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Igeza lensizwa as fashioned by *ILanga le Theku.*

By

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(Ethical Clearance no. H20/03/17)

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities,
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg,
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the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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School of Literature, Language and Media,
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Johannesburg 2023

Declaration

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

School of Language, Literature and Media

Declaration by student:

I, **Simphiwe Blessing Mthokozelwa Ngwane (Student number: 717988)**, am a student registered for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** in the year 2023. I 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 ALL the work submitted for assessment for the above course is my own unaided work except where I 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 my 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.

Signature: 

Date: 15 March 2023

Abstract

The objective of this study is to explore, analyse and interpret *igeza lensizwa* fashion inspired photographs on the back page of the first isiZulu-language lifestyle supplement called *ILanga le Theku.* These were photographs of street-casted young black men from around *eThekwini* that were being foregrounded as public scripts of youthful Zulu masculinities. Through a discursive approach to Critical Masculinities Studies, I interrogate how young Zulu men made situated decisions in the fashioning of their masculinities. The study engages other interlocutors that were involved in the fashioning of *igeza lensizwa.* These were the female-led editorial team, the mostly male photographers that street-casted and photographed young men, the young men that agreed and those that did not agree to be street-casted, and the female readers, as represented by the female persona. All these interlocutors had a hand in shaping the form of *igeza lensizwa.* The archive of the fashion inspired photographs of *amageza ezinsizwa* and their accompanying captions were approached as key sites where masculine representations were being articulated and contested.

The study demonstrates how *ILanga le Theku* devised various literary techniques to cater for its two implied readers/audiences of *igeza lensizwa.* Through analysing these literary techniques, the study crafted two concepts to offer more context-based readings of Zulu masculinities as represented in *ILanga le Theku.* The study foregrounds a concept of *igeza lensizwa* as being comprised of *ukuzithemba* [self-confidence] and *ukuzizwa* [self-regard]. The other concept is, thirst-trap which is achieved if the image of *igeza lensizwa* complies with *ukuheha* [to entice] and *ukuchaza* [to have an affect], in relation to the implied female audience. The study demonstrates how these two concepts offer insights on Zulu masculinities by engaging how young people *eThekwini* were changing dual gender systems norms and matters of desire. Moreover, the study shows how the section was also a site that challenged the myopic limits of homosocial desire with its limitation of masculine desire only incorporating interpersonal attractions. Furthermore, the study demonstrates that through shifts in spectatorship, facilitated by an auto-ethnographic queer lens as method, I inferred looking relations that, *inter alia,* explored how young men were asked to introspect, and confront masculine beauty.

Dedication

For my beloved late parents: Phumla Mercy Ngwane (1963 - 2006) and Fanizane Leonard Ngwane (1956 - 2000). Thank you for indulging little Simphiwe and letting him be who he wanted to be. It was only through your tender indulgence that I have grown-up to be who I am.

How to put into words something so astounding to the ears?
Words are cold, muddy toads trying to understand
sprites in a field – but they're all we have.
I will try
(p. 88).

Beatrice and Virgil (2011)
by Yann Martel.

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I would also like to thank two staff members at the *ILanga* Head Office. *Ngiyabonga*, Mr. Arthur Konigkramer, Managing Director of Mandla Matla, for granting me access to the *ILanga* library. *Ngiyabonga* Ms. Nokukhanya Zibani, *ILanga* librarian, for facilitating my archival visit just before the COVID-19 National Lockdown in March 2020. Gratitude also goes to Ms. Gloria Mkhwanazi at the Periodical Section of the Bessie Head Library in Pietermaritzburg. Thank you to Mr. Petri Swart at the Photogrammetry Department of the eThekwini Municipality for the historical aerial maps of Durban Point.

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Thank you to my friends and siblings for being steadfast accountability partners, as this was very much a COVID-19 project. A PhD project is a lonely pursuit, even more so, for a part-time candidate as you are not part of a cohort. COVID-19 exacerbated the loneliness. Thank you for always checking up on me and for the light moments that helped me push-on during the lockdown periods, when inspiration was dwindling.

Thank you for reading excerpts I sent you guys at 4am and being my sounding boards for my early morning ideation and writing stints. *Ngiyabonga:* Fezeka Ngwane, Siyanda Mkhize, Louis Molantoa, Andisiwe Jukuda, Sandile Ngwane, Thobile Ngwane, Dineo Nkomo, Nelson Dlamini, Dr. Simphiwe Rens and Prof. Shepherd Mpofu.

My love for history and the archive was cultivated and nurtured by a group of special lecturers and mentors. Thank you for inviting me to be part of various archival research projects, where I honed my skills. Thank you for being patient with me when I made errors, and being skilful in showing me how it should have been done. Thank you: Dr. Vukile Khumalo, Prof. Catherine Burns, Prof. Jacob Dlamini, Dr. Vanessa Noble, Prof. Julie Parle, Prof. Thembisa Waetjen, Prof. Goolam Vahed, Dr. Marijke du Toit and Prof. Johan Wassermann.

To Sphelele Vilakazi, *ngingaqalaphi kodwa, muntu wami, baba ka Thimuni no'Zulu*. Thank you for reading every draft version of my chapters. Thank you for being my constant, being steadfast in your support and not handling my ideas with mittens. Thank you for believing in me and being part of this journey. In the words of Walt Whitman, "Will you come travel with me? Shall we stick by each other as long as we live?". *Ngiyabonga Binda! Mphephethwa!*

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Chapter One

Locating *igeza lensizwa*

Introduction

At the turn of the twenty-first century as my teenage self was grappling with issues of gender, desire, and rites of passage into manhood, a poignant memory stands out as I recall this period. The setting of this memory is rural KwaZulu-Natal. I recall two aspects of this memory which piqued my interest on what activities I associated with manhood at an early age. These were based on observations I had made from my male adolescent cousins.

The memory is from my families then annual December visit to KwaMaphumulo, near Stanger, in the iLembe district of KwaZulu-Natal, to visit our maternal grandparents. My two cousins were being raised by them. Both in high school and in their middle to late adolescents years. They fancied themselves as ladies' men. Both enjoyed playing and watching soccer. Moreover, they took great care of their appearances, both in dress and, one cousin went as far as having skincare regimes. I remember on their dressing table, there being, amongst others, their body lotion (*Dawn*[1]), a jar of *Blue Seal* Vaseline, and a medley of *Gentle Magic*[2] skincare products: a bar of soap, a jar of face cream and a face toner. I recall recognising these as female skincare products, as back home in Pietermaritzburg, my late mother, my aunt, and our helper used these products. But here was one of my male cousins engaging in skincare regimes, whilst being very sure of his prowess of being a ladies' man.

Thinking of this memory dislodges feelings of awkwardness and inadequacy I felt as a teenage boy, because I was not interested in girls, and by extension – was

[1] A popular South African body lotion brand.

[2] A popular South African female skincare brand. Its pricing is very entry level. A bar of soap is R7 whilst a jar of face cream is R19. My remark that it is entry level is based on a comparison of other teenage skincare brands I recall seeing in a teenage tabloid sized newspaper called *Free4All* which was distributed in Pietermaritzburg and Durban schools. Moreover, this is based on the price of the unisex skincare brand called Young Solution that I started using in high school, a Young Solution face wash is R65 whilst a face cream is R68. These are 2022 prices.

not interested in being a ladies' man, nor was I interested in soccer. This self-awareness made me feel anxious, as I could tell that these activities were rites of passage, that I did not desire. When I eventually entered my middle adolescent years, the only activity that I engaged with that was similar to my male cousin's, was developing a skincare regime. Instead of *Gentle Magic* though, I used the unisex skincare brand called *Young Solution*. The decision on the brand was influenced by the then popular teenage tabloid newspaper called *Free4All.*

Reflecting on these old anxieties and levels of inadequacy during my middle adolescent years, now at the age of thirty-five, having fully accepted of homosexuality, I can hazard a guess on what caused these anxieties. The adolescent years are a crucial transitional period, as one moves from boyhood on a journey towards manhood. Along this journey there are rites of passage which are carved out by each locale's cultural and social norms. In her multivalent piece, titled *Conjugality,* Danai Mupotsa (2020) offers an insightful framing of rituals, which clarify the feelings of inadequacy and anxiety that gripped me. Mupotsa frames these as being processes of becoming, that are "not simply an entry but a continuous process of symbolic, material, psychohistorical and temporal entry to the proper but never quite/never right" (Mupotsa 2020: 378). My fear was that I did not desire the acts and practices which I myself, thought were crucial in the process of becoming *insizwa* [a young man]*.* I had bought into the socialisation qualifiers that, for example, enjoying soccer and being a ladies' man were important practices in shaping my social body in the image of Zulu masculinity.

In their middle to late adolescent years, my cousins were considered *izinsizwa* (young men), a period which historically, was inaugurated by the practise of *ukusoka* (circumcision). Long abandoned in the seventieth century by Zulu people, the practice was a male group ritual, where male age-mates (*izintanga*) were banded into a group (*ukubuthwa*), and in this grouping, boys (*abafana*) were ushered onto the journey to manhood. Inaugurating them onto a journey where their masculinities were subject to examination and validation by peers and adult men (Kimmel 1994 & Whitehead

2007).[3] Neither of these rites of passage exist nowadays, but the term *isoka* is still in use, to refer to a young man that is popular amongst girls.

The term, *isoka* has a medley of associated meanings which the thesis intends to interrogate from different angles, at different points of the thesis. One of these meanings is marking a period where a young man can commence courting, another being, a young man popular amongst girls (Nyembezi & Nxumalo 2018; Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi 2012: 763). During this adolescent period, concerted efforts are made to solidify the organisation of desires, as young men are then culturally expected to initiate courting. Both the John Colenso (1905) and the Alfred Bryant (1905) Zulu-English dictionaries give the same definition of *isoka,* as an unmarried man, an accepted lover, a sweetheart, and a young man liked by girls. Noleen Turner broadens the term of *isoka/ubusoka* and argues that there are other aspects to the term such as, "one who presents himself in a very positive light not only to women, he is also admired by other men" (Turner 1999: 198). Reading this through Mupotsa's (2020) lens, these are rituals as processes of becoming that usher young boys towards "adult sexuality".

It is this very ritual of becoming that gave me the greatest angst in those adolescent years, as the practice of *ubusoka* is heterosexual in its origins and requires the performance of skill sets from young boys, which would then be examined and validated by age-mates and older men. As *izinsizwa* (young men) my male cousins took great pride in honing their prowess's of *ukucupha isisoka. Ukucupha isisoka* are the skill sets/techniques that are required to ensure courting success, such as the ability to smooth-talk. *Cupha* as the verb stem of the first word of the term, means; set a trap, or lay a snare (Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi 2012: 129). This snare, being comprised of the practices which "will present him in a good light" (which have been honed) are the ones meant to woo women into accepting the young man as a

[3] Amongst the Zulu, the practice of circumcision was halted by Shaka Zulu, yet Bryant (1949; 1965) argues that the circumcision practice fell into disuse among the Zulus and neighbouring tribes during the reign of Jama (1757 - 1781). The history of when circumcision guilds became *amabutho* is contested, Jenkinson (1882) notes that Zulu people used to practice circumcision universally, but Bryant argues that even though the custom of circumcision became obsolete among the Zulus, the practice of grouping various youths of similar ages into *amabutho* continued until Shaka turned them into 'real regiments' (Bryant 1949: 494; also see Laband & Thompson 1982).

lover. Moreover, secure praise from his peers. Therefore, *ubusoka* valorises success in courting practices.

Thinking alongside Mupotsa (2020), that rituals are done so as to produce a coherent subject, I viewed by cousins as being coherent, whilst I was not. This doubt in my own coherency can be best understood if we view it through the lens of biological determinism as described by Oyèrónkẹ́ Oyěwùmí (1997). Oyěwùmí (1997) problematize the universalism of a dual sex-gender system which relies on a biologic. This being an essentialism that relies on how the body is perceived by sight, and the singularity of meaning, intention, and relation in language. I was anxious that my physical body was not elaborated with social and gender practices that would announce my masculinity. Yet, one of my cousins - with his assured status of being *isoka* - was using skin care products that advertisers didactically positioned as being for female consumers, whilst I was using unisex skincare products. What could have been the significance of developing a skincare regime that this particular cousin and I strived towards? The development of a skincare regime signalled our interest in the self, looking good and enhancing our looks. But for my cousin, this had an unintended benefit of increasing his chances when courting. The isiZulu concept of being *igeza lensizwa* underpinned both our interest. The concept of *igeza lensizwa* (which will be explored in the following section) largely rests and valorises the self and the techniques of self-fashioning. Whilst *ubusoka* valorised the skills of courting, which was dependent on successful courting.

The thesis intends to take seriously the aspects of presentation and admiration as both undergird the concepts of *ubusoka* and *igeza lensizwa.* This commitment to indigenous isiZulu concepts is inspired by Dilip Menon's provocations in his edited book, *Changing Theory: Concepts from the Global South,* where he argues that indigenous concepts and words are embedded with entailments that have conceptual implications for the humanities and social sciences (Menon 2022: 6). These isiZulu concepts piqued my interest to thinking about how masculinity in the media does not project an essence but, "a set of actions, relations and discourses, used to distinguish an individual from others or one group from another" (Ratele 2016: 139). I have chosen to begin this chapter with a memory undergirded by the practice of *ubusoka* and elements of *igeza lensizwa* as it is embedded with key issues that my doctoral thesis intends to interrogate. These are that; masculinities require demonstration and

approval from other men to legitimise them. Secondly, the subjectivity of *ubusoka* and its practices, are not stagnant, being aesthetically beautiful and enhancing this male beauty through activities such as skincare regimes does not dilute men's manliness as you can enjoy playing soccer with a matte face, whilst other team members sweat profusely. Thirdly, each locality can have a multiplicity of masculinities and there are other interlocutors in the making of masculinities. Fifthly, why did my male cousin's usage of skincare products that are advertised as female products not undermine *ubusoka bakhe* (his ladies' man status)? What role did the multivalent concept of *igeza lensizwa* play in making his social and physical body coherent? And finally, since my cousins were popular amongst women, did women have a say on how masculinities should be fashioned?

The search and how I will go about it

The central aim that informs this thesis is to explore and describe the fashioning of *igeza lensizwa* as represented on the back page of the isiZulu-language lifestyle supplement called *ILanga le Theku.* A dictionary search of the meaning of this term presents rich veins of enquiry for my project. The John Colenso (1905) Zulu-English dictionary defines the noun *igeza* as a "nice-looking person" (Colenso 1905: 170). Whilst the Alfred Bryant (1905) Zulu-English dictionary defines *igeza* as "any nice-looking person, young or old and of either sex" (Bryant 1905: 182). The Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi (2012) Zulu – English dictionary defines *igeza* as "a handsome person" (Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi 2012: 245). Based on these definitions, *igeza* has no age nor gender qualifier. The addition of *insizwa* adds these qualifiers. The Doke (et al., 2012) dictionary defines *insizwa* as "a young man approaching manhood; vigorous young man who has not yet assumed the head-ring" (Doke et al 2012: 599). The pairing of these two isiZulu nouns genders the term and articulates an age bracket, as according to historical Zulu customs, only senior and married men wore head-rings (*izicoco*) (Khumalo 2001). Therefore, the definition of *igeza lensizwa* is a handsome young man on the journey to manhood. Of interest in this definition is the isolation of an accessory (*isicoco*) which acts as a differentiator

between young men (*izinsizwa*) and older men (*amadoda*). This isolation draws our attention to the importance of sartorial items in the configuration of Zulu masculinities.

Having outlined the dictionary definition of *igeza lensizwa*, its conceptual clues to the sartorial. And earlier, laying out the practices involved in *ubusoka,* and the honing of skill sets required. The thesis considers the role played by *ILanga le Theku* through its establishment of the *igeza lensizwa* fashion inspired photographic section (figure 1) and its focus on the self. *Igeza lensizwa* was a weekly photographic section, where *ILanga le Theku* photographer's street-casted young men (*izinsizwa*) around *eThekwini.*

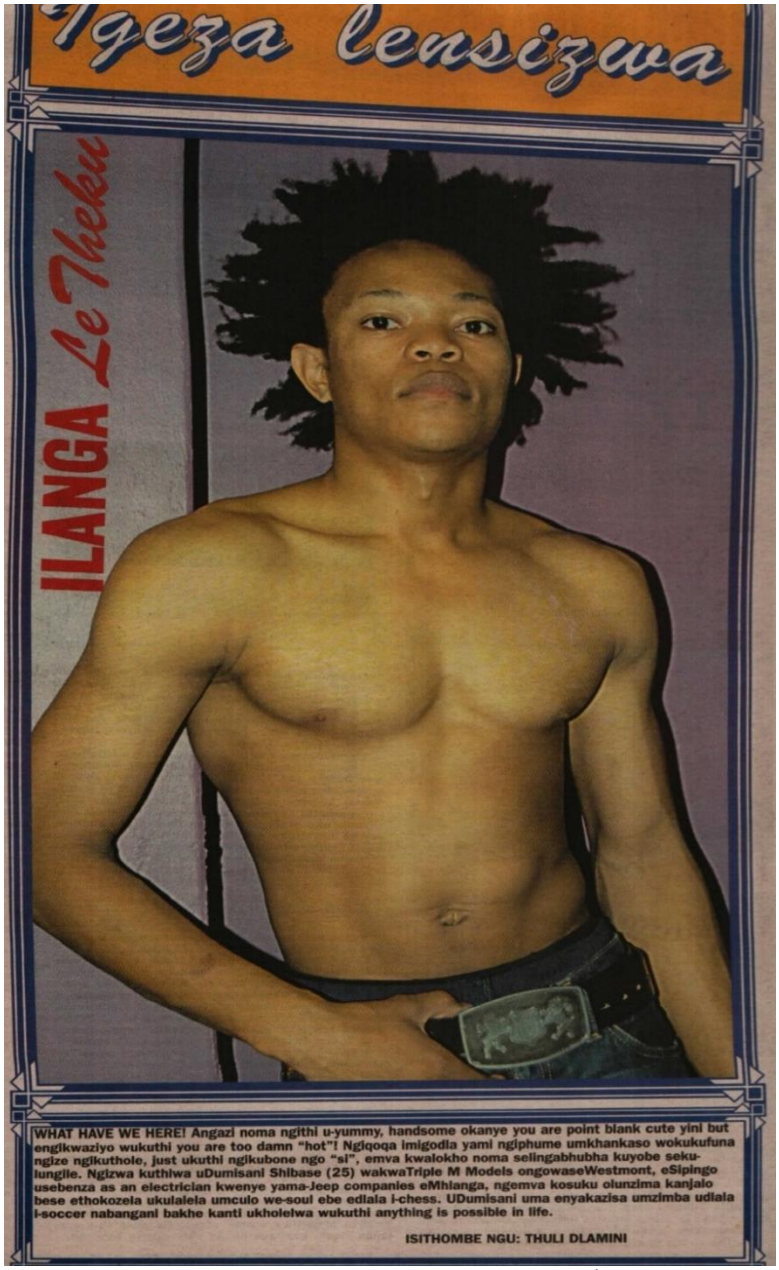


Figure 1: Dumisani Shibase, *igeza lensizwa* for the 10th of January 2008. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

This was guided by the editorial team's brief. This brief was informed by several facts, some being contemporary ideas of what made a young man attractive, others, cultural ideas of what made *isoka.* This involved creative, transgressive, and contemporary renditions of *ukucupha isisoka,* which would result to peer admiration. All of this was underpinned by the age of when a young man could be desired (sexually) and commence courting.

This photographic section was devised with two implied audiences in mind and *ILanga le Theku* employed several techniques to cater for these two implied audiences. My own gaze as a homosexual man, was not accounted for, but this thesis carves out a queer looking-relation which is developed into a methodological lens to challenge the limitations of a solely heterosexual looking-relation (this is unpacked in chapter two). The *igeza lensizwa* photographic section fulfilled elements of performance, validation, and admiration. Performance took the form of young men's style and what that stylisation was meant to convey to onlookers about his ambitions. Whilst validation was a huge part of the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section.

The editorial team became arbiters of what made young urban African men attractive. The team venerating some practices, and at times, young men disputed these practices, as they foregrounded different ways to attain and embody being *igeza lensizwa. ILanga le Theku* demonstrated that there are different and shifting ways to secure the status of being *igeza lensizwa.* Validation was also secured through the accompanying captions which were written as thirst-trap[4] reactions. Such reactions embody the "conjunction of desires" which is the "interplay between the observer-photographer and the viewer-consumer where much of the [desire] tension arises" (Murray 2022: 9). A female persona[5] was used to craft the captions, in a thirst-trap

[4] The term came about social media, post 2010 and it is used to describe a social media post (could be a selfie photograph or written text) that intends to entice a viewer's sexual desire or invite them to publicly profess their attraction to the person who has posted. The post is meant to pique the viewers "thirst" which is a colloquialism for sexual frustration and invite them to ogle the social media post and let their imagination run wild. The trap is when the viewer allows their imagination to run wild without any consequences. (THIRST TRAP | meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary accessed 19 January 2022).

[5] The term persona is originally understood as a "theatrical mask" but has been used in Literary Studies to define "voices" in literary work, or an assumed role of a character which represent the thoughts of a writer, or a specific person the writer wants to present as their mouthpiece (Marshall, Moore & Barbour 2019).

tone, allowing young women to vicariously ogle the street-casted young men with a lecherous gaze. Moreover, the female persona crafted fictive scenes between *amageza ezinsizwa* and herself, where she made her lustful desires clear and initiated courting. This subversive act disrupted cultural ways of how desire is organised, as in a patriarchal sense, *isoka* is meant to be the one to initiate courting. Through salacious writing, the female persona commented and commended the young men on their changing prowess's. Lastly, admiration took the form of young men seeing their peers appearing on the photographic section and their stylisation being validated by the female persona. This form of validation inculcated admiration and became a drawcard that encouraged other young men to be street-casted or submit their photographs to *ILanga le Theku* to also illicit the same thirst trap reaction. Therefore, the thesis is interested in the editorial decision-making processes that were made and revised as *ILanga le Theku* catered for these two implied audiences, and how desire was crafted through the female voice.

The archive of the fashion inspired photographs of *amageza ezinsizwa* and their accompanying captions will be approached as key sites where masculine representations were articulated. The thesis sets out to demonstrate how the *igeza lensizwa* captions and their employed writing tones and stylistic forms, became sites of contestation where young men's changing prowess's were examined and validated. Moreover, the thesis foregrounds the photographs and their accompanying captions, as windows into the machinations of young urban people's lives *eThekwini* through popular culture, their speaking mannerisms and changing world views.

The study has three main questions:

1. What are the implications of ***amageza ezinsizwa's*** employment of certain practices from *ubusoka* have for crafting transgressive masculinities? With the understanding that there are multiple masculinities in any given society, what effect would the emergence and articulation of transgressive masculinities have, as an alternative to more dominant Zulu masculinities? Moreover, what beneficial role does the multi-fold nature of *ubusoka* have in enhancing transgressive masculinities?

2. Secondly, what implications does *ILanga le Theku* as a site of production and circulation have for *igeza lensizwa*? As the first isiZulu-language lifestyle supplement, *ILanga le Theku's* young editorial team was attuned to the type of readers that they catered for. Borrowing their speaking mannerisms, devising writing styles and tapping into popular culture to ensure relevance. The thesis explores the *igeza lensizwa* captions as a reflection of the creative ingenuity that was *ILanga le Theku.* Through interviews with the editorial team, the editorial decision-making processes will be analysed to understand, and articulate the three shifts that are evident in the photographic sections eight-year run.

   The second question will further be explored through considering how desire was crafted. The captions accompanying *amageza ezinsizwa* and their thirst-t rap tones, as articulated by the female voice, will be explored as configurations of desire. This will be done by considering how the editorial team articulated the "learnt affective expectations and sociocultural scripts about desire" (Regan & Berscheid 1999) in relation to *igeza lensizwa.* The thirst-trap captions subverted some Zulu sociocultural scripts, such as, who gets desired, and what "appropriate" affections should the one doing the desiring have. The configuration of desire will be explored by examining how the editorial team wanted *amageza ezinsizwa* to "affect" the female audience, with a focus on isiZulu verbs (used by the editorial team) that denote lust and desire such as *ukuheha* [to entice] and *ukuchaza* [to have an affect].

3. What conceptual value does considering the articulation of *igeza lensizwa* through Roland Barthes (2013) two-prong definition of dandyism have for putting forward a conceptual definition of *igeza lensizwa*? This question takes the two aspects that make-up a dandy; his ethos/dispositions and his techniques (style and social practices) and contextualised them to my exploration of the making of *igeza lensizwa.* In answering this question, I analyse the captions to identify isiZulu descriptors that characterised the type of young men that were considered *amageza ezinsizwa.* Moreover, I explore the editorial decisions that were made in articulating the shifting brief of what made *igeza lensizwa.* Lastly, I pay attention to the young men's style and approach them as style narratives, as these represented the young men's

ambitions, and at times, negotiated what they might have materially lacked, but signalled how they envisioned themselves.

Overall, the objective of this study is explorative, carried out through analysing and interpreting *igeza lensizwa* in the context of the first isiZulu lifestyle supplement; *ILanga le Theku.* This general objective has been approached by systematically and thoroughly considering the four sites of meaning that underpin an image, which will be unpacked in the following chapter. The thesis will therefore attempt to explain the significance of *igeza lensizwa* in the articulation of shifting representations of urban Zulu masculinities. The aim therefore is to interpret *igeza lensizwa* in *ILanga le Theku* as a site of contestation and articulation where both external and internal masculine hegemonies where tested and challenged.

A feather on a black bull

Literature on Zulu masculinities has been very skewed, with a preference for rather "hard" anachronistic practices, which undermine Connell's (1996) definition of masculinities as being comprised of multiple configurations of practices, structured by gender relations. The image that is presented by literature on Zulu masculinities is underpinned by "hard/tough" characteristics such as: circular migration, blue collar employment, fatherhood issues, oppression of others, aggressiveness, and sexual prowess. Most of these characteristics are foregrounded as having been shaped by the change of locale, as work became an important rite of passage. These Zulu masculine tropes have been foregrounded as being linked to traditional Zulu masculinities. This bias and lack of imagination, neglects the fact that traditional masculinities are themselves socially constructed, contested and are also multiple (Everitt-Penhale & Ratele 2015; Ratele 2016). These tropes and practices are grouped together and foregrounded as essentialist self-evident concepts of traditional Zulu masculinities that are portrayed as having hegemonic status. Contemporary literature on Zulu masculinities still foregrounds "traditional" Zulu masculinities as being hegemonic. But contexts are structured differently, allowing the valorisation of certain

configuration of practices and not others, and in some locations, “traditional” masculinities are marginalised.

These biased anachronistic images have been fuelled by the mythological image of Shaka KaSenzangakhona (Laband 2008; Wyle 2008 & 2021) and by extension, Zulu men, and their imbued martial prowess. Another observed bias is by literature that that does not critically consider race when it comes to South African subcultural youth history and black delinquency narratives. For example, a reaction to shifting rites of passage amongst young African men has been written by Ben Carton (2000, 2001 & 2014) and Robert Morrell (2014). They argue that at the turn of the twentieth century, as more young African men entered the cash economy, work increasingly became a marker of Zulu masculinities. African men’s labour was what was wanted in cities, and when not working, Europeans feared their “idleness” which they believed led to “crime, drunkenness, illicit sexuality, and riots” (Vahed 1998: 72; also see Peterson 2021). This thinking was influenced by black youth delinquency thoughts of the twentieth century, yet this aspect has not been considered when exploring African youths in relation to “inappropriate black leisure”.

Attention has rather been focused on the secondary element, which is leisure activities that Europeans in cities like Durban and Johannesburg, channelled Africans towards, such ngoma dance, and competitive stick fighting. Bhekizizwe Peterson (2021 [2000]) writes that white mine managers, were operative in recasting the social organisation and performance of traditional males. This they did by imposing criteria’s that were consistent with European school or military parades. For example, in Durban, ngoma dance was encouraged and sponsored by corporations as it could be used as entertainment for dignitaries. Whilst competitive stick fighting as a one-on-one sport, testing male prowess, Carton, and Morrell (2014) argued that it determined social ranking between young men. This the young men did, so as to be seen in the eyes of their peers as manly heroes or champions (*iqhawe* or *ingqwele)* in body and spirit (Carton & Morrell 2014: 125). Carton and Morrell (2014) contend that these activities, in the face of daily racial indignities, gave Zulu labour migrants a sense of masculine self-worth. Moreover, another “martial reaction” to the urban setting by young African men has been captured through Durban’s nineteen-twenties *amalaita* gang activities. These were gang activities of young African men who defied authority in the Borough of Durban, with some being unemployed and others employed as

domestic workers around Durban (La Hausse 1990 & 1996). Literature has fashioned them as being delinquent and their "belligerent" activities have been characterised as their unfortunate reaction to urban life. This is the predominant narrative of shifting rituals of becoming amongst young Zulu men. This narrative would have us believe that the only "appropriate" reaction to shifting rites of passage amongst young African men in new urban locales, was the honing of martial prowess's. Black youth delinquency narratives, economic motivations, and the pursuit to stifle labour unrest, had a big role in the "appropriate black leisure" that Europeans wanted Africans to engage in, in the Borough of Durban.

During the second half of the twentieth century, Tim Gibbs (2014) explores the changing patterns of migrant Zulu masculinities and how salaried work, maintained young men's family obligations, with some, saving to establish their own "homesteads" and "build webs of relationships" (Gibbs 2014: 432). This then allowed them to "assert their prestige as 'big men' in much the same manner and idiom as their fathers did a generation ago" (Gibbs 2014: 432). Gibbs argues that younger circular migrants and taxi owners worked towards gaining patriarchal dividend and to establish "a chain of stable relationships that allowed them to become 'big men' presiding over a substantial home" (Gibbs 2014: 448). This narration only focuses on the ultimate outcome of Zulu manhood and its associated patriarchal dividend. Gibbs neglects other prowess's which are important during the period of being *insizwa* and its associated practices. His work eclipses the role of *ubusoka* which many young Zulu men engage in, so as to heighten their standing amongst their male peers and how women regarded them. These practices were also important on the road towards Zulu manhood, as male bonding is crucial, since masculinities require performance, examination, and evaluation.

The masculine shifts that are flagged by Carton and Morrell (2014) with young men sparring for their peer's respect and establishing a social order and those flagged by Gibbs (2014) with migrant taxi drivers' pursuit of becoming "big men", address in varying ways, a singular reaction to how young Zulu men responded to urbanisation by shifting their social and gender practices. But the indignities that young African men faced in the cities were not only remedied by an assumed channelling of youth energy into martial activities, least they get misdirected in white cities. Scholarship on African ngoma dance and competitive stick fighting, falls into the myopic trap of assuming that

young African men's bouts of energy, was naturally channelled into martial activities such as ngoma dance and competitive stick fighting. Yet, if we consider what Kopano Ratele (2016) contends that "to a greater or lesser degree, every man is always in negotiation with his 'ancestors', deliberately or unconsciously. All men are involved in contestation around the past of manhood" (Ratele 2016: 109), we can consider other forms of masculine social practices that were less myopically martial.

Moreover, Ratele's (2016) insights that past practices of masculinities are available to contemporary men's articulation of their masculinities, gives a glimmer of hope and opens-up ways of how alternative configurations of practices can be sought and located. Furthermore, Liz Gunner's (2014) critique of the excessive focus on combative leisure activities such as ngoma dance and stick fighting offers alternative possibilities, as she contends that this excessive focus has created an illusion of a singular understanding of Zulu masculinities which are characterised by hardness and militancy. This has subsequently overlooked what Gunner (2014) calls "older aesthetics of the body" (2014: 350) which encompass more genteel and dandyist masculine social and gender practices that pre-date metrosexual practices.[6] These practices can be located in the same archive as the "hard/tough" Zulu masculinities.

If we take cue from Gunner's (2014) assertion that more genteel and dandyist masculine practices can be located in "older aesthetics of the body" the first source of information to interrogate this, would be historical accounts of regal ceremonies like *Umkhosi Wokweshwama* (first fruit ceremony).[7] Historically, no other Zulu ceremony rivelled *Umkhosi Wokweshwama* when it came to putting the Zulu kingdom's male population on grand display. The ceremony was revived by the late Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini in 1990 and continues to be held annually in December.[8] Historically, the first fruits ceremony was where the entire male population gathered in full regimental

[6] Gunner (2014) was building a case for *isicathamiya,* the movement of *ukucothoza* and the sub-cultural practice of *oswenka* (best dressed competition) which is a by-product of *isicathamiya*. *Ukuswenka* offered African men that entered circular migrant an outlet to build their self-worth and dignity in the face of racial legislation and inhumane urban segregation and housing.

[7] The whole ceremony is known as *Umkhosi Wokweshwama,* but it is comprised of the "little one" and the main "big one" (Gluckman 1934 & Makhanya 1997). After the little *umkhosi,* regiments gather at the military kraals for about twenty days before the appointed day, where they spend their time working the kings land, preparing their dress, and learning new dances and songs for the occasion (Krige 1936).

[8] With destruction of the Zulu kingdom in 1884, together with its military system, by Secretary for Native Affairs (SNA) as a consequence of the Zulu kingdom's defeat in the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War, *Umkhosi Wokweshwama* and similar rituals were prohibited (Carton & Morrell 2014).

dress and where the king would make laws and decrees, issuing fines to transgressors, and most importantly, the king and his regiments (*amabutho*) were medicinally strengthened (Leslie 1875; Haggard 1896; Samuelson 1905; Gibson 1911; Samuelson 1929; Gluckman 1934; Bryant 1965 and Krige 1934, 1936). After the fortification and strengthening of *amabutho*, feasting followed and *amabutho* were reviewed by the king, all wearing their best war-plumes.

After the reviewing, the regiments competed in various military manoeuvres and dancing competitions (*ukugiya*). These are the "older aesthetics of the body" that Gunner (2014) locates the existence of different masculine practices that articulate Zulu masculinities which place importance on the aesthetics. So revered was *Umkhosi Wokweshwama* and its associated sartorial splendour, that the historian and missionary, Alfred Bryant (1949) dedicates an entire chapter to the fictitious Jomela family as he unpacks their fine Zulu form and the wardrobe that the family adorns. In the book *The Zulu People as They Were Before the White Man Came,* Bryant (1949) presents the Jomela patriarch as having three suits of clothes. One was reserved for festal occasions like weddings, another for daily wear and his best, was his court-dress, reserved for regal ceremonies like *Umkhosi Wokweshwama*.

Umkhosi Wokweshwama can be read as an annual culmination of the Zulu social system that undergirded the journey towards Zulu manhood. The most comprehensive description of the education of a Zulu male, comes from Eileen Krige's one and only monograph, *The Social System of the Zulus* (1936), which has become a canonical text of Zulu social history. Her study adopted a structural functionalist[9] approach to meticulously documenting Zulu life stages. The study is a synthesis of a century of extensive literature on Zulu social history written by colonial officials such as James Stuart and historian and missionary, Alfred T. Bryant whose seminal work, *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal* (1965), was derived from the accounts of traders, colonial administrators and missionaries. A key chapter in Krige's book (which was co-authored with George Mahlobo[10]) is on Zulu age-set rituals and their important

[9] This theoretical approach was rooted on a Durkheimian understanding of society and kinship and placed importance on social anthropologists to analysis social relationships as they existed in the field. Structural-functionalism believes that all customs served a function or purpose, everything is interrelated and changing one part would result in a ripple effect (Kuper 1987; Gordon 2011 & Bank 2016).

[10] Based on their co-authored journal article, *Transition From Childhood to Adulthood Amongst the Zulus* (1934) *Bantu Studies,* 1: 157 – 191.

foundation in the Zulu military system. This system was intricately woven into Zulu social life, since regiments produced, propped up and established Zulu patriarchy and masculinity by initiating boys on the journey towards manhood. Yet, the Zulu army was never a standing army, but was built on the long-established circumcision guilds[11] which were integral in the life-stages of male *izintanga* (age mates) as they steadily graduated from being boys (*abafana),* into young men (*izinsizwa*) and finally men (*amadoda*). At the age of around eighteen, young men (*izinsizwa*) were grouped together (*ukubuthwa*) and given a name during *Umkhosi*, and the king decreed what colour shields, plumes and furs would differentiate them from other regiments (Knight 2015).

The traditional way of viewing the different plumes and skins as markers of differentiation between regiments, eclipses another element at play. The standard understanding is that these vestments and accessories put on display the Zulu Kingdom's ability to dominate and exploit both the domestic and wild animal resources of the region (Laband 2018). Moreover, there was also an occult element, as the wearing of certain hides, claws, or plumes, was believed to imbue the wearer with the attributes of the animal in question (Laband 2018). For example, buffalos are associated with being cunning fighters and vultures are regarded as having stamina during a fight. Therefore, wearing the hide of a buffalo and the feathers of a vulture would imbue the wearer with these desired skills on the battlefield. Besides the differentiation element and that of the occult, there is another element that has been eclipsed when considering these vestments and accessories. That is the dispositional element of pride and self-regard which are alluded to, in several ethnographic materials which describe male ceremonial dress.[12]

Accounts by missionaries, hunters, explorers, and traders such as Nathaniel Isaacs (1836) Nomleti Samuelson (1905) and Robert Samuelson (1929) provide lucid

[11] The history of when circumcision guilds became *amabutho* is contested, Jenkinson (1882) notes that Zulu people used to practice circumcision universally, but Shaka halted the practice, yet Bryant (1949; 1965) argues that the circumcision practice fell into disuse among the Zulus and neighbouring tribes during the reign of Jama (1757 - 1781). Bryant argues that even though the custom of circumcision became obsolete among the Zulus, the practice of grouping various youths of similar ages into *amabutho* continued until Shaka turned them into 'real regiments' (Bryant 1949: 494; also see Laband & Thompson 1982). The establishment of *amabutho* dates to the reign of Dingiswayo and was discontinued when Cetshwayo was deposed by the British colonialist.

[12] Also see Turner (1999) as she also advances the argument that Zulu male praise names (*izibongo*) valorised self-regard.

descriptions of ceremonial wear during *umkhosi.* Additionally, visuals from explorer and painter, George French Angus' folio, *The Kafirs Illustrated* (1849) make visual arguments for Zulu sartorial splendour. Moreover, secondary sources by Eileen Krige (1936), Max Gluckman (1934), Alfred. T. Bryant (1949 & 1965), and Ian Knight (2015), provide immense detail of the ornamentation of *amabutho* during such ceremonies. Nathaniel Isaacs as a trader and explorer made multiple trips to the Zulu King between 1826 and 1828 and was one of the first Europeans to write on the Zulu Kingdom and Shaka. During these trips he was captivated by Shaka's dress, comprising of monkey skins, white cow tails suspended from his arms and their movement when he "began his manoeuvres" (Isaacs 1836: 61).

On another occasion, Isaac describes a scene of many regiments with their black coloured shields (signalling their youthfulness) and crane feathers on their head-rings. These youthful regiments progressed to the king's palace and saluted him, with the king himself decorated with green and yellow beads and after the praise-singers performance, "the whole of his comrades first shouted, and then commenced running over the kraal, trying to excel each other in feats of agility and gesture" (Isaacs 1836: 121). With such a description it is difficult not to imagine the glistening bodies of *amabutho* with the ornamentation giggling and shimmering, and the various plumes from; blue-crane feathers (*Indwe*), long-tailed Widowbird (*iSakabuli*) and ostrich feathers (*Intshe*) gracefully moving as *amabutho* tried to "excel each other in feats of agility and gestures" (Isaacs 1836: 121).

Another descriptive account is by Nomleti Samuelson in her 1905 account of Zulu traditions and customs. It is based on her experience amongst Zulu people on her father's mission station near Eshowe in Zululand. Describing the Zulu men during *umkhosi,* Samuelson writes that "they, of course, greased themselves well to make their dark bodies sleek and supple. All chiefs have black feathers of the *Indwe* bird stuck in the centre of their head-ring, just above the forehead. The younger chiefs wear black ostrich feathers in the same way" (Samuelson 1905: 34). She remarks on the graceful swaying of the plumes as the men "came dancing and bowing before the king" (Samuelson 1905: 35).

A final detailed description of regimental ornamentation and their masculine aesthetics is provided by attorney and translator, Robert Samuelson. As Nomleti's

brother, Robert also grew-up on their father's mission station in Eshowe and later, served at the uMlazi mission near Durban, and at St. Paul's mission in Zululand. In his book titled, *Long, Long Ago* (1929) Samuelson describes a scene of Zulu regiments in their regimental attires, and the great sense of pride they had about their regimented maneuverers. Samuelson describing the scene writes, "the movements having to be smart and active and free from slouching, and his attire having to be neat, clean and well kept, and worn in uniformity with others" (Samuelson 1929: 237). The lucid descriptions of the Zulu festive vestments by Samuelson bring the aesthetics of these attires to life. Samuelson writes that *amabheqe* (skin flaps which came down to the cheekbones) and *umqhele* (head-rings) were worn by all regiments but what differentiated them were the vibrant plumes attached to *umqhele.* Samuelson writes that plumes from *iSakabuli* (Long-tailed widowbird), *Intshe* (Ostrich) and *Indwe* (Blue crane) and the quantity each man could wear, was determined by the king. With the *Isakabuli* plumes being worn by, "unmarried regiments, the married regiments had to wear a plume of the *Indwe* 'Blue crane' instead of *Isakabuli* and the ostrich plumes they had to wear on the side of their heads pointing backward" (Samuelson 1929: 238).

Additional plumes were also worn on the side of the head, such as plumes from *iFefelihle* bird (Lilac-breasted roller), with Samuelson commenting that these plumes were positioned in such a way that "the feathers could wave up and down, gracefully – they were tied together in such a manner as to leave feathers the opportunity to wave freely" (Samuelson 1929: 238). The regiments took great pride in their festive vestments and, "should a member of a regiment be found not properly attired he would be asked by his comrades, 'where do you come from?' and be set on and thrashed with light sticks and sent home in disgrace" (Samuelson 1929: 239).

The resplendent lithographs in George French Angus's folio *The Kafirs Illustrated* (1849) provide a visual bolster to the written accounts by Isaacs and the Samuelson siblings. In the description of the eighth plate which focuses on the lithograph titled, "*Utimuni/Nephew of Chaka",* Angus writes, "perhaps few of the African races can boast a more wildly picturesque or striking costume than that of a Zulu in full dress" (Angus 1849: 63). With a racial undertone, Angus characterises Zulu sartorial dress as having a "savage carelessness with which they display their ornaments, combined with their noble and unrestrained deportment" (1849: 63). Sandra Klopper (1989 & 1994) makes

the argument that Angus's tone is informed by the racist assumptions and imperialist aspiration of Victorian society and that, as a commercial venture, the folio needed to "record the exotic and the extraordinary in an attempt to both ensure the commercial success of his work and to highlight the 'otherness' of his subject" (Klopper 1989: 69).

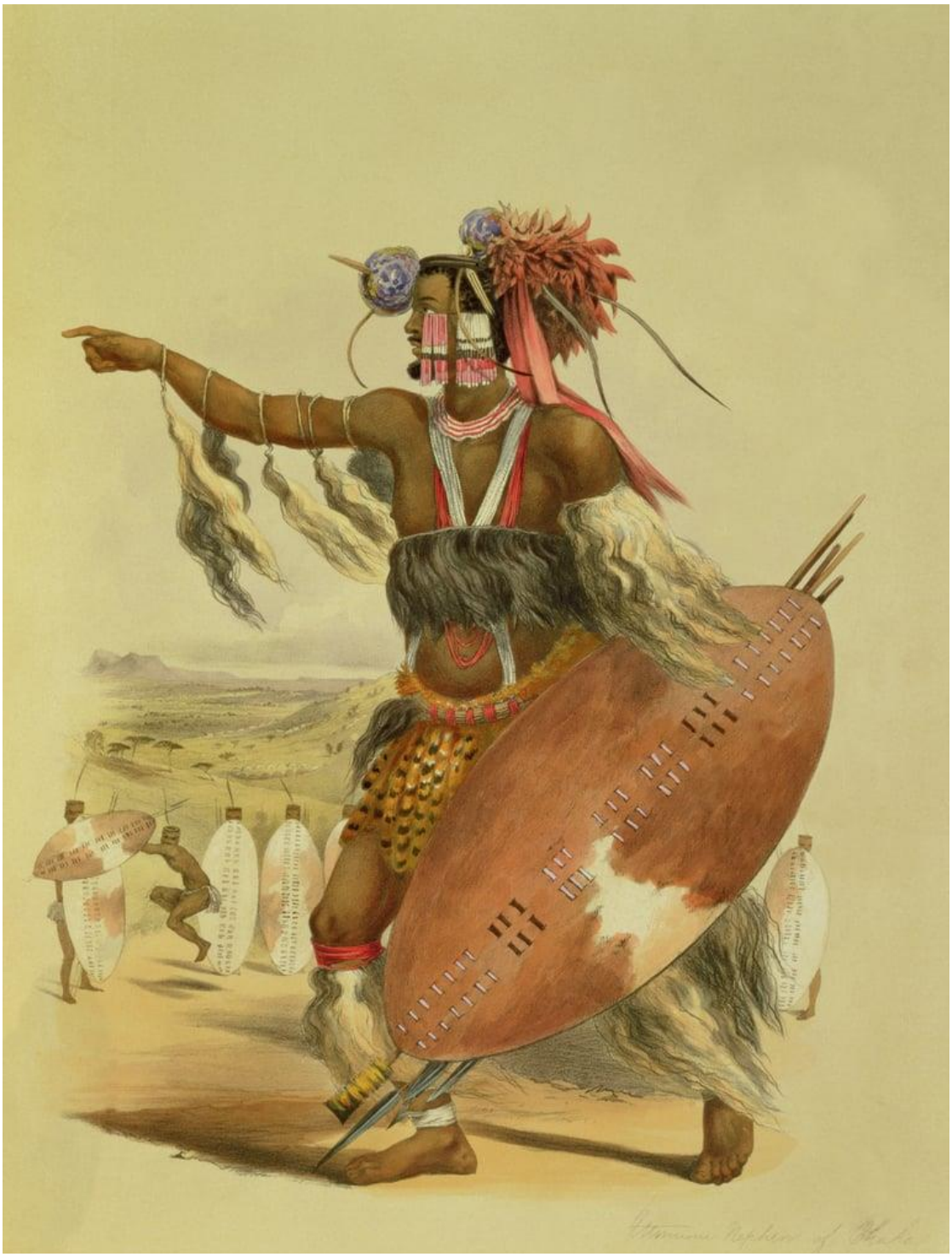


Figure 2: uTimuni, Nephew of Shaka, the last Zulu King. Plate 13 from George French Angus's 1849. *The Kafirs Illustrated.*

The lithograph of *uTimuni* (figure 2) captures the two archives that I argue hold both the "hard/tough" masculinities and masculinities that are underpinned by self-regard, linked to aesthetic forms. Literature on Zulu masculinities has largely focused on the martial practices represented by the figures in the background of the lithograph of *Timuni* and neglected the spectacle of men like *Timuni* in the foreground with his resplendent beads, multitextured plumes and the movement of the cow tails suspended on his arms and below his knees.[13]

These resplendent scenes of men in various ornamentations, glistening bodies with swaying plumes, and their sense of self-regard drawn from their vestment and ornamentation, has been neglected in the history of Zulu masculinities. Hlonipha Mokoena (2013a) makes a poignant observation that primary sources on Zulu history are replete with descriptions of Zulu ornamentation and their finery. Writing on the image of Shaka, Mokoena contends that, "what we are left with is the 'finery' from which we are meant to extrapolate 'the man himself'" (Mokoena 2013a: 106). Yet what dominates scholarship on the history of Zulu masculinities are the military maneuverers (Knight 2015), the brutality of the Zulu army (Laband 2008), patriarchal hierarchies (Guy 2018) the regimental grudges and their stubbornness (Samuelson 1905) and the oppressive nature of the Zulu social system on women and other marginalised groupings (Gibson 1911).

It is difficult not to draw on the importance of the aesthetics and self-regard when reading about and viewing the florescent colours of the *iFefelihle* bird's feathers freely popping from the side of *umqhele*, the feathers of *Intshe* facing backwards, and the swaying of the *Isakabuli* plumes affixed to the men's head-rings. Aside from the symbolic association of *iFefelihle* (Lilac-breasted roller) as a monogenous/loyal bird, the florescent colouring of their plumes also had aesthetic qualities which Zulu men took pride in. This I read as demonstrating the sense of self-regard invoked by ornamentations and the valorisation of aesthetic social practices in Zulu masculine practices. Moreover, this valorisation of the masculine aesthetic is also made visible through the coiffed hair styles by young African men living south of the Thukela River

[13] Some of the lithographs, Klopper (1989 & 1994) argues were embellished in keeping with the visual balance that Angus wanted to depict and the balance of form he wanted to convey. Klopper contends that some of these embellishments "ignored ritual taboos, or alternatively, merely demonstrated his limited knowledge of concepts and customs fundamental to the Zulu by adopting compositional schemata" (Klopper 1989: 67).

(Klopper 2010 & 2016), around present-day Durban in the eighteenth-century. Sandra Klopper (2010) argues that the coiffed hair styles were mimicking the elaborate head-rings, skins and plumes worn by Zulu regiments. The coiffed hair of the Zulu dandies' (as Klopper terms them) also aided their revolt against the introduction of wage labour as their hair made them unsuitable for public works projects (*isibhalo)* and instead, they became letter couriers who delivered mail between Pietermaritzburg and Durban. Their coiffed hair afforded them subversive power, against exploitative Zulu tributary systems and their disparaging attitudes against *isibhalo* labour. Klopper argues that the coiffed hair empowered these young men to affirm their dignity and respect and offered them a chance to develop increasingly layered, context specific and even hybrid notions of self (Klopper 2016).

Klopper's assertions are built on two arguments. Firstly, that at the time, the Zulu kingdom was not a cohesive unified polity, but an amalgamation of previously independent tributary chiefdoms who had their own identities (Hamilton & Wright 1990; Buthelezi 2008).[14] Moreover, Jeff Guy (2013 & 2016) argues that the cartographic "tribing" of Natal Africans through the mapping and production of 94 histories of Natal tribes in 1863 by Secretary for Native Affairs, Theophilus Shepstone and Natal Lieutenant, John Scott contributed to the formation of Zulu identity through creating "Zulu tribes" where they had never existed. This exercise in mapping, Guy (2016) argues, created a visual argument by defining ethnic polities as tribes in bounded areas. Guy's study offers a foundation to the argument advanced by Michael Mahoney (2012) that, it was only at the turn of the twentieth century that Zuluness, as a self-identifier, began to take root amongst Natal Africans and broadly, across the Thukela River.

The articulation of Zuluness as a self-identifier is the second argument that Klopper uses in making a case for the subversive sartorial styles of Africans below the Thukela River. There is general agreement that a broad Zulu identity did not begin to

[14] John Wright and Carolyn Hamilton (1990; 2009) offer histories of the Nguni people that lived on the coastlands from the Thukela southwards to the Mkhomazi River who were referred as amalala. In the late eighteenth century two paramountcies had been established in the regions, ruled separately by the Thuli and the Cele (Hamilton & Wright 1990). Both paramountcies remained loose agglomerations of chiefs that were less centralised than states that were emerging at the time, north of the Thukela (Hamilton & Wright 1990). These paramountcies were in a tributary relation with the Zulu Kingdom, north of the Thukela River.

exist until the turn of the twentieth century.[15] South African scholars Carolyn Hamilton, John Wright, Nessa Leibhammer (1990, 2009, 2016), Jeff Guy (2016) and Sandra Klopper (2016) all argue that Zulu identity was reserved for a small "Zulu descent-group". Moreover, the identifier "Zulu" was not available or applied to all those who were conquered, even though they were part of the kingdom and some subordinate chiefs violently opposed being referred to as Zulu. Yet, British colonialist referred all Africans north of the Thukela River as being "Zulu", these were people over whom Cetshwayo ruled (1872 - 1884) and through colonial ethnographic and cartographic endeavours, African people below the Thukela were also "tribed" as "Zulu". Because Africans living around the area of *eThekwini* were not considered as part of the "Zulu-descent-group", their young men were not grouped into age cohorts, in service of the Zulu king. Therefore, they were not assigned plumes, or hides to differentiate themselves, but were required to hand these over as tributary offerings to the Zulu kingdom.

I opened this chapter with an image of myself, facing the mirror, recalling feelings of anxiety, self-awareness, and validation rooted in the expectations of my adolescent body, and corporeal practices that met, and did not meet my own understanding of my self-identification as a young Zulu man. As indicated in this review of literature, the inventions of Zuluness as a self-identifier was a fraught process of self-making, personhood and a relation to others that plays out even in the diction of my language. But also, in how the terms I use to describe the rites of passage, the concepts of the person and their sartorial usage are implicated in multiple intentions, audiences, stylisations and intent. Implied in Mupotsa's (2020) implicit, albeit unnamed or interrogated use of a psychoanalytic development of the individual subject, and desire's formalism within most studies of South African social anthropology and social history. Is, when in regard to African subjects, attached to a fixation of identity that marks language, culture and nation that accrue an 'as is' logic, as it relates to 'Zulu man', and a dual sex gender system that informs the rationale of my argument. In, *The*

[15] In crafting an argument for Zuluness as a broad self-identifier Michael Mahoney (2012) argues that young men who became migrant labourers, cultivated the broader conception of Zulu identity in the Witwatersrand, in order to foster social cohesion. These young men, from the then colony of Natal and the autonomous Zululand, performed and crafted this new identity, through replicating rural structures of authority in these urban centres, and were supported by these old structures that gave currency to the formation of Zuluness.

Invention of Women: Making African Sense of Western Gender Discourses, Oyěwùmí' (1997) offers a note on orthography that may be a productive orientation, noting that Yoruba is a tonal language. She indicates in her use of diacritics to indicate a shift in meaning depending on intention, or address.

Terms in isiZulu for stages of personhood, ritual processes within the histories of fixing Zulu masculinities, despite the multi-accented usage implied in my argument, were fixed within the processes of inventing, and codifying customary law, as well as the space between orality and literacy represented in orthography. Sol. Plaatje (1976), who offered various translations and orthographies of seTswana notes that orthography functions as an orthographic projection, particularly as the language is standardized for use, in most instance for an equivalence to an English translation. To put into print, a language, much like the lithograph puts into print a projected image operate within this process of mirroring. In print, standardized, a fluency can be developed as it is related to how it translates to a single and universal English in definition, yet there remains a dialogue in the speech acts, or communicative transfers of the performative, aesthetic and self-regard that is at the heart of my argument. For instance, Isabel Hofmeyr (1994) notes the manner by why oral traditions are marked not only with fixity and assumptive purity, but are relegated to an evolutionary development model, where the movement from the oral to the literate (much like standardization) indicates progression. However, instead, Hofmeyr (1994) notes that rather than the orthographic/lithographic singular developed in this model of literacy, or inventing 'the Zulu man', producers in use of language, language which can include that of ornamentation or dress, are bricoleurs, and develop a heteroglossia of terms indicated in intention or address: self-regard.

