



UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL

INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

**INVESTIGATING THE CONSTRUCTION OF MIGRANT
MASCULINE IDENTITIES OF AFRICAN MALE YOUTH IN THE
INFORMAL SETTLEMENT CONTEXT OF BHAMBAYI**

By

THOBANI KHUMALO

Student no: 207524571

2020

Supervisor: Pranitha Maharaj

**Dissertation submitted in fulfilment for the requirements of the degree of
Master's in Development Studies in the School of Built Environment and
Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal**

College of Humanities
Declaration – Plagiarism

I Thobani Khumalo, declare that:

1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.
2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university institution.
3. This thesis does not contain other person's data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons. However where written sources have been quoted, then:
 - a) The words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced.
 - b) Where their exact words have been used, then their writing has been placed in italics and inside quotation marks and referenced.
4. This thesis does not contain text, graphics, diagrams or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the thesis as well as in the reference section.

Signature

.....

Abstract

The study of masculinity has been researched in conjunction with various social topics that include migration, political, economic and cultural dynamics, to mention a few. The overall objective of this study is to understand how men think and function in relation to the fluidity, plurality and hierarchy of masculinity. The objectives of this research study were to: (i) investigate the hegemonic masculinity of young men living in the informal settlement of Bhambayi, (ii) examine the influence of migration on young men's behaviour with regards to dominant notions of masculinity, (iii) and to ascertain if violence forms an alternative masculinity for the young men in Bhambayi. For this study, interviews were held with young African males living in the informal settlement of Bhambayi. The informal settlement of Bhambayi has reportedly experienced a number of conflicts in the past and it is a community filled with migrants of diverse ethnicities. Fourteen African youth male participants who migrated from the rural areas to Bhambayi were asked questions about their notions of manhood; behavioural influences; as well as whether or not violence is a legitimate solution for resolving conflict.

Masculinities, according to the participants are context bound and all members of the sample identified with the rural masculinity of having a wife and children, livestock, a house and dressing in a respectable dignified manner. In the informal settlement of Bhambayi, aggression and boasting about material possessions were defined as attributes of being a real man but all participants rebuked these ideas as worthy of their aspirations. Those men who were considered killers and those men who owned guns are feared but also admired. Migration patterns from the rural areas to Bhambayi were fueled by violent conflicts, the search for employment and better health care.

Migration from Bhambayi to the rural areas and back were short term. There was limited role models in their community for many young men. Crime is rampant in the informal settlement and is fueled by high levels of poverty and substance abuse. Creating job opportunities and developing recreational facilities to promote positive activity among the youth is recommended as a solution to limiting crime in black communities. Also, promoting alternative masculinities in popular culture is needed in order to rid aggression and violence as normative ideas of manhood.

Acknowledgements

I want to thank God for everything (good and bad). My family for being a consistent inquisitor as to when am I finishing this dissertation; and I could tell that most people at church or where my mother works were asking as to when am I finishing. So I started to be embarrassed for my family and felt I needed to get a grip. Last and certainly not least, I want to thank Pranitha Maharaj, my supervisor who literally gave me oxygen when I was swamped in confusion and destructive pride. Through her fast paced deadlines, quick feedbacks, I was able to get to the conclusion of my dissertation, thanks to the pressure and guidance she provided. Forever grateful mam!

ACRONYMS

AIDS:	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC:	African National Congress
CORC:	Community Organization Resource Centre
HAD:	Housing Development Agency
HIV:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MK:	Umkhonto we Sizwe (Armed Force)
RDP:	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SDU:	Self Defense Unit
SPU:	Self Protection Unit
UK:	United Kingdom

Table of Contents

Declaration – Plagiarism	i
Signature	i
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
ACRONYMS	v
1.1 Introduction and Background	1
1.2 Rationale	4
1.3 Problem Statement	5
1.4 Objectives	6
1.5 Theoretical Framework	7
<i>Subordination</i>	8
<i>Complicit</i>	8
<i>Marginalization</i>	8
1.6 Organization of the Thesis	9
Chapter 2 - Literature Review	10
2.1 Introduction	10
2.2 Understanding Masculinity	10
2.3 Masculinities in South Africa	11
2.4 Work, Context and Masculinity	14
2.5 Violence, Migration and Masculinity	20
2.6 Hegemonic Masculinity and Migration	22
2.7 Summary	24
Chapter 3 – Methodology	26
3.1 Introduction	26
3.2 Study Setting	26
3.3 Research Approach	28
3.3.1 Sampling Strategy and Characteristics	29
3.3.2 Data Collection	30
3.4 Data Analysis	31
3.5 Ethical Considerations	32
3.6 Limitations of the Study	32
3.7 Summary	34
Chapter 4 - Results	35
4.1 Introduction	35
4.2 Sample Characteristics	35
4.3 Reasons for Migrating	36
4.4 Community Influences on Behaviour	39
4.5 Jobs and Unemployment	41
4.6 Masculinity and Respect	43
4.7 Role Models and Marriage	47
4.8 Violence	48
4.9 Summary	52
Chapter 5 - Discussion	54
5.1 Introduction	54
5.2 Discussion	54
5.3 Conclusion	59
5.4 Recommendations	60
References	61
Appendix	71

1.1 Informed Consent form.....	71
1.2 Interview questions	74
Interview Questions	74

Chapter One

1.1 Introduction and Background

This research study focuses on hegemonic masculinity in the context of an informal settlement. This study explores how migrating into a violent context influences masculine identities of young men. Firstly, an understanding of the socio-economic context of informal settlements is provided. Secondly, the definition of hegemonic masculinity and how it has been studied in the context of informal settlements is defined. Lastly, this chapter explores whether or not community contexts influence behaviour and perceptions of manhood.

There are a large number of informal settlements in South Africa, rural and urban, which have varying characteristics that fall under the concept of what constitute an informal settlement (e.g. land tenure and access to basic social services). According to the 2011 Census of South Africa, it is reported that the number of households that were living in informal settlements with no access to services amounted to 18% (HDA Research Report, 2013). However, Ziervogel (2016) argues that the time intervals between censuses versus the speed at which informal settlements are growing in places like the Western Cape makes the data unreliable. About a decade ago, there was an estimated 2 million households living in informal settlements in South Africa (Mistro and Hensher, 2009). Conceptually, urban informal settlements symbolize a community of migrants seeking better livelihoods in cities with employment opportunities. In South Africa, migration has been primarily understood as black people's practice, and those who migrate to urban informal settlements are predominantly in search of employment (Posel and Marx, 2013; Cox, 2014). In South Africa, migration studies started to gain research attention after the discovery of gold created a demand for black migrant labour sourced from the rural areas (Breckenridge, 1998). The migrants that arrived in receiving communities, would either live in informal settlements near the mines or live in compounds created by the institutions of the mines they work for (Niehaus, 2002).

The informal settlement context that is part of the subject of this research is closely related to migration because most of migrants are living in that community. The researcher includes migration as part of the socio-political and economic context of

informal settlements. While there is no widely, accepted concise definition of migration as it encompasses many social topics. Van Hear (2010: 1531) outlines in his abstract that

“Migration is linked in complex ways to class, gender, generation, ethnicity and other social cleavages, which are embodied in hierarchies of power and social status, in positions in home and host communities, and in work and domestic relationships all of which may be transformed in the course of the migratory process.”

Broadly, migration refers to the movement of people from one area to another. However, the definition of a migrant can differ in terms of the general public usage versus how the legal system defines a migrant (Anderson and Blinder, 2015). A migrant is a person who travels from a place of origin (home) to other destinations for the purpose of finding work or the betterment of life. It may happen that the movement is forced or voluntary; the migration may be circular; and also, permanent or semi-permanent (Oberai, 1987). For this study, the definition of a migrant is an African male who continuously travels between a rural home and the informal settlement of Bhambayi, i.e. he performs circular migration. Another aspect of a migrant considered for this study is the type that performed permanent migration, i.e. moved permanently from the rural areas to the informal settlement of Bhambayi. The mobility or migration they perform is within the province of KwaZulu-Natal and they do not come from other countries.

Van Hear (2010) helps us to open our understanding of the wide array of subjects that migration touches on, of which in this case we are interested in migration intersecting with the context of informal settlements as well as constructions of masculinity in places people live in. It is these informal housing contexts, which have been studied in conjunction with many social phenomena. Studies conducted in informal settlements say HIV is more prevalent in that context compared to areas with formal housing structures (Stevens and Rule, 1999); there is also a heightened risk of contracting HIV due to the informal settlement being occupied by migrants who are exposed to new and varied sexual networks (Banati, 2007). Informal settlements are characterized by dire living conditions such as improper sanitation, lack of water services and the struggle for access to HIV-related services such as antiretroviral drugs (Vearey, 2011). In addition, gender-based violence has been reported in

informal settlements as being more prevalent and that financial dependence of women on men forms a basis of their inability to negotiate condom use (Steenkamp et al., 2014; Kamndaya et al., 2014). Xenophobia in informal settlements have been a feature in South Africa for the past two decades even though in 2008 they became a bold public event captured by the media. After 1995 there were claims that surfaced which stated South Africans were increasingly becoming antagonistic towards citizens of other countries (Crush, 2001). The informal settlement is also a place with high crime rates, poverty and unemployment (Banati, 2007). It would also appear that these three terms are intertwined as Jacklyn Cock (2001) discovered how men in Soweto blamed poverty for the criminal violence they perform in order to survive. The dominant discourse of informal settlements tends to problematize the context, it is no surprise then that in the National Development Plan there are aims to eradicate and arguably upgrade informal settlements.

While we focus on informal settlements, let us move into the subject of (hegemonic) masculinity and how it has been studied in the contexts of informal settlements. By definition “hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women” (Connell, 2005: 77 cited in Morrell et al., 2013: 4). Fundamentally masculinity is about the subordination of women, however men can subordinate other men. This is because hegemonic masculinity sits at the apex of the power structure of gender; it is aspirational and normative; it is an ideal masculinity that people want to attain to fortify their sense of manhood. Exemplary cases of hegemonic masculinity are spoken of by Gibbs (2014) who speaks of the “big man” and Hansen (2008) who speaks of the “raganimo” amongst Somali landers, both of these masculinity titles were idealized forms of masculinity in their respective contexts. Co-existing with hegemonic masculinity are other forms of masculinities that are subordinate, complicit and marginalized (Connell, 2005; Connell, 1992).

In informal settlements multiple sexual partners in the midst of HIV have emerged to create ideas of *isoka* masculinity (Hunter, 2005). Historically, during apartheid times, in the townships and informal settlements struggle and military masculinity were

respected. There is therefore much to learn and investigate with regards to the intersectionality of masculinity and informal settlements comprising migrants. Researchers have primarily studied migration's role in shaping a high prevalence of HIV, reporting on some of the causal factors such as how men and women access new sexual networks or obtain additional sexual partners (Lurie et al., 1997; Camlin et al., 2010; Campbell, 1997). Studies of migration and masculinity, have documented little about migration's link with masculinity and violence in informal settlements. Migration studies have placed much more focus on the relationship between HIV, labour and informal settlements. In this research, the objective is to understand the relationship between informal settlements, migration, masculinity and violent practices with regards to young men.

1.2 Rationale

The reason to focus on an informal settlement is reflected by the information above, which shows how broadly the negative factors that come into play in this setting include the heightened risk of HIV infection, poverty, unemployment, violence and crime. Migration and the informal settlement seem to go hand-in-hand because informal housing are mostly structures enacted by migrants in order to stay close to work or as a result of state evictions. However, the temporary notion of informal housing has been disputed as some people are born in these informal settlements and go on to live there for many years (Bank, 2011).

The reason for the focus on men in this study is that men are predominantly viewed as perpetrators of violence when compared to women. In addition, the focus is on trying to understand how migration influences masculinity and violence. For this reason, men thus became a suitable choice which in turn can inform research in the field of gender studies. In the efforts of minimizing violence in society, is necessary to research the people associated and reported to be the major contributors of violence against others (both men and women). It has also been reported by Crush (2000) that migration was fueled by social and economic stresses which compelled men to move from their rural homes to seek job opportunities in the urban areas (Vearey, 2011). However, anthropologists such as Bank (2011) argues that apartheid laws disempowered women by not allowing them to find work in the cities in the 1960s

and 1970s, leading to their domestication so that they depended on the wages of men. Masculinity as a concept has been defined as a feature and practice of men, so even when some women can be said to be masculine in whichever form, it is still a trait equated with a man, thus the focus of this study is on men. If the researcher pursued a study of masculinity amongst women, there is the possibility that he would be criticized for perpetuating the academic obsession of studying men as he would be seen as seeking a ‘manly trait’ amongst women.

1.3 Problem Statement

From the background analysis of migration literature in South Africa, there appears to be a gap in understanding migration and how it influences masculine ideologies across different spaces. This research t aims to investigate migration influences on definitions of masculinities held by young African men as well as to explore intersections of masculinity and violence.

Migration studies in South Africa have not interrogated how masculinity can differ from place to place, which in turn influences perceptions, dilutes cultural practices and shapes the behaviours of migrants. This lack of research regarding migration and masculinity limits us from social understandings of manhood influenced by a sense of place; as well as how do spaces like informal settlements end up with hostile, violent cultures.

Since migration has largely been studied in conjunction with gender, HIV/AIDS, risk, and poverty; there is a need to add the topic of masculinity into the literature of informal settlements. The level of crime and violence in informal settlements is reported to be high, however the causes of such levels has not been investigated in relation to migration and masculinity ideologies that are held by different ethnic groups which in turn can breed conflicts or violence under certain socio-economic conditions.

1.4 Objectives

According to Connell (2005), masculinity differs according to location and cultural contexts. This is why the informal settlement of Bhambayi was identified as a suitable location for the study, as the community possesses not only migrants but also a diversity of cultural ideologies. The researcher also aims to study migration in relation to masculinity, as there is a dearth of South African literature exploring the relationship of these two phenomena.

The overall objective of this study is to understand the hegemonic masculinity of young, migrant men living in the informal settlement of Bhambayi.

The specific objectives of this study are:

- To investigate the hegemonic masculinity of young men living in the informal settlement of Bhambayi
- To examine the influence of migration on young men's behaviour with regards to dominant notions of masculinity
- To ascertain if violence forms an alternative masculinity for young men in Bhambayi.

In order to achieve these objectives, the study attempts to answer these key questions.

- What is the hegemonic masculinity of young, migrant men living in Bhambayi?
- How does migration influence young men's behaviour with regards to the dominant notions of masculinity?
- Does violence form an alternative masculinity for the young men in Bhambayi?

In order to answer these questions, young men in Bhambayi who have lived in the rural areas and migrated to Bhambayi or those that were born in Bhambayi and once migrated to the rural areas for a certain period were recruited for the study. They were the ones who were perceived to be in a position to compare and contrast their understandings of masculinity and violence based on the migration patterns they have performed between rural and peri-urban contexts.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Connell's (2005) theory of hegemonic masculinity describes the dominance of men and the subjugation of women, as well as other men at various social levels. It is a theory that stems from gender studies, which also unpacks the admired notions of manhood, as well as those gender practices, which are marginalized, subordinated or complicit.

Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity was used in this anthropological gender performance study in order to analytically address the research questions and to determine if the findings of the study align with ideologies of masculinity in the context of the informal settlement of Bhambayi. Under studies of masculinity comes the concept of hegemonic masculinity that informs us about hierarchies of masculinity as well as the existence of the contestation of power, the power that men have over women and other men (Morrell et al., 2013). Hegemonic masculinity helps us understand that not all men can access hegemonic power, but also that this type of masculinity is established consensually not through physical naked force and this is achieved if there is correspondence between institutional power and a cultural ideal (Morrell et al., 2013). Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity stems from gender studies; the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' first appeared in the 1980s (Connell, 2002), and it looks at the social construction of gender and what is it to be a real man while promoting patriarchy and the subordination of women by men across cultures. Hegemonic masculinity in particular, which falls under masculinity studies can be defined as "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Connell, 2005: 77). This theory helps to provide understandings and the ability to interpreting data when conducting masculinity research. Masculinities can be studied in conjunction with various social disciplines and topics such as paid work, health, race and class, however there are four distinct types of masculinities that Connell has developed in the theory. These are subordinate, complicit, marginalized and hegemonic types of masculinities. These four components provide an analytical perspective when dealing with data circulating around themes of gender performance or how men from various demographics construct meaning in regards to masculinity.

