Izikhothane: Masculinity and Class in Katlehong, a South African Township

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June 2015

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in Community-Based Counselling done at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- Finally, I would like to thank Andrew Graham for editing my thesis and keeping his comments challenging, interesting and quirky.

ABSTRACT

The following thesis explored a specific subculture called *skhothane*, or *izikhothane* in the plural, which has taken root amongst the male youth in South African townships. *Izikhothane* are primarily concerned with music, fashion, dance and linguistic prowess in relation to their counterparts. They performed against their counterparts in order to gain status, prestige, fame and renown. These in turn were exchanged in some instances for other desired outcomes such as access to women. This study explored the intersecting factors that have caused the rise and transformation of this subculture. The contextual factors can be understood as historical, economic, and social. Other factors such as masculinity, gender, race, ethnicity and class seem to be playing a role in the meanings that *izikhothane* make and the lenses through which the view themselves and their urban spaces. In addition to the above the *izikhothane* were looked at in relation to subcultures that were formed during apartheid, such as *comrades, tsotsis, comtsotsis and pantsulas,* for example. This has given an idea of the continuity associated with subcultures and the generational factors that lead to their formation. The frame work that was used, for the most part, to critically understand this practice was primarily taken from Foucault's conception of space, Winnicott's formulation of transitional spaces, Bourdieu's ideas of capital, and Erikson's work on youth identity.

Key words:

Skhothane; treansitional spaces identify; masculinity; fashion; space; South African townships; capital; class; resistance; subculture;South African music; pre-post-apartheid.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1   INTRODUCTION

In keeping up with specific and appropriate trends and knowing how to conduct oneself in a specific manner whilst exercising that particular identity, there are four essential trends with which a *skhothane*[1] needs to be intimately involved, namely, clothing style and attire; music; linguistic creativity and mastery; and dance. Although all must be proficient in all of these, when battling[2] it usually falls to the member who is the most skilled at a particular activity to perform it. Doing so brings respect, status, prestige and fame to the crew and its people, and it is the ability to strike jubilance and admiration from the onlookers that allows them to acquire respect. This may cause significant distress for people who cannot meet the criteria before an event, however, when met it brings a sense of belonging, mastery, contentment, recognition and freedom. Recently taken up, the engagement in increasing numbers of the *skhothane* subculture and practices will be the subject of this research.

The term *skhothane* can be translated as "to lick", or in the pluralistic sense, *izikhothane*[3], "those who lick" (City Press, 2012; SAPA, 2012). The practice is associated with a *skhothane*, who wears luxurious, colourful clothing that makes an impact on the crowds who have come to view a particular event. These events are held regularly as a competition for status in which rival groups compete for the "king" *izikhothane* title. There are three main events each year, in April at the Rand Show, in June at Thokoza Park, and in September at Marine Park, as well as numerous smaller or local events. The point is to make sure that one's attire is the most expensive and well-appointed, however, only certain brands of clothing are considered popular, such as *Arbiter, Sfarzo, Spazzo, Carvellas, Nike, Porsche,*

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[1] Throughout the paper the term *skhothane* will refer a singular participant within that subculture or to the subculture itself.

[2] The term 'battling' will be used throughout the paper and can be understood as a performance which is gauged against a rival group or individual through clothing, dialogue or dance. It is not considered to be violent or to physically harm others but rather a kind of debate.

[3] Throughout the paper the term *izikhothane* will denote the plural, referring to a number of people within a particular group or in the subculture in general.

Avita, Adidas and *DMD*. The battling of rival groups sees groups determine differentiation from one another, and the winning group asserting superiority (Moya, 2012). Winning earns respect and exposure for those *izikhothane*, as reports on the clothing, dance moves, dialogue and general activity attributed to the winning *izikhothane* are made on various local radio stations. This is perceived as providing greater access to women, power, fame, status, prestige and respect from spectators (Mathebula, 2012). There have been reports of *izikhothane* destroying clothes and valued items to send a message that they value those commodities less than their counterparts, thereby inferring greater wealth and status at being able to do so (Bambalele, 2012; SAPA, 2012). Not only are clothes destroyed but lavish alcohol is poured onto the floor, money torn and, in general, anything that is considered to be of worth destroyed (SAPA, 2012). Based on an early analysis by the researcher, this does not seem to be the case currently, although the participants have suggested that it occasionally happened in the past. Khaas (2012) stated that people, such as Kenny Kunene who gained fame through eating sushi off the bodies of women and generally conducting himself through a particular masculine identity, are viewed as role models who others idealise in terms of clothing styles and particular traits. Characters from the television programme *Yizo Yizo*, such as 'Zola 7', are also idealised in terms of their clothing, character traits, style, lifestyle and music choice.

This paper aims to evaluate the practice in terms of masculinity, class, race, ethnicity, gender, sense of belonging and various forms of cultural capital, that is, disposition to act in a particular manner as a result of an investment by a significant other,[4] in the context of a historical, social, economic and cultural discourse. The ever-changing context of South Africa is investigated to determine how and why this identity has developed, with reference to past subcultures and practices. Identities developed during apartheid, an extremely oppressive time for blacks in which resistance arose, have been associated with its constraining forces. However, *izikhothane* will be investigated in terms of the post-apartheid forces that push people to construct new identities. The vestiges of segregation, sanctions and identities have left gaps that need to be filled if people have a chance of moving past, whilst not forgetting the origins. As a result of these aforementioned factors, *spaces*, *places* and *texts*[5] have been precluded or denied existence. For instance, rural and urban centres did

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[4] Refer to theoretical framework for an in-depth understanding.
[5] Refer to theoretical framework to gain an understanding of these terms, however they will be discussed in detail throughout the paper.

not mix and people could not move freely between them. Similarly, global and local spaces could not be moved between as a result of sanctions. People' identities were determined by the oppression they were experiencing, whether in a conforming manner or through resistance.

These elements thus need to be examined and made sense of, so that the transition from pre- to post-apartheid can be understood. In line with this, the geographic area of focus is one in which the forces of apartheid were particularly strong, but resisted by people's chosen identities. Those same areas will be investigated in terms of post-apartheid contextual factors and how identities and subcultures were constructed. By understanding the masculine identities that form in relation to context, one can begin to understand the subjective experiences that people have and are exposed to. They can be gauged in terms of historical meanings, which can then be understood in the present (Bogatsu, 2002), allowing for the exploration of how young people make meaning of the past and the present, and how they tackle current challenges to make a better future. As the dynamics of race, class, ethnicity and gender can be fluid and are influenced by global and local politics, with a sense of continuity from the past to the present, the manifestation of identities are also predisposed to current trends and active participation (Bennett, 1999; Dolby, 2000; Jensen, 2006; Nuttal, 2004; Xaba, 2001). With an understanding of this, researchers can see how participants view themselves and construct their identities, thus shedding light on the coping mechanisms, sources of mobility and forms of cultural capital that are tapped into, whilst also gaining insight into the oppressive and exploitative forces against which these mechanisms are geared. It also enhances awareness of how these people not only view themselves but also how they define and understand the other (Dolby, 2000).

1.2. A HISTORY OF SUBCULTURES

Before going further, an understanding of the formation and development of past subcultures is important, as many of the mechanisms, rituals, styles and beliefs are present today, if in a reinvented or reconceptualised manner. Elements such as language, music identification, fashion, dance, values, beliefs, style and lifestyle can be understood as a sense of continuity from the past, and can thus be used to further conceptualise subcultures today (Dolby, 2000; Erikson, 1970; Xaba, 2001).

1.2.1. The rise of *Iscamtho* (language)

Language may be seen as a form of resistance that people and subcultures crafted through dialect during apartheid. The origins lie in the 1920s, when a lexical dialect known as *Iscamtho* was developed by gangsters, an essentialist term understood as primarily negative by the dominant class for a group of people or masculine subcultures of the time (Aycard, 2010; Hurst, 2009). It was seen as indicative of low status and was not spoken to one's elders or at home. It was spoken by men, and women who spoke it were seen as prostitutes or shebeen girls. Women were expected to have identities different from men and not engage in the same activities (Aycard, 2010). It also begins to show how multiple identities are played out according to one's context, for instance *outside* the house or *inside* the house. *Iscamtho* was the language for talking with friends whilst acting within one's subculture, whilst at home one would act out a different identity (Bennett, 1999; McRobbie & Garber, 1976). Subcultures are thus not static, concrete or all-encompassing, but rather contextual, fluid and abstract (Bennett, 1999, McRobbie & Garber, 1976).

When the apartheid government began moving and segregating sections of the population it caused a number of people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds to come together in areas that they would not otherwise have (Aycard, 2010; Hurst, 2009). People who were forced to endure relocation and segregation began to develop new forms of language that incorporated a number of dialects from different cultures and ethnicities. Although there was usually one main language in households, usually from the male side, there were many intercultural marriages in which different languages were brought to the family. Other family members from different areas of the country may have lived in the household, increasing the number of languages spoken (Aycard, 2010; Hurst, 2009). It was this coming together of rural and urban influences and the numerous spoken languages that caused the rise of multilingual lexicons, characteristic of which was a defiance towards ethnic division, with the perpetrators unable to understand the newly forming languages. This is an example of active identity formation as a form of resistance (Aycard, 2010; Bennett, 1999). The resistance to the system that was aimed at dividing the population came in the form of language, through participation, as everyone felt a necessity to be able to communicate with other oppressed people. This allowed for great social value in that it represented a unity or

cohesion amongst people opposed to a system intent on segregation and disorganisation (Aycard, 2010; Hurst, 2009).

There is continuity between *Iscamtho* and *Tsotsitaal*, which formed subsequent to *Iscamtho*, as the former was a language manifested through gangs in the early 1920s and the latter was appropriated by youth in the 1960s, with minor changes to the lexicon. Although *Tsotsitaal* gained popularity rapidly but it lost momentum after the 1976 Soweto uprising, which was mobilised as resistance to the proposed and carried out legislation that everyone be taught in Afrikaans (Aycard, 2010). Subcultures are fluid and have an active element through which people appropriate them, however, structural and social circumstances allow them to form, playing a role in the formation of their lexicons. At the same time, they see active participation and selection by the people in what is acted out in response (Bennett, 1999; Bourdieu, 1977b). The people who were mobilised and part of the uprising also had significant support from their parents, not only through their endowment of a resistant attitude but also through the multiple lexicons to which they gave them access (Aycard, 2010; Yosso, 2005).

Thus *Iscamtho* became the multilingual lexicon of the youth which then incorporated other African languages, possibly barring *Venda* and *Tsonga*, as they represented more rural and primitive connotations (Aycard, 2010; Hurst, 2009). This multilingual framework and sense of identity became one which subcultures used to represent themselves and this came to embody resistance and essential meaning for them. This 'essentialism' meant in this context that the characteristics were inherent to the subculture, which cannot be understood or exist without certain traits. The frameworks held symbolic meaning through resistance to the structural changes and embodied individual meanings to people, such as a sense of belonging and community (Bennett, 1999). Sophiatown became the platform through which *Tsotsitaal* developed in the 1960s, as a number of people relocated due to the economic recession in the 1930s and 1940s. The people speaking the lexical dialect were known as *tsotsis* and in addition to their language being a distinguishing factor they had influences from American culture in the form of their dress and style, bringing a global and local flavour to this subculture (Hurst, 2009). This shows how these people, through active participation in their identity formation, were able to choose their style and were not forced to appropriate certain styles and trends based on their class (Bennett, 1999).

In addition to the language developing there, Sophiatown was a site of political resistance, activism, intellectualism, black journalism, writing and jazz music, thus *Tsotsitaal* became a symbol of resistance, by which segregation was broken down and people could unite through a universal language, along with the elements mentioned above. They developed a sense of mastery, recognition and freedom (Aycard, 2010; Hurst, 2009). *Tsotsitaal* was developed with the influence of the Coloured culture in Sophiatown which had Afrikaans as its spoken medium but which gained Zulu influences in the 70s and 80s as a result of the segregation and relocation to Soweto and surrounding areas (Hurst, 2009). It is important to understand the implications of or the assumptions made of those who could speak *Tsotsitaal*, as they were considered to be from urban centres with rural influences, thus bringing in an urban and rural flavour (Hurst, 2009). This is important as people who developed an urban knowhow or identity were considered as having greater esteem than those who were too rural (lacking knowhow), or too urban (or *educated*), as they lacked the rural toughness. *Kalkoen* was a derogatory term used for the rural or educated *ivies*, and *ndofaya* the urbanised resistant *clevers* (Aycard, 2010; Hurst, 2009). Each was valued by certain generations, however the subcultures and a large portion of the youth valued the middle ground between urban and rural, a combination of the two.

The segregation, and apartheid in general, caused the formation of *mapantsula's, comrades, com-tsotsi's, tsotsis* and *clevers* which, in the highly politicised climate, came to represent resistant masculine identities and subcultures that could manipulate and fight the apartheid system (Hurst, 2009). These subcultures, that used the above dialects, were idolised and held in high esteem by the youth and were seen to be prestigious participants of urban life. Having appropriated urban styles as their own, while at the same time maintaining their identity or authenticity of 'blackness', they not only resisted the government regime and readily fought them but also had access to money, expensive cars and clothes, women, fame, status, and prestige (Aycard, 2010; Glaser, 2000; Hurst, 2009). *Iscamtho* provided a sense of admiration and interest amongst the youth who wanted to be like them. They were the embodiment of "street-wisdom", "city-slickness" and "urbanisity" and symbolised respect, status and prestige.

The language used can be viewed as an identity marker for the youth, or can be understood as the cultural capital that determined boundaries for who was included and who excluded. In the context of *Iscamtho*, it outlined to outsiders who knew township life but who has also

obtained urban slickness and knowhow; that they were able to make the transition from one to the other whilst maintaining both (Aycard, 2010; Bourdieu, 1986a, 1986b). The subcultures that used and developed these lexical dialects, as mentioned above, embodied a sense of resistance to the apartheid regime as they were seen as the only ones with any personal dignity. They formed the black hegemonic masculinity of the time, marginalising or subjugating people who sought to educate and confine themselves to the academic, allowing themselves to be dominated by the apartheid government (Hurst, 2009).

Modisane (1986, pp. 228-229) wrote:

> …the white man fears the *tsotsis* who are perhaps among the only Africans who have personal dignity; they answer white arrogance with black arrogance, they take their just desserts from a discriminating economy by robbery and pillage. The educated African is confined by academic rationalisations, the *tsotsi* is a practical realist; he is sensitive and responds to the denials and the prejudice with the only kind of logic western man understands and respects.

They defined themselves as opposed to mainstream ways of thinking and of being, with the implication that the identities and subcultures developed in the context of apartheid embodied the implicit disempowerment of the oppressive government or social climate which culminated in violence, criminality and rejection of work ethic (Glaser, 2000; Hurst, 2009). Thus, the notion of masculinity became entwined with the idea of violence and social discord as an expression of manhood, resistance and a denial of dominant ideology and class (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002).

Another factor that distinguishes *Iscamtho* and *Tsotsitaal* is the playing with and recreation of the language itself, as one gains an upper hand by making a manipulation that another does not expect or understand. This shows a tenacity and prowess, much like the linguistic hip-hop styled battling that people engage in today (Aycard, 2010; Hurst, 2009; Nuttal, 2004). This playing with language serves to develop identity markers and build unique and specific identities as generations go by (Hurst, 2009). The formation and bricolage of language in these settings provide a means through which to make a transition and connect urban and rural settings, whilst the clothing they wear does this on a global and local level mixing both.

1.2.1.2 Music

The interplay between language and music is another significant element, relying on their transformation and development to maintain status and manipulate the desired symbolism. Thus, implicit in this is the ability to elicit ingenuity and creativity (Hurst, 2009), as a medium through which people can make meaning of transitional periods and contexts, helping navigate local versus global, rural versus urban and pre-apartheid versus post-apartheid, as well as gendered identities. The development of *kwaito* allowed this essential part of the expression of a new South Africa, a backdrop against which people compete with each other, facilitating the transfer of quirky dialect conflicts in which the medium for creativity moved from *Iscamtho* towards *Kwaito* and *Iscamtho* (Aycard, 2010; Mhlambi, 2004).

People competent in this receive praise, respect and fame, which allows the positive development of self-esteem, mobility and recognition (Aycard, 2010; Jensen, 2006). The term *Kwaito* was derived from an *Iscamtho* word, *amakwaitosi*, initially meaning 'gangster', which in turn derived from the Afrikaans term *kwaai*, meaning 'angry'. It is the point at which the youth began to exercise a freedom of expression which was oppressed by the apartheid government, giving it an extremely politicized nature (Mhlambi, 2004). *Kwaito* arose out of *shebeens*, informal drinking taverns in the townships which embodied a resistance to the oppressive context as they were selling alcohol outside prescribed areas in which to do so. It is an amalgamation, as are the aforementioned languages, of various cultures and cultural influences.

One can begin to see the ideals that people strived for and which at the end of apartheid were voiced more clearly, freedom (to practice their agency) and recognition (for being bold enough to resist) (Comaroff, 2013; Maqoma, 2011; Mhlambi, 2004). The forms that developed from a coming together of cultures were *Mbaqanga, Maskand* and *Isicathamiya*, which was subsequently replaced by *Bubblegum* in the 1980s (Mhlambi, 2004). The development of this genre was a step forward in the resistance of apartheid but was also seen as manifesting in a shift in cultural definition from rural to more urban forms, as with the progression and manifestation of language explained above (Mhlambi, 2004). *Kwaito* allowed a coming together of all oppressed people, especially with the introduction of television. It fostered and fosters, in some instances, social integration, a sense of belonging and a sense of community by which people could unite under a single resistance front in the

face of oppression, and become politically active against an oppressive regime (Glaser, 1990; Mhlambi, 2004).

Kwaito, having developed as gangsterism, began to deteriorate, however lyrics maintained the lexical dialect of *Iscamtho* and additionally included more traditional praise-poetry, *izibongo,* from the African diaspora (Mhlambi, 2004). It incorporated or was influenced by a number of other places, movements, cultures and music, notably Sophiatown, Soweto, Katlehong and reggae, jazz, hip-hop, and house music respectively, thus highlighting influences from the African Diaspora (Aycard, 2010; Lipsitz, 1994; Mhlambi, 2004). Music has a long history of being resistant and politicised, often against a backdrop in which oppressed people can display and express their dissatisfaction with current circumstances and do something about it, displacing current or dominant forms of music and allowing an entering of non-dominant capital into a dominant market (Jensen, 2006; Lipsitz, 1994). *Kwaito* came to the forefront of an entirely reinvented and transformed subculture which incorporated the development, alongside and as a result of it, of style, fashion, clothing, music, dance, and dialect. It made a move from political activism and resistance to having fun and celebrating the newfound freedom, liberation, rising self-esteem, recognition and social and psychological mobility (Aycard, 2010).

In order for this movement to have achieved such momentum, role models were needed. As the development and spread of *Iscamtho* was facilitated by slick gangsters with money, style and women, *Kwaito* was facilitated by actors, musicians and superstars (Aycard, 2010). Actor and musician *Zola 7* popularized *Kwaito* significantly and is still seen as a role model amongst the youth. Other role models, such as Kenny Kunene, have been influenced by *Zola 7* and the television programme *Yizo Yizo*. In the film *Tsotsi* he played a gangster, himself becoming a role model for youth and the propagation of *Kwaito*, along with its styles and implications. He has come to embody a sense of masculinity which incorporates a global, local, urban and rural flavour, as well as an image of a strong black male in post-apartheid South Africa (Aycard, 2010; Hurst, 2009; Mhlambi, 2004), thus the youth use these people and styles as identity-markers to provide legitimacy of blackness and style, again with influence from both urban and rural life (Aycard, 2010).

According to Aycard (2010, p.69):

The democratization of South Africa opened the door for the social recognition of township youth and their culture, and Iscamtho as an embodiment of the imagined new society quickly took advantage of it… The former criminal language is today so much part of the everyday life of the youth in the institutionalized media and in the cultural vector that it has obtained a new social meaning and is now gaining a new respectability in many more settings than previously.

1.2.1.3 Dance

In addition to the formation of dialectical and musical tastes, dance too is an extremely important element to discuss in terms of continuity, identity and subculture. A number of pre- and post-apartheid dance genres have emerged which can often be associated with a sense of freedom to express oneself and be recognised, as with *Kwaito*, and these developed in parallel to musical and lexical development and transformation (Daly & Tobo, 2010). There are numerous types of dance, however, the important aspect to look at, as with the multilingual lexicons, is not the variation but rather the necessity for transformation through generations and associated continuity. Some of the more recent are *Pantsula, Marabi, Isbhujwa, Diski, Hip-hop, the Mine Dance* (Daly & Tobo, 2010), and in terms of language the point is to be able to reformulate and transform ways in which to express oneself, letting current circumstances and contexts influence the transformation. However, it is the individual's active decision to transform and chose how to transform that permits the maintenance of agency whilst being continuous (Aycard, 2010; Bennett, 1999; Hurst, 2009; Xaba, 2001). The ability to do this delineates or allows people to define their identities and to form boundaries through which to express who they are, allowing them to obtain or practice agency in their lives (Aycard, 2010; Hurst, 2009).

In line with the development of *Mbaqanga, Maskanda, Isicathamiya, Bubblegum* and *Kwaito*, dance moves also developed and transformed. Considering an earlier form, *Marabi,* which developed in the 1920s and was followed by *Isicathamiya, Pantsula* and others due to urban migration, one can see how the urban and rural influences began to develop and become subsequently valued (Maqoma, 2011). With all the migration, urban (from rural areas) and external (from international countries), that has been experienced in South Africa, a coming together of various cultures, including dialects and music, manifests in the

amalgamation and bricolage of these cultures into new or adapted dance forms and cultures (Daly & Tobo, 2010; Maqoma, 2011). During the segregation movement, and when people were forced to relocate, dance represented a mechanism through which to maintain their cultural heritage whilst forging a new identity in an urban context, and so to practice agency in a time when this was very restricted (Maqoma, 2011). As Coplan (1985, p.239) noted, "The rich and varied associational life of urban Africans has long included performance as a major focus of identity formation and cultural patterning."

Alongside the various subcultures that formed in these segregated areas, such as *hippies, ivies, tsotsi's, comtsotsis, and clevers,* the *pantsulas* developed a specific dance style that incorporated *Marabi, Breakdancing* and traditional African dances (Daly & Tobo, 2010; Maqoma, 2011). Fashion was again important in distinguishing identity and so people belonging to specific subcultures could be quickly discerned. The moves and styles quickly spread and progressed through competitions, as cultures were exchanged and transformed to determine who was best at certain actions, earning the winners fame, respect, status, prestige and women (Maqoma, 2011). These manifestations were not only as a result of different cultures, values and beliefs coming together but also a response to a particular context of the people, as well as their agency to practice and appropriate what was possible under apartheid (Bennett, 1999; Glaser, 1990).

1.2.1.4 Fashion and clothing

Fashion has long been associated with identity, not only with a chosen or appropriated identity but also through oppressive mechanisms (Musangi, 2009). As an element of colonialism, clothing was often used to outline political subjugation and subordination, internally oppressing people through what Foucault (1977) identified as the 'panopticon' (Musangi, 2009), after the prison design which allowed guards to watch all inmates at once, such that, in this case, the oppressed feels continuously watched and labelled. The oppressor lies just out of sight, waiting for the individual to transgress a particular boundary, for instance their clothing. One can also understand this in terms of Foucault's conception of 'biopower', by which people are controlled by using their own bodies against them and under the supposition that it is for their own good. This is reminiscent of apartheid, when one's skin colour was used for segregation on the basis that it would benefit everyone

involved (Foucault, 1977; Musangi, 2009). Conversely, it can be used as a point of resistance, for example by women who some religious groups compel to wear a veil, but who thus become all-seeing but not observable facially by the usually male oppressor, thus making the latter a victim to his own transgression.

During apartheid, blacks were required to wear various types of clothing to label them and outline what function they were supposed to be serving in a certain context (Musangi, 2009). For example, female domestic workers ('maids') were compelled to wear a uniform by their employers ('madams') as an identity marker, whilst mineworkers wore gumboots, overalls, vests and hard hats (Musangi, 2009). Thus clothing might have been partially functional, or for the wearers' safety, but it also had significant roots in terms of its meaning in the development of identity, coming to be associated with class, gender, race, ethnicity and power (Foucault, 1977; Jensen, 2006; Musangi, 2009). Some used these identity markers to outline a sense of pride and resistance through participation in the oppressive mechanisms (Freire, 1970). Miners would hold gumboot dances in which they slapped their boots in choreographed displays, and recently the wearing of overalls by a political party (Economic Freedom Fighters) has been used as a symbol of defiance (Goldhammer, 2014; Suttner, 2014). Sometimes reclaiming one's cultural clothing and heritage instead of borrowing icons or symbols from oppressors, individuals can also express a sense of resistance and disquiet. The combining of cultural symbols and oppressive symbols can convey an even greater message through expressing the meanings of what is felt by the wearer and what is desired.

Tsotsis, in 1940s Sophiatown, adopted various American forms of clothing, including that sported by the American Mafia, as gangsters had the knowhow and ability to resist the current dominant regime or government, as the tsotsis wished to do in South Africa, albeit for different reasons (Hurst, 2009). As mentioned above, it is not only the coming together of other cultures, beliefs and values but also the context in which the subculture arises. The *tsotsis*, as disempowered black South Africans, felt an identification with the gangsters in taking on life and making their own way without thought or consideration for mainstream society. A distinguishing feature for subcultures is to avoid mainstream trends so as to be able to define themselves and practice their agency (Hebdige, 1995; Hurst, 2009; Thornton, 1995). Items from global and local spheres are appropriated by subcultures and given meanings by people, in the case of clothing not with an already assigned identity or meaning, but rather new meanings being created through the construction of the subcultural identity

(Hurst, 2009). The clothing becomes their own in a process known as 'hybridisation' (Howes, 1996). As mentioned above, however, it is also influenced by social conditions and the process of structuralism, whereby people's experience, internal and external, can be understood through the coming together of overarching systems within that society.

Kwaito also played a role in the formation of fashion symbols and has thus influenced the fashion industry. Brand names such as *Stoned Cherrie*, *Loxion Kulca*, *Sun Godd'ess*, and *ama kip kip* (Mhlambi, 2004), together with certain fashion styles, embody what the language, music and dance styles represent, notably the merging of urban and rural styles (Mhlambi, 2004). This too can be understood in terms of global and local consumerism by which products are appropriated and hybridised to represent the various cultures and desired symbols (Bennett, 1999; Hurst, 2009; Mhlambi, 2004). Subcultures act as a metaphor for the country, one in transition and whose people feel they are in an in-between and coming together phase, as with urban and rural, global and local and pre- and post-apartheid (Hurst, 2009; Maqoma, 2011; Winnicott, 1953), showing a "… connection between dress and an imag(in)ed identity alongside a seemingly shared virtual culture of consumption amongst Johannesburg youth" (Musangi, 2009, p.52).

Clothing becomes a marker for a number of things, particularly a subculture that indicates class, race, ethnicity, gender, urbaneness, and age (Musangi, 2009), and it is important to have appropriate role models who endorse the clothing so that people may feel that they are appropriating their characteristics and thus gain increase access to various resources, privileges or status levels (Musangi, 2009).

1.2.1.5 Gender

Gender is an important aspect to include as the process of subjectification and socialization begin early in life. The process of developing a gendered identity is therefore intrinsic to the process of identity formation, as are elements such as class, ethnicity, race and culture (Clay, 2003; Laberge, 1995). The formation of an identity in light of one's gender develops in relation to each (Laberge, 1995), with a gendered perspective be seen in *Kwaito*, usually with a man and woman singing. The male, however, usually plays the leading role, on which the woman's part relies for its power (Mhlambi, 2004). This outlines how women may aspire

to the same level of fame, but in the context of subservience, which is also common to a number of music genres and discourses (Laberge, 1995; Mhlambi, 2004).

Femininity has often been subordinate to masculinity and has been observed by Clay (2003) to be constituted by a performance, as is a male's masculine identity, through the use of cultural capital that is developed in relation to and in terms of the relationship with the masculine performers (Laberge, 1995). According to Clay (2003, p.1354), a female's "style of dress and attractiveness was part of the cultural capital she needed to assert a Black identity in the setting. However, her popularity was centered on her relationship to the boys at the center." One can see here how people used cultural capital to gain or define the boundaries of identity, however, affirmation and control of it is dependent on a gendered perspective (Dolby, 2000; Laberge, 1995; Nuttal, 2004). As Clay (2003, p.1354) continues, "These factors suggest that for Black women to be accepted or given attention in the setting, they had to perform a particular gendered identity that is both Black and female".

1.2.1.6 Habitus

Bourdieu defines 'habitus' as an individual's position in society or social space, coupled with the contextual determinants and conditions through which he or she is influenced and that cause the production of specific dispositions. However, one must not rule out that people have agency and can actively choose what they may appropriate. These dispositions are ways in which the individual experiences, perceives and appreciates the world, taught to the recipient through repeated exposure and instruction by virtue of the specific space or environment to which they are exposed, making habitus a "socialised subjectivity" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.126). These dispositions or appreciations or tastes are then given into action and practice in a world which then infers certain assumptions upon them, that the individual acts them out allows them to appear to embody and own them; affording them certain allowances and acceptance into particular social circles and structures based on the appearance of togetherness and belonging (Bennett, 1999; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

The habitus thus upholds the "illusion of an intrinsically chosen or properly creative action" (Laberge, 1995, p.136), but:

…is not the fate that some people read into it. Being the product of history, it is an open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures. It is durable but not eternal! (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.133).

It is shaped by history, seen in a twofold manner, firstly in the way an individual's dispositions are influenced and shaped by their socialisation and the direction through which they are "travelling" in a given society, and secondly by the generations that have come before them and help to shape the cognitive structures that appear to present as an intrinsically found talent or structure, but are actually capital that has been passed on from one generation to the next (Laberge, 1995). According to Bennett (1999), subcultures do not form only as a result of the structures to which people have been exposed, but they play an active part in the formation and production of dispositions, what Bourdieu (1993) calls 'reflexive analysis' and attributes to the criticisms that he prescribes to the notion of social determinism whereby people do not have the ability to act out their own needs. It is difficult to overcome one's first proclivity towards habitus with reflexive analysis (Laberge, 1995),

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p.136) argue that:

… we are the ones who endow the situation with part of the potency it have over us, allow[ing] us to alter our perception of the situation and thereby our reaction to it. It enables us to monitor, up to a certain point, some of the determinisms that operate through the relation of immediate complicity between position and disposition.

Lauretis (1986) suggests that people come to this ability to reflexively analyse through the crossing point of meaning and experience.

This becomes relevant in the context above when the subcultures have developed various dispositions as a result of continuity as well as the historical make-up of social conditions and structures. However, when people realise the insidious effect of a particular arbitrary inference they can rebel or cause dissent, thus breaking from their initial proclivity to act out their dispositions and confront their oppressor (Bennett, 1999; Bourdieu, 1977b; Bourdieu & Waquant, 19992; Laberge, 1995). Two examples of this can be seen in the abandonment of *Afrikaans* in *Tsotsitaal* when the government tried to force all learners to be taught in it, as well as the clothing choice of the Economic Freedom Fighters, when they perceived as insidious the effect of having to wear a particular kind of clothing to parliament. Also of

interest is the choice of colour and pattern that is chosen to represent resistance and oppression. The Economic Freedom Fighters, for instance, use bright red, possibly to identitfy the bloodshed that has resulted from the struggle and oppression of apartheid and those involved, possibly even that is to come if the oppression continues. Both of these realisations also came to the fore once meaning had been made and people had experienced the nature of the dispositions in question (Lauretis, 1986).

1.2.1.7 Conclusion

Elements of the subcultures that were held in esteem are those of dialect, music, dance, clothing and styles, intersecting with race, ethnicity, gender and culture and so allowing the development or formation of prestige, status and fame. There is a historical continuity in these factors that has become synonymous with masculinity and identity (Aycard, 2010; Glaser 2000; Jensen, 2006; Ntshangase, 1995, 2002). An important element is what the appropriation entails in terms of psychological needs. When the subcultural people develop strong self-esteem, respect from others and self-respect, they also develop a sense of social and psychological mobility, belonging, community, empowerment, agency, recognition and psychological wellbeing in general (Aycard, 2010; Glaser 2000; Hurst, 2009; Mhlambi, 2004; Segalo, 2006). When youth appropriated these traits and ways of being they also took some of the positive psychological attributes, manifesting in different ways. *Iscamtho* developed into *Tsotsitaal* and was appropriated by the youth, with *Iscamtho*, as *Afrikaans* became more acceptable.

School-going youth who had become politically active and assumed leadership roles after the 1976 uprising received support and backing from their parents, which equipped them with a cultural, financial and aspirational capital with which they could oppose the oppression that they were experiencing (Aycard, 2010; Yosso, 2005). The 1980s saw the first generation to be born into *Iscamtho*, which would suggest that they have children of their own today who would have been influenced by their parents' heritage, forming a continuity (Aycard, 2010; Dolby, 2000; Xaba, 2001).

This blending of rural and urban influences facilitates an important identity for many and can be seen as progressive, whilst allowing people to authenticate their origins and "blackness". It was and is this cultural capital which authenticated these people' identity and

created the boundaries of definition (Clay, 2003), as people reinvented and manipulated traditional or standard forms of language, music, dance and clothing, and transformed them into something multilingual, understood by a diverse array of people in urban township settings. This allowed a sense of unity in diversity, especially in the face of oppression, that strives to segregate or oppress people (Aycard, 2010; Clay, 2003; Glaser, 2000). Examples are numerous, in the form of masculine identities formed throughout the 1900s, from *clevers*, who gained knowhow and street-wisdom from working in urban areas and bringing that knowhow back to the township, to *pantsulas, comrades, comtsotsis* and *tsotsis*, all of whom developed a sense of cultural capital in language, dance, music, fashion and styles in order to facilitate boundaries, resistance and unity, and inclusions and exclusions (Aycard, 2010; Bogatsu, 2002; Clay, 2003; Glaser, 2000).

However, that there are also breaks in this continuity can be explained through the changing dynamics of the context and so, in comprehending the continuity one is able to understand the contexts and oppressive internalised forces which allow a full analysis of current influences (Dolby, 2013; Erikson, 1970; Xaba, 2001). People' social identities are viewed as dynamic in the sense that one's opposed "out-group" may change, depending on the contextual factors that may arise, such as the local and global influences, politics, cultural, social, economic and historical factors (Hogg et al., 1995).