As noted in Peterson (2021[2000]), shifts that lead to making people gendered as male also involved the spectatorship of observers of performative practices of culture. Oral traditions, and oral historical techniques mobilised by colonial functionaries to standardise the terms of persons and process in Zulu relied not only on the functional use of language and ossified notions of culture to negotiate indirect rule. This also was functional in negotiating major structural transformations. Oral memory, and the technique of history as well as the use of language, when not only tied to territory as nation/culture needed to be converted in such a manner due to shifting topographies that people were confronted with. Oral memory, as Hofmeyr

(1994) notes relies on a mneunomic relationship to place, and spatial order. More aggressive social engineering required a conjuring of the rural landscape I speak of as the locale of my upbringing, as “the state’s social engineering often took the form of forced removals which involved consolidating previously scattered cluster homesteads into grid-style villages” (Hofmeyr 1994: 33). This spatial division of space and labour is what produces the spatial and sexual division of space and labour Oyěwùmí (1997) defines as a dual sex gender system.

This changed landscape in the context of this orthographic/lithographic practice within a context of racial capital and gendered economies, in making ‘men’ who labour, had the consequence of gendering the role of orality into the space of the traditional, the domestic and the feminine. It also took those gendered as men out of apprenticeships in historical storytelling, affecting historical narration, as well as the difficulties by and through which ‘becoming’ as it relates to gender, was coded within newly invented idioms, traditions, and techniques of the self. To the extent that what is productive in my use of these terms, it is that various techniques of the speech act as diacritically engaged in Oyěwùmí’s (1997) sensibility is still mediated in the use of the terms despite the reductive forces imposed in the process of standardization. For instance, the principle of etymological deduction, a “principle on which both historical and imaginary narration depends” (Hofmeyr 1994: 39). In my own reflection, the mirror reflected my self-image, but also that of my cousins and in that multiplied sense of mirroring, assembles validation and recognition. That is, that even while piecing a sense of order around Zuluness as an identifier or inventing the rural countryside as an originary status; the process of identification with both is validation-recognition of a genealogical imperative, a sense of continuity whose techniques and use of language is in excess of the normatively assumed and use of the evolutionary model that is nonetheless still a preoccupation with orthography/lithography/standardization. As Hofmeyr notes, these excesses take the forms of aesthetic, corporeal, sensuous, and improvisatory forms.

This is echoed in Peterson’s (2021[2000]) examination of how Africans negotiated the gap between orality and literacy as related to the work at Mariannhill Mission in the early 20th Century. The textual status of the Bible was interpreted in performative and oral performance with didactic evangelistic intentions, and eventually, the intention to develop a Zulu orthography. While translating this textual

form became useful for colonial functionaries in sustaining the notion of a purity of Zuluness, caught in the space and time of a 'new', yet originary in status, topography of Zulu language and nation. And yet, Peterson's (2021[2000]) view directs us the various publicly polemical debates concerning this process, with no single perspective even from some of the first African writers in English at the mission. Missionaries struggled with translation, because even with a scripted play, the communication transfer was always transmitted in performative forms that reordered the English meaning through repertoires of the body, tone, performance, dialogue, and aesthetic practice that refused fixity. Along with an attachment to continuity as self-regard, the customary also offers a site of sovereignty and queer agency. As Neville Hoad (2016) notes, while customary law institutionalises the kinds of fixity Mupotsa (2020) moves against, there remains the constitutive relation to the customary that engages practices of social recognition in this realm embedded in the archive of my own memory, even within the feelings of anxiety I had in my adolescence. This realm disorders a dual sex gender system, and makes visible, or legible to users of its language, recognition, and validation. In this manner, a dialogic contact zone of speech acts across epistemological and cosmological orientations and performative actions, and the action of the boy facing himself in the mirror, longing for the feeling of a commodity like face cream, and the feeling of being regarded as beautiful.

This history of Zulu male aesthetic, self-regard and fashionability is foregrounded as a rationale for my foundational argument. Which is, that there is another archive to Zulu masculinities that has been neglected which supports the claim for more genteel and dandyist practices that can be drawn from, to fashion masculinities with self-regard, and which place value on aesthetic forms of self-fashioning. My thesis sets out to demonstrate that what the *igeza lensizwa* fashion inspired photographic section was engaging in, was not entirely new. Zulu men have a history of using clothing as a conduit through which to express "their changing conception of 'being Zulu'" by utilizing self-fashioning techniques (Mokoena 2013a). The thesis uses this "aesthetic of the body" (Gunner 2014) archive to firmly locate and contextualise the practices that *amageza ezinsizwa* employed in the contemporary lifestyle supplement, thus, linking the shifting representations into a large history of transgressive masculinities. The thesis will argue that *amageza ezinsizwa* cannot be narrowly read as metrosexuals, with pursuits to be "collectors of fantasies about the male sold to him by advertising"

(Simpson 2013: n.p.). The valorisation of the aesthetic is not a modern value brought about by increased consumer culture. But self-regard and dressing to match that self-regard, has an established history, and these social practices have been borrowed by young urban Zulu men as they reacted to what it meant for them to be *amageza ezinsizwa* during the first decade of the twenty first century *eThekwini*.

Structure and organisation of the thesis

The thesis is made-up of six chapters. By way of introduction, this chapter titled, ***Locating igeza lensizwa,*** began with a personal account of a memory that dealt with practices and rituals of becoming. This allowed me to begin grappling with my positionality as a researcher. This memory offered me entry points to how, from an early age, I have viewed the making of masculinities and the journey towards manhood. Through this memory, I began to introduce Connell's (1996 & 2005) theory on masculinities to unpack *ubusoka* and being *igeza lensizwa* as practices in the making of Zulu masculinities. In locating alternative archives in the making of Zulu masculinities, the chapter situated the contemporary figure of *igeza lensizwa* within Zulu cultural history and asserted that the dictionary definition of *igeza lensizwa* offers conceptual clues to the crafting of *igeza lensizwa* in *ILanga le Theku.* With the aims and research questioned introduced, the chapter concluded with a reflexive exploration of how African men have a history of using clothing to negotiate their changing realities.

Overall, this study is anchored by two aims. Firstly, to explore and describe the fashioning of *igeza lensizwa* as represented on the back page of the isiZulu-language lifestyle supplement called *ILanga le Theku.* Secondly, to interpret *igeza lensizwa* in *ILanga le Theku* as a site of contestation and articulation where both external and internal masculine hegemonies where tested and challenged. These two aims are fuelled by my interest in the editorial decision-making processes and the crafting of desire.

Chapter two, titled, ***Reading Igeza Lensizwa,*** is mapped in a manner that engages the selected literature so that if helps shapes the concepts that I will be

contributing to scholarship of masculine representation. These concepts being, thirst-trap as being made-up of *ukuheha* [to entice] and *ukuchaza* [to have an affect], and *igeza lensizwa* as being comprised of *ukuzithemba* [self-confidence] and *ukuzizwa* [self-regard]. I engage literature on gendered representation in the media, Critical Masculinities Studies, and identity as situated subjectivity. The chapter critically engages on the impact of biological determinism and sexuality being used as a technique of power to interlink, sex, sexuality, gender, and desire. I map out how I will utilize Connell's discursive approach to understanding urban Zulu masculinities in the form of *amageza ezinsizwa.*

Connell's (1996) discursive approach to the concept of masculinities will be further evaluated as being crucial to my study as it contends that masculinities are comprised of practices (gender and social) and relations. Put simply, practices are the way men act, behave, dress, speak, and these are "creative and inventive, and contribute towards the configuration of gendered identities" (Connell 2005a: 72, also Kimmel 1994; & Bowstead 2018). Moreover, these practices, performed by men to constitute their masculinity, are also relational to historical gender patterns, this is because men are also able to borrow practices from a cultural repertoire of masculine behaviour (Connell 2005a). There are constraints to these practices though, as situations allow certain practices and not others, but situations are structured differently, as practices can also "constitute and re-constitute structures. They make the reality we live in" (Connell 2005a: 65).

Chapter two further foregrounds the conceptual value of transgressive masculinities (Anderson 2009 & Hall 2015) in the shifting configuration of practices as exhibited by *amageza ezinsizwa*. Since the study is primarily on *igeza lensizwa* fashion inspired photographs, an entry point into media and gender representation is made, using Dina Ligaga's (2020) framing of public scripts as transmitting gendered values and expectation. Works on gendered representation in men's glossy magazines, particularly by Nixon (1996), Edwards (2016) and Viljoen (2012) will be foregrounded as crucial entry points into understanding how fashion photographs in print media operate as public scripts that transmit new visual masculine representations. This clustering of concepts allows the study to make nuanced readings of the *igeza lensizwa* image and the four sites where an image's meaning

rests, which are: the site of production, the site of the image itself, the site of its circulation and, the site of its audiencing (Rose 2016).

The chapter offers a theoretical discussion of Roland Barthes' (1990) application of social semiotics in crafting a fashion system, which is then reviewed and evaluated. The chapter puts forward the argument for the application of Barthes (1990) triad understanding of fashion to unpack the different components of the *amageza ezinsizwa* photographs; their real garments, written garment (captions), and the visual garment (model and background). To facilitate nuanced readings of the photographic backgrounds, the chapter pairs Barthes (1990) conceptualisation of the visual garment with Henri Lefebvre's (2011) understanding of social space, to better tease out the relationship between the figure of *igeza lensizwa* in the foreground and the contents of the photographic backgrounds. The selection and interpretive modes (critical visual methodology) used on these photographs, is influenced by what Tina Campt (2012) implores visual scholars to bear in mind, that modes of interpretation need to engage how photographs move us and consider the photographs semiotic capacity. Barthes (1990) aids in this regard. Moreover, the chapter unpacks how the nine (9) members of the *ILanga le Theku* editorial team were, identified and interviewed using a semi-structured questionnaire approach.

Lastly, the chapter reviews and evaluates the concepts of situated subjectivity (Brubaker and Cooper 2000) and black dandyism (Miller 2009; Barthes 2013) and identifies them as being apt for reading the multiple choices made by the young men, as visually represented, foregrounding them as responses to the editorial decisions. This thinking is guided by Connell's cautionary remark that, a purely normative or discursive approach to understanding masculinities, "gives no grip on masculinity at the level of personality" (Connell 2005a: 70). The study applies the concepts of situated subjectivity and black dandyism to further consider the formation of urban Zulu masculinities at the level of personality and intends to contribute new knowledge through crafting a conceptual argument for *igeza lensizwa*.

The establishment, uniqueness, and innovative work that was done in *ILanga le Theku* is explored in chapter three, titled ***Iphepha Labantu Abasha****.* The chapter unpacks the significance of the launch of *ILanga le Theku* as the first isiZulu-language lifestyle supplement, in relation to competing for readers with *Isolezwe* and how the

inaugural editorial team conceptualised the lifestyle supplement. The chapter builds a strong argument for *ILanga le Theku's* uniqueness, as South African newspapers have never been studied for their visual gender representation. As an isiZulu-language tabloid, *ILanga le Theku* drew from African indigenous newspapers tradition of finding new voices and writing styles to address their readers. Additionally, as a tabloid, it had creative freedom, unrestricted by mainstream journalistic conventions and orthographic language practices. This unique position made it possible for *ILanga le Theku* to take creative liberties and push the boundaries that printing presses had erected.

The chapter further focuses on the editorial conception of *igeza lensizwa* as a pin-up boy/thirst trap and the accompanying captions which were written as a response to a thirst trap image. The chapter contends that this was inspired by the isiZulu practice of *ukukhuzela* [shouting of love vocatives]. The chapter also makes a conceptual argument that the thirst-trap captions were involved in crafting desire. This they did by lucidly articulating the type of lecherous gaze the female persona used to observe *amageza ezinsizwa*. Desire was also crafted by the explicit articulation of the type affections that female reader was meant to have when they read the salacious fictive scenes between *amageza ezinsizwa* and the female person. Through in-depth interviews and detailed analyses of the accompanying captions, the chapter explores how the *amageza ezinsizwa* photographic section went about targeting both young urban Zulu male and female readers from *eThekwini*.

For female readers, *amageza ezinsizwa* were foregrounded as thirst traps and were guided to this conclusion by the voice of the female persona that was created to craft the captions. This voice borrowed its urban Zulu readers speaking mannerisms, colloquialisms and referenced popular culture and Zulu culture to chime in with its readers interests. The captions mixed isiZulu, English and other linguistic varieties such as *tsotsitaal,* which was starkly different from how *ILanga* (the mother paper) positioned itself as a custodian of isiZulu. *ILanga le Theku* positioned itself as the custodian of the urban Zulu reader who had an affinity for an "impure form of Zulu" (Ndlovu 2011) and proudly showcased the changing realities of their lives. Through adulations and titillating fictive scenes, the captions provided a space where female readers could enjoy *amageza* firstly vicariously as thirst traps. And secondly, offer a glimpse into the egalitarian lives of young Zulu women *eThekwini* who were unafraid

to break patriarchal convention and initiate courtship, instead of being coy and politely awaiting to be courted.

For young urban Zulu men, the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section was initially conceived as a didactic masculine type. A type for young men to aspire towards, as the editorial team and the female persona foregrounded alternative masculinities which they wanted young men to emulate. Through the shifting photographic types (three in total), the voice of the female persona changed, as young men made it known that they too were changing and valued different prowess's as they embraced changing forms of self-expression and articulated their urban identities without shame. These young, urban, Zulu men foregrounded changing social and gender practices that had a bearing on their masculinities. Moreover, the chapter demonstrates that the conceptualisation of *igeza lensizwa* as a thirst trap also worked for young men, both the modish and the unmodish, despite their differing gender and social practices. Both these loosely defined groups valued the prowess of being a charmer and being popular amongst young women (*ukuba isoka*). These prowess's were heightened if one appeared on the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section and the voice of the female persona, through its adulations, made these young men the "it" guys for the week. Through my own queer lens deployed as a methodological tool, I inferred two queer looking relations to broaden the limits of homosocial desire. These looking-relations being, firstly, between the male photographer's identifying good-looking young men to street-cast. And secondly, between young men at home being asked to confront masculine beauty and compare themselves against the weeks *igeza lensizwa.*

These thematic analyses and looking relations were possible because the publication became a site where popular consensus was created and where expressions of desires for alternative futures were articulated (Newell & Okome 2014; Barber 2018). *ILanga le Theku* openly challenged dominant Zulu masculinities and validated young men with different configurations of social and gender practices, marked by the three shifts in the photographic representations. The chapter further makes the argument that young people in the newly formed *eThekwini* Metropolitan Municipality, were boldly showcasing their shifting urban lives which were altering *eThekwini's* popular culture scene at the turn of the twenty-first century. The Chapter also makes the argument that the young editorial team were emersed in *eThekwini's* vibrant popular culture scene and therefore, were perfectly positioned to be at the helm

of the *ILanga le Theku* lifestyle supplement, as they were the very kind of readers that they were targeting.

In Chapter four, titled ***Igeza lensizwa eThekwini****,* the focus shifts to reading relationships between *amageza ezinsizwa* in the foreground and the contents of the photographic backgrounds. The chapter builds an argument for viewing the contents of the backgrounds behind the *amageza ezinsizwa* fashion inspired photographs as both stage-settings and social spaces. The chapter then goes about making two arguments. Firstly, that adopting these lenses allows for nuanced readings that gives us access to the Durban Point's layered history. This layered history is accessed by inferring connections between non-dominant architectural buildings and the imaginative investment that is required to read ruins in photographs. The chapter links this layered history to *amageza ezinsizwa* in the foreground of the photographs. The chapter establishes this inferred connection by placing *amageza ezinsizwa* at the end of the historical continuum of the ruins and crafts innovative narratives that speak to shifting Zulu masculinities, drawn from Morrell's (1998) arguments on waning African masculinities and burgeoning black masculinities. The second argument is that, once the backgrounds are read as social spaces and stage-settings, locating key buildings such as The Stevedore, allows me to unpack the relationship between this building and *amageza*. This is based on what the building holds as a conceived space, and how the buildings latent information can be put into conversation with *amageza ezinsizwa* in the foreground. The chapter unpacks this inferred connection between what The Stevedore represents as a social space and what *amageza ezinsizwa* represent in the foreground. By doing this, I demonstrate that *amageza ezinsizwa* in the foreground with their own shifting masculinities, changing prowess's and social practices, were engaged in similar shifts that young men before them, in this very area had engaged in. I demonstrate that this inferred connection is only activated by the fact that the meaning of a space is determined by who is occupying it, and the experiences that the person brings to the space.

The chapter further demonstrates the intricate balance that *amageza ezinsizwa* were being encouraged to strike. Engage modishness and popular culture, whilst being steadfast to the virtues that made him a young urban Zulu man. Virtues, which themselves were undergoing changes as these contemporary Zulu men were being asked to balance being urban, educated, and modish and react to shifting social

agents which underpinned their masculinities, in the same manner that their forebears had (who lived in the then native hostel now revamped and called The Stevedore). The chapter strongly argues that it was not possible for them to react in a similar fashion as their forebears, as their circumstances were drastically different. For young contemporary urban Zulu men, *eThekwini* was their home, and they were not in a sojourn relationship with *eThekwini*. They had no pressure to establish and head homesteads, where their Zulu patriarchal power would be drawn from. *Amageza ezinsizwa* unashamedly made themselves their prime priority.

Chapter five titled, ***Kusayilo igeza lensizwa naleli?*** focuses on the editorial decisions of what made *igeza lensizwa* and the practice of reading the style narratives of the photographed young men. The chapter argues that *amageza ezinsizwa* should be read as operating in a similar manner as black dandyism. This is operationalised by applying Barthes (2013) two-prong definition of dandyism as being comprised of a young man's ethos and techniques. The accompanying captions will be analysed to identify isiZulu descriptors, which will then be verified against the interviews with the editorial team, to determine their dispositional qualities. The chapter intricately contextualises Barthes ethos into a Zulu context and demonstrates that in the context of *igeza lensizwa, ukuzithemba* (self-confidence) and *ukuzizwa* (self-regard) are the dispositions that undergird the young men's style narrative. These dispositional terms make it possible for these young, urban black men to configure transgressive masculinities which are made-up of social and gender practices that *amageza* were proud of enacting. These were transgressive because young men that embody dominant Zulu masculinities, and those that are complicit to these, fear stepping out of the standard configuration of gender and social practices, as masculinities are "demonstrated for other men's approval" (Kimmel 1994: 214 & Connell 2005a).

Chapter five demonstrates that *amageza ezinsizwa* did not reject dominant Zulu masculinities, as they still valorised being *amasoka* [young men popular amongst girls]. This meant having prowess's to attract women, and the relished acclaim associated with out-going other young men by being showcased in *ILanga le Theku.* Through this, they were admired by male peers, a valued aspect that is prized by *amasoka*. *Amageza ezinsizwa* articulated their masculine gendered identity by configuring different social and gender practices, but these were not radically different from heteronormative Zulu masculinities. Using arguments on transgressive

masculinities as articulated by Anderson (2009) and Hall (2015), chapter five builds a steady argument that *amageza ezinsizwa* drew on some key characteristics/practices from heteronormative Zulu masculinities such as *ukucupha isisoka*. By honing different prowess's to becoming a contemporary *isoka*, *amageza ezinsizwa* were then able to transgress on some masculine social practices such as the disdain against vanity and modishness (Anderson 2009 & Hall 2015).The chapter further demonstrates how the casting call invited young men to introspect and assess if they embodied these dispositions and moreover, if they considered themselves *amasoka* [popular amongst women]. Having introspected, they were further asked to assess themselves against the week's *igeza lensizwa* in a sparring manner.

How *igeza lensizwa* posed and stylised himself were the techniques that he employed to showcase his situated subjectivity, which was informed by his dispositions of *ukuzithemba* and *ukuzizwa*. The chapter argues that these techniques were also style narratives, as style denotes agency in the construction of the self. Carol Tulloch's (2010 & 2016) argument that styling is a form of autobiography will be utilised to bolster my reading of the young men's agency. Young, urban black men's modishness and stylishness formed new prowess's which were validated by the female persona and her adulating captions. The chapter argues that by acting as a validating platform, the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section invited young urban black men to re-configure their gender and social practices and proudly show what being urban and Zulu meant to them. By doing this, *ILanga le Theku* saw *igeza lensizwa* burgeon to be a young man who had an instinctive regard for himself as set by the two dispositions, moreover, a young man that understood that clothing and style could be utilised to make statements about his own masculinity.

The final chapter (six) titled, ***Concluding implications of amageza ezinsizwa kwi'Langa le Theku,*** brings the study to a close and elucidates on the research findings as derived from the interview insights and analyses of the fashion inspired photographs that were sourced from the *ILanga* library in Durban and the Bessie Head library in Pietermaritzburg. The chapter offers a comprehensive overview of this thesis's main arguments as pursued in each chapter, and their implications and contributions to existing bodies of knowledge.

Chapter Two

Reading *igeza lensizwa*

Introduction

Photographs and the contexts within which we read them represent a medley of choices. This chapter is interested in exploring and unpacking how to read these choices, made by the editorial team of *ILanga le Theku*, the photographers and the choices made by the young men that were photographed for the *igeza lensizwa* section. As fashion inspired photographs, the *amageza ezinsizwa* images require a multitude of lens to activate them and rationalise specific readings of them. Photographs are activated when "they are read with a certain active attention and when they are allowed to unsettle the world and its many visual iterations" (Thomas & Green 2015: 439).

The chapter is mapped out in a manner that foregrounds the concepts that I have crafted through my analysis of the archival materials, interviews with the inaugural editorial team and my own affective reflections. The concepts that the thesis will be contributing to scholarships on reading masculine representations are, firstly; a thirst-trap as being made-up of *ukuheha* [to entice] and *ukuchaza* [to affect]. Secondly, *igeza lensizwa* as being comprised of *ukuzithemba* [self-confidence] and *ukuzizwa* [self-regard]. The architecture of each section sees me engaging with select literature on gender representations in the media, Critical Masculinities Studies and identify as situated subjectivity, in a critical fashion, that helps fine-tune the concepts I am developing.

I locate my study within literature on African print cultures and African popular culture, by engaging works by Stephanie Newell and Onookome Okome (2014), George Ogola (2017) Emma Hunter, and Stephanie Newell (2018), Tsitsi Jaji (2018), and Dina Ligaga (2020). Moreover, select Western print media, by Sean Nixon (1996) and Tim Edwards (1997 & 2016) to understand photographic representations of men as emitting public scripts about contextual masculinities. Moreover, this set of literature

helps me articulate different looking relations that were at play between the different interlocutors that were involved in the making of *igeza lensizwa.* Insights from Kopano Ratele (2016) will guide me on the importance of the psyche in examining masculinities and the decisions informed by it, guided by individual psychological reality. These insights by Ratele (2016) offer buildings blocks and lenses that link this section, to the one that follows on Critical Masculinities Studies. In this section I engage Oyèrónké Oyěwùmí (1997 & 2005), Raewyn Connell (Connell 1996 & 2005) and Ratele (2016) to critically engage on how contextual, historical, and self-making masculinities can shape the understanding of *igeza lensizwa* as representing shifting Zulu urban masculinities. The final thematic section engages dandyism and how Roland Barthes (2013) and Iké Udé (1995) writing on (black) dandyism can hone my lens on *igeza lensizwa's* self-confidence and self-regard.

The final two sections foreground my theoretical lenses on alternative and transgressive masculinities (Anderson 2009 & Hall 2015), and Barthes' (1990 & 2013) concept of the fashion system as underpinned by social semiotics. The last section unpacks, firstly, how I identified and interviewed the *ILanga le Theku* editorial team. Secondly, it unpacks my studies interpretive modes located within critical visual methodologies (Mirzoeff 1999 & Rose 2016), and Campt (2012) notions of photographs needing their affective and semiotic capacity engaged with.

Gender representation in print media and spectatorship re-organised

My reading of *ILanga le Theku* begins with positioning the lifestyle supplement as drawing inspiration from African print cultures and African popular media. These being comprised of glossy lifestyle magazines and newspapers. More specifically, I read the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section as a platform/public where African men were invited to engage in didactic discussions about their self-making. This discussion includes the editorial team and the photographic sections two implied audiences: male and female readers.[16] Integral to this discussion is how each audience related to *igeza lensizwa.* To the female audience, *igeza lensizwa* is fashioned as a thirst-trap and he

[16] This was based on a heterosexual binary-gender system.

needed to *ukuheha* (to entice) and *ukuchaza* (to affect). To the male audience he show-cased shifting representations of Zulu masculinities that were transgressive. Young men were encouraged that, to become *igeza lensizwa,* they needed the following character-traits: *ukuzithemba* (self-confidence) and *ukuzizwa* (self-regard). Both these audience requirements were fulfilled by encouraging particular readings of the photographs, the accompanying captions, and their tones.

This section begins with an exploration of African popular media and how they grappled with representations of gendered African selfhoods. Links will also be drawn from Western men's lifestyle magazines that ushered in the image of the "new man" that challenged spectatorship relations. The literature is read and engaged with, in a manner that equips me with modes of reading *igeza lensizwa.* This reading is based on my argument that *igeza lensizwa* was foregrounded as a thirst-trap to female readers. This section of the literature review engages with works that help me articulate the concept of a thirst-trap as undergirded by *ukuheha* and *ukuchaza.* Currently, there is no literature that explores the shifting visual constructions of masculinities in isiZulu newspapers. That makes my project on *ILanga le Theku* – an isiZulu-language lifestyle supplement - a first to make a foray into vernacular newspaper's crafting of gendered visual representations.

Thinking with Jaji (2018) and Ligaga (2020) helps complicate my initial understanding of how the media is read as "transmitting" gendered expectations (Connell 2005b). Jaji (2018) and Ligaga (2020) demonstrate that African popular media do more than "transmit gendered expectation". In her framing of how masculinities are shaped and reshaped, Connell contends that the mass media transmits masculine expectations through symbolisation (Connell 2005b). These transmitted expectations are picked up by men at different rates. Connell frames these "transmissions" as mass media symbolisations that take the form of gendered expectations, transmitted by fashion, metropolitan media, and creative cultural work (Connell 2005b: 80). Connell's (2005b) idea of the mass media transmitting gendered expectations has some conceptual purchase for my study. But alone, it does not offer me other ways of reading and knowing that will ensure that I engage with what Musila (2017) calls, "alternative knowledge regimes" (Musila 2017: 696). An engagement with Jaji (2018) and Ligaga (2020) therefore, deepens my reading. Their work points me to contextual capacities of *igeza lensizwa,* by imploring me to engage with how young

men themselves, responded to the projection and fashioning of *igeza lensizwa* by the female-led editorial team.

Jaji's work on *Bingo* gloss magazine delves into how 1950s Francophone female readers responded to themes on modern African womanhood. Jaji foregrounds the magazine's role as creating a site where thinking about popular culture's negotiations with rapidly changing gender norms and images of idealised womanhood (Jaji 2018: 112). Moreover, *Bingo* "placed gender at the heart of projecting modernity, with the figure of the cover girl focalizing both the aspirations and reservations black readers harboured towards a new *habitus*" (Jaji 2018: 114). Jaji's framing of *Bingo* magazine as centring gender and modernity critically shapes how I approach *ILanga le Theku* and its fashioning and discussion of *igeza lensizwa.* This takes the form of taking seriously the place of circulation of *igeza lensizwa* as primarily being *eThekwini.* Moreover, how *amageza ezinsizwa* show-cased a vibrant Durban in the first decade of the twenty-first century, through their self-stylization that was either; in contrast or in conversation, with the myriad of photographic backgrounds. And the aspirations and reservations of the young men that entered the intimate public[17] discussions of shifting masculinities. Moreover, the young Zulu readers changing gender norms as reflected in the captions that accompanied *igeza lensizwa* which were characterised by their thirst-trap tones. Nuances on self-making, beyond merely accepting what is "transmitted" in mass media, foregrounds the agency of *Bingo's* readers as "in the pages of *Bingo,* readers could flip between various performances of tradition and modernity and collate their own collages of such possibilities" (Jaji 2018: 112). As will be shown later in the chapter, I carry forth Jaji's idea of identity formation in my deployment of identity as situated subjectivity (self-making). Jaji's lens strengthens my assertion that *ILanga le Theku* through its *igeza lensizwa* section, did more than transmit new forms of masculine representation, but in its very foundation, it was a platform where discussions on selfhoods and masculinities, took place.

[17] Michael Warner (2002) contends that publics are self-creating, self-organised by discourse, are text-based, require minimal participation and attention and they are virtual, and ceasing to exist when there is no longer attention. Texts themselves do not create publics, but the series of interconnected texts creates a public which needs an element of addressivity. Therefore, intimate publics in relation to *igeza lensizwa* are the virtual communities that are formed to participate in the articulation of *igeza lensizwa* and which attempt to shift the position of "institutions of intimacy" (Berlant & Warner 1998). I argue that they do this through the "affective expectation" that *amageza ezinsizwa* as thirst-traps, are meant to induce on female readers and unmentioned queer people.

My conceptual pursuits of foregrounding the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section as a site where Zulu masculinities shifted, is enriched by Ligaga's insightful scholarship on the construction and deconstruction of public scripts (Ligaga 2020: 6). Her study explores multiple media as sites where public scripts get circulated but foregrounds the tabloid press genre as the site where the public script on Kenyan womanhood is more transgressive and can be deconstructed. This is due to the press genre's subversive character (Wasserman 2010). Public scripts can be defined as the "culturally normative ways of pronouncing" what something is contextually understood to being (Steenveld in Ligaga 2020: xii). These public scripts consist of "public sentiments about morality, gender and sexuality as normative" (Ligaga 2020: 7). These are then circulated in popular media and are uncritically read as normative constructions of Kenyan femininity. Ligaga explores how Kenyan popular media "comes to transmit conventional and institutional knowledge in such a way that women become circulated and eventually translated as moral subjects" (Ligaga 2020: 142).

Ligaga's ideas of "deconstructing public scripts" chimes well with my conceptual pursuits of articulating a contemporary fashioning of *igeza lensizwa.* The thesis will systematically explore the public scripts that are involved in the construction of *igeza lensizwa.* These take the form of, amongst others, the historiography of Zulu masculinities, as outlined in the previous chapter. This historiography, as received knowledge (Musila 2017) from white colonial hunters, traders, and missionaries, has led to scholarship on Zulu masculinities circulating and foregrounding anachronistic and martial themes as being typically homogenous of Zulu masculinities. As already demonstrated in the previous chapter, I think along Ligaga's idea of "deconstruction of public script" to firstly, deconstruct the two nouns that make-up the *igeza lensizwa* term. As outlined in the previous chapter, the dictionary definition of the term is, a handsome young man approaching manhood. I then re-construct the nouns to articulate a concept of *igeza lensizwa* that is underpinned by *ukuzithemba* (self-confidence) and *ukuzizwa* (self-regard). Moreover, this articulated concept of *igeza lensizwa* thinks with Jaji (2018) and her ideas of selfhoods being made-up of different subject positions, as selected by an individual. I demonstrate this by articulating the formation of multiple shifting representations of *igeza lensizwa.* I foreground these multiple representations as demonstrating shifts in the constitution of public scripts on Zulu masculinities and their perceived normativity. Therefore, the *igeza lensizwa*

photographs and their accompanying captions re-circulate these shifting scripts thereby, effecting the construction of “cultural normative knowledge”.

Having outline the conceptual value of Jaji (2018) and Ligaga (2020) in deepening my capacity to read gendered constructed selfhoods, which have pointed me to contextually based ways of knowing. These ways of knowing and reading have shaped my concept formation, adding layers to the idea of a thirst-trap and *igeza lensizwa.* My focus now shifts to the conceptual value in exploring and evaluating Western men’s glossy lifestyle magazines and their articulation of the figure of the “new man”[18] in the 1980s.

I approach the works by Sean Nixon (1996), Tim Edwards (2006 & 2016) and Stella Viljoen (2008, 2012 & 2013) with a special focus on how they re-organised spectatorship and investigate the value of foregrounding new “configurations of practices” (Connell 1996 & 2005). This set of literature was selected because of its focus on fashion photography that centres men. Since I position the *igeza lensizwa* photographs as being inspired by fashion photography. It is then critical that I explore how other scholars have approached their reading of fashion photographs in men’s glossy lifestyle magazine. These authors position men’s glossy lifestyle magazines as important sites for identifying discourses on masculinities, sexualities, organisation of desire and other gendered identities. Moreover, these authors approach masculinities through a discursive lens.[19] The authors studied these tropes by analysing media texts in the form of advertisements (print and broadcast) and fashion photographs in glossy lifestyle magazines.

Nixon (1996), Edwards (2016) and Viljoen (2012) highlight the importance of men’s fashion photographs as they work in two ways. Firstly, they disrupt dated heteronormative[20] masculine images and secondly, they portray the construction of imaged masculine ideals which other men are encouraged to aspire to. Fashion

[18] These men were characterised as being caring, sensitive and nurturing, moulded by Western culture’s reaction to feminism in the 1980s (Karam 2008).

[19] This approach is influenced by Foucauldian post-structuralism and suggests that men are not permanently committed to particular patterns of masculinity. Instead, men make situationally specific choices from a cultural repertoire of masculine behaviours (Connell 2005: xix) and through these choices, men articulate situationally specific masculinities (Connell 2005: xx).

[20] This is a gender binary concept which puts forward the standard way that people with male sexual organs are expected to behave and carry themselves and the expected way people with female sexual organs should behave.

photographer Peter Lindbergh contends that, fashion photographs archive ideas of beauty and are meant to contribute towards defining the image of the "contemporary woman or man in their time, to reflect a certain social or human reality" (Lindbergh 2020: 15). But, of cause, as Ligaga (2020) warns, such media texts like fashion photographs, are not neutral and are ladened with public scripts that are shaped by institutions that regulate intimacy, sexuality, and gender.

Aside from the latent regulatory public script nature of these texts, fashion photographs can also be read as showcasing more than fashionable clothes. They do this by portraying the attitudes and conventions of the people who wear them. Moreover, writing on photography, Graham Clarke contends that, "the photograph of the body [dressed or undressed] speaks to wider social and cultural assumptions" (1997: 133). Clarke's assertions are grounded on Western biological determinism, which opines that physical bodies are always social bodies (Oyěwùmí 1997: xii). Separating the two - as suggested by Oyěwùmí (1997) - offers more insights though, as focusing on sartorial articles points me to self-making through style-narratives and has provided me with additional lenses to articulating *igeza lensizwa* as being comprised of *ukuzithemba* and *ukuzizwa.* I put forward the assertion that, *igeza lensizwa* fashion inspired photographs index contemporary ideas of male beauty and encourage male-on-male looking and affirmation.[21] Therefore, fashion photographs are key sites where "configuration of practices, structured by gender relations" (Connell 2005b: 44) can be explored. *Amageza ezinsizwa* photographs were not fashion photographs in the conventional sense, as fashion photography places emphasis on the garments and the model is basically a moving mannequin.

I make the argument that the *amageza ezinsizwa* photographs were inspired by fashion photography based on the insights drawn from interviewing the editorial team and my own analysis of the photographs. By reading *amageza ezinsizwa* photographs as being inspired by fashion photography, I have also developed the thinking that, they are sites where glimmers of change can be identified within rigid homosocial desires and their limits, and possibilities. Put simply, they can also be sites where men are encouraged to look at each and acknowledge each other's beauty without anxiety.

[21] Also see Tamar Garb, 1998. *Bodies of Modernity: Figure and Flesh in Fin-de-Siècle France*, where she writes on the role of the body in representation, as it is imbued with conventions which adhere to society's expectation in, setting, pose, attribute and physical characteristics (Garb 1998).

Each of these authors provide detailed accounts of how the 1980s, was fertile ground for the birth of new forms of men's lifestyle magazines in the West, such as *Men's Health* (1986), *The Face* (1980) and *Arena* (1986). Men's lifestyle magazines had existed before the 1980s in Europe (men's *Vogue* launched in 1967) and in the United States of America (*Gentleman's Quarterly* (GQ) launched in 1957). The difference with the ones launched in the 1980s was the huge readership from young stylish men that they attracted, together with the multiple masculine images through the "new man" that they portrayed. These were different from the standard men's general interest magazines which had previously been produced and targeted men. One crucial difference between men's general interest magazines and the new men's lifestyle magazines was that the latter shifted spectatorship dynamics. Men's lifestyle magazines encouraged heterosexual men to look at stylised heterosexual men and draw inspiration.

Sean Nixon's book *Hard Looks* (1996), and Tim Edwards' book *Men in the Mirror* (1997 & 2016) each provide a detailed analysis of how the "new man" in the Western mediascape burgeoned as the forerunner to the metrosexual.[22] Nixon argues that the period between 1986 and 1990 marked a shift from the former misogynistic ideals about men and instead, constructed masculinities of men who did not subscribe to these former ideals. These former ideas were centred around the Western image of the "ideal man" which was popular before World War II. The "ideal man" exhibited external control and authority, and his strength and physicality were important to him (Bowstead 2018). After World War II, the physicality which this "ideal man" image valorised, underwent repression as menswear of this new era concealed the male physical form. The increase in white-collar jobs and its preferred business attire of loose-fitting flannel suits concealed the masculine form (Cuenca 2013).[23] The men's lifestyle magazines of the 1980s broke away from this demure and stiff imagine of men. And through the "new man" image, offered a more "sexualised representation of the male body" (Nixon 1996: 3). This created a form of spectatorship which was

[22] Metrosexuality as a term was coined by British columnist Mark Simpson in 1994. The term intended to capture what was happening in men's lifestyle magazines as men increasingly bought into consuming men's grooming products and fashionable clothing. Simpson argued that the metrosexual was a "new, narcissistic, media-saturated, self-conscious kind of masculinity" (Simpson 2013: n.p.).

[23] See Caunca (2013) for more details on how an imposing "masculine physique became the visible marker of a man's lack of economic success within the new consumerist ethos which swept post-war America and was thus avoided if one wanted to embody hegemonic masculinity" (Cuenca 2013: 52).

previously reserved for the female body. Fashion photography, menswear shops and advertisements crafted men as consumers who were interested in fashioning their gendered identities with material objects on sale. The objects were marketed as being able to increase the male consumer's masculinity.

Tim Edwards (1997 & 2016) on the other hand, focused on the socio-political factors which prepared the ground for the burgeoning of the "new man" in men's lifestyle magazines. Edwards (2016) argues that the changes in the masculine image in the 1980s was not sociological, but rather, "the crystallisation of consequences in economics, marketing, political ideology, demography, and most widely, consumer society in the 1980s" (Edwards 2016: 39). He dismissed the argument made by Nixon (1996) that the "new man" broadened the discourse of men's sexuality and gendered identities through the plural visual masculine representation provided by men's lifestyle magazines. Edwards argues that the "new man" merely represented the "rising significance of consumption in the reconstruction of social divisions" (Edwards 2016: 4). Moreover, this signalled the ideological move towards individualism and aspirationalism which were manifested in the construction of the "new man" (Edwards 2016: 50). The "new man" according to Edwards, did not foster plural visual masculine images, but rather portrayed and valorised a particular young man. A young man that was heterosexual, white, muscular, virile, healthy, successful, had few financial commitments, and was defined more by his income and lifestyle than his political persuasions and sexual behaviour (Edwards 2016: 41). Edwards (1997 & 2016) argues that this heterosexual "new man", did not encourage a homoerotic gaze (as suggested by Nixon below). Edwards contends that a homoerotic gaze was not encouraged as cologne adverts, constructed gender certitude.[24] This was done by pairing the good-looking, half-naked men with equally good-looking women in embracing poses.

Nixon (1996) offers a queer reading of the "new man". He is of the opinion that even though the men's lifestyle magazine offered ways of reading these fashion

[24] These are techniques used to provide a clear and unified sense of gendered identity by casting out or ignoring ambiguity or ambivalence (Nylund 2007: 42). This is done to provide a sense of stability amid men's insecurities, anxieties, and masculine fragilities. Matthew Hall (2015) strongly argues that "where the potential for uncertainty arises, certainty is constructed by dismissing alternative forms of sexuality, gender, and rendering looking unproblematic. In other words, they 'construct certitude' in order to 'attempt to replace questioning and doubt, with more certain frames of reference'" (Hall 2015: 28).

photographs and adverts, through constructed gender certitude. And this took the form of how the male models were positioned alongside female models, and through such poses, the magazine guided how heterosexual men should read the imagine. Nixon complicates this guided reading by contending that, the "new man" created a space in men's glossy lifestyle magazines to stage "narcissism through the codes of dress and grooming and for the coding of sexual ambivalence – especially in the organisation of spectatorship" (Nixon 1996: 202). Nixon suggests that the "new man" imagine encouraged homoerotism and that this also challenged ideas of heteronormative masculinities and "liberated" men from misogynistic ideals. This intricate balance of who does the looking and who is being looked at, unmasked how close to the surface men's sexuality was, from how they dressed and how other men looked at them. This tension between men's sexuality and dress as social practices, is demonstrated by Thabo Msibi's (2012) in his study on perceptions of young men's sexuality based on dress. Msibi offers contextual insights on how young Zulu men that dressed stylishly and had grooming regimes, were perceived as being homosexual by their peers. These "gender policing" peers positioned their lack of modishness as being more "manly" therefore, their sartorial practices were foregrounded as indicators of their heterosexuality.

My concepts of thirst-trap as being comprised of *ukuheha* and *ukuchaza* and my assertion of a male-on-male gaze that goes beyond the limits of homosocial desire are enriched by both Edwards' (1997 & 2016) and Nixon's (1996) divergent takes on the type of spectatorship that the "new man" encouraged. Both largely agreed that these new glossy lifestyle magazines encouraged heterosexual men to look at stylised heterosexual men and draw inspiration from them. Edwards offers a seemingly obvious heterosexual reading that quashes any notion of a homoerotic gaze from other men. He bases this on the idea of constructed gender certitude. My project applies this type of reading to the captions that accompanied *amageza ezinsizwa* photographs. I do this by also (but not solely) designating them as forms of constructed gender certitude. This is because they were written as forms of thirst-traps, by the female voice/persona that the editorial team created. The imagined female reader needed to be guided to understand the intended reaction, and affective expectation, that the editorial team wanted to get from them, when they looked at *amageza ezinsizwa*. To this end, the team developed a voice of a saucy female persona that

would be relatable to the female readers. Simply put, voices or personas are assumed roles of a character which represent the thoughts of a writer, or a specific person the writer wants to present as their mouthpiece (Marshall, Moore & Barbour 2019). Writers use personas/voices to express ideas, beliefs, and voices they are not able to express freely, due to some restrictions (Marshall, Moore & Barbour 2019: n.p.).[25] As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the project articulates a concept of a thirst-trap that draws from isiZulu verbs (used by the editorial team) that denote lust and desire such as *ukuheha* and *ukuchazeka*.

By engaging Edwards (1997 & 2016) framing of constructed gender certitude, the project demonstrates that *igeza lensizwa* needed "*ukuheha abantu besifazane*" [to attract women] as shared by my respondents.[26] The key word being the verb *ukuheha* which means to "attract, draw, enrapture, entice, and induce" (Doke et al,. 2012: 299). The argument for the captions acting as constructions of gender certitude is strengthened by the fact that, the captions were meant to conjure a reaction and some form of affective expectation. This is based on the editorial team informing me that the captions needed to convey the feeling that, "*intombi iyakubona* and *iyachazeka*" [a young woman sees you and she is smitten/affected].[27] This then identifies the female spectator as the one with the lecherous gaze. Moreover, the key word that describes the reaction that *igeza lensizwa* ought to conjure is *chazeka.* It is an isiZulu idiomatic expression that carries many meanings and therefore, it is contextual.[28] It is either used to describe when someone or something is attractive, or when they make an impression on you, or when they induce feelings desire or lust. In the case *igeza lensizwa,* I put forward the assertion that it denotes lustful/sexual desire.

In a simple sense, desire is a motivational state and represents a person's own "wish" or "want", contextually foregrounded as *ukuheha* and *ukuchaza*. Similarly, sexual desire is a subjective and psychological condition which is produced and

[25] A persona is also an invented perspective, one perhaps, the writer has not experienced but which he or she builds into the character of the persona they have crafted. The importance of personas is in how they help the writer create a reliable and realistic representation which will resonate with the intended readership. Personas are useful in the sense that they allow the writer to rely on his/her readers familiarity with the personas character and be able to draw links with their own lived experience.

[26] Lucky Cain (Senior journalist, *ILanga* newspaper), interview by author, 1 September 2020.

[27] Thobile Nxumalo (Communications Director, ANC eThekwini District), interview by author, 2 September 2020.

[28] The dictionary definition of the stem word *chaza* means, "explain" (Doke et al,. 2012: 110).

influenced by intraindividual and by external factors (Regan & Berscheid 1999: 31). Put in another way, sexual desire is an internal appetite/urge that gets shaped by learning and socialisation processes, because hormones alone do not govern sexual desire. Sexual desire exists within a social and cultural context, where socio-cultural norms around sexual desire get shaped. This context guides men and women on the people and objects that they are permitted to desire sexually. Moreover, the age at which sexual desire should be experienced. Additionally, these norms guide on who stimulates who, how, and the "appropriate" responses to such stimuli. Furthermore, guidance is offered on the setting of where such sexual desire should take place, and how it should be communicated. These are the socio-cultural norms that teach people the "shoulds" and "should nots" of sexual desire (Regan & Berscheid 1999: 72). In addition to learnt "affective expectations and socio-cultural norms about sexual desire" (Regan & Berscheid 1999), people also develop their own beliefs and perspectives about sexual desire. These might sit uncomfortably with socio-cultural scripts.

I put forward the argument that such a developed perspective is the one that the female voice articulated with the thirst-trap toned captions. By crafting salacious fictive scenes that "flipped the script" on Zulu socio-cultural sexual desire, by initiating courting and subverting the practice of *ukukhuzela.*[29] I demonstrate that the female voice articulated affective expectations that Zulu female readers needed to experience when they looked at *igeza lensizwa* and read the thirst-trap captions. To overtly write/say the things that the female voice was directing to *amageza ezinsizwa* would ordinarily be taboo in Zulu culture due to strong patriarchal grips. Yet, the female voice wrote them assertively, writing salacious things such as, "*ungathi ngiyabona sengicamele kulo mzimba kaSimphiwe Mkhize*" [I can almost imagine myself using Simphiwe Mkhize's body as a pillow][30]. Such vocal assertions by women is not new in Zulu culture though. Evidence of Zulu women speaking back to suppressive gender regimes is found in Nompumelelo Zondi's (2021) book titled, *Bahlabelelelani – Why Do they Sing?* Based on insights drawn from women in the rural outskirts of Pinetown – KwaZulu-Natal, Zondi puts forward the argument that rural Zulu women utilise song

[29] Culturally, if a woman initiated courting and openly pursued a young Zulu man (who considers himself *isoka*) it would undermine his prowess of *ubusoka.* This is because culturally, men initiate courting and honed techniques to initiate courting. By being courted, it renders his prowess's as being redundant and opens him up to ridicule from his peers.
[30] Simphiwe Mkhize as *igeza lensizwa* for August 2006, courtesy of *ILanga newspaper.*

and *ukuhlonipha* (commonly known as language of avoidance - See Msibi & Rudwick 2015 for more) to openly address issues of abuse and misogyny. Thinking along Zondi (2021) I craft an argument that the female-led editorial team, might not have used the practice of *ukuhlonipha* (Msibi & Rudwick 2015; Irvine & Gunner 2018), but instead, they employed the literary tool of a persona, to write in saucy, salacious ways. Therefore, conceptually the captions achieved the "thirsting" element by guiding female readers on how the photograph of *igeza lensizwa* needed, firstly, to be looked at. And secondly, how it needed to affect them, through *ukuheha* which would lead to *ukuchazeka*. The "trap" part is when Zulu female readers vicariously enjoy what they see and read and become comfortable with the sensorial affection they might experience. This then is the conceptual articulation of a thirst-trap that I employ throughout the project.

My assertion that the inferred and manifest male-on-male looking relations can create more positive homosocial desires is conceptually enriched by Nixon's (1996) queer reading of the "new man" as encouraging "coding of sexual ambivalence – especially in the organisation of spectatorship" (Nixon 1996: 202). This will be my own queer lens as a method, inspired by Nixon's ideas of sexual ambivalence, to make inferences, firstly, on the looking relation between the male photographers and the young men that they street-casted and photographed. And secondly, the looking relation between young men assessing the image of *igeza lensizwa,* comparing himself against *igeza,* and ultimately deciding to call *ILanga le Theku* to arrange a photo-shoot (or submit their photograph). The queer I will be employing will attempt to embrace the messiness of complexity, and by definition, "whatever is at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant" (Allan 2020: 73). The project contends that queer, in this understanding, when applied to the looking relation between the young men that were invested in *igeza lensizwa,* in various ways, can be read as a domain where rigid homosocial desires can be challenged and relaxed. To see the possibilities in this domain, I think along the lines of Malose Langa's (2022) ascertain that scholarship on black masculinities should challenge "assumptive links between biology and desire" (Langa 2022: 10). By doing this, Langa, enables me and other scholars to free black boys and men from the "costs of hegemonic masculinities" (Langa 2022: 1). Such a queer reading will be based on the understanding that any configuration of masculinity is multiple, fluid, and sometimes, contradictory (Connell

1996 & Ratele 2016). Therefore, by developing a queer lens, I will engage the "unsaid, the non-normative, and the complexity and messiness of desire" (Allan 2020: 74).[31] This unsaid element being homosocial desire. The male photographers denied being able to identify and describe a good-looking young man, yet they were the ones going out to street-cast and photograph them. I have attempted to craft queer inferences, based on this denial to see masculine beauty.

Aside from the imperative conceptual insights I have drawn from the spectatorship shifts grappled with in Western men's glossy lifestyle magazines, additional image reading skills are found in how they engaged with stylisation. The shifts in stylisation and how men are meant to pose, sit, and dress, brought men into a tense relationship with cultural expectations of gender practices on the social body. I think along these assertions, as foregrounded in the Western men's glossy lifestyle magazines, as I read *amageza ezinsizwa* stylisation as I articulate three shifts in the photographic representation of *igeza lensizwa* in its eight-year run. Nixon's work is valuable to my thesis as it demonstrates how fashionable men in print media, can be viewed as representing visual types, constructed by sartorial choices. My project goes beyond merely sketching out visual types of representations of black masculinities. It does more by applying Ligaga's concept of "deconstructing public scripts" (Ligaga 2020). I am not interested in generic generalisation about black masculinities that pivot on conspicuous consumption. Rather, I am interested in what it means to be young, male, urban and Zulu in *eThekwini* during the first decade of the twenty-first century.

Work that is more "generic" in its engagement with representation of black masculinities has been carried out by Stella Viljoen (2008, 2012 & 2013). Just as the international Western literature mainly focuses on men's glossy lifestyle magazines in the analysis of constructions of visual representations of masculinities, the situation is the same in South Africa.[32] In several studies, Viljoen (2008, 2012 & 2013) has analysed the various shifts in male visual representation in South African men's glossy

[31] This thinking is drawn from Queer Theory and the argument that it "affords a way of looking at gender and sexuality, particularly the 'gaps' in knowledge, the things about which we choose not to speak, or do not speak about" (Allan 2020: 80).

[32] Denise Buiten's PhD thesis, *Gender transformation and media representation* (2009) examines journalistic texts, and insights from editors and journalists to unpack how journalistic texts participate in gender construction and how they perceive gender transformation. Moreover, Buiten & Naidoo (2013) have explored the racialisation of masculinities in print media through a qualitative analysis of selected articles from three local newspapers, the: *Sunday Sun, Sunday Times,* and the *Mail & Guardian.*

lifestyle magazines.[33] Viljoen bases her analysis on five South African men's glossy lifestyle magazines (in the early 2000s) and explores how they crafted various contextual masculine images. Her argument is that the local editions of international men's lifestyle magazines such as *GQ* (gentlemen's Quarterly), *FHM* (For Him Magazine) and *Men's Health,* did little to extend or deepen the articulation of South African vernacular masculinities. Viljoen argues that the only magazine that was sensitive to South Africa's context was *BL!NK* magazine. According to Viljoen, this magazine aimed to paint a new face for black men and challenge negative stereotypes surrounding black masculinities.[34] This it did by crafting an ethical and socially responsible black masculine ideal (Viljoen 2008: 336). *BL!NK* magazine, according to Viljoen's analysis, targeted upwardly mobile black men during the few years that it was published (2004 - 2007). Through analysed the fashion photographs of black men in *BL!NK,* Viljoen argues that the magazine was an archive of South African masculine identities that both endorsed and challenged staid gender tropes (Viljoen 2012). *BL!NK* magazine archived the black visual masculine ideals popular in the early 2000s and it also, "indexed popular strains of post-apartheid black masculinity in their most aspirational form, and in so doing, contested the persistent apartheid optic" (Viljoen 2012: 664).

Viljoen's work on *BL!NK* magazine produces generalisation about a small group of wealthy black South African men. Her analysis and fashioning of three photographic types of black men touches on the contentious matter of "tenderpreneurship"[35] without critically engaging it. Her focus on the aspirational nature of "tenderpreneur's" makes *BL!NK* magazine no different to *GQ,* and therefore, the kind of analysis she offers comes across as generic. Her engagement with black masculinities does not unpack ideas of situated subjectivity, but is based on conspicuous consumption, disengaged

[33] Earlier scholars such as Dorothy Driver (1996), Lindsay Clowes (2001 & 2008) have explored how *Drum* magazine was engaged in gendering modern practices and offered urbanised and urbanising black men in the 1950s routes to fashioning themselves as modern urban men. Recently, Tsitsi Jaji (2018) has explored how the Francophone glossy magazine *Bingo* was also engaged in mediating gender practices as they were being influenced by modern urban practices. Jaji (2018) argued that *Bingo* magazine "placed gender at the heart of projecting modernity" as the magazine showcased how Francophone women were juggling their cultural "roles" with shifting modern ideals (Jaji 2018: 114).

[34] Viljoen (2012), drawing inspiration from Morrell (2001) argues that negative stereotypes of black men were due to the caricaturing of black men during the colonial phase of South Africa's history and additionally, compounded by the racist, patriarchal agenda of the apartheid state.

[35] 'Tenderpreneur' is a South African colloquialism for a businessperson who uses political contacts to secure government procurement contracts (called 'tenders') often as part of reciprocal exchange of favours or benefits. PiperandCharman-TenderpreneurV3.pdf (uwc.ac.za) (accessed 13 March 2023)

from black men's realities, therefore, the study is stuck in what Musila calls, the "discursive debris of received knowledge" (Musila 2017: 696).