Subordination

These types of masculinities are subordinated over the preference of others because they are seen as disturbing the essence of a desired kind of masculinity. Examples are the subordination of homosexuality over the dominance of heterosexuality as the latter is declared to be in line with the dominant essentialist type of view towards masculinity (Connell, 2005).

Complicit

These are the type of masculinities that are not dominant or given the highest regard, but are of a lesser position than hegemonic masculinities. However, they benefit from the patriarchy dividend, meaning by default being a man and regarded as someone to treat with respect. In patriarchal relations, men benefit even when they do not possess hegemonic masculinities (Connell, 2005).

Marginalization

During apartheid, black masculinities were marginalized, which led to protests and violence as the people were trying to disrupt the white supremacist masculinity of the state. Regardless of the fact that some black people were part of the black middle class, and part of the state (e.g. black policemen), the privileges that they enjoyed did not trickle down to the rest of the oppressed and marginalized black group.

Hegemonic

This is a leading and highly exalted form of masculinity that dominates the rest of other types of masculinities in a given cultural contexts, it subjugates women and some men in a consensual way and not through physical forces but through institutions (Connell, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity is always contested or challenged and therefore always tries to establish its legitimacy at the micro or macro cultural level.

These are the four categorical understandings of masculinity that help make sense of men's behavior and construction of their masculine identities in society, and they shed light on how gender is not only constructed but also performed. In this way, Connell unpacks the theory, it enables understandings and the pin-pointing of behaviours and

perceptions that are fueled by notions of masculinity. It can also be added that masculinity is not biologically bound or restricted by sex, even women can be masculine by performing actions that are assigned to men.

1.6 Organization of the Thesis

The first chapter of this thesis presents a background analysis of migration along with how it has predominantly been studied in South Africa. It further presents the problem statement that sets the tone for the significance of this study; and contextualizes the study before moving on to the key research objectives of the study. Chapter two looks at how hegemonic masculinity has been defined and understood by certain authors in the field. Migration and masculinity have not been linked in a way that can help shed light on how migration intersects with masculinity ideologies shaping the experiences of migrants in informal settlements, characterized by a diversified group of people sharing a common space. In light of the dearth of literature on linkages between migration and masculinity, the researcher aims to explore possible explanations of violence that occur in informal settlements. Chapter three presents the methodology used in the study. It looks at the tools used for data collection and the techniques of data analysis. Chapter four presents the key findings from the data collected from participants and the final chapter provides a discussion of findings and offers insights into recommendations that emerge from these findings. It can be noted that while the researcher set out to determine hegemonic masculinity and alternatives such as violence; however, ethnic antagonism, drug use and crime were social issues that surfaced in this research. This work adds more to the literature of place bound masculinity, suggesting that we explore the connections between migration, masculinity and social networks that influence and reconstruct masculine identities.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the literature that focuses on South African masculinity studies that involve the intersection of informal settlement context, migration and (hegemonic) masculinity. The selection of the informal settlement as a place or community context to focus the research project is garnered by the scholarship produced by previous authors who paint bleak socio-political and economic conditions about the informal settlement context. This then raises interest about what notions of masculinity are found in a context where class, poverty, ethnicity and violence all come into play. This research is interested in the conditions that help shape or influence perceptions and practices of manhood. Firstly, this chapter presents understandings of masculinity categorically but expanding on the theoretical framework in Chapter 1. Secondly, this chapter will review what previous authors have documented about constructions of masculinity relative to migration and community contexts or places that people integrate themselves into. Lastly, this chapter will review literature on the intersection of violence, mobility and masculinity.

2.2 Understanding Masculinity

When it comes to the theory of hegemonic masculinity, no one is praised for making a bigger knowledge contribution on the subject than R.W. Connell. She was able to unpack, even consolidate understandings of masculinity from different epistemological approaches with regards to its social organization, plurality, fluidity, relationality, and hierarchical complexities. The simple premise of masculinity is that it entails the dominance of men and the subordination of women. Masculinity is a subject of gender studies, without the social construction of gender classification (men and women); masculine and feminine would not exist. When we say 'masculine' we refer to gender attributes and practices that are assigned to men. According to Connell (2005:71), "gender is a social practice that constantly refers to bodies and what bodies do, it is not social practice reduced to the body." Gender is different from sex, and this understanding clearly indicates that masculinity according

to Connell is a new development because it is informed by the advancement of sex customizations by doctors. Gender has a three-model structure, power (patriarchy dividend); production (division of labour); and cathexis (sexual desire or attachment towards objects) (Connell, 2005). These three models help us understand how gender involves matters of female subordination or power contestation between sexes; the way society has categorized work according to the biological arena; and how our sexual orientation comes in many folds. Moving on to masculinity that is informed by gender, there are four strategies that have been used to define masculinity by different schools of thought:

- (i) Essentialist definitions pick a feature in men such as risk taking or aggression and then find a man's account to present this as the core feature of masculine character on a universal scale.
- (ii) Positivist definitions utilize 'facts' to distinguish men from women, and they define masculinity as simply as "what men actually are" (Connell, 2005: 69). This view dismisses the fact that some men can act "feminine" and some women "can act masculine" (Connell, 2005: 69), which is a characterization of the fluidity of masculinity.
- (iii) Normative definitions define masculinity in relation to the norms that men subscribe to. However, there is no gender practice that all men can applicably subscribe to, because not all men are aggressive, as some are soft. This then makes Connell raise the question of "what is normative about a norm that hardly anyone meets" (Connell, 2005: 70).
- (iv) Semiotic definitions of masculinity exclude personality traits and focus on the body's symbolic differences in order to contrast men and women. They define masculinity as non-femininity (Connell, 2005). Stomach abs are masculine even though women can have them but they are a trait of masculinity. The phallus is a symbolic marker of masculinity.

2.3 Masculinities in South Africa

There is a significant number of masculinity studies in Sub-Saharan Africa that explore masculinity in conjunction with HIV/AIDS, violence, work, military and the

police force, as well as many other social subjects (Barker and Ricardo, 2005; Cramer, 2011; Harington et al., 2004; Viljoen, 2015). However, in South Africa authors have not examined how migration influences and reshapes understandings of masculinities in the eyes of the migrant. The following is a concise exploration and presentation of the core literature on masculinity in the South African context. It is not exhaustive or representative of the entire landscape of masculinity research literature in South Africa. Masculinity research in South Africa has explored masculinities in conjunction with numerous topics and has conducted research in various settings such as in schools where boys fight and act violently to prove their masculinity, as well as how corporal punishment may perpetuate the culture of violence (Hamlall and Morrell, 2009; Morrell, 2001; Bhana, 2005). The South African gold mines is a setting that has been presented under masculinity research as comprising of violence and same sex marriages in the compounds (Breckenridge, 1998; Moodie, 1992). The culture of gangs and their violent, aggressive masculine identities have been explored amongst coloured boys in Durban and Cape Town, as well as the violent sexual subordination of men by other men in prison gangs (Kynoch, 1999; Niehaus, 2002; Anderson, 2009). Homosexuality and male rape have been studied in South African prisons in order to understand the type of masculinity that sexually humiliates other men (Gear, 2007). South African military men and their sexual prowess or virility (linked to masculinity) have been studied in relation to HIV/AIDS (Shefer and Mankayi, 2007; Mankayi and Naidoo, 2011). Institutions have constructed the idea that the military and masculinity are two sides of the same coin, that being a soldier is the embodiment of masculinity (Mankayi, 2010). Studies have also looked into gendered work, as it was just mentioned that being a soldier (which is a job) has been constructed to be masculine and therefore a job fitting for men. Other positions like nursing have faced racial and gender prejudice because a man is considered “clumsy” and not feminine enough to be able to take care of sick patients (Burns, 1998). There have also been studies conducted in informal settlements where gender-based violence is dominant, sexual networks that promote the sexual promiscuity of men while they gain *isoka* masculinity (Hunter, 2005; Ragnarson et al., 2010). Reports on ethnic masculinities such as that of *indoda* (a circumcised man as a form of initiation to manhood) in the Xhosa cultural context have been explored in masculinity research (Mfecane, 2016). It can also be noted that the most stereotypical notions of hegemonic masculinity in South Africa that are normative are that of bread-winner or

provider, tough, successful, heterosexual (Luyt, 2003; Luyt, 2012). This is especially the case in poverty stricken black communities that gives respect to those that can provide for their families and they can be regarded as a “big man”—a form of hegemonic masculinity (Gibbs, 2014). Aggression is also another stereotypical masculinity that is the cause of violence in the country stemming from the apartheid regime, and the normalization of violent riots and strikes. Masango (2004) claims that South Africans who were oppressed under apartheid and experienced structural violence responded with violence and thus the culture of violence in the country took its position. Sexual promiscuity (*isoka* masculinity) can be viewed as another dominant form of masculinity which also bears witness to the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the country.

There is a limited amount of literature in the context of sub-Saharan Africa that explores how ideologies of masculinity differ from one location to another or how migrants experience definitions of masculinity that differ from their place of origin (home). The only article found for this research project that deals with migration and the fluidity of masculinity is presented below and is from Botswana which is a neighboring.

Giddings and Hovorka (2010) held focus groups in Botswana where they looked at how urbanization influenced change in gender identities of the people living in the city of Gaborone. Through migration and urbanization, Gaborone became an environment of place-based gender scripts that feature normative masculine/feminine ideologies from the rural areas as well as the gender scripts that emerge from the city, which through accessing financial independence enables one to challenge the normative gender scripts. The impression given about the rural area is that they lack resources and leave women subject to patriarchy. However, by migrating to the city of Gaborone, women have job opportunities that give them financial power to challenge normative gender scripts that are regarded as originating from the rural area. Gaborone therefore become a place that houses gender scripts that challenge normative ones, thereby fostering a distinction of gender scripts separated by the categorization of rural and normative versus urban and locale. Giddings and Hovorka (2010) recount a story of someone from the city who migrated back to his rural home and cooked for his parents and how that act was frowned upon as in the rural context

it was regarded as the domain of the woman. Based on this article, clearly a place has a pool of cultural ideologies that define masculinities and femininities, which an individual can carry to the next location but has to renegotiate within the gender norms of the new context.

Since the researcher could not manage to access literature on masculinity in conjunction to migration within South Africa, examples were found on international research. The following are a presentation of studies relevant to the study but are concerned with international migration, and they provide clear insight on how migrating to different locations space influences or impinges on ideas of manhood or masculinity.

2.4 Work, Context and Masculinity

In this section the literature explores international migration related to work purposes and how the host country's context influences or reshapes migrants' understandings of masculinity. There were no South African studies documented that place an emphasis on migration and the fluid nature of masculinity. Since there are many reasons that cause people to migrate, Ahmad et al. (2008) used the push-pull theory of migration to explain the factors that push Pakistani people to immigrate. They discovered that poverty, unemployment and inflation caused Pakistani people to migrate internationally (Ahmad et al., 2008). While their report provided an aerial view of the Pakistan migration experience; Charsley (2005) focused on South Asian masculinity by focusing on Pakistani husbands who migrate to Bristol (Britain) to find work but experienced difficulties adjusting to their in-laws. While a Pakistani man can enjoy the benefits of patriarchy living in his home country, however when he migrates to live with in-laws he becomes stripped of his ability to exert control over his wife as notions of Pakistani masculinity permit (Charsley, 2005). He is also unable to formulate rules in the house since it belongs to the in-laws; and before he can secure employment, he is entirely dependent on his in-laws, which means he cannot exercise provider masculinity. This shows how relocating can affect a person's sense of masculinity, as in the case of Pakistani masculinity the husbands were referred to as *ghar damad*, which means a son-in-law that lives with the family of his wife and relies on them for support (Charsley, 2005). This title carries a stigma in the Pakistan culture because a *ghar damad* is in a position that is conventionally occupied by the

woman when she marries into her husband's family. The frustrations of the husbands that are reflected in their "feeling of powerlessness" (Charsley, 2005: 97) is an indication of their resistance to adapt to their new gender dynamics found in a new country and household. While the marriage institution would prove to benefit men in accordance with patriarchy, the Pakistani husbands cannot enjoy those benefits due to the context they integrate into that is Britain (meaning away from home) and the household of the in-laws (meaning he is not head of the house).

Datta et al. (2009) speaks of transnationalism and masculinity, where she says the migrants who cross borders to other nations learn to renegotiate the (city) space in the host country by using ideologies acquired in their home countries. This raises attention to the existence and influence of socio-cultural practices of a place on individuals. These socio-cultural practices are socially constructed through the interactions and mixing of people of the same or different class, race, ethnicity and gender

Katie Walsh (2011) looked at how masculinities were shaped and contested within domestic spaces (inside homes) where there are power relations between British migrant couples living in Dubai. Through ethnographic work and semi-structured interviews, she looked at how British forms of masculinity coming into contact with Dubai masculinities which shaped power relations within the domestic space of home. Work and being able to provide for your family were a dominant prevailing form of masculinity amongst British migrants. In such a way that home responsibilities like child care, cooking and doing laundry were feminized and made trivial by some British working men who masculinized their job positions and inflated their jobs and skills (Walsh, 2011). It is however interesting to note that when a female British migrant was the bread winner, she would shout at her husband that she expects to cook for her after a tiring day, and admits that the act of shouting at her husband would have not been possible if they were in England (Walsh, 2011). This then does not become about gender *per se* nor about changing locations but about who is a breadwinner and thus a 'masculine figure', while the one who remains at home is expected to perform 'feminized labour'. The United Kingdom has seen a major shift in the gendered practices of work and home as more women enter the labour force. There are now more women working outside the home in paid employment and also

more men having to carry out domestic chores as a result, which means masculine practices for some men have shifted or have been reconfigured in meaning (Walsh, 2011).

According to Walsh (2011), there is an association of employment with masculinity amongst migrants that in turn makes migration to be viewed as reconfiguring masculinities by hindering or enabling male migrants to be successful providers (Walsh, 2011). There are prevailing gender identities in Dubai operating outside the household of UK migrants, such that the norms of masculinity from the place of origin (UK community) cause tensions when they exist alongside the new set of expatriate culture norms encountered in Dubai (Walsh, 2011). While some may shun new gender roles, other “migrants’ domestic spaces are reconfigured by wider migration cultures and the influence of collective ideas about gender in transnational social fields” (Walsh, 2011: 523). British women are often against the ‘new’ masculinities demonstrated by their husbands, particularly when these enter into the shared space of home and start to reshape how domestic practices are gendered (Walsh, 2011). This article demonstrates that masculinities can be contested, adapted by migrants who travel and are exposed to many different masculine cultures. Walsh (2011) urges us to consider constructions of masculinity in relation to work and home, mobility and dwelling because there are gender shifts that need to be embraced which reconfigure masculinity for the better and shun essentialist ideas of who belongs at home and work.

