Dunoon, *iKasi lami* (my township): young people and the performance of belonging in a South African township

Presented in partial fulfilment of the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology

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Table of contents

Abstract

This study focuses on young people and how they etch a sense of belonging in the cosmopolitan city of Cape Town, in multicultural, post-apartheid South Africa. The study mainly focuses on a group of performers known as Black Ink Arts Movement (Black Ink), who are based in Du Noon township, near Cape Town, South Africa. The study looks at how young people who are involved in community performance projects; it also engages with their varied audiences. Lastly, the thesis shows the performers' day to day lives when they are not on stage to see what it means to be young and black in Du Noon as a member of Black Ink.

In this thesis, I argue that those who reside on the social margins of the country's cities have etched an identity for themselves, which has, over time, been represented and heralded as an authentic township identity. It is within this space that many black South Africans find their sense of belonging to the city, as the township offers a social and cultural life that is absent elsewhere in the city. I investigate the contestations and authentication processes of the township space through theatre performances and embodiment by the young people in the township of Dunoon, Cape Town, and other ways of being through the different use of the concept of performance. During this project I have found that the young men in my study make sense of their own world during performances, and it also during these performances that they confront and negotiate their sense of self.

The thesis was based on ethnographic research, which was carried out in Dunoon and other spaces in Cape Town between the months of May and September 2012. During my time in the field I had informal discussions with my research collaborators, their neighbours, sponsors, and friends; I also carried out life history interviews, and attended formal theatre performances in which my collaborators took part. My research collaborators also embarked on an auto-photography project where they were asked to capture images of their everyday lives.

Keywords

Performance
Belonging
Young people
‘Identity’
Space
Authenticity
Cape Town
Dunoon township
Black Ink Arts Movement
Theatre

Declaration

I declare that "Dunoon, *iKasi lami* : young people and the performance of belonging in a South African township" is my own work, that is has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Lerato Michelle Makhale May 2013

Signed:

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

There is a common notion of Africans[1] being excluded from Cape Town, especially poor marginal township residents (http://reconciliationbarometer.org). As a result of apartheid's policy, 'homelands' were created where Africans would live, and were therefore excluded from residing in the cities. In Cape Town particularly, Africans were permitted to be in the city only as a result of their employment contract, as Africans were needed for labour. While Cape Town due to its peculiar history may be a special case, issues of belonging, which are inevitably linked to issues of inclusion and exclusion have not only become salient in Africa today, but elsewhere in the world too. Globally, issues of citizenship and belonging - and with them nationality - are becoming ever more complex. For example, Nyamnjoh (2006) in his 'Introduction' to Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and Xenophobia in Contemporary Southern Africa cites a few telling examples of the complexities of belonging in Africa: the crisis of citizenship in Rwanda that led to a genocidal bloodbath in 1994 (Mamdani, 2001 cf. Nyamnjoh, 2006: 3), and "the conflict on Cote d'Ivoire fuelled by competing and exclusionary claims of Ivoirette" (ICG, 2004 cf. Nyamnjoh, 2006: 3). Peter Geschiere in Perils of Belonging: Autochthony, Citizenship, and Exclusion in Europe and Africa (2009) refers to 'autochthonous' belonging: autochthonous means tied to the soil, where he argues that – for example – in Africans states, autochthony now plays a major part, especially in the political arena, as a result of competition over resources as a result of development efforts, in the face of in and outmigration.

In this thesis I focus on the performances by young men in Dunoon and their use of theatrical space in the portrayal of the township space, and township life. This study will investigate the ways in which young people from a township such as Philippi carve out a sense of identity for themselves, and how through self-stylization and performance (of the everyday and of marked, formal events) they are able to claim their belonging and citizenship to a cosmopolitan city in post-apartheid South Africa. Some of the questions this project asks are:

[1] 'African' and 'black' are used interchangeably in South Africa and so do I throughout the thesis. In the previous dispensation, the category of 'black' was assigned to people of African descent. In post-apartheid South Africa, 'black' refers to Indians, coloured and Chinese people. Currently, previous classifications of 'white', 'coloured' and 'black' are still being used, because South Africans still use them, and also to redress inequalities of the past.

how are identities and formal performance events produced, contested, authenticated and framed as 'genuine' township experiences? How is the audience positioned relative to the performers? How do they participate and respond to the staged performances? And what does it mean to be young and black in Dunoon?

My project forms part of a wider interdisciplinary project on performance, belonging and citizenship in contemporary South Africa, which looks at how performances are mediated, how matters of inclusion and exclusion in terms of politics of belonging are connected to performances and the significance of aesthetic strategies in configuring citizenship (Becker *et al.* 2010). Some of the questions the project asks are: "how do forms of performance mediate what it means to be South African in the contemporary era?" and "how are such performances connected with politics of belonging and the concomitant dynamics of inclusion and exclusion" (*ibid.*: 1). The project investigates how different cultural identities are performed as authentic, in the context of South Africa's rainbow nation, and the "global discourses of multiculturalism" (*ibid.*: 2). The concept of performance is significant in this case for understanding the 'making' of social identities and belonging as it emphasises on the process (how cultural difference is mobilised) and how it is enacted.

1.2 Young people in contemporary South Africa

Young people all over the world, especially in Africa, have attracted much academic debate and writing over the last few years, according to Assistant Professor of East African History, Thomas Burgess (2005). Young people are located at the centre of "Africa's opportunities, challenges and crises" of the early twenty-first century (ibid: 2), yet much of the literature to emerge recently has fore grounded the contemporary "youth crisis", with reference to key issues such as the spread of HIV/AIDS, underage pregnancy, violence, drug abuse, and massive unemployment. Burgess asserts that, quoting Abbink (2005: 7), "to be young in Africa [has come] to mean being disadvantaged, vulnerable and marginal in the political and economic sense". Young people thus are constructed as victims, but not agents. In South Africa, the young people of the post-apartheid moment are constantly compared to the young people of '76, who took to the streets for a common political and social purpose: they stood in opposition to Afrikaans as a medium of instruction as a demonstration of active citizenship (Enslin, 2003: 76).

Often portrayed as 'problems' and victims, young people have also been linked to consumption. Elaine Salo's (2003) research in the coloured township of Manenberg in Cape Town, found that many young people who reside in that township desire to occupy previously-white (cosmopolitan) spaces, such as nightclubs and malls, and that to do so requires they be able to afford it. Since the abolishment of the Group Areas[2] and Separate Amenities Acts[3] in the 1990's, everyone in the country has the democratic right to access public spaces. In that case, the soap operas broadcast through the media and the use of public transportation become ways in which these spaces are accessible to these young people. This suggests that as a result of Appadurai's (1996) ethno- and mediascapes, people learn about different lifestyles, behaviour and dress code without leaving the home. For the high school students in their study, and resonating from the university students in my study from my honours project as well, it can be argued that the occupation of the now-cosmopolitan, previously-denied spaces in the city, and the great consumption of fashion can be associated with upward mobility: both social and financial.

The 'desires' of which I have mentioned speak to the young people's relationship with the postcolonial city. Living on the margins of the city, they are, in a way, marginalised: economically and socially to say the least. Accessing the 'city life' through the media, aesthetics, and by public transport, illustrates the township's young residents' efforts to belong in the wider society. Through their "presentation of self in everyday life" (Goffman, 1959), in the way in which they style themselves, the register of language they use, the spaces they occupy, the commodities they acquire, and the diverse influence by popular culture and social interactions, I deem it pertinent to provide an ethnographic study of a group of township young people that do performance in the form of marked events that differ from the performance of everyday life.

In urban anthropology, previous studies have mostly focused on race as the central issue of investigation. How well the migrants from rural areas have been able to integrate themselves in the modern city, as opposed to the 'backward' life they (or previous generations in their families) lived in the rural areas comes again into question in this study, as we see how young

[2] The Act laid down legal provisions on the specific areas where different population groups could own property, reside and work (http://www.sahistory.org.za).
[3] The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (Act No 49 of 1953) enforced the segregation of all public facilities. This included all forms of transport, buildings and facilities that were open to the public. The main aim was to eliminate any and all contact between white people and other 'races'. (http://www.southendmuseum.co.za)

people in townships in the Cape Town see themselves as part of a modern and democratic society, yet different as a result of being *kasi*[4] (township) citizens.

Representations of the township space – especially through contemporary cinema - suggest that in contemporary South Africa the township space has become a way of representing an essentialised black 'identity'. The visual aestheticisation of this space speaks to the fetishisation of the township space in the popular imagination of South Africans (Ellapen, 2007: 124). The township space became a place of convergence within which many black South Africans found their sense of belonging. How much of the cinematic representations of the town ship space and life in a 'genuine' South African township is internalised by its young inhabitants? And how is this performed on stage?

I found Hauptfleish's (1997) use and theorisation, in his chapter 'Reflections on the mirror: theories, diagrams and definitions', of the metaphor of the mirror in his discussion on the relationship between theatre and society, that there is a relationship between performance and the socio-cultural context in which it occurs. Artists, he says, mirror certain aspects of their experience in a given community through their performance, be it political, economical or emotional, on stage (1997: 1-2, see Coplan, 1985 and Kruger, 1999 on the history of the drama of South Africa). It is here that I ask: what sorts of stories arise from individuals from the townships that are enacted on stage? And how are these stories (narratives, rather) framed as 'genuine' township experiences? There are three concepts which are central to this thesis, the first two – performance and identity – are discussed next, and belonging will be dealt with in Chapter 5.

1.3 'Identity' revisited

In the face of immense socio/political change that has taken place in South Africa since 1994, we see and hear a lot of politicians and public figures talking about 'identity'. We hear statements such as 'being Xhosa is my identity' (Becker, 2010), or as Becker (2008) also found in her study on UWC undergraduate students, that coloured students repeatedly mentioned their lack of 'culture', and therefore, I conclude, a lack of identity; in contemporary South African discourse the two terms are being used interchangeably. This

[4] *Kasi* means township or 'location' as per the term assigned to a black residential area during apartheid. *Kasi* or *ikasi* (used interchangeably) was historically *lokasie.*

reveals two main problems with the concept of identity being that 'identity' is something that a person is born with, and secondly, that a person's 'identity' is constant throughout their lifetime.

Cooper and Brubaker (2000) have put through a rather radical, though fascinating critique of the notion of 'identity', which proposes that we discard identity as an analytical category due to the use and abuse of the concept. More importantly, they argue that the concept of identity has been re-ified, as opposed to how it should be seen – as fluid, constructed and multiple. In Dolby's (2001) study of students of a multi-racial high school in Durban in the 1990's, it was not only the concept of 'identity' that was essentialized by young people and members of staff, but so were the concepts 'culture' and 'race'. Dolby followed at least one of the suggestions brought forward by Cooper and Brubaker (2000) about using the concept of identification and not 'identity', and demonstrated throughout her work who were the specific agents that were doing the identifying, and how they identified themselves. Reflected also in the ethnography, was the difference between how students identified themselves, and how others identified them, and how students described each other and themselves. The young people in her study categorised themselves according to a particular 'race', thereby having a certain culture as a result of their taste in music and mode of dress. For example, white people listen to rave and techno music, while coloured learners wore loose jeans and striped tops.

Garuba and Radithlalo (2008) posit that 'culture' is significantly under-theorised "and often treated in various curricular applications as a rigidly bounded set of values and linguistic or folkloric practices" (McCarthy, 2001: 1). An interesting example of how teachers misunderstand the class dynamics and student identifications is where one of the English teachers taught the class about Chinua Achebe's (1958) *Things Fall Apart*, and assume that the majority of the class (which were black students) would be able identify with the themes and characters in the book. An 'authentic' African tradition/ identity was imagined for the black students, who identified more with global trends than traditional Zulu customs. In fact, one of the students interviewed said that Zulu dancing and rhythmic movements did not come naturally to her, she had to learn them. So within the classrooms of Fernwood – a pseudonym for a previously white, now multiracial high school, the old definitions of culture pervade.

Rather, Dolby suggests, culture should be thought of as a process. That brings us to the concept of performance.

1.4 What is in a 'Performance'

In contemporary studies, the concept of performance can be used to analyse the resurgence of issues of culture and 'identity'. Whereas previous the two were considered to be static and fixed, recent studies have shown the fluidity of 'identity' and the sometimes constructed nature of culture. I agree with one of the arguments made by Becker (2011: 6) that "endeavours of re-theorizing culture will benefit immensely from drawing on the notion of performance, as both an object of analysis, and a metaphor and an analytical tool of social analysis."

The concept of performance is one of multiple roots (Becker, 2011) and is used in a myriad of ordinary, everyday conversations about a myriad of things from all walks of life. This chapter, though, does not trace the entire genealogy of performance, but outlines some of its roots, and some of the ways in which the concept has been used academically.

The concept of performance surfaced in the 1950's when Erving Goffman, in his influential The *Presentation of Self in Everyday life* (1959), where he made a link between theatricality as a metaphor for everyday life. In the 1970's, Victor Turner (1974) took a different perspective of the concept as he was concerned with ritual and symbolism, and therefore looked at marked cultural events. Another key figure was Schechner (2003), the founder of Performance Studies, who distinguished between the formal performance events: acts which were performative, so were of a 'becoming' nature, and acts that could be considered as performances (in the Goffmanian sense) – as discussed by Becker (2011) and Becker *et al.* (2010).

In the humanities and the social sciences, there was a paradigmatic shift which was known as the performative turn, which held performance as a central concept. Through the performative turn, we are able to conceptualise human behaviour in relation to the context in which it occurs. Relative to this is the concept of performativity, which philosopher and gender theorist Judith Butler is known for. In her use of the concept, we see how important

the audience is of a particular performance. So in the context of gender, she argues that gender is not what someone is but rather what a person does (Butler, 1988).

So from the above we can already see two clear schools of thought: on the one hand, Goffman was particularly interested in the everyday, and that for him, performance was about a conscious act, performance enacted like following a script. On the other hand, Schechner and Turner emphasised that performance was a process, and is in the making, as opposed to an act – that which may be considered fake. This was discussed in depth in Becker (2011), which has led to the conceptualisation/theorisation proposed by Becker of performance as "embodied symbolic enactment".

1.5 Moving forward

The aim of this study is to explore how young people negotiate their identities as young, black South African citizens through performance, and looks at how these young people, as agents are etching new ways of belonging to the city. I argue that through performance, the young people in my study are able to reflect the process they have undergone to be the people they are, and that through performance these 'township identities' are portrayed authentically South African. I argue also that 'identity' is context-based, and therefore reflects the young men's agency. I ethnographically explore how young people from Dunoon township produce 'township identities' through performance, and how these identities are portrayed as authentically South African.

As part of my research for this project, I worked closely with a number of young performers from Dunoon who do mostly theatre performances. I not only spent a few months in Dunoon with my collaborators in their home spaces, but I also attended theatre performances as a member of the audience where they performed to other theatre performers or other young people. I detail the process in the following chapter.

1.6 Outline of the thesis

Chapter Two provides a glimpse of the research site in which the research was conducted, and also introduces my research collaborators involved in this study. I will detail how knowledge was produced in the context of my fieldwork, using ethnography, amidst limitations or shortcomings encountered, and reflect on the research process. It will also detail the risks involved in fieldwork, where they stem from, and how they were overcome.

Chapter Three argues that 'identities' are tested and negotiated during the course of a theatrical performance, and looks at formal performance events by Black Ink at different venues, and under different contexts to prove this. With an interest in the narratives produced by the actors for audience consumption, this chapter will also look at the relationship between the aims of community theatre, performers and their varied audiences.

Chapter Four follows from the previous chapter and focuses on the everyday life experiences of my research collaborators in Dunoon township. It goes beyond 'identity' and demonstrates the ways in which the young men from Black Ink are exceptional as compared to their counterparts.

Chapter Five focuses on the politics of belonging in a township, on the periphery of a cosmopolitan city in South Africa. The chapter makes a link between belonging, memory and the senses, such as taste and sight; it looks at how the young men in my study make Cape Town their 'home'.

Chapter Six concludes the thesis by outlining the main aims of the study and discusses key findings of the research.

Chapter Two: Fieldwork in a South African township

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I provide a description of the research site in which the research occurred, and also introduce the research collaborators involved in this study. I will detail how knowledge was produced in the context of my fieldwork, using ethnography, amidst limitations or shortcomings encountered, and reflect on the research process. It will also detail the risks involved in fieldwork, where they stem from, and how they were overcome.

2.2 Brief background on Dunoon

My study took place in the city of Cape Town, located at the southern tip of Africa. It is home to over three million people (Field & Swanson, 2007: 4) from diverse backgrounds. Known as the 'mother city' - as it was the first area of European settlement in Southern Africa and developed as a town as a result of its location on the trade route between Europe and Asia (www.sahistory.org.za) - Cape Town boasts magnificent landmarks such as Table Mountain and Table Bay. As one of the major tourism places in the country, Cape Town offers tourists a chance to see and experience the landscape, such as a hike up Table Mountain, and engage with nature while having a picnic at the scenic Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens, but also get an opportunity to mingle with the local people of that area and learn more about their everyday lives.

I conducted ethnographic fieldwork from May until September 2012 in Dunoon township, near Milnerton. Milnerton is a suburb situated near the Atlantic Ocean, a mere 11 kilometres to the north of Cape Town's city centre. Milnerton is known for its luxurious gated communities, trendy apartment blocks, and its abundance of recreational activities such as golf clubs, restaurants, surfing and canoeing. The Milnerton area includes Century City which was the first area of European settlement in Southern Africa and developed as a town as a result of its location on the trade route between Europe and Asia (www.sahistory.org.za) Dunoon, Joe Slovo Park which is a small township designed to replace the shack settlement of Marconi Beam, and Lagoon Beach, to name a few. Finally, there is Dunoon, where my fieldwork took place.

The town of Dunoon (see Photograph 2.1) is situated to the east of Table View – a west coast suburb of Cape Town named after its view of Table Mountain, and north of Killarney Gardens - . The people who live in Dunoon are very poor: only 47% of the population was employed by 2001 and many live in 'wendy houses' in the back-yard of brick houses. Unemployment levels are high (56% as of 2001 according to StatsSA), with many of those who are being employed being domestic workers in the nearby affluent areas (www.milnerton.info). Dunoon forms part of the provincial government's RDP housing project that was meant to accommodate people from the nearby informal settlement of Marconi Beam. Marconi housed race course grooms, stable hands and their families who migrated to Cape Town. Residents were moved from Marconi Beam to Joe Slovo and Dunoon by the end of 2000 (Cooper, 2009: 5-6)

Dunoon Township, near Cape Town, South Africa.

According to StatsSA (2001), 80% of the Dunoon residents earned less than R1600 a month. Statistics also reveal that the majority of Dunoon residents do not progress beyond Grade 7. Of the total population, African Xhosa speakers make up the majority of the population in Dunoon.

It is alleged by a few newspapers, one of which is West Cape News (04/05/2013) – an independent news agency that specialises in providing news content and photographic content to client such as Cape Times, Cape Argus, Daily Sun, to name a few , that Dunoon was one of the first areas where the 2008 xenophobic attacks occurred. West Cape News also state that some of the foreign nationals that live in Dunoon, and rent RDP houses from the

local residents, are from countries Zimbabwe, Malawi, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Mozambique. Many of Dunoon residents rely on income generated either through renting out property or a room, or a minibus taxi (taxi) load. The newspaper reports that since the xenophobic attacks, the number of foreign nationals living in Dunoon has decreased, and so has the residents' potential income. The property owners claim that the locals were jealous of the fact that they were able to generate money to sustain them and their families through renting out their property to foreign nationals – not that the locals have are xenophobia in any shape or form.