My thesis goes further and explores the resulting shifts if we consider the tensions which cultural expectations of gender patterns exert onto young men as they configure their social practices. The thesis explores how these tensions play out *eThekwini* with its urban social structure, which has a history of enabling young men to articulate their changing masculinities, drawn from their cultural repertoires and new surroundings (explored in chapter four). My project focuses on the crafting of youthful urban Zulu masculinities and their practices and relations, in an isiZulu-language lifestyle supplement. This differentiates my project and leads to more nuanced considerations. Viljoen only focuses on the editorial decisions that went into crafting aspirational black masculinities. Whilst I also consider the editorial decisions, I additionally explore shifting representations of *igeza lensizwa* as informed by young men's own configuration of practices, which pushed back at editorial decisions and challenged, at times, changed them. Thereby, paying attention to public scripts and their role in fashioning *igeza lensizwa.*

My study also looks at shifting photographic representations of *igeza lensizwa,* but I think along with Kopano Ratele (2016) who contends that masculinity in the media, refutes the idea that there is an essence to masculinity, but rather, masculinities are "a set of actions, relations, and discourses used to distinguish an individual from others or one group of subjects from another" (Ratele 2016: 139). My focus is on how young men that were selected for inclusion in the photographic section prided themselves of their ability to stylize themselves, distinguishing themselves from martial and myopic representations of Zulu masculinities.

Moreover, I consider gender and the organisation of desire in relation to the composition of the editorial team and *ILanga le Theku's* readers, male and female and other unarticulated audiences. Whilst Viljoen's archive was of actual fashion photographs, she did not read the sartorial choices through a Barthesian lens. This would have allowed her to consider the images as visual garments, undergirded by the fashion system and its language. My archive was only inspired by fashion photography, but I approached them with a Barthesian lens and considered the young men's sartorial choices as style narratives. This consideration of individual identity as

self-understanding, enriches my study, and moves beyond generic articulations of black masculinities. Lastly, by considering the type of affective expectations that the photographs of *amageza ezinsizwa* were meant to induce and how that was secured, my project engaged ideas of shifting masculinities from multiple angles.

African print cultures and the entry of the tabloid print genre

ILanga le Theku went about creating the *igeza lensizwa* fashion inspired photographs without a massive budget that could employ people with experienced creative eyes like the former American Vogue creative director: André Leon Talley, the former editor-in-chief of Essence: Susan L. Taylor, British Vogue editor-in-chief: Edward Enninful or a fashion photographer like Peter Lindbergh. But as a newspaper, it could draw from the genre's creative literary history. Moreover, as a lifestyle tabloid, it could also improve, where newspaper journalistic writing conventions halted, which it did, by experimenting with mixing languages. Creative liberties that men's glossy lifestyle magazines were not exploiting.

Glossy men's lifestyle magazines are not the only site where masculine visual representations are shaped and reshaped for their audiences. Print newspapers also transmit shifting gender patterns for men to admire or take-up. The traditional view of archival newspapers as being media artefacts that are predominately read to understand a particular period's political current affairs is changing. Three recent books substantiate this argument: *African Print Cultures* (2018) by Derek Peterson, Emma Hunter, and Stephanie Newell, *Popular Culture in Africa* (2014) by Stephanie Newell and Onookome Okome, and *Popular Media in Kenyan History* (2017) by George Ogola. Moreover, in her recent work *Well-Seasoned Talks* (2019) Corinne Sandwith draws our attention to South African satirical columns in 1930s newspapers, as being important sites for linguistic and genre-based experimentation, invention, and play.

Peterson, Hunter, and Newell (2018) advocate that scholars should move away from only reading African newspapers as "barometers of changing political opinion" (Peterson & Hunter 2018: 3). These scholars argue that African newspapers

must be viewed as hosts for new forms of address as they were “incubators for the creation of literary genres and the genesis of new African voices” (Peterson & Hunter 2018: 1). George Ogola’s work (2017) concurs with this shift in perspective by arguing that the African popular press needs to be approached as carrying various “hidden transcripts” and as important sites of self-reflection, and forms of cultural production. Moreover, they act as windows “through which to witness change differently” (Ogola 2017: v). Corrine Sandwith writing on South African satirical columns (in the 1930s) by Rolfe Robert Reginald (R.R.R.) Dhlomo, in *The Bantu World* and *ILanga lase Natal,* contends that these columns thrived on mixing writing genres, thus becoming, “conduits for news reports, anecdotes, gossip, hearsay, and public opinion” (Sandwith 2019: 8).

The study of African newspapers is now broadening to include explorations of how they conducted “literary experiments as they looked for new voices with which to speak” (Peterson & Hunter 2018: 7). Moreover, Newell and Okome (2014) further advocate that African popular culture texts (like newspapers) offer themselves as archives “of what was thinkable, what was possible, what was pleasurable, and how it came to be imagined thus at its time of creation” (Newell & Okome 2014: 4). As mentioned earlier, the development of the female persona is an example of a new voice that the thesis explores and foregrounds as *ILanga le Theku* crafted it, to draw-in both intended and unintended audiences.

In the edited volume *African Print Cultures*, Karin Barber (2018) contends that Yoruba newspapers in Lagos Nigeria, tapped into the social transformations which were under way in the 1920s and became sites of textual innovation and experimented with writing genres, whilst the English-language newspapers were reluctant to do so (Barber 2018: 172). The Yoruba-language newspapers did this by deliberately reaching out to a much larger potential audience and addressed it in personal and innovative ways. They forged these new styles of writing by tapping into the myriad of materials which were at their disposal. Barber contends that these newspapers used “oral repertoires and a street culture of incredible sleaze and vitality, full of songs, anecdotes, and sayings which English-language papers stood aloof from but which the Yoruba papers, with sometimes rueful complicity, could exploit to create new genres” (Barber 2018: 174). Yoruba newspapers used these traditional and popular

cultural forms to create writing styles which the changing social reality of Lagos Nigeria demanded in the 1920s.

Satirical columns in Kenyan newspapers of the 1980s also ensured their success through innovative language code switching like Yoruba papers did in the 1920s. Through the persona of *Whispers,* the column expanded its reach by infusing Kiswahili in the dominantly English-language column, as well as the urban lingua franca of *Sheng* (Ogola 2017). This was done to reflect how ordinarily Kenyan's spoke, and therefore, their speaking mannerisms were borrowed. Ogola argues that this type of writing undermined the "dominant practices in fiction by reworking and subverting grammatical conventions especially of the English Language" (Ogola 2017: 8). Moreover, the column, "assumed a polyglot readership able to operate a complex set of mixed codes" (Ogola 2017: 8).

An exploration of South Africa's oldest and longest running vernacular newspaper demonstrates how it too, catered for and targeted new readers in the 1930s. Since its establishment in 1903, by John Langalibalele Dube, *ILanga lase Natal* has always engaged the tropes of ethnic history and identity and was a medium which *amakholwa*[36] used to communicate current affairs and debate Zulu cultural heritage (La Hausse de Lalouviére 2000; Mokoena 2010 & Buthelezi 2016). *ILanga lase Natal* has an elaborate history of being a mediatory platform where *amakholwa* formed themselves into a community of readers (*ibandla*)[37] and interrogated modern and traditional knowledge and engaged in dialogical reflections on the ever-changing present (Peterson 2006 & Masilela 2011).[38] In the early years, the newspaper carried stories and letters written in English alongside those written in isiZulu. But the two were written in accordance with their own orthography. This isiZulu orthographic convention

[36] Hlonipha Mokoena writes that *amakholwa* were a nascent peasantry and petite bourgeoisie (Mokoena 2009) who were mission educated and had converted to Christianity, moreover, being *ikholwa* was a political and social, rather than just a religious identity.

[37] Mokoena (2009 & 2016) frames the idea of *ibandla* with Magema Fuze's perceived relationship with his readers, on a shared identity as *amakholwa* and as readers of *ILanga lase Natal.* These readers and writers were dubbed *ibandla,* "a term with both traditional and modern connotations, including a gathering or assembly, a denomination or congregation, and a meeting rhetorically addressed" (Mokoena 2009: 603). Hlonipha Mokoena writes that in the context of nineteenth century newspaper culture, this *ibandla* was transferred to articulate a newspaper's "imagined community" (Mokoena 2016).

[38] Of additional interest is that Ngwane (2017) argues that *ILanga* utilised this history of being a platform for mediation and the trope of cultural pride in how it framed its reporting and opinion pieces during its coverage of the May 2008 xenophobic riots.

has remained and still characterises *ILanga* in its current form.[39] Until the mid-1930s, *ILanga lase Natal* was largely a paper written by black mission-educated Christian men for mostly other black mission-educated men. Over its history, the newspaper has made attempts to increase its readership by broadening its editorial agenda and language policy, but it never mixed languages, choosing to retain each languages own orthographic conventions.

In the 1930s *ILanga lase Natal* tried different techniques to cater for two additional readers: female readers and the youth. Between 1937 and 1938 *ILanga lase Natal* invited *kholwa* women onto its "Page for the Ladies" which would eventually morph and be renamed, *Ikhasi lamakhosikazi* and *Ezethu Nabesifazane* (du Toit & Nzuza 2019). Marijke du Toit and Palesa Nzuza (2019) argue that these sections created a feminised *bandla* within the male dominated *bandla.* This feminised *bandla* was being articulated as they discussed African women's issues, which included the behaviour of young men and women and inter-generational tensions (du Toit & Nzuza 2019). These discussions were sparked by the mid-thirties increase in the number of African women migrating into towns like Durban, and the Durban Town Council (DTC) toying with new municipal regulations to restrict African women's freedom of movement in the borough. These social changes were discussed in the "Page for the Ladies" as *kholwa* women had wide spanning discussions on African women's role in towns.

As *Ikhasi lamakhosikazi* and *Ezethu Nabesifazane* began to gain traction in the late 1930s, *ILanga lase Natal* launched another section which would speak to the youth; the "Young People's Page". For over a year, between May 1938 and September 1939 *ILanga lase Natal* published English-language content for the youth, which took the form of letters, articles, and a standard persona piece. The letters were predominately written by older readers and were didactic in tone and covered topics which older readers felt were apt for the young readers of the section.[40] The letters were characterised by their attention to moulding young readers into being virtuous,

[39] *ILanga Lase Natal* dropped "*Lase Natal*" on the 6th of March 1965 and from the 13th of March 1965 until present it is known as just *ILanga* newspaper.

[40] Other letters covered the importance of retaining African cultures by giving children Zulu names (*Our Names* 25 January 1939 and *Our Customs* 19 June 1939). There were one or two letters from pupils that address the issue of young people and marrying too early; *Wives Men Want,* 28 January 1939 and *Avoid Too Early Marriages,* 7 December 1938.

decorous, steadfast and goal orientated young people. The “Young People’s Page” of the late 1930s reflected its time, with its anxiety about the fate of young Africans in the Durban borough and saving them from a life of delinquency.[41] Young people were encouraged to take heed of the lessons and advice that was being offered in letters by older readers. Unlike *Ikhasi lamakhosikazi* and *Ezethu Nabesifazane,* where the content was written by *kholwa* women, in the “Young People’s Page” young people were being spoken at, and not invited to offer their opinions on the social change that was happening, and how it impacted their lives.

The didactic tone in the “Young People’s Page”, largely characterised *ILanga lase Natal.* Moreover, this tonal residue is even evident in how *ILanga,* for example, covered the May 2008 xenophobic riots (Ngwane 2017). Bhekizizwe Peterson (2021) offers crucial insights which offer historical context behind this didactic tone. Writing on African theatres in the turn of the twentieth century, Peterson contends that narrational strategies are ideological tools (Peterson 2021). When I apply this to the narrational strategies of *ILanga le Theku* - key being a didactic tone - Peterson (2021) and Mokoena (2011) foreground the precarious positionality of African elites and *amakholwa* as affecting their standing. By extension, their precarious positionality filtered into the writing style of their columns in *ILanga lase Natal.*

This precarious positionality being “the dichotomising systems of colonialism and their false binaries” (Peterson 2021: n.p.). Simply put, this is the evolutionary trajectory promised to Africans by white Christian missionaries from the eighteenth century, that they can offer Africans a route from the primitive to the modern, traditional to the progressive. Mokoena writes that being *ikholwa* was a “political and social, rather than just a religious identity” (Mokoena 2011: 20). As Christian converts, *amakholwa* subscribed to Protestant work ethic and were beneficiaries of the Exemption Law of 1865. Moreover, they began to claim more rights, as they thought they were entitled to them as promised by mission philosophy and Western enlightenment (Mokoena 2011). Yet, the Cape and Natal colonial governments began rescinding some of rights that *amakholwa* thought were theirs. It is these “false binaries” (Peterson 2021), that played out in the columns of *ILanga lase Natal* and shaped some to the didactic tones that I point out. Some satirical and others perhaps

[41] See Goolam Vahed’s (1998) work on African leisure and the creation of the Native Advisory Board and the establishment of the Native Welfare Officer in Durban for a more detailed history.

cynical, in that, if in the Union of South Africa (1910 - 1948), a young African man takes-up Cuniculture (rabbit farming) (as suggested in the "Young People's Page") he could be on his way to a decorous life characterised by financial freedom and respectability.

With such a history, it is perhaps no surprise that the first two tabloids to be launched in South Africa were in an African language: isiZulu. The entry of tabloids as a print press genre in South Africa in the early 2000s saw them challenge the old ways of telling stories, challenge writing styles, usage of language and departed from journalistic norms, standards, and rigid orthography. As the second isiZulu-language tabloid[42], *ILanga le Theku* needs to be read with the understanding that this new print press genre, questioned dominant social standards and worked to point out the failures of what might have been considered normal at the time (Fiske 1989: 116). The launch of *Isolezwe* as the first isiZulu-language tabloid, heralded the entry of a new print press genre in South Africa: the tabloid. This type of newspaper succeeded in creating a large readership amongst the black working class (Wasserman 2008).

Launched in April 2002, *Isolezwe* was South Africa's first tabloid newspaper, as *Naspers*[43] only launched the *Daily Sun* in July 2002 which grew rapidly and became South Africa's most successful tabloid. Soon enough, a slew of regional tabloids were launched around the country. Herman Wasserman argues that tabloids offer something that was missing in South Africa since democracy, "a voice to the majority of the population who had remained on the margins of the post-apartheid mediated public sphere" (Wasserman 2008: 788). Wasserman (2008) argues that with the demise of the anti-apartheid alternative press, a vacuum had been created which tabloids filled, but did not replace. Tabloids like *Isolezwe* started to respond to a demand for information and entertainment, "among the majority black population in a country whose interest were arguably still being marginalised by the mainstream print media" (Wasserman & Ndlovu 2015: 141).

Crucial to my thesis, is that tabloids create alternative frameworks for their urban black readers to find meaning in their lives by producing news that resonates with their

[42] The first was *Isolezwe,* launched in 2002. I will be unpacking how the launch of *ILanga le Theku* is linked to *Isolezwe* in the following chapter.
[43] Naspers Limited is a multinational holding company headquartered in Cape Town, with interests in online retail, publishing and venture capital investment. (Home | Naspers accessed 26 June 2022)

realities. A common criticism for tabloids, amongst many, is that they do not conform to the status quo of how mainstream journalism tells stories (Wasserman 2010: 66). But that is what differentiates them, as by going against the grain of how stories are told, tabloids start servicing a large black readership which mainstream media had neglected. This is supported by Ligaga, as she argues that "Tabloids are spaces for experimentation in their recounting of mundane narratives. The aspects of 'sensationalism, personalization, and the focus on private concerns' that characterise them, make it possible for them to imagine a world that transgresses normative expectations" (Ligaga 2020: 86). The thesis demonstrates this ability of tabloids to "transgress normative expectations" (Ligaga 2020) and through such techniques, *ILanga le Theku* carved out alternative frames of reference that mirror its young, black, and urban readers lives, so as to convey stories.

Isolezwe quickly grew in popularity. Readers found the paper "ideologically progressive" compared to *ILanga* which they felt still carried "old/dated" Zulu cultural outlooks (Wasserman & Ndlovu 2015).[44] The major driver of ***Isolezwe's*** success has been its usage of a variety of languages and borrowing speaking mannerism used by its urban isiZulu speakers (Wasserman & Ndlovu 2015). By writing its stories the same way that their readers spoke, this positioned *Isolezwe* as being attuned to its readers lives. It achieved this by using popular idioms, frames of reference, colloquial expressions, and colloquial language that their specific readers would recognise and understand.

A major appeal factor of tabloid newspapers is that they carefully craft their language, using the language spoken by their readers. This is important because language constructs an ideal reader and by repeating the reader's language, tabloids try to reinforce their relationship with their readerships (Conboy 2006). Moreover, Stuart Hall contends that newspapers ensure successful communication through the process of mutual confirmation, "between those who produce and those who consume" (Hall 1975: 22). Hall substantiates this, by arguing that "newspapers must continually situate themselves within the assumed knowledge and interests of their

[44] One of these "dated" cultural outlooks being the portrayal of isiZulu "natural beauty" as a bare-breasted young women. This photographic section is called *uBuhle Bendalo* and it dates to the early nineteen-nineties as a section which invited young women to send their photographs wearing their traditional attires for their coming-of-age ceremonies such as, for example, *umhlonyane* and *umemulo.*

readership, consciously, or unconsciously adopt modes and strategies of address" (Hall 1975: 22). By doing this, a newspaper's language, style, and format are the products of a "process of reciprocal symbolic interaction between the newspaper and its audiences" (Hall 1975: 22). All newspapers establish a tone of language for their target readership, but tabloids go even further, and build on accepted patterns of popular culture and continuously borrow from their readers speaking mannerisms. *Isolezwe's* language mixing represented "a broader social change in the KwaZulu-Natal region as a result of urbanisation" (Wasserman & Ndlovu 2015: 151). Young urban isiZulu readers appreciated the mixing of isiZulu, English, and other linguistics varieties such as *tsotsitaal,* and this affinity for an "impure form of Zulu" (Ndlovu 2011) demonstrated how the language and ways of speaking were changing on the ground.

As already mentioned, the success of tabloids is based on their language and ability to craft their content by referencing patterns of popular culture. The work of crafting involves the journalistic staff taking up what, I read and understand to being "resources" (Fiske 1989a). These being colloquial expressions or references to, for example, American popular culture and weaving them into their news reporting. These popular culture resources carry contradictory lines as popular culture exists only in its circulation and interpretation. The resource/text is not popular on its own, but they become popular through circulation, and this is the relationship between the text and a reader's social life (Fiske 1989a). Through their circulation their relevance is determined as relevance is discovered or produced by the consumer of the popular culture text. Relevance is largely a matter of context, as the experiences of the viewers life are matched to those represented in the text (Fiske 1989b: 130). Relevance is contextual and occurs when the reader makes the connection between their own social life and what the popular cultural texts is representing (Fiske 1989b). If the reader cannot make this connection, the popular cultural text has failed. My project engages meticulously with Fiske's (1989b) notion of relevance. Being in an isiZulu-language lifestyle supplement, the captions that accompanied the *igeza lensizwa* played with transliteration, mixing languages, referencing Zulu praise names, referencing courting rituals, and played around with lyrics from R'n'B, maskandi and Kwaito music. Therefore, I needed to be cognisant to "multiple ways of knowing" (Musila 2017) and the labour that the editorial staff carried out to ensure relevance.

I argue in the thesis that the launch of the second isiZulu tabloid, *ILanga le Theku* would outdo *Isolezwe* in catering for the isiZulu urban youth, as this lifestyle supplement did more than borrow its readers speaking mannerism. I demonstrate that *ILanga le Theku* as a popular cultural text, became a site "where popular consensus was created, and where unformulated feelings and ideas were given shape and a name, and were spread and shared" (Barber 2018: 18). Moreover, as Newell and Okome have succinctly articulated it, that within their ephemeral nature, African popular culture texts are "expressions of desires for future alternatives, for emergent possibilities" (Newell & Okome 2014: 4).

The thesis explores how *ILanga le Theku* through the prism of *igeza lensizwa* crafted relevance which was conveyed by the female voice. The accompanying captions will be intricately examined, to tease out how texts, like music lyrics and isiZulu cultural references were used to create relevance which the young isiZulu readers would hopefully understand and make a connection with the writing style. The thesis demonstrates how *ILanga le Theku* broke isiZulu journalistic convention and began borrowing its target readers speaking mannerism and articulated its creative and inventive writing style by referencing popular culture that its readers related to and understood.

Men and masculinities that are regarded

My project is interested in the type of urban Zulu masculinities that arise out a shifting system of gender relations that was at play within the public that was part of fashioning *igeza lensizwa.* I put forward the notion that being *igeza lensizwa* embodies a type of Zulu masculinity which is characterised by its fluidity and a state of being situational. The thesis argues that these forms of Zulu masculinities were undergirded by *ukuzithemba* (self-confidence) and *ukuzizwa* (self-regard). The fashioning of these type of Zulu masculinities was spearheaded by the female-led editorial team of *ILanga le Theku,* its male photographers, the young Zulu men that were street-casted, those that submitted their photographs, female readers as represented by the female persona, and by the inferred looking relation between men. The form and shape that *igeza lensizwa* took was actively shaped by all these interlocutors.

It was these interlocutors that made *amageza ezinsizwa's* self-confidence and self-regard legible through the process of veneration and celebrating their difference from more parochial and martial Zulu masculinities. This was their difference from the image of Zulu men represented as being "*tough njenge sagila*" [tough like a knobkerrie].[45] A contrasting characterisation that was made by *ILanga le Theku's* editor-in-chief; Thobile Nxumalo. Like any social category, masculinities are not created in a vacuum. The *igeza lensizwa* fashion inspired photographs act as a public script (Ligaga 2020) that transmits new sets of values of what it meant to be young, male, Zulu, and urban. Therefore, the literature on masculinities will be approached in a manner that helps me "deconstruct the public scripts" (Ligaga 2020) that were the photographs of *amageza ezinsizwa*. This will be done in order to provide conceptual building blocks for the concept of *igeza lensizwa* as representing types of Zulu masculinities that are fluid and situational.

The thesis adopts a dual gender system that is underpinned by biological determinism. This position is informed by the fact that the creation of *igeza lensizwa* by *ILanga le Theku* was informed by the long-standing existence of *uBuhle Bendalo* [natural beauty] photographic section in *ILanga. Ubuhle Bendalo* was also a public script (Ligaga 2020) that transmitted a representation of youthful Zulu femininity. These were submitted photographs of young Zulu maidens that were bare breasted in their traditional dress. Most probably, taken from Zulu coming-of-age rituals such as *uMhlonyane* and *uMemulo*. Later, there was an inclusion of young women in bikinis. This public script was problematic in many ways as it stagnated Zulu femininity and saddled it with the pressures of projecting themes of Zulu nationality, purity, and morality. At a basic layperson's level though, *uBuhle Bendalo* was seen as a pin-up girl for the voyeuristic pleasures of male readers. A decade later, *igeza lensizwa* was then created for the voyeuristic pleasures of women. Therefore, my archive is set-up in a dual gender system and underpinned by biological determinism. In that, Zulu femininity and masculinity were foregrounded as being legible through the social body. This is not to say, I am not aware of the blind spots that are created by received knowledge and the potential epistemic disarticulation (Musila 2017) that it might create. With this in mind, I do not engage literature on Critical Masculinities Theory

[45] Thobile Nxumalo (Communications Director, ANC eThekwini District), interview by author, 2 September 2020.

naively, but I do so, critically, with due consideration of the context that burgeoned *amageza ezinsizwa* as types of urban Zulu masculinities.

In her authoritative book *The Invention of Women,* Oyèrónké Oyěwùmí (1997 & 2005) skilfully and methodologically critics the imposition of Western gender categories on Yoruba discourse. This she does so as to highlight how Western constructions of social categories have been foregrounded as universal. Therefore, cautioning scholars to be more critical and not take Western conceptions of gender at face value. Oyěwùmí basis this critique on the understanding that there are epistemological foundations to cultural knowledge and in the West, “the cultural logic of social categories is based on an ideology of biological determinism: the conception that biology provides the rationale for the organisation of the social world" (Oyěwùmí 1997: ix). This, Oyěwùmí, calls biologic which informs the Western understanding that gender constructs are linked to biological determinism. Simply put, Western conceptualisation foregrounds the physical body as always, a social body (Oyěwùmí 1997: xii). Meaning that, gender cannot exist without sex, since in Western conceptualisation, the body sits at the base of both categories (Oyěwùmí 2005: 10). Whilst in Yoruba society, the category woman cannot be a substitute for gender. Because in African discourses, social roles and sexual roles are understood to be separate (Oyěwùmí 2005: xiv). In Yoruba society, the human body does not need to be gendered or carry evidence of social classification at all times (Oyěwùmí 1997).

Even though my project utilizes Raewyn Connell’s Critical Masculinity Theory, I am conscious of the fact that Connell adopts a Western worldview in that, she foregrounds physicality as underlying gender categories in Western worldviews (Connell 1996 & 2005a). This is further made evident when she writes that, masculine gender is a “certain feel to the skin, certain muscular shapes and tensions, and certain postures and ways of moving, certain possibilities in sex” (Connell 2005a: 53). Oyěwùmí argues that despite the now accepted notion, as foregrounded by the second wave of feminist scholarship, that gender is socially constructed. Meaning that, differences for example, in a dual gender system, are found in the social practices, and not in biological facts (Oyěwùmí 2005: 9). Therefore, this thinking means that, if gender is socially constructed, it can be changed. This is because the aim of gender practices is to “produce the social” (Connell, Hearn, Kimmel 2005). With this understanding, gender practices act as a critique on the assumption that sexual

organs determine the self and that, “biological sex differences explain human social arrangements” (Beasley 2006: 16).

This is based on the conceptualisation that the dual gender system is underpinned by how sexuality gets deployed to function as a universal signifier for anatomy. Sexuality as a concept, stems from how physical bodies (different biological functions) are organised (fashioned) differently and this difference is elaborated on the social body. In his seminal work *The History of Sexuality* (1976), Michel Foucault argues that sexuality is a product of a particular type of power, and it is distributed along the divisions of the sexed body. This governance of people includes how conduct is governed through individual self-control, and social control, this is conceptually articulated as governmentality. Sexuality as a technique of power is imposed, supported, and policed by the church, state, family, and other institutions of intimacy. Therefore, sexuality is a discourse on the body and the intrinsic power-knowledge strategies used to categorise individual sexed bodies. Stella Nyanzi opines that “governmentality allows for the examination of the interactions between external regulation and self-control of sexual conduct” (Nyanzi 2011: 482). Meaning, how individuals are expected to align their behaviours, attitudes, desires, and actions to socially accepted standards of how for example, men and women should act.

This framing of sexuality as a technique of power also demonstrates that sexualities and gender have been socially interlinked for a particular power purpose. This strategically fabricated interlinkage was foregrounded by psychoanalytic evidence in the 1980s which revealed how adult heterosexuality was constructed along the social formations of groupings, such as masculine and feminine identities. This social formation also organises sexual desire, which attempts to manufacture correlations between bodies that had specific biological organs, to only sexually desire, individuals with “opposite” sexual organs. And for those that had lust/desires which did not correlate with set gendered sexualities, being termed as types of “perversions” (Carrigan, Connell & Lee 1985: 593). This formation is created so as to maintain heterosexuality as being normative which is itself a technique of power (Msibi 2013). This is because gender is a (power) tool of heteronormativity as it interlinks sex, sexuality, desire, and gender (Weigman 2006). At the heart of this biological determinism is power relations because, “gender is always made and remade according to the political desire that seeks it in the first place” (Weigman 2006: 99).

As a parting cautionary statement, Oyěwùmí writes that “if gender is a social construction, then we must acknowledge that variously located actors were part of the construction. We must further acknowledge that if gender is a social construction, then there was a specific time when it was ‘constructed’ and therefore a time before which it was not” (Oyěwùmí 2005: 11). Oyěwùmí states that she is not suggesting that gender categories are only a Western creation, but she is saying that discussions of social categories should be defined and grounded in the local setting (Oyěwùmí 2005: 15). I therefore engage the literature on Critical Masculinities Theory with the understanding that not all its notions and suppositions are meant for my reading of *igeza lensizwa* as representing fluid types of Zulu masculinities.

A key tenet of Critical Masculinities Theory is that there are masculinities (in the plural), and any one location can have more than one type of masculinity. My project adopts a discursive approach to masculinities which contends that, “men are not permanently committed to a particular pattern of masculinity. Rather, they make situationally specific choices from a cultural repertoire of masculine behaviour” (Connell 2005a: xix). This selected approach is aligned to this particular definition of masculinity, “masculinities are configurations of practices structured by gender relations. They are inherently historical, and their making and remaking is a political process affecting the balance of interest in society and the direction of social change” (Connell 2005a: 44). This approach acknowledges that men articulate their gender identity based on the contexts they find themselves. Moreover, this approach acknowledges that men also creatively draw from their cultural history, the various masculine behaviours that are in this cultural archive. This discursive approach has also been intricately employed by Kopano Ratele in his book *Liberating Masculinities* (2016). In the book, Ratele sets out to “free” men from anachronistic thinking that would have people believe that there is only a single dominant way of being a man. He does this by building an argument that men and the societies that they come from, need to recognise “the possibilities in having a variety of models of masculinity” (Ratele 2016: 8). Ratele argues that this will contribute positively to societies, as this will create space for the creation of progressive models of masculinity. Furthermore, Ratele argues that by creating spaces for the articulation of a variety of masculine models, attention can be turned on how “freed” men fashion their masculinities as, “to a greater or lesser degree, every man is always in negotiation with his ‘ancestors’, deliberately

or unconsciously. All men are involved in contestations around the past of manhood" (Ratele 2016: 109).

The key preoccupation of the thesis is the figure of *igeza lensizwa* as printed on the back page of *ILanga le Theku* lifestyle supplement. The discursive approach to masculinities makes it possible for me to not only acknowledge the plurality of Zulu masculinities on display on the back page. But also, the influential operation of how Zulu culture treats sexed bodies in urban settings. This consideration has bearing on our understanding of Zulu masculinities as articulated in urban settings. Moreover, the approach also prompts me to consider the hand played by the female led editorial team in deciding which young men it would valorise and print their fashion inspired photograph. The editorial decision on who met the criteria of being *igeza lensizwa* over the photographic sections eight-year run, was also influenced by changing ideas of what urban Zulu masculinities could look like, as decided by young men, and validated by the female led editorial team. But sometimes, it was the other way around, the female led editorial team would foreground their preferred configuration of practices, and at times, young men would disagree and revise it.

I find immense conceptual value in Connell's (1996) notion that masculinities are configurations of practices, structured by gender relations. Because this facilitates thinking that there are multiple configurations. And therefore, emphasis shifts to the individual in the configuration of these practices, and not what is expected or imagined of him. This notion is further clarified by Kopano Ratele who argues, "similar to other categories of identification, masculinity ought to be conceived as an individual psychological reality, not only a social configuration of actions and omissions…masculinity is as much about the psyche and its contents as it is about where we are located in our society by laws, traditions, institutions, rules, and discourses" (Ratele 2016: 140). This framing strengthens my development of the concept of *igeza lensizwa* as being comprised of *ukuzithemba* (self-confidence) and *ukuzizwa* (self-regard). These dispositional qualities are *igeza lensizwa's* psychological reality. True as that is, *igeza lensizwa* is located *eThekwini* and not dislocated from cultural discourses on masculinities.

The argument that masculinities are made up of practices and relations has currency for my conceptual articulation of *igeza lensizwa*. Put simply, practices are the

way men act, behave, dress, speak, and these are “creative and inventive, and contribute towards the configuration of gendered identities” (Connell 2005: 72, also Kimmel 1994; & Bowstead 2018). This notion is not open-ended though, as this allowance for creative crafting of masculine practices has some constraints. As demonstrated earlier, masculinities are contextual and historical, therefore agents of socialisation like the cultural interpretation of gender, as in, how young men ought to appear and behave, erect some constraints for young men. My project demonstrates that the editorial team and the street-casted young men sometimes “flipped the script” on public scripts on Zulu masculinities and Zulu femininities. And where they could not “flip the script” they reimagined some gender practices as encouraged by their urban setting.

Connell (2005a) offers a way out of these cultural constraints by first arguing that practices never occur without context. This is because practices respond to a situation, and situations are structured differently, some permit certain possibilities and not others (Connell 2005a: 65). Therefore, “practices constitute and re-constitute structures. They make the reality we live in” (Connell 2005a: 65). This argument has purchase for my exploration of *amageza ezinsizwa* as they were engaged in articulating what being young, male, urban and Zulu meant for them in Durban. Their social and gender practices were configured *eThekwini*[46] which has a long history of young men articulating different masculinities (as will be explored in chapter four). Moreover, their practices were also depicted in a lifestyle supplement that was bent on showcasing the lives of young urban Zulu people in *eThekwini*, as they lived them. Therefore, these elements produced a different structure that was amenable to being changed by the varied social and gender practices adopted by *amageza ezinsizwa*. Furthermore, the thesis offers a caveat to this, as already argued in chapter one, that male self-regard through sartorial practices existed in the history of Zulu manhood. The thesis builds on this argument and meticulously explores how *amageza ezinsizwa* engaged with the creative freedom of compiling varied configurations of practices through style and fashion. This is possible when examining masculinities through a

[46] Although used interchangeably, *eThekwini* is the Zulu name for Durban and it is also the name of the Metropolitan municipality (*eThekwini* Metropolitan Municipality) which was formed in the year 2000, which includes the City of Durban.

discursive lens, which acknowledges that men can draw masculine behaviours from their cultural archives.

Continuing with Connell's conceptualisation that masculine patterns are made-up of practices and relations, I foreground three contextual explorations of relations in my project. The first relation is how men, within the gender identity of masculinities, react to each other, based on their configuration of practices. This takes the form of them sparring and vying against those that had been selected to be *amageza ezinsizwa.* The thesis explores this first relation through the marked shifts in the type of *amageza ezinsizwa* that were photographed and the type of configurations that they represented.

Secondly, is a queer looking relation of how the male photographers were able to street-cast *amageza ezinsizwa* but then denied being able to identify and describe a good-looking young man. The project employs a definition of queer which attempts to embrace the messiness of complexity and by definition, "whatever is at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant" (Allan 2020: 73). The project contends that queer, in this understanding, when applied to the looking relation between the male photographers and the street-casted young men, can be viewed as a domain where rigid heterosexual ideas of desire can be challenged. This can only be done if I, as a researcher, focus my attention on this relationship and make inferences on the "unsaid, the non-normative, and the complexity and messiness of desire" (Allan 2020: 74).[47] This second relation will be explored through the inferences I make on homosociality and homosocial desires, their limits, and unsaid possibilities. Homosociality is a term used to describe bonds between people of the same sex which are not romantic or sexual in nature (Sedgwick 1985). Competitiveness and exclusion are some of the key features of homosociality. These homosocial bonds are underpinned by heterosexuality, but these bonds also allow for non-sexual interpersonal attractions (Bird 1996). These attractions are called homosocial

[47] This thinking is drawn from Queer Theory and the argument that it "affords a way of looking at gender and sexuality, particularly the 'gaps' in knowledge, the things about which we choose not to speak, or do not speak about" (Allan 2020: 80).

desires.[48] Through a queer lens, I want to explore this second relation by examining the unsaid possibilities of homosocial desire.

The final and third relation, is between men and women, as these gender identities are co-constituting. This relation will be explored through the influential editorial decisions taken by the female led editorial team of *ILanga le Theku* and the female persona that represented the female readers.

Stylising the self and black dandyism

Igeza lensizwa was not only defined by his gender practices, but these practices further informed the social practices that were elaborated on his body. His dispositional qualities played a role in his distinct identity. Moreover, his individual psychological reality was critical in the (co)shaping of self-confidence and self-regard. Stuart Hall and Mark Sealy in their book *Different* (2001) contend that, "the body is at one and the same time the 'container' of identity and subjectivity, the overdetermined point where differences collide" (Hall & Sealy 2001: 38). The concept of identity, as elusive as it is, will be evaluated and reviewed to help me gauge how *igeza lensizwa* positioned himself, as a container of subjectivity. Meaning, I will evaluate how beneficial the concept of identity is, in providing me with lenses to read how *igeza lensizwa* put himself together, and what informed and underpinned his singularity.

In their influential piece, *Beyond "Identity"* (2000) Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper set out to unpack how the concept of identity has become defunct and unclear. They begin by outlining that identity is largely defined in the essentialist or constructivist tradition. The authors largely critique the constructivist approach in two ways. Firstly, in its allowance for identities which are fluid and multiple, the approach fails to account for external forces (issues of power and dominance over certain identities). And secondly, the authors argue that the approach fails to map out the

[48] Male homosocial relationships are forms of male bonding, which are characterised by non-sexual desire and intimacy, which is paradoxically coupled with homosexual panic. This panic is due to the perceived thin line between the homosociality and homosexuality and the fear of this platonic intimacy, taking on a homosexual tone (Sedgwick 1985; Hammarén & Johansson 2014). To emphasize heterosexuality "hatred of homosexuals and misogynist language are developed" (Hammarén & Johansson 2014: 2).

reification process of how these multiple identities are crafted, therefore, corroding the concept's analytical purchase. They see some value in the essentialist approach as its reification process is clearer. Ultimately Brubaker and Cooper offer an alternative approach to identity, that is, situated subjectivity.

But, before I go into unpacking situated subjectivity, I want to highlight a problematic approach to Brubaker and Coopers slight affinity to an essentialist lens. Even though the authors penultimate call, is for a term beyond "identity" which they claim, should have conceptual clarity. I'm of the opinion that identity as a concept, still has purchase power. Stuart Hall (1996) foregrounds an understanding of identity as a strategic and a positional term which does not "signal a stable core of the self", but rather, uses resources of history, language, and culture in the process of becoming rather than being (1996: 4). Therefore, identities are, "points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us" (Hall 1996: 6). This definition of identity seems to be more aligned with Brubaker and Cooper's alternative definition of identity which they term situated subjectivity. This alternative definition of identity places emphasis on discursive formations and practices which inform specific enunciative strategies which individuals use to create their identity (Hall 1996).

Brubaker and Cooper (2000) define situated subjectivity as the ways in which an individual can be governed by, "particularistic understandings of self and social location rather than by putatively universal structurally determined interests" (2000: 17). Situated subjectivity as a term is based on an individual's disposition, "one's sense of who one is, of one's social location, and how (given the two) one is prepared to act" (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 17). Key to this definition is the level of agency that one has or believes to have. A sense of who one is, can take many forms as each person behaves in different ways under different settings. This is based on a person's individual cognitive awareness. Therefore, the term works in understanding individuals, not in the same way as the conventional understanding of identity and its reification process.

The value of Brubaker and Cooper's (2001) understanding of identity is that it places emphasis on an individual's agency. But it is not blind to the influences of external forces. Therefore, by implication it is useful in giving *amageza ezinsizwa* agency. The agency which affords me opportunities to explore their identity as

constructed through “fantasy, memory and desire” (Hall & Sealy 2001: 86). It provides me with insights for thinking about young, urban, Zulu men and their surroundings. These surroundings include their culture, masculinities, and the scope for negotiation that they have, in stylising themselves through measured responses to their shifting location. Their situatedness affords me the lens to unpack the resources they used in crafting their identity. This lens gives me the perspective to understand that all identities are, “the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves, within, the narratives of the past” (Hall & Sealy 2001: 104).

The dandy and black dandyism

Being so sure of yourself and how one puts themselves together on a daily, through sartorial choices and stepping outside, without considering the possibility of judgement, requires a good level of self-confidence. Self-confident individuals are not rendered paralysed by the possibility that their curated garments might not be liked by all. They are unfazed by external judgements and opinions. As demonstrated in chapter one, my project argues that these qualities can be found in the isiZulu concepts of *ubusoka* and *igeza lensizwa.* In this section, I unpack how these two isiZulu concepts can benefit by thinking with the concepts of dandyism and black dandyism and exploring how they operate, which can benefit the isiZulu concepts.

In Charles Baudelaire’s (1995) articulation of a prototypical dandy, he fashions him as a white, narcissistic, aristocratic *flâneur* who is materialistic. These individuals had an abundance of time and money and loved to be seen and be admired by crowds. They had a singularity about their identity. Baudelaire’s dandy aspired to insensitivity and projected a blasé attitude towards the world. These dandies aimed to strike a balance between thriving on a crowd’s adoration and being indifferent to its opinions of him. According to Baudelaire, dandyism “is first and foremost the burning need to create for oneself a personal originality, bounded only by the limits of the proprieties” (Baudelaire 1995: 27). As explored earlier, any articulation of the self needs to contend with some restraints and the restraints which Baudelaire’s dandy revered and adhered to, was appropriate decorum.

The thesis finds conceptual value in Roland Barthes (2013) articulation of dandyism. Barthes defines dandyism as being comprised of his ethos and techniques. The ethos are the dispositions that dandies embody. These are the metaphysical attributes that internally define dandies, which then motivate his stylisation (Barthes 2013). These dispositions guarantee the techniques which are the "physical form of behaviour acts as a route towards the performance of thought…this thought consists here of an absolutely singular vision of self" (Barthes 2013: 67). Put simply, the techniques are the ephemeral aspects, the fashion, ways of speaking, poses and gestures which change over time as the dandy continuously works towards "performing the thought". Barthes' (2013) and Baudelaire's (1995) definition of dandyism assumes that this male figure is white, upper class and is a beneficiary of privilege. Therefore, the concept lacks key nuances if it is to have any purchase when applied to the figure of *igeza lensizwa* with his context of being a young black man in post-apartheid South Africa. Monica Miller's (2009) definition of black dandyism fills this lacuna with her insightful historical study of black dandyism in the Atlantic diaspora.

In her detailed and wide spanning book *Slaves to Fashion* (2009), Monica Miller offers a history of the black male subject and his growing consciousness about his image. Miller offers a compelling definition of black dandyism as a strategic technique used during times of transition as black dandyism can be read as a symptom of change as the dandy, "aggressively critiques categories that constitute identity" (Miller 2009: 221). Therefore, the concept cannot escape the effects of identity even though it works to critique its boundaries (Hall & Sealy 2001). This definition is aligned to Charles Baudelaire's (1995) own articulation of dandyism as a figure that appears during periods of transition. Black dandyism's subversive agency can be located in his historical performance of sameness and difference. And in that performance, slippages occur as mimicking began to involve black interpretation (Miller 2009). Miller frames this performance of sameness and difference through the argument that "black people have had to be black for white or European audiences" (Miller 2009: 6).[49]

[49] The black dandyism's subversive element is similar to Morrell's (1998 & 2001) articulation of black/urban masculinities which aimed to humanise African men in the face of a dehumanising apartheid system.

Historically this performance of sameness and difference was underpinned by black individuals being dressed up as “objects” of leisure and vicarious consumption. Miller argues that in this performance, slippages occur, “it is in this slippage, the space between repetition and difference, that the dandy finds and accrues power. For the dandy, it is in the site of this slippage, the space between the body and its materiality, where one has access to cultural meaning and critique” (Miller 2009: 14). In all these instances, black dandyism functions as a kind of visible sign of the modern black imaginary (Miller 2009: 222). Moreover, black dandyism articulates individuals as arbiters of style who, “engage in deliberate acts of reconstructing masculine identity that are relative to negotiations of race, sexuality, and class in relation to specific temporal and geographic contexts” (Farber 2015: 120).

A contemporary figure who both embodies the ethos of black dandyism and employs its strategic techniques, is Nigerian born artist, Iké Udé. Udé contends that the ultimate mode of autobiography is style. Udé uses self-fashioning and trans-gendered performance as a strategy for subverting identity categories. Moreover, he argues that “no one person is entirely complete; that we all negotiate lack and can always borrow, the parts that one is missing” (quoted in Hall & Sealy 2001: 49). This negotiation of lack also means that people can use clothing and style to construct their identities through outward appearance.

In the book *Beyond Decorum: The Photography of Iké Udé* (Bessire & Firstenberg 2000), Aimée Bessire notes that Udé’s 1999 installation (titled Beyond Decorum) was engaged in negotiating issues of appropriate dressing through the performance of a public self. This performance involves the clothing that the self chooses to wear, which both mark the absences, that attempts are being made to fill and celebrate aspects of constructed selves (Bessire 2000: 9). A few years before the 1999 *Beyond Decorum* exhibition, Udé had written a short, yet insightful essay titled *The Regarded Self* (1995). The essay contemplates how the self can be crafted and saved from public scrutiny through self-objectification[50] (Udé 1995). This inward shift towards the self, encourages self-love and self-regard. Self-love and self-regard as articulated by Udé means self-scrutiny, courage, defiance, “virtues which are

[50] He also terms this as redemptive narcissism.

necessary in a world where the mass media makes self-fashioning seem both compulsory and impossible" (Miller 2009: 258).

Udé personifies and practices ownership of the body and its representation. In his ownership of his body and style, Udé explored the idea of trafficking through history and geography in his 2010 exhibition titled *Sartorial Anarchy*.[51] This he did by creating self-portraits and wore different men's clothing from different historical periods in the creation of his own masculine image. Udé calls this borrowing, "trafficking through history and geography" and it exposes the ways masculinities have been constructed throughout time and across the globe (Pass 2015). Udé deconstructs the practice of the dandy, by referencing within the popular imagination and exposes their construction through the use of different kinds of clothes and objects (Pass 2013 & 2015).

The thesis finds great value in Barthes (2013) two-prong definition of dandyism (being ethos and techniques) and operationalises it towards a conceptual understanding of *igeza lensizwa.* Through a thorough analysis of the accompanying captions and identifying key characteristics that underpin what makes *igeza lensizwa,* I contextualise Barthes definition, as will be illustrated in chapter five. My analysis foregrounds two ethos (dispositions); *ukuzithemba* (self-confidence) and *ukuzizwa* (self-regard) as being the dispositions that undergird the young men's "performance of thought". Moreover, I draw from Udé's understanding of self-regard and self-love in articulating *ukuzizwa.* Barthes (2013) definition stresses that dispositions guarantee the techniques. Without the self-confidence and self-regard, the stylisation, garment curation together with accessories, will be without a solid foundation, where self-objectification can protect one from public opinion.

The negotiation of lack and subversive node which underpins black dandyism has been explored by a few South African scholars, notably Hlonipha Mokoena (2013b & 2017) and Anitra Nettleton (2017). Mokoena uses the concept of dandyism to explore the usage of clothing/uniforms worn by rickshaw pullers and Zulu policemen in Durban and Pietermaritzburg in the period before the unification of the four colonies

[51] Leora Farber (2015) uses a similar term to "trafficking" in her work on South African fashion practitioners where she argues that these practitioners "hyper-sample" from past fashion, styles, and popular culture, and adapt vintage and retro style references, "remixing them with contemporary design and materials to refashion garments in ways that signify new meanings" (Farber 2015: 124).

in 1910. She argues that based on the photographic evidence of multiple combinations of uniforms, Zulu men often took liberties with their dress. That is why there were Zulu policemen who were dressed like rickshaw pullers and rickshaw pullers who were dressed like domestic servants (Mokoena 2017: 126). Mokoena argues that this was so, because the Zulu men could have wanted better uniforms. Because, they might have understood the transformative ability of clothing as during the turn of the twentieth century, they too were "involved in the process of making themselves into 'men'" (Mokoena 2017: 128). Mokoena (2013b) argues that for Zulu policemen and rickshaw pullers, black dandyism became a way of negotiating masculinities through experimenting with expressions of fusions between, colonial dress and traditionally African sensibilities (Mokoena 2013b).

Another South African contextual example of dandyism is found in Anitra Nettleton's (2017) work. Nettleton argues that black South African migrants developed sets of differentiated embodied identities, expressed through dress genres (Nettleton 2017: 19). These men used some of their earnings to acquire Western-style clothing, blankets, beads, and other manufactured goods. Nettleton argues that the acquisition of such items might have been important to build identities through self-presentation in dress. Moreover, it also enabled the differentiation and commingling of multiple identities for individuals, which were in some sense "modern" (Nettleton 2017: 19). A completely different image of manliness took shape in supposedly "traditional" indigenous dress genres. It comprised of a mixture of elements, but which centred on beadwork that accentuated the male form. Nettleton argues that it is dress utterances which allowed one man to maintain all three visual identities: mine worker, man-about-town, and rural traditionalist, displaying them in separate and circumscribed ways in particular contexts (Nettleton 2017: 23). Each dress utterance had a particular addressivity and the African men played around with these varied dress utterances.[52]

The thesis draws insights of how Udé's ideas of borrowing garments and gestures from history and how this idea, permeates the works by Mokoena (2013b & 2017) and Nettleton (2017). Yet, a close reading of Mokoena and Nettleton's work

[52] Nettleton (2017) bases her theoretical framing on Bakhtin's (1986) concept of utterances being dialogical. The utterance only works through dialogism which is threefold as it requires a: speaker, addressee, and the super-addressee. Meaning that a central element of the utterance is that it is part of a triad (also see Emerson & Holquist 1986).

demonstrates that they each utilised Udé's trafficking idea differently. Nettleton foregrounds an image of a man with three set identities that get mirrored by three different attires. She does not pay attention to the possibility of reading each "set attire" as being made-up of different vestments which carry their own meanings. This more detailed reading of vestments is offered by Mokoena as my reading of her work shows how she, perhaps unknowingly, applies Udé's idea of trafficking. My project approaches the stylisation of *amageza ezinsizwa* with this thoughtful insight, drawing from Udé, Mokoena and Nettleton.

The concept of black dandyism allows me to explore *igeza lensizwa* and how he was fashioned by himself, and the female led editorial team. This fashioning was configured using elements of fantasy, glimmers of memories, references to popular culture and desires of how he should and wanted to be seen and perceived. Moreover, the concept affords me the opportunities to explore how *amageza ezinsizwa* critiqued identity categories and subverted others, as they stylised themselves. Throughout the thesis I examine how *amageza ezinsizwa* got positioned by, and positioned themselves, "within the narratives of the past" (Hall & Sealy 2001: 104). All this fashioning and identity articulations are embodied by black dandyism. Therefore, *amageza ezinsizwa* when considered through the lens of black dandyism offer themselves as an archive of shifting ideas of urban Zulu masculinities on the back page of *ILanga le Theku.*

Theoretical frameworks

The thesis utilises three theoretical lenses in its multifaceted exploration of *amageza ezinsizwa.* These theoretical lenses are used to read *amageza ezinsizwa* as masculinities that humanise (hooks 2004). The theoretical pursuits of the thesis entailed, firstly, understanding *igeza lensizwa* through the theoretical framework of transgressive masculinities (Anderson 2009 & Hall 2015). Through this exploration, which was facilitated by thinking alongside Ratele's (2016) notion of "liberating masculinities", I identified shifting practices that represent newer configurations of practices that challenge dominant Zulu masculinities.

The second theoretical lens is Roland Barthes (1990) application of social semiotics in crafting a fashion system.[53] *Amageza ezinsizwa* photographs were inspired by fashion photography. I use Barthes (1990) triad understanding of fashion to unpack the different components of the *amageza ezinsizwa* photographs. These components include their real garments, written garment (captions), and the visual garment (model and background). The third theoretical lens is through my pairing of Barthes (1990) conceptualisation of the visual garment with Henri Lefebvre's (2011) understanding of social space. This pairing made it possible to better tease out the relationship between the figure of *igeza lensizwa* in the foreground and the contents of their photographic backgrounds.

Transgressive masculinities

Despite using Connell's Critical Masculinities Theory, I do not see conceptual value in the original formulation of the Gramscian theme of hegemonic masculinities that Connell (2005) uses to map-out "types" of masculinities in a hierarchical manner.[54] This hierarchical arrangement is between men, informed by relations of alliance, dominance, and subordination, all of them in relation to a particular hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is not a static character type that takes the same form in different settings. Rather, they are situational, as they embody the "currently accepted strategy" in articulating the contextually valorised configuration of gender practices (Hearn 2004). Moreover, hegemony is secured through groups of people "maintaining power by policing ideologies, both through the threat of force, and the willing compliance of those oppressed" (Anderson 2009: 16).

[53] Social semiotic is rooted in the tradition which seeks to "read" social life, as it is based on the belief that people select and use multiple semiotic resources (signs) in their social contexts for the purposes of their communication. Social semiotics focuses on the processes of sign-making. Most important in social semiotics is that the sign is not a pre-existing union between a signifier and a signified, rather, social semiotics focuses on the processes of sign-making (Barthes 1977; Kress & Van Leeuwen 2001; Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006, & Jewitt 2009).

[54] Connell's theory is based on Gramsci's (1971) writing on class strategies and domination, as he writes that, "different strategies are adopted by a class in its hegemonic struggle against social groups whose interest are radically opposed to its own" (Gramsci 1971). Moreover, there are allies which dominate those which are its enemies.

That being said though, I do find value in some aspects of the concept, as reformulated by Connell and Messerschmidt in their piece, *Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept* (2005). In their reformulation of the concept, *inter alia,* an acknowledgement is made on the importance of a discursive lens. This reformulation was sparked by a critique that was made by Demetrakis Demetriou in his piece, *Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity: A critique* (2001).[55] Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) concede on the conceptual value of Demetriou's (2001) framing of internal hegemony, acknowledging the reciprocal influence of masculinities on each other, stating that, "hegemonic masculine patterns may change by incorporating elements from others" (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 847). The others, in this instant being the incorporation/appropriation of everyday gender practices of gay men by heterosexual men (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005). The authors concede that the concept of hegemonic masculinity, for it to be reformulated, needs to "recognise the agency of subordinated groups as much as the power of dominant groups and the mutual conditioning of gender dynamics and other social dynamics" (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 848). Moreover, another vital reformulation as proposed by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) is placing scholarly importance on how regional hegemonic masculinities affect local hegemonic masculinities. Stating that, "hegemonic masculinity at the regional level is symbolically represented through the interplay of specific local masculine practices that have regional significance" (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 849). Furthermore, the authors concede that the reformulation of the concept should also be cognisant in, "understanding the overlapping of local models of hegemonic masculinity, the interplay with society-wide gender dynamics [as being] part of the reformulation" (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 850).