Datta (2009) did some research on Polish migrant men who worked in building construction sites in London. The study found that the English language served as social capital to assist in networking with ‘white’ English builders who were in a network that could lead a Polish migrant to find better employment. So, while English skills were not widely shared among the Polish migrants, that barrier coupled with Polish migrants articulating new gender identities, “fractured the ‘whiteness’ of the space with perceptions of ethno-national ‘otherness’” (Datta, 2009: 3). Furthermore, it was presented how the social interaction of men in the work sites comprised of physical jousting, sexual boasting, sports talk and horse-play as part of practices and bodily performances (Datta, 2009). These types of behaviours resulted in gendered places as they embedded construction sites with masculine attributes because the

dominance of male workers with their masculine behaviour make construction sites not a comfortable place for females. The Polish migrants had a visual sense of masculinity characterized by a strong physique, they would distinguish one another as builders based on how their bodies appeared and how they were perceived by others. As Nast and Pile (1998 cited in Datta, 2009: 4) states that “the location and materiality of the body (incorporating its representational, discursive, and performative aspects) is crucial to how masculinity is experienced, read, and constructed. The visual bodily masculinity was also used in discourse to exclude women from the building sites, as the Polish defined women as not physically fit but also how they would not cope with the masculine behaviour during interactions on sites unless they were lesbian. What can be inferred is that space can be embedded or characterized with masculine performances. The Polish migrants were able to retain masculine attributes from their home country; they were able to resist and not subscribe to the sexual performances of ‘white’ English workers such as making sexist comments to women on the streets and appearing in public venues in dirty work clothes. The Polish migrants were able to contest masculinities that did not originate from their home country, claiming that back in Poland you would not spot a construction worker in dirty clothes taking a bus and heading to work (Datta, 2009). The Polish migrants also formed bonds along ethnic ties as they could identify with one another based on nationality, language and cultural history; a lesson I think is important to consider of how the process of ‘othering’ occurs amongst migrants when they share a space with other ethnic groups.

Donaldson and Howson (2009) speak of migrant men from Asia, Africa, Latin America and Middle East living in Australia who experience unhappiness because of their devalued qualifications but must sell themselves short to access jobs in order to fulfill the provider masculinity for their families. Donaldson and Howson (2009) note two enlightening observations about international migration, firstly that when men relocate they move together with their firm beliefs and practices of manhood and gender relations. Secondly, men are the ones with the most likelihood to experience violence and discrimination as well as need welfare support in the host country (Donaldson and Howson, 2009). Attached to the desires to migrate is the quest for betterment and more importantly for men, is the goal of being able to provide for their families. While having children is a marker of manhood, the provider masculinity is

an ideal aspiration as Donaldson and Howson (2009) state that participants regarded having access to income as a vital element in securing their sense of manhood. The migrants experienced Australia differently and could not identify with the cultural behaviours of Australian men, and this was primarily due to their cultural backgrounds. (Donaldson and Howson, 2009) state that Indonesian Muslim migrant men viewed Australian men as immature, irreverent, egotistical, distant, antisocial, aggressive, competitive, uncontrolled and animalistic. While on the other hand, Chinese migrant men were unimpressed by the Australian men's lack of sexual modesty, proclivity for alcohol and violent sport (Donaldson and Howson, 2009).

This 'othering' that stems from comparisons represents the resistance of migrant men in shifting their masculine attributes to match those of the Australian men. The migrants did not subscribe to the Australian machismo masculinity and in being 'blokes' (men with Australian 'sensibilities'). The other issues migrants face was the power or femininity Australian women possessed which was unlike what women experienced in their home countries; this power was provided by the social system with its type of laws it put in place in society. This results in some men feeling marginalized by the system that they felt favours Australian women. Living under the Australian state, which promoted gender equality values resulting in masculine shifts such that some African men attested to working towards gender equality relations and doing domestic chores, which is sometimes feminized and restricted to the domain of women (Donaldson and Howson, 2009). By migrating to a new place holding pre-migration ideas of manhood and gender relations, men face the challenge of renegotiating their identities in the new space that they occupy. As Donaldson and Howson (2009) indicate that by moving to a host country, they renegotiate their hegemonic masculinities, which means their pre-migratory hegemonic masculinity (learnt from the home country) can either be eroded or fortified in the host country (2009). However, Donaldson and Howson (2009) say little evidence can be found to show what happens to the migrants' sense of hegemonic masculinity as to whether it erodes or is strengthened through the process of migration and where they settle. This clearly suggests or confirms the fluidity of masculinity and that hegemonic masculinity differs geographically and spatially.

Datta et al. (2008) conducted semi-structured interviews and issued questionnaires to a sample that comprised of 68 migrants as well as other participants who were not. The participants working in London were of diverse nationalities and ethnic background and working in construction, hospitality and cleaning (Datta et al., 2008). The narratives from migrants with regards to their reasons for migration “valorises and projects a rather different masculinity framed by notions of risk and adventure; bettering the self (earning British qualifications); and providing for the family even through self-sacrificing acts of employment positions” (Datta et al., 2008: 10). Migrants prior to moving view the host country as filled with possibility but once they arrive they discover that their imagination was skewed. For them, the decision to migrate was shaped by networks of friends and family who had previously migrated to London. These also played a crucial role in embedding new migrants in London, fetching them from airports, giving them temporary accommodation and telling them about employment opportunities. There is also the habit of migrants to attempt to portray a successful image at ‘home’, whether or not this can be attributed to manhood but it certainly is a way to avoid looking like a failure which would lead to marginalization because migration has a certain image associated with success in the home country. The bodily experience of arriving in London is neglected in migrant literature because migrants face difficulties adjusting to the cold weather, fear of getting lost in the city and difficulty speaking English. The British immigration system shapes migrant identities and experiences in living in London. Sending countries valorize migrants as good citizens who send remittances, while receiving countries de-valorise them for a number of reasons. The difficulty and fear associated with being illegal in London; the racialized nature of labour markets where employees prioritize ethnic groups stereotypically perceived as subservient. In addition, gendered stereotypes at institutional level also came into play when it comes to categorizing work as either man’s or female jobs. They would also express how physically demanding their job was as a way to secure their manhood. Feminized jobs presented challenges to the masculinity of migrants, however they expressed having learnt new skills in the process of performing those jobs and the jobs they performed re-shaped class identities. There is a hierarchy of migrant employees based on ethnic lines, which causes one group to undermine others based on ethnic lines in order to bolster their own group as superior. This was because of the discomfort brought by

competition to find work which some considered the Poles to keep all the work for themselves and their friends.

2.5 Violence, Migration and Masculinity

Refugees who are considered people forcefully moved from their countries due to safety concerns and are sheltering in another country while seeking asylum. In essence they are people I could regard as migrants and thus Memela and Maharaj (2018) study relates to this research project and it is worthy to be noted as it also tackles issues of masculinity. Memela and Maharaj (2018) speak of violence experienced by refugees in the Albert Park area in Durban. The women who come from different African countries experienced a barrage of attacks during 2008-2009, a period of xenophobia and the time leading up to the 2010 World Cup. The South African state has a patriarchal take on the refugee status determination process as women were forced to stay with their abusive partners due to “their joint refugee status designation” (Memela and Maharaj, 2018: 8). When the refugee husbands faced unemployment, they would take out their frustrations on their refugee wives by enacting physical and verbal violence on them. When the women took part in economic empowering programmes while men stay home doing domestic duties, it frustrated men to use violence as a way to regain their patriarchal dividend and subordinate their wives. The refugee women also suffered violent victimization from the state (ward councilors and state police); they suffered violence from ordinary citizens, taxi conductors; their rights violated by the city’s interest in the World Cup.

Going back to the tenets of Connell’s (2005) masculinity, she defined the state as masculine, not because it subordinates women but because those who dominate and occupy state positions are men and they have the interest of men. The state also has a sense of hegemony that is enforced by employees of the state upon citizens, who directly or indirectly consent to the hegemonic governance or rule of the state. The state can be violent; we have witnessed in South Africa the Marikana situation that happened in the Lonmin mines. The violence in mines is a historical practice that is a feature of state authority; Breckenridge (1998) looked at the male migrant populated mine industry and found that working underground there was pervasive presence of white violence informed by the ideals of society’s masculinity at that apartheid time.

The black masculinity or the capacity of black violence was subordinated by white violence as the state was white and structurally supported violence towards black people. Race tensions were the major source of this interpersonal violence between supervisors, captains and migrant workers digging underground.

A number of authors have written on the xenophobia experience in South Africa, which initially took place in 2008, although some argue that it was also stirred by the South African media who used derogatory ‘othering’ of foreigners by referring to illegal migrants in the newspapers as “aliens”. People’s accounts of the cause of violence towards migrants or illegal migrants include competition’ between South Africans and nationals from other countries for housing, jobs, water, sanitation and health services, and the blaming of foreigners for crime and HIV/AIDS and other diseases (Sharp, 2008). The xenophobia experience suggest that black South Africans regard themselves as superior to other black non-South Africans. The notion that foreigners are responsible for crime, job losses, spread of HIV and possess a darker pigmentation compared to South Africans; it lays bare the type of ‘superiority masculinity’ natives have of which John Sharp (2008) does not mention at all. However, Nkealah (2011) has interestingly unpacked the xenophobic violence by studying the reported causes (foreigners stealing the women of the locals) and linking all this to masculinity. Nkealah’s (2011) research involves immigrants who are reported to provide women with resources in exchange for sex; immigrants are also regarded as bearers of bigger phalluses than the locals; and the violence that stems from the men is based on their phallic and their working-class masculinity being subordinated. Nkealah (2011: 132) states that “the competition for black women is intensified in a scenario where virility is defined by the weight of one’s pocket and the size of one’s penis. In this competitive space, the female body becomes simply a commodity to be secured by the highest bidder.”

Other authors have tended to focus on asking immigrants in their home country about how xenophobic violence in South Africa shapes migration, as well as intentions of migrating in the midst of the risks involved (Friebel et al., 2013). The head of the family who migrates to South Africa sacrifices himself by facing violent risks in order to support his offspring, and the willingness to migrate decreases after the experience of violence in the destination or host country (Friebel et al., 2013).

Jewkes (2002) has looked at intimate partner violence and how heavy alcohol consumption, jealousy by men, and poverty instigates violence towards women. Men in poverty use violence as a means to obtain power over their female partners, and this use of violence if applied “successfully” indicates “successful” manhood. Violence has also been reported as a tool to use as a strategy to signify a partner’s love—if he does not hit you, it means he does not love you (Wood and Jewkes, 1998). Kalichman (2005) has looked at sexual attitudes of women living in Cape Town who are in abusive relationships and end up accepting rape and sexual violence due to the power relations that exist between them as couples.

2.6 Hegemonic Masculinity and Migration

Ratele (2014) explores homophobia and hegemonic heterosexual norms in South Africa and Malawi whereby there is an “othering” of male and female homosexuals. Religious discourses are some of the rationales involved in the cognitive processes that breed homophobic tendencies. However, while the heterosexual norms in Africa are presented as hegemonic, the departing argument from Ratele (2014) is that within the context of hegemonic capitalist patriarchal whiteness, African masculinities are hegemonic and subordinate at the very same damn time.

Stern and Buikeme (2013) speak of African men’s sexual virility and their sense of feeling sexually entitled to women as placing them at risk of HIV/AIDS infections. Dominant ideas or scripts in South Africa are that men need sex often, which then causes women to accept or tolerate men’s infidelity as inevitable. This hegemonic sexual infidelity or appetite of men causes the subjection of femininity in the sexual domain, e.g. women feel hindered to be open about their sexual desires while men can be super expressive about their sexual needs. There are also masculinities which women consent to and thus making them hegemonic such as the dismissal of aggression in public spaces like schools and work and the acceptance of men’s aggression in the sexual domain.

Langa and Eagle (2008) conducted interviews and focus groups with a number of ex-combatants, former members of the Self-Defense Unit (SDU of the ANC) and Self Protection Unit (SPU of the IFP) who live in Kathorus, an area in Johannesburg. It is said in the midst of poverty and unemployment, young men joined the self-protection groups, SDUs and SPUs, to gain respect, and a militarized identity. This militarized masculinity was hegemonic because it was highly esteemed and yet detrimental to women as the comrades could have their way with women in the community. According to Langa and Eagle (2008) the interviews show that there was a shared expectation that SDU members are strong, tough, fearless, aggressive, and violent in order to prove their militarized masculinity. Within these groups existed various types of masculinities: the comrade masculinity was a way of ‘othering’ out-groups and identifying in-groups; the young boys who could be from the ages of 12-18 were referred to as “young lions” or “little kings”; the person who could use an AK-47 gained the title of *ikhakhara* (a real man) masculinity; those that killed *emhlwembe* (enemies) were called *isikhokho*, and the more violent the killing, the more likely they would be seen as macho (Langa and Eagle, 2008). These titles show that while the militarized masculinity gave one respect in the public eye in general but within the SDU and SPU combatants laid hierarches of masculinities that were concerned with overt macho violent practices. Seeking counselling was seen as weakness, something a real man should not do, it was equated to the subordinated masculinity of “sissies” and “mommy’s boy”, titles that were given to the young boys and men who did not join the SDUs and SPUs. What is interesting to note in this study is that post 1994, in the democratic society the heroic struggle masculinity collapsed and the same militarized identities that were exalted during the war between SDUs and SPUs were no longer respected but replaced by new ones in the very same location. The socio-political rearrangement removed the hegemonic masculinity of the struggle-militarized identity to more of provider, working class masculinity. The violent military masculinity was displaced to the domestic setting to victimize women, although this is an area that has not received much research attention.

Hansen (2008) speaks of the Somali diaspora that are returning migrants and how this act by men results in an expectation of great masculine roles such as provider masculinity, better education and skills. On returning to Somali, men subscribe to hegemonic masculinity of the *raganimo*, which is made up of three qualities: being

tough and brave, helpful (distributing wealth) and possessing oratorical skills (speaking loudly and controlling others by use of words). Hansen also mentions that prehistorically women in Somaliland have been objects of male exchange, and in contemporary culture they are objects of male dominance. Patriarchy reigns supreme in Somali and the subordination of women is accepted as a cultural and traditional practice. Therefore, when it is titled as 'culture' or 'tradition', it becomes normalized. However, migrating to Western countries where different social policies, rights and opportunities combine to challenge gender roles; the Somali men get stripped of their provider masculinity and status as they can only manage to obtain odd jobs like cleaning dishes in hotels which they culturally deem as the domain of women. The Somali men in Western countries is portrayed as frustrated and shedding away the masculinity they could potentially enjoy back home in Somali. The men in the diaspora become depressed, physically ill due to being dependent on the welfare system and not being in the position of the *raganimo* (Hansen, 2008). When the welfare becomes their main source of income, Somalis view the welfare system and government institutions as the man of the household since it allows them to fulfill the provider masculinity. This research suggests that while men can enjoy their masculinity in one area, they can be marginalized by the social standards in another area that in turn takes away their sense of feeling like 'real men'

2.7 Summary

This chapter has looked at the various forms of masculinity. The literature in the African context shows how the social environment or community context is filled with collective and individualistic masculine practices that stem from cultural ideologies. We have learnt that there are masculine identities that are context bound such that the rural and urban locations give different experiences of masculinity. With regards to international migration, we have learnt that gender practices differ from location to location: home masculinities can be challenged in host countries, so much so that they can create conflict within the domestic space.

The domestic space is regarded as a feminine domain; however, it can be occupied by unemployed men if the women are the main breadwinners. New gender practices and perceptions that are conventionally feminized can be acquired by men who seek provider masculinity, while there is also autonomy in migrant men to resist other

masculine identities just like in the Australian experience. Workspace can be charged with masculine attributes through the behaviour and interaction of people that operate in that space. It seems men shift their gender performances to meet their economic needs even when it means doing feminized labour, they will re-wire their masculinity conceptions to install a masculine quality in feminized jobs.

