

COLOURED LENS: A STUDY OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT
OF WENTWORTH IN DURBAN, KWAZULU-NATAL, SOUTH AFRICA,
TOWARDS A PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTARY

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE QUALIFICATION:
MTECH: GRAPHIC DESIGN

DURBAN UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY
FACULTY OF ARTS AND DESIGN
DEPARTMENT: VISUAL COMMUNICATION DESIGN
2011

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Abstract

Social issues are a very real problem in South Africa. Violent protests in poorer communities around South Africa indicate a need to better understand negative social realities impacting on communities. This research examined the socio-cultural context of Wentworth in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, as shown on the map on page x. The focus of this study was the social and community realities; and the significance of photography in the context of examining these. The aim was to use photography as a research tool as well as to document the data collected. From the data a 118-page book, as shown on page viii, was conceptualised, which captures this community's social context. Further, the study questioned the use of design practice to support social change. Because of the distinctly "Coloured" nature of Wentworth, literature was sought for the definition, history, current dynamics and complexities of Coloured identity. The literature review highlighted ethics and the strategies that should be adhered to when considering the social nature of photography. For this inquiry a qualitative analysis was conducted using the Grounded Theory method. A collaborative, or participatory research approach, was used for data collection, by working closely with families and health, church and non-governmental groups in Wentworth. Qualitative data collection methods used to gather primary data were photographic documentation and interviews. This research produced a number of key findings regarding socio-cultural problems plaguing the community. Findings deemed photography a rich tool for researching the social and for accurately recording everyday life. The main conclusions drawn from this research were that in-depth studies be conducted on individual problems, utilising greater manpower and funding. In addition, that further research and documentation be undertaken in the community.

Keywords: community, social, coloured, photography, documentary, ethics and identity

Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the Durban University of Technology. The work is original, except where indicated by reference in the text. No part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other degree. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author and in no way represent those of the Durban University of Technology. The dissertation has not been presented to any other University for examination, either in the Republic of South Africa or overseas.

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Acknowledgements

First, I would like to thank God for granting me the strength to persevere and believe in my ability to pursue my goal, that is, the completion of this rich study. Second, thank you mum, for your unconditional love and support and for putting up with the many hours spent in front of the computer. Love you mum.

Unending gratitude to Dr Vivian Ojong: you are an inspiration. Thank you for your guidance and allowing me the space to be creative. For your encouragement and for always being available. Thank you, Professor Kate Wells, for your assistance and help at the outset of the study. Thank you, Rick Andrew, for your time, patience, honesty and much-needed advice. Gratitude is extended for your insightful feedback every step of the way. Piers Carey, thank you for your support and for providing the space to carry out this study. Thank you, Dr Kenneth Netshiombo, for affording young lecturers the opportunity to study at Master's level in the Faculty of Arts and Design in this capacity. Colleagues at the Durban University of Technology, thank you for your support and encouragement. You are all an inspiration.

Thank you Cedric Nunn, for relevant insights gained by way of interviews. Your wisdom shines through. The dignified manner in which you carry out your art, photography, must be emulated.

Thank you to all those walked with and talked with throughout the study. Helen, Esther, Tom, members of the Wentworth Victim Friendly Center and other community organisations, thank you. Without you many of the insights gained in this study would not have been possible. Thank you for helping to mobilise the community to participate in the study. To those who I cannot name but who took part through interviews and discussions and by extending the honour of photographing your lives, I thank you for your courage.

Natalie Houston

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the late Cecil Adrian Houston. Dad, you are gone but never forgotten. Rest in peace. Praying that today you are looking down and smiling. Thank you beautiful mum, Joan Dinah Houston, for raising us as you did; for being the strong mother that you are. Mum, we know how much you sacrificed in trying to make life happier for us all. For this, eternal gratitude, and the hope of always making you proud and happy. Mum and Dad, love to you both.

Notes on referencing

This study has used the Harvard system of referencing in which the relevant matter or quotation is followed in the text by the author/s surname, the date and, where appropriate, the page number. In all cases the date used is that of the edition at hand.

Chapters and layout of the study

- CHAPTER 1:** This chapter consists of the introductory background of the study.
- CHAPTER 2:** The literature review investigates all relevant issues relating to the study in literature.
- CHAPTER 3:** This chapter defines the qualitative research methodology used to gather data relevant to the study.
- CHAPTER 4:** This chapter consists of findings, analyses of findings and discussion
- CHAPTER 5:** This chapter contains the summary of findings, recommendations, limitations and conclusions

The 118-page book, *Coloured Lens*



WENTWORTH POLICE STATION/ WVVC BREAD ROLL OUT AND SOUP KITCHEN

GIVE US THIS DAY OUR DAILY BREAD

In Wentworth many people live from **hand-to-mouth**, battling to get by from one day to the next. Securing a meal for the day for some means going to the local store, but not to shop, to **stand at the door and beg** shoppers for money for bread. Some sometimes **go to bed without food**. Many poor people are dependent on social welfare from the various non-government organisations in the community.

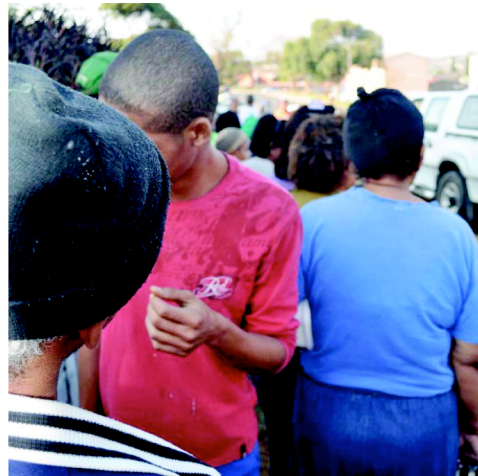
PATIENTLY WAITING

In this series of photographs, people wait in a queue for a loaf of bread and a blanket, part of a relief aid campaign by the Wentworth Victim Maudy Centre (WVVC). People of all ages and gender wait their turn patiently. One can observe that even young men have the assistance.

For many, the source of their problems is poverty which is linked to a lack of education and unemployment. Girls who become pregnant and drop out of school before matriculating often find themselves unemployed. For the majority, life is hard and unaffordable; there is never enough money. Very often, bills cannot be met and saving money for the future is seen as impossible. In homes where everyone is unemployed, people live from hand-to-mouth and may live without electricity for as long as a year and a half. In some instances, people do not enjoy simple comforts like watching television and having a comfortable couch to sit on.

This often leads to psychological problems and depression. Alcohol and drug consumption is seen by many without a job as a way to numb their depression. This, however, entrenches people even deeper in the cycle of poverty. Adults who blow their depression with alcohol and drugs prematurely pass the burden of running a household onto the shoulders of their children, creating great hardship for those children. Consequently some children resort to prostitution and drug peddling.

It is not uncommon to see people living as transients on the streets of Wentworth. Very often this comes as a result of substance abuse or even gangsterism where families no longer prepared to put up with the bad behaviour of abusive siblings and offspring, kick them out. Most of the people described above have experienced hunger. Even when they have food, hunger is almost always just a day or a week away.



COLOURED LENS is a PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTARY ON THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF WENTWORTH

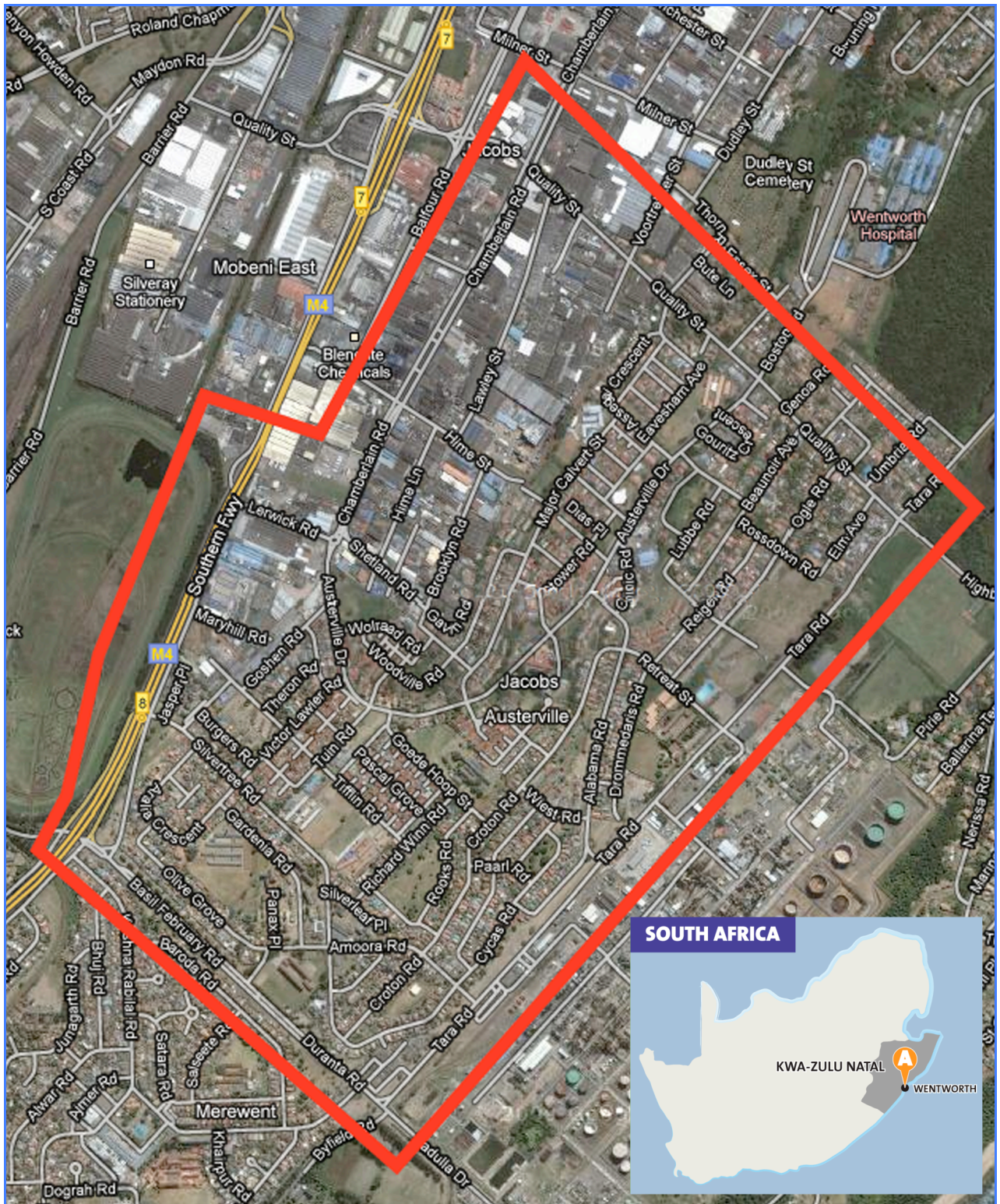
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Book 1: © 2011, Natalie Houston

Map of Wentworth



Map 1: © 2011 AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd, Europa Technologies, Google, Tele Atlas, Tracks 4Africa



Map 2: © 2011, Google Maps

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction to the study

1.1. Introduction to the problem

This dissertation deals primarily with issues affecting community, specifically the socio-cultural elements within a community, in this instance Wentworth, an urban community in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The significance of photography in the context of the social ambit is gauged. For the study, photography facilitated the collection of data, and documents social realities in the community in question. This documentary takes the form of a 118-page book, called *Coloured Lens*. According to Scott (1999:21), "Realistic and documentary photography have served as invaluable recording and informational tools for well over a century."

In this study, it is argued that understanding the socio-cultural context, or lived experience, of a community facilitates the production of meaningful visual communication. According to McCoy (2006:205), "Audience-orientated design requires the designer to establish an empathy with one's audience to 'buy into' their frame of reference."

1.2. Background of the study

Wentworth is an urban township 10 kilometres south of Durban, built by the apartheid government to accommodate Coloured people during the era of forced separation and removal. Coloured families were first put into the World War II military camps, army barracks. Later flats were hastily built between these barracks¹. Chari (2006:427) writes:

An unexpectedly large number of Coloureds were thrown out of backyard tenancies throughout the city of Durban, ... in the application of the Group Areas Act. This large population of Coloured tenants from places like Mayville, Cato Manor and the city centre were relocated with Coloureds from the Eastern Cape in former military housing in the neighbourhood of Austerville in Wentworth.

Wentworth is flanked by the industrial area of Jacobs and the Engen oil refinery. As a result, it finds itself squarely at the centre of the South Durban Industrial Basin. Other residential areas neighbouring Wentworth are Bluff, Treasure Beach, Merebank and Clairwood. Regrettably, Wentworth's immediate neighbour is the infamous Engen oil refinery. Sapref, an oil refinery, and

Mondi, a paper factory, are also in close proximity. The people of Wentworth and surrounds often find themselves having to negotiate between the many trucks finding their way into the many truck depots scattered around the basin. It is against a backdrop of steel pipes, industrial silos and smoke and gas emissions that we find a community struggling with socio-cultural problems.

Poverty and unemployment levels are high in the district. Some residents turn to illegal means of bolstering their income. Drugs and alcohol are rife and contribute to social ills such as prostitution and other forms of abuse. Chari (2006:429) states: "At least some part of this income in Wentworth is sought through theft, sex work and drugs, all of which eat away at individual and community resources." Root *et al.* (1999:221) writes:

Wentworth, immediately adjacent to Merebank, was proclaimed a Coloured Group Area in 1963. "Coloured" people from various communities in Durban, and later from several provinces, were relocated there. The social ruptures of the removals created a community that was rootless and disorganized. Many men are fitters and construction workers who are unemployed intermittently. A relatively large proportion of households are headed by women, many of whom work in the service sector.

According to Statistics South Africa's 2001 census, 141 853 Coloureds were living in KwaZulu-Natal. 87 267 were living in Durban. Moreover, 23 411 lived in Austerville, 1 371 in Treasure Beach and 855 in Merewent. Wentworth is comprised of Austerville, Treasure Beach and Merewent. These figures illustrate that Coloured people are a minority in KwaZulu-Natal, as opposed to the Western Cape where they were in the majority. In addition, Coloured people in KwaZulu-Natal have a very different genetic makeup to Coloured people in the Western Cape. And in KwaZulu-Natal, they are English speaking. In the Western Cape, Afrikaans is their first language. The demographics of the Wentworth community made it an ideal community to study, with its clearly defined borders and residents who were, in the majority, Coloured.

McGee and Warms (2004:2) state that understanding different cultures is vital: "It helps us think about who we are and what we are as human beings." According to McGee and Warms (2004:2), "answers determine our understanding of ourselves and our behaviour toward other individuals and groups."

It was important that the Coloured community of Wentworth be looked at as a discrete community with a singular set of needs and problems very different from those of other South African communities. The Coloured identity needed to be defined in detail within both the South African context and within the context of Wentworth itself. Dannhauser (2006:10) writes, "Much as one would like to remove race from discussions of identity and community, this is impossible in the context of South African society where race has permeated every level of social discourse and continues to do so." Indeed, most of the densely populated, built-up and ghetto-like areas in apartheid South Africa were defined by colour. Designed to keep races separate, many such areas have remained this way. Such different cultures and ethnicities present a complex, challenging terrain upon which to design and implement programmes that support change. Trickett and Pequegnat (2005:33) point out that "Variations in subgroups [are] important to consider not only in conceptualisation but also in implementation of community-level interventions."

1.3. Statement of problem

This study examines a single problem, that is, "What are the key determinants of the socio-cultural context of Wentworth?". The policy of confining members of different racial groups to specific locations on the outskirts of major cities played an important role in the evolution of an urban identity determined along racial and economic lines. Apartheid laws and discrimination against non-white people impeded the economic development of people of these races. Post-apartheid, Wentworth has emerged as a community with a distinct racial makeup and urban culture where years of separate living have impacted on, and defined, the people living there. This study gauges this impact and depicts it visually.

1.4. Aims and objectives of the study

The aim of this study is to investigate the socio-cultural context of Wentworth, and to produce a photographic documentary that captures this context pertinently. The aim of this photographic documentary is to serve as tangible, historical content of Wentworth at this moment in time. Sontag (2009:85-89) says photography has a way of imprisoning reality that is often seen as inaccessible; has a way of making that reality stand still, and provides a human document that keeps the present and the future in touch with the past.

As influenced by the aim of the study, the primary objective of this dissertation is to show the importance of design research and photographic practice, for social issues. The objective will be to use photography to support change; also, to show how design is relevant and informed when it stems from research. In trying to understand Wentworth's socio-cultural context, the following key questions were asked:

Question 1: What defines Wentworth?

Question 2: What defines Wentworth's problems?

Question 3: What are the determinants of these problems?

Question 4: What perceptions, attitudes and beliefs about their socio-cultural state exist among the people of Wentworth?

1.5. Research question

What identifying "local norms, power structures, resources, and traditions" (Trickett and Pequegnat (2005:13) in Wentworth contribute either positively or negatively to its socio-cultural context.

1.6. Research method

The Grounded Theory Method was used to solve the problem. Multi-data collection methods, that is, interview schedules and photographic documentation, were used. A collaborative or participatory research approach was achieved by working closely with participants throughout the investigation.

1.7. Hypothesis

- » Wentworth is an urban community confronted by socio-cultural problems; where photography can be used as a tool to support change; acting as visual evidence of this context; confronting the community with its reality.

1.8. Limitation

The focus of this research study prioritised socio-cultural issues and, as a result, the findings have tended to show the community in more of a negative light. This is not the intention of this study. In a further study of Wentworth it is recommended that members of more affluent sectors of Wentworth, and more

male participants, be interviewed to obtain a balanced view. Hence the results of this study cannot be generalised to the sample population.

1.9. Description of dissertation organisation

The dissertation is comprised of five chapters. Chapter one outlines the problem and describes briefly the area being investigated. The research question is presented and the aims and objectives of the study introduced. Chapter two reviews literature that considers Coloured identity. Photography and its influence on the society were scrutinised. Chapter three introduces the methodological approach used in the study. It illustrates how the methodology selected is well-aligned to the method used for photographic data collection. Chapter four analyses findings from textual and photographic data emerging from key questions, in response to the research question raised in chapter one. Here the validity of the research hypothesis is tested by findings. Chapter five presents recommendations from findings and concludes the research study.