Therefore, my project finds value in these two reformulated aspects of hegemonic masculinities. Aspects which acknowledge the reciprocal nature of masculinities and the importance of the overlapping nature of contextual hegemonic

[55] Demetriou (2001) contends that hegemonic masculinity is established through two frames of hegemony: external and internal. The external hegemony takes the form of dominance over women in domains such as the workplace and institutional power such as government policies. Whilst internal hegemony refers to social ascendency of one group of men over others. By understanding these frames, it is then possible to grasp how power over women and men is established. Therefore, the end goal of hegemonic masculinities is to wield power over women. Whilst the purpose of internal hegemony which subordinates other men, is informed by the misogynistic assumption that these men's configuration of gender practices are, "inconsistent with the currently accepted strategy for the subordination of women" (Demetriou 2001: 344).

masculinities. These reformulated aspects work well with the changing nature of hegemonic masculinities which can only be established if, “there is some correspondence between cultural ideal and institutional power” (Connell 2005a). These “cultural ideals and institutional powers” being the local and regional contexts as highlighted by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005). My distancing of my project from the original formulation of the concept of hegemonic masculinity is based on the fact that *ILanga le Theku* as a tabloid lifestyle supplement shifted and subversively disrupted gender norms in the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section. Thereby, creating a space where there was no rigid cultural ideals and institutions of intimacy that would categorise *amageza ezinsizwa’s* self-making as being “out of step” with dominant Zulu masculinities. Even though the interlocutors that were part of the public discussion on the making of *igeza lensizwa* validated some configurations of practices. Nothing was rigid in the making of *igeza lensizwa* as a lot of borrowing occurred in the supplement, as the page was envisioned as a safe space to showcase shifting urban masculinities.

My project finds conceptual value in Eric Anderson (2009) and Matthew Hall’s (2015) critique of the original formulation of hegemonic masculinities. Their critique foregrounds different types of alternatives which they call transgressive masculinities due to their undergirding aim to include. These alternatives are socially inclusive to the forms of “masculinities that were once traditionally marginalised by hegemonic masculinity” (Anderson 2009: 8). Anderson’s (2009) critique of the original formulation of hegemonic masculinities is also aligned to Ratele’s (2016) own critique of the original formulation of the concept, where he foregrounds the importance of hegemonies within peripheries, which acknowledges regional and local formulations of hegemony. Most importantly, Ratele contends that such a reformulation of the concept, allows scholars to investigate “multiple forms of subordination” (Ratele 2016: 12).

These alternatives - as foregrounded by Anderson (2009) - are more accepting and are not fixated with policing the edges of heteronormative masculinities. A caveat though is that transgression is only possible through men’s privilege of embodying some elements from dominant masculinities (Anderson 2009). Transgressive masculinities rely on the existence of multiple masculinities, but they do not need to be hierarchical. In relation to my project, the prowess of being *isoka* is crucial. It occupied dominancy. Being *isoka* meant being popular amongst women and being

admired by men and women for this prowess. Young men vied to be *igeza lensizwa* as that would bolster their standing as *amasoka,* but as highlighted in chapter one, the platform that was *igeza lensizwa* allowed young men to reimagine the prowess's required to be *isoka.*

Moreover, Matthew Hall in his book, *Metrosexual Masculinities* (2015) builds on this argument in his exploration of heterosexual men's metrosexuality. He does this by contending that, these men manage their non-normative gender activities by borrowing certain features from dominant masculinities and this then, legitimises their transgression. Therefore, Anderson (2009) and Hall's (2015) concept of transgression, together with Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) reformulation of hegemony that acknowledges its reciprocal nature (Demetriou 2001), allows me to unpack how *amageza ezinsizwa* engaged changing ideas of being *igeza lensizwa* and how they reimagined the prowess's of being *isoka*. *Amageza ezinsizwa* articulated their masculine gendered identity by configuring different practices, but these were not radically different from heteronormative Zulu masculinities. By drawing on some key characteristics from these heteronormative Zulu masculinities such as *ubusoka* [being popular amongst women] but honing different prowess's to becoming a contemporary *isoka*. *Amageza ezinsizwa* were then able to transgress on some masculine social and gender practices such as the disdain against vanity and modishness (Anderson 2009 & Hall 2015).

This transgression through style and dandyism is well demonstrated in Jay Bowstead's book *Menswear Revolution* (2018) where he explores men's sartorial expression and how these have shifted masculine representation. His study explores issues of power, agency, and control, in the rise of menswear fashion in the early 2000s. This is despite the "taboo nature of male vanity having the effect of delegitimising self-expression and bodily autonomy by enforcing conformity" (Bowstead 2018: 18). Bowstead (2018) argues that this misogynistic and myopic thinking is based on the stigmatisation of fashionable male identities and their gender practices being seen as effeminate.

To counter these misogynies, Bowstead (2018) argues that the fashion industry has been an important site where new ways of inhabiting and performing masculinities have been encouraged and cultivated. The menswear garments designed by the

French designer Hedi Slimane in the early 2000s during his time with the eminent fashion houses of Yves Saint Laurent and Dior Homme challenged the conventional male frame and his sartorial expression. Slimane pioneered the skinny male body with his tight-fitting clothes, "incorporating a sensual use of supple leathers and soft fabrics, sometimes, drawn from womenswear" (Bowstead 2018: 115). His designs integrated subcultural references and had reflections of dandyism as they created an alternative to the then popular muscular male frame, as represented by the 1990s Ralph Lauren Polo model; Tyson Beckford. Therefore, Bowstead (2018) argues that fashion is capable of refuting and challenging hegemonic masculinities by rejecting normative masculine representations (Bowstead 2018: 141).

The concept of transgressive masculinities offers insights for my building of the *igeza lensizwa* concept as it celebrates multiple masculinities and challenges practices which are meant to police masculinity such as being *isoka,* but allows young men to reimagine the prowesses that undergird being *isoka*. Through this legitimacy, style became a prowess which other non-stylish men conceded to its power as they too valued *ubusoka* and being *igeza lensizwa*.

Reading the fashion inspired: The Eye Has to Travel[56]

How *amageza ezinsizwa* dressed and posed, mattered, as it formed part of their configuration of practices which challenged the heteronormative ideas that Zulu men should not be modish. As demonstrated earlier, their stylisation was subversive as it became a prowess to the practice of *ubusoka*. Dress scholar Carol Tulloch (2010 & 2016) proposes that style denotes agency in the construction of the self. This agency is undergirded by the ability to use an assortment of clothing, accessories, and beauty regimes, which do not necessarily have to be in fashion at the time. Tulloch contends that styling is a form of autobiography as individuals dress themselves to convey messages about themselves. This, according to Tulloch, is narration through style (2010: 276). These style narrations are captured in the fashion inspired photographs

[56] Title borrowed from the 2012 document, *Diana Vreeland: The Eye Has to Travel*. Directed by: Lisa Immordino Vreeland, Frédéric Tcheng, Bent-Jorgen Perlmutt.

of *amageza ezinsizwa* and literary theorist Roland Barthes (1990,1995 & 2013) offers me a framework to examine the stylised self as captured in fashion photographs.

In his seminal works *The Fashion System* (1990) and *The Language of Fashion* (2013) Barthes offers a triad understanding of fashion. First being the real garment as signifiers. Second is the visual garment being the model wearing the garments in a fashion photograph which is the signified.[57] The third, is the written garment, where Barthes (1990) bases his analysis of vestimentary codes which make up the fashion system. Barthes seminal text is based on the written description of fashion in fashion magazines in the 1950s and 1960s. He analysed and devised a system where vestimentary features were arranged into a system of signification. The make-up of the visual garment is accomplished through the process of signification (Barthes 1977) as it is comprised of the background and the various inducers of associations (Barthes 1995). Barthes (1995) contends that objects (signifying units) in a photograph can induce various scenes, purely by arranging them in a certain order in the background and reading the connotations which the objects carry. For example, a background with Wattle trees in bloom, termite mounds, aloes on a hill and a herd of Nguni cattle induces connotations of a typical idyllic KwaZulu-Natal rural scene. The connotations emerge from all these signifying units which are captured in the photographic background. Read together, these objects constitute elements of signification. The thesis sees the captions which accompany *amageza ezinsizwa* fashion inspired photographs as the written garment as they guide readers on how the visual garment should be read and understood.

Barthes' (1990) written garment in the triad fashion system helps me read and understand the visual garment and the signification process. He argues that fashion items, as signifiers do not create desire, but brands do, by constructing an aspirational scene through the process of signification (Barthes 1990). Barthes fashion system is premised on the idea that fashion is comprised by a collection of related or associated garments and accessories that can be put together to create a complex whole. The thrust of Barthes fashion system is that the collection of related items can be separated into different components of fashion and the process of how they come together

[57] The signifier refers to the concrete world of sounds and vision (hat, bark, sun) whilst the signified relates to the concept or idea expressed by the sound or icon. Therefore, the sign is the union between the signifier and the signified (Barthes 1977).

(signification), can be studied (Stafford & Carter 2003). The process of these items coming together is called signification, the act which binds the signifier and signified into a sign (Barthes 1977). Barthes argues that there is nothing natural that links the signifier to the signified, therefore there is no naturally unified object that the fashion industry offers. Thus, the fashion system is characterised by discontinuities (Barthes 2013: 48). What we might call the “fashionable object” is, itself, a discontinuous entity that is constantly being translated from one code into another (Carter 2003: 152).

Barthes (1990 & 1995) proposes that the meaning of an image is never certain, but language, in the form of descriptions which accompany fashion photographs, help to restrict this freedom. The image freezes an endless number of possibilities, as words determine a single certainty (Barthes 1990: 13). Barthes further opines that the language of fashion intellectualizes the garment, as language permits isolating certain functions. Moreover, language helps guide how the fashion photographs should be looked at. The photograph presents a garment, no part of which is privileged, and which is consumed as an immediate whole; but from this assemblage the commentary/caption can single out certain elements in order to stress their value, this is the explicit note (Barthes 1990: 14). The described garment is a fragmentary garment. The order of language decides between the essential and the accessory (Barthes 1990: 15). By introducing an organised duration into the representation of the visual garment. Descriptions introduce a protocol of unveiling; the garment is unveiled according to a certain order and this order inevitably implies certain goals (Barthes 1990: 16).

In the context of the thesis, I have paid attention of the captions and the fashionable items that they isolate in their thirst-trap toned writing. These items, be they accessories or large clothing items, guide the reading of the *amageza ezinsizwa* photograph as they are meant to contribute to a fuller reading of the photograph. The mentioning of *umqhele* (head-ring), *umblaselo* or a baseball cap is done so that their signified meaning contributes to our reading of the street-casted young, urban Zulu men. Moreover, the brands that *amageza ezinsizwa* choose to wear, contribute to their individual aspirations as these young men were street-casted and were not stylised by *ILanga le Theku.* This is important, as Tulloch (2016) implores scholars not to trivialise garments and their branding, as they contribute to their wearers aspirations and how they want to be seen.

In the appendix section of *The Fashion System* (1990) Barthes offers a short, yet pithy three-page essay on fashion photography. This essay offers a conceptualisation of fashion photographs by splitting the fashion photograph into units of meaning. According to Barthes (1990) the fashion photograph creates a stage-setting where the model wearing the stylised clothing is put into quotation marks so as to ensure that the clothing keeps its distance from the setting. This is because the stylised clothes have their own lexicon, as does the stage-setting. But can be read together as a single sign. This technique is to make the signified - which is the whole reading of the stylised model and the background - seem unreal and by doing this, the clothing (signifier) pops out and becomes the only real thing (Barnard 2020). The background objects constitute elements of signification as the connotations which emerge from all these signifying units create the single sign. Barthes (1990) sketches out three styles that are used to create fashion photographs. The first being a poetic style, which is more literal. The second being a romantic style, which is the creation of an idyllic scene. And the third style involves excess as the background and clothing are outrageous, bringing striking attention to the clothing. Each of these three styles are achieved through what I earlier unpacked as the inducers of association (Barthes 1995).

Barthes (1990 & 1995) reading of fashion photography foregrounds the background as a stage-setting with its own lexicon. The thesis finds value in broadening this lexicon by also reading the photographic backgrounds as social space. Pairing these lenses offers my analyses an additional historical nuance. Henri Lefebvre's (2011) concept of "social space" conceptualises space as a human product articulated in three ways; perceived space, conceived space and lived space. Lefebvre's (2011) social space concept has been used widely. The thesis finds value in its application to three African cities, namely, the city of Windhoek in Namibia (Tjirera 2013 & 2019), the city of Nairobi in Kenya (Ombagi 2018 & 2019), and the City of Durban in South Africa (Rosenberg 2019). In each case, the concept is paired with different ideas, such as social architecture and symbolic power in the case of Windhoek, queering spaces through restructuring relations in Nairobi and racialisation of a city in the case of Durban.

Tjirera (2013 & 2019), Ombagi (2018 & 2019) and Rosenberg (2019) highlight nuances and contextual ways that the triad concept of social space can be used to understand a social spaces discourse. Tjirera's (2013 & 2019) analysis of Windhoek

explores its “cityness” through social architecture, symbolic power and legislation which informs how a space is conceived and used. Windhoek’s history is important when exploring her urban social spaces as urban spaces are always being shaped and reshaped through and by successive dominant and legal systems (Tjirera 2019). Historical buildings are also repositories of symbolic power, as they exude power over the territories they overlook.

Ombagi (2018 & 2019) offers a queer reading of the city of Nairobi and how queer individuals occupy and make use of certain city sites that they deem friendly, despite religious and political prosecution. Ombagi explores specific sites (internet café, tavern, and nightclub) that queer individuals in the city of Nairobi deem to be friendly, despite prohibitive legislation. He reads the implications of queer spaces in Nairobi and how these spaces are used and what they mean to queer individuals. Such spaces, Ombagi (2018) argues, possess certain situational qualities that emerge upon occupation by queer users. Ombagi (2018) argues that spaces are always shifting, and the meaning of a space is largely determined by who is occupying the space and the experience they bring to the space.

Rosenberg (2019) explores the racialisation of Durban and how race had an impact on the spatial development of Durban which erased the once visible presence of African, Indian, and Coloured people living in inner city Durban. Although most of the buildings that housed black people have been demolished (due to colonial legislation, the Durban system’s racial framework and apartheid legislation), Rosenberg (2019) uses the concept of social space to make visible these erased spaces. He argues that the omission of Durban’s black presence in the inner city at the turn of the twentieth century and their marginalisation, creates the general impression that black people did not occupy urban spaces and were not part of the evolution of Durban’s urban spaces (Rosenberg 2019). By exploring the areas where forced removals occurred (due to racial legislation), Rosenberg paints a picture of black people’s lives and how they existed in urban spaces, despite how the spaces were conceived.

A caveat to my employment of the social space concept is taking seriously the non-dominant historical accounts, represented by side-lined buildings, and redbrick ruins, which are rendered silent by the dominant architecture, in the background of

amageza ezinsizwa. Scholars contend that, ruins are not neutral as they are open to interpretations, based on who is looking at them, what framing informs their looking (Hell & Schönle 2010). Moreover, because ruins provoke both absence and presence, as they represent fragments of something that was once whole. They present on-lookers with the opportunity to escape static narratives in exchange for imaginative ones which "remember, retrace and recreate spaces" differently (Price 2016: 43). The person reading a ruin in a photograph is able to define it, as the act of reading involves investing, "our looking with imagination, creating in our mind, an alternative conceptual vision while simultaneously being mindful of what is there" (Gaule 2013: 37).

Therefore, the thesis infers connections between *amageza ezinsizwa* in the foreground and what the ruins in the background represent as social spaces. My thesis further pays attention to old Victorian and Edwardian architectural buildings and the histories they embody in relation to African men in Durban's history. By locating historical buildings that have significance to the lives of African men in the Durban Point area, my project makes nuanced readings of these relationships. Such as making inference's that there are relationships to be read between the modish and confident *amageza ezinsizwa* in the foreground and the histories of young African men that were housed in non-dominant historical buildings, peaking out in the background. This relation is teased out by taking seriously what Ombagi (2018) says about social spaces having situational quality based on who is occupying the space and what they bring to it. The pairing of Barthes idea of backgrounds as stage-settings and the contextual application of social space, allowed me to read the *amageza ezinsizwa* fashion inspired photographs and their various units of meaning which make-up their signification.

Methods of identification, collection, and interpretation

To answer my project's research questions, its aim, and objectives, I collected data through interviewing members of *ILanga le Theku*'s inaugural editorial team. Moreover, I did archival research, identifying and scanning close to four-hundred photographs of *amageza ezinsizwa* with their accompanying captions. The section below provides details of how I identified the eventual nine editorial members that I

interviewed. The section also provides information on how, from the over four-hundred photographs of *amageza ezinsizwa* and their accompanying captions, I settled on just under thirty photographs for analysis. Furthermore, the section gives details of which methodological tools were used to interpret my interview data and visual archival material.

I decided on semi-structured interviews which involved open ended questions, which were on the establishment of the *ILanga le Theku* and the topic of *igeza lensizwa* being fashioned by *ILanga le Theku.* Wellington and Szecerbinski (2007) indicate that semi-structured interviews allow researchers to query, observe, and investigate matters that have been identified. They therefore allow researchers to probe those individuals that are being interviewed to gain insight into their thoughts, values, and prejudices, perceptions of issues that they deemed important and unimportant in relation to the topic. Semi-structured interviews further probe the 'feelings' of the people we are interviewing as well as their individual perspectives towards particular matters of interest. The details of the interview guides are attached to this thesis as an appendix (see Appendix 5).

To identify the members of the inaugural editorial team, and ascertain which were pivotal to the lifestyle supplement, I carried out additional scanning whilst I was at the *ILanga* library, in the *ILanga* head office. Having been granted permission by Mr. Arthur Konigkramer (Managing Director of Mandla Matla) (see appendix 6) to use *ILanga's* library and Ms. Nokukhanya Zibani (*ILanga's* librarian) being asked to assist me, I visited the *ILanga* head office. This first archival trip was carried out in March 2020, just before the declaration of the COVID-19 National lockdown. I started with the very first issue of *ILanga le Theku* which was published in July 2005, scanning the list of editorial members, located below the editorial on the first page. Since the lifestyle supplement was published weekly, I only scanned one list of editorial members a month, to establish the permanency of the editorial members. Once I had established who they were, I only scanned the editorial list, every second month. Dudu Sibiya was *umhleli* [editor] for over a year, leading a team of experienced isiZulu-language journalist in the form of the Chief sub-editor (*umdidiyeli omkhulu*) and sub-editors. I later learnt that these were "loaned" from the mother paper *ILanga* to offer guidance and experience to the younger journalists who Arthur Konigkramer had granted permission to start *ILanga le Theku.* These young journalists were listed as *izintatheli*

[journalists]. They were: Nkosinathi Mshengu, Thobile Nxumalo and Zandile Tembe. By September 2006 they were joined by; Alex Mkhize, Thuli Dlamini, Sizwe Blose and Lucky Cain. By this time, the editorial team had been restructured, with the young journalist spearheading the content direction. I continued scanning the editorial list, every second month until the supplement stopped being printed in mid-2013. This process helped me identify the longest running editorial members. These were; Thobile Nxumalo, Zandile Tembe, Nkosinathi Mshengu, Sizwe Blose and Lucky Cain.

Furthermore, the system I used to catalogue the *amageza ezinsizwa* photographs and their accompanying captions, helped me corroborate the list of crucial editorial members in the crafting of *igeza lensizwa,* such as the photographers and the journalists that wrote the captions. The *igeza lensizwa* fashion inspired photographic section ran for eight years - starting in February 2006 and ending mid-year 2013. I catalogued the photographs by creating annual folders. Within these annual folders, were monthly folders and from these, I identified which photographers produced the most *igeza lensizwa* photographs annually. For the year 2006, the photographers whose photographs of *amageza ezinsizwa* were mostly published, were by Thuli Dlamini and Thobile Nxumalo. For 2007, it was once more Thuli Dlamini, with the addition of Lucky Cain. Again in 2008, it was Thuli Dlamini with the addition of Mthamiz Luthuli. In 2009, it was again Mthamiz Luthuli and Alex Mkhize. Between 2010 and 2011, most of the photographs of *amageza ezinsizwa* were being downloaded online, with a few by Alex Mkhize. In 2012, most were taken by Sihle Masinga. And in the final year - 2013, most were being taken by Sabelo Masuku. That is how I identified the key photographers that I interviewed being; Thuli Dlamini, Mthamiz Luthuli, Alex Mkhize, Sihle Masinga and Sabelo Masuku. This list of the main *igeza lensizwa* photographers was added to the main journalistic members I had identified through analysing the list of editorial team members from July 2006 until mid-2013.

Having collated the list of my respondents who were key members of the inaugural editorial team, I spoke with the *ILanga* librarian; Ms. Nokukhanya Zibani - having worked for *ILanga* since the 1990s. She was able to assist with finding out if any of the editorial team members still worked for *ILanga.* Going through the list, she informed me that only Lucky Cain still worked for *ILanga,* moreover, that Alex Mkhize had passed away. With this verification, my list of respondents came to nine. I found

all the other members of the editorial team on social media, where I Direct Massaged (DM) them, introducing myself and my project. Since it was still COVID-19 Hard-lockdown, I asked to interview them face-to-face once cross-provincial travel was permitted. Once it was permitted in late August 2020, I drew-up my interview schedule and travelled to KwaZulu-Natal, to interview; Sihle Masinga in Port Shepstone, Thobile Nxumalo, Thuli Dlamini, Mthamiz Luthuli, Sabelo Masuku all in Durban. I conducted three interviews virtually using Microsoft Teams; through this virtual mode, I interviewed; Sizwe Blose, Zandile Tembe and Nkosinathi Mshengu.

I used the Dutch software Amberscript to transcribe most of my interviews and where the audio was in isiZulu, I transcribed and translated it myself. In collecting and analysing my interview data, I thought alongside the scholars Wellington and Szczerbinski (2007), who mention that a researcher adopts one of three strategies to collect and analyse their data. The three-strategy rationale includes the following: 1) the priori, 2) the posteriori and, 3) a mixture of the priori and posteriori. In the case of the priori, we are faced with a data collection strategy that has pre-established categories for the analyses of data. This includes pre-existing categories which have been used or collected in previous research and then organized to be applied in one's current research or in the latest collected data. Secondly, the posteriori system of analysing data indicates "the categories used to analyse data are not pre-established but are derived from the data themselves…" (Wellington and Szczerbinski 2007:106). Lastly these researchers indicate that the category which particularly combines the priori and posterior strategy "is probably the most common and, in our view, the most rational approach to analysing qualitative data" (Wellington and Szczerbinski, 2007:106). This is because the data is analysed using some categories that are pre-established and those that are derived from the data. This strategy takes into consideration the theoretical discussions and the literature which has been reviewed but it also anticipates the contribution of information emanating from the 'field' data. My studies approach is a combination of the priori and posteriori, as I interviewed my respondents after having collected/scanned the photographs and their accompanying captions and did preliminary analyses of my archival material. This helped me formulate a few themes and categories, but these did not stifle nor limit the semi-structured interview approach. But instead enhanced it, as I could use this prior knowledge to draw better insights from my respondents.

The photographic archive and its accompanying captions required a different set of methodological tools to, identify, collect, and interpret. Photographs do not have essential truths. They are multi-accentual. They capture the choices that the photographer and the sitter make. Therefore, the task of a researcher is to be considerate of these choices, the contexts in which they were made, and to read these choices and their implications (Campt 2012 & Brunsdon 2021). Due to the nature of a photograph being open to multiple interpretations, the task of a researcher is to justify their own interpretation of a photograph. Moreover, Campt contends that any mode of interpretation that is used to analyse photographs "must engage their affective and semiotic capacity" (Campt 2012: 196). Meaning that, in the context of my study, being cognisant of two forms of affective and semiotic capacity. Firstly, how the photographs made me feel, and that this also had a hand in my selection and reading of the photographs for analysis. Linked to this personal affect is the development of a queer lens, which I have unpacked earlier in the chapter. This queer lens is inferred. It helped me develop a much more "intimate" reading which has the capacity to see beyond and between neat categorisations. This queer lens makes it possible for me to "activate the photograph" and allow it to unsettle established visual iterations (Thomas & Green 2015). Secondly, I needed to be cognisant of the affective expectations that the female viewer of *amageza ezinsizwa* were supposed to experience.

Before unpacking the interpretive lenses employed to justify my interpretations, I must first account for how the photographs moved me and how that also informed the decisions made in the final selection of the under thirty photographs that I analysed. This was out of a total that is close to four hundred photographs during the sections eight-year run. My research questions (outlined in chapter one) informed the type of photographs that I looked out for. The first step was photographing all the photographs of *amageza ezinsizwa*, housed in the *ILanga* library[58] in Durban and the periodical section of the Bessie Head library in Pietermaritzburg. That was the initial stage, which only explains why I collected the close to four hundred photographs of *amageza ezinsizwa.* In narrowing down the search to the under thirty photographs, I drew inspiration from a handful of media and visual scholars, namely: Nicole Fleetwood (2015), Tina M. Campt (2012) and Carol Tulloch (2016).

[58] Housed inside *ILanga* head office, situated at the Durban Point.

Fleetwood's work titled, *On Racial Icons* (2015) aimed to understand the "particular and peculiar relationship between the nation, representation, and race in the context of the history of U.S slavery and the presence of enduring racial inequality" (Fleetwood 2015: 1). She justifies her final selection of photographs for analysis, based on the images role in the production and circulation of the racial narrative found in the United States of America (USA). She further substantiates her selection by stating that she was interested in photographs that are "normative to our understanding of race in the United States; these are images that have a common sense meaning to them in terms of the national imaginary and a broad public's familiarity with them" (Fleetwood 2015: 3). My entry enquiry into *igeza lensizwa* is to explore this photographic archive as representing ideas of urban Zulu masculinities. And how the editorial team employed techniques to woo men into participating in this co-crafting and buy into making these visual masculinities popular. The editorial team then validated young men's participation by foregrounding them as eligible bachelors, worth thirsting over by women. Therefore, I selected photographs that represented the multiple visual types that were preferred and were being inculcated as the normative visual images of urban Zulu masculinities.

The second inspiration for my selection of *amageza ezinsizwa* is Campt's work on *Image Matters* (2012) where she argues that photographs should be engaged as sites of articulation and aspiration (Campt 2012: 7). Moreover, as records of choices and records of intentions. Intentions in the sense of the figure in the image, making statements about their aspirations and the ways they want to be seen. Therefore, Campt (2012) inspired me to be reflexive and continuously ask myself, what choices can I read in the photographs of *amageza ezinsizwa* that I have selected to analyse. The third inspiration is from Tulloch's work *The Birth of Cool* (2016) where she argues that the photograph's she analysed in her book, represent an "aesthetic of presence". This is a technique to "counter the aesthetic of invisibility that people of the African diaspora have had to overcome since slavery" (Tulloch 2016: 3). Therefore, in my selection of *amageza ezinsizwa* photographs, I also draw from this idea of searching for images which articulate the "aesthetic of presence", how the young men were dressed and posed, as that communicated their aspirations in the foreground of the derelict Edwardian buildings.

My selections were also based on which photographs moved me, which photographs were poignant. Roland Barthes (1981) puts forward the idea that some photographs have punctum. Punctum is a partial detail, “to give examples of punctum is, in a certain fashion, to give myself up…The punctum is a kind of subtle beyond as if the image launches desire beyond what it permits us to see” (Barthes 1981: n.p.). To account for how the *amageza ezinsizwa* photographs moved me, I link this idea of a “subtle beyond” to Campt’s argument that photographs produce affective resonances and attachments in ways we cannot necessarily explain and that are often detached from personal or biographical investments (Campt 2012: 16). Campt (2012) concedes that the concept of affect is slippery, and she puts forward a “simpler” approach to engaging affect which my study aligns itself with. She proposes that the concept seeks to attend to how certain photographs “move people, and why they catalyse forms of emotion, sentiment, meaning and value as objects of feeling and relation, desire, and aspirations” (Campt 2012: 16).

The *amageza ezinsizwa* photographs were made for a heterosexual audience and the thirst trap captions affirmed that. This I have unpacked earlier in the chapter, where I established that the thirst trap captions were underpinned by *ukuheha* and *ukuchazeka,* as the female voice crafted affective expectations*.* Meaning, how female readers were being encouraged to lecherously gaze at *amageza ezinsizwa.* But as a homosexual young man, I too bought the lifestyle supplement as an undergraduate student in Durban to check out the *igeza lensizwa* fashion inspired photographs. A decade later as a doctoral candidate, paging through the *ILanga le Theku* archive, I cannot discount the fact that I was drawn to some photographs, based on their appeal. This personal reflexivity journey was crucial as part of my qualitative interpretive modes (Palaganas, Sanchez, Molintas & Caricativo 2017).

My own sexual orientation informed my vision as I paid attention to what was salient to me and my viewing pleasure. Therefore, during the selection process, I needed to be consciously aware of my experiences and sexual biases which also informed my seeing as, “experience establishes patterns of repetition and those repetitions become recognitions that in turn generate predictions about the world” (Hustvedt in Cole 2016: ix). But my subjectivity also allowed me to develop a queer lens. This was inspired by Nixon’s (1996) ideas of codes sexual ambivalence, which is possible when men’s lifestyle magazines encourage heterosexual men to look at

other heterosexual men. As already introduced earlier in the chapter. My queer lens draws inferences on two types of “heterosexual-looking” relations. First on the gaze between the male photographers and the young men that they street-casted and photographed. And secondly, the looking between young men assessing the image of *igeza lensizwa,* comparing himself against *igeza,* and ultimately deciding to call *ILanga le Theku* to arrange a photo-shoot (or submit their photograph).

This queer lens that I have applied engages the “unsaid, the non-normative, and the complexity and messiness of desire” (Allan 2020: 74). This unsaid element being homosocial desire. The photographers denied being able to identify and describe a good-looking young man, yet they were the ones going out to street-cast them. The project contends that queer, in this understanding, when applied to two articulated “looking relations” can be read as a domain where rigid homosocial desires can be challenged and relaxed. Moreover, they make it possible to disrupt settled visual iterations.

Having unpacked my selection process, and consideration of different affective and semiotic capacities, I now turn to the interpretive modes. These will be the modes that I have used on the under thirty fashion inspired photographs of *amageza ezinsizwa.* I have employed various tools from critical visual methodology. From this large qualitative methodological toolkit, I have employed a multimodal[59] social semiotic reading on the *amageza ezinsizwa* photographs. The analysis emerged from the school of social semiotics which involves mapping how people select and use semiotic resources (signifiers). This occurs in their social contexts for the purposes of communicating (making signs). The selected interpretive mode is rooted in social semiotics which emphasizes the importance of the sign-maker and their situated use of semiotic resources (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2001; Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006; Jewitt 2009; Rose 2016). Most important in social semiotics is that the sign is not a pre-existing union between a signifier and a signified (as earlier explored through Barthes 1990). Rather, social semiotics focuses on the processes of sign-making

[59] The multimodality in the analysis takes the stance that communication is multimodal, meaning that, communication consists of images, postures, texts, colour, and that meaning is distributed across various semiotic modes used in communication in unequal ways, therefore, meaning is very much situational (Jewitt 2009; Bezemer & Jewitt 2009). The concept also considers the blurring of the traditional boundaries between roles allocated to language, images, paper layout and design in the media.

(which undergirds Barthes language of fashion). Moreover, a content analysis[60] has been used to explore the captions which worked to anchor the photograph and were also examined as written garments (Barthes 1990, 2013 & Wimmer and Dominick 2011). Critical visual methodology contends that the meaning of an image rests in four sites: firstly, the site of production, secondly, the site of the image itself, thirdly, the site of its circulation and fourthly, the site of its audiencing (Rose 2016).

In the context of my study, the site of production takes the form of the *ILanga le Theku* editorial team, articulating a street-casting brief and secondly, the photographer's interpretation of that brief, and their own photographic style, as to take a photograph is an active process (Clarke 1997). Moreover, the site of production includes the editorial team's decisions on which photograph would be published. Because the photograph that eventually appeared on the back page of *ILanga le Theku* was a result of multiple decisions by the editorial team. To unpack the decisions made in the "site of production" I interviewed the editorial team and the photographers to understand the decision-making processes which went into the final selection. Moreover, I engaged the photographers on how they street-casted young men around Durban, what inspired their photographic styles and how they went about photographing the young men.

The second site of an images meaning is the image itself, which is the *igeza lensizwa* fashion inspired photographs. To understand this site of meaning, I read *amageza ezinsizwa* as having similar operations as black dandies that were utilising tools of transgressive masculinities, and applied a social semiotic reading on their self-styling choices. I applied Barthes (Barthes 1990 & 2013) thinking on the discontinuous nature of fashion and how these young men used clothing as agency, to self-narrate their lives and aspirations (Tulloch 2010 & 2016). Moreover, the contents of the backgrounds were also considered as a stage-setting and a social space as I interpreted the relationships between the stylised *amageza ezinsizwa* in the foreground and, the backgrounds with their social, and historical value. To help identify the contents of the photograph backgrounds I walked around the Durban Point area, so as to observe the area with its newly restored Victorian and Edwardian buildings,

[60] Content analyses are helpful when employed to aid in the describing of communication content, to test hypotheses about the characteristics of messages, as well as to compare media content to the real world (Wimmer and Dominick 2011: 156).

alongside the new upmarket residential buildings. These observations enriched my reading of the photographs as they helped me understand the area as a social space with its layered history.

The site of circulation takes the form of *igeza lensizwa* being printed in an isiZulu-language lifestyle supplement, inside the mother paper; *ILanga.* Clarke (1997) contends that the meaning of photographs is also dependent on the context within which we read them. Through interviews with the editorial team, I explored the reasons behind the launch of *ILanga le Theku* and the tensions between the orthographic purist journalism in *ILanga* and the language and photographic stylistic play found in *ILanga le Theku.* The innovative nature of *ILanga le Theku* as a site of circulation had a pivotal role in the overall meaning of *igeza lensizwa* as the section was created to be a drawcard to build a sustained community of readers. The last site of meaning is the site of various audiences. This is undergirded by the fact that popular culture is reliant on its consumers establishing relevance with what they read and view (this was unpacked earlier in the chapter, using John Fiske 1989). This would be the audience engaging the *igeza lensizwa* fashion inspired photographs and the accompanying captions. Them reading, looking and being able to understand the reference to Thierry Henry's chest or Lunga Shabalala lips, or the mention of *ucu* in Zulu courtship and the borrowed lyrics from a *maskandi* song or those from R&B artists. These insights were drawn from the content analyse of the captions and the interviews conducted with the editorial team.

Conclusion

The chapter has presented, described, and evaluated literature, concepts, and interpretive modes that the study has used as it unpacked the various meanings of the visual representation of *amageza ezinsizwa.* Moreover, the chapter foregrounded key scholarly literature relevant to the intellectual framing of this study within broader scholarships on gender representations in the media, Critical Masculinities Studies, and identity as self-understanding.

The purpose of the literature review was to critically engage the various subject positions of *igeza lensizwa* and *ILanga le Theku* as a public script transmitting new masculine expectations. As far as possible, linkages of these discussions were drawn to a South African context to best illustrate the contextualisation of these concepts.

The literature was approached in a manner that will build the concepts of thirst-trap as being comprised of *ukuheha* [to entice] and *ukuchaza* [to affect]. Moreover, to also fine-tune the concept of *igeza lensizwa* as made-up of *ukuzithemba* (self-confidence) and *ukuzizwa* (self-regard). Moreover, the chapter engaged the selected literature and foregrounded how this study fills gaps, that were identified in the selected reviewed literature. Furthermore, the chapter engaged the various methodological tools that were used to identify, collect, and interpret the interview data and the visual archive material. The following chapter focuses on the establishment of *ILanga le Theku* as a site of circulation and delves into the decision-making processes of the female led editorial team as they went about creating content for a young urban readership and launched *igeza lensizwa* as a pin-up boy/thirst trap.

Chapter Three

Iphepha Labantu Abasha: A young team writing for the urban youth

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Introduction

The early 2000s saw *eThekwini*[61] begin to rival Johannesburg as "*kwa'ndonga ziyaduma*" [a place/space characterised by vibrant activities]. This was because the city was steadily becoming one of the countries vibrating pulses, offering its young, black, and urban inhabitants a vibrant lifestyle. *EThekwini* was developing a bustling way of life, with a growing township entertainment scene, an increase in the number of local fashion designers and a music scene that was quickly distinguishing itself. *EThekwini* was shaking off its laid-back and bohemian image as *kwelikabhanana* [the place of Banana's], and its image as a place where young people went to find work, and not live out their best lives. Besides being a tourism destination, *eThekwini* was now becoming a lifestyle destination. This new image of *eThekwini* and its urban youth became the prime focus of the lifestyle tabloid called *ILanga le Theku* [Durban's sun] which came out as a supplement in the Thursday issue of *ILanga.*[62]

This chapter is interested in the formation of *ILanga le Theku* which was launched on the 6th of July 2005 and stopped being printed in the first half of 2013.[63] The chapter will argue that the significance of *ILanga le Theku* as the first isiZulu-language lifestyle publication was due to its young inaugural editorial team. Zandile Tembe and Thobile Nxumalo as recent graduates with just a few years of media experience, were behind the establishment of *ILanga le Theku.* They led a young team made-up of: Nkosinathi Mshengu, Sizwe Blose, Lucky Cain, Thuli Dlamini and Alex Mkhize. Aside from the now late Alex Mkhize, this inaugural editorial team was in their mid to late twenties.

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[61] Although used interchangeably, *eThekwini* is the Zulu name for Durban and it is also the name of the Metropolitan municipality (*eThekwini* Metropolitan Municipality) which was formed in the year 2000, which includes the City of Durban.

[62] *ILanga Lase Natal* dropped "*Lase Natal*" on the 6th of March 1965 and from the 13th of March 1965 until present it is known as just *ILanga* newspaper.

[63] The supplement returned briefly in 2016 but the content had changed and the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section had been renamed to *I-Man Crush Yesonto* [the week's Man Crush].

Their lack of many years of isiZulu-language print media experience and their ability to stay attuned to what young people *eThekwini* found popular and trending, made them the perfect candidates to produce the first isiZulu-language lifestyle publication.

The significance of *ILanga le Theku* will be explored through one of the supplements longest running section: *igeza lensizwa.* In its simplest form *igeza lensizwa* was a weekly casting of a handsome young man. Once casted (either through street-casting or the candidate simply arrived at the offices and asked to be photographed), the handsome young man would have his photograph taken for possible inclusion on the last page of *ILanga le Theku.* The photograph would be accompanied by a caption. The chapter intends to explore the criteria set by the editorial team for *igeza lensizwa* casting and the deliberations of the pre-press newsroom meeting which also influenced the casting direction of the section. These deliberations informed the shifting criteria of *igeza lensizwa* and over the sections eight-year run, produced three representations of *igeza lensizwa.* These were: *izidlakela eziqimbile* [topless muscular men]*, izinsizwa ezidla ukotini* [young men that are stylish]*,* and *oshukela base Thekwini* [soft life[64] young men from Durban]*.* Over these eight years, the photographic representation of *amageza ezinsizwa* that were created, served different purposes for its implied readers. Either as thirst-traps which enticed and affected women and heightened young men's prowess's as charmers and *amasoka*[65]. Or as didactic masculine images for young men to aspire towards, and lastly, a valorised alternative to unsavoury masculine images that the editorial team wanted to eradicate. Local and global heartthrobs were also included over the eight-year period, but they did not constitute a type. But instead, they were thirst-trap "fillers" when there weren't any good quality photographs taken of local young men. They fulfilled the photographic sections key mandate, which was to present young men on the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section as pin-ups/thirst traps.

Moreover, the chapter will explore how the editorial team created a female persona whose voice was employed in the writing of the accompanying captions which had a distinct tone and usage of language. The tone used was that of a creative

[64] In the South African context, if one has a "soft life" it means that the person's life is without the normal troubles and hurdles that ordinary people encounter. Their life is characterised with ease and comfort as things generally fall into place, due to the person's economic standing, educational level, or social capital and this person has become accustomed to the finer things in life.
[65] A young man that is popular amongst young women.

rendition of *ukukhuzela* [adulation/shouting of love vocatives] as the character of the persona wanted to let the young men know that: "*intombi iyakubona* and *iyachazeka*" [a young woman sees you and she is impressed/affected].[66] The thirst-trap toned captions were written in a manner which guided the female reader on the type of affective expectations they were meant to experience. Therefore, the captions explored forms of desire through subverting the practise of *ukukhuzela.* The language used by the female persona contributed to its distinction, as the captions were written using a mix of isiZulu, English, forms of transliteration, various forms of *tsotsitaal* [township lingo] and borrowed its readers speaking mannerisms. The captions were also interwoven with Zulu cultural and popular culture references. Comparing the looks of *amageza ezinsizwa* to African American celebrities, remarking on their body features, such as their thick eyebrows by referencing Ngcobo praise names. Moreover, using music lyrics, be they Rhythm and Blues (R'n'B), *maskandi*[67]*,* or *kwaito*[68] to create suggestive fictive scenes between the female persona and *igeza lensizwa.*

Through these explorative enquiries, the chapter will argue that *ILanga le Theku* should be read as a significant African print media offering that pushed boundaries from within the over centenary old isiZulu-language newspaper. For almost a decade, this lifestyle supplement creatively played with photographic styles, crafted new and creative writing styles through the development of its female persona. This persona enticed its readers through its poignant relevance and the development of thirst-trap toned captions that through *ukuheha* and *ukuchaza* explored desire and guided affective expectations. The chapter will demonstrate the extensive work that went into negotiating, producing, and transmitting new public scripts (Ligaga 2020) on Zulu masculine images. Moreover, how homosocial desires took form and unsettled the boundaries of male-on-male spectatorship. The deliberations between the young inaugural editorial team and the decisions they made, demonstrate the work that went into producing content for their target readers.

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[66] Thobile Nxumalo (Communications Director, ANC eThekwini District), interview by author, 2 September 2020.

[67] Maskanda is a sub-genre of Zulu folk music. It is popularly referred to as "Zulu Blues" as singers often sing about real life experiences, daily joys and sorrows, and observations of the world. For more information see Ntombela (2016) *Maskandi: A critical discourse analysis of indigenous isiZulu songs.*

[68] Kwaito music is a style of popular music that originated in South Africa during the 1990s. For more information, see Peterson (2003) *Kwaito, 'Dawgs' and the antimonies of hustling.*

These young journalists and photographers were engaged in articulating what it meant to be young, urban, Zulu, and living *eThekwini*. The content was made for someone who was carving their life *eThekwini*. Perhaps he or she was renting a flat in Berea, studying or working around Durban, in the evenings, flicked through international pay channels watching MTV Pimp My Ride, MTV Base and followed the South African soap opera *Backstage.* On a Friday night, partied with friends at either Joe Cools at South Beach or eYadini lounge, a *shisa nyama*[69] spot eMlazi. On a Sunday they visited home eMlazi or attended a cousin's *uMemulo*[70] in KwaMashu wearing *umblaselo*[71]. This person still made periodic trips to see their grandparent's in Swayimane near Wartburg, with their pierced eyebrow and new silver coloured hairstyle inspired by the African American R'n'B singer Sisqó. And with all this swag, rode horses with his uncle as *bedlalisa amahashi esigcaweni* [horse trot dancing in an open space]. This was the multifaceted *ILanga le Theku* reader whom the editorial team, over its nine-year existence needed to entice, reflect, and entertain, as their interest changed continuously.

Competition pressures and deciding on a profitable youth

The launch of *Isolezwe,* South Africa's first isiZulu-language tabloid in 2002 set in motion changes that would result in the launch of *ILanga le Theku* in 2005. The establishment of *ILanga le Theku* by *ILanga* in 2005 is closely linked to the origins of *Isolezwe* in 2002*. Mandla-Matla*[72] as the holding company that owns *ILanga* had been

[69] These are South African semi-equivalents of USA's Barbecue joints, where meat is *braai'd* (grilled) on an open fire.

[70] Coming of age ceremony for young women.

[71] These are usually khakhi pants or sometimes denim jeans that have colourful patchworks sewn on them and have become a popular Zulu cultural attire. These pants have their history in South Africa's circular migration past. This sartorial item will be discussed in a forthcoming chapter which examines it as a vestment (Barthes 1990).

[72] In April 1987 *ILanga* became the only commercial publication in South Africa to be owned directly by a political party (Gillwald & Madlala 1987). Mandla-Matla is an IFP owned company which was created for the purpose of purchasing *ILanga* from the Argus in 1987. From its inception in 1903, *ILanga lase Natal* was hundred percent black owned until 1935 when its founder, John L. Dube sold 50% of *ILanga lase Natal* (Pty) Ltd to Bantu Press. In 1941 Bantu World bought the remaining 50% shares of *ILanga lase Natal* (Pty) Ltd and in 1962, Bantu World became the property of World Printing and Publishing Company, a subsidiary of the Argus Printing and Publishing Company and in 1976 *ILanga* was placed directly under the Argus Company (Switzer and Switzer 1979).

in a fifteen-year service agreement with *Independent News and Media*[73] and forbade them from publishing an isiZulu-language publication in KwaZulu-Natal without their prior consent. *Mandla-Matla* chose not to renew their service agreement with *Independent News and Media* and instead, entered into a new service agreement with *Natal Witness Printing and Publishing Company (PTY)* (Competition Tribunal of South Africa: 48/CR/Jun04). When the service agreement finally expired at the end of March in 2002, and the sunset clause no longer stopping them, *Independent News and Media* launched *Isolezwe* the very next month as direct competition to *ILanga*. With the clause lifted, *ILanga* found itself facing a formidable challenge as *Isolezwe* was a daily isiZulu-language tabloid whilst at the time, *ILanga* only published two issues a week (Monday and Thursday). The threat was very real as *Independent News and Media* had for fifteen years handled *ILanga's* distribution and circulation data. They now had an opportunity to use this information to target under serviced urban isiZulu readers. *Independent News and Media* used this information to produce an isiZulu tabloid that wrote stories using a mixture of languages and township lingos that their urban readers recognised. This was something that *ILanga* had not done before and still does not do.

In an effort to respond to this formidable competition which was targeting readers that were in *ILanga's* blind spot, the newspaper tried to revamp their long-standing entertainment section called *Zisha Egagasini* [things are going down at the waves]. Established in 1993, this section focused on *maskandi* music events and produced entertainment content for a rural or peri-urban person. This imagined reader was not that interested in international pay channels, nor did he or she keenly follow the popular youth television show Jam Alley (launched in 1994) or the lifestyle television show *Selimathunzi* (launched in 1996). Over the years, the section's content increasingly became stagnant and had an obstinate focus on a very particular reader; a young Zulu person who did not care much for modishness and shifting popular culture trends. The section stubbornly focused on the *maskandi* and gospel music

[73] Independent News and Media is one of South Africa's leading multi-platform content companies. It is also one of the oldest printing, publishing, and distribution companies of newspapers. It was formerly known as the Argus Group. Post 1994, the Argus Group went international after being sold by Anglo American to the Irish newspaper group, Independent News & Media. With the sale, it was re-named Independent News & Media South Africa (INMSA). About Us | Our company | Independent Media (accessed on 25 January 2022)

industry and paid little attention to other popular music genre such as *kwaito* and Rhythm and Blues (R'n'B).

A decade later and coincidently, a few months after the launch of *Isolezwe, ILanga* started a new half-page section in June 2002 called *Inkundla Yabasha* [platform for the youth] spearheaded by the journalist Sandile Mdadane. This section promised to educate and entertain a large but generic youth readership which encompassed the youth from rural areas, townships and in the suburbs. The section promised to provide their large, yet generic youth readership with the following content:

> *Izindaba okuyizo ezikuthintayo njengodaba lwezemfundo, ukucwila kwentsha ngokweqile ophuzweni oludakayo, nasezidakamizweni, ukwanda kongqingili noma izikonkoni entsheni, ukwanda kwabadayisa ngemizimba, nokuthi kuniphethe kanjani njengentsha ukungatholakhali kwemisebenzi nokunye okuningi.*
>
> News that relates to you such as: education, the excessive drinking of alcohol by the youth, the usage of drugs, the growing trend of homosexuality amongst the youth, the growth of prostitution, and to also gauge how unemployment is affecting you as the youth, and many other topics.
>
> (6 – 8 June 2002: 6)

These were the social ills, trends, and pejorative opinions that the *Inkundla Yabasha* section wanted to project, unpack, and offer didactic lessons for the youth of KwaZulu-Natal. The section focused on high school learners and recent matriculants and the pressures they faced. *Inkundla Yabasha* produced content to try uplift this youth, sharing interview skills, resumé drafting tips, bursary information, and shared motivational content of young people that were thriving at universities.

Both *Zisha Egagasini* and *Inkundla Yabasha* were addressing a largely "marginalised" youth sector. These rural/peri-urban youth were not considered as an "aspirational sector" by advertisers. And marketeers did not immediately see them as having consumption patterns that would purchase trendy items and increase sales. The youth sector that enticed advertisers based on their consumption patterns, ambitions, and thirst for all things popular was the urban youth audience. A group that

Zisha Egagasini and *Inkundla Yabasha* were actively not writing for. This group of modish and language mixing, isiZulu speaking readers that largely resided *eThekwini* did not have a print press that resonated with their practical lives and, one which wrote stories using their speaking mannerisms and mixed languages like they did.

Zisha Egagasini and *Inkundla Yabasha* were failing to achieve relevance with the much larger and aspirational urban *eThekwini* isiZulu readership. The content they produced serviced an "unlucrative" readership, and their writing style was too orthodox. Durban was changing, offering its large young population an exciting lifestyle without judging their sexuality and changing morals. This *eThekwini* reader with his/her distinct speaking mannerism, modish outlook, and trend following behaviour, found it difficult to relate with both *Zisha Egagasini* and *Inkundla Yabasha*. Particularly because they were not their target readership. But for *ILanga* to grow its numbers, it could not afford to turn a blind eye on this very urban reader that would also bring in new advertisers. *Isolezwe* had already made strides to cater for this young urban Zulu speaking reader by loosening some isiZulu orthographic rules and covering news that would also appeal to them. This was the seemingly insurmountable challenge that would face *ILanga le Theku* with its launch in 2005. To compete with *Isolezwe, ILanga le Theku* would need to contend with the pressures of finding new ways to address its readers with their ever-changing tastes. Continuously, stay abreast of what was popular and trending locally and globally. Moreover, use colloquial expressions to weave this into the content of the lifestyle supplement and wait to see if their readers found relevance in the content.

ILanga le Theku would differentiate itself from *Isolezwe* by primarily focusing on *eThekwini.* This was because *eThekwini* was becoming a site where young urban isiZulu speakers saw themselves as participating in global trends, as they remixed and infused them with their local Durban experience. All of this, as already laid out in chapter two, was carefully crafted, and conveyed by the voice of the female persona which *ILanga le Theku* created for the *igeza lensizwa* captions. A caveat to *ILanga le Theku* was that these innovations were sanctioned by the mother newspaper (*ILanga*), which has always seen itself as the custodian of the isiZulu-language. *ILanga le Theku* would depart from this and wanted to position itself as the custodian of their young, isiZulu speaking Durbanites. *ILanga*'s editorial agenda made it impossible to compete with *Isolezwe.* But *Mandla-Matla* knew that the survival of the *ILanga* required them to

find new audiences. Unfortunately, *Zisha Egagasini* and *Inkundla Yabasha* sections, with their then narrow and myopic editorial focuses, were not bringing in young urban readers. *ILanga le Theku* was then conceived as a viable publication that would target *eThekwini's* underserved young, urban, isiZulu readers that the main paper was neglecting. As a lifestyle supplement, *ILanga le Theku* quickly absorbed and eventually replaced the dated *Zisha Egagasini* entertainment section and the *Inkundla Yabasha* youth section.

The young, writing for the young

Despite the existence of *Zisha Egagasini* and *Inkundla Yabasha, ILanga* was not making headways in catering for *eThekwini's* urban youth readership. A new strategy was needed to target this new burgeoning readership. This audience needed someone who was attuned to them, and their proclivities just as Sandile Mdadane was attuned to readers of *Inkundla Yabasha*. Newer, and younger *ILanga* staff members began coming out and informing Arthur Konigkramer (Managing Director of *Mandla-Matla*) that they could not relate with the newspaper in its current form. Zandile Tembe who was Konigkramer's assistant at the time, recalled that *ILanga's* entertainment section (*Zisha Egagasini*) was boring, as it covered events in rural areas and as a "township girl from eMlazi" Tembe felt the section did not speak to her.[74] With this insight and persistent anxiety caused by the launch of *Isolezwe, ILanga* tried to reinvigorate *Zisha Egagasini* and *Inkundla Yabasha*.

ILanga began by encouraging its new younger journalists to contribute content to its established *Zisha Egagasini* entertainment section. They tried invigorating the *Zisha Egagasini* section, by covering entertainment stories that would appeal to young urban readers. By late 2004, the young journalists felt embolden and started coming-up with new content for *Inkundla Yabasha* youth section as well. The departure of Sandile Mdadane in late 2003 (to join *Isolezwe*) as the sole contributor to *Inkundla Yabasha* opened an opportunity for a new young person to invigorate this section. S'bu Masango temporarily took over after Mdadane's departure but produced the

[74] Zandile Tembe (Programmes Manager, uKhozi FM), interview by author, 13 October 2020.

same content as him, until the middle of 2004. A noticeable content shift became visible when Zandile Tembe took over *Inkundla Yabasha* in July 2004. Tembe started writing articles that young Durbanites wanted to read, which did not have judgemental tones. She wrote articles about the growing levels of independence amongst young working Durban women who were comfortable with renting their own apartments. By doing this, questioning the dated cultural belief that would have them only leave the family home once married to start a family with her husband (14 – 16 July 2005). Moreover, she also explored the rise of metrosexuality amongst young Durban men (24 – 25 Nov 2005). Tembe's articles also questioned Zulu cultural practices and contrasted them against what young urban people thought of them, an example of this was in her September 2004 article. Every September *ILanga* covers *uMkhosi Womhlanga*[75] with the usual narrative of a Zulu nations pride in their maidens and encouraged other young women to take pride in their Zuluness and virginity and participate in *uMkhosi Womhlanga.*

Tembe approached *uMkhosi Womhlanga* through a different angle in *Inkundla Yabasha* and ran an article titled, "*Lihle isiko kodwa hhayi kithina"* [the cultural practice is beautiful, but it is not for us] (16 – 18 Sept 2004: 8). The night before *uMkhosi Womhlanga,* Tembe and a photographer went out to nightclubs around Durban and interviewed young men and women about their thoughts on *uMkhosi Womhlanga.* The nightclubbers mostly agreed that the practice of virginity testing was a lovely practice. But one which they did not find relevant in their modern lives as they saw no need to publicly announce their virginity. Five photographs accompanied the article, one of bare-breasted Zulu maidens wearing traditional clothing and had natural hair at *uMkhosi Womhlanga*. The other four were taken at nightclubs with young women flicking their silky weaves as they busted moves on the dance floor, whilst holding their cocktails, with others wearing miniskirts in sexual grinding dancing positions with their male dancing partners. Overall, the articles that Tembe produced wanted to showcase these social and cultural changes as young Durbanites were negotiating their ways of

[75] This is the annual Royal Reed Dance event which was re-introduced by the Zulu monarch in the 1980s which largely borrows from the eSwatini Reed Dance. It incorporates virginity "testing" and honours the Zulu nation's virgin maidens which are then celebrated as the embodied virtues of the Zulu nation. It gained popularity as a preventative "behaviour" in light of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and this cultural practise was promoted as a measure to curb the AIDS epidemic by promoting a culture of respect for young women who, vow to remain virgins until marriage.

life, as they reconciled what being Zulu meant to them whilst being urban, as they developed new moral codes.