Intimate partner violence where men are perpetrators can be understood as a way men subordinate women while also trying to maintain patriarchal power that may be challenged due to women's economic empowerment in the face of men's unemployment. Struggle masculinity was once respected and hegemonic but collapsed at the dawn of democracy, which means masculinities rise and fall within the same community context due to the influences of socio-political restructuring at state level.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In South Africa masculinity has been studied in conjunction with various topics. In this research project, the experiences of men are studied in relation to migration and how space influences or shapes ideologies of masculinity and perceptions on violence. This research was conducted in the informal settlement of Bhambayi. This study aims to provide important insights on the hegemonic masculinity of African young men; whether space has influence on human behaviour; as well as the views of these young men with regards to violence as a solution to resolving conflict. This chapter specifically outlines the processes undertaken to collect information from young, African men living in Bhambayi. Due to the nature of the study being a small scale project, which focused on understanding migration and masculinity from the experiences of participants, a qualitative approach was used. This chapter begins by providing an overview of the study setting. This chapter also discusses the process of data collection as well as the sampling procedures used for this study. Additionally, an explanation of the techniques used to analyse data is discussed. This chapter also outlines the ethical considerations and the limitations of the study.

3.2 Study Setting

This study focuses on one informal settlement of Bhambayi, situated in one of the most poverty-stricken regions in KwaZulu-Natal. Bhambayi is characterized by high levels of unemployment and as a result, most households are heavily dependent on state social grants and often tenuous income generating strategies (Raniga and Ngcobo, 2014). Bhambayi was established as a satellite in the Inanda region during the apartheid era and is fairly typical of informal settlements in South Africa. The settlement shares many of the same socio-economic and demographic characteristics as other informal settlements in South Africa. The words of Preben Kaarsholm (2006: 2) reign true even today when he said:

“What strikes one most on entering Amaoti or Bhambayi from the morning onwards is the vast number of young people in particular who hang around in the open, often smartly dressed and with little to do but to spend time in discussion with one another.”

However, there has been a slight improvement in the community with the introduction of two malls like Bridge City and Dube Village. These areas have brought job opportunities for community members but also a chance for street vendors to sell nearby the busy Dube Village mall. The houses found in the informal settlement of Bhambayi are diverse in terms of structure and material composition, which can be seen in Figure 3.1 below. Historically, a section of the Phoenix settlement that was inhabited by an Indian population was destroyed by Black people during the Inanda race riots in 1985, and as the area became vacant it was later occupied by black people and came to be known as Bhambayi (Lahiri, 2010; Desai, 2014). Bhambayi is comprised of diverse African ethnic groups and this mixing of groups can be traced back to the dawn of democracy when Bhambayi became home to migrants from a number of places including Zululand and the Transkei (Kaarsholm, 2008).

When looking at research done about Bhambayi, the literature is vastly concerned with the setting's experience of civil wars and many forms of post 1994 violence (Hemson, 1994; Kaarsholm, 2006; van Baalen and Hoglund, 2017). The experience of people from low income housing in coping with poverty and the scourge of HIV/AIDS (Mthembu, 2010; Raniga and Simpson, 2011; Raniga and Motloun, 2013); as well as community development ideas and roles of social workers in the community (Simpson, 2001; Larsen et al., 2013). The aftermath of wars and violence has resulted in initiatives that attempt to heal the community; Emmett and Smith (2000) present reports of actions taken by the KwaZulu-Natal Programme for Survivors of Violence that created interventions in partnership with other key players. Ntombifikile Dunga (2014) researched service provision of the Bhambayi drop-in center in her masters dissertation. She discovered the important roles the center provides to OVCs (Orphans and Vulnerable Children) such as shelter and food; the training of foster parents who take care of children orphaned by the scourge of HIV/AIDS.

There is minimal documented literature on gender dynamics, and ideologies of manhood involved in low income houses of Bhambayi. This should be explored especially in the wake of historic civil wars that were predominantly participated by men. The information presented above provides a brief background of the type of

environment that exists in the informal settlement of Bhambayi. It also shares insight on the focus of research topics that have previously been explored by other authors. This place was chosen to elicit the lived experiences of male migrant youth currently residing in Bhambayi and their feelings about dominant notions of masculinity and its influence in shaping violence.

Figure 3.1: Photograph of houses of Bhambayi



3.3 Research Approach

For this study, a qualitative approach was undertaken using an interpretative paradigm. A qualitative rather than quantitative approach was chosen because of interest in exploring the lived experiences of young men. Qualitative research is a method of collecting data that is characterized by seeking words instead of numbers, those words help to generate a more in-depth understanding of social life. According to Marshall (1996) qualitative studies aim to shed insights and provide understandings of complex issues and are particularly useful for gaining information on ‘why’ and ‘how’ research questions. The data was obtained using semi-structured interviews. A quantitative approach would have not allowed open ended responses to questions and would have eliminated the generation of narratives that are the strengths of the

qualitative approach. However, the disadvantages of qualitative research and using interviews is that you cannot verify the accuracy of the reports by participants as they are self-reported. A qualitative approach is suitable to conduct conversations with participants and get their understandings and lived experiences on issues like migration, masculinity and violence. This research used semi-structured interviews to collect the data. Semi-structured interviews are characterized by a flexible topic guide with a loose structure of open-ended questions that explore people's views and experiences, and are thus advantageous for generating richer data (Al-Busaidi, 2008). In most qualitative research, interviews are commonly used. The other reason for using this method was to explore in-detail the historic perspectives and experiences of men living in Bhambayi.

3.3.1 Sampling Strategy and Characteristics

Fourteen (14) participants were selected for this study. The aim was not to generalise findings but rather to gather a detailed understanding of the lived experiences of the participants in the context of Bhambayi. While the minimum or adequate sample size is a debated issue, Marshall (1996: 523) claims that "an appropriate sample size for a qualitative study is one that adequately answers the research question." Knowing an active community member from the study setting of Bhambayi proved to be advantageous in recruiting participants using the criterion sampling method because he is familiar with the people of his community and knows where they come from.

This research project had a selective approach in terms of identifying the population for the study. There was a desire to understand the hegemonic masculinity of African young men who live in the informal settlement of Bhambayi; to also know how the spaces they migrate to influence their behaviour; and whether or not they deem the use of violence as a valid solution for resolving conflict. This niche topic of investigation required that the process of identifying the sample population be selective in such a way that participants meet the criteria. A criterion sampling method was therefore used whereby the population recruited for the study needed to have certain characteristics. Criterion sampling involves studying all the cases of a

population that meet a predetermined characteristic of importance for the study (Suri, 2011).

In order to be eligible to participate in the research project, participants had to be from the urban informal settlement of Mahatma Gandhi (Bhambayi); males aged between 18 and 34 years; they must have migrated between a rural area and the urban informal settlement of Bhambayi. In other words, someone who has experienced living in a rural home but is currently living in Bhambayi at the time of the study. They were deemed capable to talk about ideas of masculinity found in two different contexts, rural and urban. If other methods of sampling were used, they could have resulted in the collection of data that cannot be used to answer the research questions, particularly if the participants did not meet the qualifiers of the study to be able to compare rural and urban masculinity.

According to Stats SA the broad definition of youth is regarded as ages 15-34 (Statistics South Africa, 2018). The study included men who were both employed and unemployed. The interviews were conducted in isiZulu, but the participants comprised of Zulu and Xhosa men who all could speak isiZulu and were very versatile in the language. Certain participants migrated permanently from the rural area to Bhambayi, while some were circular migrants as their family still lived in the rural areas. Some participants came to the semi-structured interviews wearing ANC yellow t-shirts and one had a wired jaw, a swollen left cheek from a beating he suffered at a tavern area. However, he was able to speak and he was audible. Participants were interviewed individually in Bhambayi at the Dube Village parking lot.

3.3.2 Data Collection

The researcher went to the community councillor's office to seek consent in accessing the community and recruiting participants for the research project. The data for this research project was collected using semi-structured interviews and a voice recording device. Using interviews was suitable in order to obtain narratives and personal accounts from participants. These narratives are useful in formulating themes for data

analysis. A mobile recording device was used to record the interview conversations with the participants. The minimum duration of interviews were 20 minutes, while the longest interview lasted 45 minutes. Such methods are in accordance with the statutes of qualitative research because it seeks to make sense of the thoughts, beliefs, actions and activities of participants, as well as to understand the subject from their point view (Pugsley, 2010; Elshafie, 2013). The researcher asked questions in order to obtain the participants' perceptions and experiences on migration, hegemonic masculinity and violence.

The data collection process started in August 2016 and ended in May 2017. An informant or recruiting assistant who is an active community member in Bhambayi was contacted during the week by the researcher, and requested to identify participants who have homes in the rural area or once lived in the rural area but are now based in Bhambayi. The recruiting assistant would then identify participants for the study, accompany them to meet up with the researcher on Saturdays at Dube Village, which is a shopping mall in Bhambayi. On other instances the recruiting assistant would send the researcher cell-phone numbers of potential participants who were then contacted to be interviewed at a convenient time and day. The participants and the researcher would then sit inside a car in the parking lot of Dube Village mall and have the interview, through the windscreen they would gaze at the informal settlements and Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses of Bhambayi on the opposite side of the street. Sitting in an enclosed place like the car assured privacy and comfortability of participants to be able to engage with the questions thoroughly.

The data collected in a local language, isiZulu, and was transcribed verbatim by the researcher into text. The data was later translated into English by the researcher for a detailed examination.

3.4 Data Analysis

The text was coded and grouped into themes that touch on the topics of research objectives such as hegemonic masculinity, influences of space and perceptions of violence. Themes are fragmented recurring ideas that are grouped together to make

collective meaning; they can be identified in the text through the participants' recurring vocabulary, feelings and conversation topics (Aronson, 1995). The responses were grouped into themes that are informed by Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity. From the themes the researcher could deduce ideas and behaviours of participants that are characteristic of hegemonic masculinity, influences of space and perceptions on practices of violence. Thematic analysis can be defined as a method for systematically identifying and organizing themes of data that resonate in order to enable the researcher to deduce meanings and offer insight of the shared meanings and experiences (Braun and Clarke, 2012). The grouping of data according to its similarity and shared meaning is called coding as the researcher organizes data that will produce resonating ideas across the population sample of Bhambayi.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

This research project was approved by the ethics committee at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. A gatekeeper's letter was obtained from the community's councillor who required an explanation of the research project before giving a stamp of approval. The participants involved were told about their rights to either agree or disagree to take part in the research project, and thus an informed consent form was completed by each of them prior to starting interviews. All participants were informed that the researcher is a Masters student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and this was part of his research project. A remuneration form was signed and after the interview was finished participants were given an amount of R100 for the time they took to answer questions posed by the researcher. All identifying information was removed from the transcripts and pseudonyms were used to refer to or identify participants. In the conduction of interviews the privacy of participants was ensured by hosting the interviews in a closed motor vehicle.

3.6 Limitations of the Study

Contrary to studies that say witnessing violence at childhood, particularly domestic violence, results in that child practicing violence later in life the participants in this

study claimed not to be perpetrators, while public and domestic violence has been and still is an eminent feature in their lives. Although the methodology of the research used interviews as tools for data collection, there are no means of knowing how factual the accounts of participants are as this is self-reported data.

Participants may have attributed positive behaviour to themselves, denying violent perpetration previously or currently towards other men and women. They may have vilified their community instead. They may have omitted stories, downplayed or exaggerated the social ills of Bhambayi due to the nature of the relationship between the researcher (an outsider) and participants that are natives. Class differences between participants and the researcher may have influenced responses as the researcher disclosed he is studying at a university and welcomed participants in his car to interview them inside the vehicle.

Participants gave definitions of what it means to be a real man although they themselves claimed they were lacking those characteristics of a real man. However, some still find other means to justify that they regard themselves as real man despite lacking the means of fulfilling the ideal characteristics of provider masculinity. While marriage and provider masculinity were aspirational amongst the sample, they felt the act of respecting yourself and others still makes you a real man. The time constraints of the research caused a reduction of questions as well as the time span of each interview. As a researcher I did not probe extensively in order to avoid lengthy narratives of numerous examples because that would result in saturated data, as this is a masters dissertation.

The research did not ask about the year or period of the conflicts that made them migrate away to the rural areas to Bhambayi and from Bhambayi to the rural areas. This would have helped shed light if all participants spoke of the same period about the occurrence of political wars. Due to not knowing the time frame, the new question that arises is does the existence of threatening violence show up continuously at different times in Bhambayi. There was also no way to validate the participants' migration patterns because their experiences of rural and peri-urban communities is fundamental for this research in shaping understandings of mobile masculine identities.

Some participants might have performed self-censorship in reporting a history of violence where they may have been perpetrators or victims. Since I also arrived in a car and conducted the interviews inside the car, perceptions of class might have influenced participants' manner of portraying their image towards the researcher. Although being from Umzinyathi area, which is not far from Bhambayi, as well as having a reputable informant who lives in Bhambayi, resulted in some shared identities that alleviated ideas of an 'outsider' that can potentially be misled about Bhambayi. Some participants when referring to the people who have an ideal masculinity, they would assume the researcher probably knows that person as well.

Prior research studies on masculinity and place (context) in South Africa are not widely found. This is depriving of knowledge that could have better equipped the researcher and informed the interview questions. The accounts given by participants, which is self-reported data is hard to verify, as the methodology of this research project was not ethnographic but utilized interviews and a focus group.

3.7 Summary

In this chapter, the researcher attempted to provide a more detailed understanding of the study setting of Bhambayi. The qualitative method was used as the research topic requires a descriptive approach that can generate narratives from the sample population who were asked interview questions about masculinity, influences of space on behaviour and whether or not violence is a legitimate solution for resolving conflict. The criterion sampling method was chosen because the research topic and objectives required a specific niche population that meets certain qualifiers. The limitations of the study which are associated with resource and time constraints, as well as power dynamics between researcher and participants were listed above. The following chapter presents the findings collected using qualitative semi-structured interviews.

Chapter 4 - Results

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of semi-structured interviews conducted in Bhambayi. It outlines some of the main findings from the semi-structured interviews with men. The objective was to discover participant's notions of manhood, perceptions of violence and the experiences of migrating and living in a rural area and an urban informal settlement. The names used here are pseudonyms in order to protect the identity of members of the sample as agreed on the informed consent prior to being interviewed.

4.2 Sample Characteristics

Table 4.1 shows the characteristics of the participants who were interviewed for the study. The participants of this research project consisted of men from two ethnic groups, Xhosas and Zulus. The men were aged between 18 and 33 years old. They were mostly unemployed with the exception of three. Of these three, one worked in deliveries, while the other two had just received contractual jobs and did not disclose their job titles and work responsibilities. However, they obtained their jobs from the community councilor. The sample was relatively well educated with only two having dropped out of high school; the remainder had at least completed their secondary school education. Only one participant was still studying at the Durban University of Technology.

The participants who were all individually interviewed had some experience of living in the rural areas. Some were born in the rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal and in the Eastern Cape but had then migrated to Bhambayi. The specific rural locations mentioned by participants are Port Shepstone (Nzimakwe), Harding, Richmond (Kwamagoda), Mzimkhulu, Mbumbulu (Madundu), Mtubatuba, Zululand, Ulundi (Dlebe), Eshowe, Eastern Cape (Ntabankulu), and Ngcolosi (Inanda). These rural areas are their places of birth for some participants; while others had been born in Durban, and there were places they escaped to during times of civil wars and violent political conflict. One participant was born in Marianhill, has a rural home in

Mzimkhulu but currently lives in Bhambayi. The other was born in Umlazi, grew up in the rural areas of Eshowe but when he was thirteen he came to live in Bhambayi. While the other was born in Ntuzuma, he now lives in Bhambayi and went to Ulundi for a certain period of time during the violent political conflict. The scattered family structures allowed the participants to migrate in situations of danger or when mothers were not able to look after their own children due to the demand of their jobs, and the children would then be sent to their aunties and grandmothers in the rural areas.