Iscamtho and the other forms of cultural capital came to represent an ideology of diversity and equality in townships, in that they embodied an integrated diversity understood by all and allowed people to express themselves, to be free and to be recognised in ways that were previously restricted to the white and rich, whether socially, culturally, intellectually or politically (Aycard, 2010). In the same way that these elements reflected a sense of liberation and freedom they also contested it in that it made the stark contrast to others in the township, of what they were lacking and how oppressed they were, limiting their sense of freedom and equality. These forms of cultural capital exemplify resistance towards the mechanisms that have perpetuated the oppression. To be a part of the culture or subculture, and to be able to speak *Iscamtho*, allowed the development of a positive self-esteem and self-worth. It allowed people to be upwardly mobile, whether socially or psychologically, which had far-reaching benefits for the psychological wellbeing of people, especially in the context of apartheid and oppression (Aycard, 2010 Foucault, 1997; Hurst, 2009).

An element that is common to all of these subcultures is that they serve as a form of division or definition of the boundaries within which people identify themselves and operate (Kinloch, 1998). The *space* is important as it provides a platform on which to study the current dominant ideology and marginalised ideology, looking into the resistance that manifests and how people conceptualise it (Foucault, 1986, 1997).

1.2.2   Masculinities

It is important to distinguish and understand the manifestation and perception of young black masculine identities in townships, and to investigate how these may be acquired. Discussed in this section is how young men conceive the hegemonic and marginalised masculinities in a township (Connell, 1995).

1.2.2.1 Racial identities, masculinity and subcultures in townships

Masculinity can be understood as a kind of capital in itself, as well as a form of cultural capital, especially when taking into account a sense of continuity with which one can embody forms displayed in the past. One thus learns 'how to be a man' from past generations and parents, making the process appear innate (Laberge, 1995; Visser et al., 2009; Xaba, 2001). As a form of capital masculinity can be broken down into its components, allowing one to trade or invest one form or marker for another that may be lacking (Laberge, 1995; Visser et al., 2009). It can be understood in terms of Bourdieu's (1977a, 1977b) concept of the habitus, wherein people' cognitive and behavioural nature embodies the hegemonic or a particular social discourse of masculinity (Laberge, 1995). These constituents can be understood as physical prowess, lack of vanity, sexuality and substance use, and whilst there are an infinite number of possible constituents, this discussion will cover only those that are necessary (Visser et al., 2009). Gender, or masculinity, can also carry with it the cultural determinants that are valued in a particular society and thus afford the bearer a certain status (Laberge, 1995). Its constituent elements may differ and carry different weights of importance, depending of one's context and what the hegemonic versus subordinate and marginalised masculine identities entail (Connell, 1995; Laberge, 1995; Visser et al., 2009). This then becomes a performance so that people may persuade others of their masculine

identity and the constituents they consider important and that afford them the benefits or outcomes of that masculine identity (Laberge, 1995; Battaglia, 1995).

Langa (2008) outlined a number of the elements, masculinity being something that is policed and regulated by people in particular contexts so as to ensure perpetuation of dominant identities. Language, style, behaviour and lifestyle are elements that are manipulated or engaged with so as to create these regulatory processes (Aycard, 2010; Langa, 2008). The elements that determine the appropriate masculine behaviour were risk-taking behaviours, for example, people being expected to have numerous sexual partners, experiment and use substances. Sexual partners are seen to be one of the more significant factors in determining legitimacy or belonging to a hegemonic masculine identity in township settings (Langa, 2008), thus this element will hold the most weight in determining masculine identity and capital. The more an individual is able to convince others to become sexual partners, then establish himself as being able to do so, increases standing amongst peers (Visser et al., 2009). Using substances to improve one's performance further persuades others of a particular social standing and identity (Langer, 2008; Visser et al., 2009).

Manifesting masculine traits in performance, as opposed merely to displaying them and appearing masculine thus holds a greater sense of mastery and affords the bearer of that capital more status (Visser et al., 2008). Young men who do not fit the prescriptions set out as the hegemonic masculinity are ridiculed, viewed as inferior, marginalised and subjugated, which is a form of policing masculinity (Connell, 1995; Langa, 2008; Visser et al., 2009),

Another important element is one of race, as what it means or how one can maintain a sense of blackness or a black identity in townships. Again, one needs to perform in a particular manner in order to be deemed, or have persuaded others that one occupies that specific identity. Continuity is important here as identities can be influenced by socio-historical and political processes (Laberge, 1995; Langa, 2008). The past and how young black men previously conceived their identities, as well as socialisation processes, have a significant influence on how they currently perceive themselves in particular contexts. Where an individual can incorporate his past or historical influences and particular dispositions into a sense of identity he can convince others of the racial identity to which he is trying to belong and gain status from (Aycard, 2010; Laberge, 1995). The idea of identifying with a racial and masculine identity allows people to feel a sense of belonging, allowing them to feel in control of their surroundings whilst receiving affirmation through the rituals performed in

the form of masculine capital, traded for symbolic capital, status, renown, prestige and women (Jensen, 2006).

The changing context in which these changes influence the identities forged by young men in townships have left a militarized sense of masculinity no longer relevant (Langa, 2012; Mhlambi, 2004). Although there is a sense of continuity, there is still a significant influence from the current context and changing forms of oppression and importance placed on other dispositions and characteristics (Glaser, 2000). Some black people strive to develop masculine capital based on academic or intellectual capital (Langa, 2012), consisting of a class division in which middle class blacks base it on the latter whilst working class black people make use of a more traditional definition (Bond, 2004; Langa, 2012).

Brown (2005) found that people are forced into particular categories and roles by the hegemonic masculinities of particular classes. Through maintaining an aspect that defines them as part of the class into which they were born, while acquiring something that traditionally constitutes acceptance into another class, they can resist the norms and categories that they confer on others. For example, when one maintains a sense of working class identity while entering into a middle class (through success in some area or another), one can resist the middle class ideals and norms and maintain a sense of racial or ethnic identity. This allows one to move away from the acquired class norms and belong to what one believes is one's own, thus creating a new class or identity (Brown, 2005). Marx saw this as the move from a "class-in-itself" to a "class-for-itself" (Wrong, 2000).

Smith and Langa (2010) found that people prescribing to a particular masculinity did so while demeaning the form counter to theirs. Class was a motivating factor with the emerging black middle class boys adopting what the black working class boys ascertained as 'white' masculinity. The latter struggled against this identity, through their own, in terms of its values and ideals as the hegemonic form, and the only means by which to achieve 'manliness'. Another study concerned with the underrepresentation of working-class people in higher education institutions found that they associated higher education with middle-class ideals or masculinity (Archer et al., 2001; Smith & Langa, 2010), therefore those people' construction allowed them to justify not attending higher education as they associated it with femininity and in conflict with their perceived 'authentic' sense of masculinity (Archer et al., 2001). It is thus important to value other aspects when higher education is either not an option, owing to finances or limits on access, or is not valued in a

particular context (Smith & Langa, 2010; Visser et al., 2009). The schooling system is geared towards valuing dominant forms of cultural capital so people of non-dominant classes often do not perform as well in areas concentrating on dominant forms of capital which maintain the status quo. Blacks in South Africa who try to assert their masculinity based on academia are ridiculed as trying to emulate white males (Carter, 2003; Langa & Smith, 2010).

An additional school of thought is based on Portes's (1998) claim that group solidarity and unity are maintained through shared experiences, as was the case during apartheid where people were oppressed, segregated and relocated without having any say. This then created unity amongst the oppressed people as they could draw on common experience and reality testing to maintain their solidarity, unity and coherence of experience (Aycard, 2010). This in turn was used to maintain a sense of cohesion, self-esteem, and social and psychological mobility in the face of oppression (Bourgois, 1991, 1995; Portes, 1998; Prilleltensky, 2008). Thus, when people begin to rise out of the conditions that have long constrained them they are 'left behind', will often ostracise and ridicule those who have stories of attainment as those stories begin to deny the history and conditions that have oppressed them and made it difficult to rise out of those very conditions. It may feel as if they did not do enough and that it is their own fault. As Portes (1998, p.17) writes:

> The result is downward levelling norms that operate to keep members of a downtrodden group in place and force the more ambitious to escape from it… calls attention to the local version of this process, which singles out for attack people seeking to join the middle-class mainstream.

Bourgios (1991, p.32) relates a scenario:

> When you see someone go downtown and get a good job, if they be Puerto Rican, you see them fix up their hair and put some contact lenses in their eyes. Then they fit in and they do it! I have seen it!... Look at all the people in that building, they all "turn-overs." They people who want to be white. Man, if your call them in Spanish it wind up a problem. I mean like take the name Pedro – I'm just telling you this as an example – Pedro be saying (imitating a whitened accent) "My name is Peter." Where do you get Peter from Pedro?

Thus the event of downward levelling norms has been heralded by extensive periods of discrimination, oppression and subordination, by which successive generations have been denied the ability to be upwardly mobile. This experience often elicits the beginning of resistance towards that line of thinking and challenges mainstream thought, which in turn grounds the means through which solidarity and unity can form under the reality that is experienced by the oppressed groups. As seen above, however, the very formation of this, or the upward movement of a few into the middle class, can serve to perpetuate the oppressive circumstances as it maintains the status quo. A renewed resistance and solidarity is often strived for by ostracising those who uplift themselves, as well as developing subcultures through which to challenge the new form of oppression (Portes, 1998).

Non-dominant cultural capital is associated with marginalized or subordinate groups within a society (Carter, 2003), and until in some instances a particular group becomes socially mobile and so acquires certain forms of dominant cultural capital it keeps and uses previously acquired non-dominant cultural capital so as to maintain its ethnic and cultural identity (Brown, 2005). Dominant and non-dominant cultural capital can also be conceptualised as rural and urban cultural, as well as local and global, as there is an emphasis on having appropriated, to a certain degree, some of each to be considered successful (Brown, 2005; Carter, 2003; Hurst, 2009; Mhlambi, 2004). However, when considering working class identity, although there is a blending of capitals there is also an emphasis on particular kinds, usually local, non-dominant or rural, depending on the context, which affords the appropriator a kind of authenticity as well as progression (Mhlambi, 2004).

In post-apartheid South Africa there are increasingly large black middle and dominant classes that are moving away from the townships and have the money to send their children to former model C schools (Smith & Langa, 2010). This, however, is not representative of the majority of black South Africans and so many remain in the working class. Schooling and employment opportunities remain minimal, betraying a trend from apartheid to post-apartheid society of oppressive forces not allowing people to obtain an education or employment, from legislative to economic (Smith & Langa, 2010). People look to other forms of masculine capital and ways of achieving affirmation, freedom and recognition in a context in which being recognised can be difficult and ridicules those who are upwardly mobile. They resist the notion that they chose to be oppressed and that it is through their own doing that they are still subjugated (Jensen, 2006; Portes, 1998).

1.2.2.2 Masculinity as recognition and resistance

In forming masculinity, exploited people sometimes use their bodies to portray their identity, as it can be seen as the only part that they can control and manipulate, and thus use it to display a sense of resistance or defiance (Brown, 2005). It is the resisting of another culture's values and ideals, and even portraying how little these values and ideals mean to him that allows him to begin to move away from the norms constraining and repressing him. The arbitrary inferences of symbols are seen as arbitrary and so one can begin to shed the oppressive forces by denying their meaning (Bourdieu, 1977b). One can do this by acquiring what the dominating class considers to be commodities (cultural capital) that constitute class, then showing how little those attributes mean, whilst disregarding their values and ideals in terms of the behaviour considered to be paramount (Bourdieu, 1977b; Brown, 2005; Glaser, 1990). People take capital or knowledge of various dispositions that constitute an 'embodied' sense of class and make their own meanings of them, casting away the previous ones (Brown, 2005). According to Glaser (1990), it this through looking at how a working class male in the 1950s and 1960s who went to work in a suit, bowler hat and cane would be contravening the class hierarchy associated with such attire in that particular era. This is also a good example of people casting off arbitrary meanings that are placed onto non-dominant society to maintain the status quo (Bennett, 1999; Bourdieu, 1977b). He resists the limitations placed on him by the dominant class and rises above his former position in society, or rather the expectations of that position in society, and denies the dominant classes power over him. By disturbing the mechanisms through which the dominant class maintain their place in society one can rock that stability and bring to the fore the oppressive and destructive mechanisms that one has had to endure (Bourdieu, 1986a).

Langa and Eagle (2008) emphasize this through investigating militarised masculinities in areas that were severely affected by political violence under the apartheid regime. These subcultures or masculinites were aimed at denying oppression through violence and so gaining a sense of potency, agency, recognition and status. These individuals began to see themselves as "little kings" through gaining power over the individuals in their local areas. As the identities were created initially to protect local communites they soon began to subjugate those communities and exercise dominance over them. This is important to

recognise as something can be reflected, resisted, and contested to create oppression in this instance (Foucault, 1986, 1997).

Smith and Langa (2010) also found that township dwellers had negative attitudes towards the black upper and middle classes in that they were trying to be something that they were not, by taking on white masculinities. They denied what the dominant class imposed on them as appropriate and constructed their own meanings of masculinity, deciding themselves what was important and what had meaning. At the same time they attempted to marginalise and subjugate particular masculinities in particular places which did not conform to their expectations (Bourdieu, 1977b; Brown, 2005; Smith & Langa, 2010). This allowed them to maintain a level of control over their lives and use their bodies to determine this control by not giving into values or ideals imposed by the dominant class, as well as maintaining their own sense of masculinity. In the context of post-apartheid South Africa, the black middle and dominant classes obtain cultural capital which is seen to provide acceptance, or show to which class an individual belongs, and having access to large amounts of money can provide the same acceptance. Through obtaining this capital, the working class deny the power and ideals that are placed on them by the ruling class and display this and their dissatisfaction through style and rituals, especially when they shed arbitrary inferences and engage in 'distorted' (meaning different from previous modes) rituals using dominant class imagery (Glaser, 1990). Through their rituals and mechanisms, they use their masculine identities to make a statement about the oppressive forces that they internalize. By destroying what another covets, they portray their power over their own lives. The working class are thus not passive in accepting the ideals, values and portrayals attached to them by the ruling class (Bennett, 1999; Bourdieu, 1977b; Glaser, 1990).

In addition to the ruling or dominant class's values and ideals being placed on the working class, the dominant class often misrecognises working class people, causing a significant amount of oppression and discrimination which can perpetuate the creation of subcultures (Jensen, 2006). This misrecognition arises in response to the resistance of the working class to try and maintain the status quo and subjugate them further to prevent any continued resistance. It is an attempt at policing and enforcement. This misrecognition is an insidious phenomenon as it fuels potential deviancy, which in turn causes institutionalised enforcement of dominant ideology to justify their actions and further attempt to enforce that

deviancy, thus creating a cycle through which to dominate, hurt and physically oppress people (Muggleton, 2005).

According to Muggleton (2005, p.207), it:

> shows how initial attempts at social control unwittingly helped to intensify the original deviancy by uniting the drug takers against the police activity. This reinforced the labelling of the subculture as deviant, effectively stereotyping it and segregating it more and from the wider 'straight' society, leading to further and increasing policing, heightened deviance, and thereby creating a classic 'deviancy amplification spiral…concerned with how 'moral panics' – calls by the 'moral guardians' [actors of dominant ideology] of society for tougher law enforcement measures… may intensify the social reaction to deviance.

Often, the race, ethnicity, class and gender that an individual offers or embodies are misrecognised and attributed with negative connotations. It is this misrecognition that often drives people to develop particular masculinities and subcultures to become recognised and valued in a particular context. Jensen (2006) writes about Danish underprivileged youth who are misrecognised or not recognised in various contexts, often being portrayed as delinquents or criminals. They thus develop wrestling subcultures to create a *space* in which they can begin to become recognised, to challenge in their minds and dispel the societal misrecognition that they have to endure in other spaces which serve the dominant class in maintaining its ideology. It gives them the power and self-esteem that they need in order to become what they want and exercise their agency (Jensen, 2006). Through this, however, they create a niche for themselves in dominant society where they can begin to start programmes for underprivileged youth, to develop them in ways that have been not only shown to work, but also add additional value in that they have similar backgrounds and so can offer legitimate advice (Jensen, 2006).

1.2.3   Subcultures

A body of research has arisen in response to the number of subcultures that have formed over the years internationally. In the 1970s and 1980s the predominant school of thought arose from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), based in Birmingham,

members of which prescribed predominantly to structuralism (Bennett, 1999). Youth culture or subcultures can be understood as specific arrays of life, which are given expression through form and ritual and which manifest and give meaning to the social and material life-experience (Clarke et al., 1976).

The CCCS begins focusing less on the deviant forms of subcultures and more on style-based cultures, for example, Teddy boys, mods, rockers and skinheads. From the initial premise, elicited from the Chicago School, that subcultures are developed in response to particular social circumstances, and based on Clarke et al.'s (1976) *Resistance Through Rituals* work, the CCCS began to rework this idea and explain the manifestation through the particular structures and structural changes that began to take place in the contexts in which these subcultures were forming (Bennett, 1999). This can be further understood in post-war Britain when the subcultural manifestation was explained through a collective response to the collapse or breaking down of traditional working-class communities in the face of urban redevelopment and the relocation to more modern houses. Cohen (1972, p.23) states:

> …the latent function of subculture is this – to express and resolve, albeit "magically", the contradictions which remain hidden and unresolved by the parent culture [by attempting] to retrieve some of the socially cohesive elements destroyed in [the] parent culture.

It is in response of working class through resistance to socio-economic circumstances against them through which the subcultures form. The skinheads, for example, were attempting to recreate the working class community and atmosphere through their dress style in the face of the decline of the traditional working class sense of community (Bennett, 1999). The Teddy boy subculture reflected an illusionary affluence through which they could experience, or buy into, a middle class image by wearing clothing and reproducing imagery that was created initially for the middle class (Bennett, 1999). Through using these symbols and images they were able to give significance and cultural meaning to their social plight (Jefferson, 1976). In another vein, Hebdige (1976) explains that the mods style and lifestyle manifested through the predictability of the working classes pursuits and aspirations, thus creating a style in the face of, and contradictory to this, to try and compensate for the social circumstances and structural mechanisms that consumed them.

The reworking of subcultures and its formation in response to social circumstances can be seen through the lens of structuralism (Bennett, 1999), but a major criticism to this was an over-reliance on people turning to class to articulate their attachment to commodities and disillusionment that they were using for expression (Bennett, 1999). The question is begged as to why young people would not use their new found expression to leave behind the constraints that class placed on them in order to redefine themselves in a space that would previously not allow it, to find an individualised identity (Bennett, 1999). Why would the working class people want to perpetuate their subjugation by the dominant class through displaying their dissatisfaction through becoming attached to working class symbols in the face of structural changes, to resist those changes (Bennett, 1999)? According to Bourdieu (1977b), once these people realised the arbitrary nature of the oppressive symbols that their parent generations had been adhering to they did not practice their agency, shed those arbitrary symbolic inferences and created their own. Bennett (1999, p. 602) wrote:

> It could rather be argued that post-war consumerism offered young people the opportunity to break away from their traditional class-based identities, the increased spending power of the young facilitating and encouraging experimentation with new, self-constructed forms of identity.

Miles (1995) contends that this is also problematic as researchers shift their focus from the actual meanings that people attribute to their consumer choices for their symbolic meaning. One needs to take into account that the decisions that are made by the people comprising subcultures may be more attributed to the active decision on the part of the individual rather than as a result of the structural conditions to which they are exposed (Jensen, 2006; Bennett, 1999). A further criticism that can be aimed at CCCS and their subcultural theory is that of lack of inclusion of females in the theory and female subcultures. They respond that this is due to the increased control of females and their not being as freely able to express subcultures outside the house (McRobbie & Garber, 1976). This was further exemplified as a criticism, as CCCS failed to consider what happened in the homes of the people who made up the subcultures. This is an important point to consider and a gap in the literature (McRobbie, 1980).

The appropriation of styles and consumer items that were initially designated for dominant classes by working class people, however, remains an element requiring examination in terms of offering resistance. It must be not only the clothing in isolation but also the rituals

that accompany the clothing that is counter-dominant culture and has subsequent symbolic *and* individual meanings. Thus, the clothing is worn in situations in which it would not normally be seen had it been worn by the dominant class in conventional settings. According to McRobbie (1994), women were appropriating the pristine and glamorous clothing associated with higher society and dancing provocatively in dance halls or clubs.

Finally, subcultures in the past have been explained and characterised as something static and fixed, however, Bennett (1999) contends that the process is fluid and non-static (Xaba, 2001). This links with McRobbie's (1994) claim that researchers often fail to investigate what the people do when they go home, and whether they act out the subculture there or adopt different kinds of identities. According to Bennett (1999, p.605), "On the contrary, it seems to me that so-called youth 'subcultures' are prime examples of the unstable and shifting cultural affiliations which characterise late modern consumer-based societies". Thus, when examining a group it becomes not the central focus but rather a focal point or lens through which to analyse how an individual lives out an identity (Bennett, 1999, p.606):

> It follows then, that the term *group* can also no longer be regarded as having a necessarily permanent or tangible quality, the characteristics, visibility and lifespan of a group being wholly dependent upon the particular forms of interaction which it is used to stage.

Bennett (1999) continues on the subject of lifestyle and how it becomes a mode through which to choose commodities and consume, allowing them to express particular personal and collective concerns or manifestations. There are instances when lifestyle or subcultures, which Bennett terms 'neo-tribes', manifest as a response or in relation to class oppression or identification, with structuralism playing its role and one's social conditions manifest themselves through the mechanism of the subculture:

> Therein, however, lies the essential difference between the concept of lifestyle and structuralist interpretations of social life in that the former regards people as active consumers whose choice reflects a self-constructed notion of identity while the latter supposes people to be locked into particular 'ways of being' which are determined by the conditions of class… all of this is not to suggest that 'lifestyle' abandons any consideration of structural issues. Rather, 'lifestyle' allows for the fact that

consumerism offers people new ways of negotiating such issues (Bennett, 1999, p. 607).

This can be gauged through the above in that people may begin to appropriate capital that is in the realm of possibility, thus it is essential not to lock youth into a specific way of being as their tastes, styles and lifestyles shift and flow according to a number of factors, which take time to investigate and outline. However it is important to understand that there is an active choice for the participants in what they practice and act out, and these are not wholly determined by structural and social influences (Bennett, 1999; Bourdieu, 1977b; Jensen, 2006).

Hodkinson's (2002) four indicators can help to elucidate this, while incorporating the above, and allowing one to understand a subculture: (i) a 'consistent distinctiveness' of its values, styles and tastes; (ii) a strong sense of a 'shared identity'; (iii) a 'commitment' to the group by its members; and (iv) the way in which "a network of specialist enterprises run and staffed by…members themselves gives the organization of the group a 'relative autonomy' from external 'or non-subcultural' commercial interests" (Hodkinson, 2002, pp.28-33). According to Sweetman (2004, p.79), "The way in which coming together as a group – however temporary and fragmented the group is – can provide people with a sense of belonging and identification *as well as* a sense of individual identity or style".

When conducting an analysis one therefore needs to look into and determine the influential intersecting factors of the agents under consideration, namely class, gender, ethnicity and race (Jensen, 2006). When taking this into account it is necessary to understand how these factors may be impacting on the subcultural agents. An important element to couple with this idea is that of misrecognition, which Bourdieu (2000) suggests is the essence of being, or being content with life, and provides us with the humanity we need to survive (Jensen, 2006). Subcultural agents can be understood as people who are underprivileged or oppressed but who have access and hold subcultural or non-dominant cultural capital, and consequently understand a shared problem which constitutes a lack of recognition of its people. Jensen identifies four factors to consider when thinking about a lack of recognition (Jensen, 2006): (i) territorial stigma, which can be understood through the concept of double consciousness towards the oppressed as well as a discourse that has been predefined through media and past historical prejudices (Jensen, 2006; Mørck, 1999; Vestel, 1999, 2004); (ii) stigma arising from ethnicity and race; (iii) socially and economically oppressed circumstances that

people have to endure and that surround the areas characterised by low access or levels of dominant cultural and economic capital (Jensen, 2006); and (iv) gender, often coupled with race or ethnicity and the accompanying double consciousness, and what it means to be of a particular gender in a particular context. One also needs to take into account that gender or gendered ways of being can be understood as capital, an embodied capital that arises from observing one's significant figures (Alexander, 2000; Jensen, 2006; Laberge, 1995). According to Jensen (2006), lack of the above and subsequent stigmatisation is:

> …a brutal misrecognition, an overall stigmatisation or an almost total lack of social recognition from the surrounding society… In other words, [agents] start off lacking [dominant] capital with any value on the [dominant social] market for symbolic goods. This lack is related to the way class, gender, ethnicity and 'race' intersect to shape and inform their social situation. Constructing the object in this way makes it possible to understand and explain – analytically reconstruct – the subculture as a creative struggle for recognition [in transition]. Recognition is, according to Bourdieu, our very reason for living, and in a situation devoid of recognition we are denied access to humanity (Jensen, 2006, pp.270-271).

One can thus conceptualise subcultures as the struggle of an individual to find himn/herself and be accepted for who s/he is in a society that otherwise cannot *see* him /her. People thus find alternate means through which to find recognition, in a subculture, and utilise the subcultural capital to achieve recognition, thus providing a sense of psychological wellbeing as well as social and psychological mobility:

> …by simultaneously 'zooming in' on the criteria for appreciation and recognition (subcultural capital) in the subculture *and* looking at the participants' life conditions, we can generate important insights into how class, gender, ethnicity and 'race' intersect in the lives of these young men. If their common problem is closely related to class, gender, ethnicity and 'race' so is their way to handle it, illustrating that the social conditions of life imply not only the limitations but also possibilities and room for creativity, [agency and autonomy]. We could think of this relation in terms of some degree of autonomy. I would argue that these young men use their room for creativity to emphasize and maybe even exaggerate the one feature they have which can be turned in to an asset: their masculinity [and other forms of bodily capital]. (Jensen, 2006, p. 272).

1.2.4 Rhetoric, the appropriation of cultural capital and active identity making

In the context of this paper, cultural capital is regarded from the perspective of Bourdieu (1977b; 1986a, 1986b) and Foucault's (1971, 1979, 1980, 1982, 1984, 2003) conception of capital, space and oppression, as well as the conception of rhetoric identifying and making one's self and representation through subjectification and objectification (Battaglia, 1995). Although Bourdieu made a fundamental distinction of cultural capital and the way it manifests in social construction, in Foucault's conception of the idea of the rhetoric of the self cannot be determined wholly by oneself or beyond the individual's means (Battaglia, 1995). The process of subjectification manifests through the interaction of others and so one makes meaning of self-conception and representation in terms of 'the other' (Battaglia, 1995; Foucault, 1979, 1980, 1984, 2003). This allows one to understand that cultural capital does allow one to create boundaries and identities through its acquisition, which is appropriated only in the realm of possibility, and extended through making an alliance with others who extend it. This is opposed to Bourdieu's suggestion that the acquisition of cultural capital is determined through one's position in society, where mobility or acquisition of outside capital is impossible, what Bennett (1999) criticises the CCCS for mistakenly doing (Battaglia, 1995). It is only fair to note, however, that Bourdieu (1977b) did try to accommodate this criticism through inferring that an individual may move past their initial disposition to act when becoming reflexively aware and analysing a particular inference, or, more aptly, an arbitrary inference that is oppressing them. This allows for a challenge of that inference and becoming free of its oppressive or constraining elements.

Rhetoric becomes important as it is through the art of persuasion, whether in terms of fashion, style, life-style, music, language or movement that an individual comes to understand and identify him/herself in terms of the world. These factors become symbols, representing the world as containing or as having meaning in the construction of one's reality (Battaglia, 1995; Burke, 1969; White & Kirkpatrick, 1985). It is the inter-subjective nature that allows people to be able to test reality then respond to their current plight or situation, however, it is only what is within reach or possibility in that particular context that can be achieved.

It is not only in the minds of the people who are appropriating these forms of cultural capital that persuasion must happen, but the people outside of one's group need to be persuaded of the implication of adopting that identity, which in turn gives the bearer of that cultural capital the power afforded by it (Battaglia, 1995; Burke, 1969; White & Kirkpatrick, 1985). This provides an explanation of Foucault's heterotopia in the sense of contesting and reflecting a utopian ideal (Foucault, 1986, 1997). By appropriating symbolic cultural capital, such as luxurious clothing, the appropriators are held in awe and revered by outsiders. However, it is this awe and reverence that has manifested itself through the successful persuasion of the people (Foucault, 1986, 1997), in turn awakening the realisation in those outside groups that they are oppressed, and outlining how this utopian ideal is at the same time contested. Another concept of Foucault (1975) relevant here is that of biopower, in that although people have appropriated this capital, and so are reaping the rewards, they are in a sense less free than before as they are controlled through their bodies in the form of consumerism. The arbitrary inference is that in order to be free one has to prescribe to a consumer market of goods which is for one's own good (Bourdieu, 1977b; Foucault, 1986, 1997), because they have been objectified through commodities and so are being controlled through their bodies in order to meet a political end, of capitalism and consumerism. Acknowledging the contradictions in the above, however, this for Foucault is the essence of a heterotopia, whereby analysis should begin to outline and look into the contradictions brought to light (Foucault, 1997).

The appropriation of cultural capital is not only a matter of choice but one of possibility and where there is a possibility for the appropriation of cultural capital it also becomes, especially in the case of subcultures, a matter of performance and persuasion. The boundaries that people develop through cultural capital need to be given credence not only by the appropriators but also by a second party of observers (Battaglia, 1995; Burke, 1969; Clay, 2003; White & Kirkpatrick, 1985).

1.2.5 Cultural capital as boundary distinction for identity and subcultures

Able to be used in the creation of boundaries (inclusions and exclusion) and identity, the forms of cultural capital and the meaning appeared to hold a certain significance for the people and allowed them to develop an identity congruent with the cultural capital being

appropriated, the habitus in terms of one's dispositions (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Clay, 2003). The cultural capital referred to in this paper pertains to selection of appropriate clothing, language, style, lifestyle, dance and music, all of which are developed and manifested as performance. In terms of Bourdieu's (1986a) conception, these can be understood as objectified (branded) and embodied cultural capital respectively, appropriated through Foucault's conception within the realm of possibility in a particular space and in relation to certain people. The objectified capital in question, however, is only transmutable to symbolic capital by virtue of the embodied capital of the individual in the form of the knowhow and ability to choose and define that capital based on their dispositions, without appealing to the sum of its parts (Bourdieu, 1986a, 1986b; Foucault 1975, 1979, 1980, 1984, 1986, 1997; Butler, 1990; Clay, 2003; Lipsitz, 1994). These in turn can be transferred or made into symbolic capital, which allows people to be recognised in a particular situation or gain affirmation where before they had none. This outlines those who are included and those who are not, those who have as opposed to those who do not (Jensen, 2006). Cultural capital and its expression "brings a community into being through performance, and it maps out real and imagined relations between people that speak to the realities of displacement, disillusion, and despair" (Lipsitz, 1994, p.36).

The performance or the dispositions that can fall into the above can also be understood as masculinity (e.g., expressive, bodily, branded) or identity (Jensen, 2006). Branded masculinity is defined as people using brand names or consumer items to define themselves in terms of what they believe is constituted by that brand, and incorporating it into their masculine identity, however, it is the embodied disposition that allows them to know this (Bourdieu, 1986a, 1986b). The obtaining of consumer items allow one to feel desired, and fully able to obtain the things that individual feels important for a male to have, notably items that one previously felt were lacking (Alexander, 2003; Langa, 2008).

Alexander (2003) found that it is through role models that people acquire their sense of what brands and styles constitute their masculine identity, as they have what is considered the attributes of masculinity, or access to masculine capital. Brands enable people to express that they belong to or follow particular conventions with regard to masculinity, however, magazines were targeting insecurities with exaggerated portrayals of what they imagined masculinity to be, offering solutions to supposed "shortcomings". People identify what they are lacking through role models, whether girlfriends, cars or clothes, and find compensation

by over-identifying or mimicking them, thus believing they have acquired what they believe constitutes masculinity and gain the capital they desire. Context is paramount to take into consideration as it is through ones context that one learns what masculinity is, and what attributes one needs in order to be considered masculine. Through exaggerating role model behaviour, people may feel certain superiority over other people prescribing to that particular masculine identity. As apartheid came to an end, South Africa became less globally isolated and commodities became readily available.

Clay (2003) investigated a number of youths in the USA who used cultural capital, based on a hip-hop framework to delineate the boundaries between groups and develop their desired identity. The use of cultural capital is aimed at the people employing it. Clay (2003) found that the youth were using cultural capital in their everyday settings to provide meaning for themselves and others as well as allowing them to create a rhetoric for others so that they might be convinced of that meaning and identity and thus masculine identity. The better the performance the more masculine capital to which they will have access (Battaglia, 1995; Butler, 1990). According to Clay (2003, p.1348), "Of particular importance in this dialogue are the ways that consumers then use the meanings in relation to the construction of identity and community".

In a number of countries there has been an interplay and struggle in identity to identify who is authentic in their representation of class, race, ethnicity and gender, and who is not. It is in this context that cultural capital is appropriated and adopted so as to outlines one's authenticity (Clay, 2003; Dolby, 1999, 2000; Langa, 2008, 2012; Nuttal, 2004). Expression and performance of cultural capital is not only meant to delineate authenticity in identity but also to describe and be an expression of the forces that people feel are acting on them, presently and historically, whether in terms of liberation or oppression. It is also important to understand that:

> …the social conditions of its transmission and acquisition are more disguised that those of economic capital, it is predisposed to function as symbolic capital, i.e., to be unrecognized as capital and recognized as legitimate competence, as authority exerting an effect of (mis)recognition (Bourdieu, 1986a, p.245)

Cultural capital allows people, through performance and rhetoric, to position themselves in relation to others in a particular context, having legitimacy in their position and identity and

being able to determine the boundaries which make up these positions and groups (Clay, 2003). Hip-hop culture has allowed this amongst African Americans in that a lack of cultural capital signifies a lack of authenticity in relation to whites. Blacks without the indicators that suggest black authenticity cannot obtain, in the eyes of people with the capital, that status of being black, symbolically, culturally, socially or historically, thus losing an important part of their identity and having psychological consequences, such as loss of sense of self, decrease in recognition by one's community and lowered self-esteem (Clay, 2003). This is an indication that skin colour may not be sufficiently representative of a particular racial identity. Performance and use of cultural capital allows an individual to occupy and appropriate a particular identity, in relation to others who they must convince and persuade that they need to perform and show *why* they are of a particular identity (Butler, 1990). A performance can be understood as any interaction that an individual or group has with others, with which they are performing or acting in accordance with what is possible and what they perceive their identity to be. Whether posture, clothing, movement or gesture, it is a persuasion and can be seen as dispositions or cultural capital (Battaglia, 1995; Clay, 2003). Thus, the cultural capital that people use to outline their identity and the boundaries of that identity seems to be something innate or natural and so provides authenticity for that performer where they persuade others in their identity. Clay (2003, pp.1350-1351) examined:

> …how youth use performance to articulate this cultural capital [and how] Black youth use hip-hop culture as a form of cultural capital in their interactions with other Black youth in an effort to construct racial boundaries [using] the manipulation of language, gestures, fashion and music to express a Black identity to other youth.