I found the trip to Dunoon by taxi very fascinating: I currently live in Durbanville, a rural residential suburb on the northern outskirts of the metropolis, which is surrounded by farms producing wine and wheat with an African population of roughly 2% of the population (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Durbanville), and to get to Dunoon I must first catch a taxi to Bellville taxi rank, then another taxi to Dunoon. On our way from Bellville, located in the northern suburbs, the taxi passes affluent neighbourhoods before we head to Dunoon. The closer we get to Dunoon, the less 'scenic' the view becomes: less and less trees until eventually all one saw were factories and beach sand. If ever I fell asleep in the taxi (the ride from Bellville to Dunoon can take up to an hour on a good day), and woke up and did not see trees, then I knew we were close to Dunoon. After the taxi goes over a short bridge, one is instantly met with a view that some people may associate with local movies' stereotypical scene of a South African township: small houses made of corrugated iron cramped together in small yards, and lots of littered streets and broken sewage pipes, water running through the streets, and stray dogs feeding off rubbish dumps on street corners.

2.3.1 Unlocking gates

In 2011 I had hoped to get involved with a Cape Town based company named Cape Codes[5]. Cape Codes is a company that fosters community based projects through Audio Drama[6], Comic Arts, and Visual Media (www.capecodes.co.za). Cape Codes teaches young people

[5] The Cape Codes website has since been discontinued. At the time of my fieldwork, all Cape Codes activities had been put on hold since NGO IDASA (Institute for Democracy in Africa) – whose Cape Town offices Cape Codes was using for free - had moved to Pretoria, and therefore left Cape Codes without a base to work from.

[6] Audio drama is much like Liz Gunner's 'Zulu Radio Drama' (2000: 217-219).

from townships such as Dunoon, Phillippi – a relatively new township, Philippi is also one of Cape Town's largest townships - and Mitchell's Plain - a predominantly coloured township - drama, graphic arts, dramatic speak, and play-writing. Different performance groups made up of school learners and young project leaders who have experience through their involvement with previous Cape Codes' projects can be found throughout different townships within Cape Town. Cape Codes' objective, according to their website, was to get as many young people off the streets as possible, and teach them skills so that they be able to tell their own stories, and ultimately become entrepreneurs, that is, be able to write their own scripts, and produce dramas or film, and hopefully turn their talent into income. At times, workshops were run by UCT and Stellenbosch graduates from the Media Studies class or other professionals with the necessary expertise and had received successful results in their previous projects. These workshops were run at certain periods during the year, after which an annual Conclave was held once a year where all groups met and within a time frame of 24 hours pulled together live performances, with each other as the audience. Those performances, and the processes leading to them, were uncensored except for language considerations, and were also meant to work within the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (www.capecodes.co.za).

Cape Codes is the brainchild of (Executive Director) 'brother'Anthony Sloan, an African American who was "conceived, born, raised, educated and damn near drafted in the South Bronx", as he introduced himself in an interview on Auroville Radio (www.auroville.org). He holds degrees in English literature, urban communication and in playwriting; he has over 30 years of experience in the field of theatre. He has been a radio drama workshop facilitator for a diverse audience, including teaching radio producers and broadcasters in Belize, a nation in Central America, at Bush Radio in Cape Town, and at the University of Cape Town (www.ajsloan.name). Some of the people that have been involved in Cape Codes are Liewe Vanleeuw (Project Manager), Loyiso Pitolo (Design, Layout, Illustration), Khanyiso Mabodla (Design, Layout, Illustration), Andy Mason (Comic Art Unit at CCIBA), Bongani Dyasi (sounds effects and workshop facilitator), among others.

In the beginning of 2011 I had had several telephonic conversations with Bongani (Doza) Dyasi about my doing research on Cape Codes. Doza had been involved with Cape Codes since its infancy stages, and was recommended to me by Anthony. Anthony was often busy with some project or other, and hearing that I was also interested in following a group of

performers in Philippi, he suggested I speak to Doza as he lived in Philippi and would be able to assist me to meet some members of a group of theatre performers from there. To cut the long story short, Doza suggested I speak to Duna and Duna would be able to assist me. Duna Mthobeli (known as Mtho), like Doza, had worked with Cape Codes before and could introduce me to a group of performers from Philippi (as per our initial telephonic conversations), and two weeks after our first conversation, I was invited to a theatre performance in Nyanga. There, I met the young men in Photograph 2.2; the photograph was taken before their performance. Duna had already briefed them on my intention to follow them and they seemed to be excited about that. It was weeks before I was invited to spend time with them as a group and attend more of their performances. On speaking with the young men in Nyanga, though, I discovered that they were from Dunoon and not Philippi. My research population changed slightly at that moment.

Photograph 2.2: Active members of Black Ink Arts Movement. From top left: Khanyiso Mabodla, Ayanda ka Haas, Thamsanqa 'Mpsyfo'Booi, Lufefe 'Fire' Ngxumza, Odwa 'Mercenger' Mbakaza. Front: Duna 'Mtho' Mthobeli.
Source: Odwa Mbakaza.

It was when the guys were performing at the Baxter Theatre[7] that we got to talk again, and I was determined to get the 'guys''[8] contact details, because I had difficulties getting through to Duna who was managing the group at the time. After their performance I got all their names (which I had already forgotten), and their phone numbers, and an inkling of when they would be available. As the 'guys' waited for their bus to arrive to take them back to Dunoon from Baxter, I asked Duna if there was a place I could rent while I am in Dunoon; Odwa then suggested I could stay at his house. I introduce 'the guys' next.

2.3.2 Black Ink: Main characters

I would now like to introduce the members of Black Ink whom I spent many months with. I did not spend an equal amount of time with all of them, but I did get a chance to have some fun moments and share some of their memorable moments with them. I first met 'the guys' at a theatre performance in Nyanga, and a few weeks later we met again at Baxter theatre.

The first person that was introduced to me was Ayanda. Ayanda (otherwise known as 'ka Haas'), 32, can be mistakenly described as stern. This may be because he is not often seen with a smile on his face; he works hard most hours of the day tiling the floors of new houses, brick-laying or any temporary job he can find. He is the main script writer for Black Ink, and mainly organises their formal performance events. Ayanda is also a fine artist: a talent he hardly ever talks about, and he does not like to discuss the artwork he has produced with anyone (I show a few of his artworks in Chapter 4). Born in Middelburgklip[9], Great Karoo, he was raised by his maternal grandparents (both passed away in the late 1990's) and lived

[7] Baxter Theatre, or mostly known as the Baxter, is owned by the University of Cape Town (UCT) and is located in the plush neighbourhood of Rondebosch. It was designed by Jack Barnett in 1977, and before the late owner Dr W. Duncan Baxter passed, he left the Baxter over to UCT. The Baxter has provided a stage for entertainment such as drama, music and ballet, to name a few (www.baxter.co.za).

[8] 'The guys' is a way of talking about young men without the formality. Also, 'the guys' is a rough translation of how the young men refer to each other as *umjita* or *amajita* - meaning a guy/ dude or guys in today's youth speak.

[9] Middelburg is situated on the main route between Port Elizabeth and the Northern interior. Surrounded by mountains in the heart of the Great Karoo, Middelburg is unique, yet similar to the average Karoo town... and is also one of the few, and best, places in the world where fossil life has been discovered as well as San Rock Art in caves from the first known human inhabitants, the San Bushmen (http://www.middelburgec.co.za/)

with two of his uncles and an aunt under the same roof as his grandparents. Whilst in high school, and a few years after that, Ayanda was trained in drama and theatre, and performed countrywide with his high school group. After moving around the country for some years, his cousin in Dunoon suggested he try to find employment in Cape Town. They lived together in a one room shack for a few months, until he felt he needed his own space, and got a shack to rent where he currently lives by himself.

Lufefe (otherwise known as 'Fire'), 27, describes himself as an "outdoorsie kind of guy" who enjoys going out, hiking, and camping. He says he enjoys the outdoors as it allows him to get away from the issues of everyday life and reflect on his own happiness. Lufefe was born in Tsolo, Eastern Cape[10], and he used to come to Cape Town during the December holidays to visit his grandfather; in 1997 he moved to Cape Town. He still visits the Eastern Cape for funerals and other occasions, he says, but he considers Cape Town to be home (more on the notion of 'home' in Chapter 5). He is the first born of four brothers, with the youngest brother aged 13 who has a passion for hip hop. Lufefe's involvement in drama has been with Black Ink, as he was invited by Duna to join; they were friends. Lufefe says he has a passion for drama, but does not envision himself acting on a full-time basis. Lufefe's passion for working with young people is one of the reasons why he works as a facilitator at Sappi - a producer of coated fine paper across the globe known for their investment in projects such as those to "reduce solid waste, wastewater and air emissions, and improve water and energy utilization" (www.sappi.com).

Odwa is 25 year old, and an aspiring hip hop artist born in the Free State and mostly raised there, but he also spent many years living in the Eastern Cape. He has four brothers and one sister, and currently occupies the house his mother lived in when she was in Cape Town – she has since moved back to the Eastern Cape. Odwa (known as 'Ta Odds' or ''Mercenger') is a third year Engineering and Related design student at West Coast College[11], who enjoys playing games on his computer, writing rhymes in his notebook, or socialising with absolutely everyone from toddlers in the street, elders in the community, friends, hip hop heads or anyone he encounters. He is quite popular in Dunoon as usually a five minute walk

[10] Tsolo is town in Mhlontlo Local Council in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa.

[11] West Coast College is a Further Education and Training College with several campuses around the Western Cape.

with him to the local *spaza* shop would take well over half an hour as he constantly stops to greet and chat to people, or people stopping him in the street to congratulate him on his performance, or enquire about his or Black Ink's next performances.

Khanyiso, 25, was born in Crossroads, Western Cape and lives on his own in Dunoon. He is also a poet and a hip hop artist; he has already released an album that he says did "okay" in terms of sales. Khanyiso is also quite good at making sound effects (he calls this "the art of noise"), and has been involved with Cape Codes for much longer than any of the other members of Black Ink. It was through Cape Codes that he learnt to be flexible as an artist, and also learnt that he is talented in different forms of artistic expression. He has written a few scripts for black Ink, none of which were performed during my time in the field. Khanyiso is also a poet who performs at local gigs.

Thamsanqa ('Mpsyfo' to his friends) is the youngest member of the group (21), and during the bulk of my fieldwork he was working. He is also studying Hospitality and Tourism Management, part time, through IQ academy[12]. Thamsanqa started acting in 2009 in a group called *Sibambene*; they were a group known for fusing poetry and drama. He has since developed a love for drama, and he would like to make a career of it, even if he does not earn a lot, he says, "just enough to have food in my stomach".

At this point, I'd like to speak briefly about my own personal history.

2.3.3 e-Kasi13: remembering the township

I was born in Diepkloof, Soweto[14], and lived there until I was nine years old - that was when Nelson Mandela was voted as the President of the Republic of South Africa, in 1994. My parents felt that the township was not a place to raise children, because townships at that time

[12] IQ Academy is a part of Centurion Academy, and specialises in providing business short courses aimed at the South African job market (www.iqacademy.co.za).

[13] In the township.

[14] Soweto is an abbreviation for South Western Township, "the largest populous black urban residential area" (www.southafrica.info/travel/cities/soweto.htm) in South Africa with a population close to a million, according to the Census 2001. Soweto is historically known as the place where the Soweto Uprising took place in June 1976. It is also the place where Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu used to call home.

were rife with gang rapes, killing of innocent people and much violence. Seeing as from 1994 we could move out the township and own property as black people (which was a right previous denied to black people during apartheid), we moved to the suburbs. After grade 4, my parents moved me to a Model C school in Parktown[15]. I thus grew up as a child of the black middle classes who moved to the previously white suburbs.

I developed an appreciation for township life after we had long moved out and I started making frequent visits to family and friends who still lived there. I realised I loved living close to family members and having friends close by, where there was never a dull moment in a person's daily life: neighbours coming to borrow a cup of sugar or maize meal, lawnmower or R20 taxi fare. The best part about living in the township, in Soweto especially, was that in as much as it was a township, there was a lot that a person could do to keep themselves and their friends entertained at low cost.

On the other hand, my worst memory of living in a township was in 1990 when I was in Grade 2 and attending a school in Soweto. One day I saw police vans driving towards our school – since it was located close to one of the main roads in Diepkloof[16] - and saw a few officers throw objects at our classroom window. Then I could not breathe and was coughing a lot. I later learnt that they had thrown in tear gas at us. One of the teachers took me by the hand, and led me and a few other learners towards the school fence; other learners and teachers were also looking for a means to escape. She held it up and instructed us to crawl under it. We were led to a bush not far from the school that led to a rocky footpath that ended at the main road. I was then walked to my father's place of work which was a stone-throw away from the main road. My father told me that the teacher who walked me was a distant relative, and I should be thankful. That was my first negative experience I had as a young black girl living in a township.

These were the mid-1990s. Since then things have changed dramatically. What I love now about life in the township, mainly Soweto, is the energy that especially some young people have in terms of making improvements of their neighbourhoods. I know of a few young people who have started their own fashion labels and are doing fairly well. Some are

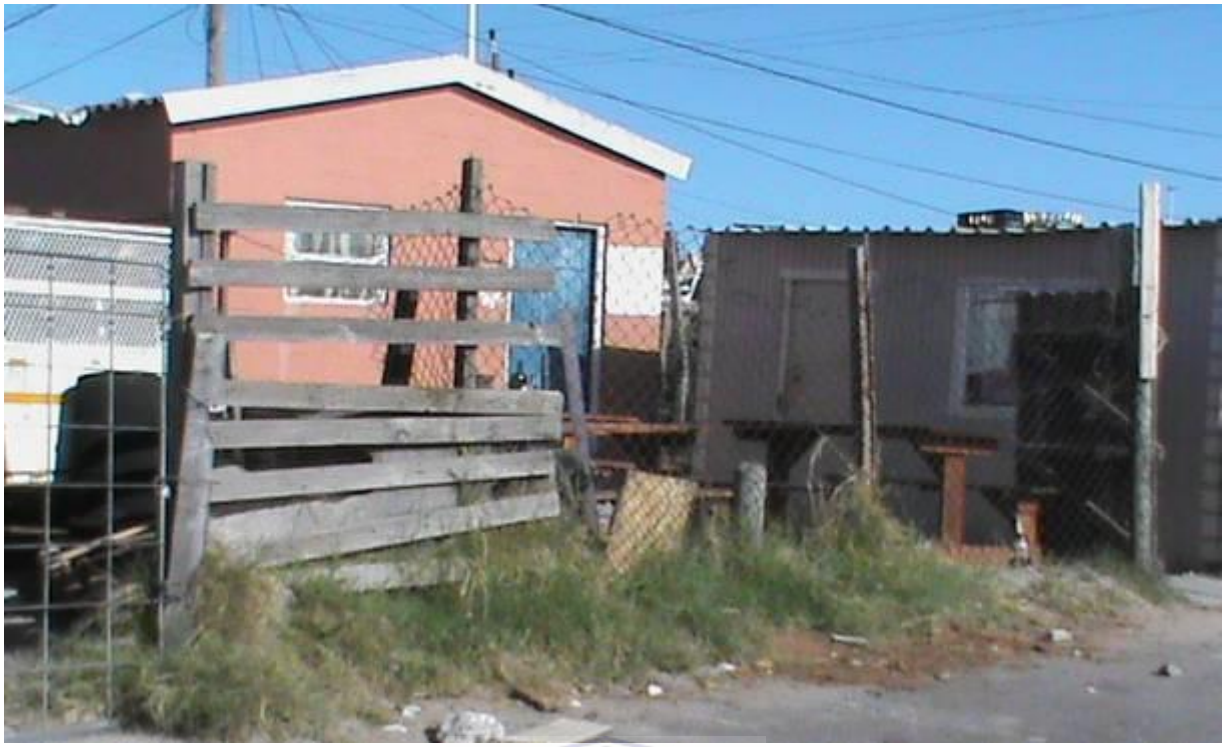
[15] Parktown is an affluent suburb in Johannesburg.

[16] One of the townships in Soweto.

passionate about sports such as soccer and want to someday play for the national team; so, some Sundays my boyfriend and I go to the local playing grounds in his neighbourhood to watch soccer matches. Some Saturdays we attend poetry and hip hop sessions by young people from that neighbourhood and others in attendance from surrounding townships. It feels great to attend a poetry session where an old friend is performing; they are wearing an outfit designed by the young man who was also a deejay at the same event, and buy healthy vegetarian food from the brother down the road. There is not much need, then, to go town for such services.

2.4 Ethnography in perspective

The main method of data collection was participant observation. I had initially planned to become a cast member in one or more performances by Black Ink, but due to the many challenges I and the group faced during the course of my fieldwork (these will be detailed later), this did not happen. Nevertheless, I was able to participate as a temporary resident of Dunoon. I chilled with 'the guys' either at Odwa's house (see Photograph 2.3) where I lived, or where they lived; I walked to rehearsal venues and interacted with as many residents as possible in order to understand better how it feels to live in a township such as Dunoon in contrast to my own experiences of the township, but also to get a sense of how my participants' daily experiences can shape the content of their performances. Wednesdays and Thursdays were days where the guys were scheduled to rehearse for upcoming performances, and I was always at the rehearsal venue for these, though most scheduled rehearsals did not take place. I also participated as a member of the audience to the extent that that role sometimes completely overshadowed my role as a researcher.

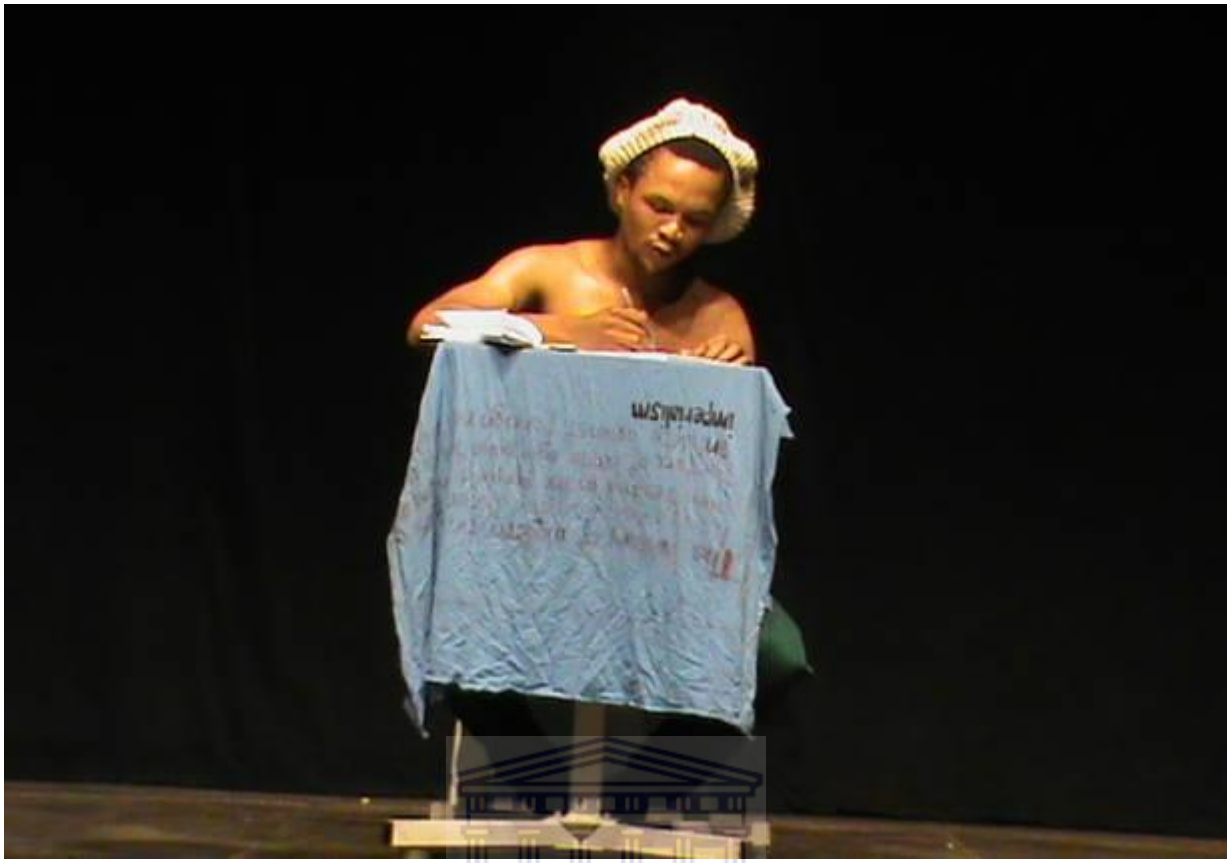


Photograph 2.3: Odwa's house.
Source: L Makhale.