1.10. Conclusion

As highlighted in this chapter, the study focuses on the socio-cultural context of a community. The study assumes that photography can be used to research, document and facilitate change. The literature review is presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

A key objective of this literature review was to investigate the socio-cultural context of the Coloured community of Wentworth, and to show the importance of design research and photographic practice for socio-cultural issues. Therefore much of the literature reviewed focused on photography and its influence on the social. More specifically, literature on photography's use as a tool to document was reviewed. International and contemporary South African photographers and their use of photography for the social were scrutinised. This scrutiny revealed that, post-apartheid, there had been a shift from political to social photography in South Africa. Godby cited in Weinberg (2008:8), writes that "documentary photography in South Africa was suddenly paralysed by a loss of significant subject matter ..., the political changes in the country introduced a whole new world of photographic opportunities." Literature validated the importance of photographic documentation as a method for collecting visual data for research or as a research tool, sanctioning the use of photographs, to deepen and enrich insights gained via other data collection methods such as interviews.

The literature review highlighted ethics, which sensitised the author to the manner in which participants should be photographed. To develop a clear understanding of Coloured identity, literature on the history, transition and current state of the identity was reviewed.

According to Dannhauser (2006:10), "In the light of our history, one cannot examine community, cultural and social identity in South Africa without considering race and ethnicity." Much of the literature reviewed left the author with a dominant feeling that there is no consensus regarding contemporary Coloured identity. According to Adhikari (2005:xi), "the current literature offers superficial attempts at analysing its character or the social and political dynamic that informed Coloured exclusivism." In addition, it has been agreed in literature that Coloured identity as a South African racial identity is open for debate. Erasmus *et al.* cited in Palmberg (1999:184) write, "[There are] some problems with the ways in which Coloured identities have been understood

both before and after the 1994 democratic elections. These problems are indicative of the critical need for a thorough debate.” Reviewing literature helped clarify the relevance of a comprehensive study of Coloured identity, especially the history thereof. According to Adhikari (2005:xi), “Debates around these issues [Coloured identity, its history, and the implications it holds for South African society] have generated much controversy, yet there has been no systematic study of Coloured identity.”

Literature validated theories regarding Coloured identity, especially in the context of its shaping the behaviour of the bearers of this identity. The review process revealed limitations in the literature, given the scarcity of literature on Coloured identity in the context of KwaZulu-Natal. There is a tendency to categorise the identity in this province as a homogenous one similar to that of the dominant Cape Coloured identity. Language, culture and ethnic make-up of Coloured identity in KwaZulu-Natal are vastly different from that of the Cape Coloured identity and warrant a comprehensive study.

This literature review has presented theories relevant to the study that have enabled a better interpretation of qualitative data emerging elsewhere in the study. It was anticipated that this understanding would facilitate the discovery of new theories pertaining to photography and the social. Investigating the socio-cultural context of Wentworth and using photography to highlight this context would confront people in the community with their realities, and make others aware of the realities being lived by distinct communities.

The review focused on: the definitions of Coloured identity; Coloured identity as established in literature; the history of Coloured identity in South Africa; it considered the dynamic and complexities of Coloured identity in the context of pre- and post-apartheid South Africa; photography as a tool to document; photography as a research tool; and ultimately, photography and ethics.

2.2 The history, definition, complexities and dynamics of Coloured identity

2.2.1 The history of Coloured identity in South Africa

Adhikari² (2005:1-6) in his book “Not Black Enough, Not White Enough”, reviews the history of Coloured identity. He begins by stating that there has been no real study of Coloured identity and that there is a general lack of

historical content written on the community in South Africa, as a result of their marginality. He says that Coloured people were descendants of Cape slaves³, indigenous Khoisan and other black people who were at the Cape in the late 19th century, and that they were mixed race and therefore descendant of European settlers. He adds that Coloured, as a category, included subgroups such as the Malay, Griquas, Namas and Basters, and during the period of Dutch colonial rule, social grouping of the colonial black population at the Cape promoted Coloured group consciousness. Adhikari explains how subsequent to the emancipation of the Khoisan in 1828 and slaves in 1838, the black working class in the Cape colony began integrating and developing a shared identity.

Adhikari points out that the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886 began to transform the social landscape of the Western Cape, when large numbers of African people moved there from 1870. He writes that Colonial blacks and African people found themselves in competition in mining towns, and that this environment prompted colonial blacks to take on a position of relative privilege in relation to Africans, based on their being partly descendant of European colonialists. The book describes Coloured identity as having begun to emerge as a real identity in the late 19th century as a consequence of social changes brought on by the mineral revolution. Adhikari points out that in the mid-19th century, the British began abusing the civil rights of blacks in the Cape Colony, which in turn ushered in a history of abuse of the civil rights of the Coloured people.

Adhikari's book states that in the 1920s and 1930s, labour policies and laws were designed to favour whites over blacks in competition for employment. In his book, Adhikari states that a barrage of apartheid segregationist laws saw the onset of forced classification and illegality of marriage and sex across the colour bar through the Population Regulation Act of 1950, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, and the Immorality Amendment Act of 1950, respectively. The book describes how the hated Group Areas Act of 1950 forced more than 500,000 Coloured people into built-up cities and towns, which were inadequate and cramped. Long-standing communities were broken up and property owners were cheated, not only financially but also in terms of inequality of the new accommodation compared to the old. The 1953 Separate

Amenities Act segregated all public facilities and in 1956 Coloureds were removed from the voters' roll.

Adhikari writes that in the early 20th century Coloured people began to mobilise politically in defence of their civil rights. In 1902, Abdullah Abdurahman established the African Political Organisation (APO), the first Coloured political body in Cape Town. In the 1930s, Marxist ideology within the better-educated, urbanised sector of the Coloured community began to surface. In 1935, the National Liberation League and, in 1943, the Non-European Unity Movement were radical organisations that were formed. These movements failed, however, to unite blacks in the struggle against segregation. The South African Coloured People's Organisation (SACPO), founded in 1953, protested against the removal of Coloureds from the voters' roll. SACPO was affiliated to the Congress Alliance, led by the African National Congress. Adhikari adds that the Sharpeville massacre of March 1960 represented a turning point in South African history. The state crackdown that followed stifled any Coloured opposition to apartheid. Coloured resistance re-emerged in the wake of the Soweto uprising of 1976, when Black Consciousness ideology began taking root within the Coloured community. Coloured identity was questioned. Educated and politicised Coloureds began rejecting the identity. The climate of open resistance to apartheid and a sense of black solidarity started by the Soweto Revolt of June 1976 spread to Coloured communities in the Western Cape. Colouredness was viewed as an imposed identity by the ruling minority. The United Democratic Front (UDF), founded in 1983, fed coloured rejectionism and, with the Western Cape as an epicentre of resistance to apartheid, Coloured identity became a highly charged issue. Recognition of Coloured identity was seen as a concession to apartheid thinking. In spite of all this, the identity remained.

Adhikari sees the Coloured community as lacking political and economic power because they make up only 9% of the population of South Africa, and two-thirds live in the Western Cape. He concluded that fear of African majority rule and marginalisation were anxieties that caused many to hold on to the Coloured identity. These anxieties have been alleviated in recent years as people adapt to the new political order in South Africa.

2.2.2 The definition of Coloured identity in literature

Literature has shown Coloured identity to be a contentious issue. Often those who bear the label find it difficult to define their identity, as elaborated in point 4.3.1 on race. Participants were either unable to verbalise their definition, or offered up ambiguous answers. Each person had his or her own idea about what it meant to be Coloured. Perhaps this stems from the intrinsically ambiguous definition of Coloured identity constructed by the Apartheid regime. Leach (1986:69-70) writes about the Population Registration Act (1950) which set out guidelines for determining race, in which a Coloured person was defined as one:

... 'who is not a white person or a native'; a native was, 'in fact, or is generally accepted as, a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa'; a white was described as a person who 'in appearance obviously is, or is generally accepted as, a white person, but does not include a person who, although in appearance obviously a white person, is generally accepted as a coloured person'. The last description was clearly aimed at tying up some of the loose ends of racial classification; the demarcation line between who is white and who is coloured in South Africa is often very blurred and indeed there are many coloureds who to all intents and purposes appear white.

Soodyall⁴ (2003:13) uses science to show the complex nature of Coloured identity and writes, "The term 'Coloured' has been used historically to refer to people of mixed ancestry in whom one parental contribution could be traced to European sources." This mixture has proven to be a lot more complex than the simple intermix of indigenous South African tribes and European settlers. Rather, Coloured people are a product of centuries of miscegenation. Soodyall (2003:13) endorses this theory of miscegenation⁵:

We can use Y chromosome data to examine how gene admixture and genetic traits have contributed to the Y chromosome composition of 'Coloured' populations. However, various combinations of parental populations – European, Indian, Malay, Khoisan and Bantu-speaking Negroids – could have contributed to their gene pool.

During the late 80s, the author had to identify people on racial lines: as a student shop assistant at a well-known retail outlet, one was tasked with the census of shoppers entering the outlet according to race. The task proved extremely difficult, as the racial lines were at times indeed blurred. One begins to understand why the Apartheid regime could have coined the term Coloured.

As Coloured people were far more complex in their mixture than just black or white, it was much easier to lump them into a newly constructed category that accommodated their complexity.

According to Adhikari (2005:8-16), four key characteristics framed the foundation of Coloured identity:

1. One of the essential features was the desire to assimilate into the dominant society. This assimilation was less an impulse into the acculturation than a striving on the part of Coloured people for acknowledgment of their worth as individuals and acceptance as equals or partners by whites.
2. Coloured people experienced the South African racial hierarchy as a three-tiered system in which Coloureds held an intermediate position between the dominant white minority and the large African majority.
3. [Coloured identity was] the bearer of a range of negative and derogatory connotations. First, because of their lack of political and economic clout and because they formed a relatively small stratum within the racial hierarchy, the Coloured people tended to be perceived in terms of the larger groups.
4. The essentially opportunistic nature of Coloured identity politics, especially in response to segregationism, points to the marginality of the Coloured people.

Coloured identity emerges as a product of historical definition and complexities. It can be said however, that great confusion, problems and strife, came with the inception of apartheid segregationist legislation, constructed to keep people within the parameters of the identity.

2.2.3 Coloured identity as a product of abandonment and orphaning before the onset of apartheid

Du Pré (1994:viii), describes how some have argued that Jan van Riebeeck's arrival at the Cape gave rise to the birth of Coloured people in South Africa. He adds that "One has often heard it said in jest that the first 'Coloured' was born nine months after the arrival of Van Riebeeck in 1652." According to Seelge and Wasilewski(1996:12), "Five hundred years ago the pull of the sea impelled people to move in search of wealth and power. Today, over half of the earth's inhabitants are linked to people thousands of miles away through the force of the global economy." It would have been only natural for settlers in their limited numbers to procreate with indigenous South African tribes upon their arrival. This is detailed perfectly in literature that tells of the author's great-grandfather, Piet Louw, who married her Zulu great-grandmother, Amelia

Mhlanga. He also married Mhlanga's two sisters and two other Zulu women. Laband (2003:67) writes,

Piet Louw lived in the Mahlabatini District. Born in Amsterdam, Holland, he had come to Zululand with his parents when quite a small boy, and after wandering about Zululand as a trader had finally settled in the disturbed period after 1879, with the permission of Chief Mnyamana of the Buthelezi, near Ceza Mountain. ... What he did not tell the Commissioners, though it would have been well known, was that he had married five Zulu women and paid the customary ilobolo for them. By the time of his death on 21 June 1916, still near Ceza where he had been allowed to continue to squat and maintain himself by farming, his wives had given him 36 children, 22 of whom were 15 years of age or younger, and were attending the Ceza Government Aided School for Coloured Children. Louw, that complete transfrontiersman, lived – as colonial officialdom noted with distaste – 'like a native'.

This story illustrates the birth of mixed identity. It tells of a white man who, detached from his colonial roots, marries five indigenous African women. These women, by virtue of marrying a white man, detached themselves from their communities. According to Nunn, "The Zulus are the people of the heavens. They are the first people in their minds. So, when their sisters went and married our White great-grandfathers, those sisters were excommunicated from their families. I speak about it as openly and as often as I can, especially to African people. I say to them, you exercised racism in the same way that the White people exercised racism."⁶ Nunn adds:

I equate us to being orphans who were rejected by both the mother and the father. Our grandparents were orphans rejected by their Black families largely, except for a few exceptions, and more completely by their White family. Coloured people in KwaZulu-Natal have had to be incredibly resourceful to create a living. That's why we observe the social ills we do. If you don't have uncles and aunts who are also providing a social network and moral guidelines to guide you, you then had the excesses that happened with our grandfathers, they could do what they wanted. Nobody could tell them anything. They were rebellious because they knew that they had family that had disowned them. We are disowned people. That's what we are in this country.⁷

As a result, the majority of Coloured people do not know their family history, beyond the point of the first mixture of their Black and White great-grandparents. If they did know, apartheid would have made it impossible to maintain those ties at that time. As a result, much of the ancestral wisdom,

experience, social and material capital that should have been passed down from one generation to the next was lost. According to Nunn, "If you grow up in Wentworth, your chances of having anybody who was a professional – in your family structure – were rare. Society was pretty much rigged here in SA. It was very difficult."⁸ It is hypothesized that this abandonment and inter-generational deprivation has impacted negatively on the socio-cultural and psychological state of Coloured people. Today most find it difficult to set themselves free of the stereotype of not aspiring to be better than their fathers and grandfathers, who could not have imagined the difficulties that lay ahead for their children, the product of their miscegenation.

2.2.4 Coloured identity as a product of ascription, splitting and labelling

Appiah (2009:671) writes that in the case of an ascribed identity, where all citizens agree about that identity, the bearer of that identity has very little choice about whether that identity is his. Appiah continues by saying that the only choice the bearer of that identity has is whether he will, in fact, identify with it and to what extent he will organise his life according to that identity. Under apartheid the choice, as described by Appiah, was taken away. People were forced to live with the ascribed identity. Post-apartheid, Coloured people are practising that choice, often reclassifying themselves African, Indian or white. In addition, they are beginning to debate the authenticity of the identity, as well as reclassification. Post-apartheid, people have to begin to set themselves free of the label and shape their future as individuals.

According to Appiah (2009:676), "These old restrictions suggested life scripts for the bearers of these identities, but they were negative ones. In order to construct a life with dignity, it seems natural to take the collective identity and construct positive life scripts instead." This author's quote can be translated in the context of Wentworth as follows: A Coloured teenager, post-apartheid, takes the old life script of falling pregnant and leaving school and reconstructs it by completing Grade 12 and going on to study to become a doctor, lawyer or community worker. Seelge and Wasilewski (1996:xviii) write:

The big drawback to being multicultural is that you do not fit into most people's pre-set categories. You are neither fish [n]or fowl, but both. The challenge is to be fully aware of your own complexity, and the task is to be able to articulate that complex reality to other people who do not share that same background.

The problem with the above quote, in the context of South Africa, is that the majority of Coloured people were never given the opportunity to articulate their reality because they were conceived in a country where freedom of expression was non-existent. Now, post-apartheid, they need to task themselves with understanding their reality by no longer ignoring their complexity. Finding their true identities, both black and white, by looking into their past, may help them move forward with a stronger, more confident, sense of self. Nunn (2008:81), shares this sentiment when he writes,

In a country that was as socially manipulated as South Africa was, we are all having to find ourselves again, in ways that are not prescribed as they were in the past, when we accepted certain identities because they were part of the political scenario. We now have the ability to embark on more personal and more self-exploratory journeys, and you have to do this if you really want to know who you are – for all sorts of reasons, but probably mostly to do with identity. And people's sense of identity is shifting rapidly throughout the world, but particularly in South Africa.

Often such debates happen among academics and people who are of a higher social status. In Wentworth, in the midst of poverty where one might have no electricity or food to eat, questions of identity, the label and its effects do not even begin to take precedence. According to Seelge and Wasilewski (1996:61), "These 'pretend' boundaries [race, ethnicity, nationality] are politically functional only when they confer on the people with the given tag their fair share of the socio-economic pie." Hence issues of identity only become relevant when people's socio-cultural context is positive and they have an equitable share in the economic capital of their country. Hall (2009:201) writes:

Identity means, or connotes, the process of identification, of saying that this here is the same as that, or we are the same together, in this respect. But something we have learnt from the whole discussion of identification, in feminism and psychoanalysis, is the degree to which that structure of identification is always constructed through ambivalence. Always constructed through splitting. Splitting that which one is, and that which is the other.

What happens when 'that which one is' is different from 'that which is the other', as described by Hall (2009:201) above? Where the identity of a child should under normal circumstances be the same as its parents, but is not? A case in point is the real-life story of Sandra Laing, a South African woman with

distinctly Coloured features, born to white parents, in 1965. Iley (2009), a Sunday Times journalist, writes:

Sandra Laing was a black baby born to white parents at the height of apartheid. The hatred, rejection and heartache she suffered at the hands of the authorities, her teachers and her family sent shock waves across the world.

Under normal circumstances, Sandra would have been classified as the same race as her parents. In fact at the outset she was classified white as her birth parents were both white. Apartheid, however, stripped her of her identity and birth-right, labelling her Coloured, for the reason that she looked Coloured. Sandra was Coloured by colour, but not Coloured by culture. Her orphaned state and second-class classification commenced the moment people scrutinised the colour of her skin. Laing's identity was indeed reconstructed through 'splitting', as described by Hall (2009:201), as she eventually left home. Under the severe pressure placed on her by the apartheid state, she went to live among African people and, in the process, suffered 'social death', as described by Stoler (2009:398) since, under apartheid, being African meant great hardship and an inferior quality of life. According to Stoler (2009:398), this splitting "invoked, in the colonial context, not a biological but a social death – a severing from European society, a banishment of 'innocents' from [the] European cultural milieu in which they could potentially thrive and where some reformers contended they rightfully belonged."