Clay (2003) found cultural capital indicators that one needs to abide by in order to achieve authenticity and inclusion in a particular group, in this case the performance of hip-hop and all that it entails. People must use them as tools with which to gain mastery over their environment and cultural production, and the degree to which one can use them will proportionately lead to benefits and recognition (Bourdieu, 1986a). This is also true within a subculture in which capital indicators may have significance within the group but little outside of it, determining a kind of hierarchy based on one's mastery (Bourdieu, 1986a; Clay, 2003).

1.2.6 Psychological wellbeing

Acceptance, affirmation, mastery, recognition and a sense of belonging are all elements that can contribute to liberation and wellness, and factors that can be derived from the successful use, manipulation and performance of cultural capital, allowing individual to achieve a sense of wellness, high self-esteem and recognition which can lead to social and psychological mobility (Clay, 2003; Prilleltensky, 2008). The way in which people express their concerns and emotions is important as some form of expression is vital. Often, particularly in South Africa, one cannot separate the experience of music, dance and style from the political atmosphere, historically or presently (Segalo, 2006). Music may be:

> …a manifest preaching of political messages on the daily urban hardships. It embodies the shout of city dwellers that are condemned to silence. The culture of the ghetto finds an echo where anxiety focuses on the same problems: unemployment, precariousness, violence, inequity of education, school failure, AIDS and drugs (Benga, 2002, p.81).

In such an oppressive atmosphere one needs to be able to communicate identity and expression of in one way or another and be recognised for it through activity. It is this expression that allows one to identify what it is a particular community internalises and experiences as liberating and oppressive (Segalo, 2006; van Vlaenderen & Neves, 2004). Being able to identify with others around a similar world view and experience allows people to engage with a stable sense of reality which in itself provides some relief as well as a sense of community and belonging (Prilleltensky, 2008).

Language plays an important part in identity formation as people can easily understand the others' contexts and where they come from, performing a kind of joining together. It is this meaning-making or the idea that people attribute certain meanings to particular events that allows them to identify with each other and so form a sense of belonging. Through these expressions, music, dance, language and style, people have the power to confront the inadequacies that they internalise, even if they are not completely aware of the issues that they experience (Segalo, 2006). This is experienced by out-groups as something uncomfortable which forces the topic to be engaged with.

CHAPTER 2:

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The various theories used in the study follow similar philosophical underpinnings so as to ensure continuity and coherence. Erikson (1968), for instance, regards identity not as a manifestation of belonging or being a member of a particular group but rather as the reflection of continuity in one's history and the combining of past identifications with those of significant others. He does not, however, underestimate or ignore the wider social implications in the influencing of one's navigation through what he terms identity crisis (Wrong, 2000). Erikson felt that one has a core personal identity that, when successfully developed, has integrated one's multiple social or group identities and conditions. Incorporating a Marxist perspective, one experiences a conflict or threat to one's group or social identity. Within one's personal identity, they incorporate the social conditions in which they are immersed as well as historical processes, and so their identity as a manifestation takes the form of opposing current and past conditions that are perceived as threats (Erikson, 1970; Wrong, 2000).

The historical processes are especially important as the shift from apartheid to post-apartheid is a significant historical change. When people loose male identities they go through an identity transition. Social identities that influenced personal identity to oppose the limitations imposed by the apartheid government now oppose limitations imposed by the dominant class. Thus, the current *Izikhothane* engage in dissent and conflict in order to oppose the current dominant class. The reformation of one's context or society is considered part of a healthy development of identity and masculinity (Erikson, 1970; Weigert & Gecas, 2005). Engagement in a celebration with rituals and dispositions produces a sense of liberation and freedom, however this comes at a cost as the celebration makes stark their deprivation in the space in which they live (Foucault, 1986, 1997). Social identity theory is made use of from a Marxist perspective in that the group to which one belongs, which is in opposition to other groups, is made up of members of the same class (Hogg et al., 1995).

Bourdieu and Foucault work from a Marxist perspective, especially regarding a conflict between class groups in which cultural capital is invested into one's group so as to replicate and reiterate those mechanisms which reinforce a dominant position within society (Lin, 1999; Portes, 1998). It is these oppressive forces which subordinate and marginalized classes

attempt to oppose so as to reform society as equal (Lin, 1999; Portes, 1998). As all groups have cultural capital the difference lies in whether it is dominant or non-dominant, and so the oppressed groups are employing their non-dominant cultural capital in order to assert a masculine identity (Carter, 2003). The use of dominant cultural capital is either to be upwardly mobile in society or to resist the conception of the dominant class (Carter, 2003). The cultural capital in question can also be understood as a celebration of the freedom to express oneself and to be recognised in the face of misrecognition, thus it can be a manifestation of resistance or it can reflect a sense of freedom. However, as Foucault's ideas around heterotopia and utopia suggest, this celebration is also a contestation of the event being celebrated, freedom and recognition.

Regarding sub-group cultures, the above are synthesized into one coherent theory through which to provide a sound analysis of the phenomena at hand. Erikson (1970) terms 'intensified adolescence' as the conflict young people experience when similar issues that troubled a previous generation also trouble them. Although the problems may have manifested from different sources there is continuity between the past and present, but the challenge the youth face is to not settle for similar considerations as their ancestors (Erikson, 1970; Xaba, 2001). People also practice their agency and are active participants in the formation of subcultures (Bennett, 1999; Bourdieu, 1977b; Jensen, 2006). When analysing this, one needs to be cognisant of the intersecting factors that cause people to want to form subcultures, notably race, ethnicity, class and gender (Jensen, 2006).

Sullivan (1989) suggests that one's access to commodities, jobs or resources in general, is network mediated or determined by one's social capital. People who are not a part of these networks form subcultures which oppose the values and ideals that are present in opposing groups. This denies those dominant networks their power to reproduce the conditions that are oppressing the subcultures. Therefore, deviant behaviour associated with subcultures that express dissent against accepted norms and values that are perpetuated by the dominant class through investing in the conditions that leads to that exploitation, must be practiced in order to gain social reform (Erikson, 1970; Portes, 1998; Sullivan, 1989).

2.1 FOUCAULT'S THEORY

This section examines the theory of Foucault in relation to the topic. Foucault uses his ideas of space and power elucidate specific contexts in terms of intersecting factors. In his opinion it is through the space in which phenomena are carried out that one can come to understand the factors that have caused them.

2.1.1 Space

The multifaceted contextual nature of society comprises political, cultural, historical, social and economic spaces, conceptualised by Foucault using the highly nuanced and abstract ideas of *utopia* and *heterotopia*. The former can be understood as an *unreal space*, which does not exist in an ontological but rather in an epistemological sense, as something which consists of the perfect ideals that one holds in relation to society, or the knowledge that one appeals to as being a perfect idea of society (Foucault, 1986, 1997). The latter, or "other *space*s", is a slightly more complex term and one which Foucault admitted was inadequate. Not referring to a specific place, rather it invites analysis or evaluation "as a particular way *to look* at *space*, place or *text*" (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002, p.207). Heterotopias are formed in relation to one's idea of utopian ideals, in contrast to or complementing the current societal ideology, the dominant and even subjugated discourses prominent at the time in which they are located. In this way the function, form and meaning have significant correlations to the societal, political and cultural context, but notably this allows for they are to be used to analyse, critique and understand society's often conflicting discourses and ideologies (Foucault, 1986, 1997; Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002).

The reconstruction and recreation of an existing heterotopia is possible and can be explained in terms of the historical processes through which a society or community has gone (Foucault, 1986, 1997; Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002; Johnson, 2006; Xaba, 2001). As a result of this, the study of heterotopia allows one to formulate the current identity of a society that may not be overtly accessible through direct observation. One need not define or identify the *spaces* in themselves, but seek and analyse the various inconsistencies within the heterotopia in relation to itself and the outside world: "Heterotopia makes for a viable theoretical tool for linking *space* and power, politics and place; *an analytic node through*

which one might deduce wider networks of power" (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002, p.208, author's emphasis).

One needs to keep in mind and be distinctly aware of the various paradoxes that these *spaces* entail. One may understand that the creation of heterotopian *space* points to how the utopian ideal does *not* exist in society in the first place but is realised through the need to create it whilst contesting that ideal. It however simultaneously reflects the utopian ideal and its parameters through the creation of the heterotopia, which in that placeless *space*, the utopian ideals exist (Foucault, 1986; Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002; Johnson, 2006). Heterotopia can also embody a resistance to unfair or discriminatory societal ideologies, as Foucault "reminds us of what we should have suspected all along, that although the heterotopia may be a vehicle of progressive political aims and agendas, it is just as easily a site and means of reactionary politics" (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002, p.209). In this way, heterotopia is not merely created on the basis of dominant utopian ideals, or utopian societal ideologies, but is the culmination of a number of utopian ideals from a number of different people from all walks of life, contradicting and coming against each other to make stark the heterotopias and so allowing them to be investigated: "Heterotopia and utopias have the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites… in such a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invert the set of relations they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect" (Foucault, 1997, p.352). In Foucault's understanding of space and discourse, he argues that the inclusion and exclusion criterion of people holds much vital information about their construction and meaning (Foucault, 1986, 1997). Inclusion and exclusion of people in heterotopia is premised by the idea that not everyone has equal access to the various heterotopias, not always overtly in that it may be on an illusionary basis whereby they have the perception of inclusion but in reality will not have complete access (Foucault, 1986).

The heterotopia of crisis serves the function of providing a place for the individual or community that is in a space of turmoil, disruption, disturbance or transition and can be understood further in Eriksonian terms as a developmental crisis, which is the in-between point of two developmental stages. It can also be conceptualised as an illusionary space in which opposites can reside in mutual harmony and so provide relief from contradictions and oppressive or tumultuous circumstances (Erikson, 1968). People may be in the process of identity formation as emerging adults, or the in-between point of two various events or times

in history, such as the transitioning of racialised spaces of pre- and post- apartheid, gender, rural and urban and local or global spheres (Erikson, 1968; Long, 2011; Winnicott, 1953).

2.1.2 Transitional space (crisis)

Winnicott (1953), a psychoanalytic theorist, conceptualised the idea of transitional spaces, which can be understood as an in-between phase that exists when an individual moves from one phase, space or position to another. It is in this transitional space that one deals with and copes with anxiety and conflicts as it helps the individual reconcile the differences experienced between where they come from and where they are going. Where there was once support and now potentially not, it is the degree of difference between the two which constitutes the space of transition (Winnicott, 1953). As Eigen (2013) pointed out, Winnicott interprets transitional spaces, objects and phenomena as the in-between phase that is present in anything and everything, a 'thirdness'. Where there is a twinship, there is an in-between phase (Eigen, 2013), neither here nor there, but both at the same time. An essential paradox for Winnicott (1953), and an illusion, it provides harmony between one's internal and external realities in that one has fantasies about where one is going which do not necessarily correspond with how that place is externally. The ideas around what is constituted as a particular space are the internal objects which an individual wants or needs to satisfy. The reconciliatory space allows the individual to engage in a playful tension around being both the same and different simultaneously (the before and after spheres), as people make a transition to harmonise internal fantasy with the external reality of the space (Winnicott, 1953). Bourdieu's *habitus*, Foucault's *space* and Winnicott's *transitional space* constitute a state of illusion so that an individual may reconcile what is inside (internal fantasy) with what is outside (external reality), thus it becomes apparent, as it was during one's formative years in infancy, that illusion is a necessary construct for human interaction and the making of relational meaning in an inter-subjective environment, especially in the context of a predominantly subjective world (Bourdieu & Waquant, 1992; Foucault, 1997; Winnicott, 1953).

The space of transition can be understood as a place in which two opposing views or ideas may be reconciled so that these views, either from one person or many, can be looked at together at the same time to find harmony between them (Winnicott, 1953). This accords

with Long (2011), similar to her evaluation of apartheid and how one may go about the process of conciliation following its demise. South Africans are concerned with a transitional space that is felt by many to have collapsed, in any of four directions. In the first instance, collapse can happen in the direction of fantasy, engaging with the idea of superiority and inferiority. It can become concrete and real when one's internal world collapses and becomes representative of the external, causing extreme distress and anxiety as one's internal objects are not being satisfied or harmonized with opposing objects (Long, 2011). A collapse in terms of the direction of reality, in which the external world replaced what was once possible within fantasy, taking over what fantasy was capable of in that one could no longer use it to create an essential paradox of being both one thing and its opposite at the same time, the essence of fantasy, According to Long (2011, p.52):

> On the one hand, apartheid structures encouraged a collapse in the direction of fantasy – racialised fantasies of superiority and inferiority – 'so that fantasy becomes a thing in itself as tangible, as powerful, as dangerous and as gratifying as external reality from which it cannot be differentiated'. On the other hand, a collapse in the digestion of reality was also accomplished: the external reality of racial divisions replaced the aliveness and multiplicity of the internal world.

When there is a collapse, the people involved are unable to experience the other and so a state of misrecognition and non-recognition ensues. Mutual recognition is shut down so that they cannot see others as alike, with a separate centre for feeling, understanding and perception (Long, 2011). In essence, this is similar to apartheid, which instilled a sense of superiority and inferiority as well disallowing the physical space to remedy this collapse of fantasy becoming concrete and not allowing richness of diversity. Thus, people need to create a space in reality in which they can re-open that collapsed space and begin to see each other again and begin to recognise each other again through creative tension (Long, 2011; Winnicott, 1953).

When thinking about the past and the present and how to make reparation and reconciliation between the two, and preventing the split or collapsing of that space, one needs to find a way to remedy the transitional space that collapsed. In this way, one should engage with the past and the present as one, and so engage in the playful in-between area associated with transition (Long, 2011). When two opposing views are concerned they must be engaged together through dialogue and creative tension so as to find harmony (Winnicott, 1953).

Such joining conversations open up the possibility of healing the splits of the past and integrating rather than separating the past and the present: "They open up spaces of thirdness where we are not trapped in difference but can appreciate, even find pleasure in, our tension" (Long, 2011, pp.66 - 67).

People who are on the move or in transition, metaphorically or not, are said to be in a *space* of crisis. In this sense, a 'heterotopia of crisis' could be understood as being an ideological *space* in which to accommodate them, a place of paradoxical creativity (Winnicott, 1953). As Foucault (1997) and Winnicott (1953) stress, it is the analysis of these paradoxical spaces that allows for analysis or change. Through observing the paradoxes in space and discourse one can manipulate or change them to be creative so that the contradictions observed in oppressive spaces can be changed to represent a space of accommodation in which people can find harmony in contradiction. In-between spaces can be understood as the gap in between pre- and post- apartheid, rural and urban and local and global as well as gendered spaces. Although heterotopias are conceptualised as imaginary spaces one should not mistakenly fail to acknowledge that discourses and spaces drive life's events, experiences and structures, and that they are, therefore, likely to be useful in assisting us in the process of bettering society's conditions (Foucault, 1983, 1997; Winnicott, 1953).

2.1.3   Panopticon (deviancy)

There is an element of deviancy and not merely crisis when considering the space in which *izikhothanes* operate. This ties in with a conceptualisation of resistance and "reactionary politics" towards the dominant ideology and overturning the mechanisms that they use to try and internally oppress people. One of the ways in which norms become internalised is through Foucault's (1997) conceptualisation of the panopticon, a concept that describes the means by which one can be disciplined and coerced through nothing but observation, or the perception of being under continuous observation (Foucault, 1977). The belief that at any moment one is being watched, wherever one is located, drives people to behave in socially acceptable ways. Over time, these people tend to behave desirably, from the perspective of those in power, at all times, afraid that they might be seen to be misbehaving at any given moment. They thus internalise the oppressive panoptical gaze and require very little discipline. The nature of the structure, which Foucault also uses as a metaphor for society,

is paradoxical because the place in which one feels sheltered constitutes an illusion of protection. A kind of observation or gaze designed to gain control of the inhabitant is thus not protecting but oppressing them. When Foucault (1977) describes the structures that are designed to keep people from leaving through physical barriers, metaphorically one may infer that the same is possible through economic or financial restrictions and even more so through the structures that perpetuate them, where the class or economic means of an individual can act as a barrier, such that they cannot escape from the structure without great discomfort and/ or persecution. In terms of class, certain areas or places are closed to particular classes by virtue of belonging to a particular one. The subordinate class individual, for instance, will have great difficulty entering an up-market restaurant without feeling the gaze. Conversely, a dominant class individual will have difficulty entering a subordinate class area without feeling the gaze. Economic constraints will thus enforce the correct distribution of commodities that are designed and reserved for particular classes. When a subordinate class individual wears something that is considered to be reserved for the dominant class, he or she will feel watched and uncomfortable.

Foucault (1986) goes on to outline that the motivating force of the panoptical gaze is to construct a political utopia, where the heterotopian spaces are manifestations of the dominant group's political and social ideology and utopia of the time. Over time, the individual comes to internalise the panoptical gaze, coming to oppress himself by reducing his agency and conforming to the arbitrary prescriptions set out by the dominant ideology. Foucault (1980, 1982) suggests that with social and cultural norms, people begin to develop

> self-understanding through internalized dialogue mediated through external cultural norms … Here the Panopticon's structure and function serves to promote an externalised cultural (normative) 'gaze' which is internalized by the subject, and moves the subject to practices of the body deemed desirable by the culture of power (Madigan, 1992, pp.268,269).

They often mistake a desire to carry out an action or prescription as a need or want which is actually a manifestation of internalised oppression that once began as a social norm and was enforced externally (Foucault, 1979, 1980, 1982; Prilleltensky, 2008), and come to govern themselves through the internalised expectations of cultural, social and historical prescriptions outlined to them early in life. Thus, the body of an individual is objectified in

the form of knowledge, or becomes the embodiment of knowledge and allows the exercising of power to be manifested through it (Foucault, 1979).

With this in mind, however, people can come to realise the arbitrary inferences set out by dominant society and resist them (Bennett, 1999; Bourdieu, 1977b). They then begin to obtain and use dominant symbolism and manipulate it as their own. The panopticon can be used not only to oppress people but also to resist and become *seen* and *recognised* as resisting the current ideology and arbitrary inferences that have internally oppressed. The resistant people come to make meanings of their own with the previously "forbidden fruits" and thus become active participants in the construction of their reality (Bourdieu, 1977b). The nature of being seen and the symbolic nature that the resistors exhibit gives a clue as to the internalised oppressive forces that they wish to shed (Foucault, 1979, 1980, 1982, 1997)

2.2 MARXISM AND ACTIVITY (CRITICAL AND CONSTRUCTIONIST PARADIGMS)

Social, political and economic realities can be the source of mechanisms that arise in society and give people the means through which to obtain their individuality, internalize their self and construct their reality. The material commodities and conditions that underlie the practices and institutions to which people prescribe are the means through which they develop those practices and conflicts of class over contradictions that arise in terms of economic access spill over when contradictions are not contained within the system. When people feel that they are not represented or valued, or are being exploited, resistance arises (Seedat, 2001).

In the context of South Africa, in the post-apartheid era, exploitation can persists in the geographical situation of townships, as the structural changes that were enforced are still visible and present today. The exploitation has moved from legislative to class marginalisation, however, as people live in areas far removed from the dominant class and in poor conditions. There is little ownership of land and sharing space is common (Seedat, 2001). Some of the black middle class who are developing and moving away from the townships adopt identities that ridicule and disown them, as they separate themselves and further alienate and oppress those who remain (Portes, 1998; Seedat, 2001).

Once people have internalised a particular reality they can begin to display their displeasure through activity theory, as historically located phenomena and activity expressed in dissatisfaction with their contexts. When people act out historical activities in current contexts there is a sense of continuity in their resistance to perpetuated circumstances. Activity is important as a person displays internalization through the activity in which he or she is engaging, essential to this theory as it is the inadequacies that moves one to engage in the activity to try and alleviate those shortcomings. If an individual feels alienated or lacks cultural capital it is through the activity that the individual will strive to overcome negative internalization of social surroundings and find recognition in actions. Identifying with others who are experiencing the same internalization through an activity that has been historically shown to those people to yield desired outcomes can cause them to overcome the negative effects they are experiencing. These people, through interaction with others in similar circumstances, appropriately test reality and achieve a sense of disquiet, identity and camaraderie with similar ones (Jensen, 2006; van Vlaenderen & Neves, 2004).

However, the state, or the dominant ideology dictates that those in positions of power will often move to maintain it and so use the structures and institutions available to them to quash any resistance or perceived threat to their dominant status, for example, the police. Often, when there is a phenomenon that is new and cannot easily be explained by dominant ideology it is labelled 'deviant' and thus needs to be monitored and enforced by the police, calling on a 'moral panic' of the public to try and subdue deviant characters (Muggleton, 2005; Seedat, 2001). However, a more benign way to quash resistance is to incorporate the resistant mechanism or action into mainstream culture, thus removing its original meaning and so causing it to lose it potency and resistance. The media is an extremely successful tool in achieving this (Jensen, 2006; Thornton, 2005).

Another mechanism that attempts to alleviate or subdue the tension created through dissent is to incorporate into mainstream culture the meanings through which people are resisting, as in popularising trends such as fashion making resistance indiscernible from meaningless fashion style (Foucault, 1986, 1997; Jensen, 2006). The people in the subcultures that manage to perform regardless of sanctions, earn more status, prestige, and become more renowned (Jensen, 2006).

2.3 IDENTITY

A number of factors make up identity, personal, collective and gendered identities.

2.3.1 Personal Identity formation – exploration, role models and rebelling

Erik Erikson's (1968) theories concerning adolescent identity formation will be drawn from to provide an account of *izikhothane*. Context is of paramount importance to the identity that an individual will acquire, however, this formation is universal and passes from one generation to another. In line with changing contexts causing changing identities, Alexander (2003) outlines that generational differences, with a strong variable in defining masculinity and identity. Similarly, for Xaba (2001), there is crossover or a continuum from one generation to another.

The black generation living under apartheid developed particular identities and masculinities according to their context, mainly anti-apartheid. Despite some similarities, today's black generation live in a different context and so strive to create new identities. As an example, Xaba (2001) outlines and defines "struggle masculinities", which were the various masculine identities adopted by black people during apartheid in order to resist the conditions of apartheid. Katlehong is an area in South Africa that was ever present in the fight against apartheid, and so the masculine identities being formed there at present will be looked at to gain a better understanding of the current contextual forces in their formation.

Beyers and Goossens (2008) found a strong correlation between a parent's identity and that of the formation of an identity in adolescents. Even if the legislative forces of apartheid no longer exist oppressive forces continue to restrict people in many similar spheres and ways, and play a significant role in the development of identity in that they cognitively perceive their situations in particular ways which again influences how that identity will be formed (Crocetti et al., 2008b). For identity formation to be navigated one needs to go through particular stages. The first can be understood as moratorium, which is concerned with a person needs a time in in life free from commitment to test his or her boundaries (Erikson, 1968). The second, ego-diffusion, is when a person, through spending too much time navigating moratorium, may end up in a state of not being able to acquire a grounded stable identity (Erikson, 1968). The third is over-identification and is related to people adopting ideals and practices of role models. Through this over identification, they create a youth

subculture that is modelled off role models, but not always part of moratorium. It becomes over identification when those people begin to generalise their identity in one sphere to multiple other spheres in which that identity is not acceptable and counter-productive (Bennett, 1999; Erikson, 1968). A change in context has been shown to create new types of role model for the youth today. In the past, people modelled themselves after struggle heroes, such as Steve Biko or Robert Sobukwe, but now the youth model themselves on people made famous through media and television, portraying them as having acquired strong masculine identities, such as Kenny Kunene and *Zola 7* (Pattman, 2005).

Dissent in the youth, according to Erikson (1970), can be seen as an expression of generational or political prejudice which manifests in the exploitation of particular groups. Erikson argued that the youth would be more likely to dissent if similar exploitation were experienced from generation to generation, causing greater continuity with regard to dissatisfaction and activity thereof, even if the source were different. In addition, he believed that youth were maturing more rapidly as well as being educated and informed to a greater degree, thus enlightening them to the inequality of their conditions and allowing a greater sense of reality testing that allowed quicker and more effective dissent. Dissent, he wrote, could be viewed or manifests through "…songs of shouted loneliness underscored by a pounding rhythm-to-end-all-rhythms in a sea of circling colours and lights" (Erikson, 1970, p. 157).

The dominant class use their social and cultural capital and the reproduction of common imagery to reassert and compound their place in society and, in doing so, tie subordinate and marginalised groups into "existing world images", which further identifies the youth with current conditions and oppression. This can also be achieved in a more concrete manner through structural institutions at their disposal (Erikson, 1970, p. 59), and this is also an attempt, albeit softer, to collapse external (reality) and internal (fantasy) transitional spaces, trying to not allow difference whilst creating one reality. It collapses the space of superiority and inferiority in which the dominant class makes itself superior and reserves the right to certain places for themselves; shutting down any kind of diversity or sameness, as well as certain clothes and styles being reserved for them (Long, 2011; Winnicott, 1953). Dissenting subcultures therefore strive to identify and synthesize their true social identities into their personal identity through means of their own rituals and graduations, "from musical happenings to communal experiment and to political revolt" (Erikson, 1970, p.159), which

allows them to create their own voice and break free from the constraining forces that try to mould them into cooperative oppressed citizens aimed at perpetuating the status quo. They need only the *space* and *will,* and to open up the transitional reality and fantasy (Foucault, 1986, 1997; Erikson, 1970; Long, 2011; Winnicott, 1953).

There are three forms of sub-cultures that have been defined by Grinder (1973), of which only two will be discussed. *Hedonism* sees people concerned with pleasure and having a good time, dressing up to please and gaining acceptance while being revered and, most importantly, being recognised. The second, *alienation and protest*, sees people display their satisfaction or dissatisfaction through protest and generally acting out in a *space* that they can call their own, denying any structure or mechanism that would try to further oppress them and collapse essential space (Foucault, 1986, 1997; Grinder 1973).

2.3.2   Collective and social identity

A mention of collective identity can be seen as a collection of people who share a common feature within a particular group, however they do not need do to have contact or exchanges with all members of that group. It is defined in terms of the psychological nature of the factors that have moved people to identify and those that the group comprise must have a subjective feeling of belonging to the group. The elements that are involved within a collective identity are identified by Ashmore, Deaux & McLauglin-Volpe (2004) as (i) *self-categorization*, that is the act of an individual associating with a group that has particular features they associate themselves as having, understood in terms of the sureness of that person in associating themselves with that particular trait; (ii) the *evaluation* that a person makes is in terms of how s/he views the social category in which s/he has put him/herself and how s/he thinks people outside of that group view his/her social category; (iii) the importance of the *collective identity* is associated with how essential people feel their particular identity is to their sense of self and rank the importance of this particular collective identity with others they may associate with in that environment; (iv) *attachment and sense of interdependence* require the involvement of an individual with the group in relating to sense of treatment as a group in society, the degree to which they merge their sense of self with the group and their sense of emotional involvement with it; (v); *social embeddedness* is the idea of the extent to which the group or collective identity is present in the individual's

everyday life; (vi) *behavioural involvement* is the engagement of that individual in behaviours that are directly associated with the collective identify category; and (vii) *content and meaning* refer to the history, experience, story and general features that have led to the formation of this particular collective identity.

One's social identity relates to the group in which one feels one belongs (Hogg et al., 1995) and it is at the societal level that these groups are considered, such as one's class. The two levels considered in this theory are *categorization* and *self-enhancement* (Hogg et al., 1995), the former referring to the boundaries and characteristics that distinguish the in-group members from the out-group members (Thornton, 2005; Hogg et al., 1995), the latter being the mechanisms or stereotypes that the in-group employs in order to view themselves as superior to the out-group or to gain recognition. In this way groups strive for social mobility in that they move towards a higher or more desirable standing in society (Hogg et al., 1995). Additionally, a central feature associated with social identity theory is that of the dynamic nature of the groups, constantly changing within a transient context so as to maintain meaning and a clear sense of the out-group (Thornton, 2005; Hogg et al., 1995).

2.3.3   Masculine identities

Masculinity is characterised in this paper as defined by Connell (1995) as a gender identity specific to males, influenced by social constructs, and which develops through gender socialization, history and an interaction with others (Archer, Pratt & Phillips, 2001; Laberge, 1995). It is not a static process and change not only over lifetimes but also during one's life, through or as a result of contextual and cultural changes and challenges (Alexander, 2003; Archer et al., 2001). According to Connell (2000), one should not think of masculinity but masculinities, as identities are subject to and defined by a number of factors and can be understood through the lens of class, race, ethnicity and even geographic location. The hegemonic or dominant masculine identity in one area may change significantly as one moves into another area of close proximity (Connell, 2000).

Connell (1995) coined the different levels of masculinity in relation to the dominant or stereotyped masculinity (hegemonic masculinity) of a particular community or society, but the ones that will be discussed are the *subordinate* and *marginalized* masculinities. People whose masculinity is considered by the hegemonic masculinity to be inferior, or

subordinate, and dominated by them in that it reaffirms the hierarchy through drawing attention to it by various practices and rituals. *Marginalised* masculinity, meanwhile, is based on class, race or socio-historical and economic processes, and it is through repression and oppression by the hegemonic masculinities that another masculinity becomes marginalized.

2.4   CULTURAL CAPITAL

A significant part of this research, cultural capital can be understood as either *embodied*, with dispositions that are durable and consist of a proclivity towards the mind and body, *objectified*, which consist of goods through which one can become learned, such as dictionaries or machines, and *institutionalised*, that is afforded by a recognised institution (Bourdieu, 1986a). When people are denied institutionalised and objectified cultural capital, embodied cultural capital becomes of the utmost importance as it gives one an opportunity to challenge genealogies, subjugation and oppression through one's body and mind, and manifests as something which cannot be taken away or rewritten according to the dominant ideology or peoples (Foucault, 1979, 1984a; Foucault & Ewald, 2003).

Bourdieu (1986, p.244)n writes:

> Most of the properties of cultural capital can be deduced from the fact that in its fundamental state, it is linked to the body and presupposes embodiment. The accumulation of cultural capital in the embodied state, i.e., in the form of what is called cultural, cultivation, *Bildung*, presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation, which, insofar as it implies a labor of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor.

Bourdieu argued that the forms of knowledge and knowhow that are considered of value in societies conform to what the dominant or upper and middle classes of that society have acquired and themselves value (Bourdieu, 1984; Jensen, 2006; Yosso, 2005). Those who make up these dominant classes will have an idea of these forms of knowledge and be able to apply and explain them without appealing to the parts that make them up, which provides the illusion that these people innately own or embody those dispositions and ways of being (Bourdieu, 1986b; Laberge, 1995). This in turn allows a particular society to determine who

is apart, and who is not, thus perpetuating the dominant class positions and status in society through members helping or endowing other members with various kinds of capital (Bourdieu, 1986b; Jensen, 2006; Yosso, 2005). These seemingly innate forms of acting or knowing come to form part of what Bourdieu termed 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1977a, 1977b; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Laberge, 1995), capital that can then be used to create symbolic capital for the dominant class, which may infer such aspects as prestige, recognition, renown and status (Jensen, 2005). These dominant classes however are born not out of nothing, but through historical struggle. It is then that the power inferred through coming out on top allows those dominant societies to define, characterise and record the events of what happened that allows them to appear as if this is the way that it has always been. These are termed 'genealogies' (Foucault, 1984a; Jensen, 2006), which Foucault discusses as a concept of subjugated knowledge, whereby society has particular kinds of knowledge that are put forward as legitimate as opposed to similar kinds of non-dominant knowledge that are not (Foucault, 1984a; Foucault & Ewald, 2003).

Subjugated knowledge can be grasped through historical content that has been masked through systematic means such as the selective revision of history, and usually legitimized by science (Foucault & Ewald, 2003). On the other hand, it can be understood as knowledge that has been given the title of "non-conceptual, as insufficiently elaborated knowledges: naïve knowledges, hierarchically inferior knowledges, knowledges that are below the required level of erudition or scientificity" (Foucault, 1979;, 1984a; Foucault & Ewald, 2003, p.7). The people to whom these subjugated knowledges and histories appeal and apply are then the owners of capital defined by the dominant classes as undervalued, unworthy and unrecognised. It is not to say that they do not have their own kinds of capital but rather that it is not valued in dominant classes eyes (Yosso, 2005).

The non-dominant forms of capital become subjugated and relegated to the margins of society, along with the people who have acquired this knowledge, which is especially salient in the schooling context. Here the formalised institutions of a society embody the acceptable forms of knowledge, which also perpetuates the dominant class positions in society, thus, adolescents who are not of the dominant class feel inadequate and undervalued in the schooling system as the forms of capital at which they may have in abundance, or appear to embody, are not made use of in that context. This is understood as *deficit thinking*, as in schools, where those who are not endowed with dominant forms of cultural capital cannot

gain social or psychological mobility to become successful and recognised, and are unable to build a stable strong self-esteem, which locks them into the social class into which they were born (Carter, 2003; Yosso, 2005). People thus begin to mobilise themselves through groups in order to gain mobility in context-specific situations so that they may acquire recognition in spheres or *spaces* that they create themselves, developing cultural capital through which they may turn into symbolic capital (Bennett, 1999; Foucault, 1986, 1997; Jensen, 2006; Yosso, 2005).

It important to explain such a phenomenon without disrupting the idea of hierarchy in society, with Jensen (2006) proposing the term *subcultural capital,* and Yosso (2005) *cultural community wealth*, which allows people to practice a form valued in a particular context or space. However, it remains subordinate or marginalised when looked at in a wider context and can also form as a kind of resistance to the established order by showing that there is value in non-dominant forms of capital. Although this resistance remains at the margins of society it does provide a sense of agency and autonomy in becoming recognised and valued (Bennett, 1999; Jensen, 2006; Yosso, 2005).

According to Anzaldúa (1990, p.xxvi), "In our mestizaje theories we create new categories for those of us left out of or pushed out of existing ones". Thus, subcultures become a symbolic solution for the working class through which to challenge the problems they experience in action and activity, not only those they experience themselves but also what has been experienced by their parents' generation, or the parents' class generation (Jensen, 2006). Subcultures are formed as a response and can be understood as an answering, working through or resolving of past and current generational difficulties which speaks to a sense of continuity from generation to generation (Jensen, 2006; Xaba, 2001). For Hall and Jefferson (1975, p.48), "Working-class subcultures are a response to a problematic which youth shares with other members of the 'parent' class culture".