I attended a few of Black Ink's formal performances. The first performance I had attended was in Nyanga where I had met 'the guys'. There were subsequent performances held at the Baxter and Dunoon. On one occasion, Black Ink had been invited to take part in a theatre competition by Masibambisane Youth Educational Drama Organisation, an organisation that opens up opportunities for young people interested in Arts and Culture (http://www.masibambisane.org.za/) and unfortunately most of the cast was not available to perform. Ayanda was the person who had received the invitation on behalf of the group, and the days before the event I had asked for further details such as transport being available, what time was the performance, and such logistics. He was informed the day before the performance that transport was made available for the group; an hour before the performance he was informed that the group would have to use public transport seeing as the organised transport will not be coming. Frustrated, Ayanda, Odwa and I literally ran to get a taxi to Mowbray, and in Mowbray we caught a taxi to the Baxter and arrived after some groups had already performed.

When we arrived at the Baxter, Ayanda notified me that he would be performing a one-man play. The play was based on a script that he had written a few days ago, and was not intended

to be performed by the entire cast of Black Ink. I found a seat in the front of the main hall at the Baxter so that I could record the performance. The majority of the audience were primary and high school learners and they were wearing school uniform. People who were older included four judges for the competition, four organisers, the camera woman, and two drivers. I go into detail about my attendance of a few performances and also my analysis thereof.



Photograph 2...: Ayanda during the one man play.
Source: L Makhale.

I later used a notebook to make notes of my observations, which were gathered to form a folder that I had saved on my desktop computer. I chose to focus on one play, which was entitled 'Chippa *my autie*'[17], because it allowed me to track rehearsals, how the script was changed to suit particular contexts, and also the audience participation throughout all these shows, and therefore easier to analyse.

I was also able to speak with Zwelakhe Khuse from Magnet Theatre. Zwelakhe works as a talent scout at Magnet Theatre, searching for young theatre performers or performing groups, and also facilitates their training workshops. We had met at McDonald's in Tygervalley Mall, a large shopping mall in Tygervalley. I only had two hours with Zwelakhe, and I wanted to make sure that I was able to address some issues and areas where I needed clarification on his involvement with Black Ink. The informal conversations during fieldwork which took place while 'the guys' and I were chilling listening to music at Odwa's house helped me understand

[17] My brother/ friend.

'the guys' more and allowed us to build rapport. We spoke a lot before and after formal performances – I speak more about this in the upcoming chapters, or if we bumped into each other in the street or during functions around Dunoon.

I also attended two hip hop sessions where two of the members from Black Ink performed: the first was at a social evening (which I discuss in the next chapter), and the other was at Masiphumelele High School in Dunoon. We had to pay a cover charge of R20, and as I was not told about this, Odwa paid the cover charge for me at the gate as he was the person collecting the money. The back of my hand was stamped with a red dot, and I was permitted to enter the school premises. It was a Saturday afternoon, and the school premises were empty. The performances began late as people arrived late, and the organisers had some problems with the sound system. I enjoyed the hip hop and ragga performances – even though I spent most of my time speaking to Ayanda about the different plays he has written for Black Ink, and also the noise the crowd was making as they were cheering for the artists. They were quite a young audience, and I was conscious of my being older than most of the people in attendance. A lot of the young women were wearing dark-tinted sunglasses, and kept them on even when they were in the shade. The majority of the young men wore baggy pants, with boots, and hooded tops.

I was observant throughout the duration of my time in the field, of not only the young people involved in the performances such as what they wore, how they behaved at their 'home away from home', but also how they interacted with their friends and fans, and what they talked about, who their friends were and what they had in common, and their audience members at large.

Conversations with 'the guys' and their friends took place in a variety of languages: when the members of Black Ink spoke to each other, conversation was usually in isiXhosa, mixed with a bit of English. When 'the guys' spoke to me or to each other and I was present, English was used and fused with a bit of isiXhosa. This is, of course, with the exception of Odwa and Thamsanqa, who spoke fluent seSotho, and therefore we spoke seSotho most of the time to each other when the rest of 'the guys' were not present, with a bit of English – depending on what we spoke about. Therefore, conversations (both formal and informal) that were recorded on tape or video camera were transcribed and then translated to English: I called 'the guys'

themselves for translations of words they used in isiXhosa or seSotho that I did not understand, as opposed to asking someone else that was familiar with the language.

I conducted life history interviews of Black Ink members, and documented them in order to understand their background, and that of their families. We would meet at a place convenient for them, for example for Odwa it was at his house, and for Lufefe it was at his younger brother's shack in Dunoon, where we watched music videos on television, ate bread with peanut butter, and conversed like long-lost friends. Other technologies included the use of a tape recorder, digital and disposable cameras, and a video camera. Photographs were used at every stage of the research, but especially photographs of the set, costumes, and media on stage as illustrations, while video footage was taken where possible during the performances. This was to track the development of the plays. Video recordings were also to be essential for stimulating group discussions with the cast, and later used as texts for analysis – although this was not possible. Each member of Black Ink was later given a disposable camera with which to take pictures that represented their life in the township (auto-ethnography).

There are two projects in particular that focused strongly on auto-ethnography, with a strong emphasis on the visual, which were influential and useful to my project. The first being 'How we see each other: Subjectivity, Photography and Ethnographic Re/vision' by Rick Rohde (1998). It was carried out in Namibia in Okombae, among Damara-speaking men and women, and was a part of an exhibition in February 1996. Looking at the collection of photographs that resulted from the project, I would say it was successful, because the men and women took the photographs represented themselves, their lives and their surrounds, as opposed to the massive collection of photographs available that were taken during colonial times that presented them as 'others'.

Heike Becker's 'How we see our Culture: Photographic self-representations from the Cape Flats' (2008) went a bit further than self-representation in that research collaborators were tasked with producing "photos to show their conceptualisations of ... whatever they see as representing their culture" (ibid.: 8). The project was run during the winter of 2005 and 2006, and eighteen men and women were involved as research collaborators.

It was with the above-mentioned (in my opinion, successful and influential) projects that I pursued a similar endeavour. I noticed that nothing in their photographs was about the

stereotypical definitions of culture or any artefacts or concepts that could be referring to tradition in any way - which then differed from other conversations we had about food, for example, that is the subject of Chapter 5. What was also not present were stereotypical images that we see of the township, such as "images of shack chic", as Rita Barnard (2007: 50) refers to the proliferation of shack images on postcards and coffee table books.

Having spent two months in the field by June, I handed out 35mm cameras (along with instructions on how to use the camera) to each member of Black Ink and asked them to tell their own story of what it means to be young and black in Dunoon at the moment.

2.5 Challenging dilemmas

Perceptions of Risk

There were a few challenges encountered during my time in the field, some of which initially made it difficult for me to be in Dunoon for more than a day or two, and certainly resulted in the fieldwork duration being a bit longer than I had initially anticipated. During this time I stayed at Odwa's place for a few days in the week, every week. I stayed at Odwa's house, because I felt I could not rent a place to stay at on my own in Dunoon. I admit I was never robbed, there were no attempts of rape, and definitely no one looked at me or spoke to me suspiciously. But also in terms of safety, the Western Cape is not my 'home'. I have no close friends or family (except my younger brother) in the province, and I did not want my parents to ever receive a call that I had been harmed.

I felt that living at Odwa's prevented me from collecting richer data in that it affected my relationship with the rest of 'the guys'. Sometimes I would ask them questions and I would be referred to Odwa for an answer. At times it was the looks that they gave me when we were at Odwa's house that made me feel uncomfortable, as though Odwa and I were a couple. I did sometimes wonder what 'the guys' said to each other about me, or what Odwa had told 'the guys' happened during the nights that I slept over at his house. I dismissed these thoughts, but the thought that the somehow considered me as his possession made me feel uncomfortable.

But in retrospect, it worked to my advantage because Odwa's house is where 'the guys' met and chilled all the time, and it was constantly full of people. I was later told by a few people I

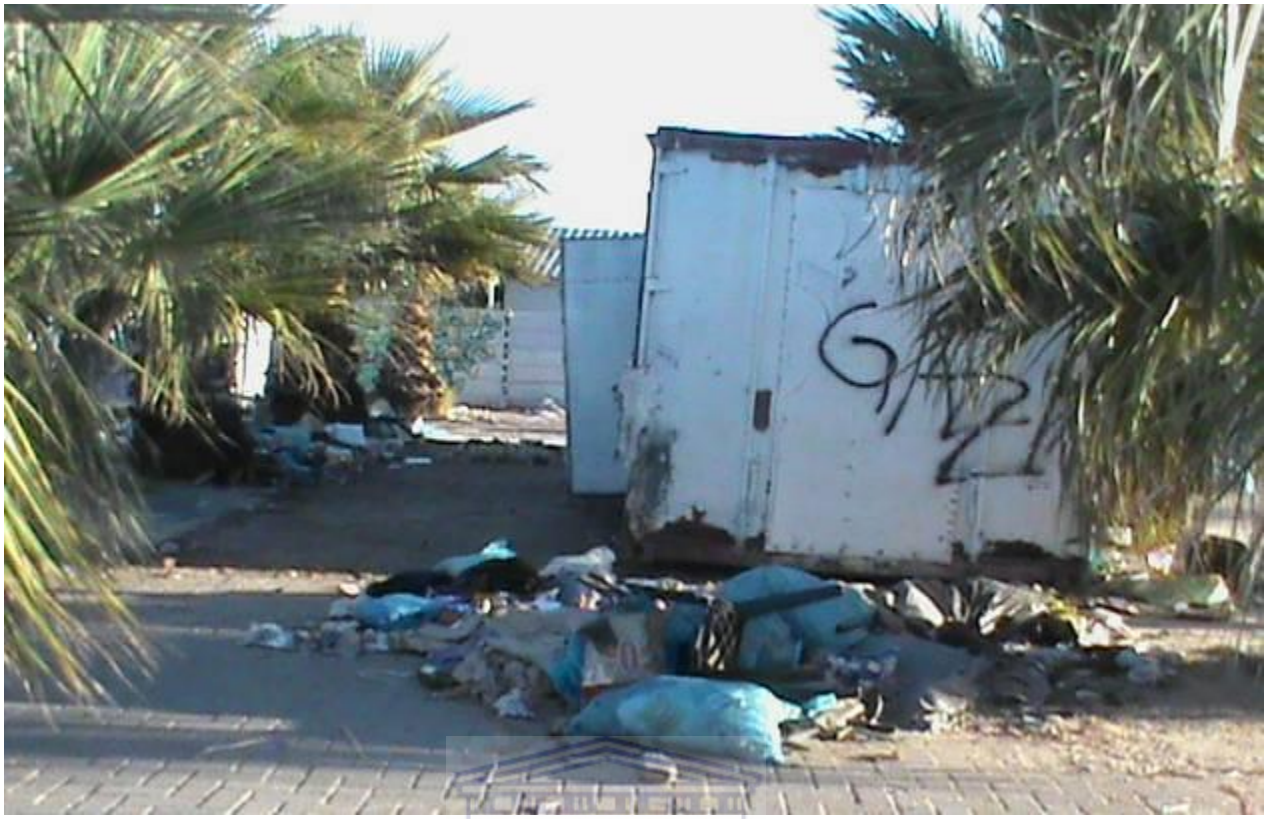
had come to regard as regulars at Odwa's house that being associated with Odwa was possibly the reason why I did not get robbed or harmed, as he was known and liked by everyone.

Conducting research amongst people like me (young and black) was not easy.
I am a vegetarian who also suffers from lactose intolerance. The first time we had supper with Odwa and I told him I did not eat meat, he gave me a look of horror. After all, how could I be black, not be Rastafarian, and not eat meat – since Rastafarians are the people synonymous with not eating meat? This is the question that all the guys asked me at some point during fieldwork. One day I decided to 'immerse' myself in their culture of meat eating; this did not work, I ended up eating eggs that Odwa made for me. I was sick the next day: nausea, diarrhoea and with a painful rash on my face. This continued every time I attempted to eat meat or meat products. After one instance where I was bedridden for two weeks, I gave up and instead brought my own food or bought vegetables inDunnon that I could find at local vendors for my stay.

Busy busy busy

I found that group discussions were close to impossible as all of the members of Blank Ink (except Odwa) worked on a full time basis, and their work schedules were irregular: Ayanda described what he did as "slavery" as he did not have a formal job, but got small temporary projects every now and again that earned him a bit of income – sometimes just enough to pay rent. But every day, he hustled. Thamsanqa and Lufefe were frequently called upon by their employers to work overtime, which they did not refuse. This meant that I had to constantly call the guys to arrange for times when they would be available so that I could spend time with everyone and get their opinions on issues I thought pertinent, and I had to keep making trips to Dunoon to make sure I get a moment of their time.

The issue of the members working extra hours in the week became a problem as well in the sense that often members would not show up for rehearsals at the last minute or cancel performances they were scheduled to attend. Their previous rehearsal venue, a container located next to the basketball court (see Photograph 2.4), was removed by municipality, and as a result they have nowhere to rehearse – another lost opportunity to speak to them and observe them as a group during rehearsals.



Photograph 2.4: The container they previously rehearsed in, resembling the one on the right of the photograph, was removed by the municipality. Hence the empty space on the left of the photograph. Source: L Makhale.

One aspect of the guys' lives I never got to see was in their most private aspects of their lives, for example all of them are fathers, except for Lufefe, but only Odwa spoke about his son and the relationship he has with the son's mother. This was probably because I stayed at his place, and incidentally got to meet her and her son, and the atmosphere was so tense that I decided to go home for a few days a few minutes after her arrival. For the rest of the guys, they let me know in their own way that it was none of my business. I assume I was excluded because of my capacity as a researcher.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter detailed the research process, having used ethnography to conduct research. Certainly there were dilemmas, some of method, and others as a result of doing research on sociable people; a researcher has to be dynamic. I not only learnt about 'the guys' but also a lot about myself and the importance of understanding myself. In the next chapter, I narrow in on three performance events that I attended where Black Ink had performed, at different venues, and under differing contexts. I will also be looking at to what ends performances by Black Ink follow the definition of community theatre.

Chapter 3: Performance, narratives, and audiences

3.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at formal performance events where plays were performed by Black Ink Arts Movement. With an interest in the narratives produced by the actors for audience consumption, this chapter will also look at the relationship between performers and their varied audiences, and also the relevance of 'community theatre' in achieving its key characteristics. I argue that it is through performance that the young people in my study are able to make sense of their own world.

In this chapter, I look at how notions of a stereotypical township 'identity' are created, and perhaps contested by the audience members in different contexts. Young (black) people are said by the media and in general to be a danger unto themselves, especially the young people in townships where theft, murder and rape are rife. Within the performances themselves, I will show the fluidity of 'identity' and how it is created on stage during a performance.

I will be looking at how ideas performed on stage have particular effects, not only on the performers themselves, but on the audience as well. This flexible nature of the concept of performance may lend itself into misuse, though simultaneously because of its flexible nature, it can be used as an analytical tool to talk about, for example how formal performances differ from the performance of everyday life. I trace a few formal performance events by Black Ink, all taking place within different locations and contexts. Throughout the majority of my time in the field, it was mainly a production named 'Chippa *my outie'* that was performed by Black Ink, which may be put in the category of community theatre.

3.2 Where and when I enter

On 29 January 2012, I had arranged with Duna to attend one of Black Ink's performances; this one took place in Nyanga East. This was the first formal event I attended where Black Ink was performing. Earlier, on the phone, I was advised to get off at the minibus taxi rank by

Duna. I asked my brother to accompany me to Nyanga[18], and I felt nervous about travelling there and back by myself. This fear was exacerbated because the performance was on a Sunday, and public transport is highly problematic on Sundays, as minibus taxis do not run as late as they usually do during the week; I was not about to get stuck in a place I did not know alone. Besides, I had concluded that having by brother accompany me will assist me to stay at ease, and keep me company when 'the guys' were performing.

We got off at the rank. There were market stalls under the shelter at the rank, as vendors were selling merchandise, such as apples and bananas, vegetables tomatoes, onion, potatoes and cabbage, crisps and sweets. Other vendors sold clothing items like beenies (woollen caps), caps, socks, face cloths, and jeans. Everywhere I looked I saw people in a rush; some were dressed in church attire: women wearing navy blue skirts with white shirts, sheer leggings and white berets. Duna finally found my brother and I waiting for him as arranged, and we all crossed the busy street to Zolani Centre.

The Zolani Centre building is located in Nyanga opposite the bus and taxi rank. The environment is characterised by informal trading of household goods, clothing, fruit and vegetables, with areas designated for animal slaughtering and where traders braai meat on open fires. Zolani Centre is a community centre (http://csstudio.co.za/Xolani.html). 5/3According to CS Studio's website, Zolani Center was built in the 1950's by the then black authority as it is known today – as a community centre. From starting during the apartheid era to date local groups have been organising sports, culture and social activities at the centre.

There were over 200 people waiting to get into the venue. Duna led us to a little corner where 'the guys' were huddled. I was introduced by Duna as "the Lerato that I have already told you guys about". I was curious as to what had been said about me, and still hoped that 'the guys' would be willing to work with me. Each member of the group gave me a hug. I am not the type of person who gives hugs, even to friends, and therefore felt immensely uncomfortable by their gesture of friendliness. My brother was greeted in typical guy fashion: a firm

[18] Nyanga is one of the poorest areas of Cape Town, and has one of the highest rates of HIV infection and unemployment. It is situated 26 kilometers from Cape Town, and was established as Langa had become crowded (http://en.wikipedia.org/). Friends of mine who have grown up in Cape Town have often warned me of high crime in Nyanga, and in general warned me that it is very dangerous.

handshake, followed by a *zikhiphani mfwethu* (how are you, bro?). Thereafter, 'the guys' proceeded to change the t-shirts they were wearing. They put on Black Ink branded t-shirts. As perfect strangers, my brother and I were shocked at 'the guys'' undressing in front of us. Ayanda even changed his pants, so we saw his jocks! (see Photograph 3.2). This was understandably because there were no changing facilities outside the venue.

