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The tjoeverian community of Ennerdale: methamphetamine use in the context of concatenated violence.

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Abstract

This ethnographic study focusses on ‘lolly lounges’ in the community of Ennerdale, south of Johannesburg. A lolly lounge is a social space in which the tjoeverian community of Ennerdale smoke the illegal substance Crystal Methamphetamine (meth) through a glass pipe. The tjoeverian community is a group of drug users, who take Crystal Methamphetamine as well as substances such as Mandrax and dagga. A very small proportion of tjoeverians also inject the meth into their veins. Meth is referred to as food in this space and is considered nourishment for the soul. Ennerdale is based approximately 35 km south of the Johannesburg CBD. This community was considered a Coloured area under the Apartheid regime. It has since received considerable media attention for its usually violent protests linked to issues of state abandonment such as overcrowding, unemployment, housing shortages and the recent establishment of lolly lounges. This thesis is based on interviews with 20 participants (4 lolly lounge owners, 2 patrons from each lolly lounge and 8 community members, two Community Policing Forum members). The research explores the lives and interactions of this group of meth smokers and how they interact with the wider community and the state, in frequently violent encounters. It proposes that lolly lounges must be understood within concatenated networks of interpersonal, collective and state violence.

DECLARATION

Ethics clearance number: H18/06/08 - R14/49

I, Alda Sherlenia Bester, student number: 909050 hereby declare the following:

- I am aware that plagiarism (the use of someone else's work without their permission and/or without acknowledging the original source) is wrong.

- I confirm that the work submitted for assessment is my own unaided work except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise.

- I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others.

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

- I have included as an appendix a report from 'Turnitin' software indicating the level of plagiarism in my research document.

Signature:  **Date: 15 March 2022**

Acknowledgements

I dedicate my research to the ‘tjoeverian’ community of Ennerdale and Brixton. It was an absolute pleasure to be a part of your lives. Thank you for receiving me and accepting me and pouring out your lives and your hearts to me. I would like to acknowledge every ‘tjoeverian’ community across South Africa. I see you as soldiers in a war, fighting a battle that only you understand. I hope that my research will shed light on what you do. In addition, why you do it?

I would like to thank the queen of my life, my mother –Neriah Thlakudi. You are the strongest and bravest woman I know. I love you, I appreciate you and I thank God for you. Only you and I know the journey and the road less travelled that we had to endure.

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Thank you to my Lord and savior Jesus Christ…I owe it all to you…

Introduction

‘Ek wil net my kop skiet’ is a term used by the tjoeverian community of Ennerdale. The tjoeverian community is a group of residents who smoke the illegal substance Crystal Methamphetamine (meth) or in very rare cases inject the meth into their veins. If I were to translate this directly into English, it would read; ‘I just want to bust my head’, which means that they simply want a hit of this drug. When making such a statement it implies that, the person speaking wants a boost for the day. Their day cannot start until they have had this level of ‘nourishment’. The term tjoeverian is derived from one of the street names of the drug, ‘tjoef’, hence the name of the methamphetamine smoking community, the tjoeverian’s. A lolly lounge is, in most instances, but not always, a rundown house used as a social space where meth is smoked. The term lolly lounge derives from the fact that the pipe with which they smoke meth is the shape of a lollypop. This does not mean that only meth is smoked at lolly lounges, neither does it mean that only drugs are used at lolly lounges. Other things happen at lolly lounges as well. In some instances, a lolly lounge is a space where tjoeverians buy drugs and use them immediately while in other instances, lolly lounge owners do not sell drugs at the lolly lounge, but after people have bought their drugs somewhere else, they would simply come and smoke it there. In many instances, this is because the owner of the space is a drug user and they are then entitled to smoking of the drugs, even if they did not contribute towards buying it. This is because the owner offers the venue. It serves as a rental for smoking there. The person, who wants to smoke there, is obligated to share their drugs, at least with the owner of the space.

A lolly lounge can take the form of a house, a shack, a caravan, a backroom or even just one room inside of a house where the rest of the family lives a normal life. This usually happens when the son or daughter, or even mother or father, sometimes even a grandchild or a great grandchild, has converted their own bedroom or some other part of the house into a lolly lounge, allowing their friends and neighbors to smoke in this space, leaving the rest of the house off limits for smoking purposes. There have also been instances where the wife/husband has left the husband and moved out of the house, because of the husbands/wife’s addiction. Sometimes parents have also fled from their own homes, leaving their addicted children there, in essence fleeing the experience of having to share a home with a child who has turned their home into a lolly lounge.

Upon arrival at a lolly lounge, tjoeverians will ask; ‘Is there no food for the pot?’ Their audience will understand that they are not referring to food, as we know it, but to the crystal-like substance illegally bought and sold in a small bag for the cost of R50. The glass pipe used to smoke meth is called a pot, as we know it. The meth is referred to as food. This request does not imply that the ‘tjoeverian’ has not had food, as we know it, for the nourishment of their body; it simply means that they are looking for something to nourish their soul. The situation in Ennerdale is dire for many of its residents. In this setting, lounges offer an escape from the harsh conditions of their daily lives and from violence, but paradoxically they also foster new forms of violence, which this thesis explores. This research report focusses on lolly lounges as well as the tjoeverian community and their culture in the wider context of concatenated violence.

Lolly Lounges and Tjoeverian Culture

A lolly lounge is the social setting of the tjoeverian’s. The tjoeverians interact on a regular basis in this setting over long periods – sometimes days or even weeks at a time. Others even end up living at lolly lounges, because their families no longer allow them to live at home. This is because of the behaviors that accompany their smoking. Sometimes they steal from their families or bring trouble to their homes. For this reason, it was important that I observed and engaged them in these spaces over the period August 2018 to January 2019. The tjoeverian community of Ennerdale share the same beliefs, values, practices, language, norms, rituals, and materials, and therefore share a culture (Tylor 1857: 1, Kroeber 1917, Hofstede 1984:21, Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952: 181, Geertz 1973: 89). For instance, all make use of a lighter, a pipe (pot) and a wet cloth. They speak the same language as they refer to crystal meth as food and refer to their drug paraphernalia as though it were utensils in a kitchen used for cooking. The very process of developing meth from various chemicals is referred to as cooking and smoking a pipe occurs in the same ritualistic manner. For instance, when one smokes a pipe, the first drag of the contents is blown out of the pipe. They are apparently blowing out the poison. After the white crystal-like contents of meth is thrown out of the small packet and into the glass pipe, the pipe is heated and the pipe is rolled from left to right so that the meth melts evenly in the pipe. The melting of the meth is considered an art or a skill. Some people are better at it then others. Burning the meth in the pipe, similar to burning food, as we know it on the stove is a huge problem, especially if there is nothing more to smoke or in the case of food, nothing more to eat. The person who pays for the drugs always has first

right to smoke and can smoke as much as they please. The owner of the pipe also has a right to smoke even though he did not contribute financially to buying the actual drugs. By virtue of him/her owning the pipe (pot), they are entitled to smoke. The renting of pipes for cash or drugs is also very popular. This entails that the person who owns the pipe participates in a kind of moral economy, because by virtue of owning a pipe, they get access to smoking even if they do not have money to buy drugs and the ritual of smoking involve both hierarchies, but also dynamics of social obligation (Bourgois and Schonberg 2009:82).

Smoking meth, or eating as tjoeverians refer to it, is a means of nourishing the soul. Therefore, in chapter one of this thesis I look at how and why 'tjoeverian's' feel the need to nourish their souls. I look at exactly what it is that needs to be nourished and why there is such a need for this nourishment. I argue that this nourishment is just one of many responses to the violence in Ennerdale. The tjoeverian community share the same belief system. They have a set of principles that form the basis of their moral code. In tjoeverian, culture there is a consistent set of rules prescribing righteous behavior. An example of this is the fact that one cannot simply scratch the leftover contents out of another person's pipe/pot. Only the owner of the pot/pipe can do so. Even though tjoeverians share the same cultures and belief systems, within this community there are also subcultures or sub-groups, or deviations from the norm, but they are nevertheless still a group with a culture of their own, who practice their culture very explicitly and freely once inside of lolly lounges, because this offers them a safe space with like-minded people. It is for this reason that I chose lolly lounges as the space where I conducted ethnographic observation. However, before I continue on to set the scene of lolly lounges it is important that I set the scene of Ennerdale, and give a background and context of the area.

Background and Contextualising Ennerdale

Ennerdale, situated in the south of Johannesburg, is 'part of a ring of suburbs built in the 1950's and 1960's, at a great distance from the city center' (Lupton 1993: 37). I grew up in Ennerdale and today I still live here. I worked in the community as a high school teacher for approximately seven years. It 'exhibits all the features of an urban form produced under massive state intervention to produce a racially fragmented workforce: insufficient urban goods and services, a milieux of cultural deprivation and bureaucratically- administered amenities' (Lupton 1993:37). Ennerdale as

we know it today came about in the 1970's because of the Group Areas Act of 1950. Ennerdale was declared a Coloured area under the Act. When places such as Westbury and Eldorado Park became overcrowded, the state started moving Coloured people to Ennerdale (Lupton 1993: 37). According to oral histories, which I conducted, all of this happened under the pretense that they would develop Ennerdale into a town, since it is such a long way from the Johannesburg CBD. Even though I have never discovered any literature on this, the oral histories of various people can attest to this in an overwhelming manner.

In various interviews, people recall how the apartheid regime promised to build a court, a hospital, a university and other infrastructure and had even drawn up the plans, but had not delivered on their promises to date. The residents of Ennerdale face social ills such as overcrowding, unemployment, poverty, violence, crime, homicide and femicide. All of this occurs in the context of dislocation, housing shortages and anti-drug marches. The daily lives of the very poor, who are the majority of residents, frequently involve asking their neighbors for a cup of sugar, a few slices of bread and a tea bag here and there. Some people ask each their neighbours for a different ingredient simply to make a pot of food for supper. The social grant for their children simply does not cover their monthly expenses. Some supplement their income by ironing another person's washing or cleaning their house for some extra money. Others are reliant on loan sharks who lend at massive interest rates, leaving their social grant cards and identity documents as security. Some schools have implemented feeding schemes, simply to deal with the great number of children who come to school and have had nothing to eat. Some children know that going to school means that this could be their only meal for the day. A few schools even allow community members to queue at the gate with their ice cream tubs. The schools feeding scheme then fills up the ice cream tub with food so people who would otherwise have nothing to eat may at least have that one meal for the day. A large proportion of the tjoeverian community makes their way to these kind of feeding schemes so they can have something to eat.

The community of Ennerdale would never have thought that, in the promise of the post 1994-era, they would have to continue to be violent in order to participate in the new democracy (cf. Ross 2005). In doing so, they participate in what Karl Von Holdt referring to the South African context, describes as a 'violent democracy' in which violence is used as a means to access services and patronage networks (Von Holdt 2010, 2014). Since my earliest childhood days in Ennerdale, I

recall my parents taking part in violent protests of some sort or another. In 1992, the police shot my mother with a rubber bullet during a protest where a large group of Ennerdale residents had gathered at the Extension 1 Civic Center. This civic center was where the offices of the local municipal workers were located. On this particular day, as my mother recalled to me, the residents of Ennerdale were protesting against the high water and electricity bills that the municipality was issuing. In addition, if these bills were not paid, the service delivery of these amenities were cut. Residents who did not pay their rent were thrown out of their homes. They had to live on the street. Some of the residents managed to borrow money from their employers in order to retain their homes. The residents of Ennerdale mobilized together in an attempt to demonstrate their unhappiness about these and other concerns. The crowd burnt down the civic center that day to communicate their unhappiness and in response to that, the police fired rubber bullets in order to disperse the crowd. As my mother ducked in order to avoid the bullets, while running away, one of the rubber bullets caught her in the buttocks. Although this is one of my earliest memories of protests and violence in Ennerdale at the age of eleven, it is certainly not my last. Even now, three decades later under a new government, the residents of Ennerdale still have to resort to violence to get the state's attention pertaining to issues of service delivery. Ennerdale residents consider themselves victims of state abandonment due to the lack of service delivery, and a myriad of other factors. One of these others factors include the issue of Coloured identity.

Coloured Identity

Communities historically identified as Coloured by the Apartheid regime have come out of the imposition of dispossession and dislocation of apartheid. Coloured people have had this bureaucratic identity imposed on them by the Apartheid state. This shameful identity of being Coloured is associated with illegitimacy and promiscuity. Furthermore, this identity was imposed on Coloured people by the very regime who made laws and policies that reinforced the idea that being Coloured is shameful. Historically speaking, the laws of South Africa reflected that, particularly during the Apartheid era. This identity has been associated with Erasmus's discussion on Coloured identities and it sheds light on this fact that, across time and place, Coloured people is something that is negative. There were even laws and policies put in place to ensure that races are kept separate. The idea of pure blood has been the ideal, with the belief that the very existence of Coloured people, speaks about the immorality that came to mind when a white man slept with

a black woman during Apartheid (Erasmus 2001, 2017). Because of this 'Coloured 'identities have been spoken about in ways that associate them with immorality, sexual promiscuity, illegitimacy, impurity and untrustworthiness, particularly by Apartheid lawmakers. For Coloured people these associations have meant that identifying as Coloured is linked to feelings of shame' (Wicomb 1998 as cited in Erasmus 2001). During apartheid, there were laws and policies, such as the Sexual Immorality Act and the mixed marriages act, which insured that different races could not intermarry or have sexual intercourse. This was done to ensure that white children were not born with black blood, giving way, in the view of the apartheid state, to a breed of people who had no morals (Erasmus 2001).

Even though apartheid and its policies are long gone, not much has changed as the cloud of shame still hangs over Coloured people. The legacy of shame continues. Perhaps it is this legacy that needs to be nourished and in some way or another there is an innate desire and search for respect, because of this shame and constant pathologizing of Coloured identity. Perhaps this legacy is what needs to be forgotten by the very people who have to carry this shame as part of their identity. This shame inherent in identifying as Coloured. The new era of post-apartheid does not seem to have ushered in the dawn of change for historically Coloured communities either. Historically Coloured communities feel abandoned by the state, since they have not been fully integrated into the new order. Many Coloured people refer to the fact that they were not white enough then and are not black enough now. In order to understand the dynamics of Ennerdale, we need to understand the pervasive experiences of shame, state abandonment and structural violence in which lolly lounges emerge.

Structural Violence

My research sheds light on the way in which the apartheid government and its policies operated as a form of structural violence and this has continued into the post-apartheid era. Through the exclusion and dislocation of groups identified by the state as Coloured, by means of racial segregation, as well as the apartheid government's efforts to move people 35km out of the city center, Coloured people in Ennerdale face poverty, overcrowding, unemployment and inequality.

These and other persistent forms of structural violence, which I discuss below, are integral to understanding the context of Ennerdale. Farmer (2001: 308) defines structural violence noting the following:

> 'Structural violence erases the history and the consciousness of the social origins of poverty, sickness, hunger and premature death so that they are simply taken for granted and naturalized so that no one is held accountable, except perhaps the poor themselves' (Farmer 2001:308).

