity functions to constrain men's evolution and development into eventually becoming 'proper' men. The widely shared expectations among the young men about what is appropriate behaviour can at times further perpetuate the vulnerabilities.

6.2. Critical Review of Findings

This study used the theory of structural violence and adopted a constructionist approach in order to interpret the data collected in the field. Not only did these 'theories' assist in understanding the data, they also assisted the researcher in framing the enquiry both on paper and in the field. As suggested by Malley-Morrison (2004, cited in Moyo 2008), the constructionist approach assists in understanding how participants construct meanings about their daily experiences. According to this social constructionist view, people actively construct understandings about themselves, others and relationships.

In the course of collecting, transcribing and analysing the data from this study, many themes emerged. However, based on the research objectives three dominant themes were pre-eminent. From the three themes; the chapters were developed, which considered the following:

1. The impact of poverty on the young men of Kenneth Gardens
2. The social factors that shape the young men's daily realities
3. Women and the enactment of masculinities

6.2.1. How poverty impacted the lives of young men in Kenneth Gardens

This first data chapter considered the theme of poverty and how it translated into the lives of young men in Kenneth Gardens. Through the narratives of the participants, it engaged with instances and aspects of daily life that the young men felt were indicative of their poverty. Through the narratives, responses and interactions with the participants I was able to understand the extent to which structural violence has limited the agency of the young men. Poverty neutralises the agency of young men. The narratives relayed by the young men are replete with the challenge of unemployment, drug and substance use within the community among the young men. There was a sense of frustration from the young men with the station(s) that they found themselves at, despite most having gone through high school and two through university. As the young men grappled with daily life, their articulations pointed to a general

lack in their lives – of progress, of money, of space and of other resources which they could use to legitimise their masculinities.

The narratives of the young men also showed evidence of a dissonance between the young men's personal circumstances and their aspirations. For the young men involved in the study, experiencing poverty 'as men' was seen as a direct challenge to their manhood. This is especially evident when considering that elements of normative patriarchal masculinities are still a part of the young men's own construction of masculinities. The young men are not just passive victims of a bad economy and static constructions of masculinities (Malley-Morrison, 2004). Rather, as research has demonstrated, masculinities are fluid and contextual (Barker and Ricardo 2005; Redpath et al. 2008; Izugbara 2015) and this is clear in my research. Ideas about fulfilling such masculinities are evident in some of the comments made by the participants:

As umjita (guy) you have to hustle, you can't always wait for handouts. So even sometimes I buy bread to take home even though they know I don't work, and that makes me happy. (Mandla)

These days there are amajita (guys) who don't know that they are men, you know, and you find a situation whereby the woman becomes now a provider. Then they get surprised when the woman doesn't respect them? (Nkululeko)

Despite the levels of unemployment in South Africa, which particularly affected the youth, the participants still derived a sense of self-worth from being able to work and they also derived the inverse in the case of no work. Many of the participants described their current situation as 'just sitting at home'. Furthermore, they were uncomfortable with being perceived as such, loitering or unproductive, as they felt a sense of being trapped and having limited agency. The notion of just sitting at home was used to denote the sense of being passive and powerless. It further suggests feelings of being idle and without direction or way out. Most importantly, this notion of passively sitting at home was also used to illustrate the desired binary opposite which would be self-determining, proactive and in-charge men. This need to be seen as active is in line with Connell's (1999) construction of the masculine identity, in that it illustrates the expectation of men to be the leaders and the providers. These ideas permeated how the participants saw themselves as unemployed men. Essentially, the participants felt that this was taking away from their significance and duty within the household and community.

Central to the idea of being "umjita" in the context of this study was the importance of local connections and being discerning – street smart. *Umjita*, is a widely used colloquial equivalent of guy and it generally describes any young male, and is almost exclusively used by black

males to refer to other black males – their contemporaries. The use of the term was the same as well in the context of Kenneth Gardens. As the young men grappled with daily life, their articulations pointed to a general lack in their lives. *Umjita* among the young men was an alternative way of recognising each other as members of the community, as their contemporaries, despite their common challenges. Such terms have become very important among the participants as a means of recognising and legitimising other young men within Kenneth Gardens. Being *umjita* meant that you understand the challenges and are part of their circle, in literal and figurative terms. In the absence of the money, social bonds took on much deeper significance.