I have considered how Coloured identity manifests as an abandoned, orphaned and marginalised child, separated from its many parent identities. Often this is without understanding of who it is and where it comes from, due to ascription, labelling and splitting by the apartheid government. Today under the post-apartheid dispensation, this orphan often does not know where to position itself. One could assume that the issues described above may be the root of the problem for the socio-cultural ills suffered by the bearers of this label, especially in the context of it shaping the behaviour of the bearers of this identity. According to Tarbox, as cited in Bennett (2006:74-75),

Activity theory ... looks at external environment and cultural context. It stems from a branch of psychology developed by Lev Vygotsky, an early twentieth-century Russian psychologist, and is not a concept developed to analyse human behavior from a social, contextual perspective.

Tarbox, as cited in Bennett (2006:75) adds that Vygotsky “believed the mind did not work in isolation; rather it was influenced by environment and the context of the specific situation taking place”.

2.3 Photography as a tool to document

Rose (2007:238) says photos show us “real, flesh and blood, life.” Becker (2002:11) adds that photographers make their audiences “bear witness” to that life. According to Watney (2009:150), “Sociology looks for the presence of the ‘social’ as an ‘influence’ on photography and, in turn, at the supposed ‘effects’ of photography on society.” According to Watney (2009:144), photography draws on peoples’ fantasy; that photography can be used in new ways and on new audiences awaiting an awakening. He says the “gauzy veils of false-consciousness” must be lifted from the eyes of new audiences. Scott (1999:82) writes, “Documentary photography exists, I think, not to improve a particular situation (though it may occasionally do this) but to increase our capacity for self-confrontation.” McCausland (1996:170-171) shares her optimism “about photography’s potential for social action” and describes documentary photography as direct, realistic and sober in showing us the world as it really is; that it is a new way of seeing, a scientific and honest way of looking at our world. According to McCausland (1996:173), “the greatest objective of such work [documentary photography] is to widen the world we live in ... to make us aware of the civilization we live and hope to function in as creative workers.”

Martin (2006:259-262) says the reason for design is change; that design can preserve, amplify, transform, remove or replace a pre-existing state; that it is one of culture’s most powerful tools to direct or support change. Many well-known photographers have used photography as described above by Martin, as a tool to show realities in South Africa. David Goldblatt, Paul Weinberg, Omar Badsha, Cedric Nunn and Angela Buckland have all uniquely documented South African society, often changing our views thereof. Weinberg (2008:6) writes about collaborations with many of the above photographers, “about the anti-apartheid struggle and about human rights, women, children, the labour movement and other aspects of South African society in conflict at the time.” These South African photographers brought the horrors of apartheid to the world, depicting undeniable evidence of truth. Weinberg (2008:8-9) goes on to describe how “political changes in the country introduced a whole new world of photographic opportunities. The world of artistic or academic photography ...

came to flourish in the political freedom of the nineties.” This enabled Weinberg to pursue studies of a more personal nature, for example, an extensive photographic exploration and documentation of the indigenous San. Weinberg (1997:back cover) writes,

It is widely believed that the San, or Bushmen, still roam the southern African interior in search of game, unaffected by the outside world. This is largely untrue. The vast majority of Bushmen have been forced off the land they traditionally occupied; dispossessed and marginalised, Bushmen almost everywhere are battling to survive.



Figure 1: Weinberg (1997:18) writes about the disenfranchised San people and recounts the San man named Doumba and writes, “In the old days, we lived as hunters with animals. My forefathers and their forefathers were here too. No one ploughed. Then, in about 1950, a commissioner came searching for us in the bush [shortly after that, the area was proclaimed a game reserve]. Then they stopped us from hunting.” **Photographs:** Paul Weinberg.

Weinberg undertook a 13-year investigation into the changing reality of the San people. He describes how he was motivated to do his study because of his surprise at finding the San living a life of disenfranchised misery, in contrast to the idyllic life of the hunter-gatherer that he had envisioned. Weinberg’s modern documentation of the San will perhaps make us rethink the importance of indigenous culture and the preservation thereof.

In America, works by Walker Evan, Russell Lee and Dorothea Lange, for the Farm Security Administration (FSA) project, offer excellent examples of documentary photography. Here photography was used to document the impact of the Great Depression on poor Americans. According to History Matters (online), “From 1935 to 1943, photographers working for the federal government produced the most enduring images of the Great Depression.” Stryker, as cited in Nordeman (1997), comments on the work of the FSA photographers saying, “You could look at the people and see fear and sadness and desperation. But you saw something else, too. A determination that not even the Depression could kill. The photographers saw it — documented it”. Dorothea Lange documented the poor of the Great Depression of the 1930s.

One of her most compelling photographs, that of the "Migrant Mother", is a photo made by Lange of Florence Owens Thompson and her children in February or March of 1936 in Nipomo, California. Lange (1960), cited in The Library of Congress, shares her sentiments about the experience and writes:

I saw and approached the hungry and desperate mother, as if drawn by a magnet. I do not remember how I explained my presence or my camera to her, but I do remember she asked me no questions. I made five exposures, working closer and closer from the same direction. I did not ask her name or her history. She told me her age, that she was thirty-two. She said that they had been living on frozen vegetables from the surrounding fields, and birds that the children killed. She had just sold the tires from her car to buy food. There she sat in that lean-to tent with her children huddled around her, and seemed to know that my pictures might help her, and so she helped me. There was a sort of equality about it."

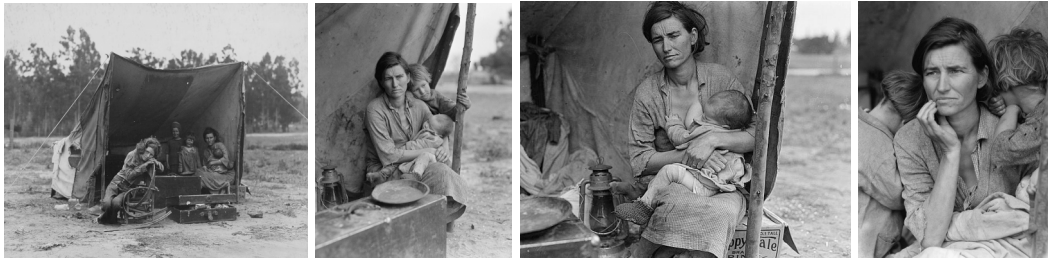


Figure 2: These pictures (*Migrant Mother*, 1936) taken for the FSA, depict the hardship faced during the Great Depression. The photographer became famous for the image, called the "Migrant Mother" which is the image on the far right. **Photographs:** Dorothea Lange.

This sequence of four photographs shows the process a photographer goes through to capture an image like the *Migrant Mother*. Lange took a series of photos, moving in closer with each frame, creating emphasis on the mother. Lange was able to bring the reality of life lived by the poor during the Great Depression to the attention of the greater American public.

Documentary photography makes us aware that westernised countries have also suffered extreme poverty. Today these images are images of hope for people still living out such realities, in Third World and war-ravaged countries – hope that in future generations their children will perhaps overcome such poverty. Images such as the *Migrant Mother*, made at a time when entire families lived such impoverished lives that they were scrounging for food and living under makeshift shelters, are rarely captured in developed countries today. Such realities are more often than not a reflection of a Third World reality. The evidence documented by the camera makes viewers aware, as in the

San project. It makes us believe the unbelievable, for it is often hard to believe such poverty as that captured in the *Migrant Mother* project existed in the Western world. Such is the power of documentary photography.

2.4 Photography as a research tool

According to Collier *et al.* (1986:16), photography allows for the accelerated gathering of knowledge even in strange environments, because the mechanical memory of the camera helps us accurately record information in complex situations. In fact, visual mapping conducted at the beginning of the study validated the need for a study of this nature in Wentworth. The rich data in the photographs were undeniable. Through photography, the experiences of the community were able to be observed first-hand. Flick (2009:241) writes, "Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead were pioneers of cultural anthropology. They developed a methodology for their study, which included the production of material like photos and film to document everyday life, routine, and rituals in Bali." Taking photographs within a setting under research often made the experience personal and intense, and facilitated a deeper understanding of the qualitative data being captured in interviews. Flick (2009:241) shares this opinion, and writes that in the Bateson and Mead study, "visual material for the complementary documentation of the analysed culture and practices is called into play and contrasted with the presentations and interpretations in textual form in order to extend the integrated perspectives on the subject."

Photographing in Wentworth has shown that realities revealed by the camera's eye cannot be repudiated when the photographer adheres to ethics and refrains from using any kind of manipulation. As previously discussed on page 9 and 10, these realities have been used effectively by photographers around the globe to discredit propaganda. According to Collier *et al.* (1986:10), "Photographs are precise records of material reality. They are also documents that can be filed and cross-filed and endlessly duplicated, enlarged, reduced, and fitted into many diagrams." In this manner, photographs were used in a participatory capacity. Participants were asked to comment about how they were being depicted. Often participants replied that the truth needed to be shown.

Collier *et al.* (1986:10) write that the limitation of the camera is the limitation of those who use it, the problem being the accuracy of human observation. According to Collier *et al.* (1986:10), "Seeing the stranger as he 'really' is, in

ethnography as in all human relations, too often becomes a casualty of our personal values and incomplete observation." Hence the manner in which people go about photographing in a community, the nature of the images produced, that is, free of dishonesty and lies, and their context, must be carefully considered.

2.5 Photography and ethics

The issue of ethics arises when considering the social nature of photography. Rose (2007:251) writes that when photographs of people are made, ethics must be adhered to. According to Becker (1988:xii), "We use the language of ethics when people accuse us of taking advantage of someone we have used as a subject in our work." Will the product be an invasion of rights? Collier *et al.* (1986:24) write, "If a man's research plan involves the people he wishes to photograph he has to consider their feelings. He is not a tourist or a press photographer whose aim often is to get a picture and get out, broken camera or no."

As the study took place over six months, it was hypothesized that a relationship of mutual trust would be built between the photographer and the observed. According to Collier *et al.* (1986:25), "Successful field rapport can be aided by your behaviour as a photographer. Usually you want to move slowly, not rushing your shots, letting people know you are there, making a photograph." Further, it was hypothesized that both parties would be committed to an ethically satisfactory product. According to Gross *et al.* (1988:20), "There is a complex 'contract' at the heart of the documentary tradition associated with photography and film ... that the image maker will be held to standards of truthfulness."

According to Gross *et al.* (1988:vi), "photographers must learn the strategies necessary to obtain and sustain access and consent." It can be said that the approaches outlined in the literature, especially with regard to time spent in the community, proved beneficial. Where the researcher stuck out as a stranger at the start of the project, she became more accepted and less noticed over time. This created a climate more conducive to photographing without elicitation.

2.6 Conclusion

In analysing literature, the review contributed to a better understanding of data presented in other chapters. It enabled an insightful understanding of the socio-cultural context of the Wentworth community, which in turn strengthened the photographic documentary.

Considering literature from a historical perspective allowed for an observation of the changes the community has undergone, and is still undergoing, especially considering the distinct Coloured identity of the community. From insights gained in the literature review, the impact on the community of past and present political ideologies was gauged. Literature offered up theories on Coloured identity and validated the use of photography as a tool for researching and documenting the social. It contained examples of how photography had been used effectively in the past to make people aware of, and to document, social realities. Likewise writing, as well as photographic documentation, on the socio-cultural context of Wentworth will create awareness about the great hardships faced by urban communities. The next chapter presents the methodology used for this study.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology selected for this study. The purpose of the study, research question and hypothesis are also presented, as these influenced the choice of methodology. This chapter reviews the data collection and data analysis approaches used, ethical considerations, and limitations.

3.2 Purpose of study

As outlined in chapter one the purpose of this study is to investigate and document the socio-cultural context of the community in question, so as to facilitate recommendations for change. For this study it was important to use a method that went straight to the source. A qualitative research methodology known as the Grounded Theory was used to gauge the socio-cultural context in Wentworth. This method was selected, as little or no data on socio-cultural issues in Wentworth was present in literature. Hence, it was necessary to use a method that would go directly to the source, so that participants would themselves paint a picture of the context of their community.

Glaser & Strauss (2009:1) write that the Grounded Theory looks at “How the discovery of theory from data – systematically obtained and analysed in social research – can be furthered.” Strauss and Corbin (1998:12) agree with this theory and add that here there is no set theory formed in the mind in advance; rather, theory is “derived from data systematically gathered and analysed through the research process”. They add that such theory depicts the real, since it is not derived from opinions based on incomplete information or evidence.

Multi-data collection methods, that is, interview schedules and photographic documentation, were used. A collaborative or participatory research approach was achieved by working closely with participants throughout the investigation. From the onset of the study, it was important to the author that the photographs captured be used to enrich qualitative data gathered by way of interviews. Photography as a research tool proved ideal. Photographic documentation not only tied in with the Grounded Theory, but was also well

aligned to Suchar's use of photographs as a research tool to gather visual data, where 'shooting scripts' are used (Suchar 1997).

3.2.1 Research question

What identifying "local norms, power structures, resources, and traditions" (Trickett and Pequegnat (2005, p.13) in Wentworth contribute either positively or negatively to its socio-cultural context.

3.2.2 Hypothesis

- » Wentworth is an urban community confronted by socio-cultural problems; photography can be used as a tool to support change through acting as visual evidence of this context and confronting the community with its reality.

3.2.3 Research problem

This study examines a single problem, that is, establishing the key determinants of the socio-cultural context of Wentworth. The policy of confining members of different racial groups to specific locations on the outskirts of major cities played an important role in the evolution of an urban identity determined along racial and economic lines. Apartheid laws and discrimination against non-white people impeded the economic development of people of these races. Post-apartheid, Wentworth has emerged as a community with a distinct racial makeup and urban culture where years of separate living have impacted on, and defined, the people living there. This study gauged this impact and depicted it visually.

3.3 Instrument

This study used multi-data collection methods such as interview schedules and photographic data collection and documentation in examining the research problem. The interview schedule asked open-ended questions about a number of socio-cultural issues in Wentworth. Semi-structured interviews were held with individuals, as well as focus groups. Johnson and Christensen (2012:204) write,

A focus group is a type of group interview in which a moderator (working for the researcher) leads a discussion with a small group of individuals (e.g., students,

teachers, teenagers) to examine, in detail, how the group members think and feel about a topic.

In this study, these were recorded using a Dictaphone. Interviews were 25 minutes long, and were conducted by the researcher.

The interview schedule was developed by the researcher. Questions were asked with regard to the social and cultural state of the community to collect data. These were intended to define Wentworth's problems; determinants of these problems; and existing perceptions, attitudes and beliefs about the socio-cultural state. Those who agreed to participate were asked to sign a letter of informed consent. The letter also explained the purpose of the study

3.4 The research site

The research site is Wentworth, south of Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. It was selected because its combination of social, cultural and ethnic makeup is unique to the community. The community is well confined, or defined, geographically, as seen on page ix, by roads that act as borders. Most of the research carried out on this site in the past has pertained to environmental issues without touching on the socio-cultural issues facing the community.

3.4.1 Population

Twenty-seven participants were interviewed. Seventeen participants were Coloured females and 10 Coloured males living in Wentworth. The photographer interviewed was a Coloured male who did not live in Wentworth, but had lived there for a short time in his youth. Participants were between the ages of 17 and 70 years. Interviews were 25 minutes long. The richness of data from interviews was assessed using triangulation, and more often than not textual and visual data confirmed theory and hypothesis. Answers also highlighted areas that required focused interviews.

3.4.2 Sample

It was difficult to apply a systematic sampling approach for this study and random sampling was therefore used. The final sample population (elaborated on in point 3.4.1 above) was varied in age and gender, but the ethnicity of the entire sample population was Coloured. The sample variance between the male and female groups was almost double, because males approached were

reluctant to be interviewed or reluctant to answer all questions when interviewed. There was an incident where the researcher encountered young boys smoking narcotics on a staircase, here the researcher asked for consent to take photographs and was rejected. Photographs that would have shown the open use of drugs could not be captured, even though anonymity was assured. Also, as researcher, fear experienced in dangerous environments was also a limiting factor. This often hindered the capture of photographic evidence in crucial areas that were avoided when the researcher ventured out alone. This can be taken into careful consideration in future or for similar research studies. In such cases it is suggested that males interview males and that two or more people work in the field in danger zones. It is also suggested that time be spent in communities being observed to create a relationship of trust, before photographing. All females approached were cooperative, answering almost all questions asked of them.

3.4.3 Data collection

A collaborative or participatory research approach was used to collect primary data by working closely with individuals who were affiliated to the author's social network in Wentworth. Farell (2011:79) writes,

Primary data can be defined as new data generated by the efforts of the researcher; that is, the words or numbers that you use in your analysis are created specifically for your research. Examples of primary data are: questionnaires, individual interviews, focus groups, bespoke laboratory experiments, action research or participation.

Secondary data are existing data. It may be recent, or historic and perhaps in archives. Often it is published in the public domain, either paper based or electronically.

NGOs and community organisations were approached to back up evidence emerging from community members. Sohng (1995) describes the Participatory Approach as people-centred, "in the sense that the process of critical inquiry is informed by and responds to the experiences and needs of people involved."

Multi-data collection methods such as interview schedules and photographic documentation were used. The interview schedule asked open-ended questions about a number of socio-cultural issues in Wentworth. Semi-structured

interviews, as well as focus groups, were held and recorded using a Dictaphone. Photographic documentation to gather visual data is described by Rose (2007:243) as a method where “photos are made systematically by the researcher in order to provide data that the researcher then analyses.” Rieger, as cited in Rose (2007:243) says, “photo-documentation ... is the careful conceptualisation of the link between the research topic – and the photographs being taken”. According to Rose (2007:243),

Suchar (1997) achieves this by using what he calls ‘shooting scripts’. Shooting scripts depend on the initial research question being addressed. They are lists of sub-questions, if you like, generated by that overall question, and they guide a first go at taking photographs relevant to the research question. Suchar (1997:34) uses scripts so that the ‘information within [a photo] can be argued as putative facts that are answers to particular questions’.



Figure 3: The three photographs above were taken on a Saturday afternoon on the cul-de-sac of Panax Place. The first (left) shows two adult men drinking beer in public. Empty alcohol bottles lie on the ground next to them. In the centre photograph, two teenage boys watch the adult men who are about 50m from them. One teenage boy sits on a cooler box (which usually contains beer or alcohol), whilst the other stands next to him. Empty alcohol bottles lie on the ground next to the teenage boys. One of the teenage boys is holding what appears to be a toy gun. In the third photo, on the right, very young children play only 100m from the men consuming alcohol. **Photographs:** Natalie Houston, 2009.