Farmer (2001) and Nancy Schepper- Hughes (2004) in their development of a definition towards structural violence agree with Galtung (1969) in the observation that structural violence is mostly invisible and it produces inequality, including along lines of race, class and gender. As Farmer further observes:

> 'Structural violence is violence exerted systematically –that is indirectly – by everyone who belongs to a certain social order: hence the discomfort these ideas provoke in a moral economy, still geared to pinning praise or blame on individual actors. In short, the concept of structural violence is intended to inform the study of the social machinery of oppression' (Farmer 2001:307).

The lens of structural violence is useful for capturing the continuing impact of the initial displacement and resettlement (Freund 1976) on the part of the apartheid government that was responsible for putting Ennerdale's current situation in motion (Nancy Schepper-Hughes 2004). However, the concept also has limitations when researching Ennerdale and the violence surrounding lolly lounges. It is too blunt a tool to trace the complex connections between the various forms of violence. I therefore make use of the concept of concatenated violence in order to track the multiple levels and causes of violence. Instead, I look at Ennerdale through the lens of concatenated violence.

Concatenated Violence

Concatenated violence refers to the many forms of connected violence beyond only dyadic relationships (Auyero and Berti 2015). Concatenated violence also 'refers to the many different ways in which diverse types of physical aggression – typically conceptualized as discreet and analytically distinct phenomena (because of the place where they occur, because of the actors involved, etc.) – are in fact linked' (Auyero and Berti 2015: 98). For this reason, this thesis looks at the forms of physical aggression that takes place within and around lolly lounges. It explores the different forms of violence that surround the lives of the tjoeverians and the wider Ennerdale community. Using Concatenated violence as a lens and a concept through which to study the case of the tjoeverians in Ennerdale is valuable in that it adds much to the studies of violence that I have engaged in this thesis. For instance, it enhances the study of structural violence as it reveals how the structural violence that the community has suffered impacts this particular group of people, and forms parts of chains of domestic and inter-personal violence. The impact is apparent in its personal effects and its relation to addiction, as an absence that needs to be nourished. Also looking at studies in transactional sex one can see how the lens of concatenated violence in this case adds value in that it becomes apparent how concatenated violence plays a role in transactional sex, as another form of violence arises as these women's bodies are literally sold for drugs by their own partners. In the conclusion of chapter 2, on lolly lounges and concatenated violence I make explicit what stands to be gained by describing the violence in Ennerdale as "concatenated" or of recognizing it as interlinked. I am convinced that there is much value in using concatenated violence as a concept in that it shows, not only how one form of violence is linked to another, but also that violence is very rarely a separate act, but instead a chain of events.

Ennerdale residents protest so that the police will actually do something about the lolly lounges, tjoeverian's, crime and the drug dealers in the area. Residents are unhappy because they feel that the police respond quickly to reports of interpersonal violence, especially that of intimate partner violence, where a husband beats up his wife. It is said that when they lock the husbands up, they come back to ask the wife out on a date. Many in the community concur that for other issues the

police always have some sort of excuse as to why they arrived late on the scene, or sometimes not at all. For instance, in a recent incident of family violence when a few family members and friends were having a get-together, a family friend stabbed one of the family members, because of an insult. The police never arrived at the scene of the crime. The police later claimed that there was no petrol in the police van in order to respond to the call out. In addition to this, the 31-year old victim went to the local 24-hour clinic where the staff members refused to help him, as the clinic only treated maternity patients. The victim died a few minutes later, on route to another clinic, situated further away.

There are numerous incidents of this inability on the part of the state entities to deliver services, for some reason or another. These led many community members to a sense of feeling abandoned by the state (Biehl 2005). This has left the community feeling that they ought to take the law into their own hands in order to see justice served. For this reason, violence leads to more violence in the form of retaliation. This was exactly what happened the next day after the 31-year old man died. Family and friends went to the home of the man who stabbed their cousin and brother and fired shots at the house. The perpetrator's mother who was in the house had to throw herself on the floor and hide, since he was not even home. These and many similar incidents of violence and follow up retaliation creates a level of violence in the community of Ennerdale. This level of violence creates a very harsh space and, because of this, there is a search for warmth and intimacy in this context of physical and structural violence. Many seek this warmth and intimacy in lolly lounges. A group of tjoeverians also seeks warmth, intimacy and a sense of belonging in lolly lounges, as they are alienated and marginalised by the broader community, and frowned upon for smoking the illegal substance methamphetamine.

Following these broader and recurrent incidents, I am interested in lolly lounges as a case study, not only because they are the social environment of the tjoeverian community, but also because they are spaces of risk, sociality and danger that reveal the wider webs of violence in the community. My research analyses the co-presence and the concatenations of multiple forms of violence amongst the marginalized tjoeverian community. It explores and interrogates the inter-connections between multiple types of violence (Auyero and Berti 2015: 99, 127). My research proposes that lolly lounges should be analysed within concatenated networks of interpersonal, collective and state violence.

My overarching argument in this thesis is that concatenated violence is rife within Ennerdale. Because of this, some residents – the tjoeverian community – have chosen to use crystal meth in order to nourish themselves as a response to different forms of violence; however, they are also spaces that perpetuate forms of violence. Having said this, there are many responses to this concatenated violence, which include, amongst others, an attempt to nourish, to seek warmth and intimacy, belonging, respect and security.

A discussion on the Anthropology of addiction

It is obvious that some people living in Ennerdale are in search of oblivion and forgetting something. They are using drugs in order to forget the emotional pain associated with being displaced, dislocated and experiencing structural and concatenated violence. While still of school-going age and after this, many youths who are at home and unemployed are caught in drug use because of the sense of feeling of being left behind and abandoned by the state. None of the promises, mentioned above, which the apartheid government made when people were displaced to Ennerdale during apartheid, had been fulfilled. To date the post- Apartheid government continues to promise better service delivery and housing for all, especially just before elections when they are campaigning. However, once elections are over, they simply disappear until the next election. As a teacher, I speak to my ex-learners and other people who still have not secured employment and do not have the funds to study. The sentiment is that these feelings are simply too much to bear. There is a need to escape from their own minds and numb the pain, even if it is just for a moment (Maté 2012, Carlson et al. 2009). Escaping their minds is definitely not the only reason for drug use amongst Ennerdale residents. Other reasons include their living conditions and numerous other factors, including issues of ‘self-esteem, poor self-control, inadequate social coping skills and sensation seeking’. ‘Depression, anxiety and a range of stressful life events, such as the divorce of parents, living with other people, because they do not have their own place to stay as well as numerous other events’ (United Nations CTDCC 2004:5) also contribute to drug use in the area. In many instances, my respondents simply used drugs to keep them calm, relieve their stress, relax them, supress their feelings of inadequacy, stave off feelings of loneliness and sadness (United Nations CTDCC 2004: 6). My research finding indicates that the reasons stated above is why many of my research participants use drugs, however. Since I did not interview the

entire tjoeverian community, I cannot determine whether these reasons apply to tjoeverian community as a whole.

Methodology and Reflexivity

I visited lolly lounges across Ennerdale, doing participant observation at lolly lounges over a period of several months in 2018, up to January of 2019. I also did in-depth interviews in Ennerdale in 2021.I conducted in-depth follow-up interviews with members of the tjoeverian community as well as ten other members of the community. For the ethnographic research, I came up with the term 'lolly lounge hopping', as a means to explain how I navigated my way, during 2018, from one lounge to the next, as well as inside of these spaces. During my time in these spaces, I have hopped from one lounge to another, but the scenery and the way of doing things was always the same. This simply means hanging out at one lolly lounge after another or as Clifford Geertz termed it 'deep hanging out' (Geertz 1998 as cited in Walmsley 2018:276). This simply defines the method of physical, informal, and prolonged immersion within a particular cultural environment with the sole purpose or intent to gather data (Geertz 1998). I could end up visiting more than six lolly lounges in less than a few hours, but I could also spend more than five hours at the same lolly lounge at one time, immersing myself in tjoeverian culture. It was not difficult to fit in, because tjoeverians smoke meth (Tik'), and then sit around and talk or hang out. Tjoeverians generally tend to share stories, laugh, have sex, drink alcohol, listen to music and watch pornography. It was on very rare occasions that I watched them hustle for money; for the most part, they only talked about their hustling. It is important to note that not all of these things occur simultaneously and not all tjoeverians participate in what I have just mentioned. Some might be present at a lolly lounge, but not participate in acts such as having sex. To date I am still not sure if they chose not to participate, simply because of my presence.

Being there was not always comfortable, because of the manner in which they do things. I knew it was important for me to remain objective, even though I experienced culture shock on many occasions. I chose to gain informed consent with the lolly lounge owners upon arrival (Kadam 2017:108). I had to do this verbally, since obtaining written informed consent was out of the question for this kind of setting. Had I obtained written informed consent I would have breached my ethical obligations, because it would mean that I would have had evidence that could criminally incriminate my participants, since the buying of Crystal Methamphetamine is illegal. These

documents would have to contain their real names as opposed to the pseudonyms that I use in my paper. For this reason, I chose to make use of verbal informed consent, as this was appropriate for the situation. While hanging out with various groups at different times in this setting, I gained verbal informed consent from the group of people that were present at a particular lolly lounge at any given time.

Hanging out was never planned, but rather a spontaneous occurrence. It only depended on whom I was hanging out with on that particular day. For instance, while sitting at one lolly lounge, someone would call the person that I was with from another lolly lounge and invite us there. This could be for a variety of reasons. My right to access was secured because a regular always introduced me. I immediately received the same status and access as the regular by virtue of their introduction. My right of passage and status in the lounge was automatically transferred. The fact that they had vouched for me gave me immediate and continuous access. This allowed me to enjoy access at any time, even if I was not with the person who initially introduced me. The fact that I had previously been a teacher within the community of Ennerdale also contributed to the rapport that I carried. Many people knew me, even though I did not know them. In many instances, the fact that I taught their niece, nephew or sister at school at some point was how they knew me. This was also a very common starting point for conversations and while talking to them I had the opportunity to explain what I was researching. This sparked interest and allowed me to gain informed consent at the same time. Many tjoeverians did not trust me at first, and initially when I walked into a lounge some of them would walk out and leave. As time went on, they finally got to know me and realized that I meant them no harm, since the tjoeverians that trusted me still had not landed in any trouble.

Gathering data

I gathered my data mainly through observations and in-depth interviews (Thompson 2000). Due to the sensitive nature of my research, I could not make field notes at lolly lounges (Sanjek 1990). I had to wait until I arrived home in order to write up my research. On many occasions, I was tired, because I only got home after midnight or in the early hours of the morning. Making notes at lolly lounges would have made my participants very uncomfortable, not to mention that if the police raided a lounge and found notes on my person, which might have been incriminating for my participants. It was at lolly lounges where I approached tjoeverians and asked them to do in-depth

interviews with me. Those who had phones gave me their contact numbers and I followed up with them a few days later. In many instances, I could not get hold of them on those contact numbers anymore, because by then they had already sold their phones for drugs. Through many struggles and hardships, I eventually managed to audio record, some interviews (King and Horrocks 2010: 44). I had to rely a lot on oral history, particularly where the history of Ennerdale was concerned, because that was not so well documented (Leavy 2011).

My initial fieldwork was conducted in 2018. The aims of my fieldwork at the time were to research the attractions, pleasures and sociality of lolly lounges in Ennerdale in the context of structural violence. I was initially interested in the dangers and the risks posed by these social spaces. I also looked at practices of sharing and transactional sex, as well as a language and a code of conduct that is very particular, but the limitations presented by looking at the case of Ennerdale through a structural violence lens, caused me to notice something else. For this reason, I went back into the field in 2021 to confirm if the pattern of concatenated violence, which I noted, indeed held true. Another limitation or weakness of my research stems from the fact that not enough women were interviewed to establish their feelings regarding the way that men discussed them. In failing to do so my research lacks a significant element in describing the relationship between violence and intimacy. I am convinced that I did not delve into that out of fear that they would think that I am judging them for the fact that men are discussing them.

During this fieldwork, I looked at the forms of violence present in Ennerdale and how they concatenated with one another. I also looked at the moralities, codes and regulations of violence, as well as the relationship between violence inside lolly lounges and the wider Ennerdale community. Finally looking at the work of violence and the various interpretations of and responses to violence, I concluded that the thread of concatenated violence was present. For this reason, I then continued to reorganize my research to look at Ennerdale and the ‘tjoeverian’ community through the lens of concatenated violence. The fact that the ‘tjoeverian’ community of Ennerdale is a vulnerable group opened up a whole other set of ethical concerns.

Ethics

I had to get ethical clearance from Wits Human Research Ethics Committee to do my research. Apart from being concerned with the safety of my research participants, Wits was also concerned

with my safety in these spaces. Ethical considerations also contributed to me gaining informed consent with my participants verbally, because written informed consent would defeat the purpose of anonymity altogether (Wiles 2013). I changed the names and the identifying criteria of my participants. I have also changed dates wherever possible of significant events, particularly because my case study in the chapter on concatenated violence and lolly lounges is still part of an ongoing investigation. Sometimes gaining informed consent came with a set of its own problems. While explaining to participants that they could withdraw from my research at any time, and informing them of what my research material would be used for, they would pull out of the research. This was often done out of a fear of being exposed through the final product of my research. It was essential for me to think through all of these. I made use of the literature on ethics, particularly that of Rose Wiles (2013: 13). It was her mentioning of the fact that I could use one of the several ethics frameworks. I considered virtue ethics, deontology, utilitarianism, and rights-based ethics as well care –based ethics to think through dealing with how to go about my own moral behaviour. I finally decided to make use of the deontology framework, which meant that I tried to live up to absolute moral duties. It did not matter how many times my research participants pulled out; I would continue to be honest about what the final product of my research would be, because that seemed to be one of the main reasons why many of them withdrew themselves from my research. It would be wrong to lie, just to ensure that possible participants would agree to be part of my research. Once participants decided to withdraw, even if they were halfway through the interview process, I had to be ethically responsible and allow them to withdraw despite the massive implications this had for my research. Some of my participants also withdrew because they feared prosecution, even though my research was not focused on the criminal activities inside of lolly lounges. I faced dangerous situations throughout the duration of my fieldwork. Once community activists knew what I was doing, some asked me to become a police informant, since I knew where many of these lolly lounges were and what was happening there.