6.2.2. How social factors have shaped the daily realities of young men in Kenneth Gardens

The second data chapter explored how social dynamics in Kenneth Gardens shape young masculinities. The narratives of the participants show evidence of a ‘drug culture’ among the young men. Substances such as alcohol, marijuana and ecstasy were a daily feature in the field as the participants ‘hung out’ in park and on the streets. The use of these illegal substances made the participants unpopular in the community, which further facilitated their marginality in daily life. For the participants much value and significance was vested in the practice and process of smoking (not only cigarettes) and also on consuming alcohol, especially on the weekends. There was much mobilisation around these activities and the use of substances was significant. The poverty experienced by the participants certainly had a role in the kind of masculinities enacted within the community. The practices of robbing, drinking and smoking “*zol*” is in fact a “gendered social practice” which is shaped by and in turn impacts social dynamics (Tersbøl, 2006:405).

As a result of the social factors prevalent in Kenneth Gardens, there has been the emergence of what may be identified as ‘impoverished masculinities’, which are a reaction to their social and economic marginality. While there is evidence of the young men becoming victims of crime, there is also evidence ‘violent masculinities’ among the participants. The young men also enacted masculinities that are reactive in order to assert their agency. This was done through increased demonstration of violence towards others, particularly outsiders. The concept of outsiders was used frequently among the participants. They perceived other men from outside the community as potential threats. Their own social and economic marginality made them wary of other young men whom they perceived as “outsiders”.

Conceptions of ‘being’ a man were often linked to being able to ‘hustle’. In this particular instance, the importance of being able to ‘hustle’ and to be seen as in control of one’s circumstance surfaced as an important quality among the participants. In this sense being self-sufficient was cast as a quality a man should possess and demonstrate through fending for himself and his family. While most of the participants indicated that they were without work during the months I was in the field, they expressed the importance of being able to at least take care of themselves. It was important for most participants that they could have a sense of autonomy and not feel fully dependent on family, mothers or ‘aunts’ especially, for their daily essentials – namely, smokes and airtime. Furthermore, they wanted to be seen as being able to contribute to the household with the little they were able muster.

6.2.3. How women influenced the enactment of masculinities

A further theme that emerged is that young men’s perspectives on women are not developed in isolation. Much of the gender behaviour among the young men was constructed in relation to what the other members of the group or the community deem appropriate. The enactments of gender are not random but, like a language, are a set of ideas expressed through behaviour and are recognised by the rest of the members of the group as legitimate. Fieldwork for the present study revealed that unemployment has significantly undermined the social status of young men in Kenneth Gardens. Evident in the responses of the participants was the juxtaposition of women’s increasing agency against the backdrop of diminished men’s agency and increasing frustration. The experience of being unemployed and not having a constant source of income resulted in the young men having to revisit some of the values they considered as important or emblematic of masculinity.

Yes, dude, I believe that as a guy, in your family, everything rests on your shoulders. I can understand the case of a daughter, she will eventually get married and go build another surname. So for me as a Dlamini, I know that when my father dies, I’m the one who will be left to assume responsibility of this house and carry it [the surname] forward. So now if you’re not working, then there are a lot of challenges... sometimes you even become a nag to your parent(s). Even if you’re not the needy, demanding type you eventually just get to the point where you’re like ‘no’. You start to feel the pressure of not working when you see your age mates going to work and you’re just sitting. (Siya)*

The above comment outlines the general sentiment among the research participants. They felt that as male figures in their respective households there was the expectation for them to lead or to provide. Often during the conversations the participants oscillated between apathy and optimism. It was almost as if they recognise the undesirable situation they find themselves in,

but are also hopeful that they will be able to move beyond their present existence. Frustrations with the pace at which life was moving for them were also evident. As a result the participants expressed feeling trapped by not having alternative solutions to their current realities. It also gave them the sense of being in the wrong place at the wrong time.