Table 4.1: Characteristics of the study population

Pseudonym	Age	Education	Employment	Rural Home	Reasons for migrating
Adam	22	Grade 9	employed	Ntabankulu (Eastern Cape)	Work
Beckett	31	Grade 12	Employed (contract)	Mtubatuba	Violence
David	30	Grade 8	Unemployed	Port Shepston	Education
Mike	30	Grade 12	Unemployed	Port Shepston	Work
Simon	29	Grade 12	Unemployed	Eastern Cape	Health
Samuel	25	Tertiary	Unemployed	Ulundi	Violence
Spencer	30	Grade 12	Unemployed	Richmond	Violence
Zakes	30	Grade 12	Unemployed	Zululand	Violence
William	32	Grade 10	Unemployed	Harding	Witchcraft
Brian	29	Grade 12	Unemployed	Ngcolosi	New house in Bhambayi
Dennis	18	Grade12	Unemployed	Eshowe	Parents lived in Bhambayi
Robert	33	Grade 12	Unemployed	Umzimkhulu	Work
Eric	31	Grade 12	Employed	Eastern Cape	Education
Jaceon	25	Grade 12	Unemployed	Mbumbulu	Violence

4.3 Reasons for Migrating

The participants who migrated from the rural area to Bhambayi had a variety of reasons for coming to the informal settlement. The rural areas were characterized by a lack of resources such as schools and clinics. Some participants ran away from the rural areas due to life threatening events such as civil wars and witchcraft. These were some of the reasons that caused participants to move away from the rural area to the

informal settlement of Bhambayi. However, on the bright side, many admitted that in the rural areas, there was less crime, people had land for subsistence farming and houses are not congested like the current situation in the informal settlement of Bhambayi.

William fled Harding at a young age due to the witchcraft that left his older brothers dead and even made his father sick as he was supposedly kidnapped by an *inyanga* that enslaved him with *muti*. This incident led to his father being incapable of working and earning an income for his family.

I was this side (Bhambayi), so I left Harding at an early age because it was very difficult that side, if I didn't run away...people in the rural areas do a lot of witchcraft. I wouldn't be here [had I not left] because at home there were nine of us but we ended up being five. (William, age 32)

Spencer was forced to migrate to Bhambayi with his family because of the political violence. He was living in the rural area of Richmond when the area was affected by political conflict. Killings and the burning of houses became the order of the day. The family decided to relocate to the urban area because they feared for their lives.

It is wars, violence. There were wars in Richmond, in Magoda where Sfiso Kabinde is from. Yeah that is where we are from, our houses were burnt there and so we moved to this side. (Spencer, age 30)

Adam from the Eastern Cape and Mike from Port Shepstone came to live in Bhambayi for similar reasons. They wanted to search for work in order to be able to support themselves, and Adam primarily wanted to support his newborn child.

I left the rural home because I now had a child. I left to come here in order to be able to raise my child. (Adam, age 22)

What made me come here was to search for jobs because on that side jobs are difficult to find. (Mike, age 30)

Mike still visits Port Shepstone and claims the longest time he has stayed away from his rural home was a year and a half. Eric and David had similar reasons for leaving their rural residence, which was to access better schooling in Durban while living in Bhambayi. Eric, the last-born in his family is from the Eastern Cape. He arrived and settled with his mother, who was already living in Bhambayi, working in Phoenix as a grass (lawn) cutter.

I was a grown up, although I do not recall how old I was because I left to come to boarding school here (Bhambayi) (Eric, age 31)
I left Port Shepstone to come and study grade 8 here in Durban. (David, age 30)

David migrated to live with his aunt in Bhambayi due to being partially neglected by his mother who married another man after she separated from his biological father. As a child born out of wedlock he claims he was not receiving much assistance from his mother.

I was taken in by my aunt's family, due to the situation I just explained to you of parents not living together because my mother was married to another man but he died, then she was left with his house and my other siblings. But because I was born out of wedlock, there is a lot I do not receive so I can be able to progress with life and education, you know things like that. (David, age 30)

Zakes and Simon left the rural areas while they were still in the middle of their high school life due to a number of reasons but mainly poverty and ill-health. Zakes was forced to migrate to Bhambayi and lived with his mother due to unfavorable circumstances in the rural areas of Zululand, including the passing of his grandmother; high levels of poverty; distant schools; and the injury of his uncle who was the primary breadwinner in his household. His uncle was a truck driver but could no longer work as he was involved in an accident that crippled his leg.

He was driving trucks so he got involved in a truck accident and then went back home, so his leg could no longer bend normally as it should have. So he is no longer a person who can work properly, so he went back home. We continued and lived with my mother this side (Bhambayi) but he still tries to support me even now through his own means. So our movement from that side to here was due to that because that side I wouldn't have been even able to study while no one was working. So in order for me to find a school, I had to come this side (Bhambayi). (Zakes, age 30)

Simon left Eastern Cape because he was sick; his grandmother was too old to look after him; and so he came to Bhambayi to live with his mother who can take care of him in a place that has hospitals nearby. For him moving to Bhambayi was a better choice as he was able to further his secondary schooling.

It's just that it was no longer ok that side, what can I say, on that side my granny was too old and then my mother had to fetch me to come back and live with her, because things were not ok that side. I was sick, I had to come back here because hospitals are not close by that side, you have to travel a long

distance and my grandmother was unable to do that, so I had to come back this side so that my mother can look after me in whichever way she could, so that my health can be better because I dropped out of school that side and came back this side. I was then able to continue with life here. (Simon, age 29)

Brian left Ngcolosi around the age of five because his father had found a new house in Bhambayi. While these are migration patterns that push many of the men from the rural areas towards the informal settlement of Bhambayi, there are also participants from Bhambayi who migrated to the rural areas to seek shelter away from the violent political conflicts that took place in the informal settlements. Beckett for example left for the rural areas of Mtubatuba in order to be able to go to school there since in Bhambayi it was dangerous to roam outside due to the violence at that time.

What caused me to leave here and go to Zululand was due to the situation we lived under, which didn't allow us to get a chance to go to school due to the wars that were happening here at that time in Bhambayi. (Beckett, age 31)

Samuel left Bhambayi due to the violence and then lived in Ulundi for about three years. In Ulundi he lived with his paternal grandparents. Samuel's father remained behind in Bhambayi as he refused to abandon his house.

Ulundi is my father's home, here in Bhambayi there was once wars, so we as kids were forced to leave here and got sent to the rural home at my father's home. So we lived at my father's home. (Samuel, age 25)

4.4 Community Influences on Behaviour

The participants do not speak highly of Bhambayi as they say they are living in an informal housing settlement. The area is characterized by high unemployment; and is not conducive to raising their children. It is a place where there are only a few role models within the community. There is violence fueled by politics, ethnicity, drugs and alcohol consumption. The participants have stated that people in their community of Bhambayi do not have respect for each other. All participants ideally want to relocate to other places such as their rural homes so that they may live peacefully and avoid negative influences such as excessive drinking of alcohol, walking outside at night which is considered dangerous, dropping out of school due to influences of Bhambayi friends, and pressure to buy clothing brands in order to impress girls.

Participants who had migrated for various reasons and who came from different rural backgrounds but are now living in the informal settlement of Bhambayi; they were asked if the community of Bhambayi has had any influence in their behaviour. These questions were posed in order to determine if space or context influences people in order for us to consider how good and bad behaviour are constructed beyond the household.

Almost all participants were living in Bhambayi during their adolescent years. Bhambayi is classified as a fast environment, with high levels of crime and substance abuse. It is not often uncommon to find an absence of formal traditional practices such as the payment of *lobola* which results in couple moving in together without getting married. For Simon, William and David who migrated from the rural areas to Bhambayi, they ended up dropping out of school, due to their associations with toxic friends, in Bhambayi. David began to consume alcohol excessively when he came to Bhambayi because alcohol was readily available and to him it seemed to be a common habit of many of the community members. Participants also admitted to a number of influences including excessive alcohol consumption; pressure to buy good clothes in order to attract the attention of girls; and not going to work due to peer pressure and drinking with friends.

There was something that use to happen where you find that there are friends this side, girls on the other, everything in front of you, many things confused you. On the rural side I was young anyways, there was nothing, and I think I would have finished matric beautifully if things were going accordingly. (Simon, age 29)

The influence I took here (Bhambayi) was drinking alcohol a lot. (Mike, age 30)

The researcher further asked the participant if he was not drinking at all when living in the rural area, and Mike had this to say:

I was but not too much, I would skip a month or two without drinking. (Mike, age 30)

Beckett feels that if he were living in a different context, his business would take off but because he stays in Bhambayi it is not reaching its full potential. He believes

networking is the strength for any business and in Bhambayi this is not possible because people are self-centered.

Yeah brother, you see if you look at my thing, this thing of mine of baking cakes. If I wasn't living in Bhambayi, today I would have been able to fully call myself a businessman. Reason being, through influences and connections because I think in business, in order to be successful you need to have connections and influence; with that then you can be successful. So In Bhambayi although there are young businessmen but there is no time whereby they sit together and share ideas like in other places that I hear about through radio and newspapers. Businessmen from time to time tend to come together and share ideas in order for them to continue with their businesses. So in Bhambayi it's everyone for himself. If you have your own vegetable business, you don't want anyone to come give you advice like 'if you were to try and approach your business in this angle it can go up another step', that is how I can put it my brother. (Beckett, age 31)

4.5 Jobs and Unemployment

Participants were asked about their employment status as well as how they feel about being unemployed. The aim behind these questions was to try and understand how these young men feel about their ability to fulfill the provider masculinity. While a large portion of participants were unemployed, there were two participants who claimed to be employed by the councilor on a contractual basis. One other participant works for a company in Phoenix doing deliveries, which he obtained through an agent. The interviews reveal that participants do not classify jobs according to gender; and they are very willing to take any paying job because they felt that 'being picky is for the highly educated people'. They noted that in the context of high unemployment it is difficult to make a living.

Work is work, if you are serious about life, work is work. If you are still picky, then it means you are highly educated [giggles]. If you are still going to be picky...we are not educated, you see. (Zakes, age 30)

When the researcher asked if work or job positions are gendered or categorized in a manner that some are viewed as jobs suitable for men or for women, Simon disagreed.

There is none. (Simon, age 29)

The participants who were unemployed revealed that there were previously employed but were now not in any formal jobs. Some had worked in retail, restaurants, petrol garages, radio stations, as a security guard, lifeguard and in the circus. Beckett who had recently received a contractual job from a political party he follows at the time this research interview was conducted; also noted that he loves baking and he had turned this into a business that is able to support his own family. He is the only participant that reported being self-employed to some degree. Eric, a father of three children, lives together with his partner and worked at Shoprite as a merchandiser but left the job because he had been verbally abused by his superiors. He was on a contractual job that he obtained from his community councilor at the time of this research interview. Although not entirely pleased with the job he maintained that what matters to him the most is that he is able to feed his children.

Even though it (job) does not satisfy me but its fine because my children have something to eat before they sleep. (Eric, age 31)

David who was unemployed at the time of the interview claimed he would love to be a policeman in order to fight crime in the community; and when asked about job satisfaction in his previous employment, he claimed that due to his low level of education, he cannot be fussy about jobs. What matters is being able to have a meal on a daily basis.

Due to the fact that I didn't go further with education because I need money anyways, you are unable to pick that this job satisfies me or it doesn't satisfy me, as long as you receive a certain amount of money to live and be able to have something to eat before you sleep. (David, age 30)

Participants seemed to perform many different types of low-income jobs in order to make ends meet whenever an opportunity came. Spencer who is unemployed claimed he is still a breadwinner together with his mother who is a recipient of a government pension. However, he did not disclose how he provides for his family without having work.

The person who is a breadwinner for now, I could say it's my mother and me because my mother earns pension. Even though I do not have work, I still am a breadwinner because I'm the one who looks after everything. (Spencer, age 30)

Being unemployed makes participants feel emotional pain; and feel no different from a child who is reliant on parents for support. Unemployment makes one consider doing crime in order to provide for the needs of children. One participant (Mike) who has previously worked as a lifeguard claimed that being unemployed made him to turn to alcohol to forget about his problem. He notes that he relies on his friends with jobs to buy him drinks.

I don't feel right because other things in life are difficult if you don't have a job. Because in order to live you must live through money, so if you are someone who is not working, you also turn into a child because you end up asking your parents and say hey I am short of something. Even if you have your own child, you are still going to your parents to beg for something, you see what I mean. (David, age 30)

It's because when you are here [Bhambayi] you find yourself drinking all the time especially if you are not working. You drink all the time here [Bhambayi]; there are also too many people who drink here [Bhambayi]. (Mike, age 30)

So it is painful when they say father I need something and I can't provide. It's very difficult living without a job because in the end you can think about crime, which is the worse thing to do. (William, age 32)

4.6 Masculinity and Respect

Participants were asked questions about manhood and masculinity. They were asked to define a real man and whether or not these definitions vary from one location to the next. They were also asked if they have role models in their community of Bhambayi, and they were asked about their future marriage aspirations.

It must be highlighted that all participants when defining a real man in the rural context mentioned someone of mature age; who owned a house; having a wife and children; and livestock. As well as being more resourceful with possessions that distinguish them from most people like having an education and owning a car. These attributes resonated across all participants when defining a real man in the rural context; however highlighted below are individualistic presentations by the sample of what characterizes a real man.

In defining a real man and comparing rural and Bhambayi definitions of what it takes to be a real man, this is what one participant had to say about the Bhambayi context: a

real man has possessions and boasts about them; is aggressive, loves fighting and win those fights. These qualities was used to characterize a real man.

Ok, here in Bhambayi, the kind of way you need to be seen that you are a man, how can I put it... 'you show off'. Like you have tangible things that enable you to be seen as a man; and then this thing of respecting one another, that thing doesn't work here in Bhambayi. Like if you are a man [male] who has nothing tangible to show, the word 'man' to you is just a word. People here want you to have something tangible, 'so and so is a man'. Another thing that I tend to notice is that most of the time it's someone who is aggressive, like someone who likes to fight most of the time and wins those battles. When you do that the people take it and put it in a category they hey you are a man for real because you are able to do this and that plus you have tangible things. (Beckett, age 31)

However, most participants felt there is no real man in Bhambayi, and they offered characteristics of what they believe should be the qualities of a real man, a man they cannot recognize in their community. According to one participant, there is no real man in Bhambayi; there are just males and boys. However, historically those that fought in the wars were respected as they were fighting for a cause.

A man is someone who is able to stand...let me just make it easy and say something from where I grew up because this side (Bhambayi) I do not know - what a man is, I don't want to lie. Over here there are boys, there is all kinds of things. (Zakes, age 30)

Back in the day there were those situations of war, people who were fighting for something were respected. (Zakes, age 30)

The participants defined the characteristics of a real man based on their rural influences that they subscribe to, not the values cherished in Bhambayi. A man has to be of good conduct; persevere in adversity; has wisdom and discipline that he can impart to young people; dresses 'respectably'; socializes with many people; owns a house; has a wife and children that are well behaved; and possesses livestock. An even better real man is the one that supports his immediate and extended family successfully.

According to Zululand, a person who is a man, is a person who can stand against the things he faces at that time. He is able to bring his family together and make it a united family. And make sure there are no people who complain about lacking life necessities while he is present as a man. And in Zululand there are many responsibilities of a man because in Zululand you find that in your home there is livestock, if you are a man of that house then you are responsible for your livestock and your children and you relatives are

counting on you. Because most of the time you find that in Zululand a person who is a man is heading a huge family and you find that he is the only one who brings income to the household. So in that way that's where manhood starts to really appear whereby you are able to strongly handle/take care of your family. (Beckett, age 31)

For a man to be able to put an end to a violent conflict and remove criminals from the community elevates his status in the community. He is seen as superior among all other men in the sense that his masculinity is superior to others.