Even though I understood why these activists and organizations wanted to clamp down on lolly lounges and merchants, I also knew that I could not betray the trust of the very people who allowed me into their space. I knew that as a researcher, I was bound to a set of ethics and it was my responsibility to protect my participants (Wiles 2013). The logistics of my research was difficult, because of the nature of the research itself and the space in which I conducted my research. Many

tjoeverians tried to talk me into buying drugs for them in exchange for an interview. This indeed proves that they are a vulnerable group and is exactly what the World Medical Association refers to when they say that vulnerable groups 'have an increased likelihood of being wronged or incurring additional harm'. 'In public health and in relation to health care, vulnerability is broadly described as the inability to sustainably protect oneself from potential harm' (Schroeder et al 2009:18). If I did not stick to an absolute moral code, I would have bought them the drugs as a means to secure interviews, but in the process, I would have caused them additional harm. This need to smoke puts them in a very difficult position, because there are very few things that they would not do in order to smoke. For instance, instead of taking the help, I offered them in terms of giving them information and possible access to rehabilitation services they saw me as an access to drugs.

My possible interviewees could not understand why I would not buy them drugs. They struggled with this. I offered to buy them food instead. They felt if I was able to buy them food then surely I must have the money to buy drugs. This was not the only thing that my tjoeverian research participants could not understand. They also could not understand why I could not come to their homes to do the interviews. I tried to explain that coming to their homes would mean that they would be exposed as drug users, since many people in the community already knew what my research was about. They maintained that they were not ashamed of who they were and everybody already knew that they were users. What they could not understand was that I had gotten the clearance from Wits, with the understanding that I could not go to the homes of those that I was interviewing. I lost many of my interview participants, because they could not understand why I could not come to their homes, but I had to be willing to let them go and find other participants who was willing to meet at a specified venue, as agreed upon with the Wits ethics committee. Tjoeverians were very keen on me coming to their homes in order to do interviews, simply because it was convenient for them. The problem with this was the fact that it would disclose their drug using status to the rest of the community and their family, possibly putting them at risk. They did not seem to care, and I had to do the caring for them, because they did not understand the precautions I was taking. I could not disclose to others the fact that I was interviewing them for my research, but despite these, they went around bragging about it. My research participants treated being part of my research as some kind of badge of honor they wore very proudly. I

therefore had to take extra care in anonymising names, dates, spaces and people. I also had to keep individual things confidential. Despite this, I could not get my participants and others who knew about my research, to stop speaking about it. The tjoeverian community mostly spoke about my research while smoking together. This ritual of smoking together was a very intimate experience and it was like a family sitting together and eating around a dinner table, something I will discuss more in the coming chapters.

Chapter outline and argument

The chapters outlined in my thesis seek to prove my overarching argument and are as follow: The first chapter of this paper is concerned with the tjoeverian community's search for intimacy and warmth in a context of structural and concatenated violence. I explore how concatenated violence creates networks of violence as the cycle of insecurity and criminal violence operates as a chain of events. Chapter 2, which follows this, deepens the examination of lolly lounges and concatenated violence. This particular chapter illustrates how violence is used and what the work of violence is in the community of Ennerdale. It also illustrates social violence is stirred and finally leads to criminal violence and eventually once again reinforces a web of concatenated violence as it shows how one form of violence is connected to another. The third and final chapter speaks to the idea of security and respect. I also look at the concept of ontological insecurity and how they use lolly lounges as a buffer against this level of insecurity. In this chapter, I conclude that lolly lounges were established by tjoeverians not only so that they can have a safe place to live out their desires, but also so that they can establish a level of ontological security within a community where their very existence is at stake. I illustrate how their group operates to afford one another a kind of support, sense of belonging and intimacy to survive their real experience of ontological insecurity in a community where they are marginalized and alienated, and met with violence constantly. I illustrate how this violence on the part of the broader community is simply their means of responding to the criminal violence which they are faced with on a daily basis.

Chapter 1: The search for intimacy, warmth and nourishment in the context of concatenated violence

Introduction

My key argument in this chapter is that lolly lounges provides spaces of intimacy, warmth and nourishment as a response to experiences of concatenated violence. The search for intimacy is a response to wider patterns of violence, which this chapter will explore. Intimacy relates to those feelings of being closely connected to another person in a loving relationship. (Sternberg 1997 as cited in Hook et al 2003). In lolly lounges, I have noted three types of intimacy. The first is experiential intimacy, which I note when they share their experiences and have inside jokes because of those shared experiences. For instances, when they laugh and talk about a time when the police chased them or when they jumped into a yard to steal the washing off the line and the dog bit them. These private memories intensify connections and when these experiences are shared with others inside a lolly lounge it is another way of mediating intimacy with words, not only between the parties that shared the experience, but also between others who have had similar experiences in the past. This experiential intimacy also occurs while acting as a team and moving in unison towards a common goal, while creating an experience that establishes a feeling of closeness. These bonds result from shared experiences. The second is emotional intimacy, which involves the honest sharing of emotions and what they are thinking. Tjoeverians foster intimacy by telling each other their deepest fears, hopes, disappointments and their most fun or painful experiences. In most instances, these fears and painful experiences are similar, because of a shared experience, which they have in the community of Ennerdale. It appears that this is what creates a safe and comfortable place. This discussion on safety and comfort engages with Bourgois and Schonberg's (2003: 82) discussion of moral economies and their discussion of how the Edgewater homeless from San Francisco protect each other from full-blown heroin withdrawals by sharing their heroin with those that do not have. The care and looking out for each other also acts as a buffer in the midst of the insecurity that they feel, in constantly fearing for their lives or not

knowing where their addiction will take them next. Be that a jail cell, at the mercy of a mob or even perhaps their death. Finally, I noted a sexual intimacy that occurs between people who were meeting each other's sexual needs. Alternatively, when they had a threesome with the same person. The production of these experiences involves risky sexual behaviours.

I argue that risky sexual behaviours in relation to drugs involve a search for intimacy and warmth in the context of concatenated violence. This goes against notions of transactional sex that sees sex merely as an access to drugs or money (Watt et al 2016: 1). Instead, I am arguing that the search for drugs itself, as with sex is a search for intimacy, in the context where intimacy is very hard. Notions of transactional sex are formed mostly in terms of economic factors, but what is also occurring in Ennerdale appears to be the search for warmth and intimacy in the context of concatenated violence. In this chapter, I will discuss the forms of care and conviviality among the tjoevarians. I will then give a case study of a man I call Roy, which illustrates that the exposure to risk and transactional sex is not simply about economic constraints. I first cite Bourgois, and then use the literature on drugs, sex, intimacy and feeding as a theoretical framework.

Theoretical framework

The literature on intimacy points to how these intimate relationships all act as a buffer 'from the pathogenic effects of stress' (Prager 1995: 1). Prager notes that 'intimate relationships are often differentiated from other personal relationships by the presence of confiding interactions between' people that are part of the relationship and continues: 'It is therefore possible to conclude that these intimate confiding interactions account for the beneficial effects of intimate relationships' (Prager 1995: 1). Research suggests that being able to confide in others carries its own health benefits (Prager 1995). These benefits are especially beneficial when one confides stressful events, rather than trivial ones (Prager 1995). People like Roy, who I discuss below, and those with similar experiences 'are more likely to seek intimate interactions when they can benefit from them' (Duck 1993b as cited in Prager 1995: 2). This is exactly what 'tjoeverians' are doing within lolly lounges. They are 'seeking social support' in this stressful and harsh environment (Duck 1993b as cited in Prager 1995: 2). Tjoeverians have a tendency to seek this intimate communication when they are distressed and some of them seem depressed (Duckro, Duckro and Beal 1976; Rotenberg and Hamel 1988; Stiles, Shuster and Harrigan 1992 as cited in Prager 1995: 2). For the insiders of these spaces, where the 'tjoeverian community' can confide in each other and foster intimate and

warm relationships and create for themselves a space where they feel like they belong; these spaces are a buffer against their own harsh experience. Sex forms a key part of the intimate relationships and moral economies of the lolly lounges.

According to the literature on sexual intimacy, 'Intimacy is hypothesized to serve both as a trigger for sexual desire and as a reward resulting from the experience of sexual arousal and in particular- of orgasm (Basson 2000: 558 as cited in van Lankveld et al 2018). Furthermore, the literature on drug abuse and sex points to the fact that 'in the setting of high levels of addiction and poverty, sex is an important commodity for acquiring methamphetamine' (Watt et al 2016: 1, Brook et al 2006). This indicates that both the tjoeverians need to access drugs and their need for intimacy is met at the same time. This is true, even in the case of Ennerdale, because of the concept of 'a lolly for a tollie'. The local 'tjoeverian' community coined this term in order to refer to the fact that when you smoke someone's drugs you must be willing to please that person sexually, especially if that person buying the drugs requires you to do so. It is the exchange of sex for drugs or even money to buy drugs in some cases. In most instances, men buy women drugs and sometimes it is the other way around, but they usually smoke together. Men, who do not smoke drugs, also sometimes buy drugs for women, while buying themselves alcohol and hanging out with the women, because they enjoy sleeping with intoxicated women. The lolly refers to the glass pipe used to smoke meth, and the 'tollie' refers to the penis of a man.

Melissa (Watt et al 2016:1) proposes 'four models of sex trading', which include 'negotiated sex, implicit exchange, relationships based on resources and facilitating sex exchange for others'. In the Ennerdale tjoeverian community all four of these models apply, with facilitating sex for others being the most profound, since many of the male 'tjoeverians' facilitate sex for other smokers with their own girlfriends or wives. Using the bodies of their wives/ girlfriends or their female partners to access drugs for themselves. Men also sometimes use the bodies of the female running partners to access drugs (Bourgois and Schonberg 2003).

A wife that is willing to use her body to acquire drugs for her husband is considered to care about her husband, to the extent that she is willing to give up her body to meet his needs. A female running partner who is willing to give up such an important part of her body is also seen as caring, because she is willing to meet the needs of others, especially if there is nothing to smoke and there is a need to stave off withdrawals or simply bust their heads. It is therefore not only acceptable,

but also customary in these circles for one person to be willing to do something so that the rest of the group or present company can access drugs. Apart from the fact that this offers the person who has the sex a level of sexual intimacy, it also offers the group or the husband emotional intimacy, knowing that someone else cares for them so much that they would be willing to go to that extent to meet their needs.

This is in line with Watt (et al 2016: 1) as they note in their own research, ‘women are more likely to use sex to acquire methamphetamine, but men reported opportunistic cases of sex trading for methamphetamine’. This expectation for sex trading has become so common in Ennerdale that it ‘created a context in which sexual violence against female methamphetamine users is very common’ and hence the term ‘a lolly for a tollie’ (Watt et al 2016: 1). The exchange of sex for drugs and money is linked to ‘behavioral and affective changes associated with methamphetamine use’. These, amongst others include ‘increased libido’ and arousal. After taking drugs, both men and women claimed to be aroused, but along with this arousal, as a side effect of the use of meth, users tended to become impulsive and their inhibition appeared reduced. Once the effects of the drugs set in it may lead to sexual behaviours that are risky or make its users vulnerable to acquiring HIV and infections transmitted during sex (Watt et al., 2014). Also cited in the literature as risky sexual behaviours is having sex without a condom and having sex with more than one person (Pluddeman et al 2006, Watt et al 2016). The literature therefore is correct, particular in the context of Ennerdale, because there is a high rate of pregnancies amongst tjoeverian women and many tjoeverians are infected with HIV/AIDS.

This literature on risky sexual behaviours in relation to drugs and transactional sex is mainly concerned with the use of sex to access money and drugs, and this is the lens through which risky sexual behaviours is being studied. Although this is correct and holds true even for Ennerdale, my ethnography reveals that in the harsh context of Ennerdale drugs and sex is used as a means to foster warmth and intimacy in the context of concatenated violence. Some of my respondents attest to this as they initially used sex as an access to drugs, but claims that as they continued with these relationships they experienced warmth, intimacy and a sense of belonging within these relationships. However, these relationships can also be gendered and hierarchical. In order to understand the dynamics of intimacy and sexuality in the lolly lounges, one needs to understand the ways in which these spaces provide a sense of intimacy and nourishment.

The ‘tjoeverians’

The entrenched practice of eating together or drug use in this very personal or private space called a lolly lounge creates positively valued feelings amongst the ‘tjoeverian’ community. For instance, in lolly lounges, when ‘tjoeverians’ smoke together, they almost sit in a circle, as though sitting around a dinner table in a traditional sense. As I have mentioned before, similar to a family having supper, the meth referred to as food and the very process of smoking is referred to as eating. The entire smoking process and the utensils used is similar to that of cooking food on a stove and mirrors the way eating together as a family creates feelings of solidarity, belonging, kinship and intimacy (Carsten 1995). Eating together in itself is a very intimate act, and the idea of smoking from the same pipe, is similar to eating from the same plate. This eating from the same plate only happens in very intimate cultures and amongst family and kin. This solidifies even further the idea of closeness. Carsten (1995) uses this idea when she illustrates this with a research of the Malayan people in Pulau Langkawi. According to their culture, babies who drink from the same breast could not marry each other once they became adults. Getting married to one another was considered taboo and culturally unacceptable, because of the kinship relationship, likening that kind of marriage to incest, even though the infants who drank from the same breast were not born of the same womb. There was however no taboo on sexual intimacy. The very fact that they drank from the same breast creates kinship ties. The tjoeverians who smoke (eat) from the same pipe can therefore also be considered to have strong kinship ties.

Apart from feelings of kinship and intimacy that the tjoeverians share, these feelings sometimes include fear, because of the possible dangers inherent in these very spaces. It could also include disgust due to the behaviors of other tjoeverian (Livingston 2008). The disgust comes into play as some tjoeverians are disgusted with those who no longer bath and brush their teeth. They make up the lower classes of the tjoeverian community and are usually also sent to merchants and shops. They also tend to wash the cars of those tjoeverians who still have cars and are mostly the ones that are suspected of the criminal violence, because of their appearance. The well dressed and well-kept tjoeverians also tend to implicate tjoeverians who are aesthetically poor in the criminal violence in Ennerdale. Despite this apparent distinction between tjoeverians that are well kept and those that no longer wash, both groups frequent these spaces due to their need for intimacy and a sense of belonging. The classism adds to another level of intimacy, as those that are in a certain

class feel a certain level of intimacy with those whom they share a class with, making them feel like they belong to a certain group within the tjoeverian community. Apart from the fact that intimacy could be created by being in the upper echelons of a certain group.

In these spaces, intimacy is also mediated by language. Language is used to establish intimacy, because tjoeverians share the most intimate and private information and actions either about their personal experiences at home or about their experiences at other lolly lounges, socializing with other tjoeverians (Jamieson 1998). Their also share stories about their concerns of their very existence and what the future might hold for them and their struggles with substance abuse. On each visit to a lolly lounge, I observed countless tjoeverians making use of their words and body language in order to mediate intimacy. For instance, they would signal each other with the eyes, and communicate before they steal something, rob someone or lie about something. They would also put their arm around someone and speak into that persons ear, indicating that the contents of the message was just for that particular person. By doing this, they are communicating their allegiance to particular people. There are also other ways of creating intimacy amongst the group, especially when they talk about the opposite sex. On one occasion, while sitting at the particular lolly lounge at approximately 3am in the morning Frikkie, a 35-year-old male who had just recently lost his job, walked in with a few bags of Tik in hand. Frikkie was one of those tjoeverians who always wanted to be with a girl after he had smoked. He was very popular in the tjoeverian circles, because he always had access to drugs. First because he was working, and now because he had received his pension money. He used to be well dressed and well groomed, but since he stopped working and started smoking every day the whole day his appearance started deteriorating. In an attempt to immerse himself into the group upon entry, he immediately started fostering intimacy with Nathan by bringing up a previous occasion when they had smoked together. Nathan is a tjoeverian who is liked by everyone in this community. He has basically been smoking longer than most tjoeverians. His reputation and likeability is based on the fact that he knows many female tjoeverians and also because he is able to solicit sex for others. On this occasion, Frikkie had slept with Chaney and treated her as though she was his girlfriend. They cuddled and showed each other affection the entire night, however. Now he was telling everyone in the room explicit details of what he was doing with Chaney in the room on the night in question.