The above script has had field notes added to it, in this instance a long and descriptive caption. These notes according to Suchar as cited in Rose (2007:244), develop a further link to the research question, which is, in this case, “What defines Wentworth’s problems?” The notes extracted from the rich visual data strengthen the credibility of data obtained from interviews regarding the existence of alcohol abuse in Wentworth. In the next stage Suchar labels each

photo. These are in fact codes. In this script, the first photo can be labelled: adult men drinking beer in public. The second is labelled: two teenage boys watching the adult men. The third is labelled: young children playing 100m from the adult men. These codes may help in answering the research question, and they offer up new questions about men as role models. Another new question could be whether alcohol abuse is a learned and accepted behaviour, seen as 'cool' by teenagers and younger children. In the last stage, a new shooting script can be developed based on a new question. In addition, the photographs show patterns that would not otherwise be evident, and their significance depends on Suchar's systematic coding of what they show. They are used as descriptive devices, the meaning of which must be established by the researcher. Rose (2007:244) writes, "Suchar (1997) develops his method by comparing it to the grounded theory approach to social science research".

Denzin and Patton, as cited in Rose (2007:243), describes this use of mixed methods to collect data as triangulation, which checks the consistency of findings generated by these methods and is used in an investigation to facilitate richer and deeper understanding of data. Denzin and Lincoln, as cited in Speziale and Carpenter (2007:380), say "triangulation approaches reveal the varied dimensions of a phenomenon." Flick (2009:444) writes that triangulation "is used to name the combination of methods, study groups, local and temporal settings, and different theoretical perspective in dealing with a phenomenon." Flick (2009:444) adds that triangulation "was first conceptualised as a strategy for validating results ... however, [this] has shifted increasingly towards further enriching and completing knowledge." Thus Denzin, as cited in Flick (2009:444), emphasises that the "triangulation of method, investigator, theory and data remains the soundest strategy of theory construction".

As interviews and photographic observation were used to gather data in this study, methodological triangulation or, more specifically, between-method triangulation, was used to better understand the research problem.

3.5 Research approach

Inductive/deductive and qualitative/quantitative approaches are normally considered in research design. Researchers normally consider which of these approaches will contribute to, or limit, their study.

3.5.1 The inductive and deductive approach,

Bernard (2011:7) writes,

In its idealized form, inductive research involves the search for pattern from observation and the development of explanations — theories — for those patterns through a series of hypotheses. The hypotheses are tested against new cases, and so on, until saturation occurs — that is, new cases stop requiring more testing. In its idealized form, deductive research starts with theories (derived from common sense, from observation or from literature) and hypotheses derived from theories, and then moves on to observations —which either confirm or falsify the hypotheses.

The deductive research approach was seen as appropriate for this study, which sought to understand the determinants of the socio-cultural state of the Wentworth community in question, through observation, in an effort to confirm initial theories and hypothesis, and ultimately propose strategies for improvement and change.

3.5.2 Qualitative and quantitative data

Vanderstoep and Johnston, (2009:7) write, “In general, qualitative research specifies numerical assignment to the phenomena under study, whereas qualitative produces narratives or textual descriptions to the phenomena under study.” This study found the qualitative approach to be the best method of collecting primary data from the community in question. Vanderstoep and Johnston, (2009:7) write,

The main advantage of qualitative research is that it provides a richer and more in-depth understanding of the population under study. Techniques such as interviews and focus groups allow the research participants to give very detailed and specific answers.

3.6 Ethics

Participants were always asked for consent and to sign an indemnity form¹³. Ethical behaviour was strictly considered in the data collection process and when photographing in the community. Flick (2009:36) writes: “Principals of research ethics ask that researchers avoid harming participants involved in the process by respecting and taking into account their needs and interests.” Gallagher and Kim (2008:103-120) write that there are “ethical dilemmas related to using video to ‘show’ and ‘tell’ research. These have primarily to do

with the politics of representation, the power structures of relationships, and with the reproducibility of digital technology.” This dilemma was experienced in the photographic documentation process. When transients, inebriated people or children were photographed the context in which they were to be portrayed was questioned. With children at play, the issue of ethics did not seem paramount, whereas the portrayal of transients and people under the influence of alcohol and drugs did. According to Rose (2007:239), “the social effects of images with which these methods [photographic documentation] are most concerned centre on the relations between the researcher, those people they are researching and the photos.” According to Flick (2009:37) codes of ethics “require that research should be based on **informed consent** (i.e., the study’s participants have agreed to participate on the basis of information given to them by the researchers).” Flick (2009:41) suggests that informed consent be given by someone competent, well informed and voluntarily. He says that for a ‘vulnerable population’ such as children or people with dementia, consent may be asked of a parent or other family member.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter argues that the methodology used for this investigation was qualitative and deductive where both primary and secondary data is used. The next chapter will present the results of the research questions asked in interviews with focus groups and community members. Chapter four will also show the findings based on these results.

CHAPTER 4

Findings and discussion

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter we look at findings derived from the analysis of textual and photographic data. These findings sought to better understand data which focused on what defined Wentworth, what its problems were, what determined these problems and how the people of Wentworth perceived their socio-cultural state.

4.2 On photography in Wentworth

Photographing in Wentworth for the first time was an eye-opening experience. One Saturday afternoon, while standing on the balcony of a flat testing a 300mm lens, the camera was pointed at a group of men drinking outside an adjacent flat. While shooting, one of the men pointed at the author and shouted: “Do you want me to go inside and get my gun? Do you want me to become a gangster again?” This reaction was not anticipated. The author had expected that people would be happy to participate in the study. Fear and a sinking feeling about the task that lay ahead were felt. Was it do-able? Kenny (2009:155) writes that photographers try to avoid such reaction but seldom achieve this. He writes, “Reactivity occurs when people alter their behaviour as they become aware that researchers are studying them. This problem appears in all research. For example, people guess at what researchers want.”



Figure 4: The two photographs were taken on a Saturday afternoon on the cul-de-sac of Panax Place. The first photo (left) shows two adult men drinking beer in public. In the photo on the right three boys were smoking a narcotic drug. In both instances consent was not received. This angered the man being photographed (in the white t-shirt in the photo on the left) to the extent that he became threatening in his behaviour. **Photographs:** Natalie Houston, 2009.

The unnerving experience described above called into question the methods and approaches required to photograph this sensitive and vulnerable community. Sensibilities around ethics, people's privacy and the dangers of photographing in poorer pockets of the community were raised. Kenny (2009:155) describes how some photographers embrace reactivity, acknowledging it as a good source of information in their research. To the author this negative experience turned into a positive one, as it raised levels of sensitivity about how people were being photographed and approached. After the incident prior consent was always elicited and a concerted effort was made to spend time with people before taking photographs. Fortunately this occurred at the start of the study, allowing the author to internalise the incident and to review literature that would provide solutions. Kenny (2009:155) writes:

Since people respond to cameras and researchers, the two parties should negotiate the camera-based research process together. They should agree on what can and cannot be shown, when an appropriate event begins and ends, as well as who may and may not be included.

On a day of shooting scripts and photographing surrounds for visual data and their context, a man enquired about the photography. He then promptly offered to stand as a model and pose with a beer bottle to his mouth. This man knew, from experience, that a picture portraying him as the stereotypical alcoholic made a more compelling statement than a normal portrayal of his person. According to Kenny (2009:155), "Reactivity particularly hurts photographers because people have the habit of posing for cameras." The authenticity of such imagery has to be questioned. In photographing issues of a social nature, where the objective is to use photography to show things as they are, it is imperative that ethical photographic practice is observed.

During visits to the Reiger Road flats to carry out interviews, it was common to encounter groups of 12 or so men, many very young, sitting around drinking and smoking drugs. Residents would identify them as drug dealers. As a stranger, one felt fear, like a lamb walking among wolves; latent aggression lay thick in the air. An outsider's interest in the community was clearly questionable to such people. This created limitations for the author as the perception of latent aggression and consequent fear often hindered the capture of visual data pertinent to the study.

It must be mentioned that in areas like the Barracks, danger was very real; people are not welcomed there with open arms. People have been murdered there in the past, as was confirmed by respondents when questioned about crime. These experiences underscore the strong argument for understanding a community before engaging in photographic record-making. Kenny (2009:160) writes, "When visual ethnographers use observation and interviews to collect their data, the amount of time they spend in the field becomes an indicator of their work's credibility."

In the time spent talking to people in the community, the author gained an overriding impression that people's sensitivities had been abused in the past. The people have become wary of the media, as the community has often been portrayed in a negative light. This sentiment was shared during an interview with photographer Cedric Nunn, who spoke about past abuse by the media in Wentworth. "When I look at a place like Wentworth and I look at the media that's happened around Wentworth, even by my friend and colleague Peter McKenzie, who did a documentary titled *Vaaing Posie*. I do not agree with it. Whenever I have seen media around Wentworth, largely it has been about gangsterism. In the past, whenever people went into Wentworth it was to report on gang activity."¹⁴ Nunn goes on to describe guidelines to combat this and says, "if you show the community in a positive and a negative light and keep that as your guideline, you cannot transgress ethical practice. It's very tempting for people to go the other route, of showing only the negative, because it is more sensational to look at the knife being held, the bottle in hand and to stay in the safety of those stereotypes, because that's how, stereotypically, we see those communities."¹⁵

"If those images of the social ills that are there, the alcoholism, the violence, are placed in a context of the 'other' element of Wentworth, which is a very real one – the positive, the community support that there is, the degree of social cohesion that exists there, the sense of community that people have – then it is not problematic."¹⁶



Figure 5: The two photographs were taken on a weekday around noon. All adults depicted in the picture were either sitting or standing outside the flats. All mentioned that they were unemployed. There were in fact more men standing outside the view of the camera lens. **Photographs:** Natalie Houston, 2010.

The images of groups of young men standing at the corner of the flats, around midday, in figure 5 above, served to enrich findings from key questions asked about unemployment. The two sets of data showed a clear correlation of cause and effect, validating the use of photography for research.

In discussion and in retrospect, the participatory method of engagement in the community, before and during photographing, as well as during the conceptualisation of the 118-page book, *Coloured Lens*, proved very effective. Participants recognised the importance of documenting their realities and the importance of their individual stories. They understood the role of photography in terms of it showing the circumstances under which they lived, their realities. In fact, when participants who had allowed their photographs to be taken saw the images next to their stories, in the book, their pleasure was clear. It was almost as if the objective of showing people their reality was unfolding before one's eyes, and the experience as researcher was powerful. There seemed to be a give and take relationship on both the part of participants and researcher. One participant insisted that the author rewrite her story, word for word, as she had written it. It became clear that participants wanted their reality to be put out there, even though their stories at times narrated a life of hardship and pain. Photographs also provided testaments of joyful, intimate moments. Photographs of a baby in the arms of a mother, a symbol of the continuation of life, proved profound to both the researcher and the mother of the child. As researcher it became even more important that the baby in future see a segment

of his life in the context of his mother's life at that moment in time. As a result, the final book concept is intimate and powerful and accurate in the depiction of the lives of the many people participating. The book gives a definite sense and feel about Wentworth and the lives being lived there.

It was important that the researcher was always cognisant of the fact that people's lives were being depicted to the world. It was important to the researcher that participants tell their own stories and that these accompany the visual depiction of their lives. As a result, their participation in telling the story of Wentworth allowed one a glimpse into how they perceived themselves in the context of their environment. It allowed participants to look introspectively at the lives they had lived. In the process participants were seeing themselves as they were. This validated the hypothesis made, regarding photography, that of confronting the community with its reality.

4.3 Defining Wentworth

4.3.1 Race

Nelson and Pang, cited in Ross (2006:119) write, "In traditional sociology, scholars for the most part equated biological characteristics of race with hair texture and colour, skin colour, head shape, and other body features, and these subjective measures were utilised to identify innate and inherited intelligence." When questioned about how participants defined their race, respondents did indeed define their race according to the definition above, saying, "Our complexion, I think it is our complexion. I think it is coming from our parents. I just feel this way because both my parents are Coloured. We were brought up like this."¹⁷ Being "mixed" and one's complexion often equated to being Coloured. There was the sense that racial identity was inherited, or passed on by parents. Participants 'felt' Coloured. Erasmus, cited in Chidester *et al.* (2004:88), adds, "Most South Africans today understand 'race' as a biological and/or cultural essence." Very often the fact that participants were of mixed race was reason enough to accept the label Coloured. Nunn described this acceptance of the label as 'falling prey to the mindset of the captor', saying that the majority held onto their 'Colouredness' because it meant they were 'better' than black.¹⁸ Adhikari (2005:11) sums this up better when he writes:

[T]he expression of Coloured identity was an association with whiteness and a concomitant distancing from Africanness, whether in the value placed on fair skin

and straight hair, in the prizing of white ancestors in the family lineage, or in taking pride in the degree to which they were able to conform to the standards of Western bourgeois culture. This “white-mindedness”, as one commentator referred to it,¹⁹ could give rise to a sense of shame with regard to any personal association with blackness or aggressive bigotry toward Africans.

This “white-mindedness”, as described by Adhikari above, has remained with Coloured people. It has entrenched their marginality in the new dispensation, through continued affiliation to “non-black” political parties like the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Independent Democrats (ID). Adhikari writes (2005:12), “The structurally ambiguous position of the Coloured community within the South African racial hierarchy thus played an important part in reinforcing the identity.”

Nelson and Pang, cited in Ross (2006:119), write, “Race is a socio-political construct that has been created by humans to stigmatise, distance, and elevate themselves from those they see as others.” The author then asks whether Coloured people themselves are not behaving in a racist manner, in seeing themselves as being “better than black”. If indeed they are, how will they overcome this? Nelson and Pang, cited in Ross (2006:119), writes, “It [race] has proven useful for the powerful as a means of identifying a group they consider inferior and gives them a label that cannot be overcome by talent, work or intelligence.”

Some participants, however, did reject their Coloured identity, acknowledging the identity of origin. “I don’t identify with being Coloured. I am Mauritian. After me it stopped.”²⁰

For many participants the belief was that the home, and not race, defined a person. Many knew of their origin, their African, Indian and European ancestry, but many could not name who their ancestors were. Almost all participants knew they had African, European or Indian family ‘all over’. Insights gained from interviews were that often there was ignorance about parentage and ancestry. Very often assumptions were made about what race the unknown parent or ancestor was. The author shares an insider perspective on this issue and adds that even when one does know one’s ancestry, mixtures over generations became complex. Ancestors on the father’s or the mother’s side

were lost. Identity, for many, was clouded by ambiguity and ignorance. One questions whether Coloured people should not be identifying themselves as something else entirely. Erasmus, cited in Chidester *et al.* (2004:88), adds, "If we want to change the dynamics of 'race' we need, among other things, to inhabit 'race' differently." Seelge and Wasilewski (1996:xviii) write, "The challenge is to be fully aware of your own complexity, and the task is to be able to articulate that complex reality to other people who do not share that same background." To the author, however, many respondents – by their own admission – did not seem to be aware of their complexity and were therefore incapable of "articulating their complex reality to other people" as described by Seelge and Wasilewski (1996:xviii).

There seemed to be a resignation about the label and it was often difficult to get a clear answer, especially from the youth, about how they defined Coloured. Erasmus, cited in Shepherd and Robins (2008:178), writes:

Race is not about roots or origins, but about how particular ways of seeing the world and humanity have shaped who we have become. This way of seeing and using race opens a path away from questions about 'where we come from' towards questions about 'where we are going' and 'who we are becoming'. It opens a path for unmaking race by revealing the possibility for unlearning racialised ways of being in the world.

The identity, and how it is to be defined in future, needs to be discussed among the people themselves – and politically. Erasmus, cited in Chidester *et al.* (2004:92), adds that "engaging with the shadow of racialised identities helps one realise that identity is not something to be lost or gained. There is only the prospect of a new way of being in the world."

4.3.2 Politics

When asked about politics and how it affected their lives, many participants shrugged their shoulders, or otherwise indicated a lack of interest in the topic. One participant responded: "Eh, I don't even worry myself."²¹ What at first looks to the author like a lack of interest in politics can be interpreted as resignation about the new leadership, which is majority African. The African nature of the party is a Catch-22 situation for a people having, as described by Adhikari (2005:11), an "aggressive bigotry toward Africans." Adhikari (2005:12) writes, "Their desire to protect their status of relative privilege pushed Coloured

people into asserting a separate identity with respect to Africans.” Participants described how things seemed better in the past. In the past, the De Klerk government fed lunch to school children and this no longer happened. For some the perception was that Wentworth was better in the past and that today everything seemed to be sliding. There were descriptions of a “lot of ignorance and stupidity in Parliament”.

This political stance is interpreted by the author as a lack of understanding of the effects of politics on their daily lives. Many did not appear to recognise that access to funding for developmental change and social projects in the community was, in the new dispensation, closely linked to political affiliation.

“First we were not white enough; now we are not black enough. It means the blacks are getting everything, while we Coloureds are still down on the bottom rung. When the white man was in power we were oppressed, now we are even more oppressed.”²² This sentence was very loaded and indicated to the author that Coloured people in Wentworth did not interpret their continued marginalisation as being based, in the new dispensation, on their continued affiliation to non-black political parties, as described above. They appeared not to realise that by virtue of their Coloured vote belonging to non-black political parties, they indeed classified themselves as not black enough. Often votes were emotional and not based on the practicalities of the political day. Coloured people in KwaZulu-Natal are a minority group and it could be interpreted that it would in fact be practical for this community to choose a party that has the financial resources to address the many social challenges confronting their community. In addition, these social challenges are often intrinsically aligned with the challenges faced by black communities in South Africa.

Nunn²³ described this acceptance of the label as “falling prey to the mindset of the captor.” He continues by saying that the majority held onto their “Colouredness” because it meant they were “better than black.” Adhikari shares this sentiment in 4.3.1 where he describes this as “white-mindedness” Adhikari (2005:11). This “white-mindedness” has remained with Coloured people to the present, and it has entrenched their marginality in the new dispensation through continued affiliation to non-black political parties like the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Independent Democrats (ID). Adhikari

(2005:12) writes, "The structurally ambiguous position of the Coloured community within the South African racial hierarchy thus played an important part in reinforcing the identity."