Subcultural capital and cultural community wealth have been passed down and thus derive value through multiple non-dominant sources and are changed in response to the current oppressive conditions (Jensen, 2006; Yosso, 2005). However, people can practice autonomy and agency within the realm of possibility and are not slaves to the structures or social conditions that include them. There is active participation and selection by people through the mechanisms available to them, such as consumerism (Bennett, 1999; Bourdieu, 1977b).

2.4.1 Subcultural capital

One cannot understand oppression through one facet of society, such as class, but rather it needs to be viewed through multiple lenses which take into account the nuanced view and manifestation that society takes, one that looks at gender, race, class, sexuality, region and ethnicity as well as the social, historical, economic and cultural circumstances implicit in these elements (Foucault, 1986, 1997; Jensen, 2006; Yosso, 2005). In addition, one needs to look at the various spaces that particular subcultures or identities play out and that a subculture may only manifest in a particular space, whilst in another a different identity emerges that is regarded as healthy so as to not foster over-identification (Bennett, 1999; Erikson, 1968). These embodied states and subcultures arise out of the continuity and passing on of information through investment from not only parents but also communities, namely cultural community wealth (Bourdieu, 1986a). As a result of generations of cultures that have been oppressed it has become important to maintain a sense of resistance, as a form of survival, which can also be passed down to future generations through activity and socialisation so as to try and change the social circumstances (Jensen, 2006; Yosso, 2005; Xaba, 2001). However, the information is reworked and recreated through the vision of the person who practices agency by choosing what to appropriate and how to do so, as well as what meanings to symbolise through a particular subculture (Bennett, 1999; Bourdieu, 1977b; Jensen, 2006).

The term 'subculture' can be understood as inferring a hierarchical structure of society and so also infers that in some way it is subordinate, oppressed or dominated by the dominant culture, however, and in addition, they need to be considered as separate and distinct from the hierarchical nature of society, creating their *own space* within which to operate, a contradiction characteristic of Foucault's (1986, 1997) ideal of *space* (Jensen, 2005). These cultures constitute a different culture entirely, with distinct norms, style, values, lifestyles and rituals, however, they are being oppressed and the manifestation or formation is an answer to the social conditions they endure. They are affected by those conditions and to deny them is not to reflect a utopian ideal of freedom and recognition but to contest it through the need for the subculture's creation, and to resist a societal order that tries to dominate it (Foucault, 1986, 1997).

These answers are creative and used to make a transition through difficult times that are supposed to be free but are not, when everyone should be recognised but is not, and where the dominant order blindly believes this to be true through the collapse of transitional spaces in fantasy and reality. They create the idea of superiority in the dominant class and close particular spaces, texts (clothing, music, dance) and places to non-dominant classes, thus subcultures in space attempt to reopen and rework it to open the creative space of reality and fantasy (Jensen, 2005; Long, 2011 Winnicott, 1953).

Jensen 2005, p.263) writes:

> Subcultural theory is basically about how people in underprivileged social positions create culture when attempting to resolve, handle, work through or answer shared problems. Such a two dimensional definition grasps autonomy *and* dominance, culture *and* structure, that is, it points to the conditions under which autonomy is exercised… to intersections between the social position, gender, ethnicity and race of the participants in the subculture.

The people within the subculture hold specific forms of subcultural capital which hold them in esteem and are considered as 'trendy' (Jensen, 2006), seen by Bourdieu (1986b) as a particular class that distinguishes itself through tastes and style. Subcultures allows the holder of this capital to be distinguished as well as recognised by their camaraderie (Jensen, 2006), whilst these styles and habitus are rewarded through symbolic capital that manifests as status, renown, prestige and other forms of capital (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Jensen, 2006).

Members of the subcultural group strive to define themselves as authentic and definitive of what they value, which goes further to define themselves as opposed to an out-group that could be considered mainstream and as 'sell-outs', while they are 'underground' and 'authentic' (Thornton, 2005; Jensen, 2006). The meaning or potential goal of developing subcultures is to classless and deny or resist the nature of class and boundary, forming a class of their own in a 'bubble' of '*space-less* place' that they tailor, develop and mould for their own purposes and needs, with definite inclusion and exclusion criteria (Foucault, 1986, 1997; Jensen, 2006). This period of classlessness correlates with what Erikson (1968) terms a 'moratorium' as the youth attempt to find their identity and position in society. They often take on or mimic role models they feel have acquired the symbolic capital and relevant 'trade

–off' to help shape and direct their subculture. When ego-diffusion or over-identification occur, however, these subgroups may sometimes move to more negative spheres of interaction and experience, and lose sight of the developmental and psychological mobility that they were trying to achieve in the first place (Erikson, 1968). They thus attempt to be rid of the preconceptions and constraining forces of society so as to be free to be able to explore effectively, without boundary, and out of preconceived space, especially since these groups often form in response to transitioning from one boundary, space, text or place to another (Foucault, 1986, 1997; Jensen, 2006; Winnicott, 1953).

According to Jensen (2006, p.264):

> We are told that class 'does not correlate in any one-to one way with levels of youthful subcultural capital'….and that '[s]ubcultural capital is the linchpin of an alternative hierarchy in which the axes of age, gender, sexuality and race are all employed in order to keep the determinations of class, income and occupation at bay.

The theory of subcultural capital exists as a result of having a field through which that capital can obtain legitimacy and be valid (Bourdieu, 1997), to be moulded from the social positions and relations which are formed through people having different volumes and compositions of a particular capital (Bourdieu 1997; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Thus, an analysis of a particular subculture needs to point to these elements so that the capital in question may be situated meaningfully within a field. It is again important to use Foucault's (1997) conception of *space* here as this is the location in which the field in question will be situated, though a pseudo-field may become more appropriate when considering *space* (Jensen, 2006). Bourdieu distinguishes three criteria that constitute a field: (i) agents need to be differentiated and in positions of power in relation to each other; (ii) there must be autonomy within the space, which takes into account Foucault, Bennett and the realm of possibility in rhetoric and active choice; and (iii) there must be a form of capital specific to the particular field, that which differentiates it and which has an observable or perceivable affect on the space in which it operates (Bourdieu, 1997; Prieur, 1998).

The first criterion needs not be met by having actual agents occupy the positions that are relative to each other, however, the positions themselves are stable, that is, there must be a recognition of stable positions in relation to the subculture but there need not be a target agent that occupies that position (Bourdieu, 1997; Jensen, 2006). As Bourdieu (1997)

contended, a field and capital reciprocally imply each other and, when taking into account the above, the subcultural fields may in some instances consist of people who never meet. This does not defeat the argument as one cannot, on their own, assign importance to a kind of capital within a group, but rather it has to do that and test out a particular capital. The affect and autonomy of the field are tested out and the capital that results or is implied is given legitimacy and value by people witnessing it (Bennett, 1999; Jensen, 2006). People with varying socio-economic indicators may value various things differently, however, the capital maintains its importance and has an impact on its localised *space* (Jensen, 2006).

This is not a static process and the valued capital and variables change as time progresses, and the subcultures mature and struggle against other groups. The resulting winners assign value to slightly different factors and reap symbolic capital from this which, in itself, creates a power dynamic (Jensen, 2006). This allows the tastes, rituals and styles to acquire existence as a capital which then allows it to affect the surroundings in which it is employed, for only when it is given value and constructed through the subcultures does it exist (Jensen, 2006). This then completes the latter two conditions for a field in which autonomy is achieved through the groups attributing value to particular mechanisms, and through this meaning-making the capital itself begins to exist and be effective (Jensen, 2006).

There is an interplay with the outside mechanisms and structures that can contribute to the value and focus of capital. Media and social control agencies normally have a significant influence on this, especially when the subculture begins to be construed as deviant. The media can begin to influence how far reaching and the extent to which a particular capital is valued, thus assigning specific traits, characteristics or artefacts to the mix (Jensen, 2006). Social control agencies that begin to monitor or control various practices by agents of subcultures add to the value of those particular mechanisms as they perpetuate the underground value and exclusivity (Jensen, 2006; Muggleton, 2005; Thornton, 2005).

The question now arises as to whether, when subcultural capital is attributed value, it can be used in the dominant social order or hierarchical scheme of things (Jensen, 2006). It is also important to mention and recognise that often people develop subcultures as their own talents, or attempts at self-actualisation and non-dominant forms of cultural capital are not recognised. Capital that has developed or become recognised through the subcultures, if allowed into dominant society or valued as a dominant capital, would offer a social, psychological, physiological advantage to those involved. However, it is often not the case

and so these forms of capital (non-dominant) only become valued within the oppressed communities in which they have been derived. They have developed in order to allow people to grasp and acquire what they may need in order to obtain satisfaction with their lives (Jensen, 2006; Carter, 2003). There are instances in which non-dominant forms of capital gain value in the dominant market, however, for example rap or hip-hop artists coming into the limelight through music and thus achieving economic capital, as well as symbolically through prestige and fame (Jensen, 2006).

To hypothesize how one may find a niche or opening in the dominant capital market, it can be achieved through the potentially struggle, change or displacement in other dominant capital fields. This would allow the non-dominant subcultural capital to take a dominant position in response to this displacement and within that displacement, trying to achieve homeostasis once more (Jensen, 2006). Thus, the subcultural capital moves into the position of the displaced field and achieves status in the dominant society as having value (Jensen, 2006). It may happen in response to a change in power dynamics, as a displacement has occurred due to external circumstances or forces and achieves power as a dominant capital in which the non-dominant class can begin to write their own history in favour of the former, for example the progression from pre- to post-apartheid (Foucault, 1971; Jensen, 2006). In the field of social work, ex-delinquents are employed to work with currently troubled youth, as they have developed, through their life trajectories, circumstances and subcultures, a habitus or characteristics that allow them to understand and work with them in a way that was not previously possible for social workers who did not entirely understand the delinquents' perspectives as a result of belonging to a different class (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Jensen, 2006). They have developed or employed an embodied subcultural capital and converted it into career possibility, economic capital and/or symbolic capital (Jensen, 2006). This conversion can be understood as manifesting through a displacement or crisis in social work as conventional methods or techniques were not working or seemed redundant and ineffective (Jensen, 2006).

Subcultures themselves may open up, by their existence or virtue, the displacement or crises in a particular field, showing how resistance manifested by subgroup cultures causes the desired change. Hackers, for instance, can now work in formalised Information Technology sectors as a result of their very existence (Jensen, 2006). Another example of this is the existence of deviant gang members who can move to work with police as a result of their

knowhow and habitus. Other fields which are constantly going through displacement are those of fashion and dance, which do not remain static but are looking for the next subcultural influence to direct their discourse.

Another element to take into account when analysing whether a subcultural capital can be converted is that one needs to determine the other types or kinds of capital composition and volume in any given field or geographical location to which an agent has access. Jensen (2006) points out that it would be advantageous for an individual who is part of hip-hop subculture to have a father with access to economic or social capital who could help to form a record label or something related, or, more importantly for our purposes, whether the members of the subculture have the appropriate parental and communal support to become recognised (Jensen, 2006; Yosso, 2005).

2.4.2   Gendered capital

Gender is as a form of cultural capital with the proclivity to dispose the mind and body to gendered modes of being and is instilled through 'significant other' exposure and socialisation, as an embodied cultural capital that is passed on through a sense of continuity, community and socialisation:

> Moreover, gendered dispositions have the same properties as the other states of cultural capital; that is, gendered dispositions work also as sources of power (as in the case with educational credentials and possession of cultural goods). For instance, the more or less "feminised" or "masculinised" bodily hexis an individual may have worked to acquire may be used or may operate as a forms of capital (in the same way as educational credentials) in the position she or he occupies or aspires to occupy in the social space… [thus] Bourdieu's theoretical framework and epistemology are not incompatible with a reconceptualization of gender that understands it as a fundamental principle structuring social space (Laberge, 1995, p.138).

Thus, gender becomes a way in which people begin to structure the social space in which they live. Harding (1986), Bourdieu (1986b, 1990a) and Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) outline particular levels of gendered construction and structuring of social space for men and women (Laberge, 1995, p.139).

Interaction between genders can be understood through symbols of power in which people externalise structure through their actions and the way that they experience each other (Bourdieu, 1990b; Laberge, 1995). These symbols come to hold the power to either maintain or change the principles that people have come to internalise as constituting gender and the supplementary roles. The symbolic interactions can come to either associate or dissociate "objective" meaning in the social world "and the power to preserve or transform current classifications in matters of gender, region, age, and social status, through the words used to designate or to describe people or groups" (Bourdieu, 1990b ; Laberge, 1995, p.140).

Table 2.1: Social interactions, intersubjectivity and intrasubjectivity

Construction of gendered social life (Harding, 1986)	**Construction of the social world (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990a; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992)**
"*Gender symbolism* refers to dualistic gender metaphors assigned to various perceived dichotomies; often expressed in masculine/feminine stereotypes"	"*Binary Symbolic forms* refer to the classifying schemes that structure practical knowledge of the social world; examples include dominant/dominated, feminine/masculine, nature/culture"
"*Gender structure* refers to the dualistic organisation of social activity according to gender and to the dualistic gender division of labour"	"*Structured social space* is represented by the set of occupational categories, themselves affected by the division of labor according to gender"
"*Individual gender identity* refers to the various forms of socially constructed individual identity, very imperfectly correlated with the perception of sex differences"	"*Habitus* as a "socialized subjectivity," refers to a system of schemes of dispositions, perceptions and appreciations produced through positioning in the social space, which give meaning to practice"

The habitus becomes the crossing point between the symbolic and the structural because it can be described through action, and so the internalised social structures seek expression through symbolic dispositions and structure. The nature of the symbolic structure holds great power as this is the source of domination and through it specific roles can be determined in terms of gender[6] (Laberge, 1995). Thus, if the roles need to be transformed or maintained

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[6] The habitus (action) is the intersection between symbolic (individual/internal/fantasy) and the structural (inter-subjective or groups/external/ reality). The habitus can thus act as a means through which to transition

they are expressed through the symbolic action of people and their ability to convince others of the arbitrary legitimacy of roles and power (Battaglia, 1995; Bourdieu, 1990b; Laberge, 1995).

According to Bourdieu (1977b, pp.410-411):

> Symbolic power, as the power to make things exist with words, to make people see and believe, to confirm or transform a representation of the world, and thereby, action over the world and hence over people, and as a nearly magic power that makes it possible to get the equivalent of what is obtained by force (physical or economic), due to the specific effect of mobilisation, is effective only if it is recognised, that is, misrecognised, as arbitrary. [Note] Destruction of this power of symbolic imposition built on misrecognition implies an awareness of arbitrariness, that is, of the unveiling of objective truth and the annihilation of belief: heterodox discourse may contain a symbolic power of mobilisation and subversion, the power to actualise the dominated classes' potential power, insofar as it destroys the false evidence of orthodoxy, and neutralises its power of demobilisation.

2.4.2.1 *Expressive Masculine Capital*

Expressive masculinity can be understood from several viewpoints: being powerful and strong; being able to express one's racial culture through a gendered perspective; and causing others to interpret one in a particular way which is congruent with how one is trying to express oneself, a manner which also takes into account the social conditions that one has to endure as well as creating a symbolic representation in terms of how one wants to be viewed and to create a power of their own (Bourdieu, 1977a, 1977b; Jensen, 2002, 2006; Vestel, 2004). This is the abiloty to become, in some instances, conscious or self-aware of the part that one is playing in one's own oppression and the power given to the dominant class through being persuaded of arbitrary inferences, and to become aware of this and then to take back that power and define one's roles and self in a way that is congruent with self-image (Bourdieu, 1977a, 1977b). On the other hand, it is to be able to convince others of a

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from one space to another and represents the illusionary tension that Winnicott (1953), Bourdieu and Waquant (1992) and Foucault (1997) talk about. This then creates a power dynamic, structuring of space and movement of transition that one needs in order to navigate the inter-subjective space in the world.

particular role and symbolism so that one may construct reality in a way that affords power and recognition (Battaglia, 1995; Bennett, 1999).

To define gender roles after the disillusion, for example, gender roles, were defined during apartheid as struggle masculinities, but also through the oppression of not being able to practice or feel like a man, so as to subjugate black men. Thus, a new definition of what it means to be a black male, in relation to other males *and* in relation to females needed and needs to be reconceptualised, acted out and symbolised. However, there is a maintained sense of continuity in this process (Bourdieu, 1977a, 1977b; Xaba, 2001), understood as a coming together of what is available at a particular time in space, of one's parent culture, icons of masculinity in relation to a specific social position, as well as icons deriving from subgenres of hip-hop, kwaito, rap, reggae, or stereotypically, racially congruent subgenres (and subcultures – *hip-hop, pantsula, clevers*), all used to determine how one wants to be perceived in relation to others and become powerful and recognised (Jensen, 2006; Xaba, 2001).

People from the subcultures mix these elements so that they may come to resemble the social conditions that they are forced to endure and through which they cannot be recognised as productive valuable people, thus forming a genuinely new subculture that maintains a sense of continuity from the past and gives them the recognition that they desire (Jensen, 2002, 2006; Xaba, 2001). By recognising how one has been oppressed, however, one then can reflectively analyse the conditions and arbitrary symbols that they have recognised and that has allowed them to be oppressed. Through this, they become active participants in the defining of themselves and in resisting those social conditions, symbolic structures and social structures (Battaglia, 1995; Bennett, 1999; Bourdieu, 1977a, 1977b; Laberge, 1995).

Continuity is important as a large portion of the bricolage that makes up the subculture can be linked to the past, such as modes of being, mechanisms of production, gender stereotypes, historical oppression and resistance. This, coupled with icons associated with mass media, gives a holistic picture of the origins of the subcultures as one can then gauge symbolically the context of the subculture and the origins of the mechanisms of the subculture: "These genres can be interpreted as giving symbolic form to a type of resistance to, or social critique of, the circumstance, [current and historical], of life in the underprivileged black urban ghetto, at the same time as they often celebrate a very stereotypical form of hypermasculinity" (Jensen, 2006, pp.270-271).

Expressive masculinity can be conceptualised as a distinct subcultural style which does not necessarily match a sense of hyper-masculinity in all stereotypical manners, rather, it is a reflection of the iconic representation of masculinity as portrayed by the media and history (Jensen, 2006). Thus, the icon can be understood as a reference point in relation to the holistic contextual circumstances in which one lives and is influenced, by which one can then identify with and be promoted by those very circumstances (Jensen, 2006). One must not think of people in a subculture in an essentialist manner, that they are defined by and conform to a certain portrait of an iconic way of being. This is not an absolute truth but rather a point for analysis in a particular context in *space* (Foucault, 1986, 1997; Jensen, 2006; Vestel, 2001). Thus, it must be understood in an abstract manner that takes on a concrete nature which then symbolises the historical accounts mentioned above, allowing people to be creative in deciding their own modes of being in relation to current circumstances. This makes the subculture unique to their time, being and *space* (Foucault, 1986, 1997; Jensen, 2006). Expressive masculinity is abstract, historical and continuous, whilst bodily capital is concrete, and current.

2.4.2.2 *Bodily Capital*

Bodily capital can be understood as concrete and physical in nature and is related to the body through physical appearance. People within a subculture use this in a concrete manner through which they can display a sense of strength in physical behaviour and it is thus essential for acquiring recognition and status as well as allowing them to be active participants in what they choose and mould (Bennett, 1999; Jensen, 2006; Waquant, 1995). According to Prieur (1999, p.36), it consists of a person's position in the social space in which he or she is practicing his or her subculture, whether real or placeless: "as a source of dignity and recognition for those who do not possess a large volume of economic or [dominant] cultural capital".

This kind of capital is a form of masculinity that is placed or based within the realm of possibility and constraint in a particular context and within the limitations of the agent's social position (Waquant, 1995), thus, masculinity can be understood as a working through of the conditions in which one lives and can be understood as a collective experience which manifests as a result of past and current conditions (Jensen, 2006; Connell, 1995). This can be conceptualised as marginalised masculinities, and "Connell understands these forms of

masculinity as a collective and social praxis, which articulates a collective working through of the conditions of life of these men" (Jensen, 2006, p.271).

As a way to become recognised or to adapt to the social conditions, people can adopt or develop a collective and strong sense of a masculine identity, as something to claim and thus be recognised when in an environment that offers little else to attach to or claim (Jensen, 2006). It is through creative expression that these people become recognised within a society that does not already do so, with reflective analysis and active participation allowing them to use creativity to bridge the gap between what they envision and dream about and what is contained or available in reality, a moment of uncertainty (Jensen, 2006). This then becomes a transitional difficulty and so requires a transitional space in which to achieve it (Long, 2011; Winnicott, 1953).

2.4.3 Cultural community capital

Cultural community capital can be understood through the concepts of aspirational, navigational, social, familial, linguistic and resistant capital. These forms of cultural capital arise out of the community and appear to be embodied, however it is the community in question that has endowed and invested them into the children of the community so that they may form solidarity (Bourdieu, 1986a). Aspirational capital can be understood as the ability of parents to maintain hope and resolve, even in the face of adverse circumstances, as well as real and perceived barriers to one's dreams and aspirations. Parents act as transitional objects for their children, allowing them to realise their fantasy in reality (Winnicott, 1953; Yosso, 2005). This can be accomplished by people through allowing not only their children but also themselves to believe in their dreams and desires, even when those possibilities are seen to be objectively unattainable. Parents allow themselves and their children to realise an alternative reality or a potential for mobility previously not seen or perceived (Yosso, 2005).

Gándara (1995, p.55) wrote that "These stories nurture a culture of possibility as they represent 'the creation of a history that would break the links between parents' current occupational status and their children's future academic attainment'". Linguistic capital, on the other hand, can be understood as the acquiring of communicative skills and experiences that are understood in a number of linguistic mediums or styles. There is a long history of language and racialised cultural history and so linguistic capabilities and skills are greatly

valued and seen as a means of mobility and intellectual prowess (Yosso, 2005). Storytelling becomes a significant part of recording history, expressing oneself in the present context, understanding and making meaning of one's situation as well as developing skills pertaining to memorisation, attention to detail, dramatic pause, comedic timing, facial affect, vocal tone, volume, rhythm and rhyming. These all form a significant part of being able to express oneself and can be communicated through visual art, music or poetry: "they must often draw on various language registers, or styles, to communicate with different audiences" (Yosso, 2005, p.79).

These youth gain multiple social tools of: "vocabulary, audience awareness, cross-cultural awareness, "real-world" literacy skills, math skills, metalinguistic awareness, teaching and tutoring skills, civic and familial responsibility, [and] social maturity' (Faulstich, 2003, p.6). This is an important form of capital as it allows people to embody the ability to creatively communicate and act towards successful transitioning from one situation to another, whether generational, contextual, or circumstantial (Jensen, 2006; Winnicott, 1953).

Familial capital takes the forms of information such as history, memory or cultural orientation which emphasizes community wellbeing by allowing people to identify with a community as a whole. It challenges the traditional idea of family, as the extended community and biological family members are included, both immediate and distant (Yosso, 2005). It allows its people to be able to learn the appropriate methods of caring and coping in a potentially hostile or oppressive atmosphere and fosters the emotional, moral, educational and occupation compass which is to be developed. This connectedness prevents the corrosive nature of isolation as members begin to realise that they are not the only ones experiencing a particular problem, and that there is support and a kinship that will help them to deal with it (Yosso, 2005). Reality testing is of the utmost important as it allows people to maintain a sense of coherence and sense of community, allowing the weathering of problems as a whole so that they do not feel concentrated on the individual (Portes, 1998). It provides resistance towards the genealogies that are perpetuated by the dominant class in society who seek to nullify and make obsolete the native, local, marginalised or non-dominant peoples in a specific context (Foucault, 1977).

Social capital comprises the networks and connections that people develop in order to obtain support and help in a particular community. They can provide emotional and navigational resources that would otherwise not have been available. People within networks often gain

knowledge and expertise outside the network which they bring into that particular community. This is often true of dominant cultural capital when people who would otherwise not have gained access to such knowledge now have a means through which to access it (Yosso, 2005). This points to the point made in the subcultural capital section, when an individual may act or develop non-dominant capital more easily in the context of having access to other forms of capital, through social capital, to foster that non-dominant capital and to be able to turn it into a dominant capital via displacement (Jensen, 2006).

Navigational capital, on the other hand, refers to the ability to understand how to move through particular institutions that are not common or known to a community in question. It refers to a "set of inner resources, social competencies and cultural strategies that permit the people to not only survive, recover, or even thrive after stressful events, but also to draw from the experience to enhance subsequent functioning" (Yosso, 2005, p.81). Social capital can be used to endow community members with this kind of capital when people who would otherwise have been unable to navigate a particular institution now can.

Finally, resistant capital is the abilities, skills and knowledge that have been acquired through oppositional behaviour in the context of inequality. Through historical subordination the target communities develop a culture of resistance which is passed on through the generations as a part of cultural wealth. Parents raise their children with resistance in mind as they wish them to be able to overcome their circumstances should they be oppressive or resemble the past. They pass on messages to their children that directly contradict the oppressive messages that have in the past devalued, undermined and oppressed generations, and so they begin to actively challenge the status quo into which they have been born (Yosso, 2005). It is through one's body, mind, spirit, culture, gender, race, class and ethnicity that people resist the dominant oppressive culture that moves to maintain its position in society by any means possible (Yosso, 2005). As it is passed through messages, which are often covert, these children often act out mechanism of resistance without being overtly aware of their significance, however, they are aware of the impact and the internalised discontent of their circumstances and social conditions, become reflexively aware when change begins to happen and the dominant class begins to mount resistance towards their resistance.

Resistance can also be understood in non-conventional terms as the oppositional or resistant behaviour and can take the form of self-defeating acts and conformist manifestations of

behaviour that would seem to perpetuate the system of subordination (Yosso, 2005). The aforementioned, however, would only be understood from the surface and thus not offer an in-depth account or understanding of the manifestation through a structural nature of the oppressed, moving towards a transformative form by which social and racial justice is meted out through the "structures of racism and motivation to transform such oppressive structures" (Yosso, 2005, p.81), which can be understood as transformative resistant capital. The youth thus understand that the very mechanisms that allow people to maintain and recognise others of their class, when conformed to, allow a kind of resistance in terms of blurring the lines between taste and distinction, thus not allowing for the traditional mechanisms through which classes differentiate each other by referring to those mechanisms without appeals to the sum of the parts but to the whole (Bourdieu, 1986b; Yosso, 2005). They then wear and take on those symbols to resist the meanings that they have come to represent and so begin to construct their own meanings and symbolisms, subverting the panopticon of capitalist symbols and observing or enforcing mechanisms (Foucault, 1977; Freire, 1970).

Glaser (1990) found that when people did not allow themselves to be limited to the commodities or cultural capital that the dominant class, through economic exploitation, allow, they resist the status quo. They also display their dissatisfaction with the exploitation of that class in terms of access to commodities through 'unnatural', perhaps a lingering of dominant ideology or perception of marginalised people, rituals, activities and displays. It is the resisting of another cultures' values and ideals, and even portraying how little these values and ideals mean to one, that allows one to begin to move away from the norms constraining and repressing that class (Brown, 2005; Glaser, 1990). Through their rituals and mechanisms, people use their masculine identities to make a statement about the oppressive forces that they internalize. By destroying what another covets, they portray their power over their own lives, and so the working class are not passive in accepting the ideals, values and portrays attached to them by the ruling class (Glaser, 1990). By disturbing the mechanisms through which the dominant class maintain their place in society, one can rock that stability (Bourdieu, 1986b).

Utopia

Marxism and Activity

Identity

Personal

Collective

Masculine

Heterotopia

Fields

Cultural Capital

Aspirational capital

Familial Capital

Cultural community capital

Social Capital

Linguistic Capital

Resistant Capital

Navigational Capital

Masculine Capital

Bodily

Expressive

Branded

Subcultural Capital, Style and lifestyle
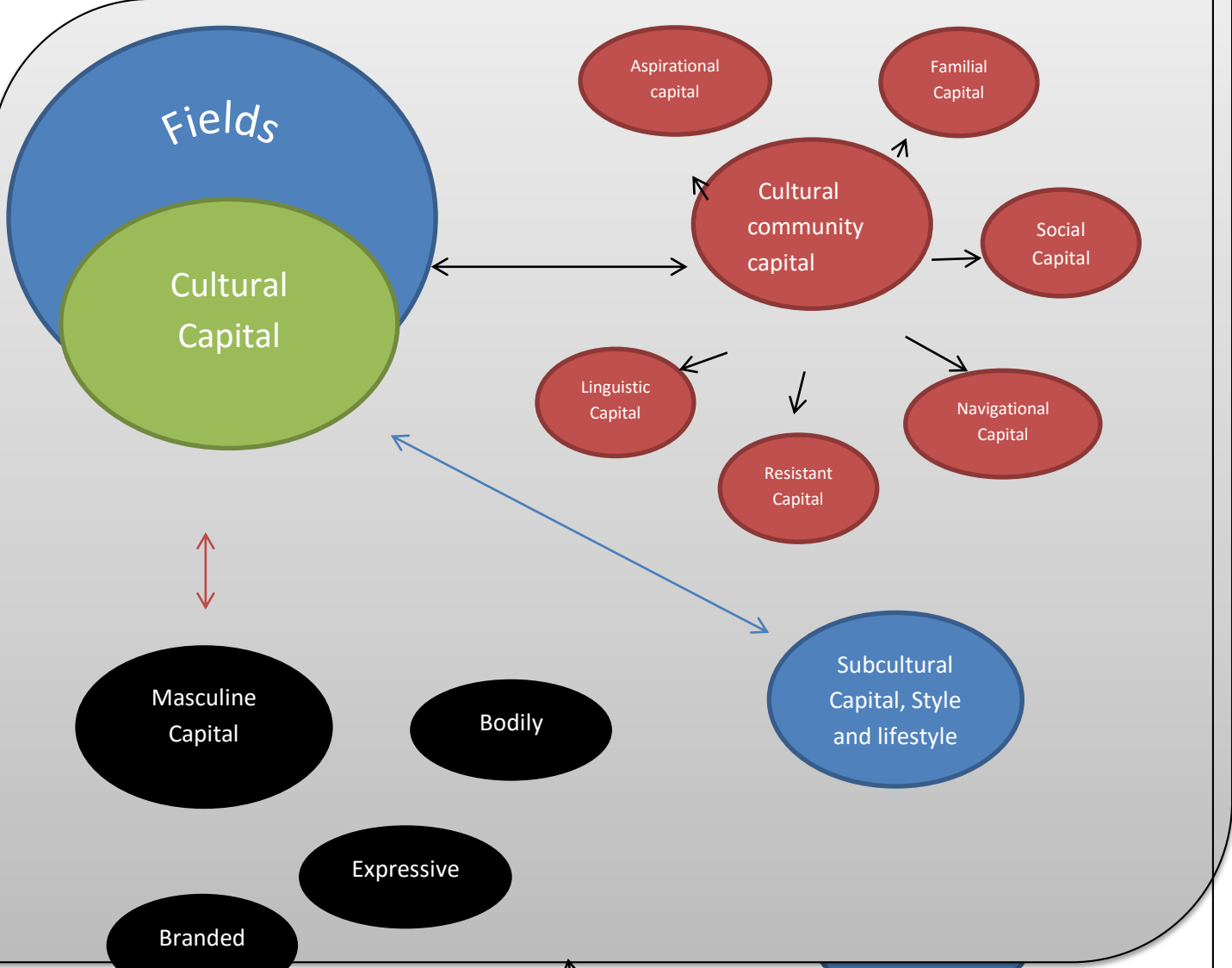
Resistance

Deviancy

Transitional spaces

Crisis

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following research questions are posed:

1. In the ever changing context of South Africa, is *skhothane* an identity formulation of masculinity and if so how is it an expression of that particular social, economic, historical and political context?

2. How is this masculinity lived out through people and is it a temporary state of crisis or a definitive identity?

3. How has the idea of class, race, ethnicity and gender affected or influenced its formulation and manifestations within this identity?

4. Is the resistance seen aimed at resisting the current ideology as a whole and so redefining themselves, or is it aimed at being socially mobile within the current ideology, or both?

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1   STUDY DESIGN

This study is qualitative in nature as a rich array of themes can be sought and considered from its method of research, qualitative, chosen as it gave the participants the freedom to explore the topics under discussion without limitation. It provides an in-depth discussion and brings out elements not previously considered. This allows for a sound analysis of the questions involved and provides what was needed to confidently and effectively outline an analysis. A constructionist paradigm was used as this study is concerned with how people construct their reality relative to a particular context (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005), however, elements of a critical paradigm were used in terms of the Marxist nature of the study and the conflicts between dominant and subordinate groups present in class struggles (Neuman, 1997; Seedat et al., 2001). Focus groups were used, as it was decided that people would be more willing to talk about the nature of the practice in a group with which they already identified on some level.

3.2   CONTEXT OF THE STUDY: KATLEHONG

The participants were recruited from Katlehong Township in the East Rand of Johannesburg, which forms part of Ekurhuleni metropolitan district. This location was chosen as this is where the practice is known to occur regularly (City Press, 2012; n Ka Plaatjie, 2012; Nkosi, 2011; Khaas, 2012). It was chosen as people residing in Katlehong were known to be active in the struggle against apartheid, developing struggle masculinities in order to do so (Xaba, 2001). Langa and Eagle (2008) show how the area of Kathorus, in which Katelhong resides, developed a number of militarised subcultures and structures that were aimed at resisting the apartheid regime and all that it stood for. There was a profound atmosphere of violence in the context under investigation, in which over 3000 people were killed. Young boys, aged between 12 and 18, were the majority involved in this political violence and so also formed the majority of the the militarised groups. Under the oppressive apartheid regime there was significant dehumanisation, misrecognition and violence, and so young individuals created ways in which to try and conteract these forces.

These subcultures allowed individuals to experience a sense of potency, status, acceptance, recognition and agency in an environment that would otherwise stifle attempts to feel so: "Young combatants were expected to be strong, brave, tough, fearless, aggressive, and violent" (Langa & Eagle, 2008, p155). What has been looked at in this study is the assumption and requirement that these militalised youth subcultures had to adopt, develop and change their sense of masculinity and identity. This was from one of militarisation to conforming to the new expectations associated with the new South Africa, becoming euntrpreneurial in their identity and conforming to the social norms and values that are expected and associated with the country's identities.

Therefore, it was of great interest to see how this community had developed and continues to navigate masculinities in post-apartheid South Africa.

Porteus et al. (1998) found that poverty in South Africa was present in the majority of the child population, at 60% to 70% (Biersteker & Robinson, 2000), resulting in lack of education (a lack of access to resources), social poverty (inadequate social capital) and power poverty (inadequate cultural capital) (Biersteker & Robinson, 2000; Porteus et al., 1998). As a consequence, many children do not obtain appropriate education and ridicule those whio do. This is representative of *izikhothane*, and it is the dominant class masculine identities that are associated with having an access to those aforementioned factors. Subcultures are used to create a sense of mastery, agency and recognition in an environment that still does not offer youth a means to do so.