He flat out told Nathan and the rest of the people that her vagina had a stench, as though she had not taken a bath in days. He bragged about it to the people for more than ten minutes. While passing the pipe around to each other, each of them had something to say about girls whom they had slept with in and around Ennerdale. They jokingly spoke about what they had done to girls while having sex with them. Each ones' story seemed more elaborate than the others did.

What came to mind while writing up these discussions of sociality, was Pumla Gqola's (2015) analysis of gendered dynamics and patriarchy in her book on rape in the South African context. She gracefully discusses how rape culture permeates everyday interactions, and also how shaming is a form of power.

> Shame is a function of oppression; it has everything to do with who is valued and who is invisibilised in any society. Although logically, it would seem to follow that those who have something to be ashamed of, that those who behave badly should feel ashamed of themselves, the opposite is true. Shame is the product of dehumanization, and all systems of violent oppressive power produce shame in those they brutalize.

By virtue of men shaming the very women that they sleep with in lolly lounges, even though they too are promiscuous and involved in the very acts that they shame women for, it shows how shaming is a form of power. Men use this kind of brutal shaming of women to display and exercise their power over women within these spaces. In addition, using shaming in order to dehumanize women, and display their power as men, they also tend to use the very process of shaming as a means to create intimacy and demonstrate their power in relation to other men.

> 'By theatrical, I allude to its exaggerated performance in front of an audience in terms that are immediately understood. It is spectacular in its reliance on visible, audible and other recognizable cues' (Gqola 2015:75).

Each person that was present there that night took the stage as though in a theatre and performed to the audience. Some of the other people (all men) in present company who had also been Chaney on previous occasions agreed to certain aspects of what the performer was saying. They cheered the speaker on and it was obvious that even though Frikkie used terms that were scared only to the tjoeverian community, such as 'vas maak' (translated loosely as sex), everyone understood what was being said. Sometimes the crowd showed a certain respect for the things that Chaney did well such as a blowjob and other times she was shamed for her virgina that had a stench. Everything

that Frikkie said was clearly a display of power, and it legitimized him as a true tjoeverian. Frikkie appeared powerful, because he was the one that seemed a hero amongst the present company. What stood out to me was how powerless Chaney was, because she was not there to tell her own side of the story. Frikkie used his words to mediate intimacy, a sense of belonging and warmth in the room as the audience identified with Frikkie and his experiences of sociality. As the contest for a show of patriarchy continued, with each story more elaborate than the other, it was obvious that this shaming of women was a normal part of tjoeverian culture.

They laughed while filling the pipe with more drugs. They listened to music on Frikkie's phone and bonded with their stories about sex and petty crimes they committed in the community. Both sex and crime appeared to be themes that that attested to their level of patriarchy and the one with the best story seemed to belong more than then another. They spoke about little stints that they did in holding cells and longer periods at bigger prisons in and around Johannesburg.

They bonded in the same way that I have seen men bond over a few beers in other social settings. In Ennerdale, women who have sex with various men are considered loose, and are judged very harshly for it, while a man who does exactly the same thing is considered a hunk and other young men look up to him. This process of labelling has always been a part of the way that things are done in the community and the way in which this bonding occurs, throughout lolly lounges in Ennerdale. This type of intimacy I believe to be mediated through the use of language. A very specific language at that I consider a tjoeverian language. This language has the ability to include and exclude others if you do not understand the terminology. For instance; the word 'kombers' was used several times that evening. It is loosely translated into English as a blanket, but refers to the act of having sex. Another example of this terminology is the term 'vas maak', which means to tie things together as one. This language of tying things together not only excludes those who do not understand the language, but it speaks of another level of belonging and sexual intimacy.

What was apparent was the fact that you had to understand the language and you had to operate in these lolly lounge circles to understand what was being said. They practiced table manners as each person had their turn to eat and if it was someone's turn to eat, but the pot was dirty they patiently waited for that person to clean the pot while they continued to laugh and talk about their own life

experiences, both inside and outside of lolly lounge spaces. In fact, it not only reminded me of when we were having family lunches, but it reminded me of when my mum and her sisters were cooking together in the kitchen before a big family lunch, how they would laugh and catch up and talk about their experiences as children in their family home. For those few hours in the lolly lounge those men in that lounge across the ages of 24 to 64 were part of something greater than themselves. They belonged somewhere. There was love, laughter, mutual respect, care, warmth and intimacy.

The care was illustrated in questions such as, 'did you have enough to smoke?' When someone seemed a bit out of it, because of smoking too much, another would buy him mandrax to ensure that he comes down. Those who still had more clothes, privately offered others their old tekkies and invited the person with less to come around to his house the next day in order to come and pick up some old clothes. The sense of care was overwhelming, and it was just what they needed in order to feel as though they were a part of something. There were no women in the setting at the time and this gave them the opportunity to speak freely. The ambience was warm, everyone was bonding and even those who had just met on that night treated each other with a warmth and certain type of intimacy, based on the level of information that they were willing to share. That night they did not only share drugs, money and resources, but also information, experiences and emotions. For the most part their experiences and feelings towards their family and the broader community were similar. These included experiences of violence, stigmatization and the fight against their addiction with Tik, alcohol and other drugs. Given this context of intimacy, we need to question whether the sex in lolly lounges is purely transactional or part of the search for intimacy and belonging. The case study of Roy below points to the latter.

Roy

As is the case with one of my research participants named Roy who found himself initially getting involved with a queer businessperson in order to support his drug habit. What started out as a mutually beneficial relationship in which there was an exchange of sex for drugs, later turned out to become a 10-year relationship in which he contracted HIV/AIDS whilst living together in the businessperson's home. The following engagements of Roy and his live in partner illustrates my argument.

Roy is a 52-year-old Muslim Coloured man who has lived in Ennerdale since he was 9 years old. He lost his last job, because he always arrived at work late, since he first had to go and smoke Crystal Methamphetamine (Tik). I interviewed him at his home where he lives with his fourth wife. She had five kids before their marriage and together they have three kids. Roy smokes cigarettes, marijuana, mandrax and Tik. He drinks alcohol, beer in particular. His wife does not drink any alcohol or takes any drugs, but she does smoke cigarettes. She is in and out of hospital with TB (Tuberculosis) because of her HIV status, and finds herself being the main breadwinner in their household due to Roy's struggle with addiction.

Roy attributes the break-up of his first marriage to the excessive use of mandrax. His first marriage lasted approximately 6 months and resulted in him having a daughter that is 30 years old. Roy started smoking mandrax at the age of 15. He smoked mandrax for 18 years of his life and during these 21 years, he lost three marriages. He has been in and out of jobs during this period. Six to eight months was the longest period that he held onto a job. His marriage to his second wife also lasted only seven months and they conceived a child together, before that marriage failed, because of his mandrax addiction. It was during his third marriage that he started using Tik. This is when things changed quiet drastically for him as he started having an affair. It was during Roy's second marriage that he became romantically involved with a queer local businessperson. During the late 1990's there was a group of very successful queer businessmen in Ennerdale who paid or did favours for so-called heterosexual men to have relations with them. Since Roy needed a way to support his drug habit, he was one of these young men who entered into these transactional engagements. According to Roy what started out as an attraction later became intimacy and before he knew it, he was sharing a bed with another man for the next ten years of his life. He faced a lot of stigma from the Muslim community, but they never shut the doors of the places of worship to him. What escalated this was the fact that everyone in the community knew that his partner of 10 years died of HIV/AIDS and his partner's family blamed him and openly accused him of infecting and killing their son. Roy maintains that his partner did not die of HIV/AIDS and claims that he personally only contracted the virus six years ago when his immune system became weak, because of all the drug use.

Roy's current and fourth wife withholds sex from him and puts him out of the house when he goes on a binge. His wife's five children from a previous marriage blame him for infecting their mother

with HIV and treat him badly every time their mother is sick with opportunistic infections, such Tuberculosis. He believes that he cannot go on a binge for more than three days at a time, because he cannot go without his anti-retroviral medication for too long. During these three-odd days that he goes on a binge, he stays over at his friend's house who has a lolly lounge in Ennerdale. Roy currently only frequents one lolly lounge in Ennerdale, and due to his HIV/ AIDS status he does not smoke every day, but rather goes on three-day drug binges every now and then. On the occasions that I encountered Roy at this particular lolly lounge where he visits a few times a month, I found him drinking beer, smoking mandrax, marijuana and Tik. On a few occasions, they were watching pornographic movies, either on their phones or on the DVD that was in the house. Roy was sometimes with a girl locked in a room for hours at a time. He loved bragging about what happened in the room once he exited the room. He also had a tendency to share what happened in the room. On two occasions, he was afraid to go home, because he had sold his phone in order to smoke for those few days. This story of Roy and his engagements links to other experiences in Ennerdale.

As much as Roy became involved in in transactional sexual relationship in order to support his drug habit, he made it clear that during that relationship he experienced a sense of intimacy. As he told me, 'You know Alda, first I was just in it for the drugs. Remember the Crystal Meth story was new and more addictive than anything else that I ever used before and I really needed to smoke. Tjo (wow), but later I felt a kind of intimacy that I never felt with anyone else before'. Now that his eldest stepson is grown and also on crystal meth he goes as far as beating Roy up when they have an argument about the fact that Roy infected his mother with HIV/AIDS. It appears to be very difficult to establish intimacy in the context of this insecurity that Roy experiences, in this home where he lives with his blended family. Roy search for intimacy is apparent in that even before this blended family, he moves from one relationship to the next seeking intimacy and the relationship in which he stayed the longest and sounded the happiest appears to be the one where he was living with another man. This could possibly be, because he was not judged by his partner for smoking drugs, as his partner even provided the money for the drugs and it opened up a space that he could explore sexually that he would have otherwise not been able to explore, if not for the Tik. Currently Roy still seems to be looking for this warmth and intimacy in lolly lounges when his wife does not give him sex and puts him out of the house when he smoked, but also when his

stepchildren undermine him because he does not work and beat him up, because he allegedly infected their mother.

Drug use does not only become a substitute for intimacy, but a way of nourishing intimacy and the need for belonging, because Roy feels like he does not belong and as though he is not really part of his wife and her children's life. He obviously has a need to form a meaningful relationship in the context of extreme social circumstances. Looking at these interactions between drug use and HIV in the above case of Roy is not simply about people transacting sex for drugs, but it is also about the fact that the drugs itself is a way to finding sexual intimacy or personal intimacy. It seems as though Roy's drug use allowed him to express a part of himself by entering into that type of relationship that he would not enter into before he was on Tik. It is not only that he was having sex because he wanted drugs, but the drugs also allowed him a space of identity and belonging (Yokhana 2015) in which he could live out and experience being with another man. The risk in structural and concatenated violence creates a need for intimacy and a need for belonging in a context where family structures are often fragmented. This need for intimacy and the need for belonging are very hard to achieve. This language of 'kos' and 'pot' speaks of a deeper need for nourishment. This need for nourishment, intimacy and belonging in the context of structural violence should be examined if we want to understand risky sexual behaviors and forms of transactional sex. One cannot just understand them in terms of wanting drugs in exchange for sex. We need to consider that the drugs do provide in a way that sense of belonging, warmth and intimacy and it also opens up certain spaces that could not be explored previously.

This pattern of promiscuity, unprotected sex and risky sexual behaviors does not only have the power to create intimacy in the moment when it happens, but it also serves as a currency to mediate intimacy when discussed at a later stage. This performance of intimacy may vary from one lolly lounge to the next, but it occurs in lolly lounges across Ennerdale. The perceived dangers of lolly lounges can be very real for those looking from the outside in, but for the patrons of these spaces it offers a very real buffer against the harsh realities of exclusion that the 'tjoeverian' community face on a daily basis. For instance, the lack of money to gain access to 'Tik' and other drugs does not exist once you gain access to a lolly lounge. There is a culture of sharing within these spaces. This means that one can access drugs even on the occasions when you really do not have money to buy drugs and you are unable to make a plan for money at that point in time (Bourgois and

Schonberg 2003). The sharing of drugs is ethically normal and considered more of an obligation by the tjoeverian community. Not sharing your drugs with others when they don't have can lead to exclusion from the community, causing you to be labelled as selfish and a sell-out. This means that no one would be willing to share their drugs with you because they know that you would not share with them at a later stage when you have the means. Also for many who are ostracized at home because of their drug abuse this space offers you a sense of belonging, because of the like-minded people and its anything goes reputation. Like in the case of Roy who enjoys watching pornography and sometimes having sexual relations with men and women, the home where he lives with his wife and children will not be conducive to live out this kind of lifestyle. These lolly lounges indeed offer its patrons a space in which they can live out their identities, which might not necessarily be accepted in other spaces of their lives.

Drug abuse, pornography, transactional sex and promiscuity are taboo within the wider community of Ennerdale. The very act of entering a lolly lounge or a drug dealer's yard discloses that one is on drugs. This means that your reputation is tarnished and there are many labels attached to those who frequent these spaces. These labels include terms such as 'druggie', 'Tik kop', 'broker' and the like, but despite these terms Tik smokers are still willing to endure these labels simply to access these spaces, because for them enduring these labels is nothing compared to the realities of insecurity that are stacked against them. For people like Roy there is a triple stigma at play here, firstly, for being HIV positive and having infected his past and current partners. Secondly he is stigmatized, for the fact that he has lived with another man for years and thirdly, for being on drugs. The actors in society who stigmatize against people like Roy feel that they have the right to legitimize identities, such as that of Roy. They rationalize their domination, by seeing themselves as social actors and identities that resist what Roy and other tjoeverians appear to represent, the decline of morality (Castells 1997). This fear for the decline of morality in society coupled with the criminal violence that Roy and others represent is a huge concern for the broader community of Ennerdale. This constant uncertainty and stigmatization is what pushes Roy into lolly lounges and forces him to sell his cell phone in order to buy drugs and get high and enjoy that intimacy even if it is just for a couple of days at a time. It might be that he only gets high for three days at a time; he is on anti-retroviral for HIV/AIDS. It shows an understanding that he needs to take his medication. One can also assume that he needs that escape even if only for a few days at a time.

He obviously understands the risk of not taking his medication, but escaping his reality from time to time is so important that he is willing to risk his life in order to access that warmth and intimacy.