6.3. Recommendations and Conclusion

The ethnographic data gives us a more nuanced understanding of the young male demographic. The study has illustrated the manner in which poverty defines lived realities of young men in Kenneth Gardens. More importantly, the study has provides a unique glimpse into these lived realities of ‘violent masculinities’ and ‘impoverished masculinities’. Namely, the data reveals the elements that are most salient in the lives of the young men that inhibit agency. This has implications for future studies. Through the evidence we now have an understanding the implications that poverty and unemployment has for the aspirations, world views as well as behaviours among young men. A deeper understanding of these realities is even more important if researchers suggest more work be done with men to improve gender equality and reduce gender-based violence (Bhana and Pattman, 2009; Redpath et al. 2008; Izugbara, 2015).

The findings of this study could prove instrumental in better positioning interventions that seek to empower young men. In addition, there is limited research into the social aspects of drug use among young men in South Africa, the findings of this study provide the bedrock on which future interventions or explorations may be based. With the extremely high levels of unemployment in South Africa, it is more important that we have a better understanding of how these conditions are impacting young men. With the high levels of violence, crime and drug use among young people in South Africa, future studies could consider locally sourced solutions to counteract the effects of these factors.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Exploring constructions of masculinity among young men in the context of poverty: A case study of Kenneth Gardens, Durban

Interview Schedule

1. Describe your daily experiences in Kenneth Gardens?
2. As a young man in Kenneth Gardens, what do you understand masculinity to be?
3. How do daily activities contribute to your ideas of masculinity or of being male?
4. What do you feel are the most important attributes of the ideal masculine identity?
5. What are some of the things that the ideal man does or achieves to be recognised as such?
6. How do you fit or deviate from this ideal? Why?
7. How significant is poverty for masculinity in Kenneth Gardens?
8. Do you consider yourself vulnerable to poverty? Why?
9. Comment on the poverty in Kenneth Gardens.
10. In what ways does poverty enable or disable your masculinity?
11. What do you think can be done to address poverty in Kenneth Gardens? And in South Africa?

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Exploring constructions of masculinity among young men in the context of poverty: A case study of Kenneth Gardens, Durban

Information and Consent Form: Research Participant

My name is Melusi Dlamini. I am registered with the school of Anthropology in the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I am currently conducting research that I hope will help shed more light on the experiences of young men in Kenneth Gardens.

You have been selected as a potential participant in the study because as a young resident of Kenneth Gardens you are in the best position to convey the lived experiences of young men. Your participation in this study is absolutely voluntary and you may, at any time, choose not to participate without any negative consequences. This study is particularly interested in understanding how masculinity interacts with poverty and whether this influences a particular masculinity among the young men of Kenneth Gardens. Part of coming to terms with these issues includes investigating what defines masculinity in Kenneth Gardens.

If you agree to participate in the study, please be assured that all your answers will be confidential. At no point will this form be linked to your answers nor will any publication mention your name. You do not have to answer any question that you do not feel comfortable with and you are at liberty to end the interview at any time. There are no direct benefits for participating in this study and the knowledge gleaned from your participation will be the main benefit. You are at liberty to ask any question concerning the study for more clarity and the researcher will gladly address any concerns.

The duration of the interview should not be more than an hour. With your permission, we would like to record the interview to ensure that we accurately capture your contribution. The recording will be destroyed after the audio information has been transcribed and the results of the study will be made available once the study is finalised.

	YES	NO
Do you have any questions?		
Will you participate in this study?		

Consent: I will sign my name to indicate that I have agreed to participate in the research project as explained above. If I wish, I may use only my initials or first name in order to remain completely anonymous. If I do not wish to sign anything, I may tell the researcher that I am willing to participate and he or she will sign to confirm that I have agreed to the terms of participation.

Respondent name/initials:		Signature:		Date:	
Fieldworker name/initials:		Signature:		Date:	
Research name:		Signature:		Date:	

Consent to being recorded: I give permission for the interview to be recorded.

Respondent name/initials:		Signature:		Date:	
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The extra copy of the consent form is for you to keep.

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, you are welcome to phone

My details are as follows, Melusi Dlamini: 031 260 3797 or 0722655572

APPENDIX C: A MAP OF KENNETH GARDENS



Figure 2: An aerial shot of the Kenneth Gardens (Source: Google Maps)