Photograph 3.1: At the top is the Zolani Centre where the performance took place. The middle picture is of the taxi rank opposite Zolani Centre, and below are pictures of houses and a prominent Community Health Centre in Nyanga (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nyanga,_Cape_Town).

The event had been organised by Zabalaza. Zabalaza is an organisation, managed by award-winning and actors Zoleka Helesi, Bongile Mantsai and Thami Mbongo. It is located at the Baxter theatre that sources 'raw talent', and provides a platform for artists that want to venture into acting, stage management, writing and directing. Some of the teams taking part stood the chance of being selected to be a part of the Zabalaza Main Festival[19]. There were

[19] The festival is a platform where young performers can show case their talent, and receive training, mentoring to improve their plays. The managing team at Zabalaza gives young people a chance to be professional theatre performers.

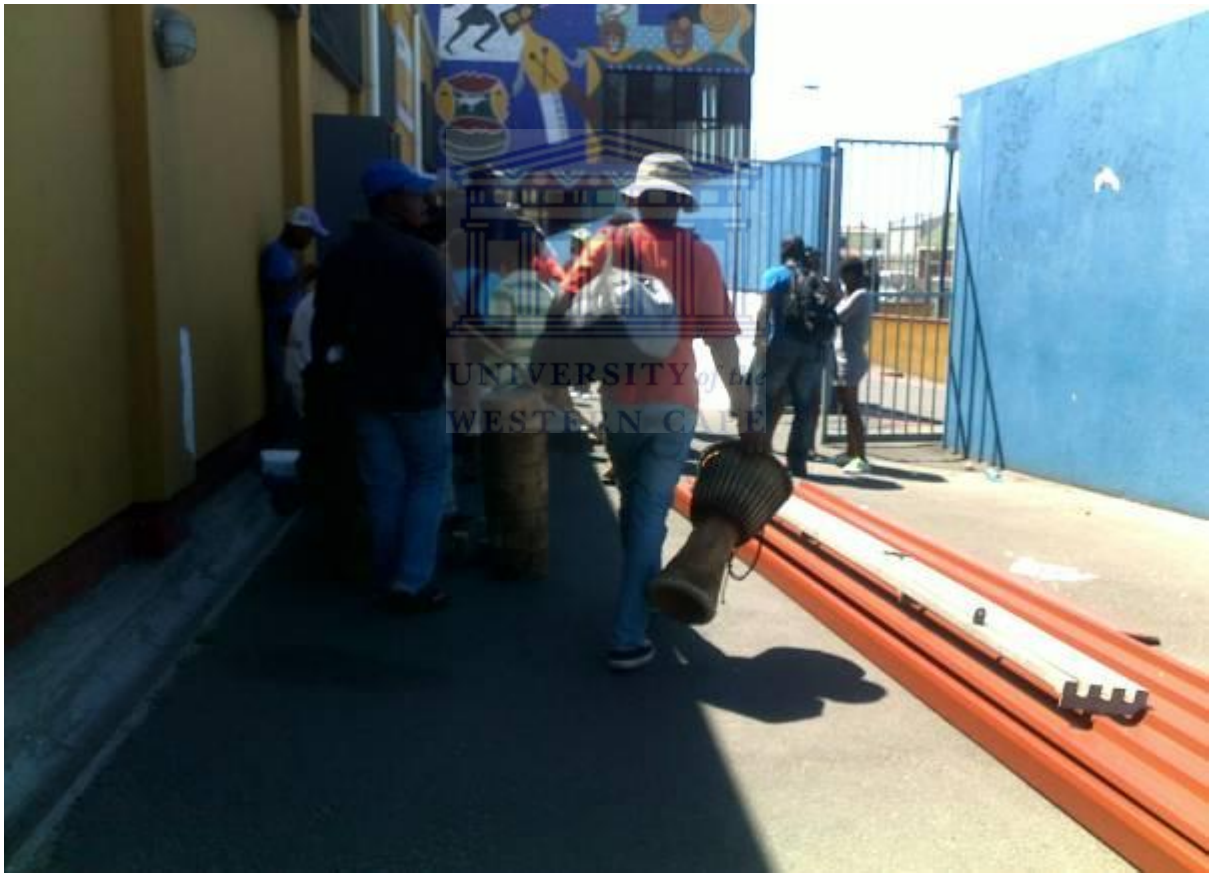
over ten groups of performers[20] from surrounding townships who took part in the event to qualify for the festival. Some were newcomers, others were experienced performers who had performed in previous Zabalaza Festivals, and had the opportunity to perform in spaces such as the Baxter Theatre in Rondebosch. After the event had begun, the Zabalaza organisers all gave speeches and words of encouragement to the performers, then proceeded to announce which groups would be performing that day; Black Ink's 'Chippa my autie' was the third play to be performed that day.

Photograph 3.2: My brother and I watching 'the guys' change before their performance. Source: Odwa.

More than an hour later than the performances were scheduled to begin according to an announcement made earlier by the organisers, one of the organisers called out for all groups to enter the venue and get ready (see Photograph 3.3). I noticed outside the venue that some

[20] Some of the other groups were UKAO (Khayelitsha), Youth on Top (Khayelitsha), Ikhwela (Khayelitsha), Ilitha Lokhanyo (Khayelitsha), Qina & Divas (Khayelitsha), Azahlobo Productions (P.E), S.H.Y Entertainers (Mitchell's Plain), Africa Tales (Khayelitsha).

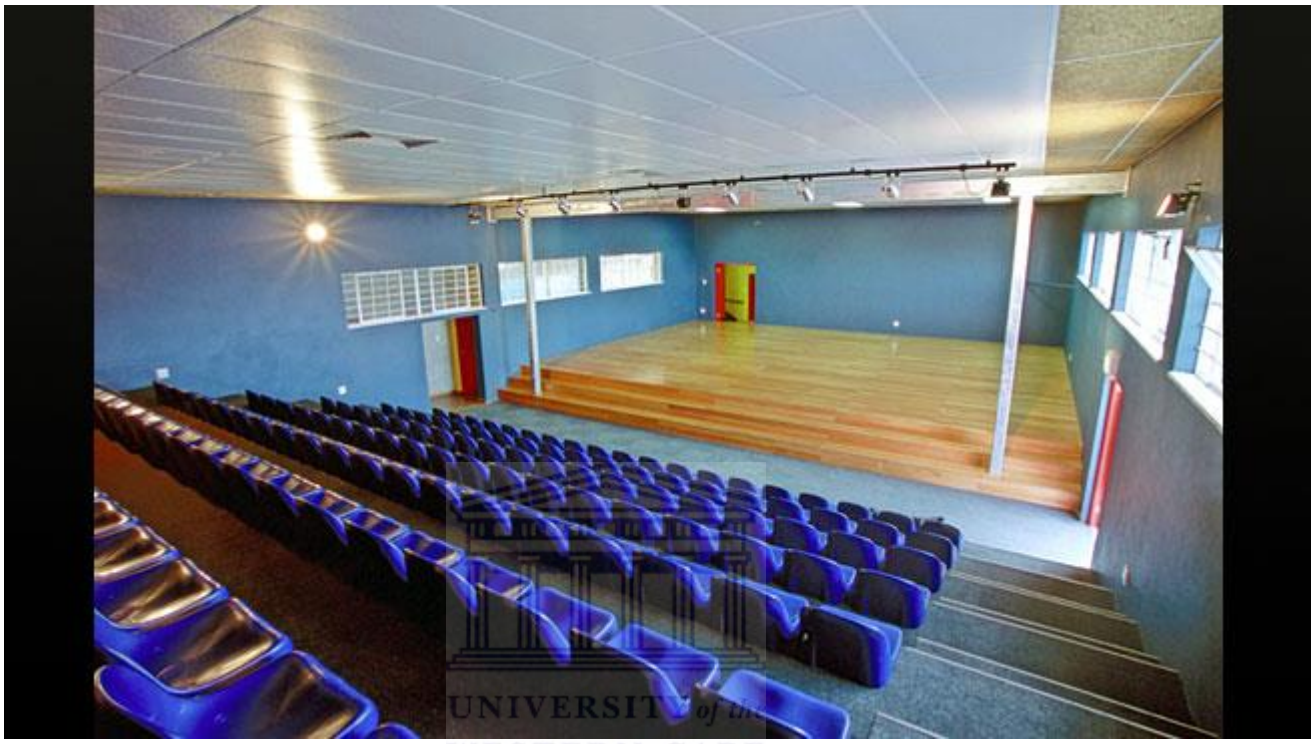
performers were only arriving then; one such group arrived in a combi, and everyone who dismounted from it, both male and female, wore ‘traditional’ Xhosa attire – the young men and women wore loin cloths made of animal skin, and they also wore ankle and wrist bracelets made of animal skin as well. They were the centre of everyone’s attention at this stage, since all the vehicles were parked outside the yard, but theirs dropped off the performers inside the yard. I did not think this was a co-incidence. Members of the audience waiting to enter the venue cheered and called out performers names enthusiastically: I assumed the performers were either well-known, or people cheering were their friends and were there to support them. Still, my brother and I stood leaning against the wall – watching everyone.



Photograph 3.3: Black Ink walking into the venue to prepare for their performance.
Source: L Makhale.

Eventually, audience members were called in: we paid R10 at the door, and our thumbs were marked with a permanent marker. It was dark inside the venue, and I looked for a place to sit somewhere in the middle. In a matter of minutes there were more than 300 people in the

audience – I estimate this number as the venue accommodated for 200 seated people, and the rest occupied the stairs leading to the seating area. Some people sat on their friend's laps so as to see the entire stage better. This was the first time I was going to see 'Chippa *my outie*'.



The inside of Zolani Centre (http://csstudio.co.za/Xolani.html).

3.3 Performances

Next, I relay the play 'Chippa *my autie'* and most importantly note how the script evolved/ was changed in three performance events. The performances in themselves happened one after another, with some time difference in between.

3.3.1 'Chippa *my autie*' at Zolani Center - Performance A

'Chippa *my autie*' (Chippa my friend/brother) was written by Ayanda Haas, and was performed for the first time – as a one-man play – in 2009 while he was involved with Cape Codes. It is mostly performed in English, mixed with a bit of isiXhosa. The play is about a young man (Andile Tikiti) who is haunted by a dark secret from his past, in which he tragically lost his beloved friend (Chippa) and hid that from everyone.

Andile had met his old school friend, Razor, along with Chippa, and the young men went for drinks at a tavern in the township (it was not specified which township). As they were walking back home in the middle of the night, drunk, Razor saw a man walking in the street towards them but in the opposite direction. Razor convinced them to rob the man of his sneakers. The man looked drunk and they assumed the robbery would be easy, but the man fought them off and Chippa was stabbed to death in the process. Razor vanished after that, not to be seen again, and Andile never told a soul about what happened that night as Chippa was a close of friend of his, and was a 'good guy'. He was ashamed of what Chippa's family would say to him. In the dead of the night, he hears voices in his sleep and becomes delusional, even in daylight, until he eventually commits suicide.

The opening scene is of Andile (played by Thamsanqa) tossing and turning on a blanket on the floor, unable to sleep. Behind him are three chairs with three people, seated, whose backs are almost turned towards us throughout the play. While Andile tries to get some sleep, we see the bodies of Ayanda and Odwa walking around the sleeping Andile, with Ayanda shaking the rattler and Odwa embodying Andile's conscience: Odwa was wearing black jocks, with a white shirt tucked into the jocks, his face was white covered in calamine lotion. Andile is awoken by his conscience speaking to him, and is forced to relay the events leading up to Chippa's death while trying to sit up; he keeps tripping over himself. During the days following these gruesome sleepless nights, he confesses to Chippa's uncle, again portrayed by Ayanda, that he was with Chippa on the night of his death. This revelation causes the uncle to suffer a heart attack and die. Consumed by immense guilt about Chippa's and his uncle's death, he writes a letter, confessing his involvement in both deaths, and commits suicide by ingesting an overdose of pills. He is found the next day by a friend (Khanyiso), with the letter he wrote next to him. His friend tries to awake hi; when Andile fails to wake up, the friend finds the letter and reads it. Then, his friend's head dropped in disappointment after learning of what happened.

3.3.2 'Chippa *my autie*' at the Baxter - Performance B

The second time I was a part of the audience for 'Chippa my autie' was at the Baxter Theatre for the Zabalaza Theatre Festival. Fourteen original productions made their mainstream debut

at the Baxter Theatre Centre's second Zabalaza Theatre Festival in the 172-seater Golden Arrow Studio, which took place daily from 17 to 31 March daily, with eight more on at the newly introduced Fringe Programme on Saturday 24 March. Tickets were reasonably priced at R25 per performance, and performers were provided with transport from selected locations to the Baxter and back.

Black Ink did not make it as part of the 14 main entrants for the competition, although the organisers felt that there were other production – of which Black Ink was one – that needed to make improvements to their productions, but were worthy of being given exposure to a wider audience. Black Ink performed at the Baxter as part of the Fringe Festival that took place on 20 March 2012. Unfortunately, Black Ink was not in line to win the competition.

I arrived early at the Baxter, hoping to see 'the guys' before their performance, but I could not find them anywhere outside or inside the Baxter. When I called 'the guys' individually, they said they were on their way to the Baxter, even though they were due to perform within the next 15 minutes. The waiting area to the Golden Arrow Studio was filled with young people, some in their late teens and others in their twenties, though; I could not tell whether they were performers or ordinary members of the audience, but everyone's spirits seemed to be high as there was laughter and loud conversations taking place simultaneously – there was a buzz in the air. I had wanted to enter the venue early so as to take notes on the setting and initial set up, but the young man at the door (who was responsible for ensuring – I assumed – that those without tickets did not enter the venue) said I would have to wait a lot longer. The venue was smaller than I had anticipated, and the stage was not set. It did not seem like a platform on which a performance will be taking place soon. In a matter of minutes we were seated, the audience still speaking very loudly.

Then the lights were dimmed in the Studio, then completely turned off. I then realised this room was painted black, and the only light that shone on the inside of the studio was if the main door had been left open. The stage was a diamond thrust stage: a stage surrounded by audience on three sides; the fourth side serves as the background (http://www.ia470.com/primer/theatres.htm), and the background on stage was a black curtain. The spotlight shone on Thamsanqa (Andile) as he walked on stage wearing briefs and carrying a blanket in his hand. Without glancing at the audience, he spread the thin blanket on

the floor, crouched, and then lay in a sleeping position with his head resting on the back of his hand. The stage lights were still off, and the audience was still chatting. The other lights in the venue were also dimmed. The room was completely dark, except for the light on Andile.

A rattling noise could be heard from backstage, though only after a few seconds did we see Odwa and Ayanda walk on stage. They remained in the dark, while the spotlight was still on Andile. After tossing and turning, he decides to wash, so he poured water in a plastic wash bowl and rinsed his face. His friend - played by Khanyiso, wearing blue jeans, a white t-shirt and sneakers - arrives and disturbs his washing, and during their chat, the friend mentions that Chippa's girlfriend was expecting his baby at the time of his death, and as a result of the trauma she endured on hearing of Chippa's passing, she lost the baby. This upset Andile as his face was distorted and his lips tightly pursed; he runs off and leaves his friend behind. He crosses from the right to the left of the stage, staring blankly at the audience. There he decided to pay Chippa's uncle a visit.

From backstage enters the uncle, played by Lufefe, who is fully dressed: his clothes are old: they no longer fit him. They sit loosely and have lost their bold colour. His pants are kept firmly in place by what clearly looks like a belt that is too big for him, and is scrunched at the waist. He walks slowly the old man, with a walking stick, and a slight shiver with every step he takes.

After he is seated, Andile walks in. Andile greets Chippa's uncle, avoiding eye contact though rubbing the palms of his hands together, like someone coming to seek forgiveness. He tells the uncle that he just found out about Chippa's child, and takes blame for it. The uncle ends up blaming Andile for killing his nephew and the baby, and in scolding him must have said something funny in isiXhosa – which I missed – and some people were laughing. In the heated debate, Chippa's uncle starts coughing, and slips from his chair, then collapses after experiencing what seemed to have been a heart attack. Andile tries frantically to revive him, but realises it is too late, and flees from the scene.

During the course of the performance, I found it difficult to hear the dialogue on stage as members of the audience seemed to think the performance was a comedy – they found

everything hilarious, and made fun of characters, their dress code, and some of the dialogue. The audience laughed during the scene where Chippa's uncle was suffering a heart attack (played by Lufefe) upon hearing Andile's confession about Chippa's death; they laughed again at the moment of Andile's suicide. This audience was truly different to the one I was a part of a few weeks ago, in that they laughed at this tragic and emotional scene of death. The play was edited, because in the original script, the character of Andile's uncle was played by Ayanda, and now Lufefe was playing the role, and he made a few jokes – not directly, but through using expressions understood by isiXhosa speakers to be comical. Anyone who had attended Black Ink's performance in Nyanga would be able to tell that this scene was different.

In Performance A in Nyanga, the audience consisted of people from around age 9, most of them were in their early 20's, and a few that were much older. The dress code was smart casual as most people wore jeans, although few wore the classic blue jeans and white tee. A few of the young women wore bright coloured jeans with highlighter coloured, figure-hugging t-shirts, where their shoes matched their handbags. In Performance B at the Baxter, almost everyone wore both a grey, black or white t-shirt and either blue or black jeans with sneakers. The audience was jovial, and constant laughter filled the air.

3.3.3 'Chippa *my autie*' in Dunoon - Performance C

The third time I saw Chippa *my autie* was in a very different environment. Whereas the first two performances had taken place in formal theatrical places, this performance took place at a street circle, outdoors, in Dunoon, on a cold and drizzling Friday night. The performance was held during what was called a 'social evening', where there were various hip hop and poetry performances by local established artists, and those who had wanted to show case their talent. This event took place at a street circle opposite Odwa's gate. Large speakers had been placed at opposite ends of the crescent of the street circle, and a deejay table with a mixing deck, and DVD player, with the deejay behind the decks. The 'stage' was set up in a way in which the performers and the audience were on the same level.

The event was organised by Odwa. I was with him when he personally went to ask a friend of his who happened to be the deejay that night his plan for awakening social evenings again.

There are no formal application processes to host a social evening; one must have a good sound system (if you do not have a friend who owns one, you may have to rent it), plan the event timeously so that you have enough time to confirm performers for that day, and also be able to alert the general public of the event well in advance. This can be done via word of mouth, such as Odwa did, or by printing cheap flyers to post around the township. The organiser would already have an idea of who they want to perform at these events – usually artists that are well known by the potential audience – but up and coming artists are also welcome. Depending on the venue for such an event, an entry fee can be charged; this is one other means to raise money. No entry fee was charged that night.