The situation at home is obviously a harsh terrain that he needs to escape every now and then, since his wife's older children blame him for infecting their mother with HIV/AIDS. This space of a fragmented family coupled with Roy's own unemployment and the stigma from the broader community is what he needs to escape from time to time. The fact that he also gets a beating from time to time is something else that he needs to run from. What better place to escape to then into a space where he will not be judged for taking drugs, but rather be accepted just as he is. A space where he can perform or mediate his own intimacy with his actions and his words. What better place to escape to, then a social space where he can live out his sexual fantasies and nourish his wounded soul. Not only are lolly lounges a space where Roy and other tjoeverians can find intimacy and warmth, but they can also nourish their soul wound (Maté 2013) and find a sense of belonging. It is important to note that the element of concatenated violence

Conclusion

Based on the discussion above, I conclude that lolly lounges do indeed provide a space of intimacy, warmth and nourishment in the context of insecurity and violence from a community and family members that constantly attack them. I also hold that the use of drugs is an attempt to nourish and respond to the many forms of connected violence and marginalization that they experience from their own families, police and the broader community. By making use of the theories on intimacy, and transactional sex, I find that, sex is not only used as a means to access drugs, as per the current literature on drugs and sex. Instead, I begin to understand that drugs in spaces such as lolly lounges might be a means of fostering a sense of belonging in the context where family relationships are fragmented and their being is threated simply because of who they are and a particular group that they identify with. The story of Roy illustrates that the exclusion experienced in the home could lead tjoeverian’s to seek out spaces such as lolly lounges. It is therefore not difficult for the broader community to understand why tjoeverians would frequent these spaces. For outsiders looking in, these spaces appear risky and dangerous. However, the experience that tjoeverians have on the inside is quite the opposite of that. For the outside world, is what they feel insecure? It is outside of these spaces that tjoeverians experience danger and risk. The inside of lolly lounges is safe and warm and gives them a sense of belonging and intimacy, causing them to feel safe and cared for.

However, it is not just stigmatization that tjoeverians face in the wider community, but the real threat of violence. I will discuss this in the next chapter focussing on concatenated violence.

Chapter 2. Lolly Lounges and Concatenated Violence

Introduction

This chapter hinges on a significant bombing on a lolly lounge that took place a couple of years ago in Ennerdale. Although it appears to be a single event, when analyzed properly one can see that it was rather a series of events that were directly linked to each other, as one unfolded from another in a certain sequence. Each event was a retaliatory response to another, with the initial bombing of the lolly lounges stemming from Ennerdale, residents who felt that police have failed them, and the state has abandoned them. They have personally joined the fight against drugs and the criminal violence, which so often accompanies it. In doing so, they have established various organisations or act in their individual capacity, perhaps with the help of other state agencies to stop the establishment of lolly lounges. Anti- drug organizations within the community, such as Ennerdale Local Drug Action Committee, work with intelligence agencies, such as SAPS (South African Police Services) crime intelligence to fight against the sale and use of drugs and the establishment of lolly lounges. The community Policing forum (CPF) and the local neighbourhood watch has also recently joined the fight, in an attempt to prevent drug related crimes and other forms of criminal violence.

With the Ennerdale police being ineffective and corrupt, all the effort that organisations and individuals have put in to close down lolly lounges, have been unsuccessful. Instead, they actually foster violence and become part of the networks of concatenated violence in the area. Ennerdale residents claim that police sell dockets to criminals and inform merchants of times and dates of raids. As a last resort both organisations and individuals have started working with SAPS departments from outside of Ennerdale, but even this has proven futile, since both evidence and suspects need to be kept at Ennerdale SAPS, once again giving Ennerdale police officers an opportunity to tamper with cases and evidence.

Because of this infectivity of the police, residents have now resorted to anti-drug marches, many of which often turn violent. My argument in this chapter is that in the process of attempting to end the violence associated with drug abuse, the very people who seek to end this violence are now fostering new forms of violence. This chapter analyses the co-presence and the concatenations of multiple forms of violence amongst the marginalised tjoeverian community. It looks at how they

interact with the wider community and the state, and how these interactions are often shaped through violent encounters. It proposes that lolly lounges should be considered within concatenated networks of interpersonal, collective and state violence. For this reason, I draw on the theory of collective, interpersonal and concatenated violence. I also look at the literature on drug use. For reference purposes, I am focussing on a specific case that speaks to the wider issues around concatenated violence.

Theoretical Framework

According to the WHO violence is defined as the 'intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, [or] psychological harm' (WHO 2002: 4 as cited in Auyero and Berti 2015: 25-26). My ethnography engages with Auyero and Berti (2015) in its concerns with 'diverse types of physical aggression – typically conceptualised as discrete and analytically distinct phenomenon (because of the place where they occur, because of the actors involved, etc.)' which are linked to one another (Auyero and Berti 2015:98). According to Auyero and Berti (2015), concatenated violence is the co-presence of multiple forms of violence beyond only dyadic relationships. This chapter explores the different forms of violence that encircle the lives of the 'tjoeverians' and the wider Ennerdale community. It aims to explore and interrogate the inter-connections between multiple types of violence (Farrell et al 2007: 446 and Friday 1995 and Brennan et al 2007 as cited in Auyero and Berti 2015:99, 127).

Violence against lolly lounges is rife within the community of Ennerdale, but the owners of lolly lounges are by no means defenceless – they make it a point to fight back and defend what they consider their own way of life. The use of violence as a means to dealing with lolly lounges by community members, as well as the use of violence by lolly lounge owners as a means of retaliation is a portrait of concatenated violence. Collective violence however is not the only types of violence used in the community. For instance, there is a lot of violence happening inside the home, whether between family members or intimate partners. Child abuse and abuse of the elderly is particularly common in Ennerdale. Many children have sexually violated by both tjoeverians and boarder community members, and when perpetrators do not end up in jail for these violet acts, family members or community members tend to retaliate and bring harm to the perpetrators, as a means to punish these acts. Many pensioners are beaten up by their own grandchildren for drug money.

Community and CPF members would usually come to their aid, by beating up or threatening the grandchildren.

Community Violence is ‘violence between individuals who are unrelated, and who may or may not know each other, generally taking place outside the home. This includes youth violence, random acts of violence, rape or sexual assault by strangers, and violence in institutional settings such as schools, workplaces, prisons and nursing homes’ (WHO 2002:4). This usually occurs in the form of mob justice when a group of people beat up on a suspect, whom they suspect of committing a crime. For the purposes of the analysis that follow, we will use the definition of Collective Violence in line with that of the (WHO) World Health Organisation. Tilly (2003:12 as cited in Auyero and Berti 2015: 26) considers the WHO’s definition of collective violence to be referring to ‘any episodic social interaction that immediately inflicts physical damage on persons and/or objects over restraint or resistance)’. It ‘involves at least two perpetrators of damage, and results at least in part from coordination amongst persons who perform the damaging acts’. ‘By contrast the WHO’s definition limits collective violence to that inflicted ‘by larger groups such as states, organised political groups such as states, militia groups and terrorist organisations. (WHO 2002: 4 as cited in Auyero and Berti 2015: 27). This definition ties in well with the point that I am trying to make as some of these groups/ organisations might be inspired to act by political motivations.

One particular bombing event occurred in the name of justice by community members and organisations fighting the sale of drugs in Ennerdale. Through this illustration, one can identify that the very people fighting against drug sales only foster other forms of violence. It also shows how violence is used as a social resource to fight and deal with problems. This chapter aims to use the forms of interpersonal violence in the lives of the ‘tjoeverian’ and the broader marginalised Coloured community of Ennerdale to scrutinise how and why violence is used by various actors to achieve a variety of ends. This kind of analysis will allow us to understand what the relationship is between violence within lolly lounges and wider social and state violence. The aim is to understand how the different forms of violence, or the way in which they come together, produces a particular outcome.

My ethnography makes use of both Tilly and the WHO’s definitions, because of the actors involved, which include both the state, represented by Ennerdale SAPS (South African Police

Services) and smaller groups of people who come together to use violence to further their own goals. This and other events finally led to community violence, which is basically a collective term for the different acts of violence such as shooting, physical assault and the like, that are committed areas that are public. My material will be analysed through the lens of concatenated violence, as I aim to show that there is a very specific outcome called into being, because of the way that these forms of violence comes together. My research engages with that of Auyero and Berti (2015) in that it does not simply argue that different types of violence connect, but instead aims to show the reader through my ethnography how these different forms of violence operate when they occur in Ennerdale. The details of my ethnography will 'show the many interconnections between diverse employments of violence' (Auyero and Berti 2015: 36). The events that led up to the weekend of the bombing of the lolly lounge in 2016, documented here through oral histories from the perspective of diverse residents involved in the violence, reveal the wider networks of concatenated violence and how they work in Ennerdale. Even the people who fight the sale and the use of drugs use physical violence and therefore form part of these networks of concatenated violence.

Charmaine

One person that stands out in the fight against lolly lounges is Charmaine. Charmaine is a middle-aged woman who is very outspoken and active with regard to curbing drug abuse and the establishment of lolly lounges in the area. Charmaine in particular does not want to be a part of CPF or any other organisation such as the neighborhood watch since they have to adhere to a set of rules, which she admits, she seldom follows. Charmaine focusses more on counselling ex addicts and hosts regular narcotics anonymous meetings, but on some occasions, she supports the anti-drug marches, as was the case on one weekend in …. Street in 2016. The modus operandi of these organisations hosting these anti-drug marches has always been to protest at the gate of these lolly lounges/ merchants to ensure that no drug sales take place, especially if the police have proven useless as far as a particular lolly lounges are concerned. In more extreme situations, these organisations fighting the sale and the purchase of drugs would raid lounges and merchants, but only if they can find police officers from outside of the area that would be willing to work with them as representatives of the law. The lines in this regard are very blurry, because these are usually CPF members, but a few people who do not identify with any organisation also participate

in these raids. This illegal participation by members of the community cause much controversy amongst participants of these raids. This is evident in the case of Charmaine who does not identify with any organisation, because according to her, they are all corrupt and some join these organisations for their own gain instead of the betterment of the community. These organisations do not work with the local police officers. According to Charmaine, the local police officers always tip off the merchants and lolly lounge owners about the dates and times of a raid for a fee.

When the anti-drug march members walked down the street that weekend in 2016, the first person that Charmaine saw at the gate was Saadia. Saadia is a single mother who dated one of the runners at this particular lolly lounge. Saadia, who had lost her mother when she was 17-years old, is a mother of one son and had just previously escaped an abusive relationship with her child's father who was also a merchant. Saadia was about to leave the lolly lounge as she had just collected a bag of Tik from her boyfriend with whom she was in a transactional relationship. As Charmaine said:

> As we went to this house in … Street, I noticed one of the girls that I was busy rehabilitating. I saw her at the house. I am not scared of any of them, so I am always here in the frontline, saying my say and whatever. When I noticed this girl at the drug house, and I know that, she is so vulnerable and so at a very bad point in her life

Charmaine and a few of my other interviewees claims that when they arrived the runners jumped onto the roof and wet it, so that in the event of the protestors throwing petrol bombs, the place would not catch fire. The runners then started throwing bricks at the crowd in order for them to disperse. Instead of dispersing, they started throwing homemade lamps back at the house in order to defend themselves. The protest immediately turned violent. One of the protestors jumped onto the neighbour's roof and into the lolly lounge's roof and threw a petrol bomb into the back door of the house. By then, the organisers of the march could not contain the chaos anymore. Charmaine claimed that the stuff that they threw at the house was little lamps that they made of paraffin and cloth. What Charmaine does not, however mention is that for the two past weekends they were also protesting violently in front of the same house. Charmaine also leads me to believe that she was the organiser of the March, but further interviews with other respondents reveal some of the details, which Charmaine concealed, for instance the fact that she was not the one who organised the March.

Lance

Lance, put the entire March together. He was a member of the local drug action committee (ELDAC). ELDAC is an organisation in Ennerdale responsible for taking action against any drug related crimes. He says that they used timber from a roof that collapsed and they dipped the ends into petrol and set it alight. During the days leading up to the weekend, one of the ELDAC members kept watch on the house and noted that the owner of the house had ordered a pallet of bricks. They assumed that these bricks was to build some kind of fort, but this was not the case at all. Instead, after jumping on the roof and wetting it, the runners immediately started throwing the these bricks at the crowd. Lance claims that by the time that the police arrived to disperse the crowd he had just returned from the petrol station to buy petrol and was busy making a petrol bomb in front of the house. According to him, the Ennerdale police took very long to arrive at the scene, because they were waiting for back up from crime intelligence. Charmaine's assertion that they went there to protest peacefully does not make much sense since they were already armed with lamps that can double up as paraffin bombs and ended up being used as paraffin bombs. Lance also claims that this was not the first weekend that they gathered at the house. The previous week the crowd had already started attacking the house and threatening to burn the house down. This contradicts Charmaine's claims that they were peacefully gathering in front of the house for the first time, with no intent to cause any harm. These contradictions are analytically important as they indicate how various actors seek to legitimate their actions. The owner of the lolly lounge bought the pallet of bricks, after they first attacked the house the previous weekend. The fact that the runners jumped on the roof and wet it makes perfect sense, since the crowd already attacked the house the previous week.

Saadia

Saadia was about to leave the house when she noticed anti-drug marchers coming down the street. She then immediately went back into the house out. She did not want anyone to see her leaving this house. That split second when she was at the gate Charmaine saw her. In Saadia's version, her desire to smoke Crystal Meth caused her to end up at the lolly lounge on that particular night. She was only supposed to collect a bag of drugs from her then boyfriend, who was the head runner there at the time, but a decision to sit around and smoke meant she was there five minutes later when the protestors arrived. In Saadia's version, her and the others were sitting and organising

money. They were wondering where they would get money to smoke. She was connected to those at the lolly lounge because she was sleeping with Ryan's brother, Kella.

Saadia's intention was to leave immediately after taking the bag from Kella, even more so when she found him there with his official girlfriend. Kella is Ryan's younger brother, who also happened to be his second in charge. Kella was usual in and out of prison for a series of simcard fraud issues with one of the big cell phone companies. He was in the habit of beating up his official girlfriend and moved to Ennerdale, because similar to Ryan; the police was always looking for him for some crime that he committed. Kella begged Saadia to stay for a while and immediately started beating up his official girlfriend, hoping that she would leave, so that he can be with Saadia. While Saadia was waiting for him to open the gate, she went upstairs to a little wooden bedroom in order to smoke. There she found Ryan the owner of the Lolly lounge sitting. She chatted to him while smoking. By the time Kella opened the gate in order for her to leave, the protestors had come walking down the road towards the house. Kella locked the gate again and they all returned to the room where they were sitting. Right before Saadia went back into the gate with Kella, Charmaine had already spotted Saadia and knew that she was in the house.