4.3.3 Living conditions

Looking from the outside into Wentworth, the living conditions for many appeared bleak, especially around the Woodville Road, Tara Road, Reiger Road, Barracks and Hime Street flats, which were unkempt and in need of paint and renovation. One positive was that the people living in the Barracks, who are often called 'rainbow chickens' because of their cramped living conditions, would be moving to new flats in Lansdowne Road on the other side of Wentworth, perhaps prompting the development of better living spaces in future.

"We lack housing in Wentworth. When they built these houses in the first place there were so many of us. So many of us are still here and have had children. We would like to have our own homes. We are living here 34 years and they have never built in all this time." ²⁵ One questions why this status quo has not changed; why low-cost housing initiatives have not taken root in Wentworth as is the case in areas like Phoenix, Chatsworth or KwaMashu. De Haan *et al.* (2007:127) write, "Many of the people living in poverty are disempowered because they lack the ability to make decisions, or to influence those in their community who have the authority to make the right decisions that will help them." One questions how well the community is represented at local government level, and whether the concerns of the less fortunate in the community are taken seriously and raised with enough passion and urgency.

Many people in Wentworth are indeed very poor and belong to that stratum of the population of South Africa that was historically disenfranchised. De Haan *et al.* (2007:127) write that poverty is, "the result of people's lack of sustainable livelihood or good health, as well as their vulnerability to the environment in which they live." In Wentworth, poverty manifests itself as people's inability to find suitable accommodation. Many people living in Wentworth are so poor that they do not have the resources to extend their homes or move out. Flats acquired during the apartheid era, especially the one-bedroomed flats, are no longer capable of accommodating their occupants, as these families have grown

over the years. There are cases of 15 to 20 people living in these one-bedroom flats. People who do not have family to live with often have to settle for unhygienic and cramped accommodation, where they are still required to pay exorbitant amounts for rent. An example of this was a recent case of a woman living with her partner, teenage daughter and young son in a four-square-metre room. The only window in the room was covered with plastic. The roof was corrugated iron that leaked. The ablution and one toilet facility were unhygienic and shared with tenants living in the other eight shacks. The wash area was mildewed, a great health risk for the couple.

Since moving to the room, the woman and young son had also fallen ill. The young boy had not attended school that morning due to a tummy bug. She blamed the sharp deterioration in their health on the stress of living in the small room and unhygienic conditions. There was also constant noise from men drinking at the nearby shebeen. This went on into the early hours of the morning. School-going children were living in these quarters and one questioned how they were able to study and sleep in such harsh living conditions.



Figure 6: The three photographs above depict the toilet and shower facilities of the shack residence and Ark residence, respectively. The photograph on the far right, is that of a room in the Ark, where an elderly woman is sharing a small L-shaped room with her sick son, an adult. She also cooks in the room. **Photographs:** Natalie Houston, 2010.

In another case, that of the Ark²⁶, the author was confronted with families who had forcibly taken ownership of a council building. Families lived in communal-like circumstances. Entire families occupied a single room. The rooms was not entirely separated so that noise coming from the various rooms were inter-

mixed and deafening. Here the author encountered an elderly woman who was living with her adult son, who was ill. She lived in an area that barely accommodated her cooking area and two beds. There was water boiling on a two-plate stove, which the author assumed was being prepared for her bath. The woman had also cut up the ends of sweetcorn cobs for supper. The woman seemed broken and destitute. Here the shower area was mildewed and it was related that a person was living next to the shower in a gap of about one metre by three metres. Many of the people who ended up in the Ark had nowhere else to go. They were unemployed and almost entirely dependent on charity organisations for food on a daily basis. Whilst talking to one woman, her daughter walked in from school and opened the fridge. Seeing this the mother matter of factly spoke to her daughter saying, "Go down to your granny, the fridge is empty, we have no food"²⁷. The fact that there are children who come out of this environment with a matric is remarkable. The communal manner in which the people in the Ark live prevents any form of privacy. People of all ages are forced to share one room together. Though people have lived in the Arc for almost 10 years, their circumstances have not changed. De Haan *et al.* (2007:127) write:

People are caught in a poverty trap or cycle, which it [sic] is very difficult to break out of. The only way to break this cycle is for the government to be committed to combating poverty and to determine appropriate policies that can be implemented at community level not *FOR* the people but *BY* the people. In other words, people must be given the assistance they need to develop the necessary practical skills to be able to earn money and to make their own decisions to improve their environment and their community in a way that will make them poverty-free.

The dynamics of the housing situation in Wentworth have become complex. It has been noted how people who have been awarded ownership of their flats by the municipality have greater pride in their flats. Body corporates are formed and leaders of these often liaise with the municipality on behalf of their members, especially on issues of service delivery e.g. refuse removal, water and electricity. Council-owned flats on the other hand are unkempt. Here people do not take pride in the upkeep of the flats and it is common to see overgrown grass and litter.

It was common to find two and three families living in one flat. This has two implications, first that people are finding it hard to pay their rent on their own.

The second is that accommodation is unavailable, and that there is an urgent need for more flats and houses to be built.

4.3.4 Resources and power structures

Participants believed Wentworth was well located and that they had facilities around them such as clinics, hospitals, libraries and shopping centres. It was noted that Wentworth does indeed have an enviable number of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community groups and social resources.

One such NGO is the 'Blue Roof', an HIV/Aids clinic sponsored by the U.S.A., the 'Keep a Child Alive' initiative. 'Women of Wentworth' (WOW), is an NGO that helps homeless and abused women and provides assistance with food and clothing as well as training opportunities, such as bread-making and sewing lessons. The 'Wentworth Victim Friendly Centre' (WVFC), run by formerly abused women from the community, is attached to the Wentworth Police Station. The women volunteers help with abuse cases referred to them by the police, the community and schools. The WVFC described how they had acquired a new house, attached to the police station, that functions as a "safe house". They described another social group, the 'Wentworth Aids Action Group' (WAAG). They spoke of how they worked on a referral basis with the Austerville Clinic: "We work with Austerville Clinic as well; if they get a rape case, the first place they will phone is the WVFC". They spoke of how they worked closely with Patricia Dove from 'Women of Wentworth' (WOW) and the 'Blue Roof'. According to a member of the WVFC, "If Patricia has domestic violence cases, she refers them to us and if we have cases, we refer them to her. If we have people with HIV/Aids or TB who come here, we refer them to WAAG or the 'Blue Roof'".²⁹ The WVFC women identified places of safety as 'Ocean View', 'Wentworth Place of Safety' and 'Finch Haven'. The WVFC described the environment at the homes as clean and warm and said that housemothers took good care of the children. Just a stone's throw away on Wentworth's doorstep is Wentworth Hospital, easily accessible to all members of the community.

The WVFC described how they liaised with the hospital. "We work closely with Wentworth Hospital. If they have a rape case they will phone us, we pick the

person up, get the police to take a statement and go to the district surgeon with them. We also work closely with schools".³⁰

The author observed that WVFC was an effective NGO working in the area. Another observation was that they had few resources available to them. Manpower and financial resources appear inadequate. They relied heavily on donations. The women working there, who were unpaid, did so through passion. One woman who worked at the WVFC described how she was in fact homeless, and that she had been forced to move into the Ark. To the author it appeared that a salary would empower such an individual and break the cycle of poverty in her case.

Participants described how there were soup kitchens run by various NGOs, churches and the local councillor, named as Aubry Snyman. One participant added, "We Coloured people are religious by nature. In every school, there are two churches. Every empty building has a church [in it]".³¹ There were suspicions on the part of respondents about the prevalence of the many churches in the community. "Churches in Wentworth have their own agendas; it's all about the numbers. The Catholic and Anglican churches are the only churches that don't feel threatened by numbers."³² Participants described their only support as being the family, and that they trusted only a priest, pastor or librarian. "I look up to 'Father Wayne' and 'SIBICO', who are seven churches, who cook food for the poor and distribute it at the civic hall in Wentworth."³³



Figure 7: The two photographs above depict breadline poverty in Wentworth. The photographs show the soup kitchen, and bread and blanket handouts by women volunteers of WVFC. Men and women, both young and old, could be observed in the queue. **Photographs:** Natalie Houston, 2010.

Some participants said they looked up to Aubry Snyman, the local councillor; others said they did not look up to anyone, saying that people really did not

worry about a person. “We have fake leaders. Who’s a leader? You can’t even trust the police.”³⁴ A participant from the WVFC commented on the issue of police distrust saying, “Every station has its problems. The police station asks people to take photos as proof. We at the WVFC work closely with the police, we feel bad when people say that the police take bribes and are corrupt. They say, ‘your police that you work with are corrupt’. They put us into the same basket.”³⁵ Another respondent, however, related how she had indeed taken photos of drug dealers and handed these over to the police. The result was that the dealers came to know of this. She related how she would never do such a thing again.

John Dunn House, an old age home, is located in the area. A library is situated centrally in the community. There are three high schools, Wentworth High, Umbilo High and Fairvale High, and six primary schools, Austerville Primary, Durban East Primary, Gardenia Primary, Collingwood Primary, Wentworth Primary and Assegai Primary.

Transport, in the form of mini-bus taxis and municipal buses, is adequate. Participants said they were able to get around easily, and that they were close to town. Central Durban is 10 minutes away and retail shopping centres or malls are minutes away from the community. Wentworth has a petrol station, a pharmacy and a small shopping centre in the community. Recreational facilities include a public swimming pool and sports grounds. Anstey’s Beach, the playground for many residents, is five minutes away.

Many mentioned how close proximity to the Engen Refinery was a problem for residents as pollution led to serious illnesses and added financial burdens. “We’ve got Engen refinery right here and the pollution is bad. Young people suffer from asthma, cancer, eczema and allergies.” Wentworth’s geographic location and its continued proximity to the Engen Refinery has been questioned by environmental activists such as the ‘South Durban Community Environmental Alliance’ (SDCEA) in Wentworth who have been at loggerheads with the refinery’s management over pollution issues for many years. Sparks (2006:168) writes:

The continued experience of pollution associated, in particular, with the ‘big 3’ industrial complexes in the area (Mondi, Sapref and Engen), has led to increasing

frustration and anger among residents about perceived political complicity with environmental abuses by oil companies.

Besides the large refineries, Wentworth has the industrial areas of Jacobs and Mobeni as its immediate neighbours. Wentworth's residents find themselves having to jostle between huge trucks making their way in and out of industrial plants and container depots scattered around the industrial basin.

4.4 Defining Wentworth's problems

4.4.1 Crime

When asked if they knew of any crimes committed in Wentworth, young respondents answered as follows: "Yes, there is murder, theft, rape and child abuse. For instance with me, my brother was murdered, in the Barracks."³⁶ Another answered: "My cousin was murdered in the flats."³⁷ Another responded as follows: "Yes, I witnessed a murder in our flats two years ago."³⁸ According to Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990:160),

The classical school defined crime as the use of force or fraud in the service of self-interest. ... Positivism changed this ... they argued that crime was not the product of self-interested choice but the product of forces or causes operating in the actors' environment.

According to another participant, "A lot of crime is going on, just two weeks ago a guy was killed in Olive Grove and another was killed in Amora Road. In one evening, three people. I have seen people being chopped. One Christmas the guy was lying there and all his lunch was lying outside his stomach. They had chopped him open and his gut came out. Even women get hidings and run out into the street, men want to control their women."³⁹ Abuse of women and children were described as being paramount. A member of the WVFC described how they dealt largely with gender-based violence, and that most of the cases were genuine. Girls often became suicidal after being raped.

"Well here we deal with a lot of domestic violence, and we deal with rape."⁴⁰ Adding, "We witness crime every day; because it is not one thing, it is so many different things."⁴¹ "There are men that just hit their women for no reason. There is no communication. Men just want to do their own thing. I would say there are more children being abused every day, both physically and sexually".⁴² Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990:32) write, "About 20 percent of homicides in

which the relationship between the victim and the offender is known involve family members.”

Often, when one listens to narratives of the many horrific events happening in Wentworth, one cannot help but question their validity, whether they are just figments of people’s imagination, especially when it happened “two months ago” or “last week”. It is only when one personally witnesses such an event that the reality of the life being lived in Wentworth sinks in. Since doing these interviews, the author witnessed the remnants of a crime in Panax Place. The author saw the body of an 18-year-old boy lying on the pavement. He had been killed by three boys of the same age. The brother of the murdered boy in Panax Place had killed a boy the week before and two days later, these teenagers took revenge for that killing. It was related to the author that the boys had placed a wreath at the door of the mother earlier in the day. During that week, four boys were killed in Wentworth.

A recent incident related to the author was that of a policeman having been shot at the newly built Lansdowne flats. A police chase by land and air ensued and the suspect, an alleged drug dealer, was later apprehended at the Reiger Road flats. Community members likened all these incidents – the wreath, the land and air chase – to being akin to scenes from a movie. One begins to question the psychological effects of such instability on people, to understand why people turn to substance-abuse, perhaps in an effort to blot out instability and stressful living conditions.

When asked whether people of the community tolerate crime, the response was that people did indeed tolerate crime because they did not get assistance from the police and because there was no protection for whistle-blowers. “I mean people are getting murdered right in front of us. If we did not tolerate it we would have performed or something. We have nobody to turn to, the police, they do nothing.”⁴³ A participant said this was because people were not united. “If we had unity in our area we could have fought crime a long time ago. People think nothing of paying off a cop, there’s a lot of bribery.”⁴⁴ A volunteer from the WVFC offered up a reason for this tolerance. “I think it has more or less become a lifestyle, it is not that people are tolerating crime, but that they are so used to it, that they just brush it off and carry on. It has become normal.”⁴⁵

Most participants said that people did not report crime because they were afraid. One respondent mentioned that she would report crime, and that she normally called on police when there were fights. According to a young male participant, fear makes people tolerate crime. "I have witnessed drug dealing and robbery. I would never report a crime; I would be the next crime. You are in danger if you do that."⁴⁸

It was with relief that the author could walk away from it all, making it hard to believe that people have lived up to half a century in such conditions. It is harder to believe that conditions were worse in the past, where gang wars impacted on daily life. One has to ask where the solution lies. A participant optimistically commented, "We the people can make a difference here in Wentworth, especially with the police. The community must stand up and say, we want the police to be changed."⁵²

4.4.2 Drugs and alcohol abuse

Drugs and alcohol are a problem in Wentworth. One could assume that without drugs and alcohol, crime in Wentworth would be reduced considerably. According to Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990:40), "The correlation between the use of drugs, alcohol or tobacco, and the commission of delinquent and criminal acts is well established." Members of the community did indeed recognise substance abuse as the source of all things bad in their community. "We have everything around us like clinics, libraries and shopping centres. Drugs and alcohol around us are negative, everything else is positive."⁵³ When asked whether drug and alcohol abuse were rife in Wentworth a participant answered, "Very. In every second household there is substance abuse going on. On a Friday night people are paid, Sunday morning they are sitting and sucking their thumbs, no money to feed the family for the week, it's all smoked up."⁵⁴

The effects of drug and alcohol abuse are far-reaching, affecting the family structure for years. The burden of abuse is passed down from one generation to the next, and children born into this environment of substance abuse often suffer psychologically. Ryan (1997:2) writes:

Victims of psychopharmacological violence can be anyone, including spouses, family members, friends, neighbours, strangers, or even the drug users themselves. An episode of psychopharmacological violence can involve drug use by either the

victim or the perpetrator. The violence can occur in the home, the workplace, on the street, in public gathering areas, etc.

Participants believed that drug and alcohol abuse were a result of poverty, unemployment, over-crowding and peer pressure. They described drug lords using underprivileged children as runners for their drugs. "It is because of poverty. There are no jobs. Children are selling drugs because the drug lords pay their parents' rent, lights, buy food and clothe them. They do it because of the income."⁵⁵ A former gangster and drug dealer confirmed this by offering up an insider perspective: "People don't hate you because, in this community, 70 percent of the people are unemployed. They are vulnerable. You pay the neighbour's light bill, and they keep the bulk of the drugs for you. People are not going to bite the hand that feeds them."⁵⁶ The ex-drug dealer was very insightful. He explained: "It's exploitation and people are gullible. I know people who go to a drug dealer in a jam, who will send the wife for drugs on credit from the merchant. She becomes exposed when they cannot pay back the debt. They are then extorted to do other things. The woman ends up having a relationship with the merchant. In the end, her husband is to blame. At times the husband ignores this as long as he gets what he wants. In most cases, people turn a blind eye."⁵⁷

Another respondent insisted that people were not poor. "The family upstairs, the mother and boyfriend drink. They all collect money somewhere but that money goes on drink and the rest of the month they are asking people for food and bread for the child's lunch. I don't think they are poor; if you can drink so much you are not poor."⁵⁸ However, photos taken on different days of large numbers of people standing in queues for the soup kitchen and to collect food parcels and blankets, handed out by the WVFC, confirmed the prevalence of breadline poverty.

According to Kosterman *et al.* (2007), "Disorganised neighbourhoods where attitudes toward drug sales and violence were favourable also increased a person's likelihood of committing domestic violence." Substance abuse often causes tragedies, where men and women, frustrated by their inability to cope with abusive situations brought on by drugs or alcohol, commit crimes of passion. According to Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990:32), "Homicides involving

family members or acquaintances may appear to be crimes of passion, but they occur with considerable predictability and regularity.”

Karen, an interviewee, related a story of one such tragic “crime of passion”. She told of abuse suffered by her female cousin at the hands of a drunken boyfriend, and how that abuse led to murder. In such instances, alcohol acts as a stimulant in an already aggressive situation. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990:32) add that “Frequently the victim, the offender, or both, are using alcohol or drugs at the time of the offence.”

The recent murder I know of is one with my cousin who had a long-time relationship with her boyfriend. One day I went with my cousin’s sister to my cousin’s place, we got there and I was amazed at what I saw. I did not know what a bloodbath was until that day. That’s how badly her boyfriend had physically abused her. Then, about two months back, we got a call that she had killed her boyfriend. She had blanked out and stabbed him with a kitchen knife. They locked her up that same day. He was pulling her baby from her as she was bathing baby and [he] was hitting and swearing at her. My cousin went to the kitchen for a knife and poked him twice. She did not realise that she had poked him so bad. The worst part is she had a very good job and a two-month old baby. She only did this because of the long-term abuse. She is out on bail now.⁵⁹

According to Kantor and Jasinski (1998:4), “A common dynamic of conflicted intimate relationships is an inability of the couple to communicate or negotiate in rational, non-judgemental ways.”