The weather had changed suddenly as it had been hot the entire day, but got cloudy by evening, and started drizzling thereafter. The weather destroyed Odwa's plans of selling barbequed meat to those who would be attending, so he decided to make corn and bean soup instead (I will discuss this further in Chapter 5). When I arrived around five in the afternoon, the soup was cooking on the two plate stove in Odwa's house. I made myself at home by making myself a cup of coffee. The house was crowded: there were some hip hop artists – others lived in Dunoon, while others were from neighbouring townships such as Joe Slovo Park - who asked to be added to the line up. Other hip hop artists who were scheduled to perform wanted to confirm what time they would be on, and a few audience members sipping on beer or brandy and coke were waiting for performances to start. Odwa spoke to the performers while stirring the soup, and adjusting the heat of the stove when necessary.

In a matter of hours, the now muddy street was filled with audience members and friends and hip hop artists, people singing along to their favourite songs and imitating performers' dances as they rapped their songs. However, the number of audience members dwindled as Black Ink performed Chippa my autie. I assumed this was because they were there to listen to hip hop and not watch a theatre play. I later learnt from Odwa that Black Ink's performance was a late addition to the schedule; the event was initially intended as a hip hop event. There was also some giggling and ongoing conversation during the performance. The performance in itself was almost like the one that took place at the Baxter, sans the raised stage, stage lights, and a dimly lit room.

This time the audience members spoke back to the performers as though the actors could respond to their taunting. A lot of the people in the audience were friends or were known to members of Black Ink, as before the event began I was introduced to a few of them. One of the young women who was introduced as a friend was the first to comment on the play during the performance. She said to Andile (Thamsanqa) who was lying on a blanket in cold weather 'shame man, get up you must be so cold' (translated to English). The audience laughed at this. A few minutes later the young man standing on my left realised that Ayanda was playing more than one character because Lufefe could not attend that day, and he laughed and shouted at Ayanda (so that everyone could hear): 'but I don't believe you. Who are you actually, hey?' The taunting continued as such throughout the remainder of the performance.

I was amazed at how professionally the actors conducted themselves throughout their performance, especially since most of the characters wore close to nothing – they pulled this off in the freezing weather. I was recording the performance on my video camera, when halfway through it I realised that my camera light was off, and as a result the footage would be dim. But worse still, my finger would not move from clutching the handheld camera to press the 'light on' button on the camera – my fingers were numb from the cold.

It seems the context and location, hence the setting of the third performance, was different to the performance at the Baxter and in Nyanga, but it was still a theatre performance nonetheless. I elaborate on this point in the section by looking at what makes a performance, and comparing the three performance events.

3.4 What is in a performance?

Chippa my autie relays a moral message. At the end of the performance, all characters and actors gather on stage and advise the audience to not be tempted into criminal acts, and that they can rise above temptation. This play can clearly be understood as communicating a message to the audience, and according to Ayanda, it is based on a true story: it happened to a friend of his, but he did not want to specify whether his friend was the character Chippa or Andile (more on the inspiration behind the scripts will be explored in chapter 4).

The story in Chippa my autie made emphasis on ethical behaviour even through difficult times such as poverty; the message was clear: crime does not pay. The play was intentionally written in English and isiXhosa so that it could be understood by a variety of audiences, but also did not exclude those from the townships who preferred isiXhosa to English. It is a fact that Dunoon residents suffer from a high level of poverty as StatsSA (2001) has shown, and they share this commonality with a most of the township residents in the Western Cape. Crime is often seen as the solution by people who have no other options, no employment, and in some cases very little formal education. I believe it is from this 'lack' that characters for the play draw their inspiration for the characters they portray, as one must conjure up a memory that elicits a particular emotion needed to make a character believable, to bring it to life on stage.

I propose that for the performances of Chippa *my autie* that I witnessed, the primary focus for members of the audience was on the actual performance and not the script. I say this, because we have had many conversations with the production's actors, and many of them feel that the audience – particularly the performance in Dunoon - might not have understood the play (more on this later). But what I found intriguing, which I compare to other groups of performers I had seen who competed against Black Ink, was that Black Ink used sound effects, for example for when Andile was dreaming and a rattling sound was made in the background using a hand shaker, which makes the same rattling noise as a shaker typically worn by the Tswana and Zulu speakers when dancing during traditional ceremonies, a hollowing noise made by Odwa could also be heard before seeing Andile frantically tossing and turning: we could tell that he was having a nightmare.

The setting for the play was simple: three chairs on the left and right corners of the stage, with three people seated on them, their backs turned against the audience. Their role was to enact the past, so during the play there was a shift in time from present to past as the story of Chippa's murder unfolded. This setting was for the performance in Nyanga. In Dunoon, as a result of the cold wet weather and lack of space, each character walked 'on stage' from Odwa's house.

Only at the Baxter were we able to see the only people we were meant to see: first scene, Andile, as the main light shone on him and everyone else as voices in his head. In the main

scene, Andile confronting Chippa's uncle. This was because Baxter had the technical set up to bring the performance to life. Even though the setting at Zolani Centre was not as technically advanced as the one at the Baxter, it was the sort of set up one would expect where theatre performances would take place. It was due to the believable, simple settings and uncomplicated characters, communicating through the actor's faces and bodies and the change in voices and vocal tones that I believe Black Ink's performances were able to bring their characters to life.

Black Ink was able to improve the play by incorporating the said sound effects and telling the story through different tenses as a result of the intensive training they received from Cape Codes. The other young men in this study have been involved with Cape Codes as well, they have learnt many ways in which to convey a message, paint a picture for the audience with sound through audio drama, and with their bodies. As Khanyiso said, "audio drama is like painting pictures for the imagination". Chippa *my autie* can be regarded as an example of community theatre. The following section explains why.

3.5 Community theatre?

Some drama scholars, especially Hauptfleish (1997: 76), argued that between 1955 and 1990 most theatre in South Africa revolved around the political situation, where theatre was used as a public platform for protest and resistance with less censoring, and an ideal means of communicating with a mass audience, sometimes illiterate, but mostly from disadvantaged communities (Hauptfleish, 1997: 76). David Coplan, who is an anthropologist and musicologist, traced the history of black popular culture in *In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black Music and Theatre* (1985; 2007). In it, he also records the development of black theatre. He found that in the 1970's there was a division of what he calls black theatre into three performance areas, and these are "distinguished by audience, venue, expressive style, and political and thematic focus" (Coplan, 1985: 210). The divisions were labelled 'township theatre', 'town theatre', and 'Black Consciousness theatre'. Township (black) theatre was based largely in the township, and in those days evaded government censorship, also because they charged low fees for performances (*ibid*).

Town theatre, according to Coplan (1985), was characterised by theatre performances that took place in purpose-built city venues, and rarely ventured into the townships. Black Consciousness Theatre (BCT) was different compared to community and town theatre in the sense that it arose as a result of the Black Consciousness Movement and the ideology it had already spread within townships. The messages that were spread through the Black Consciousness Movement were of "cultural revival...self-awareness and self reliance" (www.disa.ukzn.ac.za, 202). Unlike the other two types of theatre, BCT had no boundaries as to where performances could take place.

What Coplan (1985) was able to demonstrate in his seminal book was that popular culture like jazz music and theatre performances spoke to the historical, social, political and cultural situation of the time. So, for example, protest theatre came about as a way in which to resist against the then racist and oppressive South African government. From this we understand that the context under which a particular production is scripted, rehearsed and enacted, speaks very much to the socio/political situation of the day. So performance can be thought of as a sort of social commentary on current issues, and may transcend this, say in developmental theatre where the aim is to:

> mobilize audiences into community development in such fields as health...and conflict resolution...whereby theatre activists researched the problems of a targeted community, created a scenario through debate, built this into a play through improvisation, and took the play back to the community for performance, discussion, and follow-up planning (Oxford Companion to Theatre and Performance, 2011: 163).

Recently – in the last two decades or so – we see a notable transition in terms of theatre, from protest theatre, resistance theatre, to more writers looking at negotiating identities through performance. Specifically in South Africa, almost two decades since the country became a democratic country, the prevalent use of the old notion of culture has resurfaced: in the media, the way in which it has become a part of political and tourism discourse, has led to an emphasis and therefore commoditisation of difference (Becker *et al.,* 2010). This has led to people reflecting on who they are, and showing how complex issues of 'identity' are, reflected in postgraduate research (Dastile, 2005; Fransman, 2005) and in Kaltego Shoro's (2010) case, voice.

Black Ink's performances are considered township or community theatre by the talent seekers and individuals from organisations that have sought to assist Black Ink to improve as actors and writers, such as Zabalaza and representatives from Magnet Theatre. Magnet Theatre was established in 1987, and is located at Lower Main Road, in Observatory. Magnet Theatre was started by Jennie Reznek and Mark Fleishman, head of the Drama Department at the University of Cape Town (http://www.magnettheatre.co.za).

Coming now to the term 'community theatre', the Oxford Companion to Theatre and Performance (2011) defines the functions of community theatre as follows:

> It can enable communities collectively to share experiences and retell their own histories; it can encourage participation in political debate; and it can be a tool for social inclusion, embracing sections of society that feel themselves to be marginalized...[community theatre is] frequently a source of local pride (2011: 133).

This definition of community theatre is quite telling, as it refers to social inclusion for those that feel marginalised. The story of 'Chippa *my autie*' would resonate with its audience as it reflects an aspect of their lived reality. I believe during the performance, the audience is forced to confront any memories or encounters such as that portrayed in the theatrical play, and even though some who live on the social margins, an invisible bond can be said to have been created through a shared memory, experience or forced encounter.

None of the members of Blank Ink described their performances as Black Conscious theatre or community theatre or labelled it as any specific sort of theatre. In conversation with Zwelakhe, however, who is a University of Cape Town's Applied theatre and Drama graduate, an employee of Magnet theatre, and had wanted to work with Black Ink in offering them more training in terms of using their bodies to tell stories and to better their script-writing skills. He provided a different definition of community theatre:

> I say community theatre, my sister, because it is theatre that is performed in the township for township people, but at the same time it refers to performance that is low class, and is not good enough to be consumed by, say, white people. Because quite frankly, it's black people that perform for other black people mostly, once in a while white people.

This point was re-iterated by Ayanda who, after a one-man play performance at the Baxter during the month of May, was angry about the fact that performances taking place that day were all scheduled during the day, while mainstream performances take place in the evening. He said it made it difficult for the average township dweller who would have been at work during the day and would not have been able to attend the performances. In the same breath he admitted that Rondebosch was just too far for, say, someone from Dunoon to come see a performance in the evening – they probably would not be able to afford the trip, let alone have access to transport to return home since taxis would not be running by then.

Whether Black Ink is involved in community theatre is not as relevant and what they can do with it, and most importantly how through the skills they have discovered they have and enhanced through training with Cape Codes, they disturb the boundaries of community theatre through other forms of art that script writing and theatre performances have introduced them to. It seems to be assumed, though, that theatre mirrors reality, but what about the thought that reality mirrors theatre instead? The question I ask next is how are identities and formal performance events produced, contested, authenticated and framed as 'genuine' township experiences?

3.6 Performers and their audience

Earlier in the chapter, I looked at formal performance events (theatre performances), and crucial to any performance above and beyond the content, is its audience. In Black Ink's case, as their performance locations changed, so did the members of the audience. In Performing Africa[21], Ebron (2002) compared *jali*[22] performances in The Gambia and the United States to the structuring elements that help frame performance and help condition the experience of performance. Ebron specifically looked at the interactions between performers and the audience: the Mandinka did not just perform for the audience, they move the audience to action, thereby enlarging the performing stage to include the audience. Although Ebron also highlights the complexities of appropriate audience responses to *jali* performances, and this

[21] *Performing Africa* is a multisited ethnography that explores the performance of Mandinka speakers, known as *jali* in their local language, and their performers within The Gambia and in the United States.

[22] The *jali* fill a number of professional roles which include orator, praisesinger, arbiter, political negotiator, matchmaker, genealogist, historian, ceremonial officiator, and entrepreneur.

was based on many factors including the audiences' preconceived notions of what African music was and how one should respond to it rhythmically, and also the sort of background the audience has about being entertained.

In Askew's (2002) *Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania*, we learn of audience members – mostly women – who use *taarab* (Swahili love songs, in the form of sung poetry), as a means of "social critique, identity contestation, and dispute negotiation" (*ibid.:* 126). A member of the audience would request a song be performed by the band and would continuously enter "the stage area to tip the singer and other musicians with stylized, elegant movements" (*ibid.:* 125). The poetry requested would contain metaphors, but also convey messages that local protocol does not allow: the words in the poem cannot be voiced outside of these performances as they go against codes of respectful behaviour.

There are a few important things we need to get from Askew's (2002) study, firstly these performances of dispute negotiation or affirmations of friendship only exist in the moment; secondly, through the act of tipping the audience members are actively participating in these performances; third, these *taarab* performances are not limited to the stage, because as the audience members move closer to the musicians to tip them, they have, so to speak, enlarged the performing stage.

Returning to the production, 'Chippa *my autie*', I would say it portrayed a stereotypical South African township experience, for a South African township audience. The issue of authenticity may cause some controversy, as different townships have different 'personalities' (so to speak), and therefore where in one township its residents may agree on what reflects their reality, this may differ when speaking to a different audience in another township. At the same it alludes to the fact that all township residents have had the same experiences of township life, even possibly sharing a common 'identity'. While this is untrue, it would be correct to say that even if someone has not had that experience in the township, they most certainly have heard of someone who has had that experience.

The audience in all three performances mentioned earlier were different and indeed responded to the performances differently (as expected). In Nyanga, the members of Black

Ink felt that the audience were educated about drama and theatre works and therefore behaved appropriately during and after Black Ink's performance. This 'appropriate behaviour' includes laughing at the right times (when a joke was told during the performance), listened intently to parts of the play that were emotionally moving, and through their enthusiastic clapping at the end of the production, communicated to the actors their appreciation of the play and how much they enjoyed the performance. I agree with 'the guys' and felt that the audience was there to be entertained – of which they were – and also that they wanted to take something away with them from the show, a message that transcends the performance beyond just entertainment.

After this conversation with 'the guys' I endeavoured to get their opinions on the other two performances that I had witnessed. The performance at the Baxter, they said, a lot of the members of the audience did not know much about theatre and hence their constant laughing and talking throughout the production. I personally disagree with this sentiment, to an extent, for two reasons: firstly, I felt that the productions that preceded Black Ink's performance were what the audience was expecting since it seemed that tradition was the main theme of the performances; Black Ink's performance disturbed that flow. Secondly, the context of the performance was different: this was a competition, and I felt that some of the members of the audience wanted to undermine the actors and the play so that the actors underperform. The latter seemed to have worked, as one or two actors deviated slightly from the script.

The actors who stuck to their scripts were not impressed by this, they said it was unprofessional. They believe that as a professional actor, one should follow the script no matter what type of environment or stage set up they find themselves, and also irrespective of who is in the audience. To this last point, Ayanda explained said: "even if your friends are sitting in the front row and they keep making jokes during your performance, as a professional you don't laugh with them, and you stick to the script".

In the performance in Dunoon, Lufefe, who played the role of Chippa's uncle in the earlier performances, was not able to perform at the social evening; his role was portrayed by Ayanda. Ayanda was not only playing the role of a younger Chippa in replaying the past, he was also responsible for the sound effects that elicit Andile's nightmare; this evening, he had to play the role of Chippa's uncle as well. The audience realised this – that one man was

playing multiple roles and some moved into the 'stage' space and confronted Ayanda saying that they know who he really was, and that they were not convinced of his role change. Ayanda continued to perform as though he was not fazed, and the audience continued hurling comments at him.

After the performance, Ayanda – now as himself, rather than the character he had earlier embodied – returned to the 'stage' and confronted the audience, accusing them that they are disrespectful and how little they understood about theatre. He seemed truly angry. I recall during the performance after Andile had drank pills and was dying, lying there in the freezing cold but not flinching, someone in the audience said "*hai hai* get up, you will freeze to death" in isiXhosa, and the audience burst into laughter. Ayanda's voice had got louder, and at some point he was swearing at the audience. I doubt 'the guys' could have anticipated this sort of response to their performance, since a lot of the audience members were neighbours, friends of theirs, or people they knew quite well.

From the above illustrations we see three separate performances of the same script that was improved upon but was also performed in different locations and under different contexts. Two points may be evident here: first, that as the script for the play unfolded onstage, identities were being constructed by the actors using their bodies, props, tone of voice and narrative. The audience in turn was making sense of what they saw as they themselves were shaping the identities of an Andile or a Chippa – both of whom may have been based on real life characters, but only exist during the time in which the play is performed.

Second, we also see that in all three performances their respective audiences were making their own meaning of what was being shown on stage. At times, especially where we see Thamsanqa throwing a handful of Jelly Tots into his mouth, and he then collapses and dies, the audience saw the Jelly Tots for what they were, and not as a metaphor for pills. But audience members do not just watch a theatre play, I believe there is a part of them that makes connections between what they know, and feel to what they see before them. The connection between the characters, the repetition of certain scenes like the nightmare scene, all strike a chord with the audience as they take in the 'meaning' of the performance.

Therefore, a theatre play/performance – even if it is not based on a true story, does not mean that the individuals portraying those characters are false and that the performance in itself is false. What is most important is what happens during the moment of a performance.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has examined one play that was performed three times by Black Ink members to diverse audience members under differing contexts. I was able to show how the audience is a part of the performances – though taking place 'on stage', and also how the audience and cast members create identities and at the same time make sense and make meaning for themselves of the characters they are portraying. Through looking at the definition and aims of community theatre, we can therefore see that performances by Black Ink do represent community theatre, although differ in one way as opposed to conventional community theatre: Black Ink has had the opportunity to perform in spaces designated for town theatre, such as the Baxter. And even though the audience might not have been as diverse as they could have been – bearing in mind the South African population – we can say that Black Ink has broken barriers.

It is the focus of the next chapter, then, to show exactly how different these individuals are looking at the performance of their everyday lives, and the stories that they have to tell about what it is like being and young and living in Dunoon township through photo diaries and my time spent with them during my time in the field.

Chapter 4: 'Loxion Kulcha': Being young and black in South Africa

4.1 Introduction

This chapter follows from the previous chapter in that it looks at another aspect of performance - performance of the everyday. In the previous chapter I looked at formal performance events, and how identities were created and confronted during theatre performances. This chapter looks at how the members of Black Ink live their day to day lives in the township of Dunoon. The guiding questions for this chapter are: What does it mean to be black and young in contemporary South Africa? What do young people who live in the township do on a daily basis? This chapter draws on my time in the field with 'the guys', and on some of the photographs from an auto-photography exercise with which I had asked 'the guys' to represent their everyday lives.

As elaborated in the introduction of this thesis, young, especially young, black people in South Africa have been associated with social ills and being a 'lost generation'. Being referred to their 1976 politically-active counterparts, young people of the post-apartheid era are considered as problems. Substance abuse is a prevalent issue that has made headline news in newspapers and news on television, such as the use of dagga or cannabis, cocaine and 'tik' (crystal methamphetamine); apparently the use of drugs is twice as high in South Africa as it on average is worldwide and South Africa is in the top 10 in terms of alcohol consumption according to a Report to Parliament by the Central Drug Authority, 2011 (www.citizensmovement.org.za)

In addition, young people are also commonly linked to gangs in public discourse, as well as in research publications. Already in 1997, Amanda Dissel's article entitled 'Youth, Street Gangs and Violence in South Africa' (1997) explored factors that lead young people to find a home in gangs. One of the factors she attributes this to is the "role of urbanization and re-settlement" led the migration of people from rural areas to informal settlements on the outskirts of cities. As a result, family units and extended family relations were destroyed, and young people then find acceptance in street gangs. Dissel writes:

> These youth formations, though different in many respects, offer the youth similar attractions: a sense of identity and belonging through ... the medals of honour in the gangs...they get power, acceptance, and economic improvement.