3.2.1   Participants

The participants were male adolescents the ages of 18 and upwards, recruited through identifying gatekeepers in the community then using the resulting contacts and gatekeepers to identify further participants in Katlehong. The practice occurs at parties and functions and so these were attended to gauge the practice appropriately, take pictures and film the practice. The participants involved in the phenomenon themselves. The researcher spent a significant amount of time with the participants in the study to gain a better understanding of the practice. In attending functions and battles, as well as spending time in shebeens, an understanding of the phenomenon could be gauged whilst it was being practiced and also through attempting to understand different elements of their identities.

After making contact with a gatekeeper in the community, the researcher used snowball sampling to gain the majority of the participants and attended a number of functions to identify people considered to be *skhothane*. All people were given the information sheets upon being approached and given at least 24 hours to decide to participate and sign them before begin interviewed (see appendices). As venues were difficult to acquire at times, the research was carried out at various places. A school was used with the appropriate permission, a shebeen in another case and three private residences in filming the focus groups, all with the appropriate permission.

3.3   DATA COLLECTION METHOD

The researcher conducted ethnographic reseach in Katlehong, with focus groups (explained below) as well as participatory action research which resulted in attending weddings, shebeens, homes, parties, family gatherings such as picnicks and the meeting of two families whose children were getting married. The researcher drank, relaxed, watched football and joined in at parties with the participants, their friends, family and aquantances, for instance. This made it possible to gain a multifaceted experience of the individuals under discussion. The experiences of the researcher will be engaged with more thoughouly in the *personal reflection* section of this paper.

Focus groups were the source for the data collection in this study, as they provide an exploratory base for the various elements (Morgan, 1996). As masculinity is the focus of this study, which manifests as a social identity that influences personal identity of what it is to be a man, it was pertinent to discover how participants viewed themselves and their masculinity in the context of the other being present (Langa, 2008).

The disadvantages that were discovered using focus groups can be an advantage as well. The exploratory nature of focus groups allowed too much variation in topics discussed and so may have hindered the progress (Morgan, 1996). To overcome this and maintain some consistency, the focus groups were led by some constraining questions, however, because of the limited knowledge on this practice it was also important to allow some freedom with regard to what was discussed so that a rich discussion on the topic was fostered. Another disadvantage that affected the research was the effect that the people had on each other in terms of what they felt was appropriate to discuss in front of their peers (Morgan, 1996).

The researcher was vigilant in the collection of data and the observation of the participants, making notes whenever an individual seemed reluctant to speak about a particular topic, hypothesising why this might have been and recommending it for further research. However, this hesitation added credence to the research as the manifestation of the practice is in essence a social construction and so it is those constraining forces that cause the practice to find expression in the way that it does.

The advantage of the focus group, as mentioned above, was that it allowed for various elements to be explored, namely those that had not been discovered or thought of (Morgan, 1996). Although participants provided complex motivations and explanations for the practices in which they engage and engaged, encouraging each other to contribute or not, was a disadvantage. As the discussions were video-recorded, such resistance to particular topics gave insight into the practice under discussion, discussed in the section of personal reflections and the reflexive diary (Morgan, 1996).

In order to prevent any conflict prevent any conflict as a result of the research itself, it was decided to interview the groups using only current members of that group, thus no rival groups were interviewed at the same time.

3.4   DATA ANALYSIS

Thematic content analysis was used to analyse the data obtained from the focus groups. The data was transcribed verbatim using the Jefferson convention of transcribing (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). These transcriptions have been analysed by dividing them into segmented units of meaning. Each segment was then assigned a label so as to identify it, after which similar segments were collected under specified codes. These codes were then clustered into categories from which the analysis was derived (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Henning, Van Rensburg & Smit, 2004).

The research questions have guided the specific techniques, within thematic content analysis, and were used to determine the meaning of the information selected to form the basis of the themes

3.5   ETHICAL MEASURES

Permission was gained from all relevant parties that participated or were affected by the research, including the university, participants and the establishments used to conduct the research. The participants provided consent not only for the research itself but also for being videotaped and photographed in the focus groups and events. Participants were provided with an information sheet explaining everything that they needed to know with regards to the study. After this they were sent home with consent forms for them to sign, which provided consent for participation in the study, being video-recorded and photographed. The time also gave them the opportunity to drop out and not return if they chose not to participate.

As a result of the nature of focus groups, it was explained that confidentiality would be assured by the researcher, however, it is not certain that it would be kept by the other participants. Confidentiality is maintained kept within the research report in which the names of the participants are changed to pseudonyms to protect their identity. This is not a vulnerable group. The participants were notified that they could pull out of the research at any point and this would be provided with free counselling services if requested or needed. None of the participants requested the counselling services. The appropriate contact information was made available for participants should they feel that they required professional help concerning anything that arose from the study.

CHAPTER 4: FINDING AND DISCUSSION[7]

The themes that will be covered in this section will begin with giving a sense of whom the izi*khothane* are. This will include an analysis of personal and collective identities, followed by discussion of what it means to be a *skhothane*, elaborating on a definition of *izikhothane* as well as the associated markers and indicators. The analysis will then move into the requirements to become a *skhothane*, focusing on what it is that they need in order to achieve acceptance into this subculture and what capital (cultural, financial, familial, aspirational, linguistic, navigational, social and resistant) they require in order to be considered legitimate or authentic. Many of these capitals are intimately linked and gaining access to one often infers access to another. From there, the analysis will delve into the capital and substance of what is means to be a *skhothane* and what the actual capital is that allows them to be and define them as *skhothane*, namely language, dance, clothing and fashion, music and masculinity. Finally, an analysis will be engaged in regarding the lessons that some of the groups have learnt, whether positive or negative.

A number of elements that have been analysed have been a result of inherent contradictions in particular practices and rituals, because when one finds contradiction in *space,* Foucault (1997) suggests that there is something that is amiss and requires exploration.

4.1   A *SKHOTHANE* AND THE REQUIREMENTS THEREOF

4.1.1   Definition, markers and indicators (and dispositions)

This section will expore what it means to be a *skhothane*, how one is identified and that particular traits that are associated with being a *skhothane*.

Interviewer - *"So tell me, I mean I saw you at the party last week, I could see you got the crowds going. I mean what does it mean for you to be a skhothane?"*

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[7] Throughout the analysis the letter "G" followed by a number, for example G1, will be used to denote a particular focus group. As the focus groups were recorded it was extremely difficult to determine exactly which participant said what. Sometimes G1 will follow G1, in order to outline that two different people are talking it will be construed as G1A and G1B. It is not to say that A will be the same person throughout the analysis or that G1 is only one person taking, it is merely for distinction and clarity.

G2 -   *"Actually, according to this party, basically it was the [process] of iikhothane, the beginning. It was about fashion. It is just the same as amabujwa and amapantsula. It is just that with us we become explicit about who stands out. Actually, their aim is to express themselves. It's a way of expressing our feelings to someone."*

G1 -   *"Skhothan is just a game. It's just a game. It's just an attractive game. Actually we compete against each other. It depends on which style you come up with that would impress the girls at the end."*

G3 -   *"It's like you are coming with something unique, your own thing as a group. Because every group aims to promote its own ideas. And everybody wants to use your own ideas to be recognised. So it's just a matter of creative thinking."*

What is made clear in the first quote is that this subculture is about fashion and who stands out the most, and by standing out one can express themselves most saliently. Fashion in the sense that the participants are talking about, consists of being creative and bringing new trends, whether it be clothing, dance or dialogue. Furthermore, the more creative one is the more one will be recognised and gain respect and status within the subculture.

These participants speak towards continuity between subcultures and generations when they take and mould certain elements from the past to create and recreate symbols and meanings based on the current context and conditions, but also towards the agency that is implicit in the subculture. It is interesting, however, to note that the following generations are also taking what the older generations moulded and making something of their own, however, the older generations see it as a travesty of their hard sought out meanings and symbols.

G2 -   *"It's a way of expressing our feelings to someone."*

G3 -   *"Creating your own creation."*

G4 -   *We dance, but we don't tear clothes. We dance and talk. And then we see who is going to win. It's sort of like if you have swag."*

G1 -   *"Being a skhothane means I am free. At home they are strict and I am one of those who love girls. And if you want to date you have to be a skhothan. Because as a skhothan you get any girl you want. And you become popular at school."*

The initial quotes outline the participants' ability to express what they are experiencing in the context in which they live and do something about it, thus responding to social and structural conditions whilst exercising their agency. They allude to the need for specific kinds of capital in order to be a part of the subculture. This will be discussed further in the requirements section.

The participants talk about what it means to be a *skhothane* and the rewards, in this case access to women and status, a significant source of masculinity and capital. The participants talk about home life being strict and this somehow limits their access to girls[8], so by being a *skhothane* they are then able to gain access to them. This participant (G1) also spoke to how being a *skhothane* makes him feel free, which may be indicative of the need for a freedom of expression and possibly freedom itself which may be lacking without this subculture.

The last quote makes begs the question as to why the participant felt the need to emphasize how *izikhothane* are free or the subculture makes them so, and free from what constraint? From the quote in question, G1, it seems that without the subculture he does not feel that he is free to practice his idea, or sense of what masculinity should be, having access to numerous women. Thus, the subculture allows him to practice this freedom and access women to ensure he can feel like a man. It is clear, however, that they want to be recognized for their endeavour and for their skills, where in a dominant society they would not be, as they are often misrecognised within that society at large.

This recognition is fragile and rests on other people's perceptions of them and their performances, which can at any point be shattered if they fall out of favour with the crowds. So, whilst they are free they are constrained, and whilst they are recognised this recognition can be shattered at any point. Furthermore, any freedom and recognition they do obtain only makes stark the lack thereof of the people around them.

G3 - *"When this thing began – the main point here about iskhothane is the fame. So obviously when you are famous you are living a dream life. Anything you want to get, you get it, every girl you want to get you get [him]. Everything! People want to know you, you*

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[8] The term 'girls' is used in the analysis section as this is the term that the participants use as well as the ages of the females in question ranges from adolescence till approximately 21. It is a matter of distinction and one can substitute the term for what they deem appropriate.

see. Everywhere you go you are famous. It's all about that. But before that // for you to get fame you have to waste. You have to have money, spend it so that people can see that you are isikhothane."

G3 -   "*You have to spend money, you have to wear fancy clothes – others are gone, they are in the grave. Anything that you can do to see that I am famous now. You can buy a car, you can buy a cow, everything that you can know that when I am here they will know who is here now at this moment. Do you get it?*"

G4 -   "*I am okay. Ubukhothane can be done in many ways. Being a skhothane does not mean you are wasting money. It's not about wasting money. You are just paying a certain portion and the parents also pay a certain portion. It's not that you are wasting money. You have to pass and make them happy. They will also make you happy.*"

These quotes further emphasise the fragility of the subculture's identity and rewards thereof, speaking about living the dream life, for being famous and popular in the neighbourhood. They wear fancy and expensive clothes and there is a sense that they only live for the present and struggle to place themselves in the future, a characteristic of identity formation. The participant makes this clear by outlining that those who do not wear fancy and expensive clothes are not around anymore, that all that matters is being famous now, fulfilling the dream life in that particular moment. It is also important to recognise that one of their main aims is to gain fame, status and recognition in an environment that otherwise offers them none of these things. This allows them to appear as though they have risen above their means and are "rich and famous" as their role models are, which in turn affords them, for a brief period, the rewards and prestige that those role models experience, whilst at the same time fostering a stronger sense of masculinity.

The last quote points out what the previous one might have been trying to say in that they recognise that money is being used flippantly and wasted, as many outsiders, from townships and urban settings, however they see it as being used in a different manner. It is being used as encouragement to pass school and to develop their self-esteem, which makes them more able to handle the pressures and difficulties in life. Although there is a perception that they are being wasteful, they see themselves as using money to acquire valued things in an unconventional manner, in a way that society or the dominant class cannot make sense of and so deem a waste.

G1 -   *"When you are a skhothane you are not supposed to do anything. You have to know the recitations, watch television. Listen to radio stations. You will be fine. You see, for me being [anonymous crew] is not just anything. When you are [anonymous crew] you are moody – people stress you up a lot of times. People bore you most of the time. You are the smartest one. They give you a headache."*

There is a certain way to act when one is a *skhothane*, or rather one is disposed to be a certain way. This participant outlined how one cannot do anything they wish, which again is interesting as in the previous quote freedom was something that came with membership into the subculture. This outlines a contradiction and is congruent with Foucault's (1997) idea of space and the reflections and contestations within space. However, this contestation outlines that these people need only to watch television and listen to radio and be current with the latest linguistic trends on air. This is important as it will gain them status and prestige when battling other crews, and they will be taking on and assimilating the role models' lingo and style which may baffle opposition crews if they have not been keeping up with those particular trends. This shows their need for particular kinds of capital in order to be successful in the subculture, with linguistic and musical capital.

G2 -   *"They know that when we arrive, it has to show that we are the smart ones. When we go to a party we make a mark."*

An indication of being a *skhothane* is 'making a mark' or being recognised wherever they go, not just through the way that they look but through showing intellectual prowess, whether linguistically, or through dance or knowledge. It is important to always show people that they are who they say they are, *izikhothane*. This is a difficult way of being in the world as their recognition and identity seems to be fragile, consistently relying on acceptance and recognition of the *other*, rarely being able to find self-acceptance.

Interviewer: "*Why?*"

G5 -   *"It's done for fun, fame and girls."*

G1 -   *"Actually, just to put it clearly; we are just doing it for fame and girls and respect. That's it! At the end we'll be the legends. Most of the guys are crazy over the girls. You earn your respect."*

The reasons for being a *skhothane* becomes apparent here, namely recognition, fame, respect, fun and access to girls. One can also see an element of enforcement in terms of the

masculinity involved, having access to numerous women, in that one has to earn the respect of being called 'a man' and having access to women.

4.1.2 Requirements and needs

The requirements and needs are expored in terms of gaining access to the subculture and how to maintain ones membership within it. The three sections under this sub-theme can be understood as *skhothane* needing parental support, which is gained through respect and academic achievement. Also, finances are needed, which also come from one's parents as well as saving in some instances. Finally, *skhothane* require particular kinds of capital in order to be accepted and seen as such.

4.1.2.1 Parental support, respect and academic achievement

G4 - *"Like each and every parent want to see his/her child happy. So, if you wanna make your child happy – and it happens that s/he or he can afford it, then they [don't mind]."*

G3 - *"Your parents want you to look good. Your parents want you to look like any other kid."*

G1A- *"That is why people like us because they say we can maintain it. And our parents have strong pockets."*

G1B - *"We buy it brand new from the shop. If you smell it you smell newness. It's written DT Design. Two thousand two hundred rand is not small change. Sometimes people have their parents buy them RM clothing and they end up eating cabbage in the house, or there is no food at all. But with us after they buy us the clothes we go to KFC."*

It is clear that these people require their parents' support in order to practice their subculture, however, there are some contradictions. It appears that the participants are saying that unless one has enough money and is rich enough one cannot be an authentic *skhothane*. The means of authenticity that the one group places over another is that even with the clothing they can still get takeaway meals, which is seen as a sign of wealth. This shows that the prestige associated with the subculture is not only determined by the competitions, intellectual and creative prowess but also by appearances at large. Even if one maintains the appearances in

the street one needs to be able to maintain other aspects of life, such as eating out in restaurants. Parents have to have enough money to support the subculture as well as all the other aspects of life.

G3 and G1 point out how it is important for parents to have their children looking "like any other kid" and that the parents did not have the opportunity to wear such expensive and luxurious clothing when growing up. The parents are living through their children and so creating the continuity that has become apparent in this research. The parents are still resisting and fighting the restrictions of apartheid and in turn passing onto their children the spirit of resistance and that they themselves (the children) can do anything (aspirational capital) they wish so long as they put their mind to it. This also points to the importance that families place on this practice, however, one needs to keep in mind that it may also be the coercive nature of the participants involved that cause the parents to feel as if they have no choice in the matter.

The popular media has long portrayed *izikhothane* as stealing and engaging in criminal activities to support their subculture, however, it is apparent from the above quotes that this is not the case and that it is their parents whom support them.

G2A - *"You need to pull in some money so you can ask them to organise some money, so you can get whatever you want. And then you have to make them happy. They will allow you to get those things."*

G2B - *"You ask if they can lend you some money. This shirt is five hundred rand, and I put in two hundred rand and they will give me three hundred rand. So I will go and buy it and say thanks."*

G4 - *"You budget"*

G1A - *"It's parents who do this for us. Our future plans. And when you do something you do not have to regret it at the end. You must do it with pride, and say I am able to do it."*

G1B - *"We are not intimidated by life. Our parents are not intimidated. We are not intimidated and we are not in a hurry, we are just playing the game."*

The participants are clear here about how they need their parents' support, however, they need to give something back to their parents in order for the relationship to be reciprocal.

Thus, their parents give them the resources that will not only foster their self-esteem but also allow them to be successful once they have completed their moratorium and exploration (Erikson, 1968). There is also a sense that their parents instil a sense of ownership in their children by encouraging them to help them pay for the clothing and to learn the skill of budgeting. This will further allow their self-esteem to develop and allow them to realise the value of working for or contributing to something, without merely being given it.

The participants seem to be aware that their parents are trying to do something for their future by allowing them to participate in the subculture, not only by allowing them to realise their ambitions and showing them that anything is possible but also by providing them with the tools that will benefit them in the wider dominant society.

G4A - *"Show them you respect them, you love them, all kinds of things."*

G1A - *"Show respect and do well at school."*

G4B - *"Report at the end of the year, they want to see your report."*

G1B - *"The report is a credit card. When you pass you get everything you want."*

G4C - *"They expect more than what they gave you. They gave you something but at the end // you have to make them proud of you – not the bad things, good things."*

These quotes contradict the popular belief as portrayed by the media. The initial two outline how the participants have to learn that relationships work two ways and that they need to take account not only their own desires but also those of others, whilst also developing empathy. They develop their academic skills which will in the future allow them to pursue endeavours on their own and support themselves. *Izikhothane* have been outlined as stealing in order to fund their subculture but this shows that their parents are the ones who support it. The question arises as to how invested the participants are in in conducting themselves in this particular manner, as reflected in the quote outlining one's report as a credit card. Are they truly invested or motivated to do well at school and if it is only a means to getting what they want do they retain the information? It seems that even if they are gaining the exposure by proxy they are still being exposed to and achieving what they need to achieve to benefit them in later life. Academically, and in terms of empathy, values and norms, this too is a

means to an end. School is a means to an end in all situations, to get clothes, live well, achieve recognition, raise status and gain prestige.

The ambition of *izikhothane* is salient here and it also becomes clear that, in spite of the subculture and contrary to popular belief, they have significant ambition and do well at school. In order to achieve what they want and get what they need they have to meet other demands first, namely pleasing their parents. This is a good example of the beginning of a displacement in the dominant market in terms of what these young people will set their eye on in the future. They are outlining that their subcultural identity is not the only identity that they are practicing and that in different contexts they are required to play out different identities, showing it is fluid and not static (Bennett, 1999). It becomes a problem when they begin generalising one identity in multiple contexts, as their parents and others alike see them as being incongruent in particular situations and believe them to be bewitched, possessed or insane.

G3 - *"But obviously your parents would not like [it when you are going at night]. Maybe sometimes if they don't give you money and you steal it. That is what they do not like."*

G2A - *"If you steal your parents will ask; where did you get this thing?"*

G2B - *"You are stealing"*[9]

These statements are important in discussing gross misrecognition of the participants. Whilst the majority denied and gave logical evidence for not stealing there was a statement made in Sotho, which the translator and transcriber understood as an attempt to be deceptive, in which a participant claimed that another did steal occasionally. It was not clear, however, if they stole to get the clothes needed to participate in the subculture or if they did it in general, if true. It is important to realise that deviance will happen in all groups, but it must still be acknowledged. However, people are generally misrecognised for what they do and how they fund their activity, as well as why they do it.

4.1.2.2 Finances

The following responses relate to the aspect of finances:

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[9] Said in Sotho, probably intended to be off the record

G4 -   *"Ah! This one does not have money, he is dead. He repeats the same clothes every year."*

G1 -   *"Poverty is caused by having one attire – we have three events but you go with one attire, we have about six attires. They saw RM from us. They've never bought Arbitter straight from the shop. They buy second-hand shoes. SMD."*[10]

The participants from G1 show that in order to be an authentic *skhothane* one needs to have more than one set of clothing and that if one goes to more than one event with the same "attire" others will see one as weak or as not being in the upper echelon of *skhothane*. The branding is essential, as G1 points out that the people that do not have the money to buy the appropriate clothing, instead buying it second-hand, damaged and scrap, in keeping with the analogy. This sets those that do so below them and thus establishes a hierarchy of power and relational positioning to each other.

G1 -   *"Actually KFC is [zero] in the location. I can say we go to Steers or Debonairs. Actually we've had lots of Debonairs. What can I say? Ocean Basket."*

G1 outlines here the difference between *skhothane* and *non-skhothane* from townships. There is a sense that they look down on those who cannot afford to go to slightly more upmarket restaurants. There is competition in most aspects in which *izikhothane* engage and that appearance of affluence is of the utmost importance. There is a deep need for these people not to appear to be in poverty as this would undermine the image that they are working hard to maintain. Some groups or families even push themselves further into poverty so as to maintain the illusion. The profound contradiction here is the appearance of affluence but reality of extreme poverty, producing fantasy as the former overtakes the latter and there is a collapse in the direction of reality (Long, 2011). In a classist manner, they are trying to reopen transitional spaces that have been closed to them by the dominant class, however, they then contradict or contest this through closing down that space, in a different context or form, to others they deem below them. Whilst in this state of needing to appear, and appearing, affluent the people look down on and make clear for other township dwellers, or people who eat at junk food outlets, that they are in the depths of poverty and so are unworthy of being recognised, that is, *less* than them. Again, there is a contradiction in highlighting their own appearance of affluence that deepens the perception of those around

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[10] Refers to second-hand goods as in accident damaged car auction house

them of their own poverty. Thus, finance becomes a requirement to be *izikhothane*, however it is largely the appearance of affluence.

4.1.2.3 Capital

G3A - *"There are different types of battling - sometimes you can argue with words, sometimes you can take a girl, sometimes you can…/ There are many techniques, there are many moves. You can talk by moving, you can talk by looking. You can wear so many clothes."*

G3B - *"Yes. Because everyone comes up with their talent. Right now they think they know what being isikhothane is about, but they know nothing. That thing is like soccer, it's your talent which you hold in your hands. It's like in soccer when you've been passed a ball and you expose your talent. So right now they've adopted it and messed it up."*

A basic requirement of being a *skhothane* is that one must have the appropriate cultural capital or "talent". The above quotes reveal that one needs to be able to do certain things and be good at them, and the variation in the quality or the extent of the talent that marks people and their groups as being worthy to the crowds. Some people are better than others and so their "talent" and ways of expressing it become valued. The more capital a person has, and thus the more symbolic capital he or she acquires, the more likely he or she will be to set current and future trends. The second quote employs a footballing metaphor to describe failure to show or perform to standard, which is worse than not performing at all as one's "talent" drops in the eyes of the crowd. That particular participant will have to work much harder to reinstate others' opinion of him.

The participants are talking about the importance of originality and being talented in the capital that they have chosen to exhibit. Some have linguistic prowess and some are more fluid in their dance. It is important to create new skills for the crowds and to woo them with their talents. Each member appears to have assigned roles which they express within their group. They have in common their clothing, thus one can see the collective and personal identities within these groups.

Photo A

Photo A was taken prior to a *skhothane* event when the participants and the researcher went to a house in which they performed and drank in preparation; in line with participatory action research the researcher joined them in drinking in preparation. This is significant as it appears to represent the characteristics of the group by way of the different shoes and colours. It also shows the collective nature of the group and how they all come together through the capital and fashion that they don, bringing together personal and collective identities. The brands of the shoes are *Rosemall* (white, blue, purple and red) and *Arbiter* (maroon crocodile skin style).

4.2   *SKHOTHANE* IDENTITY

There are particular identity traits that identify people as *skhothane*. The following section explores what these traits are. These consist of personal or individual identity traits and collective traits which are sometimes acquired from significant others.

G2 –   "*It's something that you grow up with, seeing people doing in the township, then you wanna involve for it and see how it does for you.*"

G1 -   *"You see in the beginning it was pantsula, then sbujwa and now it's khothan"*

These extracts are good to begin with as they reflect the continuity that the participants feel with their past and their history. They do not arise from nothing but rather from the ashes of previous generations and subcultures. This will be key in this analysis as the previous subcultures were formed in response to social and structural conditions and show the personal agency that is inherent in each generation or subculture when looking at the varying contexts and oppression. The initial extract points to how the participants have seen others doing it and that it has endowed them with something. They wish to receive the same affirmation, recognition, prestige and status that they have seen others gain in the past from subcultures.

4.2.1 Personal identities

Each individual and group within the subculture has his or her own title and name, though in order to preserve anonymity of statements they will be given in the following quotes together so that no name can be attributed to any statement or quote. These names are public knowledge. The names are significant for these people as well as their identity as they give them a way in which to retreat or deny the conventional norms and hierarchy of society and so exercise a sense of freedom in *choosing* and *exploring* different identities. They adopt new names for their subculture as it shows how they appear to be in a *space* which they want to explore and not have exterior norms and values affect their exploration. Nor do they wish to have their exploration affect them in later life, and this is a way by which they can distance themselves from their other identities, such as home and the school (Erikson, 1968, 1970).

Interviewer – "What is your crew called?"

Anonymous1 – "T-Catalyst."

Anonymous1 (multiple respondents) - "I 'm KG; I'm Hitman; Javas; Sixteen; Keshi;…they call me Shagi; Mareiza; Kayashka"

Interviewer - "And you are?"

Anonymous2 - "Scottish!"

Anonymous2 (multiple respondents) – *No individuals names given*

Anonymous3 – *No crew name given*

Anonymous3 (multiple respondents) – "Pro-Andy; Pro-mosh! (I am just the quite one); Pro-Stouter; Pro-Mashesha (The fast one, I am the fastest; fast with girls and talking); Dictator (I am also rough); Pro-Fisto; Naija."

Anonymous4 – *No crew or individual names were given*

Interviewer - *"And then, your group what is called?"*

Anonymous5 – "Psychologists"

One can see how each member's name, from those that provided names, defines them in terms of a personal characteristics. Whether they can dance, are "good with girls" and can shoot down their opponent down (hitman), for example. Their crew name also signifies a collective meaning, whereby, for instance, the psychologists pride themselves on being able to fix the crowd of the mental woes and make them happy for the time that they are around. In all instances it is important that each member maintains a personal identity and a 'talent' that allows access to the group and a collective identity, one that must be maintained by all so that they can claim solidarity and meaning over and above their personal identities. The collective goes on to "live" beyond the current generation and so must maintain something congruent, fluid and continuous so that it may move across generations. This is discussed in the following themes.

G2 -   *"So, basically we can say that this thing is our way of life. It's a stage we are in. It's a stage – as teenagers. It's like getting into puberty."*

G1 -   *"Actually it was just a stage. It's not the future, it's just short-term, to enjoy your life as a teenager. High school life."*

G3 (multiple members) - *"When you get to the teenage stage. You choose your way. Because at high school you adopt things that you don't know - it's still early, you are still in // you see many people, you are doing many things. You find many things, there are people that smoke - There are people that cause violence – to cause violence in the toilet. High school, ey! It's something else. Some people start planning – you start choosing your way, and you get a skhothane or…niggaz, or bourgeois – but most those teenagers…/…pantsula or. Because when you are drunk you see many things and when you go out at night many things*

start, many things happen. And many people change. You see many people; you see a side of the people that you don't know at night. And you can realise that what is right and what is wrong, and what I must do and what I must not do."

The above extracts talk about their entering into a moratorium and the exploration of possible identities and modes of being, through adopting multiple characteristics and joining subcultures. If one identity is acted out in multiple contexts, however, it can become a problem, as when ego-diffusion and over-identification ensue (Erikson, 1968). The participants allude to the tasks that they are navigating in this exploration, as they are determining what kind of personal identities they want to incorporate or make salient whilst making the transition to adulthood, looking at what is bad and what is good, what is necessary and what is not necessary, and deciding whom they will ultimately be.

G3 -   *"I can say I am a man. When I want a thing I can buy a thing for myself. Not my mother's money. I can pay for my future. I have responsibilities right now"*

This quote is significant because it shows the beginning of the movement out of moratorium as the participant begins to realise that it is a parent's money that has been funding his lifestyle, but he wishes to do that for himself. The second quote is from a participant who has already made the successful transition from moratorium to a stable sense of identity. The participants show how the subculture has allowed them to develop a stable sense of a masculine and personal identity and know what they want out of their futures and for themselves. Below, however, are examples of how the failure to navigate moratorium and enter ego-diffusion or over-identification is a real concern for parents and adolescents alike.

G3 -   *"Parents are even taking it as something that is totally unenjoyably…. my son has been bewitched. Your parents are gonna worry to say my child is possessed. Getting to change your language – when I talk to you I clap my hands. Everything I do [becomes ubukhothane]. When you are walking, it's [not] like yourself. It's not you, it's some person. You've invited a new person in your life. It's like you are possessed. Half, you are yourself, half you are."*

This quote is an important example of over-identification and ego-diffusion amongst the people in the subculture. This happens when the participant extends his or her identity associated with the subculture and generalises it to other areas of life, in which it becomes unacceptable and incongruent (Erikson, 1968). As Bennett (1999) argued, people have

multiple identities and perform those in different contexts, so the above would be examples of unhealthy incorporation of the subculture. When the people fail to incorporate and act out the multiple and appropriate identities the generalised identity comes across as frightening, as there is extreme incongruence between the people's actions and what is represented in reality.

However, these quotes were not meant to incorporate *all* people within the subculture, rather the participants were outlining to the researcher situations in which the subculture becomes insidious and people take it too far or vice versa. They were sure to express that this did not include the majority of the people involved in the culture, however, one participant in Group 3, who had been taken to a Sangoma by his parents, struggled when his peers had already made the transition, to move on with his life and leave the subculture behind. He has been unable to navigate moratorium adequately and thus over-identified, causing his actions in most situations to be incongruent with what is socially acceptable. These participants believe that it is not them or their generation to which this applies but rather the current generation of *skhothane*, which is a good example of inter-generational conflict and people seeing their generation as superior to others.

When this over-identification happens it is detrimental to those involved and can produce a derogatory view of the subculture as a whole, which may cause the negative exterior perceptions associated with the subculture. The quote above exemplifies this as there is a societal perception that *izikhothane* steal and are dangerous, which can cause a moral panic that leads the public to call for ending the practice for fear of it influencing other children and families (Muggleton, 2005).

Parents, whom feel a psychological connectedness with their children, may feel that they have become filled with a destructive alien entity when their (the children's) moral and religious belief structures have deteriorated. In addition it can be seen as a culturally congruent expression of psychological distress, especially when the individuals involved feel powerless to influence the cause. These beliefs of bewitchment often come as a result of some unresolved or repressed drive in the parent concerning guilt, hostility or loss (Ivey & Myers, 2008a, 2009b). One can see this as the parents may feel that they are in some way responsible for the outcome of their children and have failed them, eliciting feelings of guilt, anger and the loss of their child. The parents may, as a result of having these unbearable feelings of anxiety, split them off into their children so as to externalise the failures that they

feel so acutely. It may also be the expectation of the external observer persecuting them for their children's behaviour and so feeling the repercussions of their behaviour which too may result in feelings of hostility which are split of and aimed at their children, meanwhile externalising them (Ivey & Myers, 2008a, 2009b).

G3 -   *"If ubukhothane was an education, we would be allowed to get distinction as we're sitting here. You see! Then you are great, you are at a legendary stage. Everybody can't play there".*

Being a *skhothane* is, as expressed above, an education in which the participants can learn what and who they want to be. It is not the method that everyone uses but it is the onde that these people have used in order to make a transition through the many obstacles young adolescents experience in a post-apartheid South Africa.

4.2.2   Role models

Interviewer -   *"And who are your role models? Who do you look up to?"*

G4 -   *"Kenny Kunene."   "My role model is Sibusiso Dhlomo."   "Mampintsha! Do you know Mampintsha from Big Nuzz?"*

G3 -   *"This is an old man. It was a long time he wear this shoe…/ Papa Action. You know Yizo Yizo? His name is Papa Action. He wears these shoes."*

These participants are indicating who their role models are and who they look up to, notably the male figures that they consider to have achieved a strong or desired masculine identity, with money, women, fame, status, prestige and power. They have achieved what they greatly desire, freedom from poverty, the ability able to buy whatever they wish, have women, be famous, and have status and prestige (Comaroff, 2013; Erikson, 1968; Jensen, 2006).

G3A - *"When you get to the teenage stage. You choose your way. Because at high school you adopt things that you don't know - It's still early, you are still in // you see many people, you are doing many things.*

G3B - *You find many things, there are people that smoke - There are people that cause violence – to cause violence in the toilet. High school, ey! It's something else. Some people*

start planning – you start choosing your way, and you get a skhothane or…niggaz, or bourgeois – but most those teenagers…/…pantsula or…"

The role models are not only individuals but also past groups and subcultures, because they see subcultures where they live and the rewards that they reap as a result of who they are, personally and as a collective.

4.2.3   Camaraderie and the collective

G1 -   *"The name [group 1] is very heavy. It's too heavy, for the young ones until to the shorter ones, we are all hot. We are having three generations of [Group 1]. Actually it's not junior, we are just the third generation. We are the last ones. This is the last generation. We have the seniors and the legendries."*

G2 - *"It's like family. It's a fam! F.A.M."*

One can immediately begin to see the investment into the collective identity of the group and the aspirations of the younger generations to become a part of the "legendries", thus having "made it". The generational identification and stages involved exemplify the collective and continuous identity that the subculture embodies and endures (Xaba, 2001), which entails a sense of developing a strong sense of identity and identification as well as assimilating oneself into a collective identity and reciprocally seeing the collective as embodying individual characteristics. This in turn builds a strong sense of social capital from which these individual can draw in the future. The hierarchy is in itself contradictory to the subculture as the people strive to create an atmosphere in which they can exist in a *space* of classlessness. There is a hierarchy not only amongst the other crews against which they compete but also amongst themselves, creating individual and collective positions of power in relation to each other. This provides a field in which they can exercise their cultural capital and create value for it, which in turn allows it to affect their context and surroundings (Bourdieu, 1997).