Adults as described in the narrative above have often grown up in violent and abusive environments where they have witnessed various kinds of abuse on a daily basis. Pillay *et al.* (2006:231) write, “In essence, children who grow up in violent homes model their behaviour on significant others such as caregivers and older siblings.” Violent behaviour becomes accepted as normal, resulting in an inability to cope with abusive situations in a non-violent manner. Pillay *et al.* (2006:231) write, “Children who observe intimate partner violence in their families tend to be desensitised to the consequences of aggression and are likely to regard violence as legitimate, as a means of achieving one’s goals or resolving disputes.” As a result, women prefer to raise their children alone, as life with an addicted partner becomes unbearable. The result is an unusually high number of female-headed families.

One very unusual source of 'help' came from drug dealers, who assisted financially with the burial of deceased members in their particular section of the community. "Here in our flats when a person dies, the boys that run the drugs outside here donate a tent, chairs, make the food and hire the buses. We just see to the coffin. They do this, always, always, always, for every family."⁶⁰ This, and end-of-year Christmas parties, have become traditional. "Ja, every Christmas time they put up a tent and big buckets with alcohol in it. You can just go and help yourself. They make big pots of breyani too."⁶¹ Another respondent cynically disapproved of this practice: "There are many drug lords that do this. It is a shut up; it is not because they want to help the poor. I wouldn't eat from them. They kill your child and expect you to eat their food. Your child steals your money and valuables and gives it to the drug dealer. Later, you have to see your child lying there full of drugs."⁶²

Again, one questions why people tolerate the blatant sale of drugs, if they are "the root of all evil" in Wentworth. A member of the WVFC offered up a familiar answer: "In Wentworth, when it comes to drug lords, people are scared to stand up to them and tell them they are doing wrong, that they are killing children."⁶³ An old gang member and drug lord gave his opinion on how substance abuse could be combated. He writes, "The police need to get someone from the old police force, people [who] know the merchants." According to Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990:42), "Drug use may be prevented by reducing the number of people who tend toward criminality." It has been discussed that positivism views crime as being linked to forces in the perpetrators' environment. Thrasher, cited in Cummings and Monti (1993:8), thought that "Certain kinds of neighbourhoods – poor, predominantly foreign-born or minority, industrialised, overcrowded and rundown – were likely to have gangs." This description fits Wentworth and could be the reason why the community faces the many challenges it does. Therefore it can be said that to reduce crime in Wentworth, the environment would have to change.

Results show that there is a need for intervention with regard to alcohol and drug abuse in the area. Intensive research is required on this problem alone. Drugs and alcohol contribute to many problems and are a source of constant strife. According to Ryan (1997:11), "The government must confront the looming problem of illicit drug-related violence, and the problem of illicit drugs,

urgently. This is not something that will go away on its own. If left unattended, the problem will fester and manifest itself throughout society.”

4.4.3 Gang culture

Members of the community who experienced true gangsterism during the 1970s and 1980s described modern gangsters as young delinquents, disclaiming views about the resurgence of gangs in the community. “Yes, there are gangs in Wentworth, but they are actually just naughty children. Here in Panax Place they call themselves the ‘Italian Town Boys’ (ITB). They spray ITB on our flats. I tell them the ITBs died a long time ago, you are all pipsqueaks.” According to Malcom Klein (1971), the element of delinquency defines a gang. Klein, cited in Kinnear (2009:2), defines a gang as:

[A]ny denotable adolescent group of youngsters who (a) are generally perceived as a distinct aggregation by others in their neighbourhood; (b) recognise themselves as a denotable group (almost invariably with a group name); and (c) have been involved in a sufficient number of delinquent incidents to call forth a consistent negative response from neighbourhood residents and / or enforcement agencies.

If one were to assess the prevalence of gangs in Wentworth according to the above definition, one could conclude that gangs do in fact exist in the community today. Young respondents were adamant: “Wherever you go in Wentworth, in the flats there are gangsters [point (a) above]. Gangs were named as the, ‘YDF’, ‘Young Destroyers’, ‘Naughty Youngsters’, ‘ITBs’, ‘OBGs’, ‘Rater 7s’, ‘Destroyers’, ‘Hime Street Flats Cats’, ‘88s’, ‘Axe Gang’, ‘K1 Trucks’ and ‘Drain Rats’ [point (b) above].”⁶⁴ Murders were described as drug-related and because of drug-related turf wars between rival gangs in sectors of the community [point (c) above]. According to respondents, gangs were comprised of young men who sold and ran drugs for drug lords. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990:40) add, “... the drinking, smoking, and drug taking teen is much more likely to be getting into fights, stealing, hurting other people, and committing other delinquencies.”



Figure 8: The photograph above confirms the existence of the Barracks 'Axe Gang', as stated by a respondent in an interview. This photograph was taken before the Barracks flats were demolished. **Photographs:** Natalie Houston, 2009.

According to Kinnear (2009:1) most people belong to some group that influences them positively or negatively. He describes these as "prosocial" or "antisocial" groups respectively. He continues by saying that researchers are tasked with trying to understand why people join groups and how they can be made to join 'prosocial' rather than 'antisocial' groups. A veteran gangster offered up insight into why he joined a gang in his youth. "For me it was more of a brotherhood kind of thing, I just fell into it; there was that thing of sharing. If you got injured your friends helped more than some members of your family. Even when you were moving alone, people knew there would be retaliation if they tried to do anything to you, so they would think twice." He added that many who became gang members were abused or not well treated; that the dynamics of gangs were different today; and that they were driven by money, a search for respect and protection. "Times have changed. A son of a smaller family who keeps being harassed joins a gang for protection and popularity."

According to Branch (1999:59), "Gang membership offers the promise of social (collective) identity, respect, potential economic mobility and protection that many inner-city youth believe society cannot provide." A young male respondent shared this view: "These young boys want to be in with everything, so they feel 'if I am not a gangster, I am not that ou'." The veteran gangster

described how many of the violent acts perpetrated these days were the result of revenge. "Violent acts start in the disco and end here in the community. When people fight in the nightclub, Hip Hop Palace, they catch someone who is weak in the district and beat up on them."

4.4.4 Sexual exploitation, prostitution and rape

A combination of poverty, drugs, alcohol, and poor living spaces, where up to eleven people may live together in a one-bedroom flat, brings with it a high rate of sexual and child abuse. This was noted especially in Woodstock and the Barracks where unemployment is high. "There are a lot of people not working in those areas. The flats and living conditions are bad. They have one room and many people sleep in that one room. That's where all the nonsense comes in with children being abused."⁶⁵ According to Minnie, cited in Boezaart (2009:540-541),

Abuse, in relation to a child, means any form of harm or ill-treatment deliberately inflicted on such a child and includes sexually abusing a child or allowing a child to be sexually abused, assaulting a child or inflicting any form of deliberate injury to a child, bullying by another child, labour practices that exploit a child or exposing or subjecting a child to behaviour that may harm the child psychologically or emotionally.

The WVFC corroborated the prevalence of prostitution. "Yes, we have a lot of that, especially with under-aged girls of 11 and 12 years old. We have done many cases where minors are prostituting themselves for money. Some of them are on rock and smoking sugars. If they are not stealing from home to support their drug habit, then they turn to prostitution."⁶⁶ "It is also due to poverty and many of the parents of these children are alcoholics."⁶⁷

The WVFC described a scenario in which many of these children were used by adults who were prostituting them. "Down here in Alabama Road there is a girl selling girls. She takes them to town. There is a lady who keeps them in a flat, she brings these guys in, and they have oral sex. They actually tell you how it is done. One incident [sic] was nine years old. She was doing it for five rand a time."⁶⁸ Minnie, cited in Boezaart (2009:539), writes:

In terms of the provisions of section 1 of the Children's Act, the commercial sexual exploitation of a child means the procurement of a child to perform sexual activities

for financial or other reward, including acts of prostitution or pornography, irrespective of whether that reward is claimed by, payable to or shared with the procurer, the child, the parent or caregiver of the child or any other person.

Three other respondents also confirmed that there was prostitution. A male respondent added, "They don't call them prostitutes, they call them Bs [bitches] now. They go with you to your place, you buy them drugs, drink and after that, it's in the room. That's how it's going."⁶⁹ "Females between the ages of 13 to 21 do it because of their living conditions. Most of the people that I know doing it are poor."⁷⁰ "In Woodville Road, that end, HIV is full-up. Young girls stand on the street in Jacobs, Chamberlain Road, selling their body."⁷¹ "There's a place called 'Flushing Meadows', there by Hime Street, many people go there. It's like a shop and there's a house on the other side. They have a shebeen where you can drink and next door is the house with prostitutes."⁷²

According to interview subjects, rape in Wentworth is commonplace. This was confirmed by the Wentworth WVFC, which is attached to the Wentworth Police station. A WVFC volunteer related a recent case of rape to the author, in which a young woman was taken by a taxi driver from the Merebank area to 'Cuttings'. She was raped throughout the night and then thrown out of the car, half-naked, the following morning. According to Nowrojee and Manby (1995:3), "South African women victims of violence, regardless of race, continue to face a judicial and police system which is often unsympathetic and hostile to the women seeking redress."

This hostility has resulted in women, frustrated and devoid of trust in the criminal process, taking their own lives. "There's a lot of rape in Wentworth, but people don't get found out about it, because women don't admit it. Some people don't know how to cope with it when they have been raped and they end up killing themselves".⁷³ This could be linked to the problem of police corruption and what is regarded as police insensitivity towards crime and abuse taking place in the community, as previously described by respondents.

According to Nowrojee and Manby (1995:3), "Women victims of violence frequently experience indifferent or hostile treatment from police officers when they attempt to report abuse." It was for this reason that the WVFC was formed. The women, who had been victims of abuse themselves, took things

into their own hands and formed an NGO to tackle the problem of insensitivity towards victims of abuse. Nowrojee and Manby (1995:3) add: "South African women of all races continue to complain of mistreatment at the hands of police officers taking statements; prosecutors and magistrates in court; district surgeons [government doctors] who examine them; or court clerks who issue forms to abused women for an interdict [restraining order]." The WVFC has ingeniously navigated around the issue of insensitivity by state officials. "We work closely with Wentworth Hospital. If they have a rape case they will phone us, we pick the person up, get the police to take a statement and go to the district surgeon with them."

The problem that then remains is that of justice being done, given an environment in which police dockets conveniently go missing. Again, questions around police corruption in serious matters such as abuse and rape are raised.

4.4.5 Gender dynamics

A participant believed that a woman could not be compared to a man, that the man was meant to work and support his family. Another participant described women as being superior to men. "Women are superior to men. I say this because we brought men into this world. They should respect us."⁷⁴ These two respondents have indicated two different views that, perhaps, are in a sense a reflection of the past and the present gender dynamic respectively. Luker (1996:136) describes this better where she writes:

In the tidy world of the 1950s, society expected that women would be virgins when they married (or at least when they got engaged); would remain married throughout their lives to the same man; would stay home, take care of the housework and raise the children while their husbands worked at a stable, well-paid job that he would keep until he decided to retire. This predictable scenario no longer exists for today's teenagers, although many of its cultural ideals live on in their dreams.

Many participants believed in "50/50", meaning that even in the home and with regard to the upbringing of children, men should help. Many women believed, however, that women worked while men sat at home playing TV games. They believed that in cases where the woman was working, men should help in the house by cleaning and doing the washing. Respondents said there were men who did this, but this was very rare. Young girls who were questioned did not

believe that they were being treated as equals. They believed that men were shifting the burden of responsibility by impregnating girls and not taking responsibility. "A woman brings stability in the home, in the sense that she goes to church and a lot of other stuff. She buys food and looks after her sick children. She holds the family together. Most of the time men are shifting the burden. They make a child and it is just DNA."⁷⁵ Luker (1996:136) writes,

What it means to be an adult man or woman is now in constant flux, and we do not yet live in a world of perfect gender equality. Indeed, the sexual revolution seems to have stalled: women have taken on many of the responsibilities of men, but men have yet to assume their fair share of the nurturing and caretaking role traditionally assigned to women. On the one hand, a young woman can no longer expect that she will have a husband on whom she can be totally dependent, both economically and emotionally. On the other hand, she can't expect a husband to share the burdens of childbearing and homemaking equally.

A volunteer from the WVFC agreed that men shun their responsibilities. They make girls pregnant and move on. "We had an incident here. A girl came in with two children she was walking in the rain. Her boyfriend is living with somebody else, looking after children that are not his. His were in the rain. It is so unfair that he is supporting somebody else's children, where he should be taking care of his own."⁷⁶ They described how, often, a couple who had a child were unemployed and did not even think about how they would support the child. In such cases the parents of the mother often had to bear the burden of taking care of the child. The WVFC describe how many women were raising their children as single parents. "As soon as the boyfriend finds out the girl is pregnant, he is out of there."⁷⁷ "Men don't want to use condoms and the majority of the young girls are too young to talk to their parents about contraception. These girls are getting pregnant at 14."⁷⁸ Luker (1993:116) writes, "It is more likely to be the poor woman, and the minority woman, who will have sex early, who will fail to use enough contraception to keep from getting pregnant, who will not have an abortion, and who will not get married if she becomes pregnant." The member of the WVFC adds, "Many of the young girls don't respect themselves. Young girls know a boy has a steady girlfriend. Why would you still get pregnant from them? Will that boy respect them for that?"⁷⁹

A young man described how he respected the opposite sex, but added that many relationships were not healthy. "Girls today are only after what a person

can give them. Like accessories and money. Men are after one thing, they are prepared to give you what you want. Afterwards, they leave you and jump to the next one. That's how women are fooled."⁸⁰ The respondent adds that this dangerous behaviour was not spoken about, and that this was often the cause of HIV/Aids.

This points to a further problem confronting Wentworth, that of HIV/Aids. Gender dynamics coupled with substance abuse pose a threat of high HIV/Aids infection rates in Wentworth. In the time spent in Wentworth, the author came into direct contact with four HIV-infected people, who in turn identified at least four other HIV-infected people, some of whom they said were married. HIV/Aids was inadvertently being isolated as a real problem in the community, by people who themselves were HIV-infected.

One participant puts this all down to a lack of concern by parents. Often these parents have had children young and "have not had a chance to live life". As a result, the moment they become independent, they begin to concentrate on themselves and leave their children to their own devices. "Parents are more concerned about their boyfriends. They don't have time for their children. The parents themselves are like children. If your child is 14 or 15 ... where are they, what are they doing? I blame the parents. The parents are trying to get their groove back, they have been disappointed and then it's one man to the next. It's an ongoing thing; they don't ever stop to say, 'you know what – enough is enough'."⁸¹ Luker (1993:116) writes,

Poor and minority teens are also at greater risk of early childbearing because they live in poor neighbourhoods where few people have much hope of improving their lot. A teen who lives in a neighbourhood in which virtually all the people are poor and members of minorities, and in which she can see few if any successful role models, faces an increased risk of getting pregnant and having a baby.

From a religious stance, sex before marriage was seen as a taboo by most participants. "It's wrong, it's wrong, but now we are living in modern times, sex is the in thing."⁸² Respondents said that they did not mind taking the Pill, saying that they would introduce the Pill to their daughters when they came of age. Most participants were against abortion and "living in sin", seeing abortion

as a sin in the eyes of God, but understandable in cases of rape. Prostitution was seen as bad – and a reality, because of poverty.

4.4.6 Police corruption

The issues described above are exacerbated by beliefs of police collusion with drug lords and dealers, and police taking bribes and covering up serious crimes committed, according to interviewees. According to Sherman (1978:30), “Police corruption is an illegal use of organisational power for personal gain.” Crimes against ordinary citizens, on the other hand, were perceived as not being taken seriously. When asked whether police helped when needed, people replied as follows: “No, they don’t. We call them six, seven and eight times but they still don’t come to help us. With the druggies, I have actually seen an exchange of money.”⁸³ According to Sherman (1978:31), “Police corruption inverts the formal goals of the police organisation. It is a use of organisational power to encourage and create crime, rather than deter it.” This inversion often results in a lack of confidence in the police and a resigned acceptance of, and tolerance for, serious crimes committed in the community.

Talha (1997) writes, “If people lose faith in the integrity of police officers, the amount of cooperation the police receive from the public also decreases. This can reach the point where many people don't even bother to report many criminal activities.” Many respondents confirmed this ‘lack of confidence’. They admitted to having witnessed murder and theft, but when asked if they would report these crimes, they almost all said they would not, for fear of their lives. “To be honest, if it’s a crime of murder, I don’t think I would be able to do it. Obviously, in the community that we live in, it is like this: if you tell on me you are, like, next.”⁸⁴

According to Sherman (1978:32), community tolerance, or even support, for police corruption can facilitate a department’s becoming corrupt.” One questions how this can be combated or exposed if the very people who suffer because of police corruption are in fact facilitating that corruption. Sherman (1978:55) writes, “Scandal punishes the police department as an organisation and removes its deviant leadership.” A case in point is that of the scandal surrounding the former police National Commissioner Jackie Selebi and his affiliation with crime bosses like Glenn Agliotti and Brett Kebble. The fact that

Selebi appeared in court sends a message to police, including those in Wentworth, that they risk being prosecuted for criminal acts at some point in the future should a scandal arise.

4.4.7 Migrant labour

Men employed in the metal industry as pipe-fitters and boiler-makers had, for the most part, to travel and were often away from their families for long periods. Chari, cited by Engelke (2009:60), writes, "Wentworth's men have been South Africa's pre-eminent industrial artisans, and apartheid's racial labour markets made occupations like pipe-fitting and boiler-making the prized jobs for Coloured men." The advantage was that these men were remunerated well. The disadvantage was that family life was placed under great strain. Men found it difficult to remain celibate when away from their wives. This often led to extra-marital activities. "My neighbour's husband went to work at Sasol and never came back. Eleven children later, he wanted to come back into her life. She refused."⁸⁵ The consequences of such behaviour were often devastating. Men brought back sicknesses like HIV and Aids to their wives of many years. "Somebody I know was actually having another life outside and innocently came home and diseased his wife."⁸⁶ "The advantage is they obviously get more money when they work away from home. The disadvantage is most men cannot stay without their women. They go up there and come back and make their wives sick."⁸⁷ The fact that men who were migrant workers earned well often did not have the positive effect it should have had on families. According to Chari, cited by Engelke (2009:60), "long-distance projects brought bursts of income to migrant men, who then squandered the money on new cars, clothes, guns, and new drugs such as Mandrax." As a result, the predicament for many families remained the same. Money was spent indiscriminately and not saved or invested for a rainy day, for the education of a child or to purchase a better home.