The above illustrations are only but a few of how society thinks of young people. Though some reports paint a picture of young people as hopeless, self-destructive, and have no sense of purpose, others, however, such as that by Dissel, are placed within their socio/ political/ economic context. In the next section, I look at what everyday life entails for two of 'the guys' I worked with in the auto-photography project.

4.2 *Impilo ya se kasi*[23]

4.2.1 Of the daily, and extra-curricular

On numerous occasions when I had slept over at Odwa's house, we planned that I would go with him to the campus of West Coast College, an accredited Further Education and Training institution where he was training as an Engineering and Related design student to see what the campus was like, what he was like as a student, who he hung around with, and in general how he spent his day on campus. The plan was to wake up at half past five in the morning, wash (in a plastic bowl in the absence of a bath or shower), then walk to the bus stop a few minutes away from his house where the bus would pick us up – and other students headed in that direction – and head to campus. I would spend the whole day there, or make repeat visits if I wished. On many more occasions we both woke up too late to catch the bus that took Odwa to campus, and therefore he skipped school for that day.

On such days he would wake up late, just before midday, and I would be long awake by then. I woke up early, because I did not sleep for more than three hours a night, and so chose to use those early hours of the morning to make notes on my cell phone, respond to emails or chat to friends via social networks. On my first few nights sleeping over at Odwa's, his girlfriend whom he initially introduced to me as his sister, later his cousin, then his girlfriend would sleep with me on his king-sized bed, while he slept on a mattress that he borrowed from one of his tenants, who happened to be his girlfriend's cousin. One day in June, the girlfriend did

[23] Translates as 'life in the township'

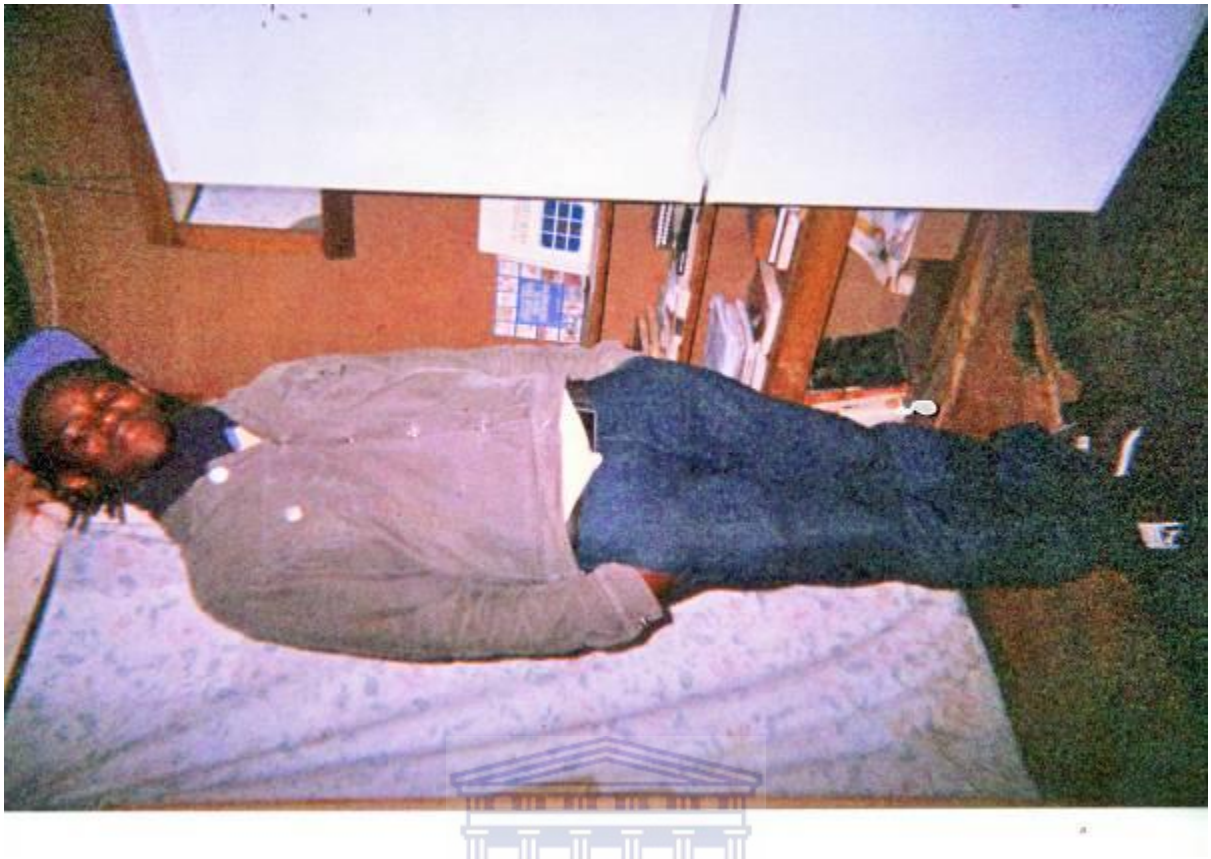
not arrive at the end of the day, and Odwa said it was too cold for him to sleep on the floor. So we slept on opposite ends of the same bed. That night I felt a bit uncomfortable as I was sleeping in the same bed with a stranger. The next morning he woke up early, and prepared for campus.

It took him over half an hour to decide what to wear. He was rummaging through his clothes that he stored in a suitcase that he kept between the bed and the wall. I became increasingly baffled and eventually started a conversation that went like this:

I asked:	*eintlik*? (actually) what are you doing?
Odwa:	I'm looking for something to wear eish I wore this Levis shirt the last time I went to campus
Me:	So what does it matter what you're wearing. You're a guy *mos* (isn't it) who's gonna notice?
Odwa:	Ey! Ey! This is my image so I always have to be what I present to people, not the opposite of what I say I am

He settled on the same checked Levis shirt, Uzzi branded jeans, Puma sneakers, and a brown, corduroy jacket from Truworths Man. He picked up his handmade shoulder bag with the image of Che Guavara on the front, said "peace!" (strong emphasis on the 'p' but sounded like forcing a breath of air through pursed lips 'ph!') and left. I got out of bed, made coffee and sat on a wooden chair in the sitting room, deep in thought. He returned a few minutes later and said the bus had left without him. Only once while I was in the field did I see him doing homework; that session lasted ten minutes. Then he was back to playing Pacman on his desktop computer.

One of the things this project of young residents' performance of belonging concerns itself with is self-stylization by the young men who collaborated with me on it. What young people wear, and the reasons for styling their bodies in a particular way says something about the sort of person they believe they are, how they wish to represent themselves to the world, and perhaps something of how they were raised or how they grew up. Odwa's insistence on wearing branded clothing may say more about how he wants to be viewed and engaged with by the broader public.



Photograph 4.1: Odwa in his Uzzi jeans and Puma sneakers.
Source: Odwa Mbakaza.

As evidenced by my earlier conversation with Odwa as he was searching for something to wear, wearing branded clothing – especially when headed to campus – is not a priority for me. Furthermore I do not believe in dressing for other people; I wear what I like, and what is comfortable, no matter the brand or lack of. Reflecting on this issue, it occurred to me how different our social selves are: I assumed (and believe) that I feel I do not need branded clothing to 'speak' for me, as my educational and middle class background already say so much. I have observed that once I speak to black people – whom I do not know – in English, their demeanour towards me changes somewhat: others are suddenly afraid to speak to me, and other ascribe a level of respect that I think should be given only to people you know well. But alas, Odwa does not share my background as an academically-trained young middle class woman. And therefore his clothes speak for him.

Odwa's efforts of self-styling were self-evident. Ayanda, on the other hand, remained more of an enigma to me. We would talk for a long time, and he was quite expressive when we spoke about theatre, drama, his passion for writing scripts for Black Ink, one-man plays, or

plays for school kids from Sophakama Artistic Society[24]. One such a day was in July when we both attended a hip hop gig at Sophakama Primary School that was organised by Odwa and a few of his friends who were a part of 1Movement (One Movement) – a hip hop crew that spewed conscious lyrics about restoring African pride. The gig had started more than an hour late, and because the audience was much larger than expected, the event was moved from inside the hall to outside where people could have room to stand or move around. Ayanda came to sit next to me, in his hand were a few old scripts that he had written for Black Ink for me to have a look at, and he told me about his inspiration for writing them, his love of theatre and the importance of an actor being aware of their potential audience all the time. The music was blaring from the speakers as local hip hop artists performed for a massive audience, and Ayanda spoke louder and louder to make himself audible. One topic led to another, and another, and he grew more animated with each passing story, I then remembered that we were at a live gig. Turning to look at the performers, I realised that half the artists had performed already, and I had missed it.

Writing scripts is what Ayanda does in his spare time, although we never did get into details with Ayanda about what he did to make money or where exactly he "slaved" (worked) - more on this later. I am aware, though, that he has attended a few workshops since we met: workshops for theatre training with Magnet theatre, and one of the photographs he had taken was of a building in Observatory, a famously bohemian residential area near the University of Cape Town (UCT), in July, where he had attended an entrepreneurship and managing a non-profit organisation (NPO) workshop. He had been looking for an internship since 2008 in Public Management through governmental institutions in Braamfontein in Johannesburg, but to no avail.

Ayanda said that the workshop - and such endeavours aimed at township residents - was a waste of money for both the organisers and those attending. The reason being that money is spent by organisers to pay trainers and on training materials while there were no resources in the township for those who have completed the workshops; also the attendees "spend so much money travelling there and back for nothing. So those who attended sit at home with certificates, and remain unemployed".

[24] Sophakama Artistic Society was created by Ayanda and Nomalungisa in 2009. The group is open to any school learner who is interested in learning new skills and performing drama and traditional dance.

Photograph 4.2: At the entreneurship training in Observatory held by Magnet Theatre. Source: Ayanda ka Haas.

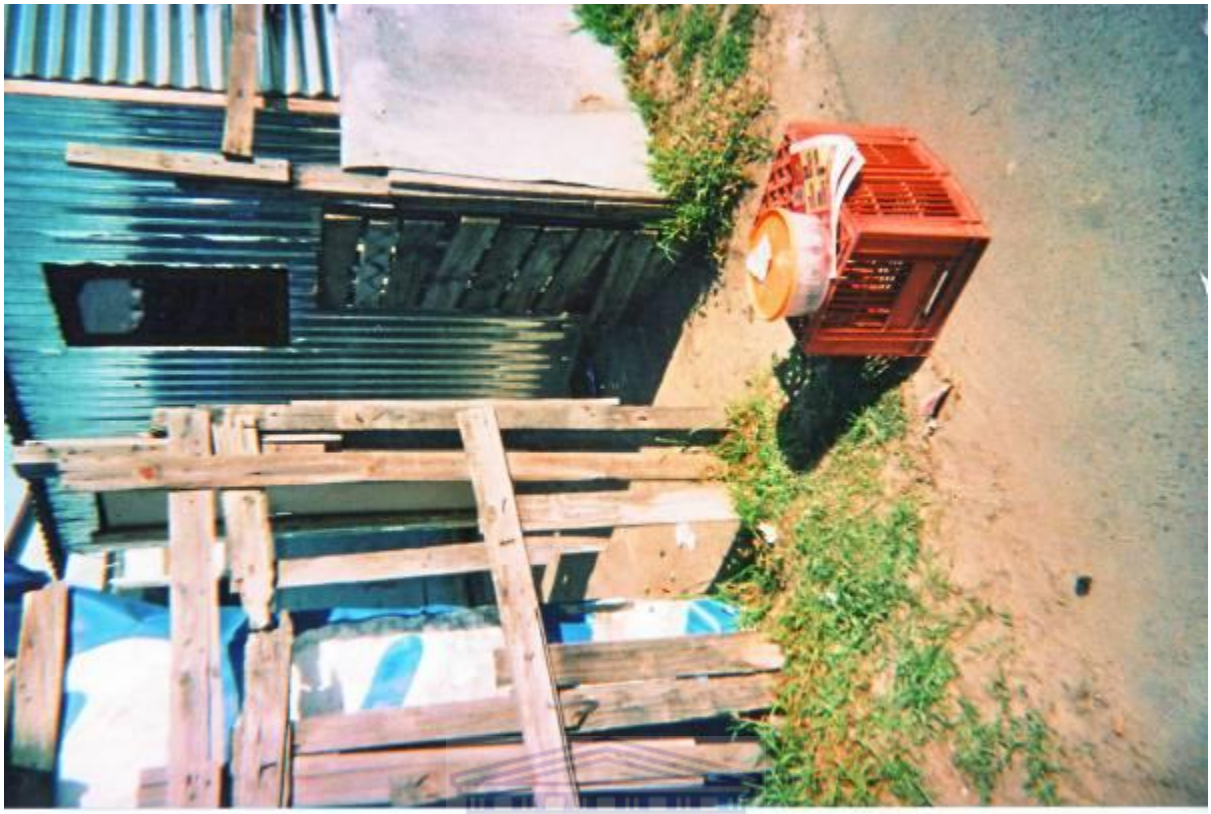
It is perhaps what Ayanda and Odwa do in their spare time that they are mostly known for: drama (with the exception of Odwa who is also a well-known hip hop performer in the local hip hop circles). They do well at promoting themselves and their work as a group and as individuals. In my opinion, they also do well in keeping their private and public lives separate: Ayanda did not say anything to me, but I saw the fine art works when Odwa and I went to visit him in his one-roomed shack. I asked Ayanda if he had produced the works (photographs A and B), and he shrugged his shoulders. I got the feeling that perhaps I am intruding on an aspect of his life that was not part of – in his understanding – my interest in Black Ink as a group of theatre performers.

Besides that, what they also have in common is their love of reading, which sets them apart from the majority of young South Africans: Odwa says that he not only reads a lot to gain knowledge, but he also reads so that he learns how to improve the way he expresses himself lyrically. He also listens to what he calls conscious hip hop by artists such as The Roots and

Common, and he learns a lot from them as well in terms of how to play with words, since in hip hop one needs to be able to deliver punch lines and play with metaphors – as was also the case with hip hop performers from Becker & Dastile's (2008) study. Both he and Ayanda took a photograph of books.

4.2.2 "Hustling"

"Hustling" is a term that is used quite frequently by people who listen to American hip hop music to refer to means of making money. In Odwa's case, the people that live in the bungalows in his yard all pay rent to him on a monthly basis, R250 each, so he earns a thousand rands a month. The house he lives in at the moment used to be his mother's, but she has since permanently returned to the Eastern Cape and he asked to remain in Dunoon. Sometimes his mother in the Eastern Cape sends him money as well, as she is not aware that Odwa has people that are "renting". But by any means necessary, Odwa will make sure that he can make money where he can, and with this he spends it on a variety of things, such as clothes and shoes, airtime, alcohol, groceries, etc. I say by any means necessary, because when it comes to end of the week, he manages to 'hustle' money from somewhere so that he can buy alcohol; ironically every time I arrived at his place, there would not be one or more of the following: bread, toilet paper, tea, coffee or sugar, nor electricity and I would buy these. When I was in the initial phases of my fieldwork, he was 'hustling' in order to pay for studio time as he was recording an album. In June, he organised a few hip hop and a Black Ink performance to raise funds for the trip to Grahamstown.



Photograph 4.3: Russians for sale by Odwa outside his house.
Source: Odwa Mbakaza.

Ayanda says it is difficult to make ends meet. Since he does not have a regular or permanent 9 to 5 job - sometimes he is not able to pay rent, like during the month of August he says, the woman whose yard he lives in increased the rent from R250 to R350 a month, and he had not worked for a while so he could not afford to pay rent. So he borrowed the money from a friend in order to pay rent, but he has other expenses to take care of, such as sending money to his girlfriend who lives with their two year old son in Khayelitsha. Due to a lack of regular income, he cannot have the sort of relationship with his son that he had envisaged: the sort of relationship he longed for but did not have with his father as his father abandoned him and his mother while he was young. So he tiles floors or paints houses in order to make money. Based on an earlier conversation in June:

> Me: so you stayed in jozi in 2008, did you know someone there?
> Ayanda: ya my mom lived there. In Roodepoort. I looked for a school...first year I didn't get a school so I had to work piece jobs –
> Me: doing what though?

> Ayanda: I was...using this machine to make a column solid...wet concrete you pour inside the bin..there's steel inside there, so we poured that [concrete] in with buckets because we did most of the columns at night and the big ones they had to hire the cranes... I did that for 8 months (01 June 2012)

Photograph 4.3: Slavery boots.
Source: Ayanda ka Haas.

The photograph of his "slavery boots" (work boots) for Ayanda represents:

> what a person does without their will, forced to perform them in order to get remuneration. It makes me hate slavery, Rato, but what choice does a person have. I hate slavery...I hate slavery.

The above statement makes sense when one thinks about the fact that it is Ayanda more than any other member of the group who wants to 'make it big' in terms of theatre, his passion. He is the only member of the group who is completely self-reliant, and does not have family members who send him money, and does not have a full time job or studies he's pursuing.

Ayanda is among many young South Africans who do not have full time employment. In an article entitled 'Youth unemployment: South Africa's ticking bomb', COSATU's - Congress of South African Trade Unions, one of the fastest growing trade unions in South Africa, dedicated "to improve[ing] material" conditions of [its] members and of the working people as a whole" (www.cosatu.org) - General Secretary Zwelinzima Vavi relayed the scary statistics that it was estimated that out of a population of 49 million, 7.5 million of them are unemployed; 73 percent of those unemployed are below the age of 35, and many of those under 35 have a tertiary qualification. While the Minister of Finance Pravin Gordhan in his budget speech noted that 72% of the population in Sub Saharan African lived on less than $2 a day because of poor education and lack of skills, according to Africa Governance Monitoring and Advocacy Project, 2010 (www.sabc.co.za).