The police

When crime intelligence arrived with Ennerdale SAPS officers after the bombing had already taken place, Charmaine accompanied them into the house, because she wanted to remove Saadia from the house, as she thought that Saadia might be inside against her will. Lance and everyone else who was attacking the house jumped into their cars and left or ran away. When Charmaine walked into the house with the police officers, she immediately noticed that one of the police officers went straight to the kitchen cupboard and removed a red boxing glove. She asked him what was in it and he removed a small bag filled with more than 100 Crystal Meth bags. She asked him what he was going to do with it. He noted that he was going to charge the runners in the house with possession. Satisfied with his answer, she immediately went up to that wooden room and dragged Saadia out of the house in order to remove her from the property. Saadia resisted and shouted at Charmaine, asking if she was her mother. Charmaine then threatened to get the social

workers involved and remove Saadia's children from her. A struggle of words ensued between the two of them until one of the police officers from outside of Ennerdale intervened and asked Saadia if she was older than 21. Once she stated her age, the police officers advised Charmaine that she had no right to remove her from the property against her will since she was not a minor. According to Charmaine:

> When flying squad came, I went in with Captain to go and remove her right. I suppose that's the time when they knew who I am, because I have never been secretive of who I am or what I want, I want our children, especially our children not to be slaves to drugs, and especially the girls ... what the girls are doing to get their next fix.

By this time, the runners and Ryan found in the house were in handcuffs and Charmaine just assumed that this was because of the drugs that the police had found in the boxing glove. One of the men in cuffs whispered under his breath, to ensure that the police officers do not hear him. He said that once the local police officers changes shift, they would come for her, saying:

> 'We know where you live. Ons wag net vir die poliese om shift te change; 05:00 (We just waiting for the police to change shift at 05:00)'

Charmaine claims that she did not at all take their threats seriously, because she was convinced that they would be locked up by the time that the police changed their shift that morning. Little did she know at the time that Ryan was also standing there in cuffs? When the police asked the runners for their names, the owner gave his real name. The police and everyone else knew him by his nickname, and when the police asked him what his name was, he gave his real name and therefore they did not realise that he was standing there amongst the runners. Police had been looking for him for a while, but did not know that he was standing right in front of them. Most of the crowd attacking the house left when the police arrived. Charmaine finally left after she thought the runners were arrested for possession.

Retaliation

When Charmaine arrived home at past four that morning, she recalls that some of her recoverees had decided to sleep there since it was already almost morning. They slept on the couches in her lounge. Her sister was homeless at the time and had converted Charmaine's dining room into a bedroom. Charmaine's sister and her family was already asleep when Charmaine and her recoverees arrived home. Charmaine immediately went to bed after that hectic evening. A few minutes later, Charmaine woke up to the shattering of glass. The first thing she saw was the fire of petrol bombs that came flying through the windows of the lounge and her bedroom.

She then ran to get a bucket of water. Everyone in the house was up and running around, trying to put the fire out, since the furniture had already caught fire. She had to literally throw a bucket of water onto her sister to get her up, since she was still sleeping even though the petrol bombs had already set her bed alight in the dining room. Charmaine managed to call the neighbourhood watch and CPF, who were there within 5 minutes of her call, but by then the perpetrators had already left. The CPF took Charmaine to the Ennerdale police station to go and report the incident. Two similar attacks were reported via telephone while Charmaine was at the police station. The reports came from the homes of the recoverees that spent the night at her house. One report came from the home of one of Charmaine's other recoverees who was outspoken at the protest the previous evening. The other attack was on the home of someone who had nothing to do with the protest at all. It later became apparent that they intended to attack another recoveree's house, but they ended up in the next street. Ennerdale SAPS was afraid to respond to the incident and called 10111 for back up. By the time that 10111 came on the scene, they wanted to know from Charmaine who she thought could do such a thing. That is when it dawned on her that her neighbour had CCTV cameras. She asked if she could see the CCTV footage and that's when it was revealed that a car with people pulled up and those in the car was handing petrol bombs to someone outside of the car, demanding that he/she throw the bombs. Charmaine claims that Saadia, the women she had tried to remove from the lolly lounge, was the one who threw the petrol bombs and claims that she could hear

Saadia scream that her hand was burning and she wanted to stop, when a person from inside of the car insisted that she keep throwing the bombs.

Saadia and Ryan

Saadia's version alleges that after the police left from the lolly lounge, Ryan the owner of the lolly lounge coerced her into telling him where Charmaine, along with some of her recoverees who were very active and verbal during the protest, lived. She had no choice, but to tell him, because it was obvious that she knew who Charmaine was, based on her altercation with Charmaine. Saadia asserted that she feared for her life, because she had seen Ryan discipline his runners before for something as small as giving him money that was R2.00 short, when they used the money to buy a loose cigarette. The look that he gave her was the same look that he had in his eyes right before he disciplined one of his runners and it certainly put the fear of God in her. He apparently ran a very tight ship and he let the entire runners discipline one another so that no one can run off to the police and report him. On many occasions, he allowed Saadia to witness this and on one occasion, he sent Saadia to take one of his runners who he had badly assaulted to the hospital. When she arrived at the hospital with the runner, she told the doctors that she found the runner somewhere. She brought him to the hospital, because she saw that he was badly hurt. A few days later Ryan instructed Saadia to go back to the hospital and find out if he had said anything to the police. On that occasion, she took him food and cigarettes. This was Ryan's way of letting the hospitalised runner know that he could access him at any time. Saadia was afraid, because she knew that this might be her, if she did not divulge where Charmaine and the recoverees lived. Saadia maintains that she did not go along to Charmaine's house, but merely explained to Ryan where Charmaine and the two other recoverees lived. She gave Ryan this information, because she feared for her life.

Court

The police arrested Saadia the next morning for the bombing. She became the only suspect in the case. She claims that when Ryan and a few of the other runners left to go and bomb Charmaine's house that morning, she stayed at the lolly lounge. That is where the police picked her up the next morning after the bombing. While she was in custody at the holding cell at the police station in

Ennerdale Ryan sent one of the runners to pay her a visit in the same way that he had once sent her to pay a runner a visit in hospital. At first, it appeared that he was only bringing her food and cigarettes, but he actually sent her a message, reminding her, to keep her mouth shut. The idea was to show her how he could access her even if she was locked up. She did not dare say a word about him to the police and found herself facing the entire court case on her own. When she arrived at court the first time the police and the court staff were all waiting outside to see the bomber. The newspaper the previous day referred to a female Coloured bomber. She was so ashamed when she got out of the police van, because she was the only Coloured girl in the police van that morning. Everyone was making comments and judging her. Saadia, at the time that I was writing up my research, was the only suspect in the case. Saadia has since relocated and refuses to continue appearing at court. She feels that the three months she spent in prison was more than enough already. She is in a difficult situation. If she informs on Ryan, he will kill her. If she does not, she might end up in jail. It is for this reason that Saadia does not come anywhere near Ennerdale anymore. Saadia who is estranged from her sister, who paid a lawyer to help her get bail, on the condition that she should keep away from Ryan and the rest of the runners.

Saadia gets bail

Despite this Saadia simply went right back to the same lolly lounge after she got out of jail, three months after the bombing and got involved with another runner and co-habited with him. She had received R500 hush money from Ryan, which she then used to buy drugs and she started smoking again. Frequenting the same lolly lounge she met this new runner, because by then the runner she was initially busy with – Kella – was also locked up for a separate incident. Together with her new boyfriend, she moved to another Coloured community, where she lived with him in a corrugated shack at the back of his mother's yard. This runner subsequently quit his job as a runner, as he was tired of the abuse that they faced from Ryan Due to not finding alternative employment, he later went back to live and work at the lolly lounge. This meant that he only visited her on his off days, which was mostly every other weekend. In his absence, Saadia started hanging out with and smoking with his cousin. Saadia formed a romantic relationship with his cousin and moved to another Coloured area to co-habit with the cousin, in an attempt to get further away from Ennerdale and the pending court case. The case is still under investigation, but due to the disappearance of Saadia, the case has now come to a complete halt.

Exploring Concatenated Violence in Ennerdale

It is important to note that the CPF (community policing forum) and the work that they do in Ennerdale is a response to a form of violence (Katsaura 2001: 134) that the community suffer at the hands of the police. This is because the community alleges that the police do not do much about the development of lolly lounges and the sale of drugs as well as the social ills and crime that stem from the use and the sale of drugs. On the contrary, the police work with the merchants (dealers) and lolly lounge owners to ensure that the merchants reach their objective of increasing their drug sales. The fact that the state's presence in the community is when the police need to disperse a crowd at a protest has further complicated the relationship between the people and the state and has reinforced this idea of state abandonment. Those fighting against lolly Lounges and drugs have now taken another form of action, because relying on the police does not work, because the police lose dockets, do not follow up on cases and sell information about raids and informants to merchants. In essence, they are simply not seeking justice (Katsaura 2001: 135). The community of Ennerdale face structural violence, which according to Nancy Scheper- Hughes is the 'invisible machinery of social inequality and oppression that reproduces pathogenic social relations of exclusion and marginalization via ideologies on stigmas attendant on race, class, caste, sex and other invidious distinctions' (Nancy Scheper-Hughes 2004:14). Ennerdale is excluded from economic participation, because the government did not make good on their promises. These included promises of transforming Ennerdale into a town by building infrastructure such a court, a hospital and a university. As part of the forced removals, Ennerdale's residents agreed to move to Ennerdale with the understanding that the place will be developed. Due to their race and location, they face unemployment, overcrowding, dislocation and many other forms of state abandonment. Having said this, the concept of structural violence has too many limitations to use as a lens for the case of Ennerdale. The concept of 'concatenated violence' works much better as a lens and is particularly evident in the case study above.

In the case study above, Kella beats up his girlfriend, because of the arrival of Saadia at the lolly lounge. He beats her up and hopes that she would leave and give him an opportunity to have sex

with Saadia as payment for the bag that he gave her. This case of *intimate partner violence***,** exercised on the part of Kella, illustrates that Charmaine's concerns about the safety of women in these spaces is a legitimate one, but the discrete way in which it happens is distinct from how it usually happens. Usually the lives of the girls who smoke with men are in danger, because of the 'lolly for a tollie' concept but in this case, it is Kella's official girlfriend whose life is in danger. One would think that Saadia's life is in danger, because she is in a transactional relationship with Kella, but instead Kella's girlfriend is in danger. Despite the fact that she is his official girlfriend and does not use drugs at all, she is the one who endures his beatings and all of this abuse. All of this so that she can leave the house and give him an opportunity to sleep with Saadia. The fact that Saadia and her friend had no money and no income, led them to go to the lolly lounge/merchant in order to secure something to smoke. If Kella's girlfriend were not there, Saadia would have had to sleep with Kella for the bag. These economic constraints caused by state abandonment leave woman such as Saadia inside of lolly lounges dependent on men such as Kella for a hit/fix of crystal meth. This very dependence on men exposes them to a level of violence. Kella's girlfriend could not leave, because financially she is dependent on Kella and had nowhere to go, because she does not have a job. Her inability to leave put her in a situation where she had to face violence, and endure a beating from Kella, since him being a runner provided for them as a couple.

Usually studies on violence would consider each violent act as a separate act, but studying these physically aggressive acts that takes place throughout that weekend reveals that one act of violence usually leads to another, creating some sort of a chain. There is therefore an interconnectedness between multiple types of violence and multiple acts of violence, which indicates that violent events and different types of violence can be studied in relation to each other. For instance, the type of violence experienced by the community, because the police do not protect them from the dealers/ merchants and lolly lounge owners, leads them to try their own way of doing things. This being in fact another form of violence. The fact that the attack on the lolly lounge appeared, as Lance's account suggests, to be both premeditated and organised indicates that it was an act of *community violence.* Community violence is an intentional attack against one or more persons within a community (Cooley-Quille et al. 1995). The fact that, according to Lance's interview, that

he went to the garage to fill up a jerry can with petrol to make a petrol bomb shows that the crowd had every intention of causing the runners physical harm.

It is important to also make the point that Charmaine's house and the two other houses would likely not have been bombed had the police officer who found the drugs in the boxing glove submitted the drugs into evidence. Had the police officer simply done this there would have been enough evidence for Ryan and his runners to be arrested on a possession of drugs charge? The runners would have been in prison. Instead, they had an opportunity to retaliate. This may perhaps be the reason why the community do not rely on the police at all, because it is apparent that the reason why the Apartheid government instituted police was to foster structural violence, instead of curbing it. This entire chapter shows that the police is a big part of the concatenated violence, and this is why the community turn to retaliation as a form of dealing with violence.

Retaliation is another big motivator for many of the violent crimes that occur in Ennerdale and is part of the networks of concatenated violence. Community violence is also evident when Ryan forces the rest of the runners to participate when he beats up and disciplines one of his runners, because in this instance more than one individual causes physical harm to one person. This pattern of behaviour is used by Ryan to establish power and control over his runners through fear and intimidation. The fact that Saadia witnessed this beating of Ryan's runners on previous occasions was the same fear and intimidation that he could use to ensure that Saadia would give him the information that he needed and also not make mention of his name, when she was incarcerated for a crime that he organised. He did not even have to beat Saadia: with a simple look on his face, he could intimidate her. Ryan uses violence to ensure that the fear and intimidation that he instils in people, builds up a reputation that causes him to get certain things done.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the argument of this chapter has been that, in the process of attempting to end the criminal violence associated with drug abuse, the very people who seek to end this violence foster new forms of violence. This community-based violence leads from one form to another and each violent event is connected to some later violence in a concatenated chain. There is no clear end to this chain of violence which rather goes on to manifest in different ways. For instance, in the case

study above it shows that one violent event led to another. People heard about the criminal violence that was linked to the lolly lounge as the runners working at the lounge kept ending up dead. Hearing of this violence is considered social violence, as it traumatises those who hear about the atrocities. Also seeing that the lolly lounge had a continuous flow of customers was also something that did not sit well with the community. This then led to a protest, which finally turned into a bombing. One can therefore say that the criminal violence, led to social violence and eventually back to criminal violence again. I think it is also important to note here that the beating of Kella's girlfriend is linked to the bombing of this lolly lounge in that it is these horror stories of girls being beaten up in these spaces that adds to the negative perception of lolly lounges. This is evident when Charmaine so desperately insists on going into the lolly lounge when she immediately assumes that Saadia is in grave danger inside the lolly lounge. The very idea that women face danger inside these spaces was a contributing factor to violence against lolly lounges in general and this bombing.

On the other hand, one can deduce that by Kella beating his girlfriend into submission, the work of the violence here was to instil fear and get her to do what he wanted her to do, which was leave the house. Similarly, one can assume that the reason they bombed Charmaine's house was to create the same fear effect and try and scare her into dropping any attempts of mobilising the community into violence against their lolly lounge.

After the community bombed the lolly lounge, the runners bombed Charmaine's house who was instrumental and at the forefront of the bombing of the lolly lounge. This retaliation is also a form of criminal violence, but what stands out is the fact that Charmaine's sister also got hurt in the process, and so did the family members of the recovering addicts whose homes were also bombed. This violence is framed in the context of state abandonment.