4.5 Determinants of Wentworth's problems

4.5.1 Poverty, high unemployment and low education levels

Respondents felt that the source of all their problems was poverty, and that poverty was directly related to unemployment and a lack of education. Often the source of the problem went back to the issue of not finishing school. Among respondents, most young girls who were no longer at school had not

matriculated because of teenage pregnancy, and they were unemployed. "In Wentworth there are girls as young as 12 getting pregnant."⁸⁸ Stonehocker (1997) writes:

[T]eenage pregnancy is more common among young people who have been disadvantaged in childhood and have low expectations of education or the job market. The literature shows that youth living in poverty have a teen pregnancy rate which is five times the average.

For many, the fact that they were unemployed was a heavy burden and often the source of depression. Alcohol and drug consumption was seen as a way to numb the feeling. "You see, my problem is unemployment and things like that, they depress me a lot. Drinking and smoking makes me happy. I'm not depressed when I drink. Normally when I don't drink, I am very depressed."⁸⁹ Seedat *et al.* (2001:58) write:

The psychological consequences of the deprivation caused by poverty, which is the condition the majority of South Africans still find themselves in, are endless. These include the mental and physical developmental impact of poor nutrition on children and the anxiety, depression, and stress-related conditions caused by poor living conditions and occupational circumstances.

One respondent added, "Drugs and alcohol are a temporary stress reliever, they are just piling the stress up for later."⁹⁰ Here the respondent illustrates how a lack of employment created a void of depression that is filled by using drugs and alcohol, and ultimately entrenches people even deeper in the cycle of poverty. Alcohol and drug abuse can be seen as a by-product of stress and depression affecting the unemployed. Adults, who "drown" their depression with alcohol and drugs, create great hardship for their children by prematurely passing the burden of running the household onto the shoulders of their children. As a result children resort to prostitution and drug peddling. A member of the WVFC confirmed this, adding: "Most of the children doing these are from broken homes, where one or both parents are drug addicts or alcoholics."⁹¹ "It is because of poverty that many children resort to selling drugs. They do it because it is an income. These drug lords pay their rent, water and electricity, buy food and clothe them. You will find that most of these drug lords deal with underprivileged children. They use them as runners for their

drugs, and to do their dirty work.”⁹² In such circumstances, it became apparent how the cycle of poverty continued unabated.

Some participants revealed that they were living from hand-to-mouth, battling to get by from one day to the next. At times, securing a meal for the day meant going to the local store to stand and beg for money for bread, and sometimes going to bed without food. “Eh, sometimes I am happy, sometimes I am not. When I have got nothing to eat I get sad. Like last night, I went to bed with no food.”⁹³

One respondent said that she had no lights, that she was HIV-positive and she was finding it impossible to gain employment. She described how she did not enjoy the simple comforts of watching television and having a comfortable couch on which to sit. In her case, there were seven people living in a house, all unemployed. “Hmm, it’s bad hey. Number one, we haven’t had lights for the past year-and-a-half. Number two, no source of income. I’m unemployed and I’ve got a school-going kid so it’s very hard.”⁹⁴ This respondent often relied on help from the community, charities and councillors in Wentworth. “Aubry Snyman, our councillor, bought my daughter school shoes and shirts.”⁹⁵ In fact, the school-going child was the only person employed in the house at the time – she worked in the local club, Hip Hop Palace, as a waitress on weekends.

For the majority, life was described as being hard and unaffordable, with never enough money. Very often payments could not be met and people were unable to save, since they were unemployed. Saving money for later years was seen as impossible. In homes where everyone was unemployed, people lived from hand-to-mouth and went without lights for as long as a year-and-a-half. Gallie *et al.* (2002:231) write that qualitative studies suggested that,

[U]nemployment had major implications for the quality of household relations and for the relationship between the household and the wider community. In particular, it was seen as leading to a shift in roles within the household and to the increased social isolation of unemployed people. Both these factors were seen as reinforcing the psychological distress generated by unemployment.

For the majority who were interviewed, being unemployed meant they had no regular income and that they were dependent on the people they lived with. Often as many as five, six or eight people were living in one-, two- and three-

bedroomed flats. Almost all families questioned lived in an extended family situation. Here siblings, as single parents, bringing up their children, lived together, often looking after grandchildren as well as their own adult children. Some siblings living under these conditions expressed frustration at the situation and a desire for independence, which was unattainable because they were unemployed. Very often there were situations of co-dependency, where the unemployed depended on a sibling to sustain them while the employed depended on the unemployed person for childcare and upkeep of the household.

Others said they ate on a daily basis and described how paying the bills, buying food, and paying bus-fare and school fees took precedence. Rent was described as being relatively low, ranging from R105 to R400 a month.

“It’s a bit hard, hey. Whatever you do, money it is just not enough. I try but whatever I get it goes to my mum.” Interestingly, all participants questioned were living with a single mother, who was the breadwinner. It became apparent that female-headed households were the face of households living from hand-to-mouth, in great hardship and under financial strain, as many did not have the kind of employment that commanded a good salary.

This indicated a problem that could evolve, that of children left to their own devices at home. “I felt like sending my son to his father, he is 16 and does not want to go to school. The other day he was making dagga muffins here in the house. He made a dozen. He has tried smoking dagga. I know this.” When a mother works all day and comes home to cook and do chores, one questions how vigilant she can be in the upbringing of her children. Great mental strength would be required to discipline under such conditions. In such cases, parents very often allow bad behaviour to slide.

Many of the adults who were employed were “casual” workers, with little or no benefits. Most were incapable of saving money for their old age because they were living from hand-to-mouth. When they did reach pensionable age they were highly dependent on the government pension and, more often than not, continued to support family members with that pension. Hence it was common that people borrowed and lent food in Wentworth, and that many regularly

went hungry. Saving money to send a child to university, a life-changing matter for any individual, meant great sacrifice.

4.6 People of Wentworth's perceptions, attitudes and beliefs about their socio-cultural state

Questions to participants about living conditions, and living in Wentworth in general, were met with mixed replies. Some respondents said that Wentworth was a place where people looked out for and helped one another. "Yes, Wentworth is the place to be, it's got vibe. We can cook a whole pot of food here without anything. You can go to one neighbour and ask her for an onion. Go to another neighbour and ask her for a potato. People help you. Yes, they do."¹⁰⁴ Another participant contradicted this by saying that Wentworth was a place where one could not take chances; that people put you down if you made money, out of envy or jealousy.

Other perceptions were that Coloured people did not get things done as, perhaps, black people did. "What gets me about us Coloured people is that black people just do things. Coloureds are not there for each other." The assumption was that Coloured people were not united; were fickle; that they had "no class, no culture, no direction. They don't evolve."¹⁰⁵

Others wanted to move out of Wentworth as they felt it was a "bad" place to bring up children. "I have heard stories of fighting in other areas, but Wentworth is truly bad, with the drugs and drinking and our children being easily influenced by all these things. You could say they are selling drugs in just about every second and third home."¹⁰⁶

When asked to make a comparison with other Coloured areas in KwaZulu-Natal, participants described Wentworth as being worse, as a violent and rough place, than areas like Newlands or Greenwood Park.

A few participants saw themselves as poor, living from hand-to-mouth, and unable to save money. Others said that they were middle-class and coped with putting food on the table. One participant answered that she wished she could change her HIV status, adding that "HIV is full-up in Wentworth", and that her hopes and dreams depended on the success of her daughter: "I want my

daughter to finish school, buy a posh house, a nice car, sit in the front seat and wave to the people.”¹⁰⁷

Another participant just wanted to study, finish school and get out of Wentworth. Others had simple hopes of finding a job, having a career, and raising their children healthily. “My goal is to become a nurse and study to be a sister, strive for success and then go overseas when I am stable.”¹⁰⁸ Many yearned for independence.

The majority of respondents said that they were happy; and only discontent because of drugs and alcohol, and that everything else was positive. “The lifestyle, the things people believe in, the type of things they do, people are very friendly. Over here neighbours share things. Everybody helps one another, people stick together.”¹⁰⁹ Another respondent was of the notion that the people in Wentworth had the idea that there was nobody like them. “We are unique. Nobody is using this. If people love themselves to the extent that we do, one should be able to mobilise us to a better lifestyle. Leaders are failing to use this to mobilise people to a better life. If you look around, all the children that don’t do drugs love themselves.”¹¹⁰

There was consensus that there was “a definite vibe” in Wentworth. That people helped one another. “Sharing”, “friendly” and “sticking together” were some of the adjectives used to describe co-existence in Wentworth.

4.7 Findings

Here we look at the responses to our research question and what can be deduced from the analysis of data emerging. The research question was: What identifying “local norms, power structures, resources, and traditions” (Trickett and Pequegnat (2005, p.13) in Wentworth contribute, either positively or negatively, to its socio-cultural context? Literature and findings from interviews and photographic documentation provided conclusive answers to this question.

Findings also validated the use of photography as a research tool, confirming principle ideas and theories highlighted in the literature review regarding photography and its use for researching and documenting the social. Other ideas and theories highlighted in the literature review, such as literature on

Coloured identity, for example, facilitated a better understanding of findings, especially in the context of race and politics. Answers to the question of whether research facilitates meaningful visual communication were offered up by findings.

According to primary and secondary data emerging from the analysis of literature, textual and photographic data, the key determinants that contribute either positively or negatively to Wentworth's socio-cultural context are:

- » poverty; unemployment; poor service delivery; poor living conditions; the need for low-cost housing; poor policing; inadequate law enforcement, corruption and collusion between police and drug dealers; the prevalence of crime; corruption; gang violence; prostitution; substance abuse; rape and sexual abuse; violent abuse; child abuse; women abuse; prevalence of violent relationships; premature sex; teenage pregnancy; the prevalence of HIV/Aids; high incidence of female-headed households; migrant labour; a high school drop out rate; lack of higher education; ill health owing to the close proximity to the Engen Refinery and pollution; a need for a comprehensive study of Coloured identity in KwaZulu-Natal; the self-definition and future-definition of Coloured identity were seen as important; abandonment and inter-generational deprivation; marginalisation.
- » photography was deemed an ideal method of research, for empirical studies.

These findings are in answer to the research question and indicate that Wentworth is indeed plagued by a number of socio-cultural problems. At the outset of the study people living outside the community often rejected the many tales of the social problems in Wentworth as folklore, urban legend or just plain rumour. It can be said that many of the problems being faced by the community were observed first-hand; as a result the author, through findings, can attest to the fact that these problems are very real. There is an urgent need for redress as it is apparent that many people are highly dependent on welfare from both NGOs and the state.

Based on the above summary of the findings that emerged in answer to the research question, it can be said that the hypothesis is valid. The hypothesis was that:

- » Wentworth is an urban community confronted by socio-cultural problems; where photography can be used as a tool to support change; acting as visual evidence of this context; confronting the community with its reality.

4.8 Conclusion

This study exposed the key determinants of the socio-cultural context of Wentworth. The findings from primary and secondary data responding to the research question validated the study's hypothesis. The next chapter will present the summary of findings, propose recommendations and conclude the dissertation.

CHAPTER 5

Summary of findings, recommendations, limitations and conclusion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of findings, followed by a discussion of the study's results in relation to the statement of the problem, purpose of the research, and the research question. After analysing data in Chapter 4, a summary and recommendations are presented. Limitations are presented and discussed, followed by a conclusion.

5.2 Summary of findings

Though the community of Wentworth has a history of socio-cultural problems, these have never been investigated in a scholarly fashion. Previous studies in Wentworth have focused more on environmental issues. This study contributes to a body of scholarly knowledge about the community, providing conclusive findings regarding the key determinants that affect the community, either positively or negatively.

To investigate these determinants, a research question and hypothesis were drawn up for the study. The research question being: **What identifying “local norms, power structures, resources, and traditions” (Trickett and Pequegnat (2005, p.13) in Wentworth contribute either positively or negatively to its socio-cultural context?** The research hypothesis being made was that: **Wentworth is an urban community confronted by socio-cultural problems; where photography can be used as a tool to support change through acting as visual evidence of this context and confronting the community with its reality.** A summary of findings and recommendations in answer to the research question were as follows:

- » current living conditions, especially in poorer sections of the community, are inadequate and require improvement. Living spaces can be made more habitable, with due consideration for the safety and security of, in particular, women and children. Here the onus is on government to come up with the necessary solutions for members of the community who find themselves “caught in a poverty trap” as described by De Haan (2007:127);

- » there is a definite need for low-cost housing for people in poorer areas of the community. It was common to find two and three families living in one flat. Around the issue of housing, it becomes apparent that community leaders need to devise ways of acquiring land and housing for the poor of the community, outside of the usual wait-and-see what government will do scenario;
- » Councillors should devise ways of improving the level of service delivery;
- » environmental activists in Wentworth have been at loggerheads with the Engen Refinery's management over pollution issues for many years. The community should be mobilised around Wentworth's continued geographic location and proximity to the refinery, as its close proximity affects people's health negatively;
- » social groups and NGOs would have to constantly mobilise the community to demand better service delivery from police and local councillors to reduce crime;
- » a resurgence of gang culture should be stopped in its tracks, through community mobility and a cleaned-up police force. The history and present dynamics of gang culture in the community would need to be researched;
- » to reduce crime, gang violence, prostitution, substance abuse, rape, abuse and corruption, the environment would have to change;
- » the dynamics behind sexual and child and women abuse in the community requires intense research and study;
- » career counselling and methods to generate educational campaigns for young girls and boys on issues of violent relationships, teenage pregnancy, prostitution, rape and education, should be developed. Their direct links to unemployment and poverty needs in-depth research;

- » NGOs and social welfare groups would have to work tirelessly in trying to prevent teenage pregnancy through educational campaigns and in trying to encourage pregnant teenagers and teenage mothers to complete school.
- » teenage-friendly birth control and condom roll-out points should be made available, as well as counselling with regard to sex and sexuality as it is obvious that teenagers are engaging in premature sex;
- » a problem confronting Wentworth was HIV/Aids, as identified by HIV-infected residents themselves;
- » there is perhaps a need for NGOs to consolidate and avoid duplication of efforts, joining forces in terms of manpower and funding, as there seemed to be NGOs performing the same functions;
- » all indications are that law enforcement by Wentworth's policing component is impossible, given existing community perceptions of corruption and of collusion between police and drug dealers;
- » the establishment of technical schools should be encouraged at which older artisans in the community can be used by NGOs to teach the youth practical skills in the metal and engineering trades;
- » a culture of seeing education as a way out of poverty and unemployment needs to be instilled in youth. Schools, councillors, NGOs and welfare groups should devise ways to obtain funding for poor children wanting to study further. Youth should be educated at school about avenues they need to take to transition from school to institutions of higher education;
- » school-going children require role models: examples of Coloured people from Wentworth who have made a success of their lives should be sought as mentors and encouraged to visit schools to describe how they achieved their success. This can be linked to the issue of identity and the self-definition thereof;

- » sporting and social activities should be promoted in schools and the community at large, especially in the context of the youth, to promote the joining of prosocial rather than antisocial groups;
- » the high incidence of female-headed households needs studying, this in the context of the changing role of women, and changing gender dynamics where women are taking on both male and female roles in households.
- » younger-generation males should be encouraged to complete degrees and diplomas in fields that will equip them with education and rare skills. In this manner, migrant labour may be reduced as men become less reliant on irregular employment away from home. This will encourage stability in family life and diminish the absent-father syndrome;
- » Coloured identity, and the future definition thereof, needs to be discussed by the bearers of the identity, especially in the context of their marginality and “ambiguous racial position” as described by Adhikari (2005:12);
- » awareness with regards to Coloured identity, and identity in general, needs to be addressed at school level, where children are taught about identity, and are encouraged to engage in discussions about their complexity and how they see that complexity evolving in the new dispensation;
- » Coloured people are tasked with breaking free of their “white-mindedness” Adhikari (2005:11). This, however can only be achieved if members of the community become more aware of politics and how it affects their lives;
- » there is a need for a comprehensive study of Coloured identity in KwaZulu-Natal. Here, language, culture and ethnic makeup are vastly different from that of the Cape Coloured identity;
- » the behaviour of the bearers of Coloured identity was indeed defined by history. It was found to be important that the history of Coloured people be taught at schools so as to educate about the identity, to better their knowledge of history, as only this will enable self-definition in future;

- » abandonment and inter-generational deprivation has impacted negatively on the socio-cultural and psychological state of Coloured people. They are tasked with setting themselves free of the stereotype of not aspiring to be better than their fathers and grandfathers and with shaping their future as individuals;
- » photography and its use to document and research the social, did indeed deepen and enrich data collected via interviews. It was deemed an ideal method of research, for empirical studies;
- » more time needs to be spent in communities being observed to create a relationship of trust, before photographing.

Needless to say, there may be many other issues that may need investigating in Wentworth. These findings emerge as relevant to the current study and as a valuable resource and literature, for future scholarly studies in the community.

5.3 Limitations

While every effort was made to include an equal ratio in the sample population of males and females, often more data was collected from females as male participants were either vague in their answers, or rejected being interviewed.

The focus of this research study prioritised socio-cultural issues and, as a result, the findings have tended to show the community in more of a negative than a positive light. This is not the intention of this study. In a further study of Wentworth it is recommended that members of more affluent sectors of Wentworth, and more male participants, be interviewed to obtain a balanced view. Hence the results of this study cannot be generalised to the sample population.

Key questions were designed around trying to find answers to as many questions as possible. However, not all questions could be answered due to time constraints and manpower, as the author was the sole researcher. For example, more research would have to be conducted on question 4, which is: **What perceptions, attitudes and beliefs about their socio-cultural state exist among the people of Wentworth?** Respondents seemed unable to

articulate well what made them happy, what their traditions were, what they enjoyed doing in their spare time. Though some candidates did provide answers to these questions, triangulation of results was not achieved as some respondents were unable to offer up an answer.