4.2.3 *Ubumnandi*[25]

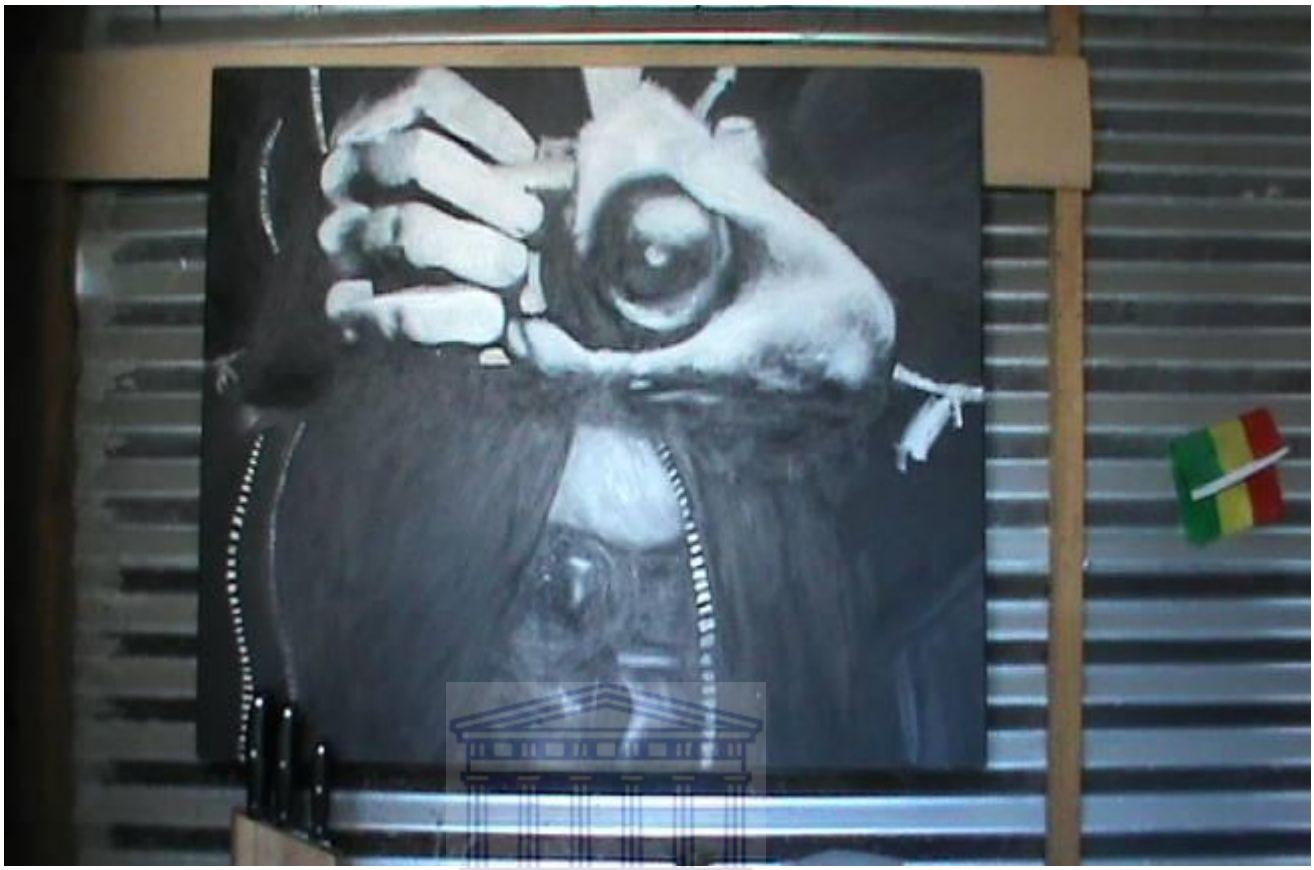
But even those who hustle on a daily basis have time for *ubumnandi*.
Ubumnandi for the young men in my study is what happens in the township between Friday evening and Sunday afternoon. Come Friday, the young men involved in this research, along with their friends – some of whom are unemployed – would meet at Odwa's house and listen to international hip hop music or local hip hop emcees battling it out at street performances. Some of the locals would video record at some of these hip hop events, and distribute the video files to the artists. Odwa collected these videos, listened to his performances and watched himself perform in order to better his performance. These would be the same videos the young men would watch over and over again every week, because they enjoyed the performances and watching the videos catapult them back into that moment. They would touch fists (a congratulatory gesture) with Odwa or whatever artist they feel appealed to them at that moment.

[25] Roughly translated as '[to have] a good time'

Photograph 4.4: A picture of a random young lady taken at a party in Dunoon.
Source: Ayanda ka Haas.

A conference paper entitled '"*Kumnandi elokshini*[26]" The township re(imagined) and (re)presented: an ethnographic study of space, identity and changing perceptions among township youth in Cape Town' (2012), Namhla Yaziyo found that township youth are not able to recognise themselves in representations of the township as "a space that is just shaking off the shackles of past oppression...[and are therefore] creating a new image of the township [which is] based on sociability rather than struggle, ubumnandi rather than poverty". Even those who have moved out of the township return during weekends for *ubumnandi*, this is for different reasons for different people. Some say they no longer live in the township but their family and friends are still there, so they frequent the township to socialise. Others say some things are cheaper in the township: Odwa had said beer and food was much cheaper in the township than in town, and therefore it made no sense to spend money on travelling to town and buying food when one could have got so much more in the township.

[26] Directly translates as 'It is fun in the township'



Photograph A

Photograph B: Some of Ayanda's paintings that are hanging in his bungalow. These are his creations. Source: L Makhale.

4.3 *i-loxion*[27]

During my time in the field, a lot of it was spent in the township. Even though on some days we went to theatre houses because Black Ink was performing, and excluding those among 'the guys' who worked in companies located in Central Cape Town's central business district (CBD), in Dunoon was where 'the guys' spent most of their time. In this section, I look at how 'the guys' have claimed this space as theirs, and I make an argument for creativity.

Film maker and film studies academic Jordache Ellapen (2007) who studies the cinematic representations of the township space in post-apartheid South Africa (through cinema and television) argues that the township space is utilised as a central location to represent the narratives of authentic black South African stories. Initially constructed through a process of 'othering' to suit a political ideology, the township was represented as the manageable part of modernity for black identity (*ibid*.). The increase in shack dwellers in and around Cape Town is a clear reflection of people's striving for a better life, as many of these people are from the rural areas, according to Stats SA (2011). But also shows that the post-apartheid government has been slow to appropriately react to these developments, as many promises have still have not been fulfilled by government. StatsSA found that, for example, the migration of people from the Eastern Cape for 2006-2011 to the Western Cape was 104 215, and net out migration from the Eastern Cape was 329 714!

Yaziyo (2012) argues that the young people who live in Cape Town's townships are unable to relate to the representations of townships as promoted by tourism companies where the township is a space in which locals can tell their stories and teach about justice, or of the township space as undergoing transformation in the sense that we would regard the township from an academic point of view, where the history of the people and their current struggles is evident. So some young people have taken it upon themselves to claim the township as their space, and therefore negotiate a new image for themselves in relation to this space.

With that said, it is understandable why Mzoli's[28] is such a popular place among people who live in Cape Town, and tourists as well. But it is precisely Yaziyo's point that the locals and

[27] The township.

[28] A trendy buy and braai (barbeque) 'chill out' spot located in Gugulethu.

the tourists do not experience Mzoli's in the same way. Nonetheless Mzoli's a 'chill' spot such as Mzoli's does resonate with people, and therefore they identify with it (for example In Becker, 2008, on self-representations).

I show here how from the same repressive life that some young people have transcended the limitations set for them as a result of their history, and their present 'lack'. Furthermore, they are doing it through their own voices and accents. I hereby present an argument for creativity. Through talking and hanging out with 'the guys', I believe that in being creative, they have gained self-confidence and are therefore not shy to pursue their passion. This passion, I believe assists them to transcend their life of 'lack' in the townships, and for others it is their way out of their township.

An excellent article based on a study that looks at hip hop performers from Philippi township who rap in an African language (Becker & Dastile, 2008) was concerned with the role that hip hop plays in negotiating identities, and how hip hop was used as a cultural form to claim citizenship and belonging in the city of Cape Town, and contemporary South Africa (*ibid*: 22). They found that the local artists involved in spaza hip hop (hip hop in Xhosa) were influenced by global hip hop trends in terms of style and self-stylization, but differed in the sense that they used urban versions of Xhosa and fused it with the local English slang. Also, the lyrics of the raps (and fusion of Rastafarianism) addressed "contemporary social and political issues, bringing their music to (and interacting with) a multicultural audience (ibid: 28).

Spaza hip hop was used as a mediator of difference by the rappers. Creative young people create new and use existing ways transform themselves. English Literature Professor, Rita Barnard notes that "It is with respect to emergent social space that literature, with its capacity to rewrite and reinvent new identities, new stories, and new maps, has been and will be of particular interest" (2007: 4). I have found that in terms of creativity and voice, none is ever so telling and (arguably) accurate as some of the emerging literature written by young people who grew up in or still live in the township.

Room 207 by Kgebetli Moele (2006) is a novel that tells a tale of a group (six) young black men who live together in a room that used to be a hotel in Hillbrow, Johannesburg. The

young men are hustlers who are trying to get ahead. The narrator tells us about each young man's story with a hue of passionate detachment. The narrator also demonstrates that the young men's visions (the reasons why they came to 'the city of lights' as Johannesburg is well known) had become perverted and consumed. It tells honest stories about young men's desires to make it in life, and how people can get side tracked in the present as they try to pave their way to their future. Niq Mhlongo's *After Tears* (2011) is another book that traces aspirations of those young and old who live in the township and the disappointment of the post-1994 situation.

Other recent publications on young people in Cape Town have considered young people as agents, who were able to negotiate their own relationship to the city. The books *Ikasi: The moral ecology of South Africa's Township Youth* (Swartz, 2010), the edited volumes *Edge of the Table* (Arendse & Gunn, 2010) are based on ethnographic studies conducted on young people in various townships in Cape Town, and most of the stories are told from their perspective. Where these differ from other studies is that we get to understand the challenges that young people are faced with in this post-apartheid era. Most of the young people live in poverty, where only one person in the house is employed.

Highlighted in all the young people's stories was the conflict they face between the dreams and aspirations that they have as a result of a new South African identity of possibility and the tough realities they face on the daily in townships. Cape Town had been harsh on the young people in these studies as a result of living a life of poverty, but as agents they broke the generational cycle of poverty and drug abuse.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I looked at everyday behaviour and activities of two young men, Odwa and Ayanda. It seems that their lives are active, surrounded by friends, and that 'the guys' really strive for a better life and refuse to be constrained by their circumstances. This is greatly different compared to the young men and women we read about daily who find themselves addicted to drugs, join gangs, are victims of violence and discrimination, and have little education and no employment. Some young people are able to do something positive with their lives, regardless of the fact that they live in the township. The young men in my study are reshaping, in their own way, their own space in which they not only live, but hustle from, entertain in. So, from the visual, we then delve into other senses and the notion of home.

Chapter 5: Memories of 'home' and a sense of belonging through the Senses

5.1 Introduction

One Thursday in April after the group Black Ink Arts Movement was scheduled to rehearse[29], I was with Odwa and Thamsanqa, walking back to Odwa's house from the shipping container used as a rehearsal venue which had been removed by the local municipality. Odwa was telling me that corn will be arriving in Cape Town "from the East", and how excited he was about that. Thinking I might have missed something, I asked about this corn 'from the East'. "You have to taste this stash[30] man, it tastes nothing like the corn from here" he exclaimed, as we walked down a busy road, avoiding taxis rushing past us. "I'll tell you what", he said, as he saw the expression of confusion on my face, "we'll hook up corn from here *neh* (okay?) and then I'll cook you the corn from back home and you'll see what I mean". I said 'okay' and laughed, because at that moment he was so excited, literally hopping as he walked on; in his excitement he gave the impression of a little child expecting Father Christmas. We never bought the corn "from here", but he did make soup out of corn that arrived on Friday morning (the following day) from the Eastern Cape.

That evening we were getting ready in Odwa's house for a social evening that was to take place outside his gate by the cul-de-sac, an evening of hip hop and drama street performances by Black Ink and other local hip hop artists. It was windy and raining outside. In the house, on a two-plate stove, Odwa had been boiling corn with beans, with a pinch of salt "just like they make it back home". Everyone enjoyed the soup, myself included (although the corn was a bit more chewy than I was used to), but Odwa felt that even though he had followed the exact recipe, the soup did not taste the same. And it was this very short conversation with

[29] The group did not rehearse that day, because their rehearsal venue had been removed and therefore they had nowhere to rehearse.

[30] Stash, according to the dictionary, denotes something that has been (secretly) put away or the act of secretly putting things away for safe keeping. In this case, 'stash' refers to the corn headed to Cape Town.

Odwa about home and corn that I realised that when 'the guys'31 spoken about 'home' they had mostly told me of their memories of food consumed at 'home' in the Eastern Cape, and its taste.

Not all members of Black Ink were born and raised in the Eastern Cape: Khanyiso was born in Crossroads, one of Cape Town's largest townships. His parents are both from Tsolo, a small town in the Eastern Cape, although his mother now lives in Khayelitsha, Cape Town's largest township, with a population of about 330, 000 (2001)[32], the third largest township in South Africa – Soweto being the first. He goes 'home' to the Eastern Cape every December, he says. So, naturally I was interested in knowing why he considered the Eastern Cape to be home, while he was born and raised in Cape Town, although he occasionally visited family in the Eastern Cape.

Thamsanqa, on the other hand, was born and raised in the Free State. As with the other 'guys', he made frequent visits to the Eastern Cape during in December. He moved to Cape Town because his older sister and parents already lived there. Being from the Free State and with his main language being seSotho, he described himself to me as a moSotho, but also acknowledged the fact that he would not generally describe himself in that way to any other person who may ask, especially if that person either lived in Dunoon, or spoke isiXhosa. He told me he was made fun of when he arrived in the Cape because he spoke a different variety of isiXhosa than that which was spoken locally. This made him learn the language so as to belong - at least, linguistically. When asked of home, and where he thought home was, he answered: his home would be the Free State, because he was born and raised there. But to anyone else, his home would be considered to be the Eastern Cape, because of the general assumption that as umXhosa (a person of Xhosa descent), your home is supposed to be the Eastern Cape, irrespective of where you grew up.

My initial conversation with Odwa about the corn led to another chat (we had later) about food and how certain foods triggered memories and emotions about 'home', and also how

[31] 'The guys' is a way of talking about young men without the formality. Also, 'the guys' is a rough translation of how the young men refer to each other as *umjita* or *amajita* - meaning a guy/ dude or guys in today's youth speak.

[32] At the time of writing, the 2011 national census data were not available.

food functioned as a metaphor for expressing sentiments about belonging in the city. This chapter relays some of the discussions and sentiments expressed by some of the young men from Black Ink, with whom I hung out, about where they thought their 'home' is, memories they have of 'home', and strategies they employ to make them feel that they belong in the city.

I first discuss the issue of belonging – before proceeding to a discussion on 'home' – as it is really a central aspect of this chapter which helps to make the discussion (and the notion) of home more salient. A caution to the reader is perhaps warranted: this is a chapter in motion. In as much as subheadings will be used as sign posts to help you navigate your way through the different aspects of the chapter, many of the themes overlap and flow into each other, therefore if you are not paying careful attention, you may find yourself stuck, or worse lost, in the 'traffic'.

5.2 Belonging in context

Belonging, much like many other anthropological concepts such as culture and 'identity', form a part of the emic or public discourse in referring to an affiliation to a particular group, for example, to an association or religious group. In context, one would belong to the Rastafarian movement/ faith or Islamic faith. Whereas for those of us in the discipline (and those engaging critically with the concept) would know that the concept of 'belonging' refers to sensorial, experiential and behavioural practices: people feeling and made to feel they belong.

Pfaff-Czarnecka (2012) argues that the concept of belonging addresses the short comings of the concept of 'identity', particularly the complexities of 'identity'. She proposes a new analytical approach through the concept of belonging. Pfaff-Czarnecka notes that belonging "is an emotionally-charged social location... [and is a] central dimension of life that is easily felt and tacitly experience" (2). When people get together, they belong when they have the following in common: values, relations and practices. She elaborates:

> The concept of belonging gives us an analytical tool to see collective boundedness as structured by regimes of belonging, catering for instance to identity representations, while

> simultaneously pointing to the possibilities of moving across social boundaries, opening up to new-comers and challenging the modalities of boundary-making (2012: 5).

Belonging is a more accurate form of analysing and making sense of boundaries or challenges that we may face when moving across a particular identity marker such as language – her example - where speakers of the language differ in terms of dialect and other such identity markers like religion.

The sense of belonging of black people in Cape Town has been raised often as a special issue in the city that has historically excluded black people more than any other in Cape Town specifically, Africans (blacks)[33] have for long been marginalised more than anywhere else in the country (Becker & Dastile, 2008: 28). As everywhere during the apartheid years, entry into the city was limited, and Africans were mainly given permits to live there for work purposes. The belief that separate 'races' must reside in separate spaces led to the construction of townships (Gervais-Lambony, 2006: 56). However, Cape Town previously was a special case according to the Coloured Labour Preference Area Policy, which stipulated that Coloureds were always to be given preference. The apartheid government sought to make the Western Cape an area for Coloureds and Whites only, and imposed strict restrictions against the influx of Africans and especially women[34]. Consequently, the percentage of the African population remained very small until 1990, and even today the demographics of Cape Town are distinctive. In 1996 the population of Cape Town was about 50% Coloured, with the other half almost equally divided between Africans and Whites (Indians/Asians were only 1,5%). In 2007, the population profile had changed to include 44% Coloureds, 35% Africans and 20% Whites; this historical legacy, together with the fact that during apartheid residential segregation was restricted on the basis of race[35]. And according to many media reports even today (there is an abundance of black middle class people complaining about feeling excluded according to www.iol.co.za); it has also been pointed out by some recent academic work (Becker & Dastile, 2008, give some indication).

[33] In Cape Town, 'blacks' and 'Africans' are used interchangeably, and 'Africans' used interchangeably to refer to people who speak an African language as their first language.

[34] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Africa_under_apartheid.

[35] Based on apartheid's classification of its people according to their physical attributes, they were either 'white', 'coloured' or 'black' – now 'black' may also refer to Asian and Indian populations. Post-apartheid South Africa has retained these categories equity purposes.

5.3 The notion of 'home'

In the following, I develop the connection between belonging in the city and the notion of home. Shelley Mallett, on 'home', says that home can be considered as a space that is made up of things, people, belongings, practices, feelings and therefore becomes a "repository of memories" (2004: 64-89). Therefore, 'home' can be considered a place, a locality which is occupied by people to whom we have an emotional attachment, and is also associated with certain behaviours and practices – in some instances, specific routines which are performed on a regular basis, but not necessarily having personal knowledge or experience. Research on notions of 'home' has mostly been conducted among immigrants and refugees, people that live in a different country than the country of their origin. These studies generally have looked at issues such as citizenship and belonging, identity, xenophobia, 'imagined communities' or nationhood (see Field *et al.*, 2007). There have also been numerous studies conducted in South Africa due to the changing political and socio/economic landscape of the country – from a highly racialized, ethnicised and isolated country in relation to the rest of the world, to now being a rainbow nation: a democratic, 'multicultural' society.

One of the issues Bank (2011) dealt with was how township residents used public spaces as testing grounds (where the city is seen as a site of struggle) for cultural change, and negotiate their differences and identities as that of belonging in the city (Bank, 2011: 88). Similar studies have been conducted, though under different contexts, on the young people in cities such as Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg by Nuttall (2009), Dolby (2001), Salo (2003), and Salo and Davids (2009). In these studies, we learn of how young people from different socio-economic backgrounds construct their identities through mode of dress, the areas they inhabit – such as shopping malls, which Noyes (2000: 54) terms "plural spaces", and through the language they speak.

Among the earlier South African urban anthropology, Wilson and Mafeje's (1963) study of migrants living in Langa in the late 1950's was remarkable in that it gave us a glimpse into the lives of men from the Eastern Cape (who came to the city of Cape Town) to seek employment, how they organised themselves in the city. Similarly, Mayer and Mayer's (1961) study in East London concluded that men could be categorised as those who embraced

'European' values, and those who embraced traditional African values. These studies investigated social change amongst people in urban cities.