This speaks to the fact that, even people who had no part in the bombing of the lolly lounge in the first place, now was hurt and attacked in the process. This chain of different forms and events of violence is exactly what Auyero and Berti (2015) illustrate in their book *In Harm's Way*. It helps us to understand that violent events cannot simply be studied in isolation, as there is a trail that needs to be followed if one wants to effectively study violence. What was also apparent in this case study of the bombing is the work that violence does, and how it is used as a means to an end by different actors in the community.

It is therefore safe to say that in this scenario, the work of violence is fear and intimidation aimed against Ryan by other community members was an ostensibly way for them to achieve their justice in the absence of state protections.

My conclusion of this chapter would not be complete without making mention of the relationship between the initial forced relocation of the community, the state abandonment and the sexual violence and the bombings that occur at the lolly lounge. These pre-existing socio-economic inequalities formed because of the relocation and state abandonment leave different groups within a society uniquely vulnerable. For instance, women like Kella's official girlfriend who have no form of income as well as the women who frequent lolly lounges and are addicted to drugs who have no form of income or protection in these spaces find themselves at the mercy of these men for protection and sustenance of their needs. The broader community who may not understand why any female would willingly frequent these spaces would attempt to save females from these spaces by bombing it, without understanding the purpose of these spaces for women who frequent them.

It is important to note that apart from groups such as Narcotics Anonymous (NA) and the myriad of unregistered rehabilitation facilities in the area, no one else really focusses on the addiction element of the situation. All parties involved focus on the violence that these spaces breed, instead of the contribution of the disease of addiction to the scenario. NA hosts rallies in the area, and recovering addicts speak to users on a one-on-one basis, as part of the service pillar of their recovery program, but apart from this, very few other non-violent attempts are made to deal with the issue of addiction. In referring my research subjects to NA, I found that the idea of recovery was often met with negativity. However, many lolly lounges were closed down, because the owner of the lounge relocated or simply decided to stop consuming drugs.

Chapter 3: 'You are not supposed to live. I do not know why God made people like you': Criminal and ontological security among the tjoeverians.

Introduction

This chapter makes use of the experience of two brothers, who were brutally assaulted by both members of the broader community and CPF members, to paint a portrait of the ontological and criminal insecurity that the tjoeverian community face daily. I also link concepts of ontological security and respect to identity and belonging as well as ideas on warmth and nourishment. The use of 'Tik' amongst the 'tjoeverian' community comes along with numerous signs of anti-social behaviour such as theft, abuse, violence, criminal acts and failure to live up to social responsibility. These anti-social, criminal, and abusive behaviours are the cause of much harm to the family members of the 'tjoeverian' community as well as the community-at-large. For this reason, the broader community of Ennerdale are faced with a level of criminal insecurity. However, my main argument in this chapter is that both the tjoevarian community and the broader community of Ennerdale are both faced with pervasive insecurity, though their insecurity is very different. The tjoeverian community is faced with a level of ontological security, as they are insecure about their very being. This sense of ontological insecurity is brought about by community members, police and CPF members, as they attack lolly lounges and constantly meet lolly lounges and tjoeverians with violence. This is illustrated in the previous chapter on violence against lolly lounges, when various groups bombed a lolly lounge. These attacks arose out of a sense of insecurity arising from crime and the state abandonment of the area.

The tjoeverian community seek refuge in lolly lounges in search of intimacy, warmth and belonging, since they are marginalised and alienated by the rest of the community for their drug use and its associated behaviours, but also because they are attacked violently. In the first chapter of this thesis, I have illustrated how that intimacy, warmth and belonging works and acts as a comfort for those who frequent these spaces. In this chapter, I engage the theories and literature of ontological and criminal security, as well as respect to think through the forms insecurity in the community in Ennerdale and how they are connected with the lolly lounges and concatenated

violence. As a point of departure, I look at the literature on criminal in/security; this is the kind of insecurity that the broader community experiences, because of the criminal violence which they experience from the tjoeverian community. I then address the forms of ontological security facing the tjoeverian community.

Theoretical Framework

According to Macarena (et al. 2019: 122), 'security is related to a set of systems for the protection of the life and property of citizens from the risk of threats caused by various factors, both psychosocial and developmental'. Macarena (et al. 2019: 122) goes on to say that if 'conceptualized, security is linked to the social values of respect for life, physical integrity and the heritage of others, their economic, political and social freedoms'. The case of Ennerdale illustrates this notion. It appears that the tjoeverian community and their criminal acts towards the broader community of Ennerdale, causes the broader Ennerdale community to feel as if their lives and their property are constantly at risk. They retaliate with violence towards the tjoeverian community, since they feel as though they have no economic freedoms, because they work hard for the things that they have and the tjoeverian community simply wants to steal it and sell it for next to nothing.

On the other hand, the violence that the broader community responds with makes the tjoeverian community feel as though the broader community has no respect for the lives of tjoeverians. The fact that the broader community does not trust the police to protect them, leads to them building high walls and gates and adding additional security features to their homes. Zedner (2003b) argues that too much of this security in the form of high walls and security features simply generates another form of social exclusion (Young 1999). These forms of fortification can lead to marginalization, (Cummins 2016) because while for the most part it appears as though crime rates are falling, insecurities remain very high. This also holds through for the tjoeverian community and their establishment of lolly lounges, where the gates are locked and the walls are high, but even this does not give the tjoeverian community a sense of security from outside threats. It is all just appearances, to make it appear as though there is some sense of security, both in lolly lounges and the homes of people.

Ogaba (2010) too considers security to be concerned with the freedom from danger and threats. According to Ogaba (2010:35), it is a groups 'ability to protect and develop itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate interest and enhance the well-being of its people'. I chose both Ogaba (2010) and Macarena's (2019) concepts on security, because they speak to both a level of security and insecurity that, either side of the community is faced with and possibly experiencing.

The broader community of Ennerdale experiences criminal violence from the tjoeverian community and therefore respond to this violence with more violence by attacking tjoeverians and lolly lounges, since they constantly suspect them of the crimes in networks of concatenated violence that I have outlined. The fact that the broader community and the tjoeverian community have lost faith in the state is policing efforts means that the broader community no longer lay charges at the police station, and the tjoeverian community also with not complain about the brutality which they have to endure from CPF, community members and sometimes the police.

Instead, the broader community conduct their own investigations and retaliate with violence on the tjoeverian community. While the tjoeverian community simply, complain to other tjoeverians. Sometimes they even act violently towards tjoeverians who might not have committed the crime, which CPF or community members might be responding to at the point in time. This causes a kind of ontological insecurity amongst the tjoevrians, as they fear for their very being not knowing where the next attack will come from. Hence, in our discussion we need to move beyond simply a criminological notion of insecurity.

Giddens (1992) explores the idea on ontological security as he reflects on two philosophical categories, one being epistemologies, representing theories of knowledge, the other being ontology, which is theories of being or the basic structures of realities. Theories of ontological insecurity relate to that of existential insecurity. It is not just insecurity about people's safety, but also rather an insecurity about their very being, their identities and their meaning in life. It is a deeper concept of insecurity. Giddens (1992) holds that with the shifts towards a capitalist society, people experience an ontological insecurity, which is a threat to their identities and beings as well as their worldviews. This is relevant for my research, because it gives a good understanding of the insecurity that the tjoeverian community is experiencing, as their very way of life and being is constantly under attack by other forces, including police, the broader community as well as CPF

and ELDAC. Tjoeverians are economically excluded within this community, which has been historically excluded and denied a stable identity and a place in the post-apartheid era. As I have mentioned earlier, many people in the community do other people's laundry, clean people's yards or wash their cars in order to supplement their income. Because of the tjoeverians reputation of their criminal acts, many people do not trust them, leaving them excluded from these kinds of opportunities, which would have allowed them to buy drugs. Therefore, forcing them to resort to criminal activity if they need money to smoke or eat.

These and other forms of exclusion leave tjoeverians feeling totally left out and marginalized. Adding to this is the broader community's response to acts of criminal violence with rituals of mob justice, resulting in them not paying attention to the well-being and care of tjoeverians, even though the tjoeverians are in part a product of the very insecurity facing the Ennerdale community more widely. Below I will discuss the forms of criminal insecurity stemming from the tjoeverian community and then provide case studies of Ferdie and Dwangie who articulate their feelings of distrust towards representatives of the security and police force below illustrate this.

Criminal insecurity

The criminal violence insecurity, stemming from the tjoeverian community, is varied and ranges from intimate partner and domestic violence, as well as theft. The wives, girlfriends, and live-in partners of tjoeverians complain that 'tjoeverians' beat them up and expect sex day and night. Some 'tjoeverians' expect their partners to have sex with them for long periods, because they are aroused all the time, because that the drugs have on them. Partners, family members and even strangers frequently need some sort of protection from tjoeverians. In fact, the entire community at some point or another needs protection from the deeds and choices of tjoeverians. This is evident in the many reports of theft from family members and community members. They steal from them to acquire goods to sell for drugs. The family members of tjoeverians find themselves torn between laying a charge at the police station for the numerous household items that tjoeverians steal from their own homes and neighbours, as well as their actions in general. The constant abuse and terror they have to endure from tjoeverians who are high on drugs is common knowledge in the community of Ennerdale and has been a cause for concern for the longest time. Tjoeverians tend

to steal clothing items, jewellery, cash, household items, car batteries and anything that they can get their hands on, particularly if there is a demand for certain objects and they can sell them for cash or drugs. Stolen items are sold for next to nothing, because of their desperation to get their hands on their next hit.

Family members and those sharing a home with tjoeverians sometimes find themselves staying absent from work, because their transport money was stolen, and they have no other means of travelling to work. Some go as far as stealing the grocery money and then going home to demand food once their drug binge has ended. It is common for a tjoeverian who has stolen money to return home after a drug binge has ended still making demands and threatening family members, for either food or challenging those who do not allow them access to the house. Another big problem occurs over the period when their family members receive their social grants. Some tjoeverians go as far as demanding money for drugs from their family members, on pension and South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) grant days. A few tjoeverians have gone as far as beating up their family members who refuse to share their SASSA money with them. There are also reports of grandchildren robbing their own grandparents.

These criminal activities are not limited to their own homes and the people they know. They go as far as attacking and robbing strangers at knifepoint in the streets. Tjoeverians often go on what they call the ‘spanga’. The spanga is a term that refers to roaming around the streets of Ennerdale and robbing people. They will take anything they find on a person. In some instances, they might take a cell phone, remove sneakers from your feet, and take the groceries that you bought if you are returning from a shop on foot. Anything that they could sell, eat or possibly wear can be acquired on the ‘Spanga’. The spanga is also not limited to the streets, but one can also go on the spanga inside lolly lounges.

My own experiences of tjoeverians stealing from me left a bitter taste in my mouth. On one occasion as I left my phone on charge at a lolly lounge, two tjoeverians ran into the room where I was having a conversation with another tjoeverian, telling me that my phone is no longer on the charger, but rather in the pocket of another female tjoeverian who was sitting in the lounge by herself. I immediately accompanied them to the lounge and retrieved my phone from a 28-year-old female tjoeverian, who pretended to be sleeping. I woke her and asked for my phone. As she took the phone out of her pocket, she claimed that she was looking after it for me, because things

are often stolen in these spaces. I took my phone and put it in my car, to ensure that the same incident does not happen again. It was a very quiet evening as no one really had money. They talked and talked and tried to work on various plans to get money, but nothing really materialised.

When I arrived home later that, I noted that my laptop was gone out of my boot. I drove back to Ennerdale the next day and found that they were unable to sell the laptop, because they did not have a charger for it. In the process of looking for a charger, they damaged the charging port. After numerous threats, one of them finally gave me back my laptop, each one blaming the other for stealing it in the first place. The interesting thing was the fact that the two-guys, who initially told me about my phone, were the very people who stole my laptop. These experiences caused me to feel a kind of criminal insecurity at every lolly lounge where I did fieldwork after this experience. I went to great lengths to avoid similar experiences. For instance, once I entered a lolly lounge, I never kept my car key on my person. I hid it somewhere in the house in case they tried to rob me, they would not find it. I found myself always trying to outthink them, because I realised that they are not bad people, but they just had to think of ways to get their next hit, since they had no other form of income. They were not criminals; they were just people trying to find a way to support their habit. These ways usually had a criminal element to it.

The criminal violence and the need for their next hit of meth is a product of the wider forms of exclusion and marginalization. This is exactly what happened with Dwangie below. Ferdie and Dwangie no longer lives with their parents, because the house where they live was set alight by neighbours, causing their mother to live with family members and leaving them on their own. Wherever Dwangie lays his head at night happens to be his home, but he wakes up early in the morning and goes to a certain lolly lounge, just to find his next hit and escape these forms of marginalization, exclusion and violence.

Ferdie and Dwangie

At 11am, one morning in 2021 three Community Policing Forum members pulled up at a lolly lounge in Ennerdale. They enquired after a very well-known drug user Ferdie who was notorious for committing numerous crimes, including house and car burglaries. Although these three CPF members were told that Ferdie committed the crime, they did not mention that to the group of

smokers they found at the lolly lounge that morning. Instead, when Dwangie, Ferdie's older brother, a recovered smoker who had just recently relapsed after going to a state rehabilitation center, wanted to know why they were looking for his brother (related by blood); they loaded him into the car. Dwangie assumed that he was going along to look for Ferdie, or perhaps even to the police station. It was only when they arrived at Thomas's house and one of the CPF members mentioned that the gate should be locked that he realised what was happening. Thomas is one of Ennerdale's well-known ex car thieves, who was well respected by most of the broader community, as is the norm in Coloured communities like Ennerdale. People who tend to drive nice cars and make money off illegal activities are well respected and feared by the others, because they dress well, party hard and live a life envied by those who don't have. There is a huge contradiction at play here. The criminal violence of tjoevrians is frowned upon and met with other forms of violence by the same community that praises those who drive nice cars and live fancy lives, because of their own criminal activities. It is ironic that Thomas responds to this kind of violence in this manner, knowing full well that he too engages in criminal activity for his own progress. The fact that the community responds differently to the same criminal element has always been linked to the fact that these other criminals do not commit their criminal activities in the community of Ennerdale, but instead they go to the rich and steal from them, not from a community that has been excluded economically, both historically and currently.

Once Thomas and others present at the house started asking Dwangie if he remembered what he had done and if he knew why he was there, he gathered that something had happened at Thomas's house. CPF members had heard from another tjoeverian that Ferdie had broken into Thomas's car. CPF immediately assumed that Dwangie knew about the incident, since he was Ferdie's running partner. This is why failure to find Ferdie that day, resulted in them taking Dwangie along to Thomas's house on that day, as they assumed that Dwangie committed the crime with Ferdie, or at the very least, he knew about it. Dwangie.