The methods of stopping that conflict is by getting all parties together in a meeting so that a resolution can be reached and there is peace in the community. However, the removal of criminals was not disclosed as to how that can be achieved.

As I had explained before, maybe there is a situation that is happening in the community, maybe there are criminals, Amaphara, you are the one who is able to deal with those things. You are the person others can recognize that you are a real man amongst men. You are a real man amongst men, which means the other ones are just little men but you are the real man amongst men because you are able to handle other things in the community that are bad. And the community really ends up being respected and dignified [besides saying...there is no need for you to have a big belly and an afro in order to be called a man, no]. You must be able to just say this is wrong, men let us sit down and fix these things. (Robert, age 33)

William was asked if he does not feel like a man since he does not have all the requirements of a real man that he mentioned (i.e. being married, owning a house and livestock). He replied and said no, you can still be a man even if you do not have anything. What matters the most is respecting yourself and having good behaviour.

No it depends on what type of a person you are, you can be a man while you do not have anything, what is important is respect, how you conduct yourself. (William, age 32)

This idea of respecting yourself by being well behaved served to be an alternative characteristic of manhood that one can perform when lacking the attainment of hegemonic masculinity, such as provider masculinity, marriage and the possession of cows. Adam and Eric who are from the same area, Ntabankulu in the Eastern Cape, spoke of manhood in the traditional sense of Xhosa culture. In order to be a man, you must go to the mountain, undergo circumcision and receive teachings on how to conduct yourself as a man. Once you are a man, you cannot associate with other men who did not get circumcised in the mountain.

A person who is a man, I can explain it like this: you first start out at ebukhwenkweni (boyhood), I can explain it according to the rural areas, not according to here in Durban. If you are a 'man' in the rural areas, you start ebukhwenkweni and step out of it, and then you become a boy. When you step out of ebukhwenkweni you are a boy who knows himself as to what he is. When you step out of that till you become a 'man', a 'man' is a man through his own things. A 'man' has a house, has a wife. You can't be a 'man' and think you will be a 'man' because you live at home. You are not a man if you live at home (parents' house). (Adam, age 22)

Participants were also asked about their future aspirations and specifically where they see themselves in five years and what they would want to achieve after five years. Mostly participants wanted to be owners of their own businesses; to own a house; and to be married and have children. This question was posed in order to understand their aspirational positions and determine if any form of aspirational masculinities will arise. With regards to marriage, all participants wished to get married in the near future for various reasons. Firstly, marriage is highly valued and it is a symbol of manliness; marriage gives dignity. In addition marriage is an institution that can provide protection from negative influences such as drinking till the late hours of the night; and lastly, it assists in making wise decisions about family.

The reason I wish to marry is because, I am going to refer to my initial statement...it helps to hinder you from certain things because I do not wish to be a busybody/wonderer. (Jaceon, age 25)

Yes, it's something like that. Getting married is good. That is how I see it; I don't know I have this belief that if I were to get married, my things would be all right, I don't know how. (Simon, age 29)

The thing that makes me wish to get married is because most people I see who are married pertaining to the man's side, leave alone the guidelines you received that can make you be a dignified male. But inside marriage if you have a partner as a male or female, you are able to behave accordingly in that situation because both of you think for each other and for the children if you have them, there is no one who thinks for themselves, at all times you think for others. So in that way you are able to refrain from a lot of things that happen around your life. (Beckett, age 31)

Three participants said that the concept of respecting another human being in Bhambayi does not apply. People take each other for granted; and in their diversity (ethnicity) they fail to tolerate one another. Notions and practices of respect from the rural area are different from notions of respect in Bhambayi.

...and then this thing of respecting one another, that thing doesn't work here in Bhambayi. (Beckett, age 31)

What I discovered here is really different because on that side...what I learnt here is that firstly respect is not the same in a township when compared to a rural area. (David, age 30)

However, the general community of Bhambayi respects people who have possessions or are more resourceful. The councilor is one example of a person who receives respect from the community. The community listens to him in silence when he addresses them. Others who are respected are those with small businesses in the community, such as taxi owners who are respected for the financial resources they possess. There is however those that fought in conflicts and during the apartheid struggle that are given respect in the community. Some of those people today are said to be the ones who kill criminals with the objective of removing those that abuse the community. Mob justice is a present practice in Bhambayi; criminals who are suspected of stealing are beaten up and asked to confess where they hid the stolen goods. The type of respect given to killers and those who carry guns is because of fear.

As well as the people who steal, if they are caught stealing there is no way they will not be beaten up, they are beaten and told to go reveal the things he stole. (Simon, age 29)

Honestly speaking, it is a place of wars. So most people who are respected are the people who are known that during the time of wars up until now, people know that this guy is a killer [giggles] that is an honest truth. This guy is a killer and if a war were to come right now, these are the people they know will engage in battle head on. So those are the people are well respected... (Samuel, age 25)

With regards to respecting each other, people of today are respected out of fear because he is able to beat up amaphara and kill them, all those things. He is not respected because he treats the community well. People are now respected out of fear; if I speak up against him then I would have to move out of the community. (Robert, age 33)

4.7 Role Models and Marriage

With regards to role models, most participants did not have anyone they could identify in Bhambayi as their role model. However, Jaceon identified his military

father who lives in Bhambayi as his role model because through the respect the community gives his father, he too benefits by being respected by community members. He also admires his father for not abandoning the ANC while he was struggling in his job as a security guard, but admires his loyalty to the point that his father's life is an inspiration to him. Zakes identified a community member who is popular as he fights for development in the community; he may not be rich but he is a fighter who finds means to make ends meet. Spencer identified a local business owner who owns many salons, wishing to be successful as he is but not necessarily engaging in the same activities as his role model because he is not a saint. William and Beckett identified role model figures in their lives that give them guidance and advice so that they make better decisions when faced with challenges. They aspire to have the wisdom and good conduct they see in their role models. These are the only a few participants, who identified a role model in Bhambayi. Simon identified his uncle who no longer stays in Bhambayi as a role model; he likes the lifestyle of his uncle as well as his dress style and his discipline. Other participants stated it was their parents, uncles or someone who once lived in Bhambayi but managed to relocate through their financial success. The people they mentioned are role models based on their perseverance, financial security, discipline, and possessions such as their ownership of a house.

When the participants were asked about their desire to get married, they expressed positive ideas about marriage. They claimed that it is necessary for men to get married in order for them to be recognized as a real man. A man without a wife is not seen as a 'complete' man. They also viewed marriage as a position that restricts you from bad behaviour and can possibly foster progress in life due to the teamwork spirit with the spouse and prioritizing of the needs of the children.

4.8 Violence

Participants were asked to compare the level of violence in Bhambayi and in the rural areas that they have lived in. All participants said Bhambayi had more violence and crime than compared to the rural areas.

According to my view the level of violence differs in these two places, because here in Bhambayi the level of violence is high. Even when you are chilling

sleeping at home, you will always hear gunshots. There are always gunshots...
(Mike, age 30)

Yes over there in Ulundi, they also have a level of violence but it is not the same as the one here in Durban. Here in Durban it is not easy because even the police service sometimes it can go beyond their scope such that they are unable to control the situation. So it ends up being that type of a situation.
(Samuel, age 25)

Some of the violence in the rural areas is said to be sparked by particular events such as a cow eating someone's food crops, which then escalates to a point whereby people pick up spears and machetes to defend their property. However, in some rural areas the chief and induna systems are recognized as being able to minimize violence. There was once political violence that caused some of the participants to migrate from the rural areas to Bhambayi. While some participants left the rural areas to escape violence, the situation today is peaceful to the point that participants aspire to build their houses in the rural areas because they are more peaceful.

The system of chiefs and all that is able to control the situation in order to avoid arguments or fights. Rather than...in the rural areas they would fight over the fact that your cow went into someone else's ploughing fields, so when there is that situation, it can be a serious issue because people in the rural areas rely on agriculture. So if your cow has caused damages it means a household is going to starve. So when they go hungry it ends up being a serious argument but rather than for that situation to lead up to where people fight, chiefs are able to intervene and solve all those things. (Samuel, age 25)

As much as I would be bored, I would be very happy to fix my mother's house because she doesn't want to leave here. But the place I would like to live at, I do wish to return back to the rural areas. I did recently go to Richmond, apart from the fact that the place is big, apart from the fact that it is now a bit developed because there are a few RDP houses and tared road is there. But what I have noticed which hurts us the most, we think late that we need to find a peace of mind. Spencer, age 30)

Each participant had his own belief as to what may be the cause of high crime rates and violence in Bhambayi. Some participants felt that drug use (mainly whoonga) and alcohol use are contributing to the high levels of violence. The consumption of alcohol is blamed for the violence in Bhambayi and the drinking spots are said to be the common places where people fight and injure one another.

Drugs like whoonga are also contributing to the crime. Participants mentioned that when addicts need a fix they resort to crime, robbing and mugging people. These crimes can lead to violence when a person retaliates or when the community seeks mob justice. The people who sell whoonga are also fighting with each other over territory such that when gunfights occur, other innocent people get hurt in the process.

It is places where people are drinking, where there are house parties. The other thing is that people from here in Durban fight over territory now, they don't allow boys from another area to come to their area to drink and then take the girlfriends from their area. That is where the injuring of people starts to happen. It is where people are mostly drinking, you won't hear people saying in church people injured one another. (Brian, age 29)

There is violence here, in a major way. What can I say, it is caused by people who smoke drugs like whoonga. The people who sell whoonga are shooting each other around this neighbourhood in such a way that innocent people get shot in the process. As well as the people who steal, if they are caught stealing there is no way they will not be beaten up, they are beaten and told to go reveal the things they stole. (Simon, age 29)

Some participants claim the high level of alcohol abuse is caused by high levels of unemployment. Unemployment is forcing men to engage in crime and violence. It is difficult in this situation to determine the cause and the consequence.

The other thing that I noticed, the thing that would end violence here [Bhambayi] is that if job opportunities could arise; maybe create things we can do as a youth to keep people busy all the time. (Brian, age 29)

Politics is also a source of violence. People use violent means to demand service delivery from the local government. Sometimes in political community meetings violence erupts; and it may be due to a political party wanting to win collectively so that they can be in a position of power that comes with financial benefits. Bhambayi is a place made up of many different ethnic groups living together as neighbours in one community. Sometimes these ethnic differences result in people not respecting or tolerating each other and thus violence occurs.

The political parties that are here are the cause of violence that exists here. Maybe if it could all change and there be no political parties and people are able to sustain themselves in whatever manner. Also loving money as well, that causes violence because what people know is that if we do not fight here, we won't get that money. There must be a fight here, people must die in order for this party to win and then obtain that money when it is elected. That is what causes violence here. (Adam, age 22)

Yeah, the thing that causes Bhambayi to have violence has to do with ethnic affiliation. People don't respect one another, due to the fact that we are different ethnic groups. Here we live in shacks, there are some people who do not know how to tolerate others; there are some people who do things that irritate others, in the end it sparks violence over something really small, something that just required people to tolerate one another or it required that the person should have not done a certain act because the other person will get offended. (Beckett, age 31)

Participants were also asked if they have been victims of violence; whether they have been involved in fights and whether or not they deem violence as a legitimate method of resolving conflicts. All participants renounced violence as a method of solving conflict; they say violence makes things worse; talking things over is a better solution.

Violence is not the right way. The right way is to talk and resolve the problem if there is one. Violence is a no because even if we fight, and someone loses, the problem won't end. (Mike, age 30)

However for some, fights are unavoidable because conflict erupts over various reasons. Some men can fight with another man over a girlfriend or injure another person for unknown reasons. Instead of attempting to avoid the fight, the person accepts the challenge, as he feels forced to fight in defense of his manhood because should he run or lose the fight then his manliness will be questioned or deemed inferior.

I have come across situations whereby you rightfully ask a girl out as you are a boy, but the girl has a partner. You bump into her partner while you saw a girl and didn't know her situation, the girl doesn't brief you that hey the situation is like this, her partner just comes to fight you instead of talking to his girl because you didn't know. He just picks a fight with you. That is how one of the fights happened. I ended up having to protect myself as I am a boy and I fought with that guy. (David, age 30)

In 2015 when we were about to cross over to this year [2016], I was stabbed, not that I was fighting, I was stabbed. A person stabbed me and ran away. He was stabbing me because I asked the person he was walking with 'hey what made you injured', this was a guy I knew. The one I did not know he just comes up to me and asks who I was and tells me to back off. I say calm down I do not know you, you do not know me either, there is no need for you to speak to me in the manner that you are speaking to me. He then says 'what you going to do?' I say no I won't do anything to you...(Simon, age 29)

Most participants claimed fighting was a thing of the past, when they were little boys tending to cows or playing soccer, but it no longer makes sense for adults to be

fighting. While some claimed they walk away to avoid fighting, others did not disclose their strategies of avoiding fighting.

No it was just soccer, you see when you playing soccer till you get angry.
(Adam, age 22)

At the time of the interview, one man expressed that he is hopeful about the future of Bhambayi with regards to development that can be delivered by the new councilor as his area has suffered discrimination from service delivery for years.

What can I say I feel a surge of anger and happiness at the same time because for about nine years back, we would see development [community] coming but because there are many areas that make up Bhambayi alone. In my area we were unfortunate because we were neglected, there was nothing done for us at all. The reason for that, is because the area I live in is a place for people who worked in the farms [plaza]. So our grandparents came here way back in the day when this place was just a sugarcane field. So they bought a patch of land, when they bought land they started to do their own farming; they started to make families. So over time that eventually became a problem. From the previous nine years when development came, we would be clearly told that the farmers will not receive it. (Beckett, age 31)

4.9 Summary

This research set out to investigate how migration from rural to peri-urban areas influences behaviors and shaped understandings of masculinity. The study was conducted in the informal settlement of Bhambayi located in Durban in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. In total, interviews were held with 14 men aged between 18-33 years. They had at some stage of their lives lived in a rural area but are currently living in Bhambayi. The participants were asked questions about characteristics of a real man, migrations patterns, influences from their community context, role models, the type of people that are respected in the community, employment status, five-year goals and violence that shapes their life experience.

Migration patterns of the participants between Bhambayi and their rural homes are circular but also non-circular; meaning participants constantly travelled between their rural home and Bhambayi, while some left the rural areas to settle in Bhambayi permanently. The mobility of most of the participants was fueled by the desire to improve their living standards. They moved to the urban area in search of education,

employment, better health care. However, others were forced to migrate in order to escape violent conflicts in their communities.

On arriving in the informal settlement of Bhambayi, some fell victim to excessive alcohol consumption, and other temptations of urban life includes partying and multiple partnerships. Participants do not speak highly of their community contexts because it is a place where people do not respect one another; some are respected but also feared for their violent behaviours. Participants further observe Bhambayi has many social ills such as crime, violence, and drug use. As a result, most participants desire to move back to their rural homes and build their houses there because they seek peace as well as an environment that will not have bad influences on their children. The crime is said to be due to high levels of unemployment and poverty; violence and injuries are fueled by ethnic differences, politics and excessive alcohol consumption. In being unemployed the participants said its results in emotional pain, feeling like a child and therefore they are powerless. Some turn to crime and excessive alcohol consumption to avoid their problems.

In defining ideas of masculinity, aggression and boasting about material wealth were general definitions of being a real man found in the informal settlement of Bhambayi. The participants did not subscribe to these notions of masculinity but participants drew definitions from their lived experience in their rural homes and asserted that a real man has a wife and children, a house, and is of a mature age. They further said he is resilient, protective, a provider to his immediate and extended family, he is respectable and dignified. The hegemonic masculinity in Bhambayi that was drawn from 14 participants was their desire of being able to provide for their families and to get married. Marriage was seen as an institution that can limit or restrict bad behaviour and propel them to be well behaved. Through the use of thematic analysis and the collective ideas that sprung from the responses participants gave, I was able to deduce the following conclusions by identifying data that relates and answers the research questions.