Under this new content direction, Tembe profiled the newly formed two-man music duo called *Durban's Finest* which pioneered Durban electro house music[76] that quickly become the sound of *eThekwini*. It was made-up of Mthokozisi Khathi, best known as Dj Tira and Mbusi Sokhela, best known as Dj Sox. Dj Tira and Dj Sox moved to Durban in the late nineteen nineties from other parts of KwaZulu-Natal to pursue their tertiary education. Pushing his music passion, Dj Tira entered, and won the Smirnoff SA DJ Knockout competition twice (2000 and 2001).[77] Destiny had other plans for them, and they eventually released their first album called *Durban's First* (volume 1 of an eventual 3) in 2004. So proud of the success of these young Zulu Durban musicians, the profile article was accompanied by an endorsement (figure 3) from *ILanga,* encouraging its readers to vote for the *Durban's Finest* album in the Metro FM Awards.[78]



Figure 3: November 11 – 13 2004. Courtesy of the Bessie Head Library (PMB).

[76] DJ Tira on Apple Music (accessed on the 1st of March 2022)
[77] DJ Tira celebrates 47th birthday with new album 'Malume Way' (citizen.co.za) (accessed on the 24th of September 2023)
[78] Metro FM as the largest commercial radio station in South Africa established the awards in the early 2000s to celebrate the South African music industry and nominations are driven by listeners. The Durban International Conference Centre (ICC) has been a favourite venue to host the awards.

The free advertorial/endorsement called on *ILanga* readers to unite behind these young *eThekwini* musicians and show South Africa how KwaZulu-Natal supports its own. Continuing with her new content direction, Tembe also introduced the *Ezemfashini* [all about fashion] section in October 2004 which focused on the fashion industry. The section focused on young, black, up and coming Durban designers such as, the late Thokozani Mbatha who established Black Pepper in 2002 and Ayanda Maphumulo who established Afrodisiac in the mid-2000s. Tembe covered their rise to fame when their menswear range stood out in the 2006 MTN Durban Fashion week under the *True Love Magazine* Ethnic Chic show. This new content direction by Zandile Tembe started gaining attention from younger *ILanga* readers. Mobile phone companies and fashion labels wanted to have their adverts published on the same pages as the invigorated *Zisha Egagasini, Inkundla Yabasha*[79] and *Ezemfashini* sections. The success of these sections by the young journalistic staff members was being keenly monitored by Arthur Konigkramer.

Impressed with the growing flow of the new content and the revenue potential from advertisers, Konigkramer approached Zandile Tembe and newly employed Thobile Nxumalo and asked them to brainstorm a new supplement and compile a team that would run with it.[80] Unbeknown to *ILanga's* then editor, Sipho Ngobese and other senior journalists, Zandile Tembe and Thobile Nxumalo had been asked to bring a fresh perspective to the over centenary old newspaper. With no budget to conduct any form of consumer market research to gauge what young isiZulu speaking Durbanites would want in a publication that targeted them. Tembe and Nxumalo used themselves as potential readers of this publication they were brainstorming.

As two young women, who had recently graduated and both living *eThekwini,* they reflected on their own lifestyle ambitions. Thobile Nxumalo grew-up kwaMaphumulo near Stanger and came to Durban for her tertiary education at a private college in the late 1990s. At the age of twenty-four (24), in 2004, she joined *ILanga* as a Promotions Officer. She had gained experience through freelance work and had interned for a community newspaper and *Independent News and Media*.

[79] In September 2005 "*Inkundla*" was dropped and the section became known as *Ezabasha* but over the years, the section's title was interchangeably printed as either *Inkundla Yabasha* or *Ezabasha.*

[80] Thobile Nxumalo (Communications Director, ANC eThekwini District), interview by author, 2 September 2020 and Zandile Tembe (Programmes Manager, uKhozi FM), interview by author, 13 October 2020.

Zandile Tembe was a native of Durban, she grew up eMlazi, and at the age of twenty-one (21), in the year 2000, towards the end of her studies at the then Durban Institute of Technology (DIT)[81], she joined *ILanga* as an assistant to the Managing Director of *Mandla-Matla*. She had worked for the university's newspaper and had enjoyed writing human-interest stories for the publication. Tembe had the privilege of moving around different business units in *ILanga* and gained experience in the areas of marketing and finance. She was also tasked with typing out and editing the handwritten letters that *ILanga* received from its readers for publication and writing short isiZulu articles (although Tembe recalls that Konigkramer initially doubted her written isiZulu). Tembe spent most of her early years working under the promotions manager and developed an acute understanding of *ILanga's* readers and how advertisers pitched their products to them.

Tembe and Nxumalo used their youth to their advantage and reflected on their own interests, opinion on things and what their young adult lives looked like and what they wanted them to look like. These two young journalists grew up in the 1990s which in South Africa, was influenced by African American Rhythm and Blues (R'n'B) and the establishment of *kwaito* as a distinctly South Africa music genre.[82] They grew-up watching the popular youth television programme Jam Alley[83], watching pay channel television such as M-net[84], and the popular lifestyle television show, *Selimathunzi.*[85] Moreover, as teenagers they keenly read consumer and lifestyle magazines such as *True Love, Drum* and *Bona*. They were also avid listeners of uKhozi FM[86] and Metro

[81] Changed names in the early 2000s following the merger of Technikon Natal and ML Sultan Technikon and now is called the Durban University of Technology (DUT).

[82] Bhekizizwe Peterson (2003) provides a captivating argument on how Kwaito became a distinct South African sound post, 1994.

[83] A South African youth entertainment television programme that was launched in 1993, broadcasted on the South African Broadcast Corporation (SABC) and ended in the early 2000s. The show invited contestants to compete, based on questions drawn from the music and entertainment industry, testing their knowledge of music lyric knowledge, guessing music video shots and their karaoke skills.

[84] Pay television channel owned by Naspers which was launched in 1986 in South Africa. The channel broadcasts both local and international programming, including general entertainment, children's series, sport, and movies. While the TV signal is generally encrypted, M-Net showed some programmes 'free to air' in its "Open Time" slot between 5 p.m. and 7 pm, until the slot closed on 1 April 2007.

[85] Selimathunzi presenters: Where are they now? | News24 (accessed on the 27th of February 2022)

[86] Ukhozi FM is a South African national radio station, owned by the SABC, based in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal that caters to the needs of the Zulu-speaking community. Founded in 1960, it is the largest radio station in South Africa and Africa.

FM.[87] They were part of a generation that had hand-written lyric books so when their favourite song came on the radio, they could dash for the lyric book and sing along.

Moreover, *eThekwini* in the early 2000s was steadily offering young black people a new lifestyle which was being captured in music lyrics and music videos produced by *Durban's Finest*. Through the immensely popular three volume album, Dj Tira and Dj Sox captured the tempo and vibrancy of Durban's youth in the early 2000s. And continues to do so, through the genre called Gqom that emerged around 2010. The *Durban's Finest* music videos, with young black Durbanites dressed to party, were shot in trendy areas around Durban; in nightclubs, at home pool parties and at the newly opened (but now famous) *shisa nyama* restaurants eMlazi: *eYadini* lounge and Max's Lifestyle restaurant. These *shisa nyama* restaurants were growing in popularity and drew people from all walks of life. Young black adults who had moved to the suburbs but missing the township scene, visited these barbecue restaurant's which often had carwash facilities attached to them. These restaurants offered a weekend way of life. Young patrons would have their cars washed whilst they enjoyed their chilled Hunters Gold cider, and braai meat, whilst mingling with Durban socialites. The *Durban's Finest* music videos and lyrics showcased this new vibrant lifestyle scene. The often-lurid lyrics regaled the listener with what young Durbanites found hip and happening and hinted at the mischievous happenings at these wild house parties.

The early 2000s was also a time when Durban was becoming a fashion incubator as the French consulate launched the *L'Afrique Est A La Mode* (Africa Is In Style). This was an initiative by the French government to groom and promote young African designers through fashion competitions and offer them internships with established designers. As Gauteng local brands such as Stoned Cherrie[88] and Loxion Kulca[89] were establishing themselves in the late 1990s and early 2000s and being showcased on SA Fashion Week, so too where local Durban designers such as Thokozani Mbatha and Ayanda Maphumulo as they showcased their designs at *L'Afrique Est A La Mode* (Africa Is In Style) competitions and at the MTN Durban Fashion Week. Just as Stoned Cherrie and Loxion Kulca were inspired by nostalgic revivals of Gauteng's rich

[87] Metro FM is a national radio station in South Africa owned by the South African Broadcasting Corporation, established in 1986. Dubbed South Africa's number one Urban radio station.
[88] Stonedcherrie :: Fashion & Fabric Design. Johannesburg, South Africa. (accessed on the 17th of November 2021)
[89] About Us - Loxion Kulca (accessed on the 17th of November 2021)

township social histories, drawing sartorial inspiration from *pantsula* styles, retro-sixties, and afro-chic (Bogatsu 2002; Mhlambi 2004). Black Pepper (Mbatha's fashion label) and Afrodisiac (Maphumulo's fashion label) were inspired by Zulu material culture, safari images and vibrant afro-chic colours.[90] This rich popular culture scene was what Zandile Tembe and Thobile Nxumalo experienced as young black Durbanites and which they now needed to package into an isiZulu lifestyle supplement. Instead of creating a bigger entertainment section, with an updated youth section, Tembe and Nxumalo realised that *eThekwini* had a lot to offer its young isiZulu speaking urban inhabitants. Only a lifestyle supplement would fully capture what *eThekwini* as a lifestyle destination had to offer.

Tembe and Nxumalo drew from these popular culture influences which they consumed and conceptualised an isiZulu lifestyle supplement that would carry content that young, edgy, urban, isiZulu readers would resonate with. They pitched the concept to Konigkramer, and he loved it, gave it the go ahead, naming it *ILanga le Theku* [Durban's sun] as the supplement would initially target young Durban based isiZulu readers.[91] The very first issue of *ILanga le Theku* went out on the 6th of July 2005 as a lifestyle supplement in the Thursday issue of *ILanga.* The masthead (figure 4) of this first ever isiZulu lifestyle supplement had an iconic scene to match the name. Behind the *ILanga le Theku* name was an iridescent rising sun from the Indian Ocean, illuminating the Durban Skyline and a shot of Wilson's Wharf, taken from the Durban harbour. This signalled a new dawn in *ILanga's* latest strategy to grow its readership by writing for a new generation of isiZulu newspaper readers.



Figure 4: *ILanga le Theku* masthead. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

[90] Black Pepper specialises in made-to-wear clothing. Mbatha's designs are inspired by black South African cultures and a broad African aesthetic with a contemporary, youthful, and stylish feel.
[91] This is based on an email conversation I had with Arthur Konigkramer – 12 October 2020.

With the concept approved by Konigkramer, Thobile Nxumalo and Zandile Tembe put together an equally young and vibrant inaugural editorial team composed of Nkosinathi Mshengu, Sizwe Blose, the late Alex Mkhize, Thuli Dlamini and Lucky Cain.[92]



Figure 5: Group photograph of *ILanga le Theku's* inaugural editorial team taken at the Durban Point Waterfront a few metres away from *ILanga's* headquarters. Taken by Thuli Dlamini in 2007. Resting their arms on the young men's shoulders is Zandile Tembe (second row on the right) and Thobile Nxumalo (second row on the left). Seated from the right is Lucky Cain, Sizwe Blose, Nkosinathi Mshengu and the late Alex Mkhize. Courtesy of Thobile Nxumalo.

Each bringing a wealth of experience to the new publication, the editorial team felt great pride for being part of this vanguard team. They all called KwaZulu-Natal home. Lucky Cain was a native of Durban and grew up in Verulam and studied journalism at the Durban University of Technology (DUT). At the age of twenty-one (21) Cain joined *ILanga* initially as a freelancer in late 2005 and was absorbed as a full-time journalist the following year, becoming the youngest member of the *ILanga le*

[92] Initially when the supplement started, there were no static roles, seasoned staff members from *ILanga* were roped in to lend their practical experience in putting together a publication. But when the paper found its feet in 2007 an editorial team was formally structured, headed by Thobile Nxumalo as its new Editor-in-chief.

Theku editorial team.[93] In 2006 the team grew further with the addition of another native of Durban, thirty-three (33) year-old Sizwe Blose from eMlazi. With a Communication Science degree from the University of Zululand and experience with starting a youth focused magazine called *Cheers*. Blose also freelanced for various daily newspapers before joining *ILanga.* In the same year, the team was joined by twenty-six (26) year old Nkosinathi Mshengu from Pietermaritzburg, having trained in Television and Media studies. Before joining *ILanga,* Mshengu had been a field reporter for Radio Maritzburg. He then moved to Durban as a freelancer, working for various community newspapers and the Durban Youth Radio station with a passion for current affairs, *maskandi* music and matters of the heart. The last edition to the inaugural editorial team in 2006, was another Durban native, twenty-six (26) year-old Thuli Dlamini, also from eMlazi. Dlamini joined the team as a photographer having studied photography in Durban in 2003. Dlamini freelanced with the *Sowetan* and the *Daily Sun* and later, worked at the KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, being part of the team that established the institutions first newsletter; *iSo Elibanzi* [wide eye]. Dlamini (together with the late Alex Mkhize) were *ILanga le Theku's* main photographers.

Based on their content specialisation, we get a clearer image of what constituted lifestyle content for *ILanga le Theku*. Aside from being editor-in-chief from 2007 until 2011, Nxumalo was responsible for content which related to women, family, and children's issues. Tembe initially oversaw and produced content on TV entertainment, fashion, and youth issues.[94] Cain was initially in charge of features, briefs, and career content. Blose initially oversaw and produced content on radio, nightlife entertainment and youth issues. Lastly, Mshengu initially oversaw and produced content on what was on at the theatre and did reviews of the latest CD albums.

The reader that this editorial team was writing for was one that followed local and global popular culture closely and if the editorial team did not stay abreast of trends, they would quickly lose touch of their readers. The 27th of July 2006 coverage page of *ILanga le Theku* (figure 6) demonstrates the myriad of interests that the editorial team needed to juggle.

[93] Cain would be appointed the editor-in-chief of *ILanga le Theku* when Thobile Nxumalo departed at the end of 2011.

[94] *Inkundla Yabasha* and *Ezemfashini* sections were phased out in the main paper in mid-2006 and moved onto *ILanga le Theku.*

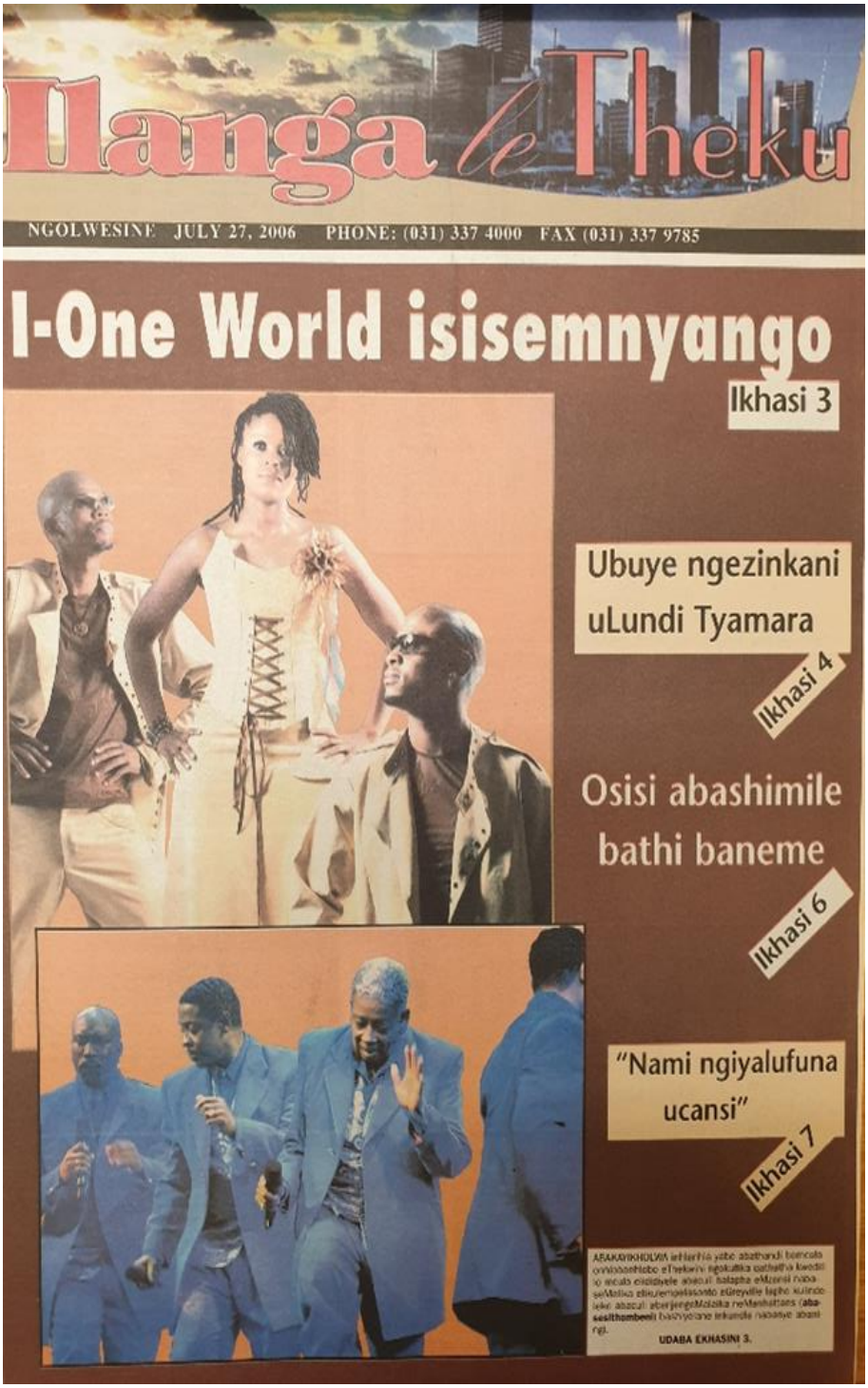


Figure 6: Cover page of *ILanga le Theku* 27 July 2006. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

The two headline photographs were from a music concert that had recently taken place at the Greyville racecourse fields where the South African Afro-pop group

Malaika[95] and the American rhythm and blues (R'n'B) group, *The Manhattan's* had been headline acts.[9697] The most prominent headline photograph is of the South African Afro-pop group *Malaika* with its female vocalist Matshediso Mholo flanked by Jabulani Ndaba, and Bongani Nchang. The second is a photograph of an on-stage performance by *The Manhattans*. A fuller account of the star-studded music concert would be found on page three. The diverse interests continue with the three prominent text headlines, "*Ubuye ngezinkani uLundi Tyamara*" [Lundi Tyamara returns with gusto] [98] "*Osisi abashimile bathi baneme*" [single women say that they are happy] and "*Nami ngiyalufuna ucansi*" [I also want sex]. The front page of *ILanga le Theku* illustrated the divergent topics and tastes that piqued the supplements readership. Moreover, the mischievous frankness of the text headlines highlighted the shifts in societal norms as *ILanga* with its conservative and decorous nature, would never lead with such headlines. But the *ILanga le Theku* editorial team knew that their young, urban *eThekwini* readers were not restrained by decorum nor "influenced" by the practice of *ukuhlonipha*[99] but spoke with frankness. Furthermore, there was no admonishing, judgemental tone for these lurid and saucy headlines, as the editorial team knew that they would find relevance with their readers.

This young, urban, and multi-talented editorial team, with experience in marketing, print and broadcast media and photojournalism did not hold back with

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[95] Malaika was trio Afro-pop group which rose to fame after the release of their self-titled album "MALAIKA" in 2003, which topped the charts of many radio stations and sold hundreds of thousand copies. After the death of Jabulani Ndaba in 2008 the group struggled to work together and last released an album in 2011, titled *The Best of Malaika.*

[96] The Manhattans are an American popular rhythm and blues (R&B) vocal group that was formed in 1962. The group was originally from Jersey City in the state of New Jersey in the United States of America (USA). The group is comprised of Richard "Ricky" Taylor, Gerald Alston, Kenneth "Wally" Kelly, Ed "Sonny" Bivins, Winfred "Blue" Lovett. Some of their biggest songs include "Kiss and Say Goodbye" which was recorded in 1976 and "Shining Star" which was recorded in the 1980s and each sold millions of copies.The Manhattans Songs, Albums, Reviews, Bio & More | AllMusic (accessed on the 28th of February 2022)

[97] The Manhattans heading for SA in July (iol.co.za) (accessed on the 28th of February 2022)

[98] Lundi started as a backing vocalist for the gospel singer; Rebecca Malope, he was then offered his first solo record deal by Tshepo Nzimande. In 1998, Lundi Tyamara released his debut album titled *Mphefumlo Wami* which sold almost 400,000 copies, he went on to release more than 20 albums in his career, winning several awards. Lundi was one of the bestselling gospel artists of all time in South Africa, selling over 3 million album copies.

[99] *Ukuhlonipha* is a form of respectful behaviour, widespread in southern Africa commonly known as a language of avoidance. Its linguistic manifestation has often been interpreted as a "traditional" verbal taboo whereby married women must avoid uttering the father-in-law's name. The practice of *(uku)hlonipha* is not only verbal. Its fundamentally somatic meaning—covering, avoiding, and suppressing affect—applies broadly to bodily comportment, clothing, and the physical activity of speaking (Irvine & Gunner 2018, also see Msibi & Rudwick 2015).

innovative content for their *ILanga le Theku* readers*.* They created multiple persona's to best address their readers. Mshengu created the persona of *Dr Love*, giving out weekly relationship advice. The editorial team also created the *Awusho Razo!*[100] male persona, and through the voice of *irazo*, explained burning topical issues and made saucy remarks.[101] Moreover, the editorial team created a popular photography feature called *igeza lensizwa* where shifting representation of Zulu urban masculinities were exhibited as thirst traps/pin-up boys. Captions accompanied these *igeza lensizwa* photographs were written in the voice of a female persona which gave a typical thirst trap response (this will be the focus of the following section).

Nxumalo wrote the *Inzalabantu* [women][102] section which tackled many societal issues from a women's perspective such as, how much should *ilobolo* cost, and whether it was safe for women to shave their body hair. Blose wrote the *Sizipholele* [we are chilling] section, where he met-up with artists and successful personalities around Durban and wrote biographic profiles on them. Moreover, there was a weekly two-page photographic spread called *Siyixoxa ngezithombe* [we discuss it with photographs]. It was an assortment of photographs from various events around Durban and across KwaZulu-Natal, and included readers submitted photographs of the events they had attended or hosted. The photographs were snapshots, with no posing required. They were taken to capture the moment and its gaffes.

The photographs were accompanied by tongue-in-cheek captions, remarking on the chemistry between individuals. Musing on a photograph capturing a person whispering something to their friend or lover and wondering, what might have been said. All these sections were crafted to cater for the *ILanga le Theku* reader who was young, urban, and religiously followed what was popular. The team needed to stay abreast of what was happening in the media, in communities and what was popular. Knowing the latest Mary J. Blige album (which was *The Breakthrough* in 2005/2006),

[100] A close English translation of *Awusho Razo!* is the idiom "so tell me", which is used by a speaker to introduce a question. In the case of *ILanga le Theku* the speaker is *irazo* which is *tsotsitaal* for a township/location streetwise man. This social commentary section was written in a conversational style, using isiZulu and English and *tsotsitaal*, as *irazo* persona offered social commentary on a medley of topical issues.

[101] A chapter provisionally titled, *ILanga le Theku: Developing Plural Voices for the Urban Youth* (Ngwane) dedicated to *irazo* will be published in an edited volume on the history of *ILanga lase Natal* published by Jacana (November 2023) edited by Bongani Ngqulunga.

[102] This section had been in the *ILanga* main paper and had been moved to *ILanga le Theku* as it carried "home economic" topics cooking tips and recipes.

staying up to date with saucy story lines on local soapie's such *Generations*, and *Isidingo,* like what was happening with the Matabane family in Horizon Deep*.* Moreover, the story lines of American soap operas, for example who was Brooke Logan hooking up with on *The Bold and the Beautiful,* and which provocative guest was on the *Tyra Banks Show.* These popular culture references were used by the female persona as she described *amageza ezinsizwa*.

The editorial team defined the *ILanga le Theku* reader in contrast to *ILanga's* reader, differentiating them as young, urban, and a confident Durbanite. A Durbanite whether from the suburbs or township, but they were all upwardly mobile and clued up with all things popular. This confident urban reader was not scared to question things about their culture and traditions and were very expressive, yet still rooted and grounded. He or she was in a tertiary institution and enjoyed going out and mixed isiZulu with English and *tsotsitaal* when they spoke or texted on Mxit.[103] The *ILanga le Theku* reader was in-the-know, about entertainment gossip, and celebrity news. Moreover, Thobile Nxumalo remarked that, young people were thirsty "*ukuzibona ephepheni"* [to see themselves in the newspaper].[104]

Their exuberant innovations did not go unnoticed by the older *ILanga* journalists who felt that *ILanga le Theku* produced crass content, which they felt was sometimes explicit. They also saw their content as having no didactic tone and believed that the supplement was "killing" the isiZulu-language through its language mixing style.[105] But the young editorial team held their ground. Insisting that rather, the main paper needs to learn lessons from *ILanga le Theku* as the sales figures were showing that their content was increasing the sale of the Thursday issue of *ILanga.*[106] Sizwe Blose recalls defending the lifestyle supplement as, "*thina sasizama uku'adopter i'style*

[103] Mxit was a messaging application which was launched in 2005 and folded in 2016, but by that time, it has lost its allure as other social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and Instagram had entered the social media market.

[104] Thobile Nxumalo (Communications Director, ANC eThekwini District), interview by author, 2 September 2020

[105] Thobile Nxumalo (Communications Director, ANC eThekwini District), interview by author, 2 September 2020, Sizwe Blose (Senior entertainment journalist, *Isolezwe*), interview by author, 25 November 2020, Zandile Tembe (Programmes Manager, uKhozi FM), interview by author, 13 October 2020, and Nkosinathi Mshengu (Radio presenter, uKhozi FM), interview by author, 13 January 2021

[106] By 2008, the Thursday issue of *ILanga* had surpassed the tradition bestselling Monday issue. The circulation figures for the Sunday issue were 93 000, whilst Monday's circulation was 112 425 and Thursday circulation with the *iLanga le Theku* supplement was 115 968 (MarketingMix Vol. 26 No.3/4 2008).

sabantu abasha" [Were trying to adopt the style of the youth].[107] Moreover, Nxumalo and Tembe remember, jokingly retorting to an older journalist that the main paper should continue with their history lessons and longwinded articles. The senior and orthodox journalists did not like how *ILanga le Theku* wrote their articles and the photographic poses which were casual and in the moment.

Tembe recalls that, "older journalists were stuck on *ILanga's* legacy and accused us of not upholding that legacy".[108] This legacy was *ILanga's* pride of being the custodian of the isiZulu language. The young editorial team knew very well that their readers could not finish an isiZulu sentence without inserting an English word. They needed to borrow their speaking mannerisms, and as Sizwe Blose recalls "you have to capture the market as it is, the growing market because *abantu abadala* [older people] are the dying market".[109] As a tabloid, *ILanga le Theku* indeed went against *ILanga's* standard norm of storytelling which was sedate and decorous as the newspaper prided itself on being the custodian of the isiZulu language and being the oldest isiZulu newspaper still in print.

ILanga le Theku strived to remain relevant and cater for their readers thirst for contemporary lifestyle content. The editorial team felt that the new reader wanted this shift from the "norm" that was *ILanga.* They were experimenting with in-the-moment snapshot photography. Tapping into different readers and monitoring the response and if the readers was not happy, they would change and if they were happy, they would keep that section. *ILanga le Theku* was involved in a public conversation with the isiZulu speaking urban youth. This conversation was centred on their negotiation of what it meant for them to be Zulu and urban as they embraced changing moral codes, forms of self-expression and articulated their identities without any shame. The editorial team was catering for this new urban reader and felt that they were perfectly positioned to represent them as they themselves were young, fresh, and innovative. They took pride in being part of *ILanga's* history as this lifestyle supplement was the first of its kind in isiZulu newspaper history.[110]

[107] Sizwe Blose (Senior entertainment journalist, *Isolezwe*), interview by author, 25 November 2020
[108] Zandile Tembe (Programmes Manager, uKhozi FM), interview by author, 13 October 2020.
[109] Sizwe Blose (Senior entertainment journalist, *Isolezwe*), interview by author, 25 November 2020
[110] Thobile Nxumalo (Communications Director, ANC eThekwini District), interview by author, 2 September 2020.

Amageza ezinsizwa and inducing thirst-trap reactions

Having launched *ILanga le Theku* with its weekly installation of provocatively frank headlines and edgy sub-sections delving into topical issues, the supplement now needed a drawcard. A drawcard as big as the *ubuhle bendalo*[111] "pin-up girl"[112] that would cultivate a following. *Ubuhle bendalo* had a huge following amongst *ILanga's* male readers across KwaZulu-Natal. Weekly the section had men eagerly awaiting the weekly photograph, wondering, "*eyiphi intombi abazoyifaka* this week, *izobe ikanjani*" [which young woman will appear this week, I wonder how will she be like].[113] Prominent *eThekwini* politicians and businessmen called *ILanga* wanting contact details of the *ubuhle bendalo* pin-up girls. Inmates at Westville Correctional Services and men in hostels collected *ubuhle bendalo* photographs and stuck them onto their walls. That is how popular the section was.[114]

ILanga le Theku did not want to compete with *ubuhle bendalo* so the editorial team decided to create something for young women, a pin-up boy equivalent. A pin-up boy that would hopefully cultivate the same following and eventually have young women wondering "*engabe eyiphi insizwa ezovela kuleli sonto*?" [I wonder which young man will appear next week]. Seven months after the launch of *ILanga le Theku,* a pin-up boy section was launched in February 2006 under the name; *igeza lensizwa* [handsome young man].[115] A further differentiator that this pin-up boy section had from *ubuhle bendalo* was the writing style of the accompanying captions which were creative and inventive. Above all else, the key differentiator was its thirst-trap toned captions written through by a female voice.

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[111] As mentioned earlier, this was a photographic section that dated back to the early 1990s where young Zulu women were encouraged to submit their photographs wearing traditional attires taken at their coming-of-age ceremonies.

[112] According to the online Collins English Dictionary, a pin-up is "is an attractive man or woman who appears on posters, often wearing very few clothes." Pin-up definition and meaning | Collins English Dictionary (collinsdictionary.com) (accessed 15 February 2022)

[113] Thobile Nxumalo (Communications Director, ANC eThekwini District), interview by author, 2 September 2020.

[114] Nkosinathi Mshengu (Radio presenter, uKhozi FM), interview by author, 13 January 2021

[115] The section was first called *uswahla lwensizwa* for two issues (6 and 15 February 2006) but due to editorial discussions on the limitations of the *swahla* definition being commonly understood as a well-dressed tall man and the fact that, the first young men that were profiled (S'phelele and Sydney) were not tall, meant that they were not *oswahla* therefore, from March 2006 *ILanga le Theku* adopted the term *igeza lensizwa* until 2013, when the section ended.

The tone crafted women's desire in creative ways. As already argued in the previous chapter, the aim of the captions tone was to conjure feelings associated with *ukuheha* and *ukuchazeka.* The supplement wanted to invite confident young men with muscular bodies to come to the *ILanga* offices to be photographed and appear in the section, so as to illicit a thirst-trap response from the female voice. Moreover, his *igeza lensizwa* photograph would be guided by the female voice to conjure affective expectations from its female readers. The imagined female readers needed to be guided to understand the intended reaction that the editorial team wanted to get. To this end, the team developed a voice of a saucy female persona that would be relatable to the female readers. This female persona wrote in such a way as to demonstrate that, "*intombi iyakubona* and *iyachazeka*" [a young woman sees you and she is smitten].[116] Moreover, the writing needed to convince women that his body and later his stylisation, were impeccable, therefore *igeza lensizwa* needed "*ukuheha abantu besifazane*" [to attract women].[117] Moreover, the female persona borrowed the speaking mannerisms that her intended readers used. This female persona wrote the captions with the desired fictive affective expectations of desire that the thirst-trap wanted to conjure. She wrote things that female readers might have thought but might have been scared to utter themselves. Therefore, allowing the female reader to vicariously enjoy the weekly *amageza ezinsizwa* and the associated sensorial experiences that *ukuchazeka* might conjure.

The female persona positioned herself as if she was reacting to a tempting image of a gorgeous man. She then wrote the captions in a tone similar to how a social media user would react to a thirst trap post. Such a post being a seductive/suggestive photograph, in the hope of conjuring-up a viewer's admiration (sometime sexual). The photograph is successful as a thirst trap if it makes the viewer throw caution to the wind and publicly write a comment on the Twitter, Pinterest, or Instagram post or "slide into the DM's (Direct Messages)" of the person that posted the thirst-trap photograph. In my isiZulu print media scenario, responses to the thirst-trap photograph of *amageza ezinsizwa* take the form of the accompanying captions. The female persona mixed languages and used vocatives to fictively show *amageza* that she found them

[116]Thobile Nxumalo (Communications Director, ANC eThekwini District), interview by author, 2 September 2020.
[117] Lucky Cain (Senior journalist, *ILanga* newspaper), interview by author, 1 September 2020.

attractive. Moreover, she conjured up all sorts of salacious fictive scenes between herself and *amageza* as she lecherously ogled them. Complementing their looks, recited lines from songs and dispelled the myth that only a man can initiate courtship as this female persona had no qualms being direct about her intentions (innocent or sexual) with *amageza.*[118] What the female persona was doing, was creatively playing with crafting women's desires and subverting the practice of *ukukhuzela.*

This section intends to explore the shifting photographic representation of *amageza ezinsizwa* and how the accompanying captions responded to these shifts. During the eight years that the photographic sections ran, the editorial team articulated three "types" of *amageza ezinsizwa* these are*: izidlakela eziqimbile* [topless muscular men]*, izinsizwa ezidla ukotini* [young men that are stylish]*,* and *oshukela base Thekwini* [soft life young men from Durban]*.* Moreover, in between these photographic types, were heartthrobs from overseas and local ones, which helped sustain the thirst-trap reaction that the female persona started off with. This section will explore how and why these shifts occurred by considering the deliberations of the editorial team and the role of the four prominent photographers: Thuli Dlamini, Mthamiz Luthuli, Sihle Masinga and Sabelo Masuku. During the eight years, the photographic representation of what the editorial team considered a handsome young man changed multiple times. This public script (Ligaga 2020) demonstrated how subject to change the idea of masculine beauty was. With the editorial agenda to have *igeza lensizwa* be thirst-traps for women. And secondly, inspire young men to either vie for selection as the weeks thirst trap or draw inspiration from the represented masculine image, the three shifts which this section explores will provide texture to how and why the shifts occurred.

[118] Thobile Nxumalo described this creative style of writing as borrowing from the male Zulu tradition of *ukukhuzela intombi* which is the shouting of love vocatives to a young woman to get her attention and initiate courtship.

Izidlakela eziqimbile (2006 – 2007)

The photograph of S'phelele Nala below (figure 7) as the very second young man to be profiled in this new section made it visually clear what type of young men would be considered for this *igeza lensizwa* photographic section.

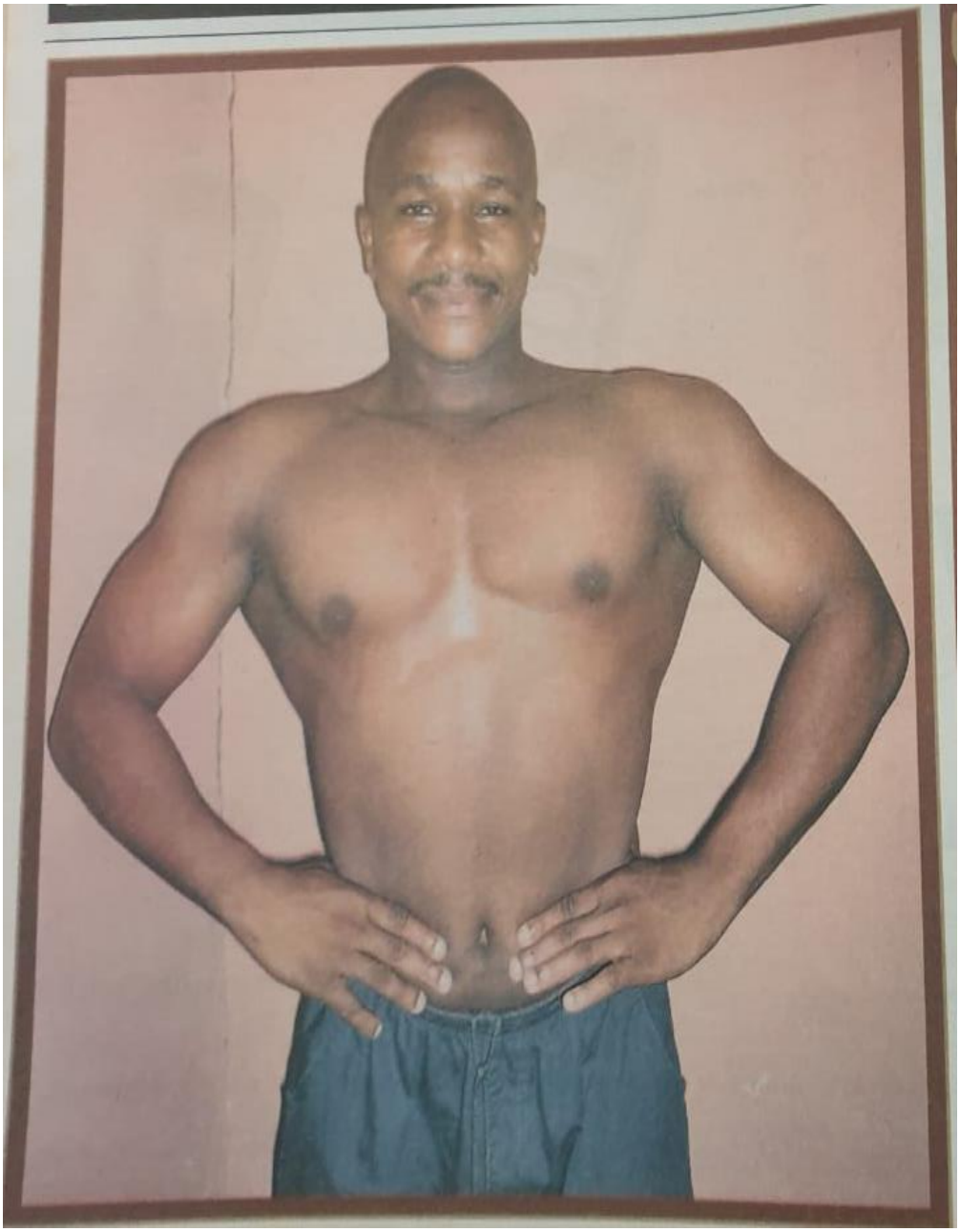


Figure 7: S'phelele Nala, *uSwahla lwensizwa* for the 15th of February 2006. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper

The voice of the female persona clarified in the accompanying caption the type of young men that would be preferred, through two key criterions. The first criterion was, *"izinsizwa ezizizwayo ukuba ziqhamuke ziziveze kubantu ngezinakho"* [young men that are confident to appear publicly with what they have] and the second criterion being*, "sidinga izinsizwa ezinezisu eziqondile, hhayi oDubula Mkhaba*[119]*"* [we need young men that have nice muscular stomachs not big bellies]. She also provided a disclaimer that*, "yize sibazi ukuthi abaconsi phansi kulezi zinsuku ezintokazini"* [even though these days we know that [guys with big bellies] are favoured by young women]. These criterions made the editorial team's two-fold agenda known to all readers that this *igeza lensizwa* section is first and foremost a thirst-trap photographic section. Secondly, that the section also wanted to project an alternative masculine image, despite there being another popular masculine image which the lifestyle supplement wanted to replace. The editorial team wanted to change the popularly valorised masculine physique of young men developing body shapes which they (editorial team and the female persona) thought were "unattractive" on young men.

In the photograph, S'phelele Nala (figure 7) is striking a bodybuilder pose, showcasing *isisu esiqondile* [muscular stomach]. Nala's head and torso photograph represented the first thirst-trap photographic type which I have termed *izidlakela eziqimbile* [topless muscular men]. This photographic type was what the lifestyle supplement wanted to showcase and transmit as a public script (Ligaga 2020) an alternative masculine representation. Nala (figure 7) strikes the front lat spread pose, with his arms akimbo, to show-off the pair of latissimus dorsi muscles, known as the lats, further showing-off the thickness of his chest, front arm, forearm size, and shoulder width.[120] The editorial team wanted to project these *izidlakela eziqimbile* as more desirable masculine representations. And secondly, invite young men that had these muscular body types to come onto the pages of *ILanga le Theku* and have their body building prowess, illicit thirst-trap reactions.

[119] Reference to a 2005 song by Bongani Dlamini known as DJ Bongz 2005, the song was titled *Dubula Mkhaba* which centres around young men calling on DJ Bongz to come see what they and their girlfriends are doing with *imali yeqolo* (literal translation is 'back money' with the connotation that it is 'fuck money', these are the colloquial names given to South Africa's Child Support Grant), which pejoratively, some young mothers are using to buy alcohol and by deduction, this results to the young mothers and their lovers having beer bellies.

[120] Front Lat Spread Pose Dimensions & Drawings | Dimensions.com (accessed on the 27th of July 2021)

The reward for a young man for having their photograph taken by *ILanga le Theku* photographers or submitting their photograph, was getting a thirst-trap reaction. Whilst for young women, it was to firstly, enjoy the young men and their muscular bodies. And, secondly, to vicariously enjoy the thirst-trap styled captions and affective expectations that the image would induce. Almost all of the thirst-trap captions had the same theme, which was the female persona initiating courtship with *amageza ezinsizwa*. For example, on one occasion she made a proposal to *igeza* that had a "cappuccino skin" tone, that "*sesiyohlangana ezintabeni zaseNkandla sengiphethe ucu*"[121] [We will meet each other on the hills of Nkandla, where I will bring you a Zulu love letter bracelet]. This is a jocular nostalgic reference to traditional courtship rituals. *Ucu* is a single piece of stringed white beads which, according to traditional courtship practices, young women made and presented to a young man, publicly accepting his courting, after he had recited *izikhuzelo* and other attempts to woo her (Carey 1986; Morris and Preston-Whyte 1994; Zungu 2000; Dube 2011 & Nettleton 2015). In return, the young women would take *umjomulo* which is anything belonging to the young man, as a public display that she has accepted his courting.[122] The female persona confidently initiates courtship, telling *igeza* that to make their fictive romantic union official and claim him as hers, she will meet him on the idyllic hills of Nkandla to offer him *ucu* and make him her "bae".[123]

One another occasion the female persona opened the caption like so, "*Cutie, phela wena awudingi nokuthi uze usho lutho nje kimina, already sengithathekile*" [Cutie, you don't need to say anything to me, I'm already besotted].[124] Predominately written in isiZulu, the opening line starts with an English vocative "cutie", referring to *igeza's* handsome looks. In a cheeky manner, the female persona suggests that *igeza* does not need to initiate courtship as she has seen what she likes and taking matters into her own hands. The persona continues, "*sekusele nje ukuthi ungifonele handsome, ungikhiphe kuzokhokha mina futhi*" [what is now left handsome, is that you need to call me and take me out and I'll even pay]. The flirtation does not end there, as the persona tables a proposal to *igeza* that, "*wena nje just be there with your fine*

[121] Referring to Sibu Ndebele as *igeza lensizwa* on the 8th of October 2009.
[122] The Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi Zulu-English dictionary affirms this definition. The noun *jomulo* is an "article taken by a lover as a keepsake" (2012: 363).
[123] A term of endearment used to refer to one's lover.
[124] Referring to Lwazi Patla as *igeza lensizwa* on the 29th of May 2008.

bod" [all you need to do is just be there with your fine bod(y)]. The female persona throws the ball on *igeza's* side of the court, as she has made her imaginative intentions clear. Leaving the female reader pondering how this fictive proposal would be responded to. On a surface level, these can be mistakenly read as just saucy thirst-trap reactions. But the female persona was demonstrating shifting courting practices *eThekwini,* as women no longer needed to wait to be courted. She could "shoot her shot" and make her intentions known, as an educated and independent young woman she had the means to pay for the entire date (or go Dutch). This was aligned to her modern egalitarian outlook that the person that proposes a date, is financially responsible for it. This was disrupting the Zulu patriarchal[125] convention of courtship, as "traditionally", the roles were not meant to be reversed, where women, initiated courtship with such extreme and public self-confidence. Moreover, this fictive shifting of courtship initiation was culturally disruptive. Culturally, if a woman, initiated courting and openly pursued a young Zulu man (who considers himself *isoka*) it would undermine his prowess of *ubusoka.* This is because culturally, men initiate courting and honed techniques to initiate courting, known as *ukucupha isisoka*. By being courted, it renders his prowess's redundant and opens him up to ridicule from his peers. The female persona further echoed the editorial team's agenda by singling out *igeza's* fine body as his biggest asset. Therefore, we can see the valorisation of the muscular body, which the persona professes as the more desirable body type.

To locate this "body change" idea, it is important to consider what was popular around Durban at the time of this reference to Dj Bongz's 2005 song, *Dubula Mkhaba.* The now famous Max's Lifestyle restaurant was just establishing itself eMlazi, from a small butchery slash *shisa nyama,* but growing in popularity as the place to be seen at and enjoy a braai with the right people *eThekwini*. It fast developed into being a place where celebrities and socialites hanged out and where everyone wanted to be seen at. Parallel to the development of Max's Lifestyle was the fast-growing Durban kwaito scene in the 2000s. With Thokozani Ndlovu, known as L'vovo Derrango coming onto the music scene, as a big bodied young Zulu man from Newcastle[126] and the late,

[125] A system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. These structures might include household production, paid work, the state, male violence, sexuality, and culture. Together these systems are argued to capture the depth, pervasiveness, and interconnectedness of women's subordination in society (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004: 95).
[126] L'vovo Derrango | Spotify (accessed on the 28th of July 2021)

Mandla Maphumulo[127], known as Mampintsha also a big bodied young Zulu man from Durban, coming onto the music scene as a member of the Durban kwaito group called *Big NUZ*.[128] Places like Max's Lifestyle increased its patrons status, and by association, big-bodied celebrities like L'vovo Derrango and Mampintsha started making it "acceptable" for young big-bodied young men to be popular amongst girls. As what they lacked in the "standard" physique, they made up for it, by being baller's[129] at places like Max's Lifestyle.[130]

Through the projection of these *izidlakela eziqimbile* masculine image, the *ILanga le Theku* editorial team wanted young men to be active and take better care of their bodies. And once they had these bodies, show them off with pride on the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section, with the female persona promoting them as preferred body types. Another influencing factor in the preference for topless muscular men was the launch of various local editions of men's magazine at the turn of the twenty-first century. These included, Men's Health South Africa, which was launched in 1997, and was followed by local editions of Gentleman's Quarterly - GQ and For Him Magazine - FHM in 2000 (Viljoen 2013). The young editorial team would have seen the cover pages of Men's Health magazine with their muscular topless models and drew inspiration from global trends. Moreover, this "active man" and muscular body type that the editorial team was referencing was also based on the editorial team's fictive historical image of a Zulu man. The editorial team wanted to inspire confidence amongst *abantu besilisa* [males] to look after their bodies like their forefathers had.[131] This fictive historical image is based on Henry Cele's[132] muscular body and his acting

[127] Mandla Maphumulo Mampintsha biography (briefly.co.za) (accessed on the 28th of July 2021)

[128] The Kwaito group was established in 2002, named after the car registration prefix of eMlazi township: "NUZ" (Natal Umlazi). The group was made-up of Mandla "Mampintsha" Maphumulo, Mzi "Danger" and Sbu "Mashesha" and in 2007 they signed under Dj Tira's Afrotainment record label.

[129] Within South African slang it is someone who is overly generous with their money the "popping champagne" type, that doesn't take note of the bill, this they do, so as to impress the women around them.

[130] These insights were based on my listening of Jabu Khanyile's 2005 song Sponky Ponky with his insightful and provocative lyrics, *"Abafana abasakwazi ukusheli intombi. Sebedla ngamabala okwengwe idlangamabala. Umungenay' imoto ngeke uyithole intombi. Umungenay' imali ngeke ik'qome intombi. Laf' elika Mthaniya, aphela amasiko omuntu"* [Young men cannot court girls anymore. They sit leisurely looking and picking the finest girl without any intention of working hard to woo them. If you don't have a car, you won't get a girlfriend. If you don't have money, you won't get a girlfriend. The world is dying as our traditions die with it].

[131] Lucky Cain (Senior journalist, *ILanga* newspaper), interview by author, 1 September 2020.

[132] Shaka Zulu (TV Mini Series 1986) - IMDb accessed 27 July 2021

role as Shaka Zulu in the 1986 mini-series.[133] This then morphed into seeing *izidlakela eziqimbile* as nostalgic fictive images of Zulu male bodies of years long gone. This fictive Zulu muscular image lingered in the minds of the early editorial teams as an "ideal" of what a Zulu man should look like, if only he didn't drink too much and wasn't lazy to hit the gym.

One of the early prolific *ILanga le Theku* photographers was Thuli Dlamini who joined the editorial team in 2006. She got the *izidlakela eziqimbile* brief directly from the founders of *ILanga le Theku* and her photographs of *amageza ezinsizwa* captured this initial thirst-trap masculine image. Dlamini recalled that there was no stringent vetting process for *igeza lensizwa.* They just needed to be muscular, confident, and handsome. Therefore, any young man who felt that they too could vie for the selection could call the *ILanga le Theku* offices and ask for their photograph to be taken, for possible inclusion in the *igeza lensizwa* section. Dlamini would arrange a day for the young man to come to the *ILanga* offices at the Point Waterfront. The young man and Dlamini would walk around the area, looking for an interesting spot to take the *igeza lensizwa* photograph.[134] Sometimes Dlamini would have spotted an idyllic spot around Durban during her travels covering various entertainment events in the city and they would drive to that spot to take the photograph. Dlamini would also street-cast *amageza*, approaching young men around town. She recalls approaching some young men, and asking to take their photographs for *igeza lensizwa* section and they would respond with, *"ungishuthel' ukuthi kube njani?* [what is the purpose of you photographing me?]. She would tell them, they have beautifully muscular bodies, and they would respond with "*ungangishutha kodwa ungangivezi ubuso*" [you can photograph me, but don't show my face]. Dlamini recalls that after a year and a half, it became increasingly difficult to street-cast young men who did not have a problem with going topless and appearing in *igeza lensizwa*.

[133] Hlonipha Mokoena (2013a) provides an insightful analysis of Shaka Zulu's most iconic image, sketched by Nathaniel Isaac in his 1836 book *Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, Descriptive of the Zoolus, Their Manners, Customs, etc. etc.* The sketch depicts and invokes Shaka's physical prowess, his territorial conquests, and his military innovations. Mokoena (2013a) argues that scholars agree that the sketch is an idealised image of Shaka, as very little is known for certain about Shaka the person, aside from the fact that he prized crane feathers (also see Wylie 2008).

[134] Thuli Dlamini (Freelance photographer, Thuligraphy Images Company), interview by author, 2 September 2020.

Dlamini shared this change in heart of young Zulu men with the editorial team and they got worried as, they had noticed that they were struggling to get *izidlakela* that they had started off with. To supplement the shortage of ordinary young men willing to be photographed topless, *ILanga le Theku* reached out to modelling agencies and invited them to submit their client's modelling portfolio photographs that resonated with the *izidlakela eziqimbile* type.[135] Whilst the editorial team was grappling with the rejection of their masculine image of *igeza lensizwa* by young men around Durban, Dlamini, during her trips covering various entertainment events and runway fashion shows around Durban, thought to herself that these stylised men could also be *amageza.* Dlamini was inspired by the models who came in different silhouettes, and she started picked up pointers of how to take fashion inspired photographs. She started experimenting with how she could arrange *igeza lensizwa* for the photograph. In-between street-casting *izidlakela* that were uncomfortable with being photographed topless, Dlamini started street-casting fashionable young men of varying silhouettes.[136]

During our interview, I took out my laptop so that we could flick through the archive of *amageza* photographs she had taken during her time with *ILanga le Theku.* This I did to help jolt her memory and flesh out our discussions. Whilst we were talking about the changes in the street-casting, Dlamini spotted Nhlakanipho Mdlalose's photograph (figure 8).

[135] To sustain the section and the initial brief, Thobile Nxumalo recalls that the editorial team had also approached uShaka Marine World to grant them permission to photograph their muscular male trainers. But this wasn't sustainable as the lifestyle supplement hired photographers to take, *inter alia, igeza lensizwa* photographs and it was unsustainable to rely on the modelling agencies and there were only a few trainers at uShaka Marine World.

[136] Thuli Dlamini (Freelance photographer, Thuligraphy Images Company), interview by author, 2 September 2020.