A follow-up study outside the limitations of a university setting could provide a more representative sample in respect of males and the entire Wentworth population. Such a study would be better conducted by research organisations with greater manpower. It is suggested that research be conducted in greater depth with regard to substance abuse, gang culture, police corruption and women and child abuse, housing and further education, and an issue that kept on emerging through personal contact with people, that of HIV/Aids. It is suggested that a quantitative study be carried out on each individual problem. It would be interesting to know the average number of people living in a household, or the types of education and vocation people have attained. Gangs, drugs and police protection are definite areas that need detailed investigation as their impact on the community has proven to be consistent and devastating. The problems being faced by the Wentworth community are representative of the many problems being faced by similar urban communities throughout South Africa and internationally. Fully understanding the dynamics of this particular community would serve to inform literature pertaining to the social construct.

The study has shown clearly that documenting communities as they are is beneficial to those individuals involved in the study, the researcher, other researchers, those in the community being studied and other communities confronted with similar issues. It has been shown that research and photographic practice can be used effectively anywhere around the globe, for social issues.

5.4 Conclusion

Chapter one introduced the research aims and objectives, which were: to understand the socio-cultural context of the Coloured community of Wentworth in the province of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa; and show the importance of employing research and photographic practice for social issues, respectively. Here the study questioned what identifying “local norms, power

structures, resources, and traditions” Trickett and Pequegnat (2005:13) in Wentworth contributed to its socio-cultural context.

Chapter two reviewed literature which considered the definitions of Coloured identity, Coloured identity as established in literature; the history of Coloured identity in South Africa; dynamics and complexities of Coloured identity in the context of pre-and post-apartheid South Africa. It focused on photography as a tool to document; photography as a research tool; and ultimately photography and ethics. Photography and its influence on the social construct was scrutinised in the context of international and contemporary South African photographers.

Chapter three introduced the Grounded Theory as the qualitative research method to be used to gauge the socio-cultural context in Wentworth. Here it was illustrated how the Grounded Theory was also well aligned to Suchar’s use of photographs as a research tool to gather visual data, where ‘shooting scripts’ were used. Shooting scripts, methodological triangulation, collaborative or participatory research approach, ethics and matters of consent were all highlighted as contributing methods in the study. Sample populations were elaborated on.

Chapter four analysed findings from textual and photographic data emerging from key questions which asked: what defined Wentworth; what its problems were; what determined these problems; and how the people of Wentworth perceived their socio-cultural state. Findings sanctioned the use of photography as a research tool and offered up answers to the question of whether research facilitated meaningful visual communication. The findings also highlighted experiences whilst photographing in Wentworth, especially with regard to ethics, and methodologies used in the gathering of visual data.

The study has shown clearly that documenting communities as they are is beneficial to those individuals involved in the study, the researcher, other researchers, those in the community being studied and other communities confronted with similar issues. It has been shown that research and photographic practice can be used effectively anywhere around the globe for social issues.

Findings have shown that all data that resulted because of photography was richer, more intimate and did indeed facilitate self-confrontation. The objective of using research to enhance visual communication was attained in this dissertation, as the conceptualisation of the book was strengthened because of the information gathered via the research and participatory approach to gathering data, via the Grounded Theory Method. As a result, it can be said that photo documentation can be used effectively as a research tool, especially in qualitative and empirical studies, such as this study of the socio-cultural context of a community.

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APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What defines Wentworth?

Race

What race are you?

How would you define your race?

Do you identify with being this race?

Where do you come from originally, that is ancestors?

Who are they; can you name them?

Class

Where do you live?

How would you compare Wentworth to places like Sydenham, Newlands East and Greenwood Park?

How would you describe your living conditions?

Are you happy with your living conditions?

How many are there in your family?

Name your mother, father, brothers and sisters.

Cultural norms

Do you have any particular culture?

How would you describe your culture?

Where does it come from?

Do you belong to a social group?

Do you take part in sport or cultural activities?

What are the things you enjoy doing?

Taboos

What is taboo for you from a religious, moral, social and personal perspective?

For example, regarding:

Sex before marriage,

Living with a guy or living in sin,

Having an abortion,

Prostitution and drugs,

Taking the pill.

Gender dynamics

As a male/female, how do you see yourself with regard to the opposite sex?

Do you feel you are equal to the opposite sex?

Do you believe that as a male/female you have certain roles that you have to play?

What are those roles?

For example, are you of the opinion that a wife's place is in the kitchen?

As a man/woman do you feel safe in your community?

Do you feel pressured as a man/woman in any way?

Do you feel you are treated equally as a man/woman?

Do you feel you have a certain role to play as a man/woman?

What are those roles?

What are some of your ideas on gender dynamics?

What are your general ideas on male/female relationships in Wentworth.

Religion

Are you religious?

Do you go to church?

How often?

What religion are you?

Which church do you attend?

Does your family attend?

Who in your family attends?

What does religion give to you?

Does it help you in any way?

Politics

Do you belong to a particular political party?

Do you have any views about politics?

Do you believe that politics has affected or affects your life in any way?

How did it affect you in the past?

How does it affect you in the present?

Living conditions

Are your living conditions affordable?
Do you live with both your parents?
If not, which parent do you live with?
How many bedrooms do you have?
Do you share a room?
How many do you share a room with?
Do you find your living conditions comfortable?
Do you have water and electricity?
Has it ever been cut?
Who are the breadwinners?
Name them.
Are you meeting your payments every month?
Do you manage to save any money every month?

Power structures

Who is your local councillor?
Can you name him?
Do you think he is doing anything for the community?
Can you name a few things he has done for the community?
Can you name them?
Are there any leaders in Wentworth that you look up to?
Are there social groups in Wentworth?
Who are they?
How do they assist?
If you encounter any difficulties, who do you approach in your community?

Resources

Are there places of safety for children, the aged in Wentworth?
Is there a police station?
Do police help when they are needed?
Is there a hospital close by?
Is it a good hospital?
Is there a clinic?
Are there people one can approach when in financial difficulty?
What assistance is there for those destitute and without food?
Are there shops, supermarket, petrol station?

Can you name them?

Are there enough recreational facilities?

Can you name them?

Are there any training facilities?

Traditions

What traditions do you follow?

Are there any traditions that are typical of Wentworth?

Do you have a particular way of dress in Wentworth?

For example, when you wed, does the bride's or groom's family pay?

What traditions are there for a funeral?

What traditions are there for when a child is born?

What traditions are there for birthdays?

How do these traditions impact on your life?

2. What defines Wentworth's problems?

Crime

Do you know of any crimes that are committed in Wentworth? If so, can you name a few?

Have you ever personally witnessed a crime? If so, what was it?

Would you report a crime if you witnessed it? If no, why? If yes, would you be afraid? Why?

Do you believe that people in Wentworth tolerate crime? If so, Why?

Do you think people in Wentworth fight crime? If no, why?

Are there crimes that affect women in particular? If so, which ones?

Can you describe some of those things in Wentworth that:

Impact negatively on people's lives,

Cause death,

Hardship,

Bring the community down and make it ill.

Drugs / Alcohol

Do you drink?

Do you smoke?

Do you use drugs of any kind?

Are drugs / alcohol, rife in Wentworth?
What, in your opinion is the cause of this?

Geography

Do you think Wentworth is located in a good or bad place?
Is it close enough to Town for you?
Is there enough transport?
Are you able to move around easily?

Gender inequality

Are you treated as an equal by the opposite sex?
Do you feel respected by the opposite sex?
Have you ever been, abused, verbally or mentally?
Does your partner work?
Do they help you in the home?
What are your views on gender equality in Wentworth?

Migrant labour

Does your partner work away from home?
In your opinion, what are the advantages or disadvantages of this?
Has this had an effect on your marriage or relationship?
Has this had an effect on your partner's relationship with his/her children?

Social inequality

Are there very poor people in Wentworth?
If so, please describe those areas.
If so, please describe the poverty that is experienced.

Do you have knowledge of people being treated differently
because they are poor, homosexual or HIV positive?
If so, please describe the discrimination in your own words.
What are your views on HIV positive people?
What are your views on homosexual people?
What are your views on poor people?
Are there wealthy people in Wentworth?
What are your views on rich people?

Do you believe that the wealthy sometimes take advantage on the poor?
How? Example, sugar daddy's, etc.

Gang culture

Are gangs still present in Wentworth?
Is there a culture of violence in Wentworth?
To what do you attribute this?

Sexual exploitation

As a man/woman do you believe that men respect you sexually?
Is there prostitution male/female in Wentworth?
Do men/women ask for things like money and or a cell phone in return for sexual favours?

3. What are the determinants of these problems?

Poverty

How old are you?
Do you go to school?
No, did you finish matric?
Did you fall pregnant before finishing your matric?
If so, did you still finish your matric or did you leave school?
Are you married?
Did you have a baby before or after you married?

High unemployment

Are you working?
What are you doing right now.
Have you tried finding a job?
Is your partner working or not?
Has he/she tried finding a job?
Would you do any type of job to survive or would you rather just sit at home, if you cannot get the kind of work that you normally do?

Education

What grade did you finish? If no, why?

Did you go to tertiary? If no, why?

4. What perceptions, attitudes and beliefs about their socio-cultural state exist among the people of Wentworth?

The way you live, what are your opinions on this?

Do you consider yourself, wealthy, middle class or poor?

Are you happy and content?

What are your goals, hopes and dreams?

For you?

For your family?

How do you believe you can achieve these?

If you could change anything/s that you did in the past, what would it be?

APPENDIX 2

INFORMED CONSENT

Dear Project Participant,

you have been invited to participate in a study conducted by Natalie Houston, student number 40004810 for the project titled, A study of the socio-cultural context of Wentworth in Durban, South Africa, towards a photo-documentary. This as part of the MTech Degree in Graphic Design, which she is currently undertaking at the Durban University of Technology, Durban, South Africa.

Please read through this consent form carefully, as it describes the intended study in which you have been invited to participate. Should you at any time wish to withdraw from the study for whatever reason, your doing so will not disadvantage you in any way or form.

In general, A study of the socio-cultural context of Wentworth in Durban, South Africa, towards a photo-documentary is a study aimed at identifying what “local norms, power structures, resources, and traditions”, in Wentworth impact on the lives of people living there. The finished dissertation will be in printed form, and encompasses a 50% research dissertation, as well as, a 50% design project in the form of a photographic book or journal, illustrating the lived experiences of the people of Wentworth at this moment in time, and which will serve as historical content. The answers from the study will enable local community organisations to make meaningful recommendations for community interventions and other related issues.

Photo shoot

People and families and environment will be photographed to show the lived experiences of the people of Wentworth today. Photographs will be published.

Questionnaire/ Interview

Structured interviews will be conducted with individuals, families or focus groups in Wentworth.

Conceptualisation of the final research product (Dissertation and Practical)

A people-centered participatory approach will be used throughout the research inquiry process, as well as in the conceptualisation of the final photographic documentary, which will be in book form. Participants will be asked to select images they believe portray them in a positive manner.

Confidentiality

At no time will an identifying name be connected to a photographic portrait of participants. A very positive approach will be used at all times, and therefore, all who participate in this study will remain anonymous throughout.

Natalie Houston is the chief investigator of this study and participation in either the photo shoot or questionnaire/interview will form an important part of her degree. The result of this study will be her dissertation.

If you wish, you may contact Natalie Houston on 0315646443 or 0761747811 or email to n.houston5@gmail.com for more information about the study.

Feel free to contact Dr. Vivian Ojong on 0357723747 or 0836961771 or email to ojong@ukzn.ac.za for any questions relating to the study.

Please indicate your consent by signing your name below.

.....

(Signature)

.....

(Name in full)

.....

(Date)

ENDNOTES

- 1 World War II military camps, army barracks or military housing
- 2 Adhikari (2005:back cover) writes, "Mohamed Adhikari lectures in the Department of Historical Studies, University of South Africa."
- 3 Cape slaves came mainly from Mozambique, Madagascar, India, Sri Lanka, and the Indonesian Archipelago
- 4 HSRC Press (online), writes, "Professor Himla Soodyall obtained a B.Sc (Hons) degree at the University of Durban-Westville and an M.Sc (Biotechnology) and PhD at the University of the Witwatersrand. Professor Soodyall joined the SAIMR in 1987 as a medical scientist and worked with Professor Trefor Jenkins in the department of Human Genetics."
- 5 The interbreeding of people considered to be of different racial types
- 6 From an interview with the social photographer Cedric Nunn, 23 June 2008
- 7 From an interview with the social photographer Cedric Nunn, 23 June 2008
- 8 From an interview with the social photographer Cedric Nunn, 23 June 2008
- 13 See appendix 2, for the informed consent form. All participants interviewed and photographed for the study were asked to sign this form
- 14 From an interview with the social photographer Cedric Nunn, 23 June 2008
- 15 From an interview with the social photographer Cedric Nunn, 23 June 2008
- 16 From an interview with the social photographer Cedric Nunn, 23 June 2008
- 17 From an interview with Talishia, 19 years old, 30 November 2009
- 18 From an interview with the social photographer Cedric Nunn, 23 June 2008
- 19 Educational Journal, November 1920
- 20 From an interview with Jean, 52 years old, 30 October 2008. Here Jean implies that siblings born after her were no longer classified Mauritian.
- 21 From an interview with Karen, 35 years old, 11 August 2008
- 22 From an interview with Santana, 38 years old, 8 August 2008
- 23 From an interview with the social photographer Cedric Nunn, 23 June 2008
- 25 From an interview with Jean, 52 years old, 30 October 2008
- 26 Old red brick army barracks that were forcibly taken by tenants who desperately needed houses, became affectionately known as the Ark, by its tenants and residents
- 27 From an interview with Linda, 44 years old, 20 November 2008
- 29 From an interview with Linda, 44 years old, 20 November 2008
- 30 From an interview with Linda, 44 years old, 20 November 2008
- 31 From an interview with Myrtle, 48 years old, 2 November 2008
- 32 From an interview with Myrtle, 48 years old, 2 November 2008
- 33 From an interview with Jean, 52 years old, 30 October 2008
- 34 From an interview with Keisha, 24 years old, 10 August 2008
- 35 From an interview with Linda, 44 years old, 20 November 2008
- 36 From an interview with Shantania, 19 years old, 10 August 2008
- 37 From an interview with Keisha, 24 years old, 10 August 2008
- 38 From an interview with Monica, 27 years old, 10 August 2008
- 39 From an interview with Jean, 52 years old, 30 October 2008
- 40 From an interview with Linda, 44 years old, 20 November 2008
- 41 From an interview with Linda, 44 years old, 20 November 2008
- 42 From an interview with Jean, 52 years old, 30 October 2008

43 From an interview with Karen, 35 years old, 11 August 2008
44 From an interview with Keisha, 24 years old, 10 August 2008
45 From an interview with Linda, 44 years old, 20 November 2008
48 From an interview with Chris, 25 years old, 20 November 2008
52 From an interview with Jean, 52 years old, 30 October 2008
53 From an interview with Shantania, 19 years old, 10 August 2008
54 From an interview with Santana, 38 years old, 8 August 2008
55 From an interview with Keisha, 24 years old, 10 August 2008
56 From an interview with Tom, 55 years old, 5 May 2009
57 From an interview with Tom, 55 years old, 5 May 2009
58 From an interview with Jean, 52 years old, 30 October 2008
59 From an interview with Karen, 35 years old, 11 August 2008
60 From an interview with Santana, 38 years old, 8 August 2008
61 From an interview with Santana, 38 years old, 8 August 2008
62 From an interview with Jean, 52 years old, 30 October 2008
63 From an interview with Linda, 44 years old, 20 November 2008
64 From an interview with Cheryl, 18 years old, 2 August 2008
65 From an interview with Karen, 35 years old, 11 August 2008
66 From an interview with Linda, 44 years old, 20 November 2008
67 From an interview with Linda, 44 years old, 20 November 2008
68 From an interview with Linda, 44 years old, 20 November 2008
69 From an interview with Chris, 25 years old, 20 November 2008
70 From an interview with Rihanna, 18 years old, 10 August 2008
71 From an interview with Santana, 38 years old, 8 August 2008
72 From an interview with Keisha, 24 years old, 10 August 2008
73 From an interview with Rihanna, 18 years old, 10 August 2008
74 From an interview with Linda, 44 years old, 20 November 2008
75 From an interview with Keisha, 24 years old, 10 August 2008
76 From an interview with Linda, 44 years old, 20 November 2008
77 From an interview with Linda, 44 years old, 20 November 2008
78 From an interview with Linda, 44 years old, 20 November 2008
79 From an interview with Linda, 44 years old, 20 November 2008
80 From an interview with Chris, 25 years old, 20 November 2008
81 From an interview with Linda, 44 years old, 20 November 2008
82 From an interview with Linda, 44 years old, 20 November 2008
83 From an interview with Santana, 38 years old, 8 August 2008
84 From an interview with Keisha, 24 years old, 10 August 2008
85 From an interview with Santana, 38 years old, 8 August 2008
86 From an interview with Keisha, 24 years old, 10 August 2008
87 From an interview with Karen, 35 years old, 11 August 2008
88 From an interview with Monica, 27 years old, 8 August 2008
89 From an interview with Santana, 38 years old, 8 August 2008
90 From an interview with Tom, 55 years old, 5 May 2009
91 From an interview with Linda, 44 years old, 20 November 2008
92 From an interview with Linda, 44 years old, 20 November 2008

93	From an interview with Santana, 38 years old, 8 August 2008
94	From an interview with Santana, 38 years old, 8 August 2008
95	From an interview with Santana, 38 years old, 8 August 2008
104	From an interview with Santana, 38 years old, 8 August 2008
105	From an interview with Chris, 25 years old, 20 November 2008
106	From an interview with Karen, 35 years old, 11 August 2008
107	From an interview with Santana, 38 years old, 8 August 2008
108	From an interview with Keisha, 24 years old, 10 August 2008
109	From an interview with Keisha, 24 years old, 10 August 2008
110	From an interview with Myrtle, 48 years old, 2 November 2008