Interviewer – *"Okay. And if somebody wanted to come in now? Is it possible?"*

G1 -   *"Not to [Group 1], maybe crews like [anonymous], those filthy crews. Those ones who do not bath."*

The value placed on the crew to which the people belong shows how strongly they identify with those within it. The hesitancy towards allowing others access shows that they hold themselves to a certain standard and so see themselves as having attained it, whether it be through disposition or cultural capital. Their affiliation to their crews affords them the power, status and recognition that they desire. Amongst crews are relative positions of power and a power dynamic. There are positions of power in relation to the people, inter-generations and out-groups. Not wanting others to join also has deeper meanings for the people, as explained below:

G3 (multiple participants) - *"They take the thing that they do not know, what is going on in this thing. It's like they are not taking the thing from the roots. You take on top. The one that's new // the things that // it's like it's changing, but they don't take it from the roots. It's like you are becoming someone you are totally not. Because these things are // it was like people inspiring people, generations against generations. The next generation…and the next generation comes its own things. Something that is known from back, but you just want to do it now."*

This quote shows the intergenerational competition and, even though there is a continuity and an alliance between generations, the participants need to outline, for the subsequent generations, the history of those prior to them. Each generation holds dear the symbols, meaning, context and history in which they have existed and regret the youth not knowing their struggle. This applies to all generations, with the apartheid generation having worried about their children forgetting the struggles of apartheid and this generation worrying that the subsequent one might forget about the struggles of class oppression and any other internalised oppression and exploitation that they have experienced.

Interviewer: *"And then how would you feel if you got cut off?"*

G2 -   *"That is a very difficult question. Million dollar question." "If you get cut off, yo, it's a big pressure."*

G1 -   *"If you can't afford you must go and rather kill yourself or commit suicide – or do one of them. Just tap out. Tap out! Just tap out. It depends on how you played your game in the past. Some people they kill themselves. Because they cannot afford."*

The identification that the participants feel with their groups and the fragile stage of their identities leaves them vulnerable to feelings of disintegration and a loss of self-esteem, especially in the initial stages of joining the crew or in its early life. As a result of the group offering them such high rewards and a sense of being seen as perfect, loved and recognised, when it is taken away some people feel that they have no self-worth and that it is not worth living. Being mirrored by the crowds and told that they are the best provides them, however fleeting (in the sense of how long they remain in the subculture), with a strong self-esteem. When this is cut short or not good enough it leaves the people feeling as though they have nothing left and can never be loved or valued, as they see themselves and *are* in themselves.

4.3   *SKHOTHANE* **AND THEIR CREATIVITY**

Creativity plays an important role in the identity of *skhothane*. The following sections will look at the means through which skhothane practice their creativity, namely clothing, dance, language and music.

4.3.1   *Skhothane* **and Clothing/Fashion**

G2A - "*Burning clothes! No.*"

G4 -   *"The burning of clothes and the burning of money is when ubukhothane was beginning…[UNCLEAR]."*

G2B – *"Now it's legends we don't want to do kids' stuff."*

This theme is given prominence in this section because it is one of the main perceptions of society at large when it comes to this subculture. Not unfounded, however, it is necessary to note that this has been applicable in the past but not by the current generation or the one before them. There was some indication, however, that the very young *izikhothane* do this in order to gain a reputation when they cannot gain it through the relevant cultural capital performances. This has become a convenient point for dominant society to hold onto because

it causes a moral panic (Muggleton, 2005) then allows enforcement measures to be put into place to quell the subculture and the resistant traits that come with it.

G3A - *"The same fashion but change names. At the old time they were calling it with their names; Young Juveniles .../ This! Typically this, was made long time ago, but then we as the young generation came up with the word that we say we are 'skhothanes', because of this and this and this,. You see!"*

G3B - *"When I take one off and I give it to my girl, my chick. You can buy something new and forget to take off the price tag, tell them how much is it. Just to score points. Just to make the girl interested in you. That one is a battle of clothes."*

The first quote reveals that the participants are talking about the beginning of the subculture, before it was defined as *skhothane*, when those starting it used their crew names to distinguish who they were. Once they could identify a common thread and performances that expanded across the crew they could define the subculture and name it, thereby creating the *space*, capital and field through which to give meaning and symbolism. The mediums or *texts* through which this is achieved are clothing, dialogue and dance. These participants are talking about the continuity in inter-generational subcultures and the importance of keeping some semblance of that alive, so as to remember the past and so understand it. This allows them to hold onto what has happened so as to keep their genealogies alive and foster familial capital. Even though the previous generations and a sense of continuity are maintained these participants point out that they develop new symbolisms and exist in a different context from those who preceded them.

G2 - *"We beat them with the clothes, we beat them with the clothes because they don't spend a lot."*

G3 - *"It's like making as a debate, a debate [based of] clothes. We create uniform for us.../ Same colour, same what, same everything. Same jacket, same jeans, same shoes, same caps. Maybe today we wear same jeans only. Only maybe same shoes only.*

G4 - "*It's all about your swag. Your style."*

Photo B
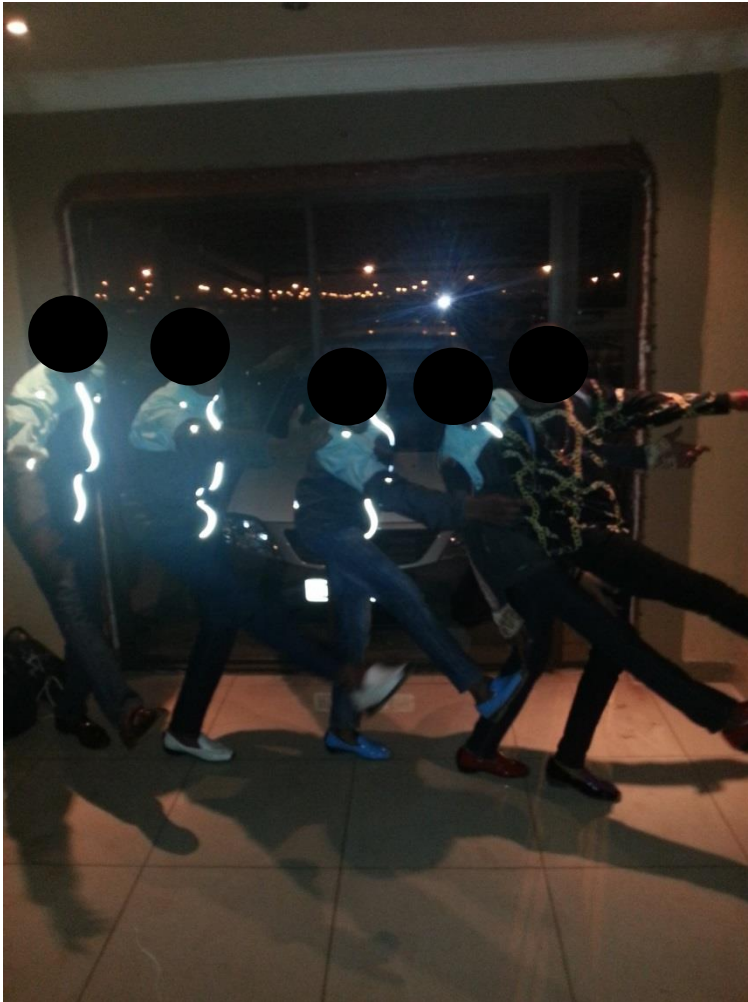
Photo B was taken of one of the groups just prior to going to an event at which they were going to perform. In preparation, and to give the researcher a performance of their capital they went to a house, played music, danced, battled through dialogue and drank. The drinking was to increase their ability to perform.

Each group also has particular stances that define them, as shown in photo B, which is one the group poses. It took a significant amount of time to take as it was a movement that became a pose for the camera and so had to be taken at the right time.

In picture B the style that the quote above is talking about refers to the way they are wearing similar clothes. They have chosen a particular kind of "swag" then bought the clothes together so that they may make an impression on the crowd. What is also interesting was the participant on the far right, who has different clothing. This is merely an observation and they did not outline this, however it appeared that he was the leader. The researcher made this observation as he seemed to have the most charisma and performed the most of all the group members. Thus, there appears to be a hierarchy within the groups and between them.

In picture C, below, the researcher and the participants found a school in which permission was given to use one of the classrooms so that this particular group could show me a performance. They danced *Kwasa*, an account of which is given below, and *Zaka Zaka*, a dance slightly more obscure and difficult to account for. Research suggests that it has its origins in Haiti and represents a dance in the name of a farm god (Thomson, 1983). In addition to these dances they showed the researcher beer dancing and some dialectical battling. Its origins are gone into more detail below.

One can see in Photo C that the style they have chosen is not one of wearing similar clothes but of choosing distinguishing items to wear in addition to their own clothing. This allows them to maintain a collective identity, through the surgical masks and surgical gloves in this instance, but also to maintain their personal identity and agency by being able to choose their clothing for events. The gloves are interpreted as being an extra layer of skin, being able to explore one's identities in moratorium and afterwards being able to shed that layer of skin with all the unwanted aspects and consequences that were picked up during this period. Likewise, the mask represents a barrier to their true self so that they may protect what is cherished and be able to continue with life afterwards with little or no consequence from this period of transition. This particular group also liked to be able to "fix" the crowd and so the gloves symbolise their being able to not only fix the crown but their desire to fix themselves and the insecurities that they feel.

Photo C

Photo D

In Picture D the participants are preparing to go to a party that is happening later in the evening. It is the same venue as picture B and was acquired through asking a resident whether we could use his garage to prepare. He asked the researcher for 50 rand to do so. The participants are posing and holding up one of their shoes as a mock cellphone which is

interpreted as being their connection to the world. They use fashion and style to be able to connect with urban, rural, local and global trends and thus express themselves and the meaning they want to construe through those means to. A cellphone receives and projects meaning and communication and so they receive and project through this means too.

In photographs B, C and D the participants show how their collective identity is kept intact through common imagery, as well as how clothing is used to gain prestige and status. Clothing becomes a kind of *text*, not dissimilar to how Foucault (1986, 1997) defined it within a heterotopia. It is a text through which they can express an attainment of capital, financial and cultural, where they can show that they have the appropriate taste and can distinguish themselves from others and thus elevate themselves above others. This allows the participants to gain symbolic capital. The expensive style and style of clothing is what the battle or "debate" is about, the combination and branding becomes of paramount important and without the correct combination the crowd will not be pleased. This is not to say that new combinations cannot be attempted, but if they are it must be with caution and skill.

Interviewer - "So then tell me, another thing that's different from – because hip hop is like baggy clothes, and your clothes are quite tight. So what do you think about that because back in the day they used to see tight clothes and colourful more as // as being more feminine? Or more for females. But now it seems like *skhothanes* are wearing colourful and tight?"

G2 - *"Because tight is like comfortable." "Ya. It's like maybe there's a party and there's cops, when the cops get off we do not run away; so they start beating up people – you're not gonna stand, you have to run away. So then you make sure that your clothes are not loose. Because you will leave your shoe behind when they are lose, your pants will fall off, you have to pick them up."*

This extract was part of a response to a question about the type of clothing they wear and what one may consider to be contrary to a conventional ideal of masculinity, bright, colourful and tight. It is not about conforming to preconceived ideas of masculinity but about creating one's own "swag" and "style" through which to define oneself and create an identity through which others, particularly women, can identify. The participants however outline the practical value of the clothing in being able to dance more easily. There is also an

underhand comment that is passed which places another subculture, hip-hop, in a derogatory csategory with their loose fitting clothing.

By wearing colourful clothing one sees the continuity between past cultural clothing. The Shangaan *Amatareina*[11] traditional clothing has been incorporated into subculture long before *izikhothane* were formed and was associated with Sunday celebrations. Workers from the mines, urban and hard physical jobs would use the day to *Abuswenga*[12] or show off their nice clothing. *Rosemall* shoes were also prominent at the time and people would shine them extensively, so *izikhothane* used this display of colourful clothing to boast and show off to their counterparts. As it did in the past, it also affords the *skhothane* status, prestige and renown for having these clothes. These choices of clothing emphasizes the need to make the transition between rural (traditional Shangaan origins) and urban clothing (new styles), as well as local and global aspects as the clothing has incorporated Italian brand names.

There is also the point of feeling persecuted by enforcement agencies. Continuity exists in police enforcement, as in the past the apartheid government fought the *tsotsis* and *pantsulas* the current government also tries to supress the subculture of *skhothane,* possibly because of what it stands for, namely a resistance towards a dominant order, whether it be legislative oppression or class exploitation. There is also a buying into of consumer items which contests this resistance. It is this very reflecting and contesting of resistance that points the researcher to analyise this phenomenon. It presents as a problematic and something which the participants are pointing to as a disturbance in their wellbeing.

The enforcement may arise from the media's portrayal of this subculture as being deviant in terms of underage drinking and criminal activities and so mobilise formal enforcement agencies, however, it may, underneath the surface level, represent the dominant class trying to quell counter-culture groups that pose a potential risk to the status quo, as with apartheid.

In addition to it being an answering or a reaction to social and structural inequalities, it is also about agency and feeling that one can have mastery over their environment, thus they form in reaction to class exploitation. This happens through transformative resistance in which there is resitance in participantion, but through distorting the original meanings and symbols intended. The participants make their own meaning and thus construe their disquiet

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[11] Colourful.
[12] Boast.

to class expointation. The participation in consumerism points to their resistance, and there is agency in what is adopted and how it is manifested, symbolised and given meaning.

A final note to be made on the clothing is that close attention to the shoes reveals that they are not entirely new fashions but have been re-appropriated from past generations. This again speaks to the continuity that has been prominent throughout the research and also points to the intergenerational conflicts and resistance that may also get passed down. Important here is the re-symbolising of these commodities in order to be able to suit the current contextual difficulties that this generation faces and thus make new meanings of past symbols.

G3 - *The label. It's the name. It's Spazzo, it's Carvellas, Nike, Porsche…/ Avita."*

G1 -   *"Because you can never finish off a guy who wears Carvella[13]." "You won't. Just step aside. You won't! Actually the most expensive clothing is Sfarzo. And we go there and buy it cash. We are not like those people who go to Jo'burg to do window shopping, we go to the shop, pay a deposit or buy for cash. Easy!"*

Interviewer - ***And then tell me; how much is everything here? How much are those Nike…?***

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[13]

G2 (multiple participants) - *Eight hundred and fifty rand – one thousand two hundred rand - The jacket is two thousand five hundred rand – two thousand eight hundred rand – six hundred rand.*

G2B - *"Ya, from Italy."*

G3 - *"It's like you are making a link to the world, but not getting aware that you are wasting your time in something that is an extra, not an aim."*

These are the brands that hold the most prestige and display the greatest sense of cultural capital and taste amongst *izikhothane*. When wearing these clothes to an event, and showing them to be new attire, they can gain an upper hand over the other crews. It is interesting that these clothes are normally reserved for the dominant class and of Italian fashion. This means that they are trying to adopt specific aspects that they consider to be implicit in Italian masculinity, sophistication and charm (especially with regard to women), whilst also trying to join and celebrate a joining of the global and local market, making a transition from a space predominantly local during apartheid. This is seen as being resistance towards the dominant class in adopting their symbols and clothing and so opening a space that was previously closed to them due to apartheid, and now class. During apartheid *tsotsis* abdopted American gangster style clothing to symbolise resistance towards the dominant structures through criminal behaviour. *Izikhothane* instead adopt Italian style clothing so as to show resitance towards class through fashion, making and distorting meaning and symbols.

However, there is also a contradiction here, because whilst the participants have achieved a higher status and are resisting the dominant class they also perpetuate the oppression of those around them by making clear the fact that they still do not have access to those commodities. Through their resistance they also buy into the capitalist market that maintains the status quo of the dominant class. It is in contradiction that exploration is required, hence this study.

G1 - *"Eight hundred rand just to hang out in the township. It's for the pholing[14], it's for the relaxing in the township."*

It is evident from these quotes that the participants are trying to mould an urban *and* rural flavour of fashion and using their subculture to create the space through which to make it

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[14] Pholing is an indication of someone or a group of people that are relaxing, taking it easy. This could include drinking and talking, watching football or eating, for example.

popular, successful and recognised. Thus, there is a sense of trying to make a transition from local and global but also rural and urban influences, as evident in picture E below, in which the designer is DMD, yet it maintains the leopard print or traditional style.

Photo E

In much the same way as the *clevers* brought urban styles to the townships, so *skhothane* do the same and expect to receive respect and prestige for so doing. The rural urban transition *text*, or clothing, is for relaxing, however, whilst the local global transitional *text* is to make a statement about who they are and what they are about. There is a greater statement made when going global, whilst going urban in the township solidifies their status. Clothing can be see as a text as a number of inferences can be made from them. They can be seen as a dialogue on their own. Clothing can assign a multitude of meanings and values to the wearer of that clothing, meaning that can sometimes it is seen and understood from an outside perspective, as easily as reading a sign.

Finally, what one wears has significant symbolic value. In the same way the EFF wear oppressive apartheid style clothing to symbolise their resistance, through (transformative) participation, towards a regime that they now consider to be doing what they feel the

apartheid government did. This can also be conceptualised by observing that the current government wears the clothing of the previous oppressors, the colonialist's idea of decorum in places such as parliament. It is also seen as a way through which the poor and workers have the power through which transformation can happen if solidarity is maintained and perpetuated and people rise in opposition to oppression. *Izikhothane* wear the clothes of their oppressors, simultaneously, while the dominant class wears that clothing to cast off the oppressive values and ideals that the upper class tries to place on them. The clothes that have been denied to them, in the same way that places (which is also true of class) during apartheid were denied to black people. They now resist by wearing those clothes and in a manner shout back that they will not be oppressed in this manner. They reopen spaces that have been closed to them, spaces of reality, and so allow a transitional space to be reopened and reworked.

If one were to consider a parallel, during apartheid subcultures made it their business to move and be in places that were reserved for whites as a form of resistance. I*zikhothane* wear and use what is usually considered to be reserved for the upper and dominant class.

4.3.2   *Skhothane* **and Dance**

Interviewer: "Where does the dance come from? Is it coming from somewhere?"

G3 -   *"It's something similar [to pantsula] because the way we step with…/"*

G1B -   *"We call it shobolo!" Ya, it come from pantsula. pantsula and bujwa."*

G2A -   *"let me say skhothanes they put all these things together; like Sbujwa, Pantsula, hip-hop. They put them together and make it one thing."*

G2B -   *"It comes from the TV. It comes from our fans, the older ones…They are the ones who told us how to dance. We teach each other. We sit in a room, play music and dance."*

The participants distinctly point to the sense of continuity from past generations here but also to the reformulating and re-symbolising of performances for the current context. It is also interesting that they refer to the older generations as their fans. I observed this through my participation in the research. The older generations or the ones no longer practicing the subculture will support and watch the younger generations as their "fans". These older fans

then endow them with a certain amount of cultural capital, as do the role models, so that they can carry the name and crew forwards, maintaining the prestige that they earned whilst still practicing. The older generations often give then advice and direct them in certain matters. Whilst interviewing some of the crews they insisted that at least one of their legendries were present so as to mediate and to add information when necessary; they gave off the feeling of old brothers.

Interviewer - *"This type of dancing that you guys are doing; I can't do it but what is it called?"*

G2 -   *"Kwasa, Zaka Zaka Asella, Kisiboza… Kwasa and Qhoqho, etcetera."*

This quote needs to be spoken about separately because of the significance that it holds. The dance styles that the participants are talking about here, namely Kwasa or Kwasa Kwasa, extend from the African Diaspora. Originated in Zaire to be reformed and affected by artists in Congo, then taken up by Kwaito artist Arthur Mafokate (Gillman & Fenn, 2006; Peterson, 2003), this allowed the insular nature of apartheid to be broken as influences from Africa came to the fore. More important, however, is the meaning or symbolism behind these forms of dance which were political and resistant in nature as they filtered into South Africa, especially since a number of Kwaito artists used them as their debut (Gillman & Fenn, 2006; Peterson, 2003). Kwasa and its origins have been associated with gender-dominated dance forms and so this form of dancing is important to the debate on gender and the subordination of women. A number of performances throughout Africa are used as persuasions of gender rolling and stereotyping (Gillman & Fenn, 2006; Peterson, 2003). Thompson (1983) outlines, as mentioned above, that Zaka Zaka has its origins in a spirit of farm god from Haiti. Zaka, in traditional ceremonies, is dressed in particular manner and dances in a specific way. The participants however attribute its origins to a crew called "Scorpion"; further than that it becomes vague. Thus, the quote can be interpreted as holding resistant value through its continuity from kwaito and the African diaspora as well as being significant in terms of the gendered persuasions that will be engaged with under the masculinity theme.

G1 -   *"Mosha[15]". "Wasting"*

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[15] Wasting / being wasteful

G4 -   *"And beer styles."*

Photo F

Photo F depicts one of the participants doing a "beer dance" and is normally performed with Kwasa and Zaka Zaka forms of dance. The participants dance around the beer bottle and take sips of alcohol as part of the dance without the flow being interrupted. They will also move the bottle around whilst dancing to show there profound dance abilities. Often people

will take turns at dancing but some of the more talented people were able to dance together, complementing each other through movement and ingenuity, one providing and opening to do something special and vice versa.

The particular names given to their forms of dancing and the re-conceptualisations, re-working of meanings and symbols give substance to their expressions. Beer becomes something symbolic as it adds to the exuberance of the performance, not only from drinking it but also then using the bottles to increase the aesthetic value of the dance. This in turn will allow them to define who is in the knowhow and allow "true" *izikhothane* to show that they have the appropriate taste and distinction to call themselves *skhothane,* thus reaping the rewards (Bourdieu, 1977a, 1977b, 1986a, 1986b). This is similar to an individual from the upper class having the appropriate capital, taste and distinction to show they are part of that class, the participants do the same.

The "*mosha"* or *"wasting"* could be viewed two fold. First of all the practice itself, and which the veedia has portrayed, can be seen to be extremely wasteful, even if clothes are not torn and burned, alcohol *is* spilt on purpose and many other luxury items *are* wasted. This can be seen to be childish and celebratory in being able to try and join the upper to middle class, however briefly. One can also see it as a form of resistance, by which participating in the buying of typically dominant class commodities and wilfully throwing them away can symbolically refer to their throwing off of the dominant classes' oppressive values and ideals. By taking what they covet and showing disdain for them symbolises or shows that the dominant class holds no power over them.

G2 -   *"They take their shoes, they say they are kokoting. And when you kokot, the girls are screaming. You are a winner, if you kokot the girls say; uuuhhhh! It's nice. You pick up memories. It is the thing that was done back then…they say; ahh look at this boy."*

This is an example of the performance and the reworking of dance to symbolise dominance and power over another crew. By "kokoting" the participants are able to elicit admiration, especially when the girls ululate for them, and gain a one-up on the other crew which will help them gain an upper hand in winning the battle at hand and subsequently gaining access to power, status, prestige, respect and women. They also appear to be showing off to a significant degree here and can be seen even to exhibit some narcissism. This may be as a result of their down trodden self-esteem, and feeling as though opportunities are limited and

so need the narcissistic mirroring from to crowd to allow their self-esteem to flourish. Furthermore, the participants are sure to show that the girls are seduced by them and properly subdued when they show their power over the other males.

4.3.3   Skhothane and Language

G3A – *"While I speak to you, I even translate to you - Ya, so that you can understand in both ways; English and… - Skhothane language - I am creating something like…"*

G4 (multiple participants) – *"The language sometimes is difficult - You wouldn't be going to understand this [trend] in our language - It is very interesting in our language."*

G3B - *Everything, when you have us – you are having an Oxford dictionary."*

The participants outline in these above quotes that they have developed their own language out of a number of other languages. These include all South African languages, and interestingly even Venda and Tsonga which were previously excluded from *Tsotsitaal*, but this is to try and confound opponents through causing them to not understand what is being said and to "play with their minds". Much of this material was gained through the participatory action research that was conducted. The participants call it *Skhothanetaal*, with a resemblance to *Tsotsitaal* and thus *Iscamtho*, again emphasizing continuity between subgroup cultures in townships, but also the agency that people practice by adding languages that were previously considered too rural. There is also a common thread of linguistic prowess and gaining the upper hand by forming new combinations and unthought-of sayings, mixing language in a novel way that makes sense in spite of differing lexicons. At this point there is a transition between the more urban languages and rural languages, bringing them together.

G2A - *"We are fashion makers. We are playing a game. Like I am taking a stick and beating you and you take a stick and beating back. But by mouth."*

G2B - *"You see, like in the olden days they had rhymes like… [SKHOTHANE LANGUAGE] 'you smell like a drunk whore'"*

G3 - *"Getting to change your language – when i talk to you I clap my hands. Everything I do [becomes ubukhothane]. When you want food you will say; mom can I have food; but*

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since you are skhothane you say; "mama, eintlik…[UNCLEAR]. If you come outside – ey my friend, ey I'm coming…The movements are changing. When you walk…/"

The participants outline how integrated and nuanced their language becomes and how they use all the resources to which they have access. It becomes a bricolage of current lexicons, gestures and intonation, showing the developed linguistic capital they possess. When the participants talk about being fashion makers it reveals a constant development and redevelopment of the language that demonstrates their linguistic prowess and keeps them in standing with the crowds, so affording them the symbolic capital for which they strive. Language can here be seen as a significant form of capital that the participants of *izikhothane* need in abundance. The ability to mould and manipulate multiple lexicons to develop a unique language is difficult to attain. One can also see continuity in this through *Iscamtho* and *Tsotsitaal*, when one's linguistic prowess and hence linguistic capital is shown through an in-depth understanding and ability to manipulate language to express oneself. This can also have been passed down from generation to generation as *izikhothane* talk about it, starting with *pantsula*, *bujwa*, *clevers*, and by association *tsotsis and, comtsotsi.*

4.3.4 *Skhothane* and Music

G1A - *"And we organised a very huge festival. Even right now the girls are talking about it. Don't tell; us about [crewname], they were playing music on a Sony sound system. They know that when we get to a place things change. They were using a computer and when you touch it, it stops playing."*

G1B - *"It was not a computer, it was a DVD player."*

The importance of music is portrayed here in terms of the quality of the sounds and the ability of the subcultures to host and organise their own events. By doing so they can increase the prestige of their group as opposed to others. This further outlines how the capital that these people has acquired allows them to obtain the status, prestige and respect the desire. In this case social capital and financial capital are paramount so as to attract the right people and the right number of people, and to throw a party that people will remember and associate with them.

Possibly more important is the brand name that is outlined in playing the music. Individuals who are throwing a party need to be able to produce high-quality sound systems, dedicated to the playing of music and not a computer or DVD player. There is a specific taste of music player and the way that music is playerd that needs to be exercised. One needs to be able to show that they have commodities for all things and that they will not use commodities for multiple purposes. This also emerges with their clothing as participants will use an attire once, for one of the main parties. After this, if they are seen using the clothing again they will be ridiculed as poor. It is a contest of wealth and capital.

Interviewer - And then not kwaito hey? What's that style from long ago they used to dance to kwaito where you did this?

G2 - "This is pantsula"

The participants are distancing themselves from prior subcultures so as to achieve a unique identity, therefore, although some of their dance moves, as discussed above under the dancing theme, are similar to *Pantsula*, though they deny listening to the same music as *pantsula*.

Interviewer - And you know with pantsulas it used to be kwaito – so it's moved a little bit from that, hey?

G1 (whole group) - "Yes." G1A - *"Ya. It comes from pantsula, we mix it."*

It is interesting to note how their dance style (second quote (G1A) referring to where their dance style comes from) has significant influences from *pantsula* and thus Kwaito music but they deny listening to it. It seems that there is an interesting prombelmatic and tension here, as *izikhothane* try to define themselves through their taste but at the same time struggle to truly move away from the old styles. This is interpreted as being the need for the participants to be able to transition from pre-apartheid to post apartheid, using dance moves that from pre- and post-apartheid as well as using music to define this transition. Denying music from pre-apartheid Kwaito, which is also synonomous with the struggle and identifying with music that is considered modern and in post-apartheid times. The transitional value of the music outweighs the nostalgia and taste that is associated with Kwaito.

Interviewer - *"And then another thing; is it mainly // what types of music? Is it just house? What about Kwaito. Why house?"*

G2 - *"House, because house gives you the hit. It gives you the oomph!"*

G1A - *"Tribal house." "It is the one that is energetic. When it plays you make a move."*

G1B - *"When we're with the girls we listen to vocal."*

Here we see a deviation from the continuity that we have been talking about as the researcher asks whether they listen or dance to *Kwaito*, but the dance style retains *Kwaito* elements. There is unanimity between groups about house being the predominant medium to which they dance, however, the influence is still there as when the researcher was visiting one of the houses the participant's uncle took me to his room and watched television. He showed me all his favourite *Kwaito* songs and accompanying *Pantsula* dances. When showing me he became almost tearful and I could feel the nostalgia that he was experiencing.

The taste that *izikhothane* want to identify with is 'house', as this gives them what they need in order to be able to carry out their dance moves and remain or transition to current times and past apartheid. However, as mentioned above the dances still incorporate pre-apartheid moves. This allows pre- and post-apartheid to exist at the same time, being apartheid and not apartheid which allows the participants to be able to move on and define themselve's in a new era; to transition beyond apartheid.

There appears to be a distinct difference between the music that the participants listen to whilst performing for crowds and performing or enticing females. While the former quotes suggest that performing and persuading crowds incorporating movement and energy the latter suggests that the taste required to persuade and attract the women needs to be one of gentleness and sensitivity, and that the distinction between the two in itself is a hallmark of the *skhothane*.

4.4 *SKHOTHANE* AND MASCULINITY

A significant part of this subculture is the gendered aspect of it and how the people involved define their gendered identity, in relation to each other but also in relation to the opposite gender. The following sections engage with this.

4.4.1 Women

G4 - *"And if you do not have money you won't get girls. You know that. If you can't join, if you don't have girls, if you don't have anything you are dead."*

G1- *"Ya, you get the girls, and the fame."*

"If you are a skhothane you are supposed to spoil your girl."

These statements are important due to their implications of needing money in order, firstly, to be able to win over the affections of the opposite sex then to become a *skhothane* which, in the participant's eyes, reciprocally means having access to girls. This brings about a circular argument which is inherent in how capital takes form and is understood. If one has capital one has access to its implicated rewards and if one has the implicated rewards one has the associated capital.

G1A - *"And always when we go to a party, when a girl comes to the bus beers disappear. Every time. We provide for them."*

G1B - *"Actually we are providing for them. They are starving. We provide for them."*

G1C - *"As providers. We are the kings. We are the kings of the game."*

The participants perceive that they are providers for the girls at the party and that without them, *izikhothane*, the girls would not be able to sustain themselves or "live". An element of subordination comes in here as the girls need the boys[16] in order not to "starve", or to "survive", thus a *skhothane* needs money in order to provide and attract girls. A *skhothane* needs access to females in order to be a *skhothane*, the circularity being implicit. These male participants are in a sense priming themselves, and the girls that they are with, for future life, a life in which the woman is subordinate to him and he provides for her, and she cannot live without him. They are creating and persuading females and other males of their masculine identity.

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[16] For the same reason that is described for using "girls", "boys" is used to describe the male participants and their counterparts.

In seeing themselves as kings, by kings the participants mean one whom as power in the context that they are in and are at the top of their particular hierarchy, demanding and receiving respect, status and prestige. One can also possibly make the association with being allowed multiple wives and sexual partners, almost as their right, without any recourse for the women or without them being allowed to feel slighted; this is not dissimilar to how Zulu kings conduct themselves. By being and feeling to be the dominant masculine figures they then have the most masculine capital, which is gained through showing that they have the most capital in the subculture which is traded in both directions. The needing, wanting and expecting access to multiple females is discussed further below.

By providing for the girls they see themselves as having achieved a purpose and mastery. This appears to be what they are using their subculture for, or one of the reasons, to negotiate their role as men and what men should do. Having achieved this they feel contentment, self-worth, achievement and recognition from other males.

Skhothane Girls

Interviewer - *"So are there skhothane girls?" "What is the difference between you and the girl skhothanes?"*

G2 - *"Yep! The girls wear cheap. The one that you always pass…we are up there and they are still there. And they don't dress like us, we dress expensive more than them."*

"It's like you, a guy, when you wear an expensive they will like you, but if you can wear shabby clothes they don't want you. But a girl she wear anything. But if she is hot; yo!"

G1 - *"Ya, they don't have as much respect as the guys."*

Photo G

Whilst interviewing a particular group they offered to take me to their female counterpart group. Photo G depicts the girls who were to accompany the male group to events and be avid supporters of them. They do not battle each other but can sometimes do something within a performance, which will improve the status of the male group. As the participants mentioned, the girls do not look as flashy as the boys and wear less expensive attire. Again, an element of girls being subordinate to boys is seen here as the girls are seen as not being able to achieve the same status as boys. Not only can they not wear the same or better standard of clothing but they can also not achieve the same status or gain the same amount of respect as the males.

It appears that girls gain their femininity and identity based purely on their physical appearance and looks, unable to elevate themselves above that. Boys on the other hand can elevate themselves based on the cultural capital that they have. Girls, in their eyes, do not have this opportunity and thus remain subordinate to the men. It is also interesting to note that the males explicitly state that girls need not wear expensive or flashy clothing. They only need to be "hot[17]" whereas the males need to wear clothing and assert their masculinity like that, through branded masculinity and cultural capital (Alexander, 2003).

Interviewer - *"And how do you // how are you different from the girls?"*

G1A- *"We are not different, we do the same thing. We do the same thing. We are all in the same page."*

Interviewer – "And then do you ever battle the girls?"

G1B - "*You can't battle with girls. They are too easy. Girls are too soft.*"

Interviewer - "Okay. Alright! And then those girls what's their name?"

G1C - *"[Group 6]. They are just girls. No. they are just crazy over us. When they see us they just scream. They are our number one fans."*

Although there are female *skhothane* they cannot achieve what the males achieve. They also often have to attach themselves to a male group to achieve any kind of genuine acceptance or attention. The way in which the participants describe them here is that Group 6 are in a

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[17] Pretty or beautiful.

sense the female counterparts of their group and that at events they do not battle but give further support to them. The girls are not even seen as worthy of battling against as they cannot maintain the same level as the men. They again are subordinate and must defer to the males superiority over them.