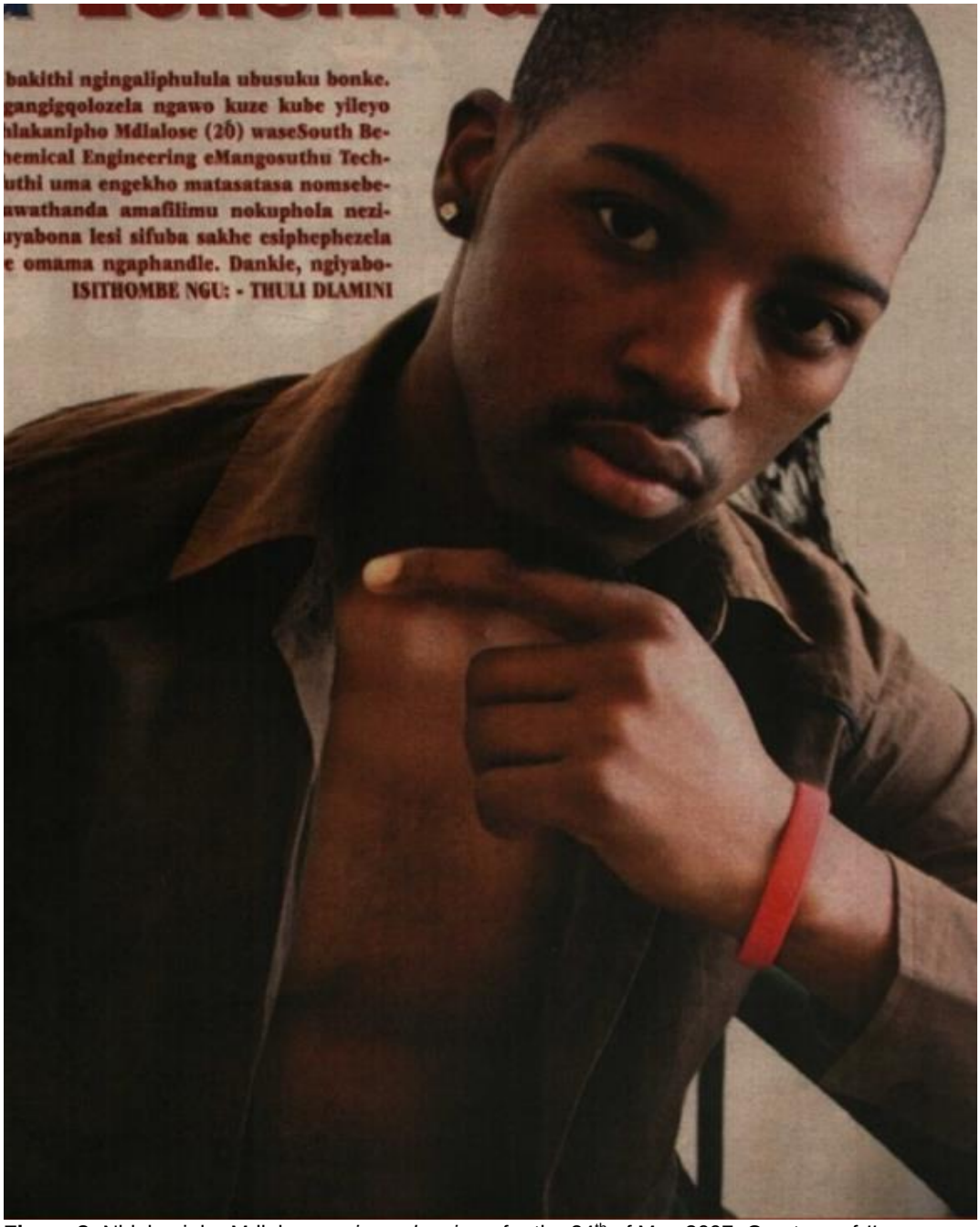


Figure 8: Nhlakanipho Mdlalose as *igeza lensizwa* for the 24th of May 2007. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

With a gleeful sense of pride, she shared that this photograph was when she was trying out fashion poses as she steadily moved away from *izidlakela.* Dlamini recalled directing Mdlalose on how to sit on the chair and rest his elbow on the table, and asking him to unbutton his shirt, and place his hand under his chin. This was Dlamini's first fashion photography inspired image, the shift in photographic style is also marked by the close-up of Mdlalose's face as he looks straight into the camera, his facial features draw the viewers' attention. This was a departure from the previous

photographs which invited the viewer to stray below the neckline and lecherously gaze at *igeza lensizwa's* muscular physique. The unbutton shirt acts as an idiosyncratic gesture of seductiveness, as Dlamini's photograph resembles a Lewis Hamilton L'Oréal Paris Men Expert advertisement.[137] This reference is poignant as advertisements, just like the fashion photographs that inspired Dlamini, encourage the viewer to imagine themselves transformed by the product/garment being advertised.

Mdlalose's fashion photography inspired image was beginning to mark a shift towards defining a new masculine image for *amageza ezinsizwa.* This was important as the fashion photography genre that was now inspiring Dlamini believes that, aside from models merely being moving mannequins, these photographs contribute towards "defining the image of the contemporary woman or man in their time, to reflect a certain social or human reality" (Lindbergh 2020: 15). Mdlalose is petite, without a defined chest, so the viewers eyes have nothing to feast on his chest, but are drawn to his thick eyebrows, silky adolescent moustache, full lips, and his diamond stud earing. The photograph encourages the reader to see Mdlalose and not focus on his absent muscularity. But the female persona could not resist making a saucy remark about Mdlalose's chest, remarking that many women wouldn't mind resting their heads on that adolescent chest. Thinking about the shift that she was instituting, Dlamini mused on Mdlalose, and the other fashion photography inspired images she was now producing, "*akanamali, kodwa ugqokile. Akufanel' ukuthi uzuqimbe. Akufanel' ukuthi uzube yis'gora, ukuze ube yi'geza"* [he has no money, but he is dressed well. You don't have to go topless. You don't have to be muscular, for you to be considered as a handsome young man].[138]

Izidlakela eziqimbile as the muscular thirst-trap image that inaugurated *igeza lensizwa*, only lasted for a year and a half as the photographers encountered difficulties with street-casting young men that did not mind going topless and exposing their muscular torsos. The shift that this resistance created was not because of the editorial team wanting to change their original brief based on the fictive Shaka masculine image and covers of Men's Health magazine. The editorial team moved

[137] Lewis Hamilton is the new face of L'Oréal Paris Men Expert (gq.co.za) (accessed on the 10th of September 2021)
[138] Thuli Dlamini (Freelance photographer, Thuligraphy Images Company), interview by author, 2 September 2020.

away from this image because young men simply did not want to be photographed topless anymore. The discomfort was caused by young men feeling uncomfortable with the knowledge that their male friends would see them posing topless. As Dlamini recalled, some men did not mind if their muscular bodies were photographed but took issue if the photograph included their faces.

The young editorial team needed to respond as they could not continue pushing an agenda that young Zulu men were not buying into, of *amageza ezinsizwa* being *izidlakela eziqimbile.* They responded by steadily shifting the masculine image of *igeza lensizwa* and permitted the photographers to draw inspiration from the fashion photography genre and diversify the young men that they street casted. Thuli Dlamini marked the shift away from *izidlakela eziqimbile* but for the next three years, Mthamiz Luthuli would articulate the shift more distinctly.

Izinsizwa ezidla ukotini (2008 - 2010)

The shift towards *izinsizwa ezidla ukotini* (young men that are stylish) did not sit well with the female editorial team members. Lively deliberations were had in the pre-press and post-press meetings as the female editorial members began asking, "*iphi imizimba kulama geza manje?*"[139] [where now are the bodies in these handsome young men?]. Some of the female editorial members felt that there was a growing deviation from the original brief of *amageza ezinsizwa* being pin-up boys/thirst-traps. Without "*izisu eziqondile*" [muscular stomachs] how could *amageza ezinsizwa* illicit thirst-trap reactions and conjure affective expectations? This was a problem that now faced the editorial team and the newly recruited photographer; Mthamiz Luthuli.

Durban born Mthamiz Luthuli with qualifications in music from the University of Durban-Westville (UDW)[140], permanently joined *ILanga le Theku* in March 2008. Before then, he had sparked a friendship with *ILanga le Theku's* photographer Alex Mkhize (now late) as they increasingly bumped into each other when covering

[139] Mthamiz Luthuli (Music lecturer, UKZN), interview by author, 3 September 2020.
[140] Since the 2004 merger it is now the Westville Campus which is one of five campuses that make-up the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN).

entertainment events around *eThekwini.* Mkhize encouraged Luthuli to submit entertainment photographs to *ILanga le Theku* and he would ensure that he would be credited for them. With the growing success of *ILanga le Theku,* additional entertainment photographers were needed and Thobile Nxumalo (now editor-in-chief) reached out to Luthuli in late 2007 and initially offered him freelance projects and eventually offered him a permanent job in March 2008.[141] Luthuli joined the team and as the third photographer, was quickly roped into the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section which was at an impasse with its initial pin-up boy conception of *igeza lensizwa.* The *izidlakela eziqimbile* photographic type was no longer resonating with muscular young men as they no longer wanted to be street-casted for it.

Luthuli experienced the same reluctance that Thuli Dlamini was experiencing. He shared that increasingly he had to beg muscular men to allow him to photograph them and most would respond with "*haibo sengizoshuthwa ngiveze'umzimba ngi'vele emaphepheni manje"*[142] [I will now be photographed showing my body in newspapers?]. He was really struggling to street-cast them and Thobile Nxumalo understood the difficulty that Luthuli was facing. Just like Thuli Dlamini before him, Mthamiz Luthuli covered a lot of entertainment and lifestyle events for the lifestyle supplement, including covering runway fashion shows. The next day he would upload the photographs into *ILanga le Theku's* shared online folder where the entire editorial team had access to them. Luthuli recalls that Thobile Nxumalo would go through his folders from the events he had covered, looking for photographs to accompany various articles. Nxumalo started selecting fashion photographs and other photographs of stylised young men from entertainment events as the week's *igeza lensizwa.*

This reluctance and gradual shift was eventually discussed in the editorial team meetings. The female editorial team members raised their concerns that these new fashion inspired photographs were deviating from the thirst-trap/pin-up boy concept. Nxumalo defended the shift because it needed to happen as she described the situation as "*sesidlela ebhodweni, uyapheka uyadla*"[143] [we are eating straight from the pot, we have a hand-to-mouth situation]. The water well of *izidlakela eziqimbile*

[141] Mthamiz Luthuli (Music lecturer, UKZN), interview by author, 3 September 2020.
[142] Mthamiz Luthuli (Music lecturer, UKZN), interview by author, 3 September 2020.
[143] Thobile Nxumalo (Communications Director, ANC eThekwini District), interview by author, 2 September 2020

had dried up and *ILanga le Theku* needed to respond or risk *igeza lensizwa* section dying a natural death. The *izinsizwa ezidla ukotini* type reluctantly received a nod of approval. With this direction set, Luthuli consciously took multiple angled photographs when he covered fashion events, full length, head, and torso and focused on the clothing that the models were modelling. Besides taking photographs at runway fashion shows and entertainment events, Luthuli also changed his street-casting strategy. He now started approaching stylish young men who looked like they had modelling ambitions. These young men did not mind being photographed and saw their inclusion in the *igeza lensizwa* section as a marketing platform for their careers. One of these aspirant young men was S'fiso Mhlophe (figure 9) who hailed from Newcastle but was now studying at the Mangosuthu University of Technology (MUT) in Durban.

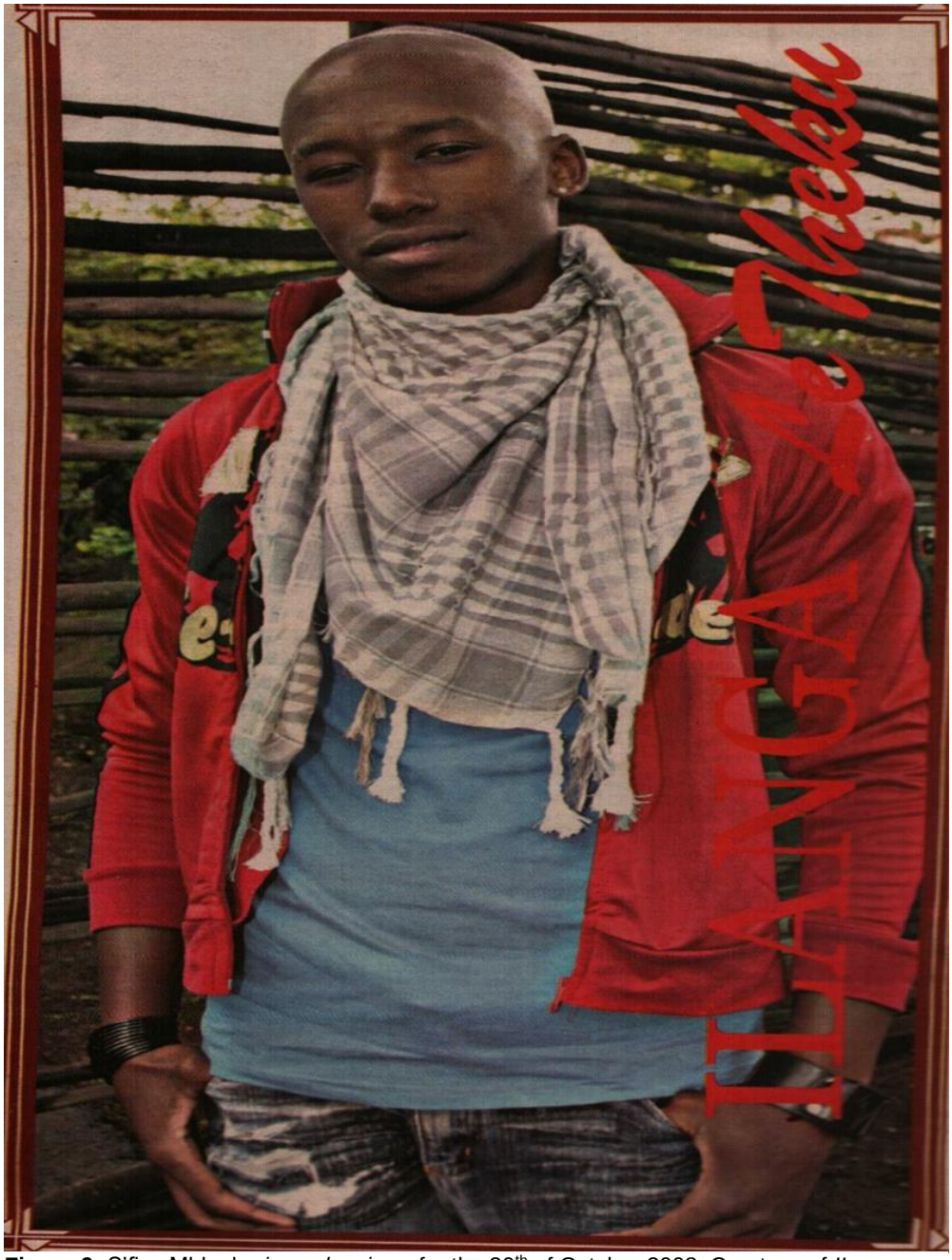


Figure 9: S'fiso Mhlophe *igeza lensizwa* for the 30th of October 2008. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

Mhlophe had recently entered the Mr MUT beauty contest and was crowned the second runner-up. The female persona described him as, "*i-fashinista yangempela*" [a real fashionista] and she continued, "*buka nje ukusuka ekhanda kufike ezansi iyaziwa i-fashion*" [just look, starting from his head right down, he is very fashionable]. With a

dark, clear skin, thick eyebrows, and a diamond stud earing, Mhlophe is in streetwear fashion; a black and white Shemagh scarf, a red unzipped tracksuit top, sky blue t-shirt and distressed denim jeans and has accessorised his outfit with the popular black plastic wristbands called *omamsomi* and on the other wrist, wears a brown leather wristband.[144] A keen follower of fashion trends, Mhlophe looks very confident and comfortable in front of the camera. Despite not being topless, the female persona ends the captions by saying, "*uma nawe uphendula amakhanda ko-sistaz, wamukelekile ukushayela ku-031 337 4000*" [if you too are able to turn women's heads with your looks, you are welcome to call us on 031 337 4000]. The female persona calls Mhlophe a charmer and advises viewers that if they want a date with him, she herself will be doing the screening to ensure that the applicants qualify to date Mhlophe. The female persona acknowledges Mhlophe's styling prowess which together with his good looks, having described him as Danone yoghurt[145] with its connotation of being smooth and delectable, he is still able to illicit a thirst-trap response.

On another occasion the female persona began her thirst-trap reaction by citing lyrics from a *maskandi* song[146], "*Ngiyab'qala ubuhle obunje madoda bung'shayisa uvalo*"[147] [Man o man, I have not seen such beauty, it leaves me feeling nervous]. The female persona knows very well that the song was about a woman's beauty but mischievously ponders, "*mhlawumbe lalibone insizwa enjengo Andile 'Sniper' Cele iqembu likaMaskandi*" [maybe the maskandi group had seen a young man like Andile 'Sniper' Cele]. She further professes that if it is a criminal offense to describe a young man as being pretty, then she has no problem going behind bars because Cele is pretty. As a parting compliment to Cele, the female persona makes a public announcement directed to the African American R'n'B singer Usher and says, "*uma ebecabanga ukuthi u-sexy, makagawule abheke ngoba uSniper uyababa shame!*" [If he thought that he [referencing Usher] is sexy, he must watch out because Sniper is even hotter!]. The female persona once more openly flirts with *igeza* and threw caution to the wind by breaking "convention", describing Andile as being pretty, instead of the

[144] Forthcoming chapters will explore clothing as being part of a fashion system as conceptualised by Roland Barthes (1990). The purpose of itemising Mhlophe's clothing is to highlight his streetwear style as he is described as a fashionista.
[145] A popularly consumed yoghurt brand in South Africa, marketed as a smooth and healthy snack.
[146] This was a song released in 1997 by the two-man maskandi group called *Abagqobhi* and the song was called *Kanti uyini, Thando?*
[147] Referring to Andile Cele as *igeza lensizwa* on the 4th of September 2008.

conventional handsome descriptive noun. She ends her thirst-trap caption with a “jab” to Usher which is a resounding affirmation that Durban’s young men can go toe-to-toe with the hottest celebrities of the United States.

Two other photographs that captured the *izinsizwa ezidla ukotini* type were that of a young male model on the runway (figure 10), modelling Loxion Kulca’s 2010 menswear summer collection.[148] And, Billy Khambule (figure 10) dressed in Black Pepper designed clothing which were part of Thokozani Mbatha’s 2010 menswear range called “a new, modern safari”. The Loxion Kulca runway photograph was not taken by an *ILanga le Theku* photographer but was downloaded from the SA Fashion Week website. The model (figure 10) is wearing a Loxion Kulca round neck t-shirt, carrying a backpack, with an assortment of arm bands, and this is paired with a denim *umblaselo*[149] with strings of beads looped around his belt loops, bobbing, and bouncing as he struts down the runway in a pair of white All Stars with red shoelaces.

[148] The fashion photograph was taken by South African runway fashion photographer Ivan Naudé, who was appointed as South African Fashion Week’s official runway photographer when it was launched in 1998.

[149] *Umblaselo* is a pair of embellished trousers which date back to the early twentieth century where Zulu migrant workers working in the Johannesburg mines, patched and embellished their old trousers with brightly coloured locally available materials (de Greef 2020).



Figure 10: unknown, *igeza lensizwa* for the 1st of April 2010. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

The female persona in her usual animated style, opens the caption by saying, "*Kwavuka usinga kwathi mangikikize ngibona lolu swahla lwegeza. Ngavele ngakhumbula emakhaya kwathi mangithwale imbiza ngiqonde emfuleni*" [I'm filled with a sense of nostalgia and belonging; I even want to ululate when I see this tall handsome man. I suddenly miss the rural areas, carrying a pot on my head walking to the river]. Her animation is sparked by the models Zulu inspired denim pants (*umblaselo*) that she isolates. She is so mesmerised by this, that in her mind, she drifts to a rural KwaZulu-Natal settling, perhaps, Pomeroy near Msinga where such migrant inspired sartorial splendour is still on display. She singles out the model's styling prowess which is inspired by Zulu material culture as the key thing which has inspired her thirst-trap reaction.

Billy Khambule's (figure 11), photograph taken by Mthamiz Luthuli in a rather cliché Vogue "urban jungle" scene[150], has him posing between two pillars at what looks like a Victorian historical building around Durban's inner city.

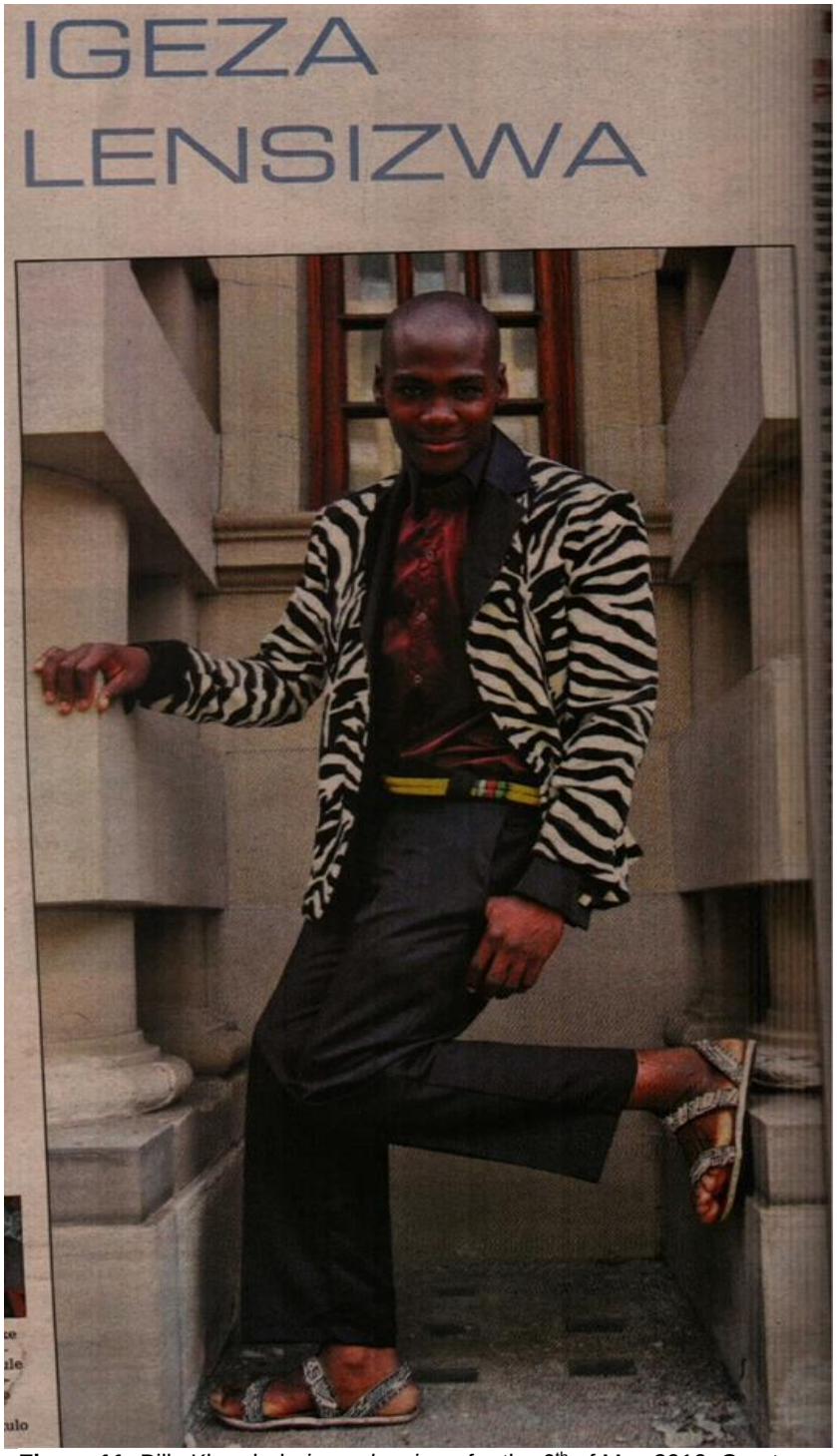


Figure 11: Billy Khambule *igeza lensizwa* for the 6th of May 2010. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

[150] Street style: the urban jungle - Vogue Australia (accessed on the 19th of February 2022)

The female persona encourages us to begin our guided looking from Khambule's eyes, which are so mesmerizingly beautiful that she even wonders whether she has been bewitched with a love potion called "*bheka mina ngedwa"* [look at me solely].[151] Khambule is wearing a Zebra-pattern blazer, and brown satin shirt with silver cufflinks and around his waist is a pair of yellow beaded "belts" called *umutsha*[152]*,* holding up his black trousers, which are cropped just above his ankles, to accentuate *izimbadada.*[153] Besides Khumbule's mesmerising eyes, the female persona also finds his stylish outfit attractive, a style prowess that was starting to be associated with *amageza ezinsizwa.*

The inclusion of this fashion photography inspired image (figure 11) and the previous fashion photograph (figure 10) in the *igeza lensizwa* section highlights societal changes that were already happening in Durban but which *ILanga le Theku* wanted to bring out into the open. These were shifts in how young men in Durban were increasingly taking up self-grooming and style as new modern male prowess's that they resonated with. This had been noticed by Zandile Tembe back in November 2005 when she wrote an article in *Ezemfashini* titled, *"Izinsizwa sezibangisana nabesifazane esibukweni"* [young men are now competing with women for the mirror] (24 -–26 November 2005: 24). As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the development of dedicated menswear ranges by Ayanda Maphumulo and Thokozani Mbatha was as a response to men taking increased interest in how they looked. Tembe's article homed in on the growing number of men that visited beauty spas in Durban, and she identified these men as metrosexuals. These metrosexual men were educated, dressed well, smelt wonderful and had aspirational qualities. Tembe included a caveat that these new practices were previously associated with homosexual men, "*abesilisa abazwana ngobulili obubodwa*" [men that engage in same-sex relationships].

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[151] This is a popular love potion which is used like bath salts, it ensures that you're loved one, only has eyes for you (Siwasho Powder | Cosmetic Connection accessed 20 January 2023).

[152] It is important to note though, that there are multiple regional variations in clothing and accessories across KwaZulu-Natal, and with this, names vary according to regions. The design and colour of the beaded belts hold various significances which are regional but fragmented documented meanings are incoherent. Moreover, the structure of a traditional *umutsha* belt is diverse. Also see: KCM1206 | SAHRA and belt; waist-band | British Museum accessed 30 July 2021.

[153] These also have their origins in Zulu men's migrancy history (although variation of them date to pre-colonial times). The sandals were handmade using rubber of discarded motor car tyres (Mlondo 1987).

As introduced in chapter one, there is an established history of male vanity being taboo as these social practices are perceived as "unmanly" and feminine. Being viewed as "unmanly" purely based on not adhering to socially constructed standards of dressing has an unfortunate pitfall when examined through Connell's social constructionist theory of masculinities (2005a). This is because masculine social practices need to be demonstrated for other men's approval (Kimmel 1994). Therefore, the *izinsizwa ezidla ukotini* type valorised different social practices, different prowess's which other men that subscribed to more "stringent" normative masculinities[154] did not. Thus, appearing as *igeza lensizwa* in *ILanga le Theku* was a gamble. A gamble in the sense that the young men that appeared on the section wanted to showcase themselves as "head-turning" thirst-traps and have "o'sistaz" freely ogle them. But another unintended consequence was that their modishness and vanity jeopardized how they were perceived by their male friends who frowned on their social practices which they deemed "unmanly".

Fortunately, there are multiple masculinities at any given period, and they are comprised of different configurations of practices, and these can shift which one is valorised at different periods. The rise of the *izinsizwa ezidla ukotini* type was indicating a change that was happening *eThekwini* as young men started taking the ability to self-groom and being fashionable as prowess's to be proud of. Transgressive prowess's which they were proud to exhibit. Through my queer lens, we can infer an understanding that young men could see whether other young men were good-looking. The only thing that held them back was fearing that, if they affirmed this gaze, it would disrupt the rigid organisation of homosocial desire, and his heterosexuality might be questioned. Therefore, by applying a queer lens over their "looking relation" we can give breath to the "unsaid, non-normative and the complexity and messiness of desire" (Allan 2020: 74). The *igeza lensizwa* section allowed for this shift in spectatorship and "coding of sexual ambivalence" (Nixon 1996). This was possible because men's fashion can "express new masculine images and become a site in

[154] This insight is based on my reading of Thabo Msibi's work where he conducted research amongst young Zulu students at UKZN's Education Campus (Edgewood) about ways of dressing among young men and what perceptions that gives off about one's sexuality. Msibi argues that the young men felt compelled to self-regulate how they dressed because they were being policed by other young men that looked at their modish dressing and grooming with suspicion. These young men (*amajita/o-outie/Olova*) that "policed" others felt that they were able to carry out this exercise because they deemed how they dressed as being more manly and were not modish (unlike *amabhujwa*), therefore, they could act as the purveyors of masculine sartorial choices over other men (Msibi 2012).

which orthodox forms of masculinity are refuted and challenged" (Bowstead 2018: 173).

Moreover, the inclusion of these young men wearing local South African menswear brands also highlights broader developments in how fashion brands increasingly saw men as avid consumers of fashion who were now interested in using fashion to make statements about their individuality. Loxion Kulca was established in the late 1990s as one of the few South African popular streetwear brands that devoted time to creating edgy read-made men's streetwear. The brand, through its sampling of South Africa's rich township material history, borrows from township popular cultures of the 1960s, and through fusion and revival, creates nostalgic designs. This fusion and sampling is able to signal "urban mobility" (Nuttall 2004: 437). Therefore, the inclusion of the Loxion Kulca runway fashion photograph, aims to invoke a sense of remixing, as young men developed new social practices.

The fashion inspired photograph of Khambule wearing the 2010 Black Pepper menswear range named the "new, modern safari", also highlights, and re-enforces the changes that the Loxion Kulca dressed thirst-trap (figure 10) runway fashion photograph was flagging. Thokozani Mbatha describes his 2010 menswear design as an "incongruous pairing of Nguni culture and Safari style".[155] The brand achieves this by playing on the idea of the native made modern, as the native was once considered as part of South Africa's "fauna and flora" (Dlamini 2020) to be looked at alongside the Blue Wildebeest and the Aloe Cooperi (*isiPhukutwane*) plant. Now, Mbatha has the "native" paradoxically dressed up in "re-fashioned" safari styles in the modern urban jungle that is *eThekwini*. The fashion inspired photograph (figure 10) invokes the same meaning which the May 2018 cover of British Vogue invoked, with its "new frontiers" cover art.[156] Instead of Mbatha's a "new, modern safari" British *Vogue* editor-in-chief, Edward Enninful (its first black male editor-in-chief) used the "new frontier" to capture his work to make changes in the fashion industry, having women of colour and different silhouettes be the vanguard of fashion.

The *izinsizwa ezidla ukotini* type as the successor of the *izinsizwa eziqimbile* type managed to shrug off the singular view of a thirst-trap/pin-up as having his muscularity

[155] Africiné - L'Afrique Est A La Mode : Africa's Fashion Futures (africine.org) accessed 30 July 2021.
[156] UK Vogue May 2018 The New Frontiers - theFashionSpot accessed 12 September 2021.

as the sole prowess. Moreover, it began to challenge the misogynistic notion that modishness and vanity were “unmanly” social practices. This it did through the female persona as she adapted what she found attractive in *amageza* and singled out their styling prowess’s as being able to illicit typical thirst-trap reactions. By doing this, the female persona validated the young men’s stylishness and modishness and therefore, popularised this an additional prowess to being *isoka* and *igeza lensizwa.*

Moreover, through a queer lens, I am able to foreground the possibility of a less rigid and normative understanding of homosocial desire. The possibility of young men, acknowledging each other’s good looks and style prowess. The success of the *igeza lensizwa* section expanded the rigid normative edges of homosocial desire by validating their stylishness. This was crucial as a key hurdle in street-casting young men was their fear, of being pejoratively called, “*umfana othanda izinto*” [a boy who like trendy/modish things].[157] This slur was meant to diminish a young man’s status, by accusing them of having frolicsome boyish practices. This is along the same vein as being accused of having a soft life. The accusation (peppered with jealously) is meant to ridicule one’s access to disposable income and social life pursuits which would be categorised as frivolous, by those that could not afford such. This is undergirded with the myopic and flawed belief that a young man should not be showy. The *izinsizwa ezidla ukotini* type managed to reduce the impact of “*kuzothiwani*” [what will they say] and being accused of “*umfana othanda izinto*” [a boy who like trendy/modish things].[158] Encouraging young men to participate in the weekly street-casting, and not be fazed by the thoughts of “*amajita azothini e'roundini* [what will guys say about me in my neighbourhood]”.[159]

[157] Sabelo Masuku (Photographer, *ILanga* newspaper), interview by author, 31 August 2020

[158] Sabelo Masuku (Photographer, *ILanga* newspaper), interview by author, 31 August 2020 and Thuli Dlamini (Freelance photographer, Thuligraphy Images Company), interview by author, 2 September 2020.

[159] Sihle Masinga (Currently freelance video production), interview by author, 30 August 2020

Heartthrob fillers

Even though the *izidlakela eziqimbile* type (2006 – 2007) went out of fashion and the *izinsizwa ezidla ukotini* type (2008 – 2010) succeeded it, there was a persistent "photo type" that formed a steady undercurrent in the *igeza lensizwa* section. These were photographs of black celebrities and socialites both from South African and the United States of America (USA) which the editorial team called heartthrob[160] fillers. These did not constitute a shift like the *izidlakela eziqimbile* type and the *izinsizwa ezidla ukotini* type nor can they be nonchalantly dubbed as mere fillers.[161] The heartthrobs were not *amageza ezinsizwa* though, as they were not profiled for other young men to emulate like *izidlakela eziqimbile* and *izinsizwa ezidla ukotini*. But they were included to illicit thirst-trap reactions which were facilitated by the female persona, allowing female readers to vicariously enjoy the heartthrobs.

These heartthrob photographs sustained the *igeza lensizwa's* original conceptualisation as a pin-up boy/thirst-trap. Moreover, they ensured that the section remained relevant by including, for example on the 19th of May 2011, a photograph of the then twenty-one-year-old Pietermaritzburg born Calvin Klein underwear model Lunga Shabalala. He was all the rage that month as he had just won the presenter search competition for the popular lifestyle television show *Selimathunzi.*[162] The *igeza lensizwa* section always had to contend with the pressures of being a section in a tabloid lifestyle supplement. This meant continuously staying abreast of what was popular so as to stay relevant for its very contemporary readership.

It was perhaps rather telling that the very first *igeza lensizwa* on the 6th of February 2006 was a celebrity look-a-like winner. Mthoko Ngubane (figure 12) from Malukazi, south of Durban near eMlazi, had recently won a celebrity look-a-like

[160] A *heartthrob* is someone that is physically very attractive, so that a lot of people fall in love with them. Traditionally, the word has been almost exclusively applied to young men (Heart-throb definition and meaning | Collins English Dictionary (collinsdictionary.com) accessed 22 February 2022)

[161] Despite the fact that when the *ILanga le Theku* photographers did not have any good street-casted images for the section, or the photographs submitted by *amageza* entrants were not of good quality, the editorial team would go online, and select the trending heartthrob.

[162] Lunga wins Selimathunzi talent search (mediaupdate.co.za) (accessed 22 February 2022)

competition as Tyrese Gibson[163], an African American rapper, cum-actor. This photograph was taken during *izidlakela eziqimbile* masculine image period. Closing his eyes seductively, wearing diamond stud earrings, Ngubane has his hand behind his neck, encouraging the eye to wonder southwards, guided by his firm right latissimus dorsi muscle. With the eye landing on his developed abs and his other hand, gripping his belt buckle, bringing attention to his crotch. The allure of this topless seductive pose is very reminiscent of R'n'B singers such Usher and Mario who were all the rage in the early 2000s.[164]

[163] Tyrese Gibson is an African American actor who started off his early career as a rapper and in the early 2000s, went into acting. Gibson has been in two of the highest-grossing film series: Fast and Furious and Transformers, in 2006 he starred in the film Waist Deep.

[164] Usher Raymond IV, commonly known as just Usher, is an African American Rhythm and Blues (R&B) popularly known for his hit albums such as his March 2004 album *These are my Confessions*, with the song *Let it burn* topping playlists. Mario Dewar Barrett is commonly known as just Mario and he is also an African American Rhythm and Blues (R&B) singer. A few months after Usher's *These are my Confessions* album was released in March 2004, Mario released his own wildly popular album *Turning Point* with the popular song *Let Me Love You.*

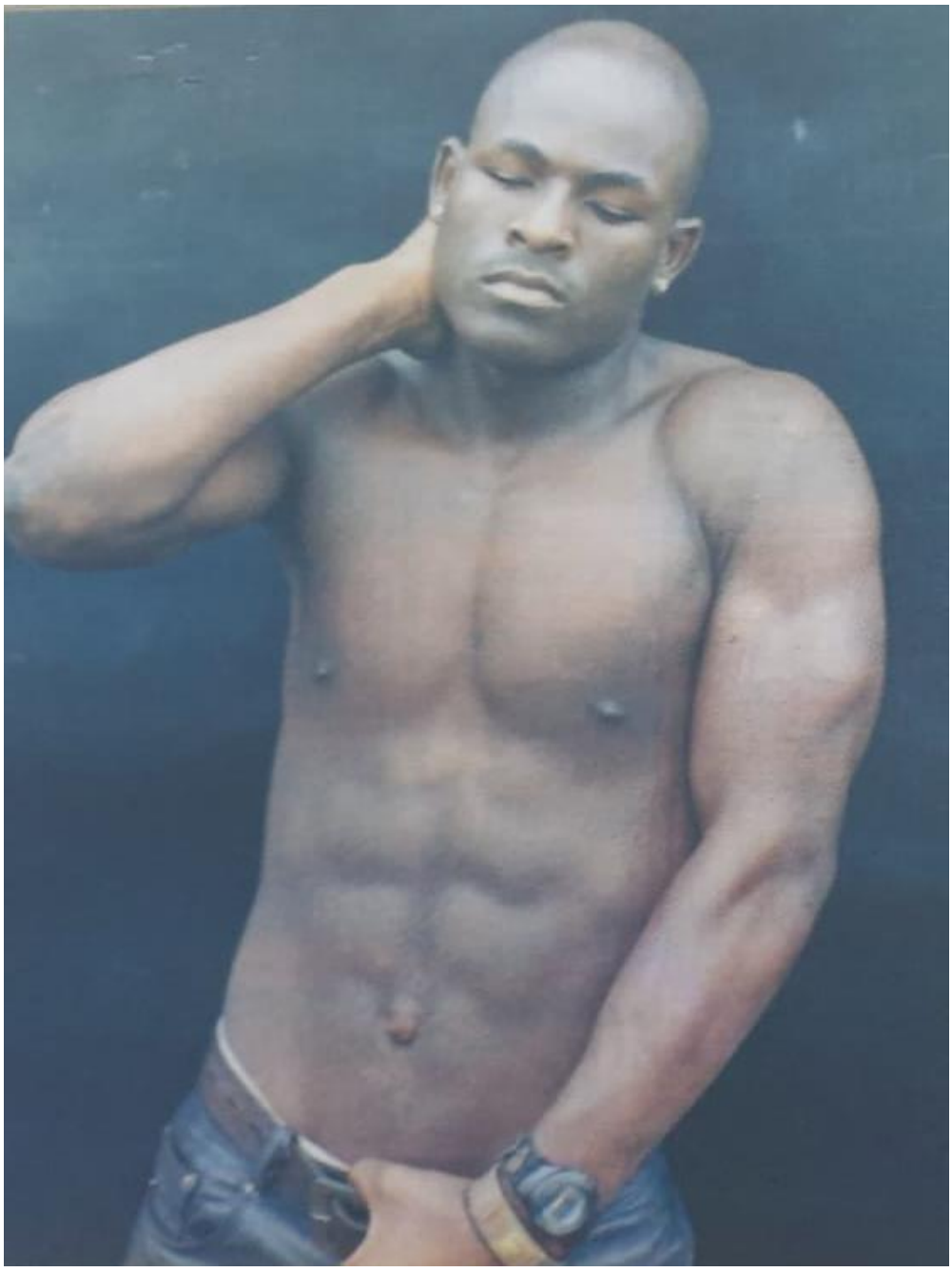


Figure 12: Mthoko Ngubane as *igeza lensizwa* for the 6th of February 2006. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

The caption had the animated voice of the female persona with her typical adulations as she mimicked what female readers would say when they saw Ngubane's photograph, "*Awe Ma! Kwavele kwaxeg'amadolo*" [O my word! Suddenly I'm weak at the knees]. Ngubane's "Tyrese Gibson look-a-like" (figure 12) inclusion as the first *igeza lensizwa* plays into what the *ILanga le Theku* editorial team wanted to achieve as the section developed over the years, which was to change the association that not

"*yonke into enhle ikude* from *kuwena"*[165] [not everything that is beautiful is far away from you]. The inclusion of these heartthrobs worked to cultivate confidence amongst local KwaZulu-Natal young men, that they too were as good-looking as any celebrity. This was made clear on the 4th of September 2008 when the female persona boldly stated the weeks *igeza lensizwa* was sexier than the R'n'B singer Usher. These heartthrobs were also included for a bit of dreaming for the female readers as Zandile Tembe recalls, "vele it wouldn't be the guy *ozohlangana naye emgaqweni kuphela* [you'd ordinarily meet on the street], so we didn't want to be one track minded".[166]

Thobile Nxumalo did not feel that the inclusion of trending heartthrobs was missing the mark, she recalled "we didn't think *ukuthi sesiyaphuma esandleni uma sesifaka* o'Taye Diggs (figure 13) and other guys from America"[167] [we did not think that by including people like Taye Diggs and other guys from America was a big departure]. The inclusion of celebrities was also to diversify the image of male beauty "we wanted to shake off the image *yokuthi fanele uze uqimbe*, like *mawuswenkile* like Mpiyakhe Zungu[168] *uyabona nje une'presence*, if it was today, we'd include him, because i'presence is appealing"[169] [we wanted to shake off the image that you needed to be topless to be considered beautiful, if you're well-dressed like Mpiyakhe Zungu, you can see that he has presence, therefore, if we still had the section today, we would have included him because his presence is appealing].

[165] Lucky Cain (Senior journalist, *ILanga* newspaper), interview by author, 1 September 2020.
[166] Zandile Tembe (Programmes Manager, uKhozi FM), interview by author, 13 October 2020.
[167] Thobile Nxumalo (Communications Director, ANC eThekwini District), interview by author, 2 September 2020
[168] Fictional character in a South African drama series called *iSibaya* played by Siyabonga Thwala
[169] Thobile Nxumalo (Communications Director, ANC eThekwini District), interview by author, 2 September 2020

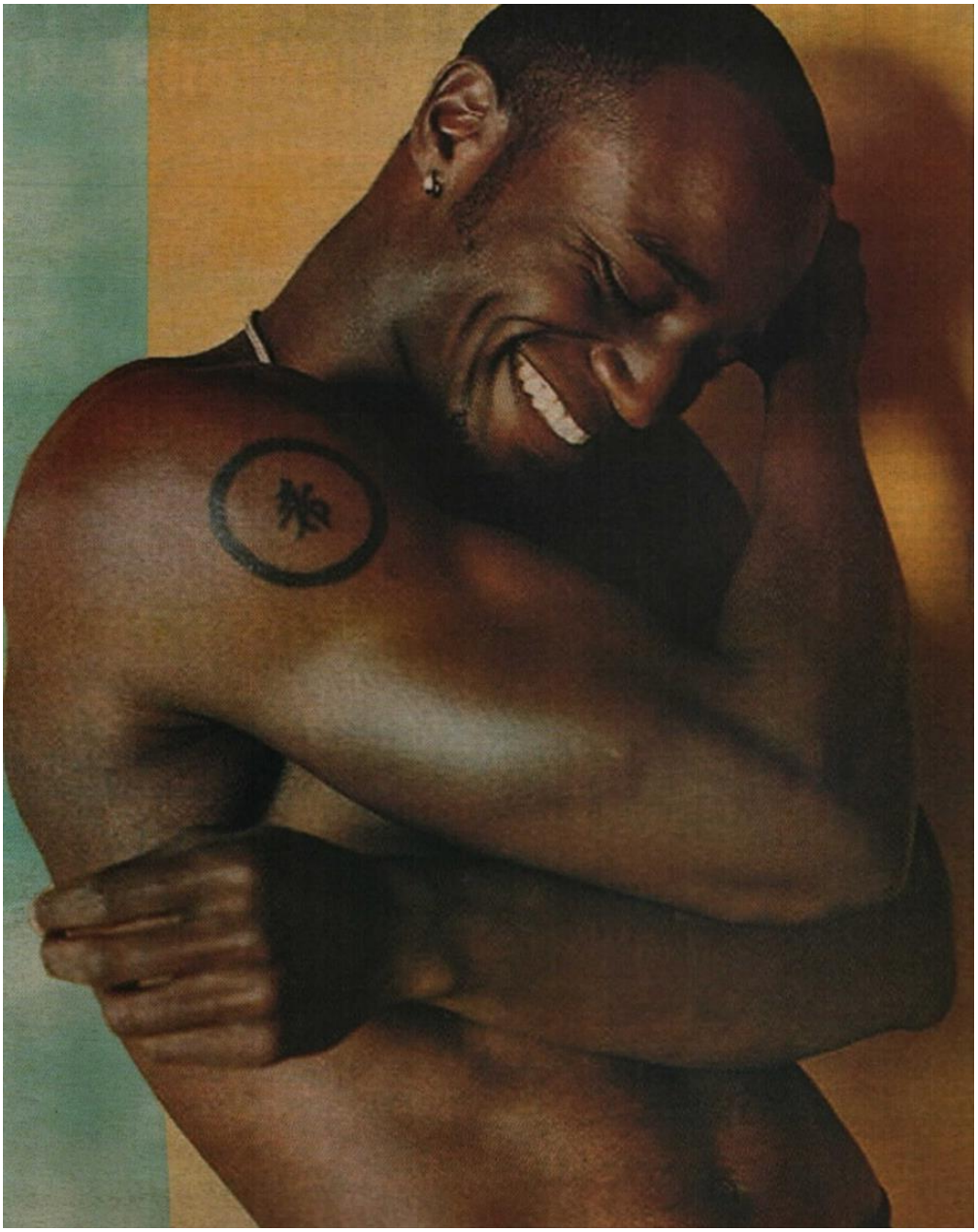


Figure 13: Taye Diggs as *igeza lensizwa* for the 27th of July 2006. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

The image of Taye Diggs[170] (figure 13) has him in his signature smile, showing off his pearly white teeth. With his eyes shut, allowing his mind to drift away, wearing a diamond stud earing, like those worn by Ngubane (figure 12), and a tattoo of an encircled Chinese symbol on his glistening ebony body, Diggs' gives his imagined lover a warm embrace. The female persona opened the caption with an isiZulu

[170] Scott Leo "Taye" Diggs is an African American actor. He is popularly known for his role in *How Stella Got Her Groove Back* (1998), *The Best Man* (1999) and, recently in the Shonda Rhimes TV series, *Private Practice* (2007 - 2013), which is a spin-off of Grey's Anatomy.

idiomatic expression and an isiZulu love vocative, "*Ntab'ezikude zingumasithela ngoba zingisithela wena my fohloza*" [Distant mountains block my view of you, my darling]. Setting the scene for a fictive romance, the female persona conjures the feelings of a lover in a long-distance relationship, yearning and pining for her sweetheart. The female persona calls her fictive lover my *fohloza* which is an isiZulu love vocative, reserved for one's lover. She draws in the female readers by saying, "'*Uma uyintokazi ungahlala umamatheka uma kungathiwa uTaye Diggs wase Malika yisoka lakho. Yingakho sithi zinsizwa, wozani nizothathwa izithombe zenu. Kwazi bani nawe ungaze uthole 'abatwana' sebeziphonsa kuwe ngapha nangapha*" [If you are a young woman, you would be smiling endlessly if Taye Diggs, from the USA, happened to be your man. That is why we are saying to young men, come and have your photograph taken. Who knows, you might have 'babes' throwing themselves at you from all directions]. The female persona invites young men to come have their photographs taken and become thirst-traps, as this might change their luck and they will have female suitors availing themselves. Zandile Tembe cheekily shared what she thought the inclusion of these heartthrobs would be received by local young men, "you too can be a Taye Diggs (figure 13) mos, wherever you are, and we wanted to see you!".[171]

These local and international heartthrobs worked to drive the editorial team's agenda to invite confident young men to participate in the *igeza lensizwa* section. Moreover, playfully building young men's confidence that they too were as hot as Taye Diggs or Thierry Henry.[172] Furthermore, the inclusion of local celebrities like Lunga Shabalala and Thapelo Mokoena[173] demonstrated how in tune the lifestyle supplement was with what was currently popular in South Africa. The inclusion of these heartthrobs of cause, titillated the female readers as their imagination was vicariously guided by the voice of the female persona and her adulations. She achieved this by chopping and changing love vocatives and popular culture

[171] Zandile Tembe (Programmes Manager, uKhozi FM), interview by author, 13 October 2020.

[172] Black French soccer player, who rose to fame playing for the British soccer team: Arsenal Football Club.

[173] Thapelo Mokoena is a thirty-nine-year-old South African actor, television producer, presenter, style icon and a brand ambassador for Volvo, the Swedish automobile. He grew up in Ladysmith, KwaZulu-Natal. He landed his first big acting job on the popular South African soap opera, *Generation*. He played the part of Gabriel who was Karabo Moraka's (played by Connie Ferguson) bodyguard.

references, so as to capture the best thirst reaction that would resonate with how a young, urban isiZulu woman spoke.

Oshukela base Thekwini (2012 - 2013)

The final two years of *ILanga le Theku* and its thirst-trap *igeza lensizwa* photographic section was charactered by two major events. These were the departure of *ILanga le Theku's* influential editor-in-chief Thobile Nxumalo in 2011, and the labour turbulence that *ILanga* experienced in 2012.[174] Lucky Cain as *ILanga le Theku's* last remaining member[175] of the inaugural editorial team and was appointed the new editor-in-chief, becoming the supplement's last editor-in-chief. Cain was given the reigns of a lifestyle supplement that was wildly popular and profitable for *ILanga* yet with a fraction of the required staff members.[176]

The supplement had grown to about sixteen pages with edgy content which the now small editorial team, was not able to live-up to. Unfortunately, the supplement dwindled to just less than ten pages. Cain felt an immense amount of pressure as he tried to sustain this isiZulu lifestyle supplement which had become a success, despite many orthodox journalists having misgivings about its editorial agenda. *Igeza lensizwa* was one of the popular sections which daunted Cain as it had developed so much over the years whilst retaining its pin-up/thirst-trap quality as the two previously discussed photographic types highlighted shifting valorised prowess's. The brief that the last two *ILanga le Theku* photographers received from Cain was that they needed to secure weekly photographs of local guys "*abazo'heha abantu besifazane*" [who would attract

[174] *ILanga* editorial staff members that were union members of the Media Worker's Association of South Africa (MWASA) went on an illegal strike in April 2012, led by *ILanga* journalist William Phungula, who was a union shop steward. The striking *ILanga* staffers were demanding a living wage and improved conditions of employment. The April 2012 strike ended with Mandla-Matla agreeing on some demands but instituted a disciplinary hearing against William Phungula for organising an illegal strike which ended with him being dismissed from *ILanga* later that year. The second illegal strike in November 2012 was sparked by employees' outrage at Phungula's dismissal and they called for a public boycott of *ILanga,* and Mandla-Matla's Managing Director responded by dismissing over twenty striking editorial staff members. 22 'Ilanga' staff fired for illegal strike | Witness (news24.com) (accessed 12 November 2021).
[175] Zandile Tembe, Sizwe Blose and Thuli Dlamini left *ILanga le Theku* in 2008, Nkosinathi Mshengu left in 2011, Mthamiz Luthuli left in 2010 and Alex Mkhize left in 2011.
[176] Sihle Masinga and Lucky Cain were some of the staff members that were fired, but Cain was re-instated. Sabelo Masuku found employment with *ILanga* as a result of the staff shortages during the strike action (assumingly filling the position opened by the dismissal of Sihle Masinga).

female's].[177] Sihle Masinga and Sabelo Masuku as the photographers were given the discretion to decide what type of young man would be attractive to a young woman in 2012 and 2013.

I have termed the type of young men that Masinga and Masuku photographed during these last two years as *oshukela base Thekwini* (soft life guys from Durban). These young men were pejoratively described as "*abafana abathanda izinto*" [young men that are modish][178] and "*ama'bhothela*" [butter][179], besides being well educated, employed, and stylishly dressed, their lives seemed to be free of struggles that faced their peers. With a perceived "struggle" free life, these young men were then thought of being able to pay attention to "secondary things" such as self-grooming and being fashionable. With a Virgin Active gym membership to stay fit and a Markham's[180] clothing account to buy the season's latest fashion items, these *oshukela base Thekwini* young men were the new pin-up boys which were meant to now *heha* [entice] young women. These young men were different from what Thuli Dlamini first sketched out as *izinsizwa ezidla ukotini* when she said *"*"*akanamali, kodwa ugqokile"* [he has no money, but he is dressed well].[181] *Oshukela base Thekwini* needed to be entrepreneurial, aspirational and look successful, qualities that Masinga and Masuku foregrounded as being desirable to women in the final years.

Sihle Masinga was born and raised in Margate, a resort town in the south coast of KwaZulu-Natal. In 2007 he moved to Durban to pursue a qualification in video production at the Durban University of Technology (DUT). Masinga had sparked a friendship with Alex Mkhize (just as Mthamiz Luthuli had) as they bumped into each other when photographing entertainment events. When Alex Mkhize left *ILanga le Theku* at the end of 2011, he recommended that he be replaced by Sihle Masinga. In early 2012 just as twenty-six-year-old Masinga was backing his bags to go look for better opportunities in Johannesburg, he received a call from *ILanga* inviting him to come for an interview. Masinga got the job. As an entertainment photographer he

[177] Lucky Cain (Senior journalist, *ILanga* newspaper), interview by author, 1 September 2020
[178] Sihle Masinga (Currently freelance video production), interview by author, 30 August 2020 and Sabelo Masuku (Photographer, *ILanga* newspaper), interview by author, 31 August 2020
[179] Sabelo Masuku (Photographer, *ILanga* newspaper), interview by author, 31 August 2020
[180] A popular South African men's streetwear ready-made clothing shop Mens Clothing, Denim, Shoes and Fashion Online | Markham (accessed 22 February 2022)
[181] Thuli Dlamini (Freelance photographer, Thuligraphy Images Company), interview by author, 2 September 2020.

covered many entertainment events for the supplement and of course, was responsible for the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section.

Just like Thuli Dlamini and Mthamiz Luthuli before him, Masinga experienced a reluctance from ordinarily dressed young men that he tried to street-cast. To mitigate this, he changed his street-casting strategy and repositioned the *igeza lensizwa* section as a profiling platform (a characterisation which Thobile Nxumalo detested). Masinga started street-casting young men that were, "busy with something, models, and hustlers, worthy of being profiled and he must have that 'something' to woo young women".[182] Masinga preferred working with models or aspirant models who required little direction on poses as he wanted to capture more casual streetwear images. As an entertainment photographer he also covered runway fashion shows and as Thuli Dlamini and Mthamiz Luthuli had done before him, he started observing how fashion photographs were taken. Masinga's *igeza lensizwa* photographs were inspired by fashion photography and he wanted to make them more street and urban.