Key ideas from these earlier anthropological studies still inform interdisciplinary research today. The literature and drama scholar Miki Flockemann (2012), in a paper entitled 'Cape Town as Passage, Threshold, and Dead-End: The Aesthetics of Performing Migrancy and Belonging', introduces us to how belonging and migrancy are embodied by theatre performers in a few plays show cast in Cape Town recently. One of those is Mandla Mbothwe's Inxeba Lompilisi/The Wound of the Healer which is a play that "draws our attention" to the "trauma of unbelonging" of internal migrants who travel from Cape Town to the Eastern Cape, especially those that do not reach their final destination. The young men I worked with in Dunoon share identification with an isiXhosa tradition, or "Xhosa culture" as Khanyiso would most likely say. This culture is linked to a territory, or space rather – more on this later on in the chapter.

5.4 The taste of ethnographic things?

I return to the opening vignette of the chapter.
One of the things 'the guys' made clear, through informal conversations and also time spent 'hanging out' together, was that being in the city and not having enough money can make daily life difficult, especially when it comes to meal times, but also as far as having a choice as to where one can afford to live. "In Dunoon you are in danger if people don't know you, 'cos here they rob and kill you", said Ayanda on living in Dunoon. He continued: "You have to get to know as many people as possible *uyabo*'[36] so that you make sure that you are safe". Khanyiso explained, "at home you know you can never go to bed without a meal, but here if you're not always hustling then you'll go to bed hungry".

On the topic of food, I asked the guys what their best memories of home were.
Ayanda told me that his best memories of home were of eating *i-afala* or 'smiley'(sheep's head) and dipping dumpling in the gravy. When he told me about this, he had the biggest smile on his face that I ever saw on him in all the months I've spent with him. Khanyiso considered the *umnqushu ne mbotyi* (samp and beans) at home as his best food memory. He

[36] isiXhosa for 'do you see?' or 'you know what I mean?'

added: “But it’s not the same here as it is at home, like here they use spices while at home it’s just made with salt, *ene imnandi* (and it’s delicious)”.

I must admit, I was surprised that they tended to consider food stories as their favourite memories of home. I assume would be the kind of stories of their childhood that had been forgotten, of them learning to ride a bike or the first time they were punished by their parents for having disobeyed their authority – the sort of stories we who grew up in the suburbs of post-apartheid metropolitan South Africa assume to be the stuff of which childhood memories are made which would have been forgotten, no matter whether they were happy or traumatic, but taught us valuable lessons. I was quite surprised to hear the young men speaking about food cooked at home, and especially seeing the emotions they showed in contrast to their usual demeanour, which was decidedly ‘cool’.

Khanyiso continued to give a possible a reason for food at ‘home’ tasting better than the food consumed in the city. He suggested this was mainly so because the vegetables used at home are grown “organically” (sic) and did not contain chemicals such as vegetables that are grown and consumed in the city, and also that water consumed ‘there’ was naturally pure and was not purified with chemicals. When he explained this to me, I thought to myself that his comment referred to more than just food, that he was making a comment about living in the city and the people that were consumed (so to say) by city life. As I pressed on about the issue of having being born and raised in the city, Khanyiso spoke a lot about people who came from the Eastern Cape then suddenly abandoned their “culture” when they reached the city, and then became lost as a people. “It is important to know your culture because I believe it brings you closer to God”, he further explained.

As evidenced by some of the young men’s thoughts on home, specifically Khanyiso, one gets a sense that there are practices that lead to certain emotions or sensory experiences in the Eastern Cape that are absent in his daily life in the city. These practices seem to be closely related to notions of sharing. The young men told me, for instance, that in contrast to the urban custom of serving food on individual plates for each person partaking in the meal, at home food is dished out on one plate and siblings would eat together; should there be a neighbour who did not have food, then he was invited over for a meal, and once again the

meal will be dished out onto one plate. He said this united people, helped maintain respect and brought about happiness.

5.5 A reflection on the senses

The senses have previously been studied in isolation. Seremetakis (1994) and Stoller (1989), smell (Classen *et al*, 1993, and Corbin 1986), touch Harvey (2003) and Montagu (1971) and possibly towards thinking beyond the five senses by Howes (2009). On a hierarchy of senses, sight has traditionally been at the top while taste and smell are at the bottom. If we want to develop a more comprehensive understanding of food, I agree with Sutton (2001: 5) when he says that "food is about identity creation and maintenance, whether that identity be national, ethnic, class or gender-based".

Sutton (2001) grapples with ways to conceptualize the experience of eating as 'embodied practice' when the analytical tools for describing sensations of taste and smell remain so undeveloped compared to those for sight and hearing. Sutton, therefore, posits synesthesia, the crossing of different kinds of sensory experiences, as the basis for food being memorable and thus capable of evoking a larger whole, notably the homeland that serves as a touchstone of identity for migrants and expatriates. This he illustrates with heartfelt tales of Kalymnians, a previously colonised people, in Athens yearning for the remembered taste of local figs, oil, or fish (Sutton: 2001) based on his research in the Greek island of Kalymnos in the eastern Aegean.

It seems to me that the young men have nostalgic memories of 'home', because no one mentioned any disagreements that might have been had in the family unit, or death in the family or anything negative. Since taste and the consumption of food is very much synesthetic experience (following Sutton, 2001) or a multi-sensory imagining (following Seremetakis, 1994), because sense memories are emotionally charged, one can understand why the memories of consuming certain foods, surrounded by loved ones remain etched in the young men's memories. I am curious, though, as to what sort of conversations were had

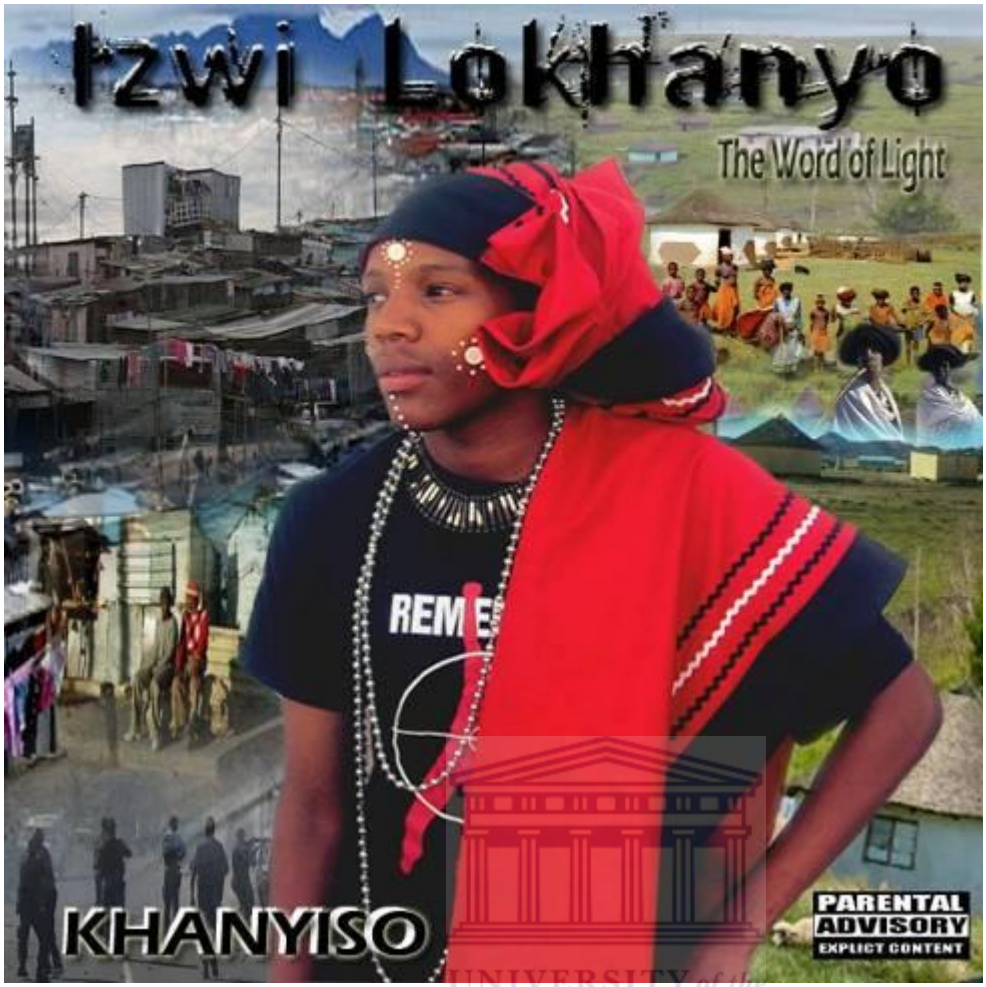
during this time when, for example, *i-afala*[37] was prepared and eaten (with bare fingers, I assume). Through food, I would say that they were able to recreate for themselves the totality of life in the rural areas that their parents and grandparents often spoke of.

Home, in this case, is imagined as a place of history: not only the young men's life histories in terms of where they were born, and for others, where they spent a large part of their lives, but also where they imagine the place of their ancestors, the keepers of the faith and those that left a legacy. I refer especially to Khanyiso here as he was not born nor did he spend a large portion of his life in the Eastern Cape, but he believes strongly that knowing one's history about themselves, 'their people', customs and traditions, and being able to speak your language properly. He has learnt, over the years, to speak a variety of isiXhosa that is "pure" and that which is not spoken in the city. This, he says, helps him remain true (see Photograph 5.1 of Khanyiso in traditional Xhosa attire).

Anthropologists have critically discussed such notions of bounded cultures linked to place (Gupta & Ferguson, 2002). However, this does not help us to understand Khanyiso's continual attachment to a space called 'home', even if he has only remote or almost no personal experience of it. Khanyiso exhibits a loyalty to the Eastern Cape that I do not personally understand.

It starts to make a bit of sense when I look at how Lovell (1998) has conceptualized belonging, especially in reference to a particular space or place. Lovell (1998: 3) writes that home is a place to return, and speaks of "...the emotional attachments produced and triggered by locality and a sense of social belonging provide the necessary elements for imprinting memories of place onto bodies and minds" (Lovell, 1998: 6). I assume that some memories that Khanyiso 'has' of 'home' may have been instilled by his mother, as she has since returned to the Eastern Cape.

[37] A sheep's head is not something that is eaten often in any home in the Eastern Cape, I was told by Odwa. It is only available after the animal had been slaughtered, and that would be for a special event, like a traditional ceremony.



Photograph 5.1: Khanyiso's hip hop album cover, updated on his Facebook profile as of December, 10, 2010.

The importance of consuming particular foods and the belief in the Eastern Cape was 'home' falls in line with the key ideology held by the apartheid government that people of separate language and cultural groups should live in separate areas called Bantustans, for the benefit of their community's development, and with the aim of upholding their particular 'culture' (see Sharp, 1988, ethnic group and nation in SA Keywords). This has not changed much since the end of apartheid; Becker (2010) shows how the promotion of the idea of a 'multicultural' society, and the idea of the rainbow nation may continue to bolster the idea of ethnic spaces (in principle, the former Bantustans) and the importance of 'culture' for people's identifications.

This has been discussed in detail by Becker (2010) in her argument that during a public holiday now called Heritage Day (24 September), there would be many events taking place

all over the country, where people are encouraged to celebrate their "different cultures and beliefs" – whether it be assumed to be isiZulu. isiXhosa, sePedi. The ANC, in particular, takes this opportune time to host an extravagant event where Heritage Day as a celebration of 'diversity' is used as a platform to promote political ideas; where ethno-racial culture resurfaces.

This makes sense considering that South Africans experienced colonisation and apartheid – two regimes of power that sought to 'divide and conquer'. The sense of difference and 'uniqueness' of the young men in my study has obviously been reinforced to them and they have, in turn, internalised that notion.

5.6 The return to ethnic identification

As Becker (2010) has shown, post-apartheid South Africa has seen the resurgence of culture discourses. I write 'culture' in inverted commas, because this word, not concept, is part of the dominant discourse, as Becker (2010) has shown. The re-iteration and belief by the young men in this study in a 'umXhosa speaker who has a isiXhosa culture and therefore regards the Eastern Cape as home as umXhosa' is problematic in the sense that it is what Gupta and Ferguson (2002) had warned against the assumption of distinct people residing in distinct countries and are therefore assumed to share one common, bounded 'culture.' This does not account for the cultural variation found in one location, let alone an entire country. Examples they gave are: the American culture of the United States, and Indian culture in India, and so forth.

The resurgence of a cultural identity within public discourse (Becker, 2010) becomes more problematic as it is a return to an 'ethnicity as primordial/essentialist' mentality, and ignores the most amazing aspect of being young and specifically a member of Black Ink: agency. The young men I hung out with did not sometimes exhibit the characteristics of being 'coconut'[38] that they ascribe to me: the way I 'overdress' when I go to *kasi* or the way I sit (the latter still baffles me to date). I still believe that a Converse All Star sneaker is fashionable and classic,

[38] Displaying 'white' or snobbish tendencies. The meaning of coconut differs according to context, at times it refers to a black person who speaks a lot of English (black on the outside, white on the inside, like a coconut).

and when I wear it I feel a certain connection to ‘ghetto life’, whereas they believe All Stars are no longer fashionable: it’s the Levis and the Pumas that are “hip and happening”.

Besides the way in which the young men style themselves (as discussed in Chapter 4), I perceive their commitment to identifying with a culture as an attempt to feel as a member of a community. I refer specifically here to Thamsanqa who describes himself as moSotho, but had to learn isiXhosa upon his arrival in Dunoon and also (publically) regard the Eastern Cape as ‘home’. This is evidenced in Baumann’s (1996) study on Southallians where the dominant discourse rendered culture and community as equivalent, for example the Sikh community (assuming they share the same culture), whereas the Sikh community is split by caste, history and religious belief. The same could be said for Thamsanqa who lives in Dunoon, a place where the majority of its residents speak isiXhosa, it is assumed that he shares their Xhosa culture. As he was teased because he spoke the wrong variety of isiXhosa, he is proud that he has come so far in “learning to be umXhosa” that he is treated as umjita (an ordinary guy) – one of their own.

It is evident though, that ‘the guys’ are aware – in their own way – of the complexities of identity or identification, and that ‘identities’ are context-based. I have no doubt that their performance of being *um*Xhosa is fake, as within the private space there is not much of an assertion of their Xhosa-ness, but their participation (performance) of eating food that is symbolic of an imagined home helps them bond with others who share their same values and morals.

5.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter focused on the moments and instances where certain experiences and situations were relegated to the realm of feelings by young men who hardly ever speak of feelings. I have shown how strong the link between food, the senses and memory are, and how this remembrance of the past, of experiences and of place has helped the guys negotiate their sense of belonging in the city. My research collaborators have shown that no space is neutral – space and place carries with it a history which is embodied within the people that inhabit it. Both the Eastern Cape and a Cape Townian township have old histories and stories that still exist, shaped mostly by place. The guys in my study have not been immune to the influences of history.

Most importantly is the demonstration of the processes of belonging: 'the guys' did not feel they belong in a cosmopolitan city just by changing the way they dressed, or the way they spoke – it was a whole culmination of issues and processes. What 'the guys' had in common was their sense of pride in their 'cultural' identification, which they saw as being essential to their existence and therefore belonging in the city. Certainly, this sense of identification may be problematic to the rest of us, also because it emphasises more on how different people are instead of what they have in common. Interestingly, 'the guys' did not claim a global influence on their 'identity', but on the basis of them being migrants to the city, they become a part of a global migrant population where home will always be imagined; it is not a place to return to.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In this thesis I explored what it meant for young theatre performers from Dunoon to negotiate their sense of belonging in a cosmopolitan city of Cape Town, and how this negotiation was achieved through formal theatre performances. I initially looked at central concepts 'culture' and identity and how central they are in the lives of the men with whom I worked. These young people, most of which had migrated to Cape Town from the Eastern Cape, came as they thought they would have access to more opportunities such as education and employment as opposed to remaining in the Eastern Cape where these were quite limited.

In the second chapter, I detailed the difficulties I experienced in the initial phases of my research as a result of matters beyond anyone's control, such as IDASA moving to Pretoria, the Phillipi performers not having a schedule until the middle of the year, etc. But what I was also able to show was the place in which my research collaborators live, and how the place may make it difficult for young people to transcend their circumstances.

Central to this thesis has been the culmination of space and identity. How does a particular space, a township space, shape the identities of the young men in my study? To answer this question, I looked at the concept of performance, and in this thesis the concept of performance was used in different ways. In Chapters 3 and 4 I looked at different kinds of performances such as formal performance events, plays that were performed by Black Ink Arts Movement, particular attention being paid to narratives produced by the actors for audience consumption.

In Chapter 3 I was able to show that through formal performance events, the young people in my study were able to make sense of their own world, in that it was during the different moments of performance that the particular identities were constructed, and confronted by the actors themselves and those portrayed by the rest of the cast. These characters may have resembled those that existed in real life, and perhaps we could go as far as to say those real life characters were influential to the creation of certain characters on stage. Therefore township 'identities' are indeed shaped by place: a place that one may call home, and also shaped by the people with which they encounter and perhaps interact with daily.

Interestingly, in Chapter 3 we also learnt of the different responses that the audience had towards the three performances of 'Chippa *my autie*' and that the audience response differed according to where the performance took place and under what circumstances/ contexts. I looked at the audience members in Ebron (2002) and Askew's (2002) studies of performances, and learnt that a performance becomes so as a result of performers having an audience. Secondly, the way in which – for example, the women in Askew's study can use the words from the *taarab* as their own to mend social relations or insult someone during the performance and at no other time or place, says a lot about the transformative and agentive power of performance. It allows those within the audience to have a voice which they claim as their own – as evidenced by women tipping musicians during performances of *taarab* that they thoroughly enjoy.

In Chapter 4 I argued that 'the guys' from Black Ink were extraordinary compared to other young people from their township, and I focused on the results of the auto-photography project 'the guys' undertook. Having moved to an area that came about as a result of South Africa's changing socio/political landscape, and living geographically close to the city centre though were so far economically, the young men in my study had to make a life for themselves as they were growing up. Not to say that the members of Black Ink who were the focus of this thesis were altogether very different from other young men in their age group, but they differed in the sense that they took an interest in, and got trained and participated in programmes and festivals that brought their creativity to the fore, and helped enhance their talents. What was also evident in this chapter was the different things 'the guys' identified with, for example Odwa and his love for fashion, and Ayanda and his passion for fine art.

In Chapter 5 I demonstrated the complexities of belonging and the different ways in which the young men in my study relate to the cosmopolitan city of Cape Town. I have shown how strong the link between food, the senses and memory are, and how this remembrance of the past, of experiences and of place has helped the guys negotiate their sense of belonging in the city. Most evident in this chapter as well is how, within the discipline, we have shown how multifaceted people are in themselves, and in relation to others who they perceive to be like them. The chapter focused on how issues of food and the senses were used as metaphors to talk about home, and negotiate their belonging in the city. Food is clearly a very strong and important signifier and reminder of home for people who have had to leave their homes. The

young men in my study who choose to now live in Dunoon and come from the Eastern Cape have demonstrated that who a person is depends on their environment, which is in turn influenced by a fusion of history and their aspirations.

So what does this all mean for the study of belonging of young men who live in a township? What does the project then say about the claims of Cape Town excluding black people? This project as a whole was able show that the young men in my study see the township differently than how the generation before saw it: they see it as a place to call home, and a place in which to socialise and make money. The township is a space in which they move freely, a space they have made their own. This project has also shown the importance of multi-sited ethnography in terms of performance, and proves – through its many diverse chapters – that performance is transformative, and is relevant for identity negotiation.

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