Interviewer - *"And then if you have to explain a skhothane girl and a girl that's not a skhothane, how do you see them?" Which one would you prefer?*

G2A - *"You see, for girls it's so hard for them to ask from a parent. If you are a girl and you have a dad you know it's [bad]; Obviously, me, if I have a daughter I wouldn't want her to go around at night and having sex and things like that, but us, young boys we always do that; Boys are responsible for everything. You see if a girl gets pregnant, a boy will go away."*

G2B - *"Let me say a girl who is a skhothane is always talking too much. And a girl who is not a skhothane is just a girl who is polite; I'd prefer a girl who is not a skhothane. I can't go to a party and my girl goes to a party. How can that thing happen? You see if you are dating a skhothane chick, a skhothane chick will like to get a guy who is…maybe she is dating me today and I don't do it for her anymore, then she is gonna go to a guy and from a guy to another guy."*

G1A - *"Normal girls are slowdowns. Actually, to be honest we prefer skhothane girls because we can take them home to sleep from the parties. To relieve your body (meaning to have sex with them). It's actually it's to reduce sperms in our bodies. That is why most skhothane girls get pregnant."*

G1B - *"It depends with the normal girls. Those are the ones we'll make wives."*

Here is an explicit contradiction from the participants. In as much as they expect there to be numerous girls attending the events and afterwards having sex with them, the women they will ultimately marry are not those who attend the *skhothane* events. The girls who attend the events are seen as sex objects and so are treated as such, then deny them as partners for marriage in the future. They talk about it being better for girls to stay at home and then empathise, suggesting that if it were their daughters they would not want or allow them to behave as the girls do at *skhothane* events. There is a double standard. Girls are objectified

and used for sex then discarded once they have been used them for what males want, but the women they want to marry must not have been used in this way.

Through coercion or a persuasion in the direction of gendered roles, males perform and behave in one way and females in another. Although there are girls who go out at night, drink and have sex, these are not the ones who these boys say they want to marry. Thus, they are persuading females to conform to a certain role if they want to be married. In an area that was extremely active in apartheid, and where men and women had significantly different gender roles compared to the ones that they have now, it appears that the participants in the subculture now have to renegotiate and persuade each other of the roles males and females must play, determining which capital is desired in each. Thus, this *space* becomes one in which the sexes can make a transition between the gendered space and persuade each other of the others' role in society.

G2 - *"Ya. But it's unusual for a girl doing it, but for a boy it's like playing. A girl is supposed to be with one guy. It destroys that dignity. And a guy if he is having many chicks, it's a good thing at kasi – like maybe you can [impress] the guys. But if you are a girl, you have a new boyfriend today, tomorrow, you end up wanting the guys who has money, like maybe cool cars, and things like that."*

Boys with many girlfriends are celebrated in the township, but girls with many boyfriends are frowned upon. 'Good girls' are expected to stay at home and have only one partner, whilst boys can have many partners. It provides such boys with status and prestige.

4.4.2   Alcohol

G4 - *"Sometimes they look at us and they think negativity and stuff. They are like, oh now // if you want a shoe; 'you are a skhothane, you are drinking alcohol'... They know where there is skhothane there is alcohol."*

G1 - *"As she dances, you just give her a...[UNCLEAR]. Each and every girl. If you have ten girlfriends, each must have her own beer."*

These quotes show how important alcohol is to the subculture and indicate that where there is a *skhothane* there must also be alcohol. They realise however that there are negative

perceptions surrounding it. To them, however, it is essential, not only for themselves but for the girls that they are trying court and sleep with a *skhothane* can only have as many girlfriends as he can provide for and give a beer to each of them, so that they do not have to share. It is important to realise that to "provide" is used in an extremely simplistic manner, however it is understood as preparing onself for a future in which they will provide a household and food, for example. Females are treated as trophies, to be paraded publicly in events that *skhothane* organizes. This confirms the point made above about *izikhothane* being 'kings' which is a cultural connotation in which kings are allowed to marry and have access to many wives. *Skhothane* draw on some of these cultural meanings to justify their relationships with multiple girlfriends, whilst the girls involved must only have access to one man. If she does not and has a number of male partners, she is ostracized.

The last quote is also interesting as the participant outlines that each girl must have her own beer. The term *nkhoto* comes to mind, which roughly means 'heavy'. It refers to sharing quarts beers (750ml) and having to lift it up with the arm, almost exercising. The sharing is significant because *izikhothane* do not want to share or have their girlfriends share as it is a sign of poverty.

Overall, it was evident that alcohol is an important part of being a *skhothane* and 'being a man', to the extent that it is even incorporated into the unique dances styles, as 'beer styles'. Being able to handle and even allow the alcohol to improve their performance appears to play a large role in being a masculine *skhothane*. The main brands that *izikhothane* drink are seen in photo cluster H, consumed conventionally. These are normally beers, not just any beer but green bottle beers. Brown bottle beer is seen as cheaper and not for people with stature such as their own, when not drinking beers *izikhothane* vodka coolers which are far more expensive than beer and hold significantly less volume. When performing or spilling alcohol, however, *izikhothane* normally use higher brand whisky (, not just any brand or the standard bottle of each brand however but the expensive ones (photo cluster I).

Photo cluster H

Photo cluster I

Photo's J & K respectively

Alcohol is often used not only to complement dance but also as a prop. The branding is also important, with some having a higher status than others. In these photographs the participants were getting ready to attend a party that the researcher would also attend.

4.4.3   Competition

G4 -   *"Yes, it is the crowd. The crowd chooses. They have the final say, the crowd."*

The competition winners are determined by the crowd and so by proxy they identify what is valued and what is not. However, the more symbolic capital a group has the more likely the crown will be to choose their new dance moves, clothes and dialogues above the others. This also shows how value is not confined to *izikhothane* themselves but includes external observes, creating a wider field of influence.

G1A - *"Actually we compete against each other. It depends on which style you come up with that would impress the girls at the end, and if you can afford it."*

G3 -   *"Just like with a soccer league, there must be a winner and there must be those who will be runners-ups."*

G2 -   *"We rock. We beat them [out groups]. Because we make them speechless and then it's a win. Ten-ten."*

G1B - *"We don't see ourselves as better, we are better than them"*

The basis of the subculture would appear to be power, prestige, status and being recognised. However, this shows the nature of the capital that is in question within this subculture, as there is interplay between what is valued and who determines what is valued. It appears as though the males compete against each other continually for the favour of the females. The participant is sure to mention however that they are not having physical fights, but conflicts for capital. The last quote from Group 4 points out the additional symbolic nature of the competition, as the participants do not get anything tangible from the fight but having *won* in itself it enough. They have achieved and obtained the status, prestige and recognition they desire.

When there is a winner it is that group that has determined what is valued and what is not. For instance, if someone tries something new and the crowd likes it other groups start to use it. The competition maintains a dynamic system that is constantly changing and moulding itself towards what is valued and what is not, who is at the top and who has access to the most symbolic capital. In addition to there being a winner there are losers, and as much as one group is gaining self-esteem and the various other positive effects, others experience the opposite effect. There is a contradiction in this space as some people are achieving what they set out to, but the very nature of obtaining this prevents others from realising it and potentially leaves them worse off than before.

G5 - *"And show the people what you are capable of doing. I am the fastest; fast with girls and talking."*

G1 - *"When you win you get the girls. You get the girls."*

The competition is of utmost importance because this is what gives the subculture its meaning and existence. It provides and gives value to the capital that these young men are so incessantly trying to obtain. Furthermore, it allows them to show others what they can actually do, not only in attributing value to the capital but extending and transforming the value to new levels and standards. This then allows them to obtain even more access to women and masculine capital.

Subculture vs. subculture

Interviewer -   So do you think // how do you see yourself versus *pantsulas*?

G2A -   *"We beat them."*

G2B - "*We beat them with the clothes. We beat them with the clothes because they don't spend a lot.*"

Interviewer - *"So you are saying if you go up against the hip-hop freestyler, you will win because you've got the clothes, and you've got the dancing…?"*

G2C -   "*Ya. But they would beat us in rapping.*"

When comparing themselves to other subcultures, in the above quote *pantsula, bujwa* and *hip-hop* subcultures are being spoken about, it is interesting to note that, even though their dance styles are similar and in some instances derive from past subcultures, they still see themselves as superior, in this instance because of the clothing that they buy and wear. The *pantsula* and *bujwa* are beaten because they lack the clothing and dialogue whilst the *hip-hop* subcultures will lose because they do not have the appropriate dance and fashion prowess. The *izikhothane* see themselves are similar to *pantsula* and *bujwa* as a result of the similar and continuous dance moves and deviate because they have more linguistic and aesthetic capital. In terms of the *hip-hop* subculture, *izikhothane*, lack as much linguistic capital but fare better against them when it comes to music, hexis (dispostional) and aesthetic capital. In all it appears that *izikhothane* see themselves as belonging to or appear to belong a higher class that the aforementioned subcultures, gaining mobility in the face of those subcultures as a result of being a *skhothane*.

4.4.4   Hegemony

Interviewer - *"And what do you think of guys with degrees? Degrees from… Basically skhothanes versus [other boys]? How do you see the other guys?"*

G2 -   *"They are piece of shit"*

G1A - *"They are Suarezes."*

G1B - *"They are dull/stupid."*

G1C -   "'Sorry if we've hurt you[18]. We are top-shayela.'"[19]

G1D -   "This game is not for the sissies and the boytjies."

G1E -   "It's for the elders actually. It's not for the young ones."

Through competition and the subsequent rewards of winning, the participants in these extracts show how they aim to position themselves as occupying the hegemonic masculinity in their context. They define the other masculinities in a derogatory manner so as to elevate themselves. The last quote is interesting as they purport that, compared to them, the other males are like young boys whilst they are 'men'. An 'elder' or a 'man' has more power and more intellect that a young boy, more access to women and superior in every manner. The derogatory name calling is also a form of enforcement.

G1 -   "And Katlehong is ours. We are not scared of any scheme. We rule over this place."

This outlines their sense of hegemony within their context. They feel that they have achieved all that they need to in order to call themselves 'men' and the 'top men' at that.

G1 -   "The way we are so at the top, people wish to be like us. Every day a person would come wanting to join [anonymous crew] and we just say no."

There is also a significant amount of enforcement within this masculine identity, not only in terms of having acquired the appropriate capital but also within groups. The collective identity wants to maintain their status and so will not accept anyone who may put this in jeopardy.

Photo L, below, shows the posse that follows the crew around, wanting to be a part and join but not having the appropriate or sufficient capital to do so. Thus, by affiliation they hope to reap some of the rewards and associate themselves by proxy. This shows the high regard *izikhothane* are held in and the status the members hold, always having others wanting to be apart and belong.

Photo L

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[18] *'Askies mak' ubuhlungu'*
[19] We live large

4.4.5   Recognition, Prestige, Renown and Status

G1 -   *"Actually, just to put it clearly; we are just doing it for fame and girls and respect. That's it! At the end we'll be the legends. Most of the guys are crazy over the girls. You earn your respect."*

G2A -   *"It makes you feel like a king, you know. It makes you feel like a king."*

G2B -   *"We take over everything. Even the girls just go crazy over at us."*

The rewards are salient here as the as the participants outline how when they behave in a masculine way and show that they have the most capital they gain respect, prestige, status and women. They feel as though no one can touch them and that they are 'on top of the world'. This must do a significant amount for their self-esteem and sense of achievement or mastery as they achieve what they set out to do, however it also points to the sexist nature and perspective that they have taken on in relation to females, subordinate to males.

G1 -   *"You become the celebrity of Katlehong."*

G4A -   *"It's like you've earned your victory, you are starting to become famous. People are starting to like you. They know that that person is the best. He knows what he is doing."*

G4B -   *"There's dignity for you, there's that respect for you. People become // some of your enemies they like you but they do not want to show it. And then other people they show that they like you. You become like an honoured person."*

G4C -   *"You were just a kid, now you are a skhothane, you have a gold tooth, you are well-known now."*

The recognition that the participants receive is also salient here and this gives them significant power in the community. They can definitively (in some contexts) say that they have developed and are a part of the hegemonic masculinity. Furthermore, the last quote emphasizes how they develop a strong sense of masculinity as they feel that they were once children and are now men.

G3 -   *"That esteem, the choo choo steam to be skhothane"*

The self-esteem that they have developed is overwhelming to them and it feels like it will keep on coming like a train. What they were once lacking they now have in abundance.

4.5   REFLECTIONS ABOUT BEING SKHOTHANE AND THE LESSONS LEARNED[20]

G3A -   *"Actually we felt like we've lost and then we were not concerned about anything. So that is when we realised that what we are doing as ikhothane is not good. We put pressure on ourselves, and we do not talk about problems that we have."*

G3B -   *"The death of my cousin changed me, because we were teenagers having fun, enjoying life…female stuffs. And ladies were // it's like in life you cannot [lead] as we teenagers, as like a group whereby we are going to do things // to aiming at the very same*

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[20] A note must be made and one will notice that the below quotes all come from focus group 3. These were the oldest of the groups and none were currently practicing the subculture.

objective of a vision. Because as a group of people, you aim to one thing. Your own thing is just to make an expression whereby you gain fame, popularity. Ya! I can say so."

G3C - *Everywhere you go people like you, people wanna know you better, everyone gets interested in me because the way you are. It's like you inspire something. It's like you are living a dream but like at the recent time. You are not actually.*

G3D - *At the end of the day it's life.*

These participants experienced a negative aspect of the subculture when one of the participant's cousins killed himself, because he could no longer afford the subculture and so partake in any of the events his crew were attending. They became disillusioned afterwards with the practice and began to realise that they were living in a *space* that was not accommodated by reality. It was an illusionary space that allowed them to live out their dreams and fantasies whilst exploring themselves and their values, but ultimately they were brought back to reality in a traumatic manner. It appears that they were brought out of moratorium and their heterotopia abruptly, and made to face the reality.

It is not to say they did not gain anything, however, and this shows how they are creating spaces within which to live out fantasies and ambitions, to make the transition between reality and fantasy, as one or the other has been closed off to them. They thus realise their internalised oppressions and try to overcome them through their own activity and agency. This helps us understand the tasks and objectives that are being achieved as a result of the subculture. They use it to help them through moratorium and so emerge the other side having gained what they need for their adult identity, leaving the subculture behind.

G3A - *"At the end of the day it's life. At the end of the day you are not benefitting anything. You are a role model for someone. But you are not doing it for yourself, you are impressing other people."*

G3B - *"I am going to be a father, I must tell my child that this thing is wrong, what you are doing. You are in a box, outside the box you will see many things."*

These participants are emerging from a state of reverie and illusion and realising what is important to them, through making the transition from adolescence to adulthood through moratorium. The period between is one of illusion in which they come to terms with their

fantasy and reality, experiencing them simultaneously (Winnicott, 1953). What has allowed them to make this shift is their becoming more mature in terms of their identity and having found a solid stable identity through which they can identify with others. In Eriksonian (1968) terms they will have progressed from identity versus role confusion towards intimacy versus isolation, and in terms of Winnicottian (1953) terms they will have made the transition from being self-involved and concerned only about themselves to being aware of others and the development of a more mature empathy. They are able to move from a state of only seeing their own perspective to think about others. Emerging from this space, have achieved the ability to see the perspectives of others, developing empathy and insight. This is the natural progression in terms of development.

It is the people who have moved towards ego-diffusion or over-identification who have failed to navigate their life stages appropriately. They have found a sense of masculinity that they can try to hold onto or found direction through which to solidify that desired masculinity, depending on whose perspective one is taking. They have also allowed a transition between local and global markets, urban and rural (or location), pre- and post-apartheid residual effects, and finally a gendered space. Significantly, those who are in transition out of the subculture will find self-acceptance and unconditional self-regard, thus talking about the practice in retrospect as a result of having moved on and completed the developmental tasks and crises that the subculture gave them the tools through which to do so. They have become recognised in a context that does not give them, such as themselves recognition. It is this that allows them to develop a stable sense of identity.

CHAPTER 5: PERSONAL REFLECTION

I am a white male researcher who was brought up in a relatively high socio-economic bracket family in the Northern suburbs of Johannesburg. I live a life of relative privilege. I attended a model C school and prior to my research had spent little time in townships, my view of them being that they were dangerous and that as a white one had a very high chance of becoming a victim to kind of harm or criminal behaviour. It was interesting to note that my supervisor's reaction was similar as he feared for my safety in the beginning of this research. He took me to Katlehong the first time and introduced me to one of his friends who lived there so that I might know someone whom could keep me safe on subsequent visits. After the first visit however I ventured in on my own and was rewarded with becoming confident enough to spend time there on my own, and soon found myself there every weekend. Eventually, and this is maybe skipping to the end, I had to stop using the excuse of finding more focus groups (as I had six already) to continue going and so have ended up, and continue to do so, spending time with the good friends that I have made.

The time I spent gathering data in Katlehong, through focus groups, video recordings, photography and participatory action research, has given me some of the most important insights and most amazing memories however. I became interested in this project after a fellow colleague chose a subject that I wanted to initially investigate (train surfing). Whilst talking about my disappointment to one of my friends he mentioned, in an off-hand manner, that train surfing groups were like *izikhothane*. My interest was immediately peaked and that was the beginning of my journey into Katlehong.

This journey necessitated me leaving an environment in which I felt comfortable and at times left me feeling vulnerable, frightened and upset, but I also felt strong, happy and privileged. Realising where I come from and the resources I to which I had access I was playing on *easy mode*. The game analogy is apt because through understanding the subculture of *izikhothane* they often refer to life and their subculture as a 'game'. I was learning of a world that I would probably not otherwise have had the opportunity of witnessing, one not comparable to mine. This made me realise the importance of my research. In some ways I could only envisage this world through my fantasy and so began to understand how transitional places can be collapsed. In this case my transitional world had, prior to my experience, collapsed in the direction of reality, leaving me with only my fantasy and the resulting constructs concerning inferiority and superiority (Long, 2011).

5.1 DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS AND MISRECOGNITION

I was challenged each time I entered Katlehong, in my ideas of race, class, gender, ethnicity, values, ideals, norms and, especially, the things that I had previously taken for granted. The extent of my own prejudice, oppression and stereotypical thinking towards others was profound, which I realised increasingly as I spent longer periods of time in the township. It was difficult to grapple with as I had always considered myself a liberal and tolerant individual. However, comprehending how I oppress others, with ideas that were often entrenched, gave me the opportunity to remedy those modes of thinking. It is something that I think is a lifelong process, however, one which needs to be constantly kept in consciousness.

It began with first of all, at all times, being mindful of exactly what I was feeling, experiencing and the automatic thoughts that came to consciousness whilst moving from context to context. These initial thoughts, I came to realise, encompassed much of the double consciousness and essentialism that I was experiencing. To bring Bion's container and contained ideas into this conversation, or alpha and beta thoughts respectively, I came to realise that the alpha or raw sensory information becomes tainted with all of one's other information or memories as it is given to the pre-conscious and unconscious before being made conscious again (Britton, 1992). Thus, we are not truly experiencing things as they are because they pass through the filter that is the brain, before being made accessible. With this in mind, I was able to start challenging the thoughts that I found in my conscious and from there on, as best I could, would challenge each emotion and thought that was brought to the fore trying to make sure that it was based in reality *and* fantasy, and not just one or the other. If the latter were happening it would suggest that there has been a collapse in transitional space (Long, 2011).

To provide a further analogy of this filter, or a philosophical explanation, an interesting experiment is the *phi* phenomenon, which relates to how the brain uses presumptions, assumptions, prejudice and stereotypes to categorise and make congruent the world and make sense of stimuli that do not make sense (Dennett, 1995). In short, two circle of light are flashed on a screen about a centimetre apart and the conscious experience of the stimuli is of motion, that the light is actually moving in a back and forth manner, not two separate

flashes of light. There are a number of models of thought that attempt to explain exactly how and where this happens, as in the *Orwellian* and *Stalinesque* theories and the Multiple Drafts Model (Dennett, 1995). The former suggests that stimuli arrives through perception and then all following stimuli that may change the experience of the initial stimuli are accommodated and changed, leaving no memory, paradoxically, of the changes, and leaving in consciousness the final conscious thought only. The *Stalinesque* theory suggests that there is a loop which holds information until it can create a final picture or representation of the stimuli and then allows it access to memory and consciousness (Dennett, 1995). The latter theory, however, suggests that there is no single barrier where information becomes conscious and that our consciousness cannot be contained or located in one specific place. Thus, the stimuli needs to run through the multiple different locations before it can be said to become conscious, and multiple drafts of the same information (Dennett, 1995). I am subscribing to this latter process, so when I look at or enter a township, the stimuli and information is processed and what I am lacking, in order to provide a "full" or "congruent" representation of the information in my consciousness, is added along the way, through prejudice or stereotype. It gives me the conscious feeling of being frightened and anxious.

The information that was added was the misrecognition of a particular people as dangerous because this is what my prior prejudicial and stereotypical thinking led me to take as reality. In the same way, the brain gives the illusion of motion in the *phi* phenomenon, as my brain took the initial stimuli and made me feel fear, anxiety and impending danger as the end result or as the anticipation. My brain was trying to show the passage of time before it had happened, without it happening. This I believe would be an appropriate description of the double consciousness that I was experiencing. Being aware of it, however, I was able to overcome it and realise that the brain was creating an illusion and an incorrect illusion at that, which allowed anxiety to subside and for me to begin righting the prejudice and stereotype that I was relying on to make sense of my world, reworking it so that I might achieve a closer approximation of the truth, a combination of reality and fantasy at the same time (Long, 2011; Winnicott, 1953).

My double consciousness, however, was brought to the fore and the extent of it was made obvious when I travelled through Katlehong to other people's houses, especially when we went into an area that was mainly shacks for instance. The anxiety arose again and I had to school it and rationalise my thoughts by recognising the emotional, tying it to a thought and

allowing both to subside. I did wonder at some points to what extent people in the area perpetuated this double consciousness for me, as in some instances people, normally maternal black women, would come up to me and check if I was alright, as if there was something for me to be worried about. More importantly, however, I think that it was those close to me who perpetuated these experiences. I do not generally think maliciously but through their own double consciousness. I would be accosted on a regular basis by family and friends, mainly by friends, however, as my family knows me well enough to respect me and my opinion. My friends, however, would often call me 'mad' for going to Katlehong and would constantly worry after my safety. This points to the widespread double consciousness of people and the gross misrecognition that people from townships have to endure. This double consciousness made me think what black people feel when coming into predominantly white areas. If I feel anxiety, do they too feel that too or is there some other feeling and perception of the experience?

Also interesting was the double consciousness that the participants held of me. When talking about how the interview would have been different if I were black and not white most of the responses outlined that they would not have taken me as seriously and most likely would not have taken part in the interview in the first place. I was considered to have credibility, prestige, opportunity and privilege from the moment they set eyes on me, not knowing me at all. Even though most of these perception s seem positive, at the same time I experienced anger from some people because of a presumption that I was wealthy because of my race. When people asked me for money and I refused they took it as a personal affront, as though, because I am white, I have to give money out as I must have exorbitant amounts. I was accused of lying on a number of occasions.

I include this in my summative chapter because misrecognition plays an important role in the research and with retrospect I can see how I misrecognised the majority of the young black males who I encountered initially, feeling anxious, and sometimes frightened, because of a fear that they might be dangerous or do something unbecoming to me. This misrecognition was born out of the double consciousness that was entrenched in my way of thinking, that the black working class young males and geographical location to which I was exposed was equated with danger, and that caution should be taken. Conversely, the double consciousness with which they associated me was on the other side of the spectrum; opportunity, privilege and credibility, and this was because I am white and of the dominant

class. Something of import however was that I was not trusted initially and I had to spend a significant amount of time in the *kasi*[21] and develop relationships with the appropriate gatekeepers and people. There was the general feeling that I would use the information to portray *izikhothane* in a negative light, which they certainly did not want, such as *3rd degree*, a documentary program on South African television, had done. I also think that this has something to do with being white and in the township, and that I must be doing something deviant, otherwise why would I be there in the first place?

5.2   MASCULINITY

I began to realise, and felt as I spent more and more time with *izikhothane,* that the subculture in which these young men participate gives them the recognition, respect, privilege, credibility and sense of masculinity that they are denied because of stigma, misrecognition, double consciousness and essentialism that I myself experienced of them as I entered the township. A significant part of the subculture, and one which we had to get before we did anything, was alcohol and marijuana. When there was an event or they wanted to show me something we had to get beers, cider and coolers, almost as though they could not perform without the substance or that it was required in order for the performance to be good. Every time I accompanied the participants and my friends in the township the first stop we made was at the drug dealer then the shebeen.

I met four different drug dealers in my time there and visited more than 10 shebeens, some more popular than others.

Photo M

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[21] This term originates from the apartheid terminology to refer to segregated areas, known as *locations*. In Afrikaans the term in *lokasie* which was then shorted to be *kasi*.

Another important aspect of masculinity is women, and having access to numerous ones. The man with whom I spent most of my time, finding other *skhothane* and just 'pholing' would, at the end of our time together that day, ask me to drop him at a different woman's house.

Photo N

5.3 CULTURAL DIVERSITY

In terms of cultural diversity I came to learn a significant amount about the way that I live and interact with people. This personal reflection outlines that but I mention a few aspects here that stood out for me. The first was language and how I had to overcome my lack of understanding of vernacular languages. I did so through focusing on context, gesture and intonation to fill in the gaps of what I did not understand. It was an illuminating experience as I realised how much language consists of these things. When I began to grasp meanings I was able to attribute meanings to words. My experience or assumption about learning language was that it was not the other way around, learning the meanings of words and then of sentences. One of the most difficult elements to understand, however, were jokes. This sometimes left me feeling left out, but not to a large extent. People often tried to explain the jokes to me but I realised that jokes often cannot be translated across languages.

Another aspect was eating. In my culture I am accustomed to people eating their own food and rarely sharing. When I was in Katlehong, however, we would often buy one piece of

meat and then pap for each of us, and tear a piece of meat each. If I think of doing this with my suburban friends they would not relish this idea as there is the idea that other people's hands are dirty and do not want others touching their food. There was no such procedure in the township.

When I went to a "meeting of families" I did not know the word as we did not have one in English, or not one that I knew readily. It is when the families of two individulas who are set to be married come together and have a braai and get to know each other. We went to Germiston park and enjoyed a Sunday afternoon there. In contradiction to a number of my experiences of being white (and presumed to have money) in the township no body would let me buy anything. I, as was everyone else, was given food and drink and anything else I could have desired. I was mainly paid for by the elder brother of the friend with whom I went. It was a wonderful experience and I felt as though I was literally a part of the family. This is culturally different because although in a similar situation my parents or a friend's parents would have provided in the same way for someone they did not know, and the acceptance would be slightly different. It is hard to explain, not in how the research participants regarded them but possibly in the warmth that they gave. I am not sure why but I know there was a difference. No one treated me differently, however there was one instance when I was treated slightly differently, bythe women at the braai. I was in demand as a potential boyfriend. This left me feeling elated.

5.4   ACCEPTANCE

Gaining all the data I required, especially through focus groups, was a time-consuming activity. It usually took two or three visits before an actual interview took place, which turned out to be an advantage as I then took to participatory action research and had a beneficial time, often relaxing, drinking, eating and watching football, or just "pholing" in the park, to be sure I was drinking with them. There was one particular park in which we would relax and, in retrospect, observe my transition. Initially I was anxious to be in the park and would lock my car and remain on the alert. After a number of visits, however, *all* my car doors were open, music playing, keys in the ignition and me lying on the grass eating, only aware of those in my immediate surrounding with whom I was interacting. I think to some extent my own calming down and relaxing may have allowed others to be more accepting of me as I did not view them with trepidation or concern. Relaxing, shebeens,

parks and various other parts of the township were amongst the liberating experiences of my life. Interestingly, as I was relaxing with people who had shown their prowess for branded capital I asked them what they thought of how I dressed. They hesitantly told me that I "dressed ok", but only for relaxing and not going out or looking smart. I laughed because I dressed as I would when going out with my usual friends, so I realised they considered me as not holding much branded capital or fashion sense. I did not consider buying new clothes because the participants and others with whom I would spend time did not ridicule me for my fashion sense. I think they saw me as holding other kinds of capital which I in turn traded for the capital that they saw as important, or allowed me to be accepted in spite of my taste in clothing.

Photo O

As I became better known in the *kasi* it became easier to organise focus groups as I was more trusted. I was invited to many events and gained an inside look into the lives of *izikhothane* and their families. As I drove through the streets people began to recognise me and the small children would run after me shouting "*mlungu*[22]". Initially, upon arriving, I

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[22] White person

took this to be derogatory, however as time progressed I realised that this is how they came to know me and others who recognised me came to call me it affectionately.

The negative perceptions that the mass media and dominant class hold of the subordinate classes is for the most part, and I say this because in any group there are deviant people, incorrect and sorely oppressive. Participant observation was evident only at events, whilst at other times they would relax with their friends as I would relax with mine, regardless of whether they were all *skhothane*. When with their mothers and fathers they would be children, doting and respectful children, deferring to their parents, being siblings to their brothers and sisters, arguing as I would fight with mine. In some cases they were parents themselves to their own children, being caring, compassionate, strict, guiding and loving. These are but a few of the multiple identities that I witnessed and witness when I am with my new acquaintances, people who I would otherwise have considered dangerous had I not allowed myself to experience them as human, as I would expect others to do of me.

Photo P

There seemed to be a significant amount of "street cred[23] that the participants with me would gain by driving with a white person in the township. They would often call to people as we drove and laugh and joke, whilst the one they were calling to would be impressed with the company they were in. One friend remarked that I had made him famous in the *kasi* as everyone had been asking him who this white person was he had been driving around with.

Photo Q

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[23] Credibility within a particular context.

5.5   THEN AND NOW; PRE- AND POST- APARTHEID

Of significance to the study is a contrast to how things were under apartheid in Katlehong. I quickly came to this realisation as I was invited to a wedding in the *kasi*. Whilst I was being introduced I shared a beer with a group of men older men than myself, estimated at 40 to 70. It initially took them a while to warm up to me, but once we were engaged in conversation they said that it was strange for them to see me there because had I been there under apartheid they would have killed me. This highlighted the access I was being given into a context that would otherwise be closed off to me, not only under apartheid but also

currently. I believe it is because of the friends I had made that I was allowed me access to the *kasi*. I do not believe I would have experienced what I did without them. Others told me how nice it was that a white man was visiting his black friends in the *kasi,* as opposed to them having to come to my area to see me as, in his opinion, was usually the case. I can believe this as I, to this day, still have not seen another white person in Katlehong. They said I was "a white man with a black soul".

I may seem contradictory when I write about only being there because of the people I met, however, one does need to be cognisant that I did not have the appropriate cultural capital to be safe in the new setting. I could easily have run into trouble. Rather, one must not presume and misrecognise everyone in a setting based on a double consciousness.

5.6   BIAS AND LESSONS LEARNED

In terms of bias in my research, I had to actively make sure that I was reporting on everything. I would at times not want to report on something as it would portray the participants, and at this point my friends, as negative. I realised that this was an injustice as nothing and nobody is all good and to portray them in this manner would only serve to make the research appear unbelievable. As I mentioned, the participants became friends and so it became increasing difficult to see them as bad or portray them in a negative light. I tried when I found myself doing this, or desiring it within the research, to offer an alternative, more negative view.

Gender was another factor that I had to take into account as I initially did not want there to be *skhothane* girls. I wanted this to be something that only males did so as to provide even more evidence that this is a masculine practice to develop a masculine identity. However, as I identified this, I realised that it was of paramount importance to include it as it showed the contrasting identities and the persuasions that each attempted to find their identity in relation to each other. Gender is not something that is found in isolation but it developed in relation to the other and thus allowing me to see the importance.

This leads me to two of some of my most important insights, for this research and as an individual too. Gender and race, but also ethnicity and class, exist in a twofold manner, biological and capital. One can be male but also needs to behave like a male to be considered

masculine by other males. This then led me to look into how one father, or male figure, also needs to endow one with that masculine capital initially. After this I also realised that race has a biological element, as evidenced by the colour of skin, however, one also needs to act in accordance with that race. This came up a significant amount of times when the people I was with would exclaim at the other black people that they were trying to be white, using derogatory names such as '*Oreo*[24]'.

The time I experienced and my continued time in the township is something that I will not forget, and it has reminded me to not allow my transitional spaces to be closed down and thus allow double consciousness to ensue. It will push me into new spaces continually for I know that it will help me to realise how I oppress others in order to realise how I may be oppressed, through others thoughts but, more importantly, by my own thoughts.

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[24] This refers to the biscuit and emphasizes, for blacks, that they may appear black but are 'white' on the inside or conform to white norms and values.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Subcultures are not something new but often lead on from each other and intersect in some cases, creating a continuity that has been discussed in length in this research report. Continuity factors in the historical significance to which communities and people alike have been exposed and attach import (Xaba, 2001). This in turn causes communities to travel along particular trajectories, but they do not do so in isolation of other factors. It is important to be cognisant of the social, economic, geographic, cultural, racial, ethnic, gendered and class manifestation of those communities and people (Jensen, 2006; Vestel, 2004). These elements are nuanced and complex and so require a framework and lens through which to focus enquiries. The heterotopia that the subcultures have created have largely served to allow people to express a certain amount of deviancy through resisting oppressive societal norms and conventions as well as to transition through crises (of identity and meaning).

Izikhothane have arisen through what Xaba (2001) terms 'continuity', which is the manifestation of happenings that can be explained from the past, when through apartheid people were relocated, segregated and oppressed and sanctions had been brought about by the global community. This closed or collapsed spaces of reality in global, urban, rural and gendered spaces (Long, 2011). A number of subcultures arose in response to the structural changes that were happening in South Africa at the time. These responses allowed a unity among oppressed people and so afforded them the ability to be able to resist apartheid. These subcultures developed in a continuous manner from subcultures in the 1920s, developing their own language, lifestyle, style and dance, and which the more recent subcultures appropriated particular traits in their own context, influenced by the structural and people agency of those involved.

The *Izikhothane* appropriated a number of elements from past subcultures, as well as created some of their own and adopted shunned practices, to create a bricolage through which they express themselves and make salient the current conditions in which they are living. The structural changes that have influenced their formation and creation is the breakdown of the black solidarity and cohesion that developed during apartheid and was a testament to the oppressive conditions experienced by people (Portes, 1998). Thus, the mobility of a few subjugates and oppresses those that are left behind as well as perpetuating the genealogies of the dominant class as the mobile groups take on dominant history and further misrecognises those who are "left behind"; moving form legislative to class oppression.

Those spaces that collapsed during apartheid need to be opened and allowed to make a transition in order to achieve psychological wellbeing. The spaces are between urban and rural, global and local, male and female and pre- and post-apartheid society.

Thus, the people in the township gain recognition, value, authenticity and worth by maintaining a sense of blackness and masculinity, a strong cultural identity that is posited in continuity and heritage (Aycard, 2010; Jensen, 2006; Portes, 1998). The working class then undermine and revoke the mobile black middle class's authentic status so as to maintain their sense of cohesion and community, combating the oppressive forces that are associated with the mobile black middle class (Portes, 1998). This is often achieved through subcultures and a display of masculine capital, such as being able to have access to numerous women and subjugating those who are mobile and do not prescribe to the hegemonic masculinity, thus achieving recognition in this manner and reinstating cohesion.