Masinga recalled how he would try make the young men more comfortable in front of the camera, employing a few techniques to help them relax. Such as, asking them to imagine themselves chilling with their girlfriends and as they were smiling, Masinga would capture the moment. Masinga would put his camera on multi-shot mode and then start getting the subject to relax by prompting them, for example he would say, "give me the look you have when you're about to kiss your girlfriend" and as the young man coyly smiled, Masinga would be taking multiple shots.[183] Through these prompts and techniques, Masinga was able to capture *igeza* in those subliminal moments as he tried to produce fashion photography inspired images.

A key photograph characterised Masinga's contribution towards the *oshukela base Thekwini* photographic type. This was the photograph of Mashiya Ngcobo (figure 14). Masinga was at Max's Lifestyle restaurant in eMlazi, covering an Afrotainment music video production and he noticed this attractive "Bruno Mars[184]" looking guy, confidently sitting on the table. Mashiya Ngcobo was the music producer for Bhar's

[182] Sihle Masinga (Currently freelance video production), interview by author, 30 August 2020

[183] Sihle Masinga (Currently freelance video production), interview by author, 30 August 2020

[184] Peter Gene Hernandez, best known as Bruno Mars, is an American singer, songwriter, record producer, musician, and dance. He is well known for his debut album titled *Doo-Wops & Hooligans* which had three of his biggest hits; "Just the way you are", "Grenade" and "The Lazy Song".

music video titled, *Uyabhampa*[185], and out of curiosity I searched for the music video myself on YouTube and Mashiya Ngcobo appears in a few shots (dressed like the photograph below). Masinga approached Ngcobo and made his pitch, “dude you're good looking and you're a producer, there's so much to say about you, please to be part of *igeza lensizwa*”.[186]

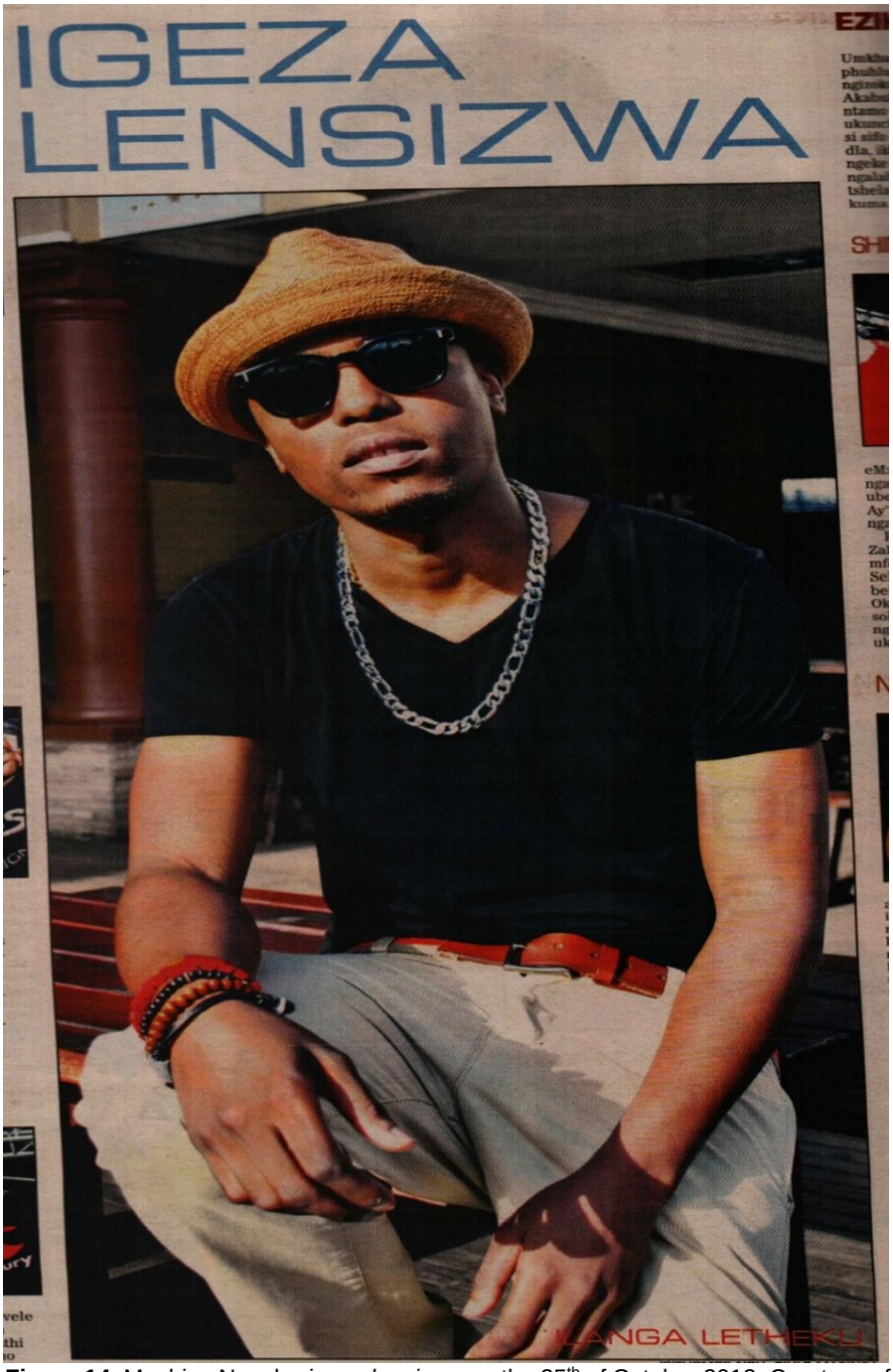


Figure 14: Mashiya Ngcobo *igeza lensizwa* on the 25th of October 2012. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper

[185] Bhar ft Sir Bubzen & Dj Tira "Uyabhampa" - YouTube (accessed 23 February 2022).
[186] Sihle Masinga (Currently freelance video production), interview by author, 30 August 2020

Twenty-five-year-old Mashiya Ngcobo was a native of Durban and lived in Chesterville. Ngcobo was a young man of many talents as besides being a music producer he was a qualified architect and further ran a marketing and branding company called Adonasro Lifestyle. In a simple but striking style, he is wearing a straw Panama hat with black Cary Grant[187] looking sunglasses that give him an old Hollywood glamour look. His simple black V-neck t-shirt and khaki chinos are accessorised with a chunky silver chain around his neck, and an assortment of wooden bead wristbands. Ngcobo is half sitting/leaning on a wooden picnic table, with one foot on the bench and another on the floor. Sihle Masinga photographed him as he had seen him earlier, without changing his pose. Masinga foregrounds Ngcobo's success and "Bruno Mars" looks, as the elements which will entice the female readers and inspire young men that will see how Ngcobo has attained success at a young age and how good success looks on him.

One of the unintended effects of the departure of Thobile Nxumalo was the partial death of the voice of the female persona and its thirst-trap reactions. Gone where the love vocatives, idiomatic expressions, the tones of adulation and the titillating fictive scenes which allowed young women to vicariously enjoy the captions and lecherously gaze at the young men, as guided by affective expectations of the thirst-trap caption. The voice that replaced the female persona was direct and flat. The voice only remarked on Ngcobo's eyebrows, which are a noticeable feature amongst the Ngcobo clan who are referred to as *Mashiyamahle* [beautiful eyebrows].[188] The new voice presented Ngcobo as a successful entrepreneur and invited young men that thought that they too could appear on the section, based on this new *oshukela base Thekwini* type.

The voice of the female persona did not disappear completely as it was still used when the photographers did not have a suitable *igeza lensizwa* and female sub-editor's[189] would source heartthrob photographs online. The captions that accompanied these local and international heartthrobs still had the voice of the female persona as she remarked on the smooth Danone skin tone of the heartthrobs and

[187] Cary Grant Collaboration | Oliver Peoples USA (accessed on the 23rd of February 2022)

[188] This comes from the Ngcobo clan names (*izithakazelo*) which are as follows: *Mashiya Amahle, sengathi azoshumayela. Amavula nkungu ilanga.* [Beautiful eyebrows, as if they will give a sermon. The clear away the mist, so that the sun can appear].

[189] This is based on my interviews with Lucky Cain, Sihle Masinga and Sabelo Masuku.

fantasized about resting her head on their firm chests. Furthermore, dreaming that if she could clench at least one of these heartthrobs, loneliness would be a thing of the past. But the voice of the female persona and her romantic fictive scenes was only retained for the heartthrobs during the final two years.[190] Due to the immense workload, at times doubling as a driver, Masinga only took the photographs and was not responsible for the captions and their voice. This was unlike previous years when Mthamiz Luthuli made attempts to write the captions using the voice of the female persona. Thobile Nxumalo had predominately been responsible for articulating the female persona and with her departure, the voice of the female persona was only limited to the heartthrobs as written by female sub-editors.

With the dismissal of Sihle Masinga for participating in the illegal strike action in 2012, Sabelo Masuku was hired in his stead, in late 2012. And as the last *ILanga le Theku* photographer, Sabelo Masuku reluctantly continued the *oshukela base Thekwini* type that Masinga had started. Sabelo Masuku was another native of Durban, as he was born in Inanda and resided KwaMashu. Masuku studied photography at the Durban University of Technology (DUT) and graduated in 2012. When he joined *ILanga* in 2012 he needed to produce photographic content for *ILanga's* three issues: the Monday, Thursday, and Sunday issue. Taking over the *igeza lensizwa* section also meant that he now needed to street-cast young men or await those that would come to the office, wanting to be photographed for the section. Masuku felt that the young men that he was photographing were not what he considered as *amageza ezinsizwa.* For him, the early *ILanga le Theku* photographic type (*izidlakela eziqimbile*) accurately captured what a young Zulu man should look like.[191] Whilst the young men that were interested in the section, were "soft life" urban guys.

An example of the photographs that Masuku took was of Durban born Nzuzo Miya (figure 15) who was from Savana Park. Miya was an avid volleyball player, and he had ambitions of becoming a model. With a glowing light brown skin tone and thick eyebrows, Miya leans against a derelict wall with peeling blue paint. Miya is dressed in a smart-casual fashion with a red and navy checked shirt and navy pants.

[190] This was due to Lucky Cain asking female Sub-Editors to help articulate the female voice and its required thirst-trap.
[191] Sabelo Masuku (Photographer, *ILanga* newspaper), interview by author, 31 August 2020



Figure 15: Nzuzo Miya *igeza lensizwa* for the 21st of February 2013. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

The voice that was used to write the caption that accompanied Miya's photograph was dry and direct as usual, after the departure of Thobile Nxumalo. The caption just

listed Miya's pursuits and hobbies. The *oshukela base Thekwini* photographic type seemed to no longer position *amageza ezinsizwa* to illicit thirst-trap reactions. The photographers left it to the female readers to conjure up their own thirst-trap affective expectations as Sabelo Masuku recalled, "*bazozibonela bona*" [they will see for themselves].[192] The photographs were still meant to *heha* [entice] women, but Masinga and Masuku highlighted different prowess's which they thought would do the work of *ukuchaza* [to affect].

The death of the thirst-trap toned caption was due to the limits of homosocial desire. This desire was framed by the looking relationship between the photographer and the men they street casted. The male photographers and male journalist, vehemently denied being able identify a good-looking man, instead, claimed to only being able to identify what women might find attractive. To avoid the discomfort of "identifying" a good-looking man Masinga changed the casting brief. He identified *igeza lensizwa* by his stylisation and secondly, through talking to him, his entrepreneurial pursuits were an additional bonus. Masuku continued with the stylisation and entrepreneurial pursuits casting brief that Masinga started. This was despite Masuku being nostalgic of the *izinsizwa eziqimbile* type, which he believed was more the physiognomy of *igeza lensizwa.* My reading of Masuku's affinity for the *izinsizwa eziqimbile* type is based on its obviousness: muscularity and male strength. To identify such a type did not require pushing the boundaries of homosocial desire. Men commending each other on their strength and muscularity sits comfortably within the realm of homosocial desire. What underpinned the photographer's anxiety was identifying male beauty, untethered to physical strength.

To circumvent this, they foregrounded other prowess's which did not require them, to venture into muddying the waters of desire. By changing the casting brief, it then rendered the thirst-trap tone defunct, as the male photographer claimed not to being able to craft affective expectations. Female readers were required to hone their own lecherous gaze and fictive affections. The male editorial staff members stated being unable to write in a thirsting tone that illustrated that a woman is amorous/smitten; *uyachazeka.* By being unable to articulate *ukuchazeka* they then were not able to *ukuheha* [entice] in the required lecherous manner. Because, as

[192] Sabelo Masuku (Photographer, *ILanga* newspaper), interview by author, 31 August 2020.

Nkosinathi Mshengu retorted, "*yini ozoyincoma kumuntu wesilisa"* [what could you possibly say to flatter another man].[193]

As with the looking relationship between the potential *igeza* at home and the week's *igeza,* the identification and articulation of male beauty was the hurdle. The ability to see attractive features of another man. This fear was put into words by Sabelo Masuku when he said, "if the caption says, '*waze wamuhle we'nsizwa'* [you're such a handsome young man], What does that say about me, am I gay *manje*?].[194] This fear plays into the strict policing of forms of desire in homosocial activities. Moreover, it demonstrates a myopic limitation in how men's looking relations are restrained. Where any "deviation" in the male-on-male looking and forms of desire it may espouse, is quickly categorised as homoeroticism. But it is in the discomfort that queer readings can occur to infer the broadening of masculinities. By the virtue of street-casting *amageza ezinsizwa,* the photographers were the ones that selected the finalist for selection. What they were uncomfortable with was a broadening and acknowledgement of desire which did not mean sexual desire. They rather deflected, conceding to only seeing the stereotypical markers that would *heha* women.

The success of the thirst trap reaction cannot be overlooked as it remained, right until the *igeza lensizwa* section ended in May 2013. But the thirst-trap toned was written by female sub-editors. It changed as the *igeza lensizwa* photographic type changed over the years, acknowledging that young men were embracing metrosexuality and therefore, these young men valorised different prowess's. The captions described young urban Zulu men as they were, not how they should have looked based on mythical physiques. The voice of the female persona balanced what women wanted from men, and how far young men were willing to be complicit in foregrounding what women wanted.

[193] Nosinathi Mshengu (Radio presenter, uKhozi FM), interview by author, 13 January 2021
[194] Sabelo Masuku (Photographer, *ILanga* newspaper), interview by author, 31 August 2020

Conclusion

The chapter sought to unpack the significance of the launch of *ILanga le Theku* as the first isiZulu-language lifestyle supplement and how the inaugural editorial team conceptualised it. The chapter then homed into the supplements longest running photographic section called *igeza lensizwa* and its accompanying captions, as a lens to explore how the supplement employed innovative techniques to address its contemporary readers. The focus was on the editorial conception of *igeza lensizwa* as a pin-up boy/thirst-trap and how over the photographic sections eight-year run, three photographic types emerged as the editorial team responded to the type of young men that the photographers were able to street-cast.

The chapter has explored the editorial decisions that were made to target the implied young urban Zulu male and female readers from *eThekwini* and the techniques used to cater for these two implied readerships. The immense pressures of being a lifestyle supplement were explored as the editorial team needed to always ensure its content was relevant for its very contemporary readers whose interests were continuously changing. For female readers, *amageza ezinsizwa* were foregrounded as thirst-traps and female readers were guided to this conclusion by the voice of the female persona and the affective expectations in the thirst-trap toned captions. This voice borrowed its urban Zulu readers speaking mannerisms, colloquialisms and referenced popular culture and Zulu culture to chime in with its readers interests.

Through love vocatives, adulations and titillating fictive scenes, the captions provided a space where female readers could enjoy *amageza* firstly vicariously as thirst traps. And secondly, the section brought to the surface the changing lives of female isiZulu speakers who were young, urban and were engaged in negotiating their young adult lives, as they reconciled this with their Zulu cultural outlooks which they still respected but needed them to change and accommodate their changing realities. A reality of them being young, urban, educated, independent and unafraid to break patriarchal convention and initiate courtship instead of being coy and politely awaiting to be courted. The thrust of this theme of showcasing the changing realities of young urban Zulu women, is evident in the longevity of the thirst trap captions and their crafting of desire. This female voice and her perspectives were sustained through the

heartthrob photographs even when the voice of the female persona was replaced with a dull and direct voice in the final two years.

For young urban Zulu men, the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section was initially conceived as a didactic masculine type for young men to aspire towards, as the female led editorial team, through the female persona, foregrounded alternative masculinities which they wanted young men to emulate. Through the shifting photographic types, the voice of the female persona changed as young men made it known that they too were changing and valued different prowess's as they embraced changing forms of self-expression and articulated their urban identities without shame. These young, urban, Zulu men foregrounded changing social practices that had a bearing on their masculinities. Moreover, the chapter has demonstrated that the conceptualisation of *igeza lensizwa* as a thirst-trap also worked for young men, both the modish and the unmodish, despite their differing social practices. Both these loosely defined groups valued the prowess of being a charmer and being popular amongst young women (*ubusoka*). These prowess's were heightened if one appeared on the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section and the voice of the female persona through its adulations made these young men the "it" guys for the week. The chapter also foregrounded a queer reading of the male-on-male looking relations and the limits of homosocial desire. By validating stylisation as a prowess, the female voice broadened the possibility of male-on-male looking to consider more complex forms of desire, which are not sexual.

The next chapter explores the contents of the backgrounds behind *amageza ezinsizwa* photographs and makes the argument that, if they are read as social spaces, we can better interpret the relationships between *amageza ezinsizwa* in the foreground and the areas layered history in the background.

Chapter Four

Igeza lensizwa eThekwini: Mapping relations in a social space

Introduction

The stylish young men in their *Le Coq Sportif*[195] sneakers and baby blue shirts with Freylinia flower motifs in the foreground of the fashion inspired photographs are not the only features in the photograph where meaning can be drawn from. Several insightful links can be made and explored between the contents of the photographic backgrounds and the young men in the foreground. Thobile Nxumalo as the editor-in-chief of *ILanga le Theku* attested to the allure of the contrast between the new buildings being built at the Point Waterfront and remaining ruins and dilapidated buildings which the editorial team wanted to utilize as "nice contrasts" with *amageza ezinsizwa*.[196] A number of *amageza ezinsizwa* photographs were taken in various ruins around the Durban Point area, utilizing them before they got pulled down. At the turn of the twenty-first century, the area was undergoing change, as a multi-billion-rand Point Waterfront renewal project was underway, that aimed to bring life back to this once vacant, derelict, isolated and forgotten part of the Durban's harbour.[197]

Moreover, during this period, the *eThekwini* Metropolitan Municipality was formed which extended the boundaries of the City of Durban, incorporating eMlazi and KwaMashu into the city's jurisdiction. As before the year 2000, they were considered Durban's "two lungs", "labour reserves", that fuelled Durban's economy (Edwards 1990). The photographic backgrounds in the *amageza ezinsizwa* photographs also showcased this renewal, as *ILanga le Theku* photographers (urged by their editor-in-chief) enjoyed contrasting the casted *amageza ezinsizwa* against the ruins and rubble of Edwardian and Victorian buildings. *Amageza ezinsizwa* were photographed against

[195] Founded in 1882 Le Coq Sportif is a French manufacturing company of sports equipment.

[196] Thobile Nxumalo (Communications Director, ANC eThekwini District), interview by author, 2 September 2020.

[197] The harbour's activity had largely shifted away from the Point Precinct in the 1970s and the cargo handling work was carried out at Maydon Wharf and other areas in the harbour. This resulted in the properties and infrastructure (mostly owned by Portnet, a division of Transnet) at the Point becoming vacant and disused until the Point Waterfront renewal project in 2001.

crumbling walls with peeling paint and rusted re-enforcement steel bars jutting out of redbrick rubble. Later, they were photographed against the restored Victorian buildings, the seawater canal that snakes through the precinct and against the newly built upmarket residential building called the Quayside Waterfront Apartment.

This chapter is interested in these photographic backgrounds and the type of connections that can be inferred between *amageza ezinsizwa*, the buildings, ruins, and spaces behind them. A key relationship that I will be unpacking in this chapter is the one between *amageza ezinsizwa* and the revamped Edwardian building called The Stevedore. The building is absent from the photographs, only the space that it occupies is visible. In the early 2000s it was revamped into a mixed residential building, but at the turn of the twentieth century, it was used as a single-sex hostel for black workers. These quarters housed young African men (*izinsizwa*) who entered colonial Natal's cash economy. As these young African men spent more time at the Durban Point, their social practices and gender relations (ways of relating between each other, ways of dressing and their cultural interpretation of how men should act and present themselves), drawn from their Zulu backgrounds, underwent changes. These changes are better understood when considered with Morrell's (1998) observations of waning African masculinities and burgeoning black masculinities and how young African men balanced these two.[198]

Moreover, Connell's (2005a) arguments which I outlined in chapter two, are also useful in this chapter, as she charts an argument that certain situations are structured differently, permitting some practices and not others. But practices themselves also change and re-constitute structures. The chapter puts forward the argument that *eThekwini* and the Durban Point area need to be read as structures. Structures that have been constituted by a long history of young African men experimenting with different social and gender practices as they articulated their shifting masculinities. These changes occurred because of shifting agents of socialisation, as circular migration, changing generational power dynamics due to the introduction of the poll tax and the new dynamics of *togt* labour[199] and stevedoring, all brought about changes

[198] Black/urban masculinities are oppositional, "one of their purposes was to dignify the lives and experiences of black men" (Morrell 1998: 9). Whilst Morrell (1998) foregrounds African masculinities as those that flourished in rural homesteads the native reserves, as articulated by the Zulu social system.
[199] *Togt* is a Dutch word for journey or trip and points at the link between the rural and the urban, Keith Breckenridge (2004) writes that *togt* referred to a minute form of contract, where Africans hired out their

to what being a young Zulu man meant. Circular migration became a ritual of becoming (Mupotsa 2020) for young Zulu men, as it was no longer a phase to go through on the path to adulthood, but rather a lifelong reality (Callebert 2011).

By employing two lenses to my reading of the photographic backgrounds, this chapter will unpack how this above outlined history, through an inferred connection, can be linked to contemporary *amageza ezinsizwa* in the photographic foreground. This inferred connection is possible when the photographic backgrounds are read as stage-settings (Barthes 1990) and as social spaces (Tjirera 2019; Ombagi 2019 & Rosenberg 2019). As outlined in Chapter two, stage-settings carry connotations which contribute to the overall meaning of the stylised model in the foreground. The backgrounds are not only composed of objects, as these objects are in a space, a social space which also yields information when read against *amageza ezinsizwa.* The social space lens allows me to read the backgrounds as a mixture of social interactions and their histories. Put differently, reading the backgrounds of these *amageza ezinsizwa* photographs can benefit from the understanding that the streetways and buildings at the Durban Point are and were used by different people. At different times and over the years, the space has been re-configured with different ideas of how it should be used. As mentioned earlier, the Edwardian single-sex living quarters at the corner of Lamp and Browns Road were built for black stevedores and *togt* workers and these have been revamped to house young middle-class professionals (now called The Stevedore). Therefore, reading the backgrounds as social spaces means considering how the area is and has been used by all these different people as they lived their lives in the space.

The inferred connections are further strengthened by the redbrick ruins of the Victorian and Edwardian built structures that *amageza ezinsizwa* are photographed in front of. Ruins in photographs, are able to place us at the end of a historical continuum (Dillon 2011; Gordillo 2014 & Price 2016). But most importantly, a ruin is not neutral, as it is, “predicated on a particular gaze cast upon it” (Hell & Schönle 2010: 7). The person reading a ruin in a photograph is able to define it, as the act of reading involves investing, “our looking with imagination, creating in our mind, an alternative conceptual vision while simultaneously being mindful of what is there” (Gaule 2013: 37). This

labour by the day, walking from the outskirts of Durban to town to sell their labour for the day, thus allowing them to continue the rhythm of their lives.

imaginative investment is possible because ruins provoke both absence and presence, fragment and whole, they also swing between the visible and the invisible (Hell & Schönle 2010: 7). This contradictory nature of ruins affords me the opportunity to escape static narratives in exchange for imaginative ones which “remember, retrace and recreate spaces” differently (Price 2016: 43). This is only possible because, ruins enable, “individual freedom, imagination, and subjectivity as they emancipate our senses and desires and enable introspection” (Hell & Schönle 2010: 8). The chapter takes creative licence and places the contemporary figure of *igeza lensizwa* at the end of the ruin’s historical continuum and draws connections between *amageza ezinsizwa* and their configuration of practices, and the Durban Points history in relation to young African men.

The existence of the ruins with their ability to house absence, and their dependence on the imaginative investment we bring to their reading, further allows me to disrupt the dominant Victorian architectural style. This style almost silences the presence of The Stevedore Edwardian styled building and the histories of young African men that it housed. By reading the contents of the backgrounds as social spaces, I am able to infer connections between the non-dominant historical accounts, represented by side-line buildings or their ruins, which are silenced by the dominant Victorian architecture. The chapter takes cue from the visibly absent Edwardian building but fills the gap by exploring historical maps to locate the presence of The Stevedore building in the background. The chapter works to unpack the relationship that exists between the building, the histories it represents (shifting Zulu masculinities), how the young African men experienced it, and lived their lives at the Durban Point.

The significance of unpacking this relationship is to draw parallel themes between the young African men that resided in the African quarters and the contemporary young men that *ILanga le Theku* photographed in the foreground. I will focus on the theme of migration, the historical significance of the Durban Point and how both these groups of young men were engaged in situated self-understanding and self-making as they negotiated their Zulu masculinities in a new setting with changing socialising agents. I will argue that the contemporary young men’s rendition of what it means to be a young, urban, and Zulu is part of a chain of shifts that the Durban Point has previously witnessed.

EThekwini, Durban Point and its unique past

The people that over time, settled in the natural bay between uMlazi River and uMngeni River are crucial to our understanding of the layered history of *eThekwini.* Accounts from sailors shipwrecked near the bay, provide accounts of African people that populated the bay area.[200] Durban's history did not start with the arrival of Lieutenant Farewell and Henry Fynn in 1824, as the area had been home to African people, specifically *amaThuli* (Shooter 1857, Bird 1888, Russell 1894, & Bryant 1929).

The sub-title of John van de Ruit's fourth book in the *Spud* series "Exit, Pursued by a Bear" (2012) lucidly captures Durban's tumultuous early history, as the events that led to the arrival of its early African inhabitants were characterised by squabbles and vengeance. Tensions caused by the growth in power of the *Qwabe* in the early eighteenth century, north of the Thukela River led to frictions with the *Ngcolosi* and the *Luthuli* of the area (Wright 2009). In an act to strike at the mystic of origins and legitimacy of the *Qwabe* "tribe"*, Shadwa* (a Luthuli prince) stole the *Qwabe* sacred bath-stone in 1760 and fled, crossing the Thukela River. Fellow clan members followed suit, moving south, along the coast of present-day KwaZulu-Natal. They came across a large lagoon (present day Durban Harbour) and named it *iTheku.*[201] At this *iTheku, Shadwa* and his clansman become known as *amaThuli.*[202] The *amaThuli* people spread themselves in diverse small parties over the Durban area, with the *Thusi* settling between the Durban lagoon and the mouth of the uMngeni river, some settling by the Bluff, and others settling in present day New Germany and Pinetown (Bryant 1929: 502). During the regency of Fica (alias Matubane) two defining events occurred; first, in 1821, the conquering Zulus appeared on the scene and in 1824 the

[200] Portuguese admiral Vasco Da Gama named the portion of land from Umtata to the Bluff as the *Terra de Natal* [the Christmas land] in 1497 (Bryant 1929). The Bay of Natal had many shipwrecks, and it is from the surviving crew members of the *Santo Alberto* shipwreck in 1593 that Bryant (1929), through a linguistic analysis, contends that the native people that the crew members encountered were *amaLala*, who occupied lands around the Bay. Accounts of the *Thuli* are written about in detail in Reverent A.T Bryant's (1929) *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal,* which was based on earlier writings of British traders and travelers like Henry Fynn, Nathaniel Isaac's, Reverent William Holden, and the like.

[201] According to Koopman (2004), Bryant's 1905 dictionary gives two meanings of *iTheku,* one is: single testicle animal and the more apt one is a bay or lagoon (Bryant 1929: 500).

[202] Even before the arrival of *amaThuli* in 1760 in Durban, 1686 accounts from the Dutch ship the Stavinesse, a ship that was wrecked at the Bay of Natal in 1686 (Holden 1963) makes mention of indigenous people living in the Bay under Chief Nyangisa and by the end of the sixteen century Zulu Xhosa speaking people had settled in the vicinity that is now Durban (Bryant 1929).

British arrived in the Bay (Bryant 1929). With Shaka's expansion of the Zulu kingdom at the turn of the nineteenth century, the seat of *Thuli* sovereignty was centralised at the Bluff.

Besides *eThekwini* having its origins as a location where the *Thuli* people found refuge, away from the increasing frictions north of the Thukela River. The accounts of shipwreck survivors and traders hint at the presence of young men who were fashionable and daring. This took the form of them creating elaborate hair styles which were more extravagant than what would be permitted north of the Thukela River (these sartorial decrees were explored in the chapter one). This was because, north of the Thukela River there were more stringent socialising agents, which governed who got to overgrow their pinkie nail, how big could one grow their hair, and what adornments each person could wear. From the early eighteen-hundreds, during the reign of Dingane, the African people living around *eThekwini* were in a tributary relationship with the Zulu kingdom, collecting feathers and wild animal skins as tributes. The young men (*izinsizwa*) from *eThekwini* coiffed their hair to mimic the ceremonial headdresses of Zulu warriors which were adorned with different feathers (Klopper 2010 & 2016). These young men could not wear the ceremonial headdresses as they had regimental significance, based on the age cohort they belonged to, and the *iTheku* young men were not grouped into *ibutho.*

By the time the Durban Harbour Board "arrived" on the scene, the bay area between uMngeni and uMlazi river had a history of African people seeing the area as a place of refuge, a place of relaxed sartorial rules, and a place where they could react to changing political allegiances on their own terms. The gradual establishment of the Durban harbour as a migrancy destination for young African men from Natal and Zululand, saw them enter the Durban Point. The Durban Point being a place with a history that embraced self-determination, self-stylisation, and a melting pot of reactions by Africans, as they entered the cash economy.[203]

From the 1870s onwards, Durban became the largest single destination for migrant workers in Natal and many were *togt* workers, mostly working on the Durban

[203] Hlonipha Mokoena (2017) writing on Zulu men and clothing in Colonial Natal argues that Natal Africans responded to colonial sumptuary laws in different ways and varied styles of dress. She writes that when European ship passengers disembarked at Durban harbour in the late 1800s, they were met with black men dressed in improvised outfits. The hodgepodge style marked their entry into the colonial economy and their agency to hobble together improvised dress (Mokoena 2017).

docks along the Point which was controlled by the Natal Harbour Board (Mahoney 2012).[204] The Point has a unique history as the oldest part of Durban's harbour, ran by various bodies over the years, but its quasi-independence was forged by three Natal Harbour Board's (NHB). But before the NHB solidified the Point's quasi-independence, it was fiercely contested between the Natal Colonial Government and the Durban Town Council. The first Board, formed in 1855 had little authority, but with the passing of Law No 13 of 1877 it steadily gained power. The Board was comprised of seven members; the Port Captain, the Mayor of Durban, the colonial engineer, the collector of Customs, two members of the Durban Chamber of Commerce and a member appointed by the Natal Government (Kearney 2013). The Board was tasked with running the harbour, property ownership, leasing land and collecting rents, and issuing of private pilot licenses.

Law No 29 of 1880 gave the Board power to grant leases over land around the Bay (Kearney 2013). Under the Boards third chairperson, Harry Escombe, the Board developed independence and power. It became only accountable to the Legislative Council which voted on its budget and the third Board ended up controlling the Point, Addington, most of the Bluff, Salisbury Island and the Bay and its surroundings (Twyman 1991; Kearney 2013). By the time it was dissolved in 1894, it had financial, territorial, and managerial independence and had more power than the Durban Town Council (Twyman 1991; Kearney 2013). Right into the twentieth century, the Point had its own rules and regulations which did not bode well with the Durban City Council. The Point's independence also cultivated a large transient and multi-ethnic[205] community that occupied an informal settlement called Bamboo Square from 1873 until its demolition in 1903 (Kearney 2002).

[204] The hut tax was one of the first pieces of legislation aimed at drawing black people into the colonial cash economy in Natal and it was followed by the poll tax at in the 1900s. Ralph Callebert (2011) argues that the first decades of the twentieth century saw the African population being dependent on urban employment and circular migration. This was because of draughts, epidemics, wars, commercialisation, and racial legislation which made rural self-sufficiency more difficult (Callebert 2011). By the turn of the twentieth century, migration was no longer a source of agency, but a result of impoverishment as the African peasantry were no longer successfully competing with settlers but struggling to survive on the native reserves (Callebert 2011). After the second South African War (1899 - 1902) the Natal Colonial state had a shortfall in tax income and introduced new taxations such as the poll tax, payable by all adult males who did not pay hut tax. This became a double tax on the young men that were in town earning wages, as remittances were used by their fathers to pay for the hut tax (Callebert 2011 & Carton 2000).

[205] This community was made up of Indian, Chinese, Mozambican, people from St Helena, Malays, Mauritians, and Zulu people.

This community offered the shipping companies and the Natal Government Railway accessible casual labour. This more relaxed atmosphere saw a growing number of *togt* labourers which the Durban City Council did not approve of, but which the Natal Harbour Board preferred against the wisdom of the Master and Servants Act (1850). Dock workers[206] had relative agency to choose which employers to work for and were able to get high wages as they hired themselves out to whichever shipping company they wanted. The irregular labour needs of merchants and shippers coincided with the irregular cash needs of the African population with working patterns linked to the agricultural calendar (Callebert 2011). *Togt* casual labour allowed dock workers to escape the punitive measures of the Master and Servant Act.[207]

By the turn of the twentieth century, the Durban port attracted many young African men from Natal as the port hired them as dock workers. These workers were one of Durban's biggest concentrations of labour. By 1900, African workers were active in four sectors: *togt* work, domestic servants, rickshaw-pullers, and washermen. The first two groups were the most numerous and dock workers were the largest group of *togt* workers. *Togt* workers in the late 1800s lived where they liked, occupying backyard premises in the Borough of Durban or constructed shacks in Bamboo square, resisting control (Maylam 1996). Initially very few *togt* labourers lived in municipal barracks and native quarters, as they either stayed with domestic servant friends in their backyard dwellings in white homes or in shacks in the fringes of Durban in places like Cato Manor. The South African Railways and Harbour (SAR&H) employed close to half of *togt* workers at the Durban Point and established first claim of the workers by introducing them to barracks and native quarters. Other workers chose to live at the Bell Street municipal Barracks and other places in town. With the harbour requiring so many black casual workers and white professionals, some of the largest and visible buildings at the Point, at the turn of the twentieth century were for housing (Kearney 2013).

[206] The term refers to stevedores and shore workers which were all forms of *togt* work. Stevedores worked on the docked ships, stacking, and unloading cargo by hand, whilst shore workers handled the cargo on the wharf (Callebert 2011).

[207] But their "lack of discipline" saw Durban authorities introduce measures to try discipline their agency, introducing a *togt* registration scheme in 1874, Africans were only welcome in town as labourers and needed to wear badges that identified them as dock workers. This limitation to the freedom of workers undermined their bargaining power. The 1902 *togt* Law, made bargaining illegal and workers only had five days in town to find employment and the law compelled *togt* workers to sleep in municipal compounds and reintroduced fixed daily wage rates (Callebert 2011: 36).

The map below (figure 16) shows the residential buildings at the Point in the early twentieth century. These are the Victorian terrace houses for white professionals and craftsmen (number 74 in figure 16), a row of Victorian houses for harbour pilots (number 78 in figure 16), the harbour caption's house (number 78 in figure 16), and "native" quarters (number 73 in figure 16) behind the Victorian terrace houses. The now iconic Victorian Dock Point terrace houses (number 74 in figure 16) were built by the Natal Harbour Board (NHB) in the late 1800s and these were built to house white harbour workers such; dredge masters, signalmen, superintendent of buoys and moorings, various artisanal craftsmen, wharfingers and shipwrights and their families (Kearney 2013). Just across what is today, Lamp Street (used to be named Timeball Road), was the South African Railway & Harbour Administration (SAR&H) built Native Quarters. SAR&H made an application to the Natal Harbour Board (NHB) in 1884 to build housing for native dock workers and the first structures were built from wood and iron and replaced with red brick barracks in 1906 (Edwardian architectural style) (Kearney 2013).

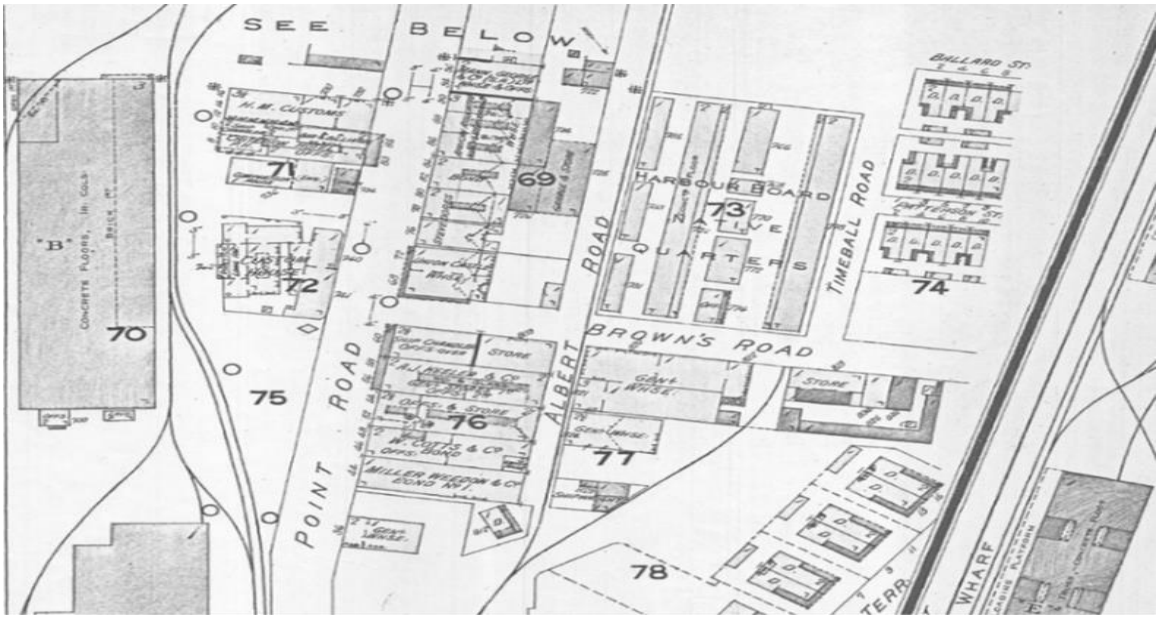


Figure 16: Insurance Maps of Living quarters at Durban's Point, 1931.

As a social space and a stage-setting behind *amageza ezinsizwa,* the Durban Point area is steeped in history of how young African men occupied and utilised the space. A history of a space that was a refuge, and eventually was charactered by its quasi-independence. Its quasi-independence saw the growth of a large African casual labour pool that had the freedom to sell its labour to whichever employer they wanted

at the Point and whenever they wanted. Moreover, a space that saw lax sartorial rules, shifting socialisation agents and generational power dynamics changing due to young African men entering the colonial cash economy and the introduction of the poll tax. Given all these changes, young African men demonstrated agency as they reacted to these changes in a myriad of ways. This is the social space and stage-setting that is behind *amageza ezinsizwa* in the photographs.

Shifting practices in the foreground and connections to the background

The photographs of Alex Wynne (figure 17), S'busiso Ndlovu (18), Mthuthu Ndebele (figure 19) Boysie Ngcobo (figure 20) and Dez Peterson (figure 21) show them as thirst-traps in the foreground, with distinct urban rustic backgrounds. Each of these images are captured in the foreground of ruins where nature had begun her reclamation process, and others in front of renovated and restored Victorian buildings at the Durban Point. Ngcobo's photograph was taken in the first year of *igeza lensizwa* (2006) during the *izidlakela eziqimbile* period, whilst Ndlovu and Wynne's photograph were taken during the *izinsizwa ezidla ukotini* (2010) period. Lastly, Ndebele and Peterson's photograph was taken during the last shift (2012 - 2013) the *oshukela base Thekwini* period. A young man that wanted to be casted as the weeks *igeza lensizwa* like these young men, would have answered the following typical casting call in the *igeza lensizwa* caption "*Sishayele kule nombolo uma uzethemba ngokuba igeza lensizwa"* [call us on this number if you are confident in your status as a handsome young man] (1 November 2007: 16). Wynne, Ndlovu, Ngcobo and Peterson called *ILanga le Theku* and came to the Durban Point offices to have their photographs taken by an *ILanga le Theku* photographer. Ndebele submitted his own photograph for consideration. Each of these young men would have seen the calibre of young men that were showcased in previous issues, and were aware of the criteria of, *inter alia, ukuzethemba* (self-confidence) and *ukuzizwa* (self-regard).[208] Thobile Nxumalo recalls that the photo-shoot locations were selected by the photographers.[209] But, she

[208] These will be explored fully in the next chapter.

[209] Thobile Nxumalo (Communications Director, ANC eThekwini District), interview by author, 2 September 2020

encouraged the photographers to take advantage of the Victorian ruins before they were pulled down to make space for new buildings.[210]

The photographs of Alex Wynne (figure 17) and S'busiso Ndlovu (figure 18) were both taken by Alex Mkhize. Dressed in a baby blue long-sleeve shirt with white Freylinia flower patterns, white linen trousers and brown leather Carvela moccasin shoes, Alex Wynne (figure 17) standouts out from the redbrick rubble where a rusted re-enforcement steel bar juts out.



Figure 17*:* Alex Wynne, *igeza lensizwa* for the 18th of November 2010. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

[210] Thobile Nxumalo (Communications Director, ANC eThekwini District), interview by author, 2 September 2020.

Wynne is a mechanical engineering student at the Mangosuthu University of Technology (MUT) and was the third runner up for the MUT Mr Personality contest. The redbrick rubble and ruins, act as a stage-setting, accentuating the figure of Wynne in the foreground. This scene provokes two kinds of feeling. Firstly, melancholy for the inevitability of decay (Dillon 2011), as old vines cling onto the exposed redbrick wall where plaster once covered the walls. The second feeling is one of anticipation, as the image of Wynne makes one think of renewal. Renewal at the end of a historical continuum, as Wynne's presence reinvigorates the ruin, giving it a new lease on life with its old-world charm motif. Standing proud amongst the ruins is the figure of Wynne, photographed for meeting the criteria of being *igeza lensizwa* which embodied varied configurations of practices.

A month later, Alex Mkhize photographed S'busiso Ndlovu (figure 18) at the very same location.

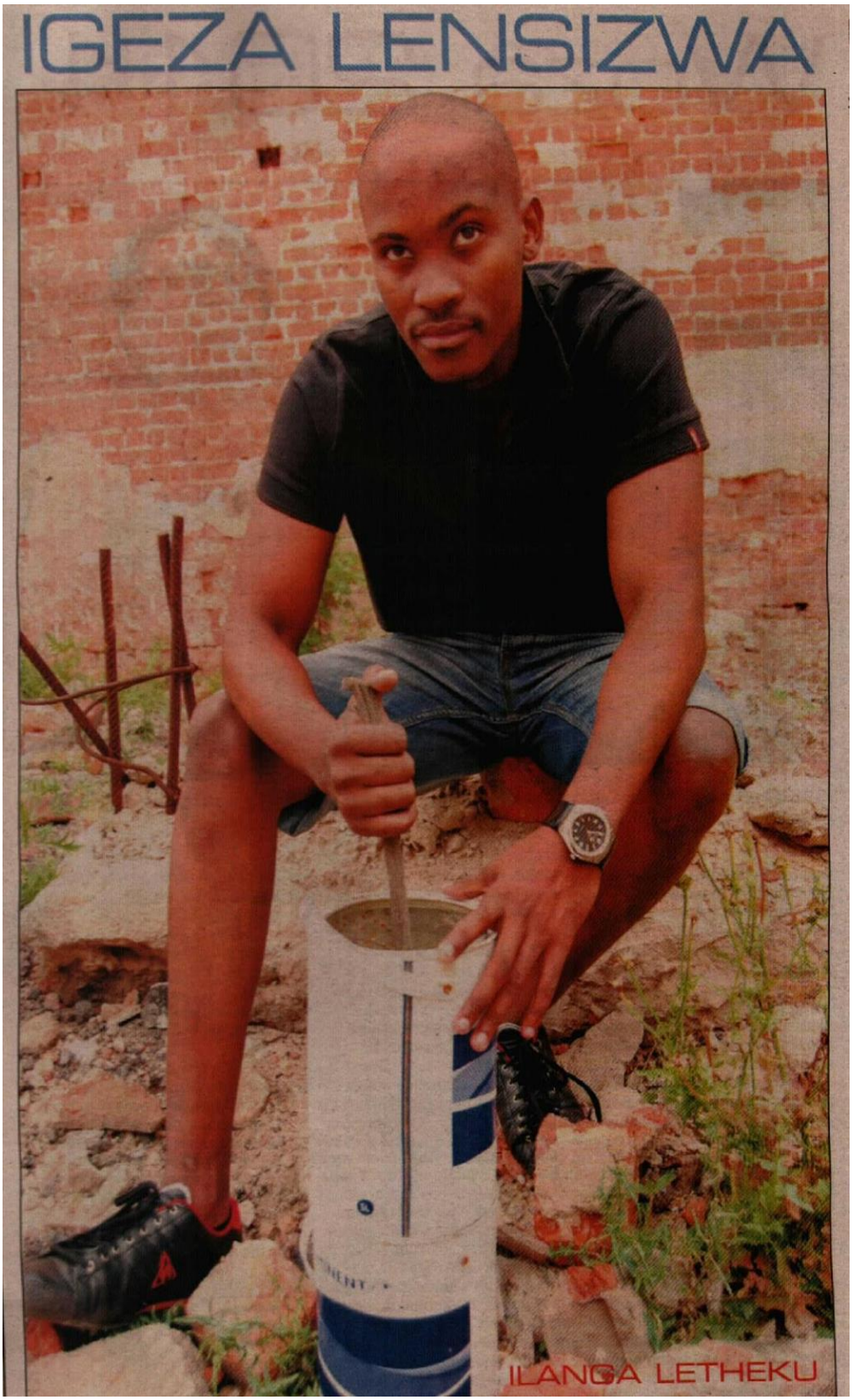


Figure 18*:* S'busiso Ndlovu, *igeza lensizwa* for the 9th of December 2010. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

Ndlovu hails from the small town of Kranskop, which is on the edge of the Thukela River Valley in KwaZulu-Natal. He moved to Durban to further his studies and was then, in his final year at the Mangosuthu University of Technology (MUT). Just like Wynne, he had also entered the 2010 Mr Mangosuthu competition, but won second place. Alex Mkhize has him in an odd pose. Seated on a redbrick, with a rusted re-enforcement steel bar next to him, Ndlovu is wearing a pair of black leather *Le Coq Sportif* sneakers, a black round neck *Levi's* t-shirt[211], denim shorts and has accessorised his outfit with a wristwatch. The viewer's attention is split between his thick eyebrows, silky moustache and his beautiful hands posing as if, he is stirring a 5 litre of paint.

We are presented with an image of Ndlovu who considers himself handsome as validated by the judges of the Mr Mangosuthu competition and by the female voice that was used to write the caption. Without a doubt, Ndlovu is a young man that follows beauty regimes as his legs look shaven, his skin looks clear and glistens. His hands look like they just underwent a paraffin manicure[212], yet he is in a pose that mimics the beginning of a Do-It-Yourself (DIY) project. This photographic style seems to borrow the outrageous technique of taking fashion photographs. Barthes (1990) contends that fashion photographers use this technique to best accentuate the model in the foreground by making the contents of the background seem out of place or have the model in an outlandish pose. At the same time, the backgrounds in Wynne and Ndlovu's fashion inspired photographs provoke a romantic scene, as old ruins with vines and wild undergrowth invoke a romantic aesthetics of fragmentation and picturesque decline (Dillon 2011: 11).

Wearing a classic plain white round neck t-shirt, black slim fit denim jeans, a pair of black *Chuck Taylors* with loosely fastened red laces, Mthuthu Ndebele (figure 19) accessories this classic look with dark sunglasses and a thick leather armband. Ndebele hails from oNdini, in the north of KwaZulu-Natal but now resides in Newlands

[211] Levi Strauss & Co. is an American clothing company known worldwide for its Levi's brand of denim jeans.
[212] A manicure technique where hands are dipped into paraffin wax, with essential oils, so as to soften the hands.

East in Durban. Mthuthu juggles being a fashion model and a successful Afro-House/jazz artists, having collaborated with Dj Bongz[213], Dj Fresh[214] and Euphonik[215].



Figure 19: Mthuthu Ndebele, *igeza lensizwa* for the 6th of December 2012. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

[213] Bongani Dlamini is an award winning South African house music DJ.

[214] Thabo Sikwane is an award winning South African Dj, media personality and best known as a radio host with 5FM and Metro FM.

[215] Themba Nkosi is also an award-winning House music Dj and rose to fame as Dj Fresh's protégé.

Ndebele is in a derelict building with graffiti on its walls. Graffiti has an unfortunate reputation of being associated with vandalism, illegal sub-cultural expressions, and gang demarcations (Chmielewska 2008 & Bates 2014). The graffiti behind Ndebele looks like a stylised tag. Often, the basic form of graffiti is the artists name, and this is called a tag. It is done to announce the artists existence, document their work and establish their identity within a space (Bates 2014). Graffiti writing is about the tag, its graphic form and reaching various locations (Bates 2014). Old buildings with graffiti lose the aesthetic ideals of classic beauty[216] that are associated with ruins and their picturesque decline (Dillon 2011, William 2011 & Price 2016).

Old buildings with graffiti and its association with vagrancy, excrement and anti-social behaviour get relegated to being derelict buildings, and by default, get categorised as being ugly. Derelict buildings call for demolition because of the debasement caused by graffiti and its negative associations[217], whilst ruins call for preservation, due to their picturesque charm as nature engulfs and reclaims it (William 2011). Ruins on the other hand, those behind Wynne (figure 17) and Ndlovu (figure 18) are associated with romantic notions of a glorious past, and of slow reclamation by nature (William 2011: 94). In her lyrical book *Pleasure of Ruins* (1953) Rose Macaulay outlines the different affects and pleasures that ruins give us as onlookers. She describes the charming process of how new ruins acquire the "weathered patina of age" (Macaulay 1953: 453).

Climbing vines, amphibians and rodents are mandatory, a sapling establishing itself in a crack, bulging out and cracking the plastering near a shattered window, and of course, at the corner is a heap of Barn Owl droppings that have collected over years. This reclamation by nature holds the charm which is erased when graffiti and its unfortunately associations make appearances on the walls of ruins. The romanticisation of ruins is based on natures reclamation and the feelings of nostalgia that they invoke. Buildings with graffiti do not have this romanticisation, as their inscriptions are seen as vandalism, needing prompt demolition before the area's

[216] The motif of ruins in European art, poetry, fiction, garden design and architecture established its popularity in the 18th century. They presented melancholic collapse and picturesque rot. (Ruin lust: our love affair with decaying buildings | Architecture | The Guardian accessed on the 2nd of August 2022)

[217] This is based on the broken window concept which believes that each problem that goes unattended in a given environment affects people's attitudes towards that environment and leads to more problems (broken-window-theory (1×1) (techtarget.com) accessed 3 August 2022).

property value drops. The photograph is taken in the poetic style (Barthes 1990), mixing the feelings provoked by dereliction, and paradoxical feelings of rebirth invoked by the presence of Ndebele and his classic sartorial style.

In the saucy female voice, topless Boysie Ngcobo (figure 20) is introduced using a line from Brickz's[218] song, titled "Sweety Ma Baby", from his 2005 album *Face Brick.* Ngcobo is wearing a slight smile that could be read as awkward due to his indifferent facial expression as he shows off his defined pecs (Pectoral muscles), biceps and sixpack as he leans against a black car. Ngcobo is a businessman that resides in Westmont, south of Durban. He is a gym fanatic, enjoys listening to good music and going to the cinema to unwind.



Figure 20: Boysie Ngcobo, *igeza lensizwa* for the 31st of May 2006. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

Behind Ngcobo is the Victorian Pilot houses along Timeball Boulevard, specifically, the head office of *ILanga.* The photographer did not go far to find a background scene to complement or contrast the week's *igeza lensizwa.* The buildings

[218] This is Sipho Ndlovu, and his stage name is Brickz and he was a famous kwaito artists in the early 2000s. He is currently serving a 15-year sentence for raping his teenage relative in 2013.

are characteristically Victorian with their ornate cast iron lacework along the verandas and the balustrades. Their architectural heritage is celebrated and written about in detail in the Journal of the KwaZulu-Natal Institute for Architecture (KZNIA). As highlighted earlier, these buildings make the visual argument that the area only had a white colonial past. Moreover, as argued earlier, the Durban Point area as a social space, has a history of young African men (*izinsizwa*) negotiating their masculinities and engaging in situated self-understanding. Just as contemporary *izinsizwa* like Wynne, Ndlovu, Ndebele and Ngcobo are proudly photographed showcasing shifting prowess's. Ngcobo's photograph was taken during the *izidlakela eziqimbile* period. The captions during this period had a didactic tone, as the female voice and the female led editorial team wanted to alter the increasingly valorised hefty male body type, which were due to young men's excessive lifestyles. Ngcobo offers the youth some parting advice that they should be active and take care of their bodies, moreover, they need to be future orientated with their actions and be resolute in their decisions.

Dez Peterson's (figure 21) caption tells us that he is a student *eThekwini* but hails from Gauteng. Furthermore*,* he enjoys playing soccer, gyming and following fashion trends. To earn extra money on the side, Peterson does promotional work and also models. He promotes brands such as the German brand *Adidas* and *Hennessy*, a French cognac. As a promoter, Peterson needs to exude self-confidence so as to represent each of these brands and the aspirations they each conjure. Just by looking at him, you can see he is a confident young man that loves to look good, and his looks and confidence are important to his sense of self. Qualities which made him confident that he would secure the casting as the weeks *igeza lensizwa.*



Figure 21: Dez Peterson, *igeza lensizwa* for the 28th of February 2013. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

On his arrival at the *ILanga* offices, the *ILanga le Theku* photographer would have asked to take a walk with Peterson, as they scouted for an ideal background around the Point area. Walking up Timeball Boulevard, crossing Browns Road, in the direction of UShaka Marine World, they would have turned left, into the pedestrian walkway that goes over the seawater canal (which used to be Patterson Street before it was turned into a canal) running in-between the Victorian Dock Point terrace house. Peterson stands in a contrapposto pose, putting his body weight on his right leg, freeing his left leg to bend at the knee to depict movement. The close-up photograph shows all the streetwear detail of Peterson's outfit which is comprised of a pair of bottle green chinos, a white V-neck t-shirt with a black print of the numerical number 9. The V-neck t-shirt is wide and low enough to show his cleanly shaven chest. Around his neck, dropping onto his shaven chest is a rosary, and he is wearing a black army jacket with its sleaves pushed up to his elbows, to show-off his tattoos, black watch and chunky black bead accessories around his wrists. Finally, our eyes are drawn to his face, tilted to the left, wearing aviator sunglasses, with a smirked smile and big diamond earrings. Peterson looks very comfortable, confident, and appropriately positioned in between these up-market houses, a glimpse of his aspirational future, working in the marketing industry, hitting the gym in the mornings, and stepping out onto these very walkways, stylishly dressed.