Chapter 5 - Discussion

5.1 Introduction

This research set out to investigate the hegemonic masculinity of young men living in the informal settlement of Bhambayi. The study draws on 14 semi-structured interviews with men, who mainly spoke Zulu. They were asked a range of questions including reasons for migration, constructions of masculinities and comparisons from rural and urban settings, as well as perceptions of violence as a legitimate method of solving conflict. All of the men had experienced living in the rural home but were now based in the informal settlement of Bhambayi; some performed circular migration; and others had migrated permanently from the rural areas to Bhambayi.

5.2 Discussion

The hegemonic masculinity theory provides analytical examinations and plays part in understanding and making meaning of the masculinities found amongst young African men in Bhambayi. Through interview interactions, a discourse was forged resulting in thematic nuances that the theory helps to place into perspective. From Connell's (2005) theory of hegemonic masculinity, we are able to understand the arguments and perceptions of men pertaining what is regarded as a real man, as well as how masculine identities are formulated amidst the presence of violence in their community. Migrating to a new context (host community) entails leaving with ideologies and practices of manhood from the home community. These ideologies are negotiated in the new context to form a masculine identity that either draws ideas from the new context or from the home community context. In this study, all participants identified with notions of masculinity which are prevalent in rural areas. The men did not want to adhere to masculinity performances or characteristics that exist in Bhambayi. There is therefore autonomy and decision-making involved in identity constructions of masculinity regardless of the community a person dwells in. The environmental context of the participants does not influence them indefinitely although some were influenced into drinking alcohol (excessively) and dropping out of school due to new social networks they found in Bhambayi. Participants showed autonomy in making decisions as they did not abide by the dominant masculinity in Bhambayi, which is aggression and boasting about material possessions. This is

indicated by the fact that a large portion of the sample did not have a role model that lives in Bhambayi; there were no male figures that they aspired to be. By possessing material wealth one gained respect from the public as well as the title of being a real man. The other argument however, is that the sample were not a group with material wealth, they were mostly unemployed so it is not known if they would subscribe to boasting about wealth if they possessed resources. In this research it was discovered that ideas of masculinities are place bound; there was a distinction between rural and urban masculinities. Place bound masculinities entails that ideas and practices of manhood are cultivated and circulated in a certain area or place due to the cultural norms which are celebrated by the people of that place as the study of Giddings and Hovorka (2010) has also demonstrated. When men migrated from the rural areas to a new context, they were able to dissociate themselves from ideas of masculinity held in Bhambayi but uphold rural perceptions and understandings of what constitutes a real man. This power, ability and preference dismisses beliefs that a place or community context has the power to influence indefinitely the behaviours of individuals who occupy the place.

There are many forms of masculinity and it can be universally agreed that there is a hierarchy of masculine performances, thus we have the concept of hegemonic masculinity that sits at the top of any cultural context. In the informal settlement of Bhambayi, providing for your family and getting married were the hegemonic masculinities that young African men aspired to possess. Based on race, class and nationality not all men can attain hegemonic masculinities, and in the Bhambayi context unemployment is high which then hinders the attainment of the hegemonic masculinity. Marriage was another highly desired institution and perceived to breed success, foster good behavior and completes one's masculinity. Participants felt it is much easier for married people to achieve their life goals because they function as a team. Gallivanting and drinking alcohol at night is regarded as bad and dangerous behavior because participants foresee marriage as fostering 'good' behavior because you can be able to decline from drinking with your friends in the late hours of the night out of the respect of your wife that needs you present at home. Marriage is also viewed as a completing feature of masculinity, meaning the ideal masculinity (hegemonic) is not obtained if one does not have a wife. It is almost as if masculinity is compounded by many aspects that when obtained in entirety yield the ideal type of

a real man. Fertility is also another feature of masculinity according to the views of young men in Bhambayi because they treat marriage and having children as inseparable components.

In the face of unemployment and lack of resources, the provider hegemonic masculinity becomes unachievable, leading to men feeling powerless, no different than a child that depends on their family for survival. Dependency is dreaded and considered not a feature of masculinity. The state of being powerless may be accepted or there can be a struggle to gain power in another form, such as committing a crime (theft and mugging) within the community. To some participants, they deem the practice of crime as an indication of frustration and lack of self-control by those migrants that are unemployed. As cited in Jacklyn Cock (2001: 40), “a starving stomach knows no law”. The powerlessness caused by unemployment is structural, as those without qualifications are excluded since they cannot sell their labour in the market. The men who are socially excluded resort to the use of aggression as a demonstration of being a real man but also because they view aggression as another component of masculinity that when directed towards doing crime can lead to the attainment of the provider masculinity. When desperate, weak and oppressed people in poor communities resort to murdering others as well as themselves in the process, this is called dysfunctional deflective violence and “dysfunctional deflective violence increases as poverty and exclusion feed despair, and as communities break down.” (Pallmeyer, 2003: 22 cited in Masango, 2004: 994). In as much as they speak on suicide bombing as dysfunctional deflective violence, I think it can be said that there is a calculated risk of doing crime that perpetrators ignore in light of the existence of mob justice that is present in informal settlements. It becomes clear why violence and crime is more prevalent in informal settlements because this is a context characterized by high levels of poverty which creates frustrations leading men to adopt an aggressive approach in life. Jacklyn Cock (2001: 44) says “in contemporary South Africa widespread poverty and a high unemployment rate have contributed to the commoditization of violence as increasing numbers of citizens have come to rely on criminal violence of various kinds as a means of livelihood”.

Aggression and violence as a tool to dominate other people is also found in the anthropological book of Philippe Bourgois (2003) called *In Search of Respect: selling*

crack in El Barrio, which is about the illegal drug trade established by immigrants in Harlem in America. Within this organized drug trade, machismo was the order of the day as a way to gain respect amongst peers in the drug business. In this book a ringleader named Primo said, “the only time I have full authority is when I’m really pissed off” (Bourgois, 2003: 84). This suggests that by being aggressive through his anger is the only time he has power and authority to command his workers who fear the potential violence he can unleash. Such people are found in the informal settlement of Bhambayi; they are feared for the guns they possess, and their historical participations in violent conflicts that once took place in the community. This is not a new phenomenon but similar to the gun violence found in Soweto. In the study in Soweto, Cock (2001) observes that the gun (AK47) was a symbol of power for the owner.

In Somali, speaking loudly and being able to make people follow your will characterized the hegemonic masculinity of the *raganimo* (Hansen, 2008). This provides evidence that some men exert influence over other men (and eventually women) through the use of aggression in order to instruct them. Being able to achieve these things gives an individual a sense of power and authority that is linked to being a real man over and above other men. There is therefore a contestation of power through the use of aggression and violence under the umbrella of masculinity performance. However, some men in Bhambayi felt you can still be regarded as a real man if you respect yourself and others while being void of the hegemonic masculinity of providing for your family and getting married. This notion of respect being linked to manhood might serve as an alternative masculinity in opposition to aggression. However, it needs platforms or institutions that can promote this idea of manhood and embed it in the culture of men.

Violence in Bhambayi is used in the political landscape in order to gain political power by fighting with rival groups in order to win elections that bring financial benefits and the ability to choose which areas receive development first. The local government can perpetuate social violence on the community members by showing favouritism and segregated development (i.e. only a selected few receive RDP houses). The community uses violent protest as a form of language when they demand service delivery from their local government. Violence is also used

collectively as a community (mob justice) in order to make criminals confess where they hid stolen goods. It is a way of inflicting fear on potential criminals and therefore mob violence is used as a tool in battling crime but not in resolving conflict. Violence is used as a means to an end. However, mob justice signals the people's belief that violence solves crime, but it also shows their distrust in the state police.

While in this research study violence is reportedly linked with drug use, politics and ethnic differences, the researcher cannot claim that drugs perpetuate violence or that drug abuse is a culpable cause for violence. Because that would suggest anyone who consumes alcohol or drugs becomes violent, meaning there is a link between drug use and mental impulses that enact violent and aggressive behaviour. This research was not cognitive in any nature, however from the data collected, it is clear that places where people drink alcohol was where the violence occurred the most.

In regards to ethnic violence, there are various ethnic groups and foreigners living in Bhambayi. This diversity means different ideologies of manhood that migrated via migrants are shared within one environmental setting of Bhambayi. In looking at Xhosa masculinity versus other ethnic groups; the Xhosa masculinity has a superiority bravado based on the teachings and code of conduct they receive in the mountain that includes separating themselves from others. Living in a cultural context such as the Eastern Cape where circumcision or *indoda* masculinity is admired, returning from the mountain comes with privileges and a form of high respect. But these privileges you cannot enjoy in any other cultural context such as Bhambayi where there is no masculine hierarchy according to the Xhosa masculine gaze because of the diversity of people. Therefore, everyone is seen as "equal". By "equal" I mean there is no Xhosa masculine hierarchy that is exalted collectively by the community context where *inkwenkwe* (uncircumcised male) is distinguished from *indoda* (circumcised male), everyone is the same as they are all male. This equality strips off the *indoda* masculinity with its privilege of respect and superiority that can be experienced in a Xhosa community. In the state of equality there arises a competitive spirit between ethnic masculinities and some feel the need to assert themselves through violence and aggression in order to subordinate the masculinity of the other. Male-to-male violence is also a contestation of a superior masculinity between different ethnic groups. There is a dangerous competitive nature in masculinity, especially when ethnicity comes into play.

This violence is ethnic but also xenophobic because it exists due to the intolerance by South African natives against foreigners that are said to be the cause of social ills such as crime and stealing of jobs. But the intolerance also occurs between South Africans in their different ethnic groups. The ethnic violence can be viewed by drawing on the theory of ethnic antagonism developed by Edna Bonacich (1972). She speaks of the creation of two markets, one of adequate pay and the other of cheap labour as the cause for antagonism; there is the neglect of masculinity in the equation because men are the targets of xenophobic violence more than women. The xenophobic violence is gendered.

5.3 Conclusion

Through the use of the theory of hegemonic masculinity the researcher was able to identify the highly exalted form of masculinity in the informal settlement of Bhambayi when analyzing data. This research suggests that hegemonic masculinity of young men in Bhambayi is central to provider masculinity as well as being able to pay bride wealth. Reports of violence are also found in Bhambayi and in comparison to the rural areas, the rate of crime is higher in the urban informal settlement of Bhambayi. However, participants do not deem violence as a way of solving conflict nor anything for that matter but at times they do find themselves in violent circumstances because of the hostility of their environmental context. Violence is therefore not an alternative masculinity in the informal settlement of Bhambayi as none of the participants glorify violence. This study also demonstrates that men will find at least one reason to deem themselves as real men in spite of their unemployment, single status and marginalization. To a large degree young men in the informal settlement of Bhambayi wish to relocate to the rural areas for peace because Bhambayi is not a place that is good for raising children as it is composed of bad influences. Bhambayi has many alcohol selling outlets, some illegal, which are conducive to violent clashes among people under the influence of alcohol.

The normative ideas of masculinity that say, “men do not cry”, “men are strong and aggressive”, are examples of hazardous teachings of masculinity. These ideas push men to not decline fights in the form of running or screaming for help to avoid

physical contact. However, they feel expected to fight; to be fearless; and show courage by engaging in physical fights as a form of displaying manhood and winning fights makes you manlier than the one who lost. In an article by Himlall and Morrell (2009) that investigated masculinities in a Durban high school, some boys reported not being able to refrain from physical violence in public because of student spectators who might deem the act of walking away as not being manly. These ideas of masculinity need to be redefined, and institutions must formulate alternative ideas of masculinity. Although it is good that some men in Bhambayi resort to respecting themselves by controlling their behaviour as another form of being a real man.

Violence, as a cause for migration is not largely reported in South African migration studies. Migration to urban informal settlements is largely understood in South African Migration Studies as related to the search for employment and poverty is seen as the driver of mobility. In this research participants move in search of better health care and safety from violent victimization.

5.4 Recommendations

For the methodology, using mixed methods would increase the validity of the self-reported data. Using tools such as semi-structured interviews and then grouping all the participants into a focus group would reveal commonalities, attitudes and shared narratives about the community context.

It is important to conduct further research on migration and masculinity in its various ethnic and cultural contexts because it might shed light on ethnic conflicts as well as xenophobia.

This research project can be regarded as exploratory research, and it taps into multiple topics on the relationship between manhood and migration, violence and manhood. These social topics need to be explored further in order to make sense of the social ills present in informal settlements around South Africa.

References

Ahmad, N., Hussain, Z., Sial, M.H., Hussain, I., Akram, W. 2008. Macroeconomic Determinants of International Migration from Pakistan. *Pakistan Economic and Social Review* 46, 85–99.

Al-Busaidi, Z.Q. 2008. Qualitative research and its uses in health care. *Sultan Qaboos University Medical Journal* 8(1), 11.

Anderson, B. 2009. “I’m not so into gangs anymore. I’ve started going to church now”: Coloured boys resisting gangster masculinity. *Agenda*, 23(80), 55–67.

Aronson, J. 1995. A Pragmatic View of Thematic Analysis. *The Qualitative Report*, 2(1), 1–3.

Banati, P. 2007. Risk amplification: HIV in migrant communities. *Development Southern Africa* 24(1), 205–223.

Bank, L.J. 2011. Home Spaces, Street Styles: Contesting Power and Identity in a South African City. London: Pluto Press.

Barker, G., Ricardo, C. 2005. Young Men and the Construction of Masculinity in Sub-Saharan Africa: implications for HIV/AIDS, conflict, and violence. Social Development Papers; no. CPR 26. Conflict prevention and reconstruction series. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Bhana, D. 2005. What matters to girls and boys in a black primary school in South Africa. *Early Child Development and Care* 175(2), 99–111.

Bonacich, E. 1972. A Theory of Ethnic Antagonism: The Split Labor Market. *American Sociological Review* 37(5), 547–559.

Bourgois, P. 2003. *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio*, 2nd ed. Cambridge University Press, United States of America.

Braun V, Clarke V. 2012. Thematic analysis. In: Cooper H, Camic P. M, Long D. L, Panter A. T, Rindskopf D, Sher K. J, editors. *APA handbook of research methods in psychology*, Vol. 2. Research designs: Quantitative, qualitative, neuropsychological, and biological. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Breckenridge, K. 1998. The Allure of Violence: men, race and masculinity on the South African goldmines, 1900–1950. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24(4), 669–693.

Burns, C. 1998. “A Man is a Clumsy Thing Who does not Know How to Handle a Sick Person”: Aspects of the History of Masculinity and Race in the Shaping of Male Nursing in South Africa, 1900-1950. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24(4), 695–717.

Camlin, C.S., Hosegood, V., Newell, M.L., McGrath, N., Bärnighausen, T., Snow, R.C. 2010. Gender, Migration and HIV in Rural KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *PLoS ONE* 5(7), e11539.

Campbell, C. 1997. Migrancy, masculine identities and AIDS: The psychosocial context of HIV transmission on the South African gold mines. *Social Science and Medicine* 45(2), 273–281.

Charsley, K. 2005. Unhappy Husbands: Masculinity and Migration in Transnational Pakistani Marriages. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 11(1), 85–105.

Cock, J. 2001. Gun Violence and Masculinity in Contemporary South Africa, in: Morrell, R. (Ed.), *Changing Men in Southern Africa*. University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.

Connell, R. W. 2005. *Masculinities*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Connell, R.W. 2002. On hegemonic masculinity and violence: Response to Jefferson and Hall. *Theoretical Criminology* 6(1). 89-99

Cramer, C., 2011. Unemployment and Participation in Violence. Washington, DC: World Bank. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/9247>

Crush, J. 2001. The dark side of democracy: Migration, xenophobia and human rights in South Africa. *International Migration* 38(6), 103–133.