Thomas's car was broken into and a few items including the car sound and car battery was stolen. When CPF members tortured another tjoeverian, he mentioned that Ferdie broke into the car and stole the items. To date, the tjoeverian who implicated Ferdie has still not been named. When Dwangie spoke about his experience on how Thomas and the CPF members brutally attacked him,

he had tears in his eyes. Dwangie maintained that neither he nor Ferdie was anywhere near Thomas's home or car. Dwangie said in Afrikaans (translated here and below):

> The CPF also just does what they want to. I am not saying that we are angels. No one is an angel. No one is better. What happens in the case when you really did not do something? Why do they not ask you about things anymore? Like in the old times. We know that the police used to come and pick you up, and then you normally go to court. It is not like in the old times anymore. CPF sorts you out now. Together with the complainant (Thomas), they hit you (the suspect) …In my case a few months ago, here by Thomas around the corner hey my sister, they hit me (Dwangie) with the square tubing pipes that you find on the doors of a house.

When tjoeverians are hurt in this extremely brutal and inhumane way, they have nowhere that they can turn to for protection. They have no money to have their wounds looked at by a doctor; instead they have to live in fear of being caught by the same people on another occasion. The humiliation and the uncertainty of whether or not one is going to live through the event is like something out of a movie. Ferdie's only crime that morning was arriving at a lolly lounge in order to help the people that usually recycle plastic bottles. He had hoped that helping them to recycle would mean that he could smoke with them once they had collected the money for the bottles. Instead, when CPF could not find Ferdie, they took the next best person, his brother, because they assumed that Ferdie had stolen the items and Dwangie must have been with him. Little did Dwangie know that he would have a near death experience, orchestrated by the very people that was supposed to protect him? As he recalled

> We drove straight to Thomas's house. When we got there, I just heard 'close the gate there. Lock the gate'. When I walked into the gate, I saw many of them (CPF members and Thomas and some of his friends) standing there, waiting for me. I am not going to mention their names, because I do not know their names. Each of them was standing with weapons: pipes and shamboks. Thomas came out of the kitchen door and touched me on my shoulder. He touched me on my shoulder and asked me if I know why I am there? Thomas wanted to know, if I knew why CPF brought me to his house. When I said that I do not know, that is when Thomas laughed. In my thoughts, I started thinking 'what is this now?' That is when I realised that these people are going to fight me now, okay fine. That is when he said, 'I am going to show you what I am talking about. Maybe then you will know.' As he walked into the house, I wanted to walk in as well. That is when I heard. 'No wait here'. When I looked again, he came out of the house with his wife. He had an iron square tube weapon in his hand. That is when he said: 'You want to tell me that you do not know what the fuck I am talking about'. I said; 'No I do not know what you are talking about'. Gosh,

> that is when he struck me. He hit me here (pointing to his face). He hit me and I asked: 'What is going on?' As he hit me, the rest of the company present also started hitting me. I said: 'no guys, what is going on?' That is when I passed out and came back quickly repeatedly. At that point, I heard my mother's voice saying: 'why did you start smoking again Dwangie?', but that is when reality hit me again and I saw Thomas's face. One of the people from CPF said; 'Pull his leg straight, so that I can hit it and break it.' When he hit my leg, I became conscious again. I pulled my leg back. That is when they started hitting me on my knees. When Thomas hit me here again (pointing to his knee) that is when the blood starting splashing. Then his wife came closer and pulled me. She started smacking me in my face. She took a belt, twisted it around her hand, and hit me with the buckle in my face. While doing this, she started cursing me. She said: 'You are not supposed to live. I do not know why God made people like you'. That is when I told them that I really do not know anything. I was on my knees in front of these people, while each of them continued to hit me. With every strike, they asked if I remembered. They kept asking, 'where is the battery?' When I tried to lift myself up, they kept hitting my ankles.

This continued for approximately three hours, because Dwangie remembers getting into the car with the three CPF members at about 11am. Thomas finally told them (CPF members and Thomas's friends and wife who beat Dwangie up) to stop and mentioned that his children will be returning from school soon. That is when Dwangie realised that it must be after 2pm already. They poured cold water over him to rinse the blood off. Dwangie is convinced that this was to ensure that the bruise marks would not show immediately. Since Dwangie could not feel his legs, he crawled out of the yard and cut through a passage. He finally ended up on a street next to the house where he was beaten. That is when a car almost drove over him. The same CPF members eventually followed him and pulled up next to him with the same car they picked him up in earlier. They each made some threatening remarks. Dwangie was desperate to get to a place of safety and for him the only place was the very same lolly lounge where they initially found him. He crawled all the way there. As he returned there, the tjoeverians living in the house gave him food and comforted him, even going to the extent of giving him something to smoke. CPF returned to the house a few days later, apparently still looking for the brother.

This is not an isolated incident. Amongst tjoeverians, it is common practice to commit a crime and then claim that someone else did it. It is also common practice for CPF members and community members to take the law into their own hands and administer a form of mob justice that is equal to none. They CPF is not the only group in Ennerdale who band together and administer mob justice based on hearsay. Another group well known for this practice is 'Mapagatie'. This is a group

consisting of a group of residents residing in the new settlement of shacks established in the last two years. This is a larger group consisting of approximately 30 people. They also do not ask any questions, but rather follow a trail of hearsay to find suspects of certain crimes. There is no way of knowing whether Dwangie and his brother Ferdie actually broke into Thomas's car, because a case was never opened up at the police station and therefore an investigation will never be done.

This engagement with Dwangie, Thomas and CPF members shows how fellow tjoeverians take care of Dwangie when he finally returns to the lolly lounge that afternoon. This is an important moment as it shows that there is care and protection amongst the tjoeverian community. Dwangie's beating also illustrates that tjoeverians are a marginalised group and they are therefore treated as though they are insignificant. If any other member of the community had received that kind of beating, they would have been able to report the incident to the police, and if other community members heard about the incident, they might have been disturbed by it. However, since this happened to a tjoeverian who is considered unimportant nothing was ever done about it. It also legitimises why tjoeverians hide behind lolly lounges with high walls and locked gates. It speaks to the ontological insecurity that tjoeverians face, simply because of who they are and the activities that they engage in, in order to smoke.

It also attests to why they formed their little group and operate as a community. What further indicates that the tjoeverians are marginalised and considered insignificant is Thomas wife's words that she utters while beating Dwangie in the face, when she mentions that she does not understand why God allows people like Dwangie – obviously referring to the tjoeverian community – to live. This further speaks of how the tjoeverian community is perceived within the community of Ennerdale. It is also indicative of the fact that the broader community goes to the extent of not only attacking the tjoeverian community on a physical level, but they go as far as attacking their very right to live. This confirms the threat to their ontological security, showing that their formation of spaces like lolly lounges with its high walls are a legitimate fear.

The formation and establishment of the tjoeverian community and lolly lounges might not mean freedom from danger of threats, but it does however appear to be effective in achieving a kind of kinship and network. It is this kind of network of other tjoeverians where Dwangie received care and a sense of belonging

This care provided him with a level comfort and made him feel cared for when those that beat him up made him feel unimportant and uncared for. It also gave Dwangie a sense of belonging since the words and beatings that he had received made it clear that he does not belong, and should not even exist. The care of other tjoeverians, as they listened to his story and commented while smoking and eating, was enough to make him feel a level of intimacy, and ontological security. The tjoeverian community therefore does enhance the well-being of its people. Even though the tjoeverian community was unable to establish security from outside threats successfully, there is some kind of care and security on the inside.

This, however, might not always be the case for women, because stemming from the context of concatenated violence the injustices against women in these spaces are further perpetuated as men use the very bodies of women in these spaces to acquire drugs, whether knowingly or unknowingly, when they leave their wives/girlfriends with other men to go and buy drugs for these men. They stay away long enough for these men to have sex with their wives/ girlfriends. They never return with the drugs and it is accepted that the money they left with was payment for having sex with their wives / girlfriends. Whether their girlfriends/ wives know that this was made in the first place, is not always clear. It is said that their wives/ girlfriends have sex with these men, because they understand that their bodies are being sold and for various reasons they participate. This is another form of violence, arising from the context of concatenated violence and once again proving that one form of violence is linked to another, as the possible violence and threats from community members force women to seek protection inside of lolly lounges and once inside they must navigate these spaces, sometimes at the cost of their bodies, trading sex for protecting and access to drugs, perhaps even to belong. What is interesting is the very men, their partners and friends who are supposed to protect them, are subjecting them to these forms of violence to gain access to sex or drugs. This ties into the rape culture of South Africa (Gqola, 2015), where the very people who are supposed to protect the women are also the ones raping them. Partners and family members of rape victims who could be expected to protect the women in their family, instead are sometimes found to be the perpetrators themselves.

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Conclusion

The little pockets/groups formed at lolly lounges is about like-minded people affording themselves a space in which they can live out their desire to take drugs and have transactional sex, but in addition to this it is also a means to seeking the kind of protection, care, intimacy and belonging which the setting of lolly lounges affords them. My overarching argument in this chapter has been that while residents and family members needs protection from criminal insecurity of tjoeverians, they at least have the police, CPF members and other members of the community whom they can call on. Tjoeverians on the other hand have no one that they can call on to protect them, except for other tjoeverians. This protection is also limited, in that tjoeverians cannot really band together against the actual violence from the community, but they can at least offer each other care and a sense of belonging and intimacy in a setting where their very being is threatened. Even amid the insecurity and the doubt there is a dimension in which tjoeverians seek a kind of ontological security in lolly lounges, because that is where they feel safe. Many in the community have challenged and continue to challenge their very right to exist. These challenges go beyond the broader community telling them outright that they are not supposed to be alive, but people actually attempt to kill them. People think that tjoeverians and lolly lounges are a threat to the moral fibre of the community, but the tjoeverians too are simply just creating these spaces to feel their own kind of safety. Lolly lounges offer tjoeverians a sense of belonging and a sense of care that they do not experience in the broader community, since tjoeverians a marginalised and alienated group.

This sense of care is apparent when Dwangie is beaten up by CPF members and Thomas's friends, and knows that he needs to get to a safe place once the beating ends. Dwangie knew that he would be cared for in this space. That particular care might not have included medical care, but the very fact that they gave him food, listened to him and offered him something to smoke made all the difference. This is profound, because as we know it is scares in these spaces, because of the lack of money to buy food. This care might be very precarious, because tjoeverians can often betray one another, which might have been the reason why Ferdie was implicated in the burglary of Thomas's car in the first place, however. The moment when Dwangie needed it the most, the care was very real and present, creating a sense of intimacy and belonging. This experience of care and feeling of intimacy shared in that moment, could perhaps also give a sense of feeling respected,

accepted and understood, particularly because he endured so much disrespect during the beating that he received from Thomas and company.

These cycles of violence are linked to each other, hence the lens of concatenated violence. CPF's response to the violence of criminality with violence is indicative of this. The work of violence in this response was supposed to make Dwangie confess where the items were that he apparently stole. Thomas and the CPF members had hoped that the violence would be a means of recovering the items. The violence of criminality is connected to a lack of state security and because of that, instead of making use of the justice system CPF members are using violence against the tjoeverian community. There is a network of concatenated violence present, as one form of violence is met with another, and one form of violence automatically leads to another. Concatenated violence is therefore also linked to the sense of insecurity. This entails that those in the CPF and the likes of Thomas are not really monsters, but they are responding to a sense of insecurity in the community. The tjoeverians in lolly lounges are also not monsters, but instead they also responding to their own sense of insecurity. Tjoeverians however is not only responding to a criminal insecurity, but rather the sense of insecurity of their being. The insecurity of not belonging as well as the trauma and other issues of stigmatization, marginalization, and alienation. It is not just about their safety, but a deeper sense of ontological insecurity, in their very being.

In both my experience and my observations of living amongst Coloured people my entire life, the shame that goes with Coloured identity, which is so deeply inherent in being Coloured has implications of not belonging and not being legitimate in the first place. Therefore, the fact that the tjoeverian community feels that they do not belong amongst people of their own racial group could possibly add another dimension to their ontological security. This could be another motivating factor to carve out little spaces where they create warmth and perhaps another element that needs to be nourished.

There is also a stark contradiction in the relationship between warmth and violence, particularly for the women in these spaces, as they must face these forms of violence where their own partners literally use their bodies to gain access to meth. There are instances where women were forced to have sex, but for the most part, it is a part of the culture of a lolly for a tollie, where smoking in drugs implies that you have to sleep with the person providing the drugs. Even if this means that you have to sleep with the person who provides drugs for you and your boyfriend or husband.

Sometimes the husbands/ boyfriends facilitate these drugs without them knowing. They simply have to eventually have to have sex with these men, whether they want to or not, else it will cause massive problems in their relationship. Their husbands/ boyfriends might even beat them up if they refuse to sleep with the people with whom they facilitated the transactional sex. To the person on the outside of these spaces it might not make sense that they would find warmth in these spaces and relationships where they face these kinds of violence.

Final Conclusions

This study aimed to understand the diverse forms of violence in and around lolly lounges in Ennerdale, and how these multiple forms of violence manifest. The results indicate that community violence; criminal violence, collective and interpersonal as well as state and sexual violence are linked to each other beyond dyadic relationships and can therefore be termed concatenated violence. This entails those single acts of violence likely to lead to other violent events or are probably connected to an earlier or later violent event. Various acts of violence form a chain.

Further findings show that these different forms of violence have moralities and codes. For instance, one act of violence, such as beating up a tjoeverian is morally acceptable and deemed necessary to ensure the security and protection of the broader community. Physical aggression in the form of collective or community violence against a member of the tjoeverian community is deemed an appropriate response to criminal violence, due to lack of faith in the police and the judicial system. Members of the Community Policing Forum are considered actors in the regulation of different forms of violence, particularly pertaining to the tjoeverian community and criminal violence.

Based on my findings that there is a clear relationship between violence within the lolly lounges and the wider social and state violence. The recent establishment of lolly lounges and the formation of the tjoeverian community is a response to the violence and ontological insecurity that tjoeverians experience from the broader community. However, the collective and community violence that tjoeverians and lolly lounges experience is also a response to the criminal violence and terror that community and family members of tjoeverians endure.

My research proposes that lolly lounges must be understood within concatenated networks of interpersonal, collective, and state violence. This advances beyond structural violence, in that it looks at the physical violence that takes place in Ennerdale, as opposed to the social structures in that may limit people from meeting their social needs. The physical violence can be measured more accurately and is a more severe form of aggression.

My findings highlight the reasons for the establishment of drugs dens and their implications for public health. In considering this, my findings indicate that these spaces need to be examined and understood within this context of ontological insecurity and concatenated violence. My research findings also lead to a better understanding of the theories on transactional sex and the benefits of sexual intimacy. It infers that although notions of transactional sex are usually framed in terms of economic constraints that consider sex as a means to or access to drugs and money, risky behaviours in relation to drugs and transactional sex also involve a search for intimacy and warmth in the context of ontological insecurity and concatenated violence. The search for drugs themselves, as with sex, is a search for intimacy in the context where intimacy is very hard to find.

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