Of particular interest in the background behind Peterson (figure 21), is the blurred gap between the buildings. The photographer used the red strip running down from the centre pitched roof to guide our eyes onto Dez Peterson, as a compositional motif. Photographs are more than just what they choose to focus on, and sometimes, what they intentionally distort provides more insights that what is in the forefront. The blurred empty space between Peterson and the large gable roof with a red line down the middle of the wall, holds more than what it is offering. The space between Peterson and the red strip is where The Stevedore building is located, which was not a priority in the composition of the *igeza lensizwa* photograph. I only located The Stevedore building when I walked around the Durban Point area after visiting the *ILanga* head office and confirmed its age through a series of aerial photographs from the Surveying & Land Information Department in the *eThekwini* Municipality (figure 22). I did not have to dig at all to locate information on the Victorian Pilot houses along Timeball Boulevard behind Boysie Ngcobo (figure 20) and the Victorian Dock Point terrace

house beside Dez Peterson (figure 21). The map below (figure 22) helps us fill-in what occupies the blurred empty space. Peterson is photographed at position one in the map (figure 22) and the red band running down the building is at position 2 in the map. Position 3 in the map shows us that what was blurred out is the old Edwardian Native quarters which are now The Stevedore.

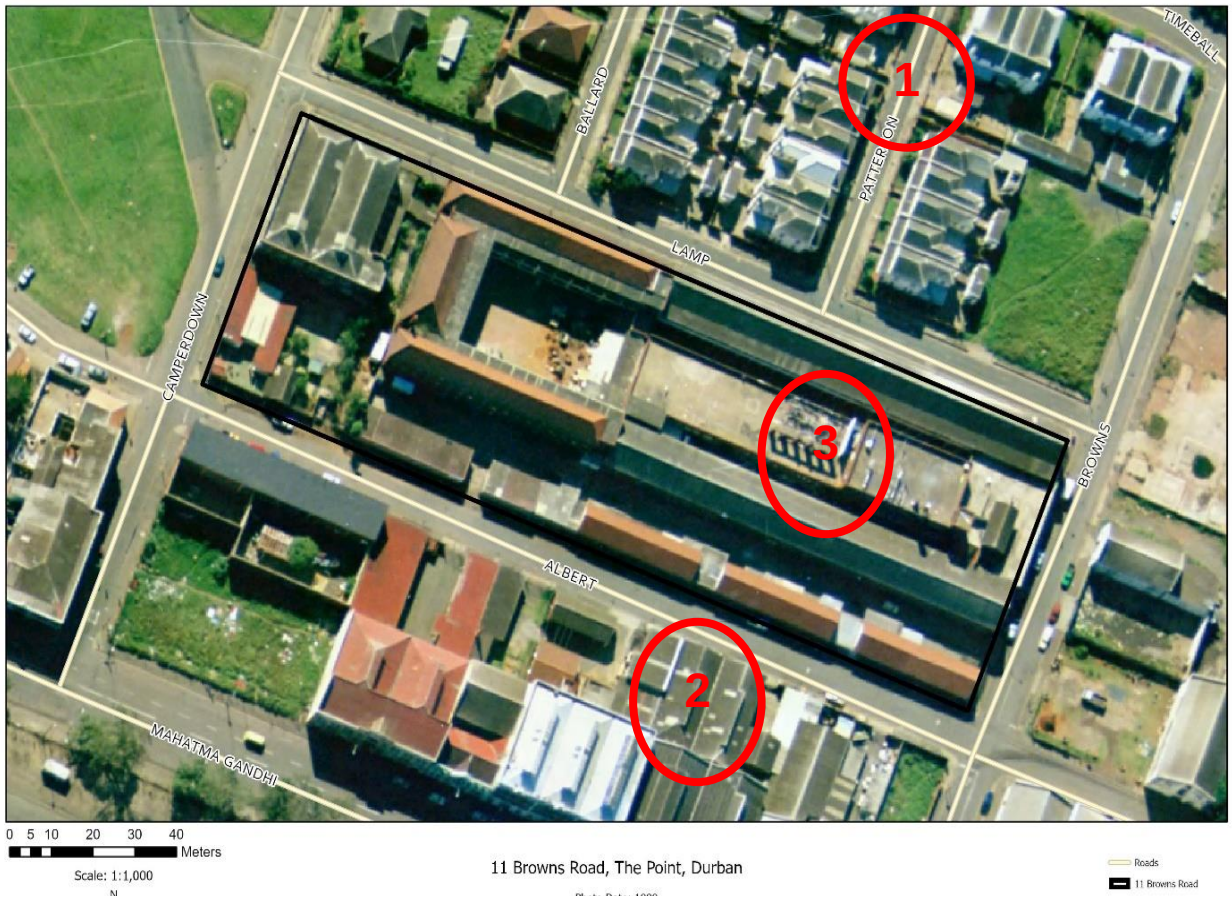


Figure 22: 1999 Annual Surveying aerial shot photograph of 11 Browns Street at the Durban Point. Surveying & Land Information Department, *eThekwini* Municipality.

Having walked around the Durban Point and examined historical maps of the area, what lies between Lamp Street (previously Timeball Street) and Albert Street are the unassuming redbrick restored Edwardian buildings named The Stevedore. The old Edwardian native quarters were bought by *Vulindlela* Holdings in November 2004, a black owned property development company. These were subsequently developed into a mixed residential and commercial building which *Vulindlela* named The Stevedore. The building is wedged between what is known as Heritage Square (numbered 2 in figure 22) and the Victorian Dockland terrace houses (numbered 1 in figure 22). Both the Dockland houses and Heritage Square are valorised as part of the

Durban Points Victorian architectural history, at the expense of the former Edwardian native quarters.

Only through reading the Durban Point in the photographic backgrounds as social spaces and stage-settings and knowing the ruins historical use, yet approaching them with an inventive mind, can connections be inferred between the contents in the photographic background and shifts in practices by *amageza ezinsizwa* in the foreground. The Durban Point's layered history is invoked as a site where young African men (*izinsizwa*) negotiated their masculinities and engaged in situated self-understanding. The existence of these histories which embody former masculine shifts are then connected to similar shifts being made by contemporary *izinsizwa* articulating what it means for them to be young and urban *eThekwini.* The presence of The Stevedore makes this possible*.* This Edwardian building, which is not paid much attention, makes visible the Durban Point's past as a site where masculinities were re-negotiated.

Asibhungukile eThekwini

EThekwini has a unique history of its African inhabitants sustaining strong links with their rural homesteads. As circular migrants at the turn of the twentieth century, young African *togt* workers were close enough to their places of birth to visit often and not abscond from it. This was despite the growing need for larger remittance and additional taxation. Decades later, the *ILanga le Theku* editorial team valorised young men that had an affinity for their rural homes (*lapho ebadabuka khona*) and did not abscond (*bhunguka*) once they became educated, urbanised, and employed *eThekwini.* Humility and remaining dutiful despite the urban pressures to severe ties with one's roots were virtues that *igeza lensizwa* needed to have*. Amageza ezinsizwa* were being asked to strike a tricky balance by both embodying *eThekwini* and yet, still have a sojourn relationship with the city like their forebearers.

Poignantly captured behind Patriq Lukadu (figure 23), with a pose reminiscent of R'n'B singer Usher[219] is Durban's Skyline.[220] Just above Lukadu's broad shoulders is Durban's skyline, a row of iconic hotels along the Golden Mile.[221] Ludaku stands in the middle of a road in the Durban Berea[222] area, with a gaze which grips the viewer's attention to venture no further than his glistening body on display. Lukadu looks after his body and makes a living as a model and a bouncer at nightclubs in Durban. When not hitting the gym and sculpting his body, Lukadu enjoys listening to R'n'B music and plays basketball.

[219] Usher Raymond IV, better known as just Usher, is an African American R&B singer who rose to fame in the late 1990s with his hit songs: "U Remind Me"; "U Got It Bad"; "Burn". The pose that Lukadu strikes is similar to the one that Usher strikes on the cover of his 2002 Live Evolution 8701 album. Although he is not as prolific as in the early 2000s, Usher released a collaborative album with producer Xavier Lamar Dotson, also known as Zaytoven in 2018.

[220] The Durban skyline is identifiable by; the Garden Court Parade Hotel, the Southern Sun Elangeni and Maharani Hotel and the shorter but still imposing high-rise building at the end of Patriq's left clavicle is Servamus House, the provincial head office for the South African Police Services (SAPS).

[221] Durban's Golden Mile is the name given to the popular stretch of beachfront, stretching from the Durban Point Waterfront area, including South Beach and ends at the Suncoast Casino.

[222] The Berea is a ridge above the city of Durban on the northern side which overlooks the city centre and the Indian Ocean. Berea is also used as a collective designation for the suburbs in the area.

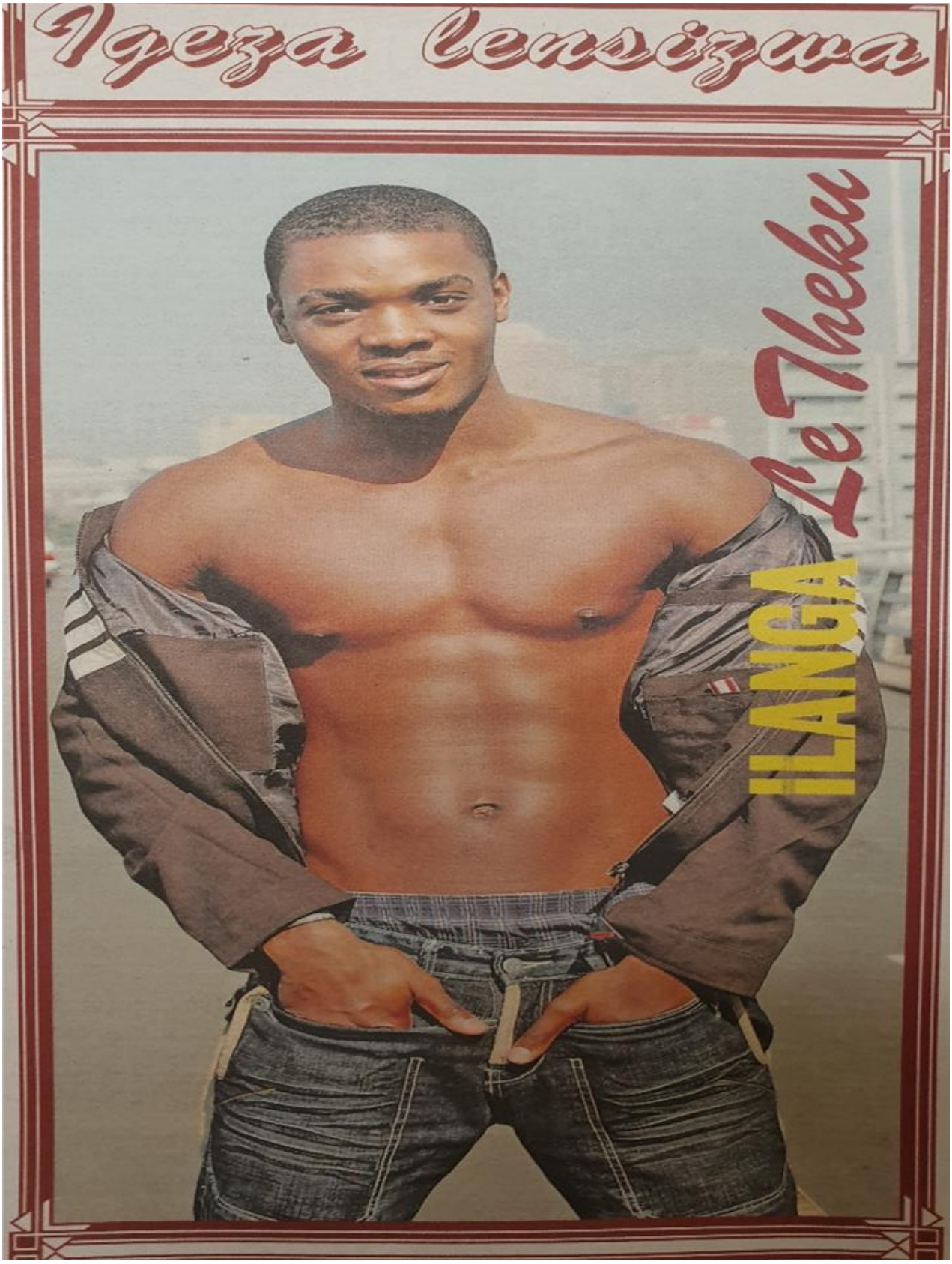


Figure 23: Patriq Lukadu, *igeza lensizwa* for the 24th of July 2008. *Courtesy of ILanga* newspaper.

The Golden Mile starts at Suncoast Casino and ends at Point Beach, the area that in the early years, *amageza* were photographed in and around. As alluded to earlier in the chapter, the City of Durban is synonymous as a temporal home for many labour migrants and today, attracts many young people as a popular destination for tertiary studies and offers them a vibrant lifestyle. Durban's history as a harbour city is characterised by movement and flows of people, ideas, and goods. Mobility characterises the City of Durban and this transient quality is also evident in the wide spanning places that *amageza* come from, some temporally in Durban for studies or for work, but *ababhungukanga* [they have not absconded].

ILanga Le Theku as a regional lifestyle supplement made Durban its central focus, despite the main paper having a national circulation. By doing this, it disseminated Durban's developing image as a city with a vibrant lifestyle offering for its young population, as Durban's music industry and fashion industry made its mark on the national stage. Self-styled as South Africa's Playground from the early 2000s, Durban has become known for its commercially viable popular culture, sparked by its distinctly local, and thriving music industry, spearheaded by the Afrotainment[223] record label founded by Mthokozi Khathi, best known as Dj Tira. Dj Tira leads the music and popular culture scene in Durban through his bi-annual music concerts called, Fact Durban Rocks[224], one happening around the Durban July Handicap[225] and another, during the last week of the December. No music concert would be complete without a printed t-shirt and the Fact Durban Rocks t-shirts are massively popular, worn with a sense of pride that Durban is indeed, South Africa's playground. This was the vibrant Durban that young Zulu people encountered when they entered *eThekwini* in search of jobs or to pursue their tertiary education. The captions that accompanied *amageza* showed a wide spread of people living in Durban with links to their homes in other parts of KwaZulu-Natal.

Amageza were drawn from various cities, villages, and valleys across KwaZulu-Natal, with a large number from Durban, others living in Durban, but home was elsewhere in the province and a few isiZulu speakers from Gauteng.[226] Without fail the

[223] https://www.afrotainment.co.za/2-2/ (accessed 12 January 2022).
[224] The Official Website of Fact Durban Rocks! (accessed 12 January 2022).
[225] https://vodacomdurbanjuly.co.za/ (accessed 12 January 2022).
[226] There were a mere handful of photographs of non-Zulu guys, this is aside from the bought images which included African American men. From the photographs taken by *ILanga Le Theku* photographers

captions made mention of where *igeza* lived and of cause where he was from, highlighting a migrancy track, living in Durban but home was outside the City of Durban, and this was mentioned without fail. *Amageza* came from as far north of KwaZulu-Natal as Mseleni, Eshowe, Ulundi, Empangeni and Mtubatuba, communities on the western part of the province in Mkhomazi by the Drakensberg, and south of the province in Kokstad. Some as close as Pietermaritzburg and Howick but a sizable amount from the *eThekwini* Municipality area (roughly between the Mdloti and Mkhomazi Rivers). This highlights the spread of the content being produced by *ILanga le Theku* and the wide readership that was committed to being the weeks thirst-trap and others to enjoying viewing them.

Below are excerpts from captions which foreground a key virtue which characterised the figure of *igeza lensizwa* as he was being co-created which is, despite being urban and modern, a Zulu man should never forget his home and his origins. This virtue evoked by the repeated usage of the word *ukudabuka* which references a place of origin in relation to where *igeza* resided and the word *ukubhunguka* which means to abscond in relation to rural-urban migration.

UMbongeni Mfekayi odabuka eMtubatuba, osehlala eMlazi uthi uspana e-3663 [A Food Service Company]. (5 July 2007: 16)	Mbongeni Mfekayi is originally from eMtubatuba, but now lives in Umlazi, he says that he works at 3663.
uThabo udabuka eBenoni, eJoburg, kodwa uhlala eWoodlands, eThekwini. (12 April 2007: 16)	Thabo is originally from Benoni in Jo'burg but lives in Woodlands in Durban.
Uzalwa eMtubatuba futhi akabhungukile yize asaqube kwelikabhanana. *Igeza lensizwa.* (8 April 2010: 16)	He was born in eMtubatuba but has not forgotten his roots even though he now lives in Durban.

and submitted photographs, there were a few from Cameroon, Mozambique, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and a few from Johannesburg who worked or studied in Durban.

Of particular interest is the use of the word *akabhungukile* [he has not absconded] in relation to *ukudabuka.* Emphasis is made that he has not absconded from home even though he might be working or studying in Durban. *Ukubhunguka* conjures up the act of disappearing from where one is from, to disappear from one's origins and in the context of the captions, it is made clear and celebrated that *amageza* have not disappeared from their origins/home *ababhungukanga.* Even though no literature is available on *ukubhunguka* as a standalone term in relation to rural-urban migrant but there is literature on the isiXhosa equivalent which is *ukutshipa.* But, examining what underlies the act of *ukubhunguka* and framing it in the historical context of the 1891 Natal Code of Native Law and circular migrant, provides an understanding of the isiZulu term of *ukubhunguka*.

Historically *ukubhunguka* threatened Zulu patriarchy which historian Jeff Guy (2018) argued was based on British colonialist accommodation of Zulu patriarchs' power over women and subordinate men which formed the base of the Shepstone system.[227] This accommodation of Zulu patriarch's power can be explained by understanding that the Natal Code of Native Law relied on the structuring of the Zulu social system. The legislation described the homestead as a "family unit" where the man was its head, and all other occupants of the homestead, such as his children (including older non-married children) and wives, were his minors.

White colonial men recognised and used the African patriarchal system to forward their own agenda to, *inter alia,* collect tax which were levied out to homesteads which were headed by the male patriarchs. Young men working in cities such as Durban were still part of their father's homestead and were expected to send home remittances so their fathers could pay the hut tax (introduced in 1894). Therefore, if young men absconded and did not send home their incomes to help pay hut taxes, their actions undermined the Shepstone system. This system assumed that African patriarchs would keep their sons obedient, as they too would benefit from this patriarchal arrangement when they establish their own homestead.

Native administration in Natal was rooted in an economic system based on male authority (Guy 2018). Guy argues that the key features of the Shepstone system was

[227] The Shepstone system was a form of colonial governance which was implemented through the creation of African locations, the recognition of African chiefs, the application of customary law and tax collection (Guy 2018).

the creation of locations for Africans, the recognition of African chiefs and the application of customary law with the Governor as the Supreme Chief and the Shepstone system laid the ground for the direct taxation of homestead heads through the hut tax (Guy 2018). This then further led to the drafting of the 1891 Natal Code of Native Law which redefined the homestead, calling *umuzi* a kraal, where every "native" was either a kraal head or a member of a kraal (Guy 2014). Section 35 of the Natal Code of Native Law stipulated that, "a kraal head is entitled to the earnings of his minor children and to a reasonable share of the earnings of the other members of his family and of any other kraal inmate". Young men then had to hand over portions of their income which they made when they entered the colonial cash economy (either on white farms or in urban centres like the Witwatersrand or Durban), to help their fathers pay the hut tax. With the introduction of the poll tax in 1905, they got saddled with their own tax, as the poll tax was levied on all unmarried adult men (Carton 2000).

Ben Carton (2000) argues that paying of taxes or tributes was seen as a patriarch's responsibility and the new poll tax arrangement circumvented this homestead ranking by age and social standing which saw young men's individual status being increased. *Togt* workers at the Durban Point at the turn of the twentieth century organised themselves in the barracks along homeboy lines and impressed upon each other their commitments to their rural homestead and their patriarchs (Callebert 2011). But, by the 1950s the reserves were devastatingly impoverished and were heavily dependent on the continued influx of remittance from their sons and daughters working in urban centres (Callebert 2011).[228]

The hut tax and the Native Code made it illegal for young unmarried men not to send their earnings home, and the poll tax which bestowed individual status to young men made it more alluring for young men to abscond from their rural homesteads which had increased financial burdens. Scholars (Hunter 2011; Bank 2015; Njwambe, Cocks and Vette 2019) contend that this created two camps amongst labour migrants. One camp that wanted to honour their financial obligations to their fathers, the patriarchs, in the hope that they too would establish their own homesteads with the

[228] Migration by Zulu people into Durban increased during the Second World War, due to the impoverishment of the reserves in the 1920s (Maylam 1990) and circular migration had been prevalent in Durban due to its proximity to rural areas increased with the abolishment of the Influx Control Act in 1986 (Smit 1998).

help of their fathers. This group wanted to preserve their rural links. In the other camp were those that wanted to free themselves from patriarchal financial obligations and *babhunguke* but *ukutshipa/ukubhunguka* was not always permanent. At times young men were facing financial difficulties and wanted a little reprieve from rural financial obligations.

The geographical diversity of *amageza* is a powerful indicator of the spread of *ILanga le Theku* readers and their commitment to being street casted as *amageza ezinsizwa.* Moreover, the affinity for the urban-rural link which *ILanga le Theku* plays with and valorises as a good virtue, plays on this circular migration history and Natal colonial law which laid its foundation. Of course, the link in its *igeza lensizwa* relation, does not place importance on sending home remittance in the hope of gaining patriarchal dividend. The foci are now different. *ILanga le Theku* foregrounded these virtues for its young, urban male readers and challenged them to keep these virtues in mind as they went about negotiating their new urban identities and configurating different gender and social practices. Reminding them to be steadfast to the virtues that made them young Zulu man whilst enjoying being modish and following popular culture trends.

Conclusion

The chapter has demonstrated that by approaching *eThekwini* and the Durban Point area as a structure that is constituted and re-constituted by young African men's practices, it is possible to understand how masculinities shift through both internal and external activities. Moreover, by viewing the contents of the backgrounds behind the *amageza ezinsizwa* fashion inspired photographs as both stage-settings and social spaces, the chapter went about making two arguments. Firstly, that adopting these lenses allows for nuanced readings that gives us access to the area's layered history. This layered history is accessed by unpacking inferred connections, drawn from non-dominant architectural buildings and the imaginative investment that is required to read ruins in photographs. A latent relationship already exists between a photographs subject and the contents of the photographic background. The *ILanga le Theku* photographers innocently composed the fashion inspired photographs, including the

ruins, derelict buildings, and revamped Victorian buildings in the background to beautifully contract *amageza ezinsizwa* in the foreground. The chapter has inferred connections by placing *amageza ezinsizwa* at the end of the historical continuum of the ruins and crafted innovative narratives that speak to shifting Zulu masculinities, drawn from Morrell's (1998) arguments on waning African masculinities and burgeoning black masculinities. The second argument was that, once the backgrounds are read as social spaces and stage-settings, locating key buildings such as The Stevedore, allowed me to unpack the relationship between this building and *amageza*. This is based on what the building holds as a conceived space, and how the buildings latent information can be put into conversation with *amageza ezinsizwa* in the foreground.

I have demonstrated that this inferred connection is only activated by the fact that the meaning of a space is determined by who is occupying it, and the experiences they bring to the space. This chapter's aim was to unpack this inferred connection between what The Stevedore represents as a social space and what *amageza ezinsizwa* represent in the foreground. By doing this, I demonstrated that *amageza ezinsizwa* in the foreground with their own shifting masculinities, changing prowess's and social practices were engaged in the same shifts that young men before them, in this very area had engaged in.

Amageza ezinsizwa were articulating themselves in a Durban that was re-inventing itself as a city with a vibrant youth popular culture scene. In this vibrant city, young *ILanga le Theku* readers were engaged in what it meant for them to be urban, Zulu, and male. In their articulation, they needed to demonstrate an affinity for their roots, but still be modern. The chapter began to demonstrate the intricate balance that *amageza ezinsizwa* were being encouraged to strike. Engage modishness and popular culture, whilst being steadfast to the virtues that made him a young urban Zulu man. Virtues, which themselves were undergoing changes as these contemporary Zulu men were being asked to balance being urban, educated, and modish and react to shifting social agencies which underpinned their masculinities, in the same manner that their forebears had. It was not possible for them to react in a similar fashion as their forebears, as their circumstances were drastically different. For young contemporary urban Zulu men, *eThekwini* was their home, and they were not in a sojourn relationship with *eThekwini*. The angst, anxieties, and pressures that their

forebears had to contend with, as they tussled with the balance of retaining their African masculinities, with the promise of being a patriarch ruling over a homestead, was simply not there for their contemporaries. *Amageza ezinsizwa* unashamedly made themselves their prime priority.

The next chapter attempts to conceptualise what *igeza lensizwa* is. This will be done by considering the criteria set by the *ILanga le Theku* editorial team and through Roland Barthes' (1990) two-prong definition of what a dandy is, comprising of his ethos and techniques. The chapter uses two isiZulu terms to contextual Barthes two-prong definition and puts forward a nuanced conceptual definition of *igeza lensizwa.*

Chapter Five

Kusayilo igeza lensizwa naleli? Moving towards a flexible definition

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Introduction

Over the photographic sections eight-year run, the definition of *igeza lensizwa* - as a handsome young man - was clear, but what was ever shifting, was what made *igeza lensizwa* handsome*.* The contestation about the practices and habits that made *igeza lensizwa* was poignantly captured through a remark made by the then editor-in-chief of *ILanga,* Eric Ndiyane when he saw the street casted *igeza lensizwa* for the 17th of January 2013 issue of *ILanga le Theku*. The *igeza lensizwa* that Ndiyane looked at disparagingly was a hip-hop fan and his dress sense was inspired by hip-hop streetwear. He wore an oversized unzipped maroon hoody, a black *Guess*[229] designer t-shirt, his slim-fit denim jeans were slightly bleached, and he wore a pair of *Adidas*[230] high-top sneakers that had large puffy tongues. Ndiyane asked the photographer, "*kusayilo igeza lensizwa naleli? Ngoba mina ngibona inuku*" [is this still a handsome young man? Because what I see is an untidy person].[231]

Ndiyane's remark exposes the generational difference between himself and the young men that were street-casted for *igeza lensizwa*. Moreover, the remark points to Ndiyane's own public script (Ligaga 2020) of masculine sartorial presentations which were underpinned by ideas of respectability, neatness and being *igcokama.* In his 1905 Zulu-English dictionary, Alfred. T. Bryant defines *igcokama* as "a scrupulously neat person, unusually 'fine' in his habit" (Bryant 1905: 175). The more contemporary Zulu-English dictionary by Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi's (2012) puts forward a similar definition, as they define *igcokama* as a "neat, dapper person" (2012:

[229] Founded in 1981, Guess is an American clothing brand and retailer, producing clothing for men and women.
[230] A German sports footwear company that was founded in the 1920s, and now a multi-billion-dollar sportwear company.
[231] This is based on Sabelo Masuku's recollection during our interview. Sabelo Masuku (Photographer, *ILanga* newspaper) interview by author, 31 August 2020.

237). *Amageza ezinsizwa* with their bleached distressed slim-fitting jeans[232] and worn-out *Chuck Taylors All Stairs*[233], did not comply to what *ILanga,* as the mother paper conceived as an attractive young man, but they ticked the boxes of what *ILanga le Theku* wanted to proudly showcase, which was varied representation of what it meant to be young, male, Zulu and urban.

This chapter is interested in exploring whether, despite the multiple shifts in *amageza ezinsizwa* representations, did the accompanying captions have any overarching descriptors that can be examined as undergirding what made *igeza lensizwa*. Previous chapters have already made the argument that *amageza ezinsizwa* critiqued identity categories and prioritised narrating themselves through style. This chapter thinks alongside Barthes' (1990) two-prong definition of a dandy to help articulate a conceptual definition of *igeza lensizwa.* IsiZulu terms will be used to help me think through and contextualise Barthes definition.[234] Barthes proposed that a dandy is comprised of his ethos and techniques. The chapter understands ethos as being dispositions, a person's inherit qualities. Within the context of the isiZulu written captions, the chapter argues that the ethos that defined *amageza ezinsizwa* were *ukuzithemba* and *ukuzizwa.*

The Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi (2012) Zulu – English dictionary outlines that the prefix *ukuzi* is the self in the reflexive sense (Doke et al. 2012: 427). This definition is based on the fusion of the prefix (*uku*) and the marker *zi.* In accordance with isiZulu grammar convention, a marker changes the subject of the stem (*themba*), as without *zi,* the word *ukuthemba* would mean; to have confidence, whilst the inclusion of the marker *zi,* directs the stem to mean; to have self-confidence.[235] Therefore, *ukuzithemba* means to have self-confidence (Doke et al. 2012: 427). In exploring the disposition of *ukuzithemba* (self-confidence), I draw

[232] Distressed jeans are denim pants manufactured or stylized to feel more vintage, relaxed, and worn-in. Distressed jeans may feature rips, tears, fraying edges, or fading indigo dye. The distressed quality will give your pair of jeans a more lived-in and comfortable appearance, making them look like stylish old jeans (How to Distress Jeans in 7 Steps - 2022 - MasterClass accessed 6 August 2022).

[233] Converse is an American shoe company, founded in 1908 that invented the high ankle basketball boot called the Chuck Taylor in the 1920s.

[234] This idea is inspired by Dilip Menon's argument that indigenous concepts and words are embedded with entailments that have conceptual implications for the humanities and social sciences (Menon 2022: 6). Moreover, the edited volume also has a chapter by Hlonipha Mokoena, titled *Nongqayi/Nongqai* (2022) which inspired the careful etymological exploration using dictionaries.

[235] This is based on the 2018 *IsiZulu Handbook and Study Guide: A Comprehensive isiZulu Reference Book.*

inspiration from Shani Orgad and Rosalind Gill's book, *Confidence Culture* (2022) as they foreground confidence as a Foucauldian technology of self. Simply put, how the self decides to act, despite societal norms that might impose particular behaviours. Orgad and Gill contend that the rise in the importance of self-confidence is underpinned by the emergence of contemporary modes of selfhoods, media's emphasis on self-transformation and a neoliberal culture that requires "subjects who work on their characters and psychic dispositions" (Orgad & Gill 2022: 17). As outlined in chapter two, Ratele (2016) also foregrounds the critical agency of the male psyche in relation to how he positions himself, as he articulates his brand of masculinity. These individualised dispositions also represent an assemblage of discourses and in the context of *amageza ezinsizwa* They draw attention to young urban black men's bodies and psyches and how these are produced, circulated, negotiated and sometimes, resisted (Orgad & Gill 2022). The chapter argues that *amageza ezinsizwa* represent ideas about men's dispositions and how these were validated to represent transgressive masculinities (this argument was laid out in chapter two).

The disposition of *ukuzizwa* is trickier to define as the word is not in the Doke (et al. 2012) Zulu-English dictionary, neither in Alfred T. Bryant's 1905 Zulu-English dictionary nor in Bishop J.W. Coleno's 1905 Zulu-English dictionary. It is my opinion that *ukuzizwa* is a contemporary isiZulu idiomatic expression derived from self-love (*ukuzazisa*). This opinion is based on *ILanga le Theku* proudly borrowing new words that were fashioned by their readers. The literal translation of *ukuzizwa* is "to feel oneself" and it gives us clues to its meaning. Just like *ukuzithemba,* the word also begins with the same prefix (*uku*) and marker (*zi*) denoting a self in the reflexive sense and changing the subject of the stem (*zizwa*). The definition of the stem *zizwa* means "having a sense of being" (Doke et al. 2012: 169). Therefore, it is an intangible quality, a feeling. The chapter argues that a more apt translation of *ukuzizwa* that takes into consideration affections, (the ability to feel oneself) is self-regard. I draw inspiration from Iké Udé (1995) and bell hooks' (2004) to unpack the disposition of *ukuzizwa* (self-regard). In his 1995 essay titled *The Regarded Self* Iké Udé contemplates how the self can be crafted and saved from public scrutiny through self-objectification[236] (Udé 1995). This inward shift towards the self encourages self-love. Self-love as articulated by Udé means self-scrutiny, courage, defiance, "virtues which are necessary in a world

[236] He also terms this as redemptive narcissism.

where the mass media makes self-fashioning seem both compulsory and impossible" (Miller 2009: 258). Moreover, the self-regard that was required from *amageza ezinsizwa* is more nuanced when also read through bell hooks' (2004) lens. Hooks (2004) advanced the argument that American black masculinities needed to craft new self-concepts if they wanted to break away from stereotypes perpetuated by white-supremacist capital patriarchy (hooks 2004: x). To create these new self-concepts, hooks argues that African American men needed to engage and learn from healthy self-love strategies, "they must dare to become men who are willing to be different" (hooks 2004: 137). Therefore, the female led editorial team foregrounded the ethos of *ukuzithemba* and *ukuzizwa* as vehicles towards creating new "self-concepts" to inculcate self-love.

Amageza ezinsizwa, were being encouraged to introspect and unashamedly own their self-objectification. *Amageza ezinsizwa* that regarded themselves as absolute individuals, as without self-confidence and self-regard, they could not confidently and convincingly distinguish themselves from other young men. Thinking alongside Barthes' articulation of dandyism, these dispositions guarantee the techniques which are the "physical form of behaviour acts as a route towards the performance of thought…this thought consists here of an absolutely singular vision of self" (Barthes 2013: 67). Put simply, the techniques are the ephemeral aspects, the fashion, ways of speaking, poses and gestures which change over time as the black dandy continuously works towards "performing the thought". These techniques (as outlined in chapter two) are also style narratives, which Tulloch (2016) warns us against trivialising. As outlined in chapter two, photographs make it possible for us to read these style narratives. A fuller reading of visual garments requires an understanding that "fashionable objects" have prior histories which contribute to the style narrative (Barthes 1990; Carter 2003 & Tulloch 2016). Moreover, captions as "written garments" intellectualize the garment, as they isolate certain vestments, prioritising them, which is important to note as fashion is characterised by discontinuities (Barthes 1990). By taking these vestments seriously, I can read them as representing the young men's desires, moreover, Udé reminds us that we "can always borrow, the parts that one is missing" (quoted in Hall & Sealy 2001: 49; Bassire & Firstenberg 2000).

When the two-prong definition of a dandy is applied to the Congolese *sapeur*[237]/black dandy, his ethos is encompassed by what Didier Gondola (1999) calls the ***sapeur's*** "psychological redemption" which is his dream to travel to Europe and articulate a social identity which Kinshasa and Brazzaville have failed to provide him the resources to do so (Gondola 1999: 24).[238] Whilst the designer clothing and hanging out at café's with other ***sapeur's*** forms the techniques which validate the existence of the dream. In the case of *oswenka*[239] in South Africa, their ethos is the performance of elegance (both internal and external) and self-esteem. Their techniques are poses, poise and wearing specific labels like *Crockett & Jones* brogue shoes, suits, and *Brentwood* or *Dobbs* hats with plumes. Unlike the Congolese *sapeur* and the South African *swenka, igeza lensizwa* is not a sub-cultural black dandy, *amageza ezinsizwa* might have been loosely bound by age, but they were not orientated around activities or specific material artefacts (Hall & Jefferson 2003). But, like the two outlined black dandies, *amageza ezinsizwa* also used style as a form of resistance. Their resistance took the form of configurating different practices (Connell 1996) that articulated new prowess's. To be *igeza lensizwa* required a level of self-confidence, self-regard, defiance, and transgression.

Deciding on *igeza lensizwa's* ethos

The *igeza lensizwa* photographic section was a validating platform. It consciously validated a public script (Ligaga 2020) of young, urban Zulu men who configured different social and gender practices from what the young *ILanga le Theku* editorial

[237] A Sapeur is a member of La Sape. This is an abbreviation based on the French phrase Société des Ambianceurs et des Personnes Élégantes (Society of Ambiance-Makers and Elegant People). Usually, they are working class men and women who live ordinary lives yet are obsessed with fashion (Gondola 1999).

[238] This is the quality of being a dreamer and travel to Paris or Brussels and undergo a reincarnation through specific expensive designer clothing which authenticate his dreamy migration, attesting to the dream's presence (Gondola 1999).

[239] Historically *oswenka* were predominately Zulu-speaking blue-collar migrant workers, working in Johannesburg or Durban, who had entered circular migration, home being rural KwaZulu-Natal. On Saturday evenings they transformed themselves through style and donned on their suits and accessories to vie for the position of best dressed *swenka. Oswenka* developed out of the *isicathamiya* competitions in the 1970s and their "performance of elegance" was their response (Hebdige 2002; Hall & Jefferson 2003) to the "dislocation of urbanisation" (Gunner 2014) and through their *swenka* performance, they constructed cosmopolitan Zulu identities (Gunner 2014 & Goeller 2014).

team understood Zulu masculinities to represent. The young editorial team were conscious of the increased influence of popular culture, metrosexuality and fashion on how young men stylised themselves. But at the same time, they were acutely aware that these self-expressions were being articulated in the face of stubbornly martial ideas of dominant Zulu masculinities.[240] The casting call intentionally invited young men that were considered attractive in the areas they resided in, to come forth, and have their photographs taken. The contextual tone of the casting call indicates that the editorial team understood that stubborn and martial Zulu masculinities might be dominant in certain areas, but they were not hegemonic across all young, urban Zulu men. The casting call at the end of the caption usually started off with, "*nawe ungaba yigeza*" [you too can be a handsome man] and it was followed by the qualifying dispositions that a young man needed to have, in order to be considered for selection.

The photographic section became a platform for young men that were not scared of not exhibiting "typical" Zulu martial character traits, but "who still considered himself *insizwa* [a young man]".[241] Moreover, a platform for young urban men who were confident in their self-understanding and stylisation but whom the editorial team felt might have some anxieties about their transgressive practices, as masculinities need to be proven. Therefore, the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section helped to validate young urban men's modishness as being contextual and contemporary social practices, which still articulated Zulu masculinities in an urban setting. Nkosinathi Mshengu and Sizwe Blose felt that *igeza lensizwa* served to instil a sense of Zulu pride amongst urban Zulu men, who might have felt removed from rural areas, and therefore, participating in the photographic section would instil, "*ukuzethemba nje kumuntu wesilisa*" [sense of self-confidence in a man].[242] This anxiety of being "removed from rural areas" exposes a myopic and romantic image that old socialising agents and institutions were the only ones which produced desirable essentialist Zulu masculinities. This thinking was flawed as masculinities are contextual and multiple, as each setting has its varied socialising agents.

[240] The introduction of this thesis lays this out fully.
[241] Zandile Tembe (Programmes Manager, uKhozi FM), interview by author, 13 October 2020.
[242] Nkosinathi Mshengu (Radio presenter, uKhozi FM), interview by author, 13 January 2021 and Sizwe Blose (Senior entertainment journalist, *Isolezwe*), interview by author, 25 November 2020.

ILanga le Theku therefore, offered young urban Zulu men a platform to showcase different configurations of practices, structured by gender relations. By doing this, the lifestyle supplement was participating in the crafting of representations of what it meant to be young, urban, Zulu, and male. Therefore, challenging heteronormative ideas about Zulu masculinities that, "*insizwa akusiyo le ephuma iye empini kuphela* [a young man is not only defined by going to war/martial practices]".[243] Moreover, as Thobile Nxumalo recalled, *igeza lensizwa* was challenging the idea that, "*fanele ube*-tough *njenge sagila,* to be a man" [you must be tough like a knobkerrie].[244]Therefore, *igeza lensizwa* was envisioned as a validating platform that showcased the different "features of being a modern guy, *ukuthi umuntu o'njani* [what type of person he is]".[245]

Zandile Tembe elaborated that, "there's now a softer side to a man and we wanted to showcase that. And not take away the fact that for us *basayizi'nsizwa* [they are still young men] even if they're into modelling".[246] The disclaimer that, these young men still have prowess's of being *amasoka* despite their modelling ambitions, sums up the challenge that confronted *amageza ezinsizwa*. The challenge that consumer culture and modishness was seen as feminine pursuits, and these activities were being taken-up by young urban Zulu men, despite the associated "dangers" of their sexualities being questioned based on their stylisation.[247] Therefore, *ILanga le Theku* decided to offer these "transgressive" young men a platform and validate their different gender and social practices.

[243] Zandile Tembe (Programmes Manager, uKhozi FM), interview by author, 13 October 2020.

[244] Thobile Nxumalo (Communications Director, ANC eThekwini District), interview by author, 2 September 2020

[245] Thobile Nxumalo (Communications Director, ANC eThekwini District), interview by author, 2 September 2020

[246] Zandile Tembe (Programmes Manager, uKhozi FM), interview by author, 13 October 2020.

[247] This is in line with Thabo Msibi's (2012) exploration of how young men evaluate each other's masculinities based on the choice of clothes that they wear, which for some young men, placed a question-mark on their sexuality, as slavishly following fashion trends was seen as an effeminate pursuit.

***Fanele uzithembe*[248]**

What followed the titillating fictive thirst-trap caption, narrated by the female persona, was a casting call. A call, inviting other young men *abazithembayo* [confident in themselves] to come have their photographs taken. Self-confidence is the belief that a person can do things well and that other people respect them for their abilities. The casting call was written as a vying challenge to young men, drawing on homosocial desires which are characterised by competitiveness and interpersonal attractions. In a sparring tone, young men were asked if they were as self-confident as that week's *igeza lensizwa*. If so, they were urged to prove it, by having their photographs taken by the *ILanga le Theku* photographer. Initially, young men were asked if they had self-confidence in their muscular bodies. But with the shift away from *izidlakela eziqimbile* type (2006 - 2007), young men were them asked if they were confident in themselves without any set qualification. The unnamed *igeza lensizwa* (figure 24) for the 10th of August 2006 was described as *incwabakazi* based on the appearance of his clean, fresh glistening dark body. The Colenso (1905) Zulu-English dictionary defines the noun *uncwaba* as a "man, in easy, comfortable, wealthy circumstances" (Colenso 1905: 371). Whilst the Bryant (1905) Zulu-English dictionary, defines the noun *uncwabakazi* as to "look nice and fresh, be in a comfortably soft or supple state, as the veldt when softly covered with green in the spring, the body of a person when lithe and glossy from oiling, or a man well-off as to property" (Bryant 1905: 409). The Doke (et al. 2012) dictionary is an amalgamation of the two definitions as it states that it means, "supple, glossy, velvety, fresh, clean and attractive" (Doke et al. 2012: 535).

[248] You must have self-confidence.

If I was to give summative description of the below *igeza lensizwa* based of the above definitions, I'd describe him as a; soft-life man with a glistening sexy body. His glistening upper body is accentuated with a shimmering gold chain sliding down his trapezoid muscles, slouching into a dip, before gliding over the clavicle and being gently strewed over his slightly hairy chest.

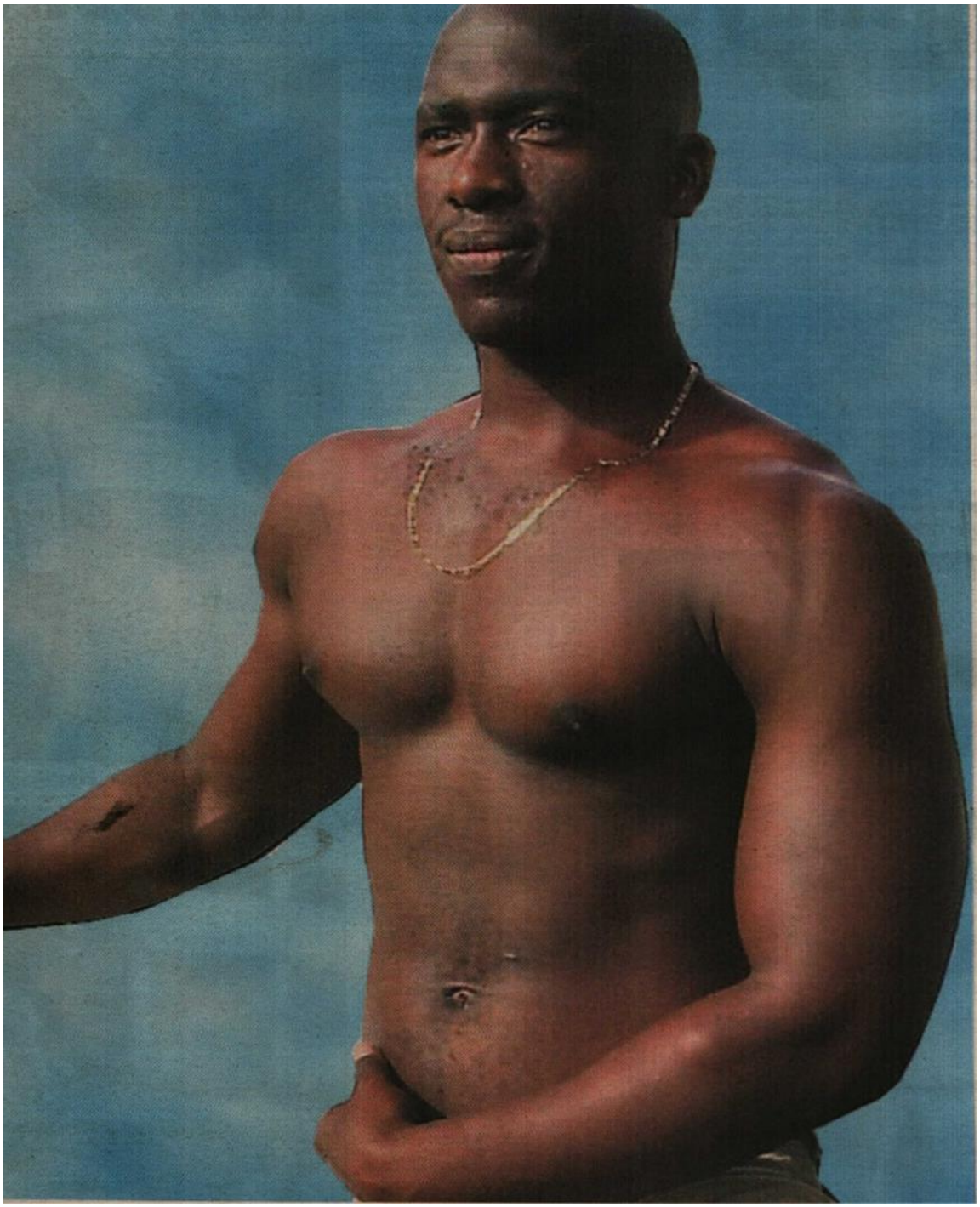


Figure 24: Unnamed model, *igeza lensizwa* for the 10th of August 2006. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

His right hand extends outside the frame, as if leaning against something, whilst his left-hand clasp's his hip, drawing attention to his slightly hairy abdomen, and what lies below the belt. Following the fictively saucy narration, the sparring casting call invited other young men: "*uma uyibhungu lakwenu elizithembayo futhi unomzimba 'o'moja', usalindeni pho? Sishayele kule nombolo*" [if you are a confident young lad from your area, and you have a solid body, what are you waiting for? Call us on this number]. There is an incongruence between the appearance of *igeza lensizwa* which is defined as a handsome young man[249] and him being described as *ibhungu.* The Colenso (1905) dictionary defines the noun *ibungu* as a "young lad" (Colenso 1905: 60). And the Bryant dictionary defines the noun *ibungu/ibhungu* as a "lad, young man of about sixteen or eighteen" (Bryant 1905: 58). Bryant's definition is closer to the one provided in *Inqolobane Yesizwe*[250] (2018) which defines *ibhungu as* "*Umfana osegena ebunsizweni"* [a young man at the cusp of his late teenage years] (Nyembezi & Nxumalo 2018: 231).

The female persona highlights whom the section is inviting and what they needed to have. Firstly, there is a contextual element, as *igeza lensizwa* needed to gauge from local interaction whether he was popular amongst local ladies. Secondly, he needed to be confident enough to introspect and assess himself against the weeks *igeza lensizwa*. And thirdly, he needed to have a solid body. Interestingly, his self-confidence did not necessarily emanate from his muscular body. But it was a standalone character trait. Although, most of the earlier casting calls draw a link between *igeza lensizwa's* self-confidence and his body, like the casting call on the 22nd of February 2006, "*nawe uma uyi-'outtie' ezethembayo ukuthi 'iyikesi' ngokwenele*" [if you too, are confident that you are a solid beefcake[251]]. This casting call accompanied the third *igeza lensizwa* of this newly launched section and the corrective undertone was still strong.[252]

The female persona aptly introduced Vuyo Ngwabe (figure 25) as *igeza lensizwa* for the 11th of December 2008 with a line from Toni Braxton's 1996 hit song, "you're

[249] The definition has already been outlined in the introduction based on the Colenso (1905), Bryant (1905) and the Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi (2012) Zulu-English dictionaries.
[250] Hlonipha Mokoena (2013a) writes that *Inqolobane Yesizwe* is a popularly described high school textbook for students taking isiZulu as a first language.
[251] An attractive man with well-developed muscles.
[252] As argued in chapter three, one of the reasons for launching *igeza lensizwa* was to foreground more healthy and desirable masculine forms, as opposed to the then popular hefty bodies [*odubula mkhaba*] that young men had.

making me high, baby, baby, baby".[253] Ngwabe's photograph was part of the early *izinsizwa ezidla ukotini* (2008 - 2010) type. This early transitional type represented the editorial team's attempts to approach modelling and marketing agencies to try sustain the *izidlakela eziqimbile* type and its valorisation of the male muscular form. Vuyo Ngwabe is a model under S&A Marketing agency. Ngwabe's glistening body stands-out against the blurry tropical background. As a finalist in the *Men's Health Magazine* 2008 competition, it is no wonder that he has a sculptured body.

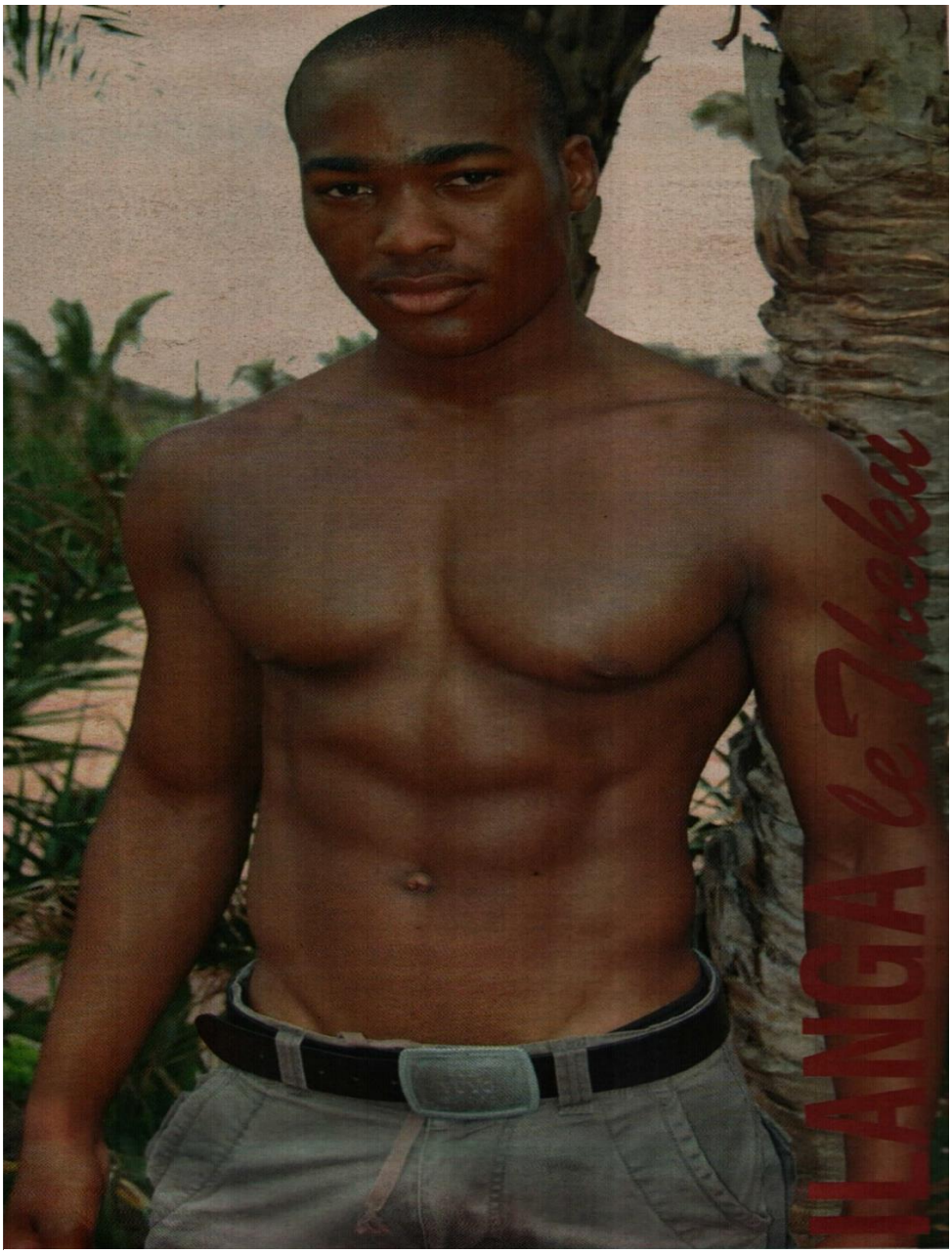


Figure 25*:* Vuyo Ngwabe, *igeza lensizwa* for the 11th of December 2008. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

[253] Toni Braxton is an African American R&B singer and the lyric used is from the song, *You're Makin' Me High,* from her 1996 album called Secrets.

The casting call then invited young men, "*uma nawe uzethemba ukuthi uya-qualifaya ukungena kule ngosi sithinte*" [if you too are confident that you qualify to appear on this section, give us a call]. By December 2008, the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section had been running for three years and the editorial team might have assumed that by then, its readers were aware of the set qualifying criteria as the section was envisioned to have a following. Or, perhaps, the criteria of the casting call