Datta, A. 2009. “This is Special Humour”: visual narratives of Polish masculinities in London’s Building sites. Ashgate, UK.

Datta, K., McIlwaine, C., Herbert, J., Evans, Y., May, J., Wills, J. 2009. Men on the move: narratives of migration and work among low-paid migrant men in London. *Social and Cultural Geography* 10(8), 853–873.

Datta, K., Mcilwaine, C., Herbert, J., Evans, Y., May, J., Wills, J. 2008. Mobile masculinities: Men, migration and low paid work in London. University of London: *ESRC*. London.

Donaldson, M and Howson, R. 2009. Men, migration and hegemonic masculinity, in Donaldson, M, Hibbins, R, Howson R and Pease, B (ed) *Migrant Men: Critical Studies of Masculinities and the Migration Experience*, Routledge, 210-217.

Dunga, N.S. 2014. An investigation of the services provided by the Bhambayi Drop-in Centre in Inanda, KwaZulu-Natal for orphans and vulnerable children affected by HIV and AIDS (Dissertation). University of South Africa, South Africa.

Elshafie, M. 2013. Research Paradigms: The Novice Researcher’s Nightmare. *Arab World English Journal* 4(2), 4–13.

Emmett, T., Smith, C.H. 2000. Kwazulu-Natal Programme for Survivors of Violence, in: *Behind the Mask: Getting to Grips with Crime and Violence in South Africa*. HSRC Press, South Africa.

Friebel, G., Gallego, J., Mendola, M. 2013. Xenophobic attacks, migration intentions, and networks: evidence from the South of Africa. *Journal of Population Economics* 26(2), 555–591.

Gear, S. 2007. Behind the Bars of Masculinity: Male Rape and Homophobia in and about South African Men’s Prisons. *Sexualities* 10(2). 209-227.

Gibbs, T. 2014. Becoming a “big man” in neo-liberal South Africa: Migrant masculinities in the minibus-taxi industry. *African Affairs* 113(452), 431–448.

Giddings, C., Hovorka, A.J. 2010. Place, ideological mobility and youth negotiations of gender identities in urban Botswana. *Gender, Place and Culture* 17(2), 211–229.

Guba, E.G., Lincoln, Y.S. 1982. Epistemological and methodological bases of naturalistic inquiry. *Education Communicational Technology Journal* 30(4), 233–252.

Hamlall, V., Morrell, R. 2009. “I know that I could have walked away but there were people around there.” Masculinities and fights between boys at a Durban high school. *Agenda* 23, 68–79.

Hansen, P. 2008. Circumcising Migration: Gendering Return Migration among Somalilanders. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34(7), 1109–1125.

Hemson, D. 1994. Cry, the Beloved Country: land, segregation and the city, *Alternation*, 1(1), 27–42.

Housing Development Agency. 2013. *Annual Report*. South Africa. Available at: http://thehda.co.za/pdf/uploads/multimedia/HDA_AR_2013_for_web.pdf

Hunter, M. 2005. Cultural Politics and Masculinities: Multiple-Partners in Historical Perspective in KwaZulu-Natal. *Culture, Health and Sexuality* 7(4), 389–403.

Jewkes, R. 2002. Intimate partner violence: causes and prevention. *The Lancet* 359(9315), 1423–1429.

Kaarsholm, P. 2008. *Migration, Islam and identity strategies in KwaZulu-Natal: notes on the making of Indians and Africans*. Institute of Development Studies, Kolkata.

Kaarsholm, P. 2006. Culture as cure: Civil society and moral debates in KwaZulu-Natal after apartheid. *Current Writing* 18.

Kalichman, S.C., Simbayi, L.C., Kaufman, M., Cain, D., Cherry, C., Jooste, S., Mathiti, V. 2005. Gender attitudes, sexual violence, and HIV/AIDS risks among men and women in Cape Town, South Africa. *The Journal of Sex Research* 42(4), 299–305.

Kamndaya, M., Thomas, L., Vearey, J., Sartorius, B., Kazembe, L. 2014. Material Deprivation Affects High Sexual Risk Behavior among Young People in Urban Slums, South Africa. *Journal of Urban Health* 91(3), 581–591.

Kynoch, G. 1999. From the Ninevites to the Hard Livings Gang: township gangsters and urban violence in twentieth-century South Africa, *African Studies* 58(1), 55–85.

Lahiri, M. 2010. *Beautiful Infidels: Romance, Internationalism, and Mistranslation*. PhD Thesis. Duke University. Available at:
<https://dukespace.lib.duke.edu/dspace/handle/10161/2289>

Langa, M., Eagle, G. 2008. The Intractability of Militarised Masculinity: A Case Study of Former Self-Defence Unit Members in the Kathorus Area, South Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology* 38(1), 152–175.

Larsen, A. K., Sewpaul, V. and Hole, G. O. 2013. *Mobilizing Community Strengths and Assets: participatory experiences of community members in a garden project, in Participation in Community Work*. 1st ed. London: Routledge, 90–105.

Lurie, M., Harrison, A., Wilkinson, D., Karim, S.A. 1997. Circular migration and sexual networking in rural KwaZulu-Natal: implications for the spread of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases. *Health Transition Review* 7(3), 17–27.

Luyt, R. 2003. Rhetorical Representations of Masculinities in South Africa: Moving Towards a Material-Discursive Understanding of Men. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* 13(1). 46-69.

Luyt, R. 2012. Constructing hegemonic masculinities in South Africa: The discourse and rhetoric of heteronormativity. *Gender and Language* 6(1), 47-77.

Mankayi, N. 2010. Race and Masculinities in the South African Military, *Scientia Militaria - South African Journal of Military Studies* 38(2), 22–43.

Mankayi, N.; Naidoo, V. 2011. Masculinity and sexual practices in the military: a South African study. *African Journal of AIDS Research* 10(1). 43-50.

Marshall, M.N. 1996. Sampling for qualitative research. *Family Practice* 13, 522–526.

Masango, M.J., 2004. Aggression, anger and violence in South Africa. *HTS : Theological Studies* 60(3), 993–1006.

Memela, S., Maharaj, B. 2018. Refugees, Violence and Gender: the Case of Women in the Albert Park Area in Durban, South Africa.

Mfecane, S. 2016. “Ndiyindoda” [I am a man]: theorising Xhosa masculinity. *Anthropology Southern Africa* 39(3), 204–214.

Mistro, R. D. and Hensher, D. A. 2009. Upgrading Informal Settlements in South Africa: Policy, Rhetoric and what Residents really Value, *Housing Studies* 24(3), 333–354.

Moodie, T. D. 1992. Ethnic violence on South African gold mines, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18(3), 584–613.

Morrell, R. 2001. Corporal Punishment and Masculinity in South African Schools, *Men and Masculinities* 4(2), 140–157.

Morrell, R., Jewkes, R., Lindegger, G., Hamlall, V. 2013. Hegemonic Masculinity: Reviewing the Gendered Analysis of Men's Power in South Africa. *South African Review of Sociology* 44(1), 3–21.

Mthembu, N. C., 2010. *The appraisal of South African Public-Private Partnership strategy towards service delivery: a case of the experiences of families affected by poverty in Bhambayi informal settlement within eThekweni Municipality*. Available at: <http://uir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/23354>

Nast, H. J. and Pile, S. 1998. *Places Through the Body*. 1st ed. London: Psychology Press.

Niehaus, I. 2002. Renegotiating Masculinity in the South African Lowveld: Narratives of Male-Male Sex in Labour Compounds and in Prisons. *African Studies* 61(1), 77–97.

Nkealah, N. 2011. Commodifying the Female Body: Xenophobic Violence in South Africa. *Africa Development* 36(2), 123–135.

Oberai, A. S., Office, I. L. and Programme, W. E. 1987 *Migration, urbanisation, and development*. Geneva: Geneva: International Labour Office.

Pallmeyer, J N. 2003. *Is Religion Killing Us? Violence in the Bible and the Quran*. New York: Trinity Press International.

Posel, D., Marx, C. 2013. Circular Migration: A View from Destination Households in Two Urban Informal Settlements in South Africa. *The Journal of Development Studies* 49(6), 819–831.

Pugsley, L. 2010. How to ... Get the most from qualitative research. *Education for Primary Care* 21(5), 332–333.

Ragnarsson, A.; Townsend, L.; Ekstrom, A.; Chopra, M.; Thorson, A. 2010. The Construction of an Idealised Urban Masculinity Among Men with Concurrent Sexual Partners in a South African Township. *Global Health Action* 3(5092).

Raniga, T., Mathe, S. 2011. Private lives, public issues: childbearing experiences of adolescent mothers in the era of HIV and AIDS in Bhambayi, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Social Work* 47(3), 338-349.

Raniga, T., Motloung, S. 2013. The economic and psycho-social experiences and coping resources of family members caring for people living with AIDS in their homes in Bhambayi, Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa. *Social Work* 49(1), 87-100.

Raniga, T., Ngcobo, N. 2014. Economic experiences of single mothers in Bhambayi, Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa. *Social Work* 50(4), 516–528.

Raniga, T., Simpson, B. 2011. Poverty, HIV/AIDS and the old age pension in Bhambayi, Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa. *Development Southern Africa* 28(1), 75–85.

Sharp, J., 2008. “Fortress SA”: Xenophobic Violence in South Africa. *Anthropology Today* 24(4), 1–3.

Shefer, T. and Mankayi, N. 2007. The (Hetero)Sexualization of the Military and the Militarization of (Hetero)Sex: Discourses on Male (Hetero)Sexual Practices among a Group of Young Men in the South African Military, *Sexualities* 10(2), 189–207.

Simpson, B. 2001. Social work in informal settlements in the Durban Metro region. (PhD Thesis). University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

Simpson, B., and Raniga, T., 2004. Co-housing as a Possible Housing Option for Children Affected by HIV/AIDS: Evidence from Informal Settlements. *Urban Forum* 15(4), 365–379.

Statistics South Africa. 2018. *Youth Unemployment*. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

Steenkamp, L., Venter, D., Walsh, C., Dana, P. 2014. Socio-economic and demographic factors related to HIV status in urban informal settlements in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. *African Journal of AIDS Research* 13(3), 271–279.

Stevens, L., and Rule, S. 1999. Moving to an Informal Settlement: The Gauteng Experience. *South African Geographical Journal* 81(3), 107–118.

Suri, H. 2011. Purposeful Sampling in Qualitative Research Synthesis, *Qualitative Research Journal*, 11(2), 63–75.

Tuckett, A.G. 2004. Qualitative research sampling: the very real complexities. *Nurse Researcher* 12(1), 47–61.

Van Baalen, S., and Höglund, K. 2017. “So, the Killings Continued”: Wartime Mobilization and Post-War Violence in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 31(6), 1–19.

Van Hear, N. 2010. Theories of Migration and Social Change. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(10), 1531–1536.

Vearey, J. 2011. Challenging urban health: towards an improved local government response to migration, informal settlements, and HIV in Johannesburg, South Africa. *Global Health Action* 4.

Viljoen, L. 2015. Are you man enough? A Case study of the represented and experienced masculinity in the South African Police Service. *South African Review of Sociology* 46(3). 45-63.

Walsh, K. 2011. Migrant masculinities and domestic space: British home-making practices in Dubai. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 36(4), 516–529.

Wood, K., and Jewkes, R. 1998. "Love is a Dangerous Thing": Micro-Dynamics of Violence in Sexual Relationships of Young People in Umtata. CERSA (Women's Health), Medical Research Council, Pretoria.

Ziervogel, C. 2016. Know Your City: Why we need community collected data on informal settlements. SDI South African Alliance.

Appendix

1.1 Informed Consent form

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL

For research with human participants

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date:

Dear Participant

My name is Thobani Khumalo, a master's student from University of KwaZulu-Natal (Howard College). As part of completing my qualification, I am required to conduct a research project. This research project will look at the impact of migration on violence and masculinities in informal settlements. You will be required to answer personal questions and some questions will need you to recall certain past events about your life experiences.

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that aims to understand how migration from the rural areas to urban informal settlements affects the nature of young Zulu men's masculinity performances and perceptions. The study is expected to enroll 15 male participants from the Bhambayi informal settlement community who are between the ages of 18-35. Participants will be interviewed and asked open-ended questions which will all be recorded on tape. Handwritten notes will also be taken by the researcher or interviewer while the interview is commencing. Should you decide to participate, you must be aware that the duration of the interview is expected to last 1 hour.

If you as the participant feel that the questions you are asked make you uncomfortable, you have a right to withdraw from the interview immediately and no bad judgment or consequences will befall you. You have a right to retain your privacy.

Once the information has been collected and the interviews recorded, they will be analyzed by the researcher in order to understand and make meaning of your responses. This analysis will be written in an academic way and submitted to the department as Thobani Khumalo's masters paper. The information you give will be kept confidential in the hands of the researcher until he hands it over to the supervisor who will keep it privately locked up in the

office for a period of up to five years and then destroy it as rules and regulations of the university require.

Choosing to participate in the study has no direct benefits for you as a participant, however you will be reimbursed for the time you took to be interviewed. Participants will be reimbursed with an amount of R100 when they participate and answer all the questions.

This research project has been ethically approved by the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Humanities and Social Sciences ethics committee. In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher and supervisor at:

Researcher: Thobani Khumalo

Tel: 0312603088

Email: khumalot2@ukzn.ac.za

University of KwaZulu-Natal (Westville Campus)

Supervisor: Pranitha Maharaj

Tel: 0312602243

Email: Maharajp7@ukzn.ac.za

University of KwaZulu-Natal (Howard College)

CONSENT

I _____ have been informed about the study entitled: The Process of Identity Construction, Violence and Masculinities amongst Migrant Men in an Informal Settlement of Bhambayi.

I declare that I am 18 years and above, and I understand the purpose and procedures of the study. I agree to be interviewed and voice recorded by the researcher with a recording device.

I have been given an opportunity to ask questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time.

I am aware that my participation in the study will be compensated with an amount of R100 as a re-imburement for my time spent answering the interview questions.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher with the provided details.

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001

Durban

4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to: audio-record my interview.

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Researcher

Date

1.2 Interview questions

Interview Questions

Background

1. What is your name? Age?
2. Where were you born? Family members? Level of schooling?
3. Who is the bread-winner at home? What type of jobs do family members have?
4. How did you end up here in Bhambayi?

Migration and Informal Settlements

5. How would you describe the community of Bhambayi? It's culture
6. What are the reasons for leaving your rural home to settle in Bhambayi?
7. When you first moved to Bhambayi, how did you adjust to the lifestyle here?
8. What is different about living in Bhambayi and living in your rural home?
9. Has living in Bhambayi influenced your mindset or way of thinking?
10. Where do you ideally wish to have a house? Why?

Aspirations of Manhood

11. Do you have a job? What kind of a job? Are you happy with your work? Are you looking for employment?
12. What type of a job would be ideal to you? Why?
13. How do you feel about being unemployed?
14. What is a man according to you?
15. Do you have a role-model that lives in this community of Bhambayi? Why or why not?
16. What type of men do you think get respect or admired in this community?
17. What type of men get respect in your rural home? Is it the same as here in Bhambayi?
18. Do you wish to get married in future? Why?
19. What do you wish to achieve in five years to come?

Violence

20. What are the usual reasons that cause men in your community to be in a conflict and fight each other?
21. Have you ever been in a fight?
22. Who initiated the fight?
23. What were you fighting about?

24. How did you feel after the fight?
 25. Do you think violence is good in resolving disputes?
 26. Can you compare violence or fighting occurrences between Bhambayi and your rural home?
 27. Where is violence prevalent the most (between Bhambayi and back home)? Why do you think this is so?
-