People, at times, become engrossed in the subcultural identity and thus generalise it to all context of their lives, which Erikson (1968) termed 'ego-diffusion' and 'over-identification', with participants being described as being 'possessed', for instance. This is not healthy as it causes people to become stuck in their particular crisis, making them developmentally static. One can understand this further, transitionally, through seeing it as a collapse in the direction of fantasy *and* reality. In fantasy one cannot envisage other forms of being and other identities as they over-identify with people who they believe to be superior and thus only see themselves as superior. In the direction of reality there is a collapse as they cannot go to, or are socially ridiculed or excluded for bizarre behaviour, places that are not congruent with their static identity. They also would not go to places that do not correspond with that identity (Long, 2011; Winnicott, 1953), thus it is imperative, if they are to appropriately navigate this developmental stage, to be fluid in their identities (Erikson, 1968, 1970).

Izikhothane make meaning of the symbols that they take on through identifying who is or is not included and so create the collective identity. Having the clothing, dance moves, language finesse and music knowledge allows them the illusion that they are part of something. Illusion is created, through which the capital has become valued (Bourdieu, 1997; Foucault, 1997; Winnicott, 1953). From there the individual's active participation allows them to be able to transition from one point to another (Winnicott, 1953). It is based on illusion and the participants' need to move out of this state of illusion in order to reap the

rewards of the process. This illusion allows them to reconcile the internal from the external, to feel free, recognised and develop a stable sense of identity.

The continuous subcultural capital that has been recognised and identified within this study are associated with language (e.g., *Iscamtho, Tsotsitaal, Skhothanetaal*), dance (e.g., *Marabi, Isicathamiya, Pantsula, Bujwa*), Music (e.g., *Mbaqanga, Maskand, Isicathamiya, Bubblegum, Izibongo, Kwaito*) and clothing (e.g., *Arbiter, Sfarzo, Spazzo, Carvellas, Avita*). *Izikhothane* have taken and manipulated the forms and made something of their own in order to create their subculture. This has allowed them to develop inclusion and exclusion criteria which have turned into crews and groups. It is these crews that battle each other and so show who has the most capital, which in turn allows them to transfer or turn it into other forms of cultural capital, such as masculine and symbolic. With this in mind they feel powerful, recognised and free in the face of an oppressive society and thus reflect the utopian ideals for which they strive, namely recognition and being free from the vestiges of constraining forces of apartheid and, currently, class oppression. They have created fields in which to practice and assert their cultural capital, where people and groups alike hold different positions to each other and are in relative power (symbolic capital) (Bourdieu, 1997). People who do not have access to economic or dominant cultural capital may turn to embodied cultural capital to try and alleviate this lack, which is what izikhothane do. This research may in a sense be talking about pseudo-fields as it is talking about heterotopia, which technically cannot be located. This does not affect the legitimacy of the capital that these groups hold, especially when conserving that displacement can happen and non-dominant forms of capital can be inserted into dominant fields (Bourdieu, 1997; Jensen, 2006).

However, there is also a contestation of the space, which is in line with Winnicott's (1953) and Foucault's (1997) idea that these *spaces* constitute an essential paradox and allows people to transition from one point to another. The contestation of these spaces can be understood from the participants talking about killing oneself if one cannot stay within the prescribed standard. This speaks to the fragile state of the identity and recognition that these people achieve and can be shattered at any time. In addition to this, the utopian ideal of freedom to express oneself that is reflected is contested as these people are controlled by the consumer and capitalist market. Furthermore, the more *Izikhothane* perform and become successful or mobile, the more they make clear and oppress others who do not have access to these commodities and so perform what Portes (1998) and Bourgois (1991, 1995) were

trying to overcome in the first place. This shows circularity and be a mechanism of the dominant class to maintain the status quo. One way to uplift oneself is through the oppression of the other, creating more extreme economic inequality. This illustrates much of the contradiction, paradox, illusion, reflection and contestation upon which Winnicott (1953), Foucault (1997) and Bourdieu (1997) extrapolate.

The subculture holds a significant amount of resistance that manifests through its performances and rituals. At the same time that they are gaining a sense of recognition and expression, they are resisting the dominant ideology and oppressive mechanisms that strive to maintain the status quo. One of the most salient manners through which they achieve this is through transformative resistant capital, which is where people prescribe to oppressive mechanisms to show the arbitrary inferences and the oppressive nature of those mechanisms and cast them off in the face of their oppressors (Freire, 1970; Glaser, 1990). Thus, *Izikhothane* resist through participating in oppressive mechanisms such as clothing. They resist through the above but also use the mechanisms of the dominant class to oppress the working class, after realising their arbitrary inferences. Where it was used to monitor and to make sure that people were prescribing to their own class, *skhothane* now use it to become recognised as resistant and throwing off the oppressive bonds. It is important to recognise that *izikhothane also* prescribe to and buy into the capitalist maket in terms of buying commodities. Thus there is an essential paradox in this that highlights the tensions that the participants feel, showing where their tension lies and class exploitation. This is also a manner in which to transition pre- and post-apartheid society was causing creative tension through the contradiction and tension in oppressive panoptical clothing. To participate and not at the same time change the symbolic meaning of the previous enforcement apartheid mechanisms have turned into class oppressive mechanisms (Bourdieu, 1977b; Goldhammer, 2014; Suttner, 2014; Musangi, 2009).

However, it is important to realise that the dominant class does not stand idle in the resistance of its ideology and the attempt to overthrow their rule, but rather they turn to institutions and structures to calm and subdue the masses. The police and media act as enforcement and try to shut down this deviancy and resistance, respectively through physical force to quell any subcultural gathering or resistance, and incorporating the subcultural capital into dominant culture or fostering the *misrecognition* of participants in the subculture. The incorporation allows the dominant culture to *re*-articulate the symbolic meanings and inferences and move

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them towards maintaining to status quo again. This, however, can have the opposite effect of quelling the subcultures as they create a Deviancy Spiral by which those who continue the illegal performances and rituals gain even more respect, status and prestige than before (Muggleton, 2005).

Misrecognition is important as many subcultures develop out of misrecognition, which is then again used by the dominant class to resist their resistance (Jensen, 2006). It comes in the form of an intersection between race, class, ethnicity, gender, geographic or territorial stigma and social and economic oppression (Jensen, 2006). In terms of *Izikhothane,* these people are black, working class males, living in townships and being socially and economically oppressed. With all of these conditions in place once can look into some apartheid history and add how the misrecognition sown by apartheid still lives on, with black males from townships being seen as dangerous, criminals, subhuman, unpredictable and unworthy of mobility, recognition and value, or in other words *die swart gevaar*[25]. In the current context, and on a number of documentary programmes, the same questions are asked: where do they get the money from and are they stealing or performing criminal activities to fund their subcultural performances? This in itself misrecognises them and robs them of their dignity, serving to remove their resistant power. This misrecognition instils in the minds of the possibly ignorant and fearful middle and dominant classes a double consciousness which does not allow them to view others with possibility and creativity. It causes a collapse in fantasy *and* reality, much like apartheid did in creating a superiority in the minds of the middle and dominant class, and closing particular spaces to those deemed not "classy" enough to enter (Long, 2011; Winnicott, 1953). Thus, people who suffer this have to find other means through which to shed this misrecognition and become recognised and to reopen or open the *spaces* transition where the multiplicity and creativity of fantasy and reality can be realised. This also becomes apparent in the researcher's personal reflection as double consciousness made it difficult to identify with the participants initially.

The subcultural capital and *spaces* in which performances and activities are carried out act as the creative tension *and* phenomena that allow the transition between two points opening up possibility. Clothing becomes the transitional text between global and local and rural and urban, language becomes the transitional text and phenomena between urban and rural and clothing, music, language and dance become the transitional phenomena for male and female

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[25] "beware of black people" or "black people are dangerous".

role. All of these phenomena then become these individuals' means to make the transition between pre- and post-apartheid society, because of the oppressive condition. Whilst there is a crisis that needs changing from the past, subcultures also act out their internalised oppression that now comes in the form of class exploitation and try to reopen those spaces closed to them.

These spaces have been opened up because there has been a collapse in the creative tension that constitutes reality and fantasy; the illusion has broken down. Where there has been a collapse of transitional spaces in their fantasy the idea of superiority and inferiority become concrete and static where reality begins to overwrite what is possible in fantasy; people (dominant class) no longer realise how they oppress other and presume and take for granted superiority (Jensen, 2006; Long, 2011; Winnicott, 1953). Where there is a collapse there is the closing of particular spaces, texts (clothing, music, dace) and places to non-dominant classes. They can no longer travel, wear or do as they please as certain things have been closed off to them. On the other hand, the dominant class no longer travels, wears or does things that non-dominant people do because of the double consciousness with which they have been endowed (Jensen, 2006; Long, 2011; Winnicott, 1953). Thus, subcultures in *space* attempt to reopen and rework those spaces to open the creative space of reality and fantasy (Jensen, 2005; Long, 2011 Winnicott, 1953).

Clothing as transitional text and phenomenon act as the in-between space for global and local as well as urban and rural in which people wear global and local (urban and rural) attire, at the same time causing them to represent a global and local flavour. This allows the tension that is needed to create their own space and transition this new period. *Izikhothane* have appropriated an Italian style of dress, as *tsotsis* were trying to appropriate those elements of the gangsters, a counter culture and resisting the dominant ideology values and norms. *Izikhothane* are resistant too, by forming a continuity with *tsotsis*, however, there is a greater sense of trying to achieve sophistication and being charming or masculine (good with women). They begin to appropriate and then symbolise the meanings that they want to display and that they want to appear to be inherent or embodied. (Aycard, 2010; Winnicott, 1953).

Language is creative tension between urban and rural where the language constitutes both an amalgamation and none of the languages at the same time. This shows them to be tenacious, held in high esteem and show a prowess towards intelligence. In addition to

language being the transitional phenomenon between rural and urban, dance too can be seen to facilitate this as. This is desired, as in the past, through continuity and was seen to be valued and showed a "city slickness" and "know how" that was desired (Aycard, 2010). Rural language that in the past subcultures was deemed *too* rural is now used to show an even greater prowess as it can confound opponents using it. Languages previously not used but now used are Venda and Tsonga, bridging the urban rural gap to an even greater degree.

Music and dance have been show to have an interesting link in drawing a creative tension between pre- and post-apartheid and local and global spaces. Where *izikhothane* try to move away from Kwaito music, synonomous with the apartheid struggle and local sounds, they maintain elements of it in terms of dance. With this in mind *izikhothane* they listen to more global trends in music associated with post- apartiheid. This allows pre- and post- apartheid and local and global spheres be one at the same time whilst being none. This allows *izikhothane* to bridge those gaps and allow them to move forward in the direction that they want. Gendered identities need to be established as a result of roles being very much prescribed during apartheid and defined by others, thus the importance of gendered transition. New gendered identities need to be developed with people's own symbols and persuasions being salient. Skhothane girls are the same but not the same as boys. They develop their own subcultures in response to the males, but gendered identities do not develop in isolation so they need the inter-subjectivity nature embodied in all of these transitional spaces. Although this paper focuses of masculinity it does not exclude females, as they display performances that challenge the males to convince them of other roles in this transition. The *Skhothane* male participants were adamant that females who are *skhothane* are 'sluts' or not worthy of marriage. This is very much an attempt at persuading them of a gendered role. That they need to stay at home, have one partner and act in the proper manner, females are positioned in a subordinate role to males, prescribing that they cannot achieve the same status, respect or prestige as them, but must defer to men.

All of these elements have been used in the transition from pre- to –post apartheid society, where people can be *free* to determine their own identities and be *recognised* for doing so. *Izikhothane* thus reopen the collapsed spaces of reality and fantasy caused by apartheid whilst at the same time recognising the internalised oppression through their activity and allowing them to wear and be where they wish, which is being, in most cases, foregone by

class exploitation. Their subculture has reopened the realm of creativity and possibility with fantasy or reality over writing each other.

According to Aycard (2010, p.69):

> The democratization of South Africa opened the door for the social recognition of township youth and their culture, and *Iscamtho* as an embodiment of the imagined new society quickly took advantage of it… The former criminal language is today so much part of the everyday life of the youth in the institutionalized media and in the cultural vector that it has obtained a new social meaning and is now gaining a new respectability in many more settings than previously.

All of these media or forms of subcultural capital embody a sense of being free to determine and express their own futures and identities and to be recognised as doing so. The performances allow people to develop positive self-objects that allow a healthy narcissism to develop, and self-esteem. Once this has been developed they can move into transitional modes of being and so make the transition from traumatic and anxiety-provoking periods, places, spaces and texts that had collapsed due to apartheid. Thus, these subcultures have allowed the people to move through and be active participants in periods of deviancy and crisis to become psychological and socially mobile people (Foucault, 1997; Long, 2011; Winnicott, 1953).

Limitations of the paper that must be taken into account include the different culture of the researcher, which may have limited the research in a number of ways, notably cultural nuances and differences, linguistic understanding and gendered modes of being. I attempted to practice epistemic reflexivity in my modes of being, however it is difficult to always be aware of and counteract blind spots.

Many of the focus groups were conducted in a language that I did not understand and so I had to rely on a translator for much of my information, and will have missed small nuanced behaviour or emphasis at times. It also brings the translator's bias and understanding into the research, which may have affected it.

Initially, my research was only centred on males only, as I wanted the subculture to include only them for the purposes of my research. I had drawn certain conclusions beforehand.

Upon reflection this was remedied and I included females in the research. This may also have something to do with my gender.

As I spent a significant amount of time with the participants I began to forge relationships with them, particularly because I was engaging in participatory action research. This made it difficult for me to view them in a negative light and so when those aspects came to the surface I would try and rationalise them. If I have found this in the research I have also offered an alternative, more negative explanation of the phenomena in question.

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<u>APPENDIX A - PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET</u>

UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITSWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG

School of Human and Community Development

Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel: (Oil) 717-4500 Fax: (Oil) 717-4559 Email:
018lucy@muse. wits, ac.za

Good day,

My name is James Grant Richards and I am conducting research for the purposes of obtaining a Masters degree in Community-based Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. The areas that are being looked at are the contextual factors present in determining why an individual becomes a *skhothane*; whether it is an expression of masculinity and how individuals live out this identity. I aim to get a better understanding of the reasons which influence individuals to engage in this practice with a focus on class. On this basis I would like to invite you to be a part of my research to further understand the explained topic.

Participation in this research will involve you taking part in focus group which will be discussing a particular topic outlined by a short video. All the research will be done by me, at a time and place that is chosen by you. The focus group will be ten to fifteen minutes long. With your permission the focus group will be videotaped in order to make sure nothing is left out. Participation is completely voluntary, and you will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way for choosing to participate or not participate in the study. Given the qualitative nature of the study, complete confidentiality and anonymity cannot be guaranteed, however every effort will be made to ensure the confidentiality of your name and identity; this is especially so in the focus group as the other participants may reveal certain information. In the handling of data, you will be represented by a number so that

your identity is known to only the researcher. No information that could identify you will be included in either the interview transcripts or the research report. The interview material (tapes and transcripts) will not be seen or heard by any person other than my research supervisor and me, and will only be processed by myself. Tapes and transcripts will also be kept in a secure location in the Psychology department, with restricted access by means of password protection. The videotapes may be kept for future research. You may refuse to answer questions you do not want to, and you may choose to stop participation in the study at any point. The findings of this study will be reported in a research report, which will be submitted to the Psychology department of the University of the Witwatersrand. The findings of this study may also be published in a research journal. A summary of the research findings will be made available to you on request.

You are unlikely to experience any harm in the participation of this research. However, the process will be explained to you and should it be found that you have experienced any distress as a result of your participation in the study, contact details for relevant and free counselling services have been provided on this form. Assistance will also be given in contacting these services and you will be given a referral letter.

If you choose to participate in the study please complete the Consent Forms attached. I will contact you within two weeks in order to discuss your participation. Alternatively I can be contacted telephonically +2779 319 7767 or via e-mail at j.grant.richards@gmail.com. My supervisor, Dr. Malose Langa, may be contacted via e-mail at Malose.Langa@wits.ac.za.

Whilst there are no direct benefits to participating in this study, this research will contribute greatly to an area that otherwise lacks in informative and meaningful information which may then be used to benefit the livelihood of others.

Kind Regards,

_____

James Grant Richards

Masters student in Psychology

Department of Psychology

University of the Witwatersrand

<u>Free Counselling Services</u> –Lifeline - 0861 322 322

APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM

I_____understand that this is a consent form that will allow my responses in the focus groups to be used in a study conducted by James Richards. This is a study on the practice of *skhothane* in light of masculinity and class. All the information gathered in this study will be treated with the strictest confidentiality.

I understand that:

- Participation in this research is voluntary.
- I may withdraw from the study at any time.
- I have the right not to answer questions that I do not want to.
- No information that may identify me will be included in the research report.
- Direct quotes from the interview may be used in the final report.
- My identity will be protected
- There are no risks or benefits involved in the study.
- The tapes will be locked in a cupboard with restricted access and kept safely throughout the research process.
- The tapes will be heard only by the researcher and supervisor of the study.

Signed: _____

Name: _____   Date: _____

APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORM FOR VIDEO TAPING

I _____ understand that this is a consent form that will allow my responses in the focus group will be videotaped; this study is conducted by James Grant Richards and is concerned with the practice of *skhothane* with regard to masculinity and class. All the information gathered in this study will be treated with the strictest confidentiality.

I understand that:

- No identifying information will be included in the research report.
- The tapes will be locked in a cupboard with restricted access and kept safe throughout the research process.
- The tapes will be heard only be the researcher and supervisor of the study.
- Direct quotes of the discussion may be used in the final report but will omit identifying information.

Signed: _____

Name: _____   Date: _____

APPENDIX D: INFORMATION LETTER TO THE PRINCIPAL

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITSWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

School of Human and Community Development

Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel: (Oil) 717-4500 Fax: (Oil) 717-4559 Email:
018lucy@muse. wits, ac.za

Dear Principal,

My name is James Grant Richards, and I am doing a study as part of my training for a Masters degree in Community-Based Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. I would like to invite students from your high school to participate in this study. The aim of the study is to explore the contextual factors that influence individuals to engage in the practice of being a *skhothane*. The focus of the study is on masculinity and class. This research is important as it will gain insight into the formation of masculine identities in adolescence and critically challenge the dominant ideologies that influence individuals to act in particular ways, outlining the factors that may instead be influencing individuals.

The research is qualitative in nature that will require focus groups to gain the data necessary. These interviews will be scheduled at a suitable time for the school and participants involved. Participation in the study is voluntary, and you may withdraw your school from the study at any time. Participation of the learners is also voluntary and they have the right to withdraw at any time. No person will be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way for choosing to participate or not to participate in the study.

For ethical reasons the learners will have to sign and return the consent forms before they participate in the study. The information obtained from the interviews will be confidential (within reason), as the research material will be heard by other participants my supervisor and me. No identifying information, of the participants or of the school, will be divulged in the research report.

On completion of the study, the findings will be written up in a final report, that will be made available to you should you request feedback. If you are in agreement and willing to permit participation, please sign the attached consent form.

Should you have any further enquiries, do not hesitate to contact me on 0793197767, or my supervisor Dr. Malose Langa on (011) 717 4536 or via email at Malose.Langa@wits.ac.za.

Your participation in this study would be greatly appreciated.
Kind Regards

_____

James Grant Richards

APPENDIX E: PRINCIPAL CONSENT FORM

I_____ read the information sheet and understand that the research project involves the participation of learners in my school. I understand that:

- Participation in this research is voluntary.
- Learners will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way if they choose to participate or not to participate in this study.
- Learners may withdraw from the study at any time.
- Identifying information will be omitted in the research report.
- There are no anticipated risks or benefits by participating in the study.
- Direct quotes may be used for the final report.
- The tapes will be accessible only to the researcher and her supervisor.

I also confirm that the research procedure, and the afore-mentioned has been explained to me.

Signature: _____   Date: _____

       Principal

APPENDIX F: FOCUS GROUP SCHEDULE

The focus group will begin with a video designed by myself so as to give the group some direction in terms of what to discuss. The video is comprised of edited clips from documentaries investigating the practice. Images with the individual carrying out the mechanisms and practices of the phenomenon will be shown; such as the tearing of money and destroying of clothes. In addition to this, parents talking about the link between the past and the present will be used so as to gain an insight into that link and the significance of contextual factors. The capturing of discussions surrounding class and class identities will be shown so that the issue of class can be discussed.

Interview schedule:
- What does this video mean for you?
- Why are you *izikhothane*?
- Do you wear the expensive clothing every day or only at events?
- If your parents pay for your clothing, why do you think that they do?
- What do you think of boys who go to school outside of the townships?
- What do you think of boys living outside of townships?
- What do you think of boys with degrees?
- Why do you destroy some of the items that you buy?
- What brands are important and why those brands?
- Where do you see yourselves in 10 years?
- Is this a way of life or a way to fight life?

APPENDIX G: ETHICS FORMS

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
Ethics Application Form **for** *Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC Non-Medical)*
(Revised December 2012)

Use this form in applying for clearance of research involving human participants

Instructions

1. Completed applications must be submitted to the Research Office approximately three weeks before each of the monthly meetings. The deadlines are available on the Wits Research website http://www.wits.ac.za/academic/research/ethics.htm/7075/ethics.html
2. Applications must be submitted as hard copies, one of which must be an original (see checklist below for numbers of copies required). Electronic submissions will not be accepted.
3. All submissions and materials must be typed. Handwritten submissions are **NOT** acceptable.
4. Incomplete applications will **NOT** be considered.
5. Applications will **NOT** be processed if signatures from applicant or supervisor are missing.
6. Photocopying should be done 'back-to-back' to save paper.
7. Glossy and fancy binding is **NOT** necessary.
8. Necessary supporting documents (e.g. *Participant Information Sheet, Consent Form*, copies of instruments), must be stapled to the *Ethics Application Form.*

Complete this checklist to show what documents you have submitted.

☑ **Check list**

		No. of copies required
For all research:		
	Completed *Ethics Application Form*	15
	Copies of the research proposal	4
	Copies of proposed research instruments (e.g. questionnaires/interview schedules)	4
	Participant Information Sheet (for each different sample group)	4
	Consent Form [*Assent Form* for under 18s] (for participant's signature) (for each different sample group)	4
Where applicable (Attach to this form):		
	Relevant permissions (from, e.g. company's HR department, National authorities such as Education, Correctional Services, etc.) or other legally required consent	4
	Any other appropriate consent forms (e.g. consent forms for members of focus groups, consent forms (for video or photography), etc.	4
	Guardian *Consent Form* (for participants under the age of 18)	4
	Other (please specify)	4

DECLARATION

I recognise that it is my responsibility to conduct my research in an ethical manner according to Guidelines of the University of the Witwatersrand, according to any laws and/or legal frameworks that may apply, and according to the norms and expectations of my discipline.

In preparing this Application for Ethics Clearance form, I have consulted the ***Guidelines for Human Research Ethics Clearance Application /non-medical*** (available on this web site

http://web.wits.ac.za/Academic/Research/Applications.htm) and have familiarised myself with the ethical guidelines specific to my discipline.

Signature _____

Name of researcher/applicant _____

1. Researcher's personal data

Surname: Richards			Name: James Grant				
Title:	☐ Prof	☐ Dr	X Mr	☐ Ms	☐ Mrs	☐ Other:	

School:	Psychology					
Staff / Student number:	384021	X	Full time	☐ Part time	☐ Staff	
Your telephone(s):	079 319 7767					
Your Email:	j.grant.richards@gmail.com					
Name of Supervisor (if applicable):	Malose Langa					
Supervisor's email address:	Malose.langa@wits.ac.za					
Supervisor's tel. number(s):	011 7174536					

2. Specifics about the research project

Title of research project

Skhothane: Masculinity and Class amongst young men in Katlehong Township, South Africa

Is this research for degree purposes?	X Yes	☐ No	
If so, for what degree?	☐ Honours	☐ Masters (dissertation) X Masters (research report)	
	☐ PhD	☐ Other (specify):	
Has it been approved by the relevant higher degrees committee or other relevant unit?	☐ Yes	☐ No	X Submitted & pending

List the names and affiliations of any _additional_ researchers who will be covered by this ethics protocol

Where will the research be carried out?

The research will be carried out in a school in Katlehong; however snowballing will be used and so the research may expand outside of the school to a venue within the community that is suitable for the researcher and the participants.

What are the aims and objectives of the research? (Please list; be brief)

The aim of this research is to investigate izikhothane as a masculine identity and the context that it has arisen from with an emphasis on class. This research also aims to discover more about masculinity in post-apartheid South Africa in

terms of its development, maintenance and practices or manifestations again with regard to the contexts in which they arise; namely class exploitation.

Do you have any financial or material interest associated with your research participants or with the organisations that you will work with during your research?			
☐	Yes	X No	☐ Potential conflicts of interest may exist
Please explain how you will manage any existing or potential conflicts of interest, if applicable.			

INFORMATION RELATING TO ETHICAL MATTERS
Protocols submitted to the Committee must have sufficient information to enable the committee to judge the ethical implications of the proposed research. Please be brief and concise but also as specific and informative as possible

3.	**Formal permission**				
Has appropriate formal permission been obtained, if required (e.g. employer, government department, land owner, etc.)?					
	Yes (attached)		Not required	X	Pending (must be supplied before permission is granted)
Obtaining permission is necessary when conducting research *within the premises* of a particular site such as an ethnography of the functioning of a supermarket or a school, or the way staff interact with clients in a clinic, or of how the HIV Unit in the City of Johannesburg functions. Please read the detailed guidelines on the Ethics website http://web.wits.ac.za/Academic/Research/Applications.htm					

4.	**How will data on human research participants be collected** (instruments, methods, procedures)? (**Attach instruments as an appendix**)
	In written format (e.g. questionnaires, diagnostic tests, etc.)
	Completion of on-line instruments (e.g. questionnaires)
	Individual interviews (e.g. structured, semi-structured, etc.)
X	Group interviews (e.g. seminar/discussion groups, focus groups, etc.)
	Ethnographic observation, participant observation, other informal descriptive, and/ or interactive methods
	Community-based methods or techniques such as drama workshops, community theatre, training workshops, participant rural appraisal (PRA), rapid rural appraisal (RRA), etc.
	Research on/in therapeutic or counselling contexts
	Observation of public performance, and/or public behaviour observation
X	Photography, video and/or audio recording (**specific separate consent forms may be required**)
	Other research methods or techniques (specify in this line).
Brief details of instruments to be used (attach instrument or draft to this application)

5.	**Who will the research participants be**?				
Brief description of human participants, including age range and sample size, <u>for each sample</u>: The participants will be individuals between and including the ages of 18 and 20. The will be students and will be recruited from a school.					
Does this research expose either the participant or the researcher to any potential risks or harm that they would not otherwise be exposed to?		Yes	X	No
If 'yes', explain:					

Will research involve vulnerable categories?		Yes	X	No

If so, state which ones:

How will any existing vulnerabilities among research participants be addressed?

NB: The term 'vulnerable categories' includes, among others, children under 18, orphans, prisoners, persons with cognitive or communication disorders, people who are traumatised or currently in traumatic situations.

Where necessary, include details of steps to be taken to facilitate data collection across language barriers (e.g. interpretation or translation).

6. How will informed consent be obtained?

How will potential participants be identified / selected / recruited?
The participants will be recruited from school and will be done so by advertising the study at the school. Once the participants have been recruited the process will be explained to them in a clear manner. Written consent will be sought from each individual to participate in the focus group and to be video recorded.

What will participants be told about the research (including the promises to be made)?
The advertisements will merely state that research is being conducted on *izikhothane* and that individuals engaging in this practice will be welcome to participate.

How will informed consent be obtained?

X	Formal (Signed form)		Informal (e.g. verbal)		Other

Briefly explain your strategy for ensuring informed consent
The process will be explained to the participants in full and then asked to sign consent forms which again explains what signing entails. Content for participation in the study as well as being video recorded will be sought.

Attach *Participant Information Sheets* and *Consent Forms* for each sample group, and/or other related materials

NB*: Consent* in social science and humanities research involving human participants: Where informal ethnographic or participant observation methods are used, or where signed *Consent Forms* are not possible, or for research involving group contexts (focus group, Participant Rapid Assessment, Rapid Rural Appraisal, public performance, workshops) **state how the quality of informed consent will be assured**. It is essential that participants in research be fully informed and agree, on this basis, to participate in the research.

7. Protecting participant identities

Can **confidentiality** be guaranteed?		Yes	X	No
Can **anonymity** be guaranteed in resulting reports, theses and/or publications?	X	Yes		No

Explain how this will be done? (What will participants be told in this regard?)
As it is focus groups that are being conducted confidentiality can only be guaranteed from the research. The other participants can only be informed of the process in terms of confidentiality as I cannot guarantee that they themselves will keep confidentiality.
Anonymity will be maintained as pseudonyms will be used instead of the participants' names. The identity of the participants will only be known to my supervisor and me.

NB: While confidentiality may be desirable, it cannot be guaranteed in, for example, focus groups, or ethnographic observation. Similarly anonymity should be preserved in questionnaires, but cannot be offered in workshop methodologies, focus group research, etc. Participants should have the right to remain anonymous in the final report, and this must be respected in handling of all data relating to them. Participants need to be informed about these issues.

8. Protection of data during and after the research	

How will the data be protected while the research is in progress? (This includes how the identities of participants will be protected).
Pseudonyms will be used instead of participant names. As for the data, it will be secured at all times when not in use.

What is to be **done with the research data** after completion of the project?

	Stored in archives (specify)		Stored in on-line data base (specify)
X	Stored in password protected computer		Stored in digital form with all identifying feature removed
	Destroyed after 5 years (insert numbers of years)		

Explain how the data will be securely stored during this time
On a password protected computer; the password will only be known by me.

NB: 'Raw' or unprocessed data, especially **where the identity or personal data of research participants is included, must be safeguarded** and preserved from unauthorised access. Data may be destroyed after use, but **preservation in an archive or personal collection** may also be appropriate, desirable or even essential. For instance, data sets that contain **historically important information** or information that relates to **national heritage** must be preserved and should be placed in a public archive where possible and appropriate.

All data should be preserved in a way that **respects the nature of the original participants' consent**. If you are unsure about the procedure of data management and storage, please contact Nina Lewin (ninalewin@gmail.com)

9. Access to the research results / reports	

How will the results be **reported**?
The results will be written up in the form of a research report contributing towards the completion of a Masters degree.

Who will have access?
The general public will have access once submitted and marked. They will have access through the internet and the University libraries. If the report is published it will be made available through the journal.

Note: All Wits Masters and PhDs are stored in the main library as well being made available on the www.

SIGNATURES (REQUIRED)

In signing this form, the researcher and supervisor (if any) of this project undertake to ensure that any amendments to this project that are required by the Human Research Ethics Committee are made before the project commences.

Declaration: We, the signatories, declare that all information on this form is correct and that we will strive to maintain the highest ethical standards in this research at all times, according to disciplinary and university expectations, recognising that ethical practice in research is always a continuing process.

	Date	Name	Signature
Applicant	08/03/2013	James Grant Richards	
Supervisor	08/03/2013	Malose Langa	

APPENDIX H: SUPERVISION CONTRACT

This contract is intended to help us to clarify the expectations of each other surrounding research and supervision of research.

As a supervisor I will expect you to:

- Adhere to all times in the research contract or progress schedule established between us.
- Accepting research responsibility for this research project.
- Providing the supervisor with word-processed documents checked for spelling, grammar and typographical errors.
- Maintain acceptable levels of interest and commitment to your project.
- Inform me (the supervisor) of problems that are affecting your progress. These problems may include academic and resource problems.

As a student I will expect you to:

- Guide me to the relevant literature sources.
- Advise me on the overall goals, objectives and scope of the project
- Alert me of personal strengths and limitations.
- At all times to show interest in what I'm doing.
- Comment on the content and draft chapters of my project.
- To provide me with constructive criticism.

We the signed parties endorse the expectations and undertake to meet them as stated above.

……………………………   …………………………….

Learner   Supervisor

Date: ………………………..

APPENDIX I: SUPERVISOR'S CHECKLIST

Supervisor's Name: _____

Student's Name: _____

Programme: _____

Course Coordinator: _____

Title of Research: _____

_____

_____

	Appropriately Reflected	Not Applicable
A. Participant Information Sheet		
• Appropriate Greeting		
• Uses accessible language (appropriate to sample)		
• Researcher is introduced		
• Nature of research explained and motivated		
• Participants **invited** to participate		
• Guarantee of confidentiality		
• Guarantee of anonymity		
• Mechanisms of anonymity/confidentiality explained		
• Clear explanation of risks (even if none)		
• Clear explanation of benefits (even if none)		
• Clear explanation of what participation will involve		
• Right to withdraw explained (for interviews)		
• Explanation of how results will be disseminated		

• Explanation of where participants can access results		

• If recording:
    ➢ Request permission
    ➢ Explanation of how tapes will be kept
    ➢ Explanation that tapes will be destroyed		

• If research is sensitive:
    ➢ Arrangement for accessible counselling
    ➢ Statement of contact details for counselling
    ➢ Statement that it will be free		

• Contact details of researcher stated		

	Appropriately Reflected	Not Applicable
B. Consent Forms: Interviews		
• Guarantee of confidentiality		
• Explanation of risks and benefits (even if none)		
• Right to withdraw		
• Right not to answer question/s		
• Use of direct quotes		
• Signature of participant		
B. Guardian Consent Forms (14 years or younger):		
• Guarantee of confidentiality		
• Explanation of risks and benefits (even if none)		
• Right to withdraw		
• Right not to answer question/s		
• Use of direct quotes		
• Signature of guardian		
B. Assent Forms (14 years or younger):		
• Guarantee of confidentiality		
• Explanation of risks and benefits (even if none)		
• Right to withdraw		
• Right not to answer question/s		
• Use of direct quotes		
• Signature of participant		
B. Recording Consent:		
• Identity will be protected		
• Access to tapes restricted		
• Safe keeping of tapes		
• Tapes will be destroyed		

• Signature of participant		

Supervisor's input:	YES	NO
The sample is vulnerable		
The research is minimal risk/non-invasive		
The researcher's personal safety is compromised		
The research is appropriate for student's level of expertise		
The ethics proposal and research proposal match on issues of procedure, measures and ethics		

Supervisor's signature: _____

APPENDIX J: PLAGIARISM FORM

Word Count: _____   Copies submitted:

_____

Declaration

I, _____, know and accept that plagiarism (to use another's work and to pretend that it is one's own) is wrong. Consequently, I declare that

- o   This research proposal is my own work

- o   I have correctly acknowledged all direct quotations and paraphrased content

- o   I have provided a complete, alphabetised reference list, as required by the American Psychological Association (APA) 6th edition method of referencing

- o   I have not allowed anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as their own

- o   I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this is not my own unaided work, or that I have failed to acknowledge the source of the content in my writing

- o   The word count given above is correct

Signed: _____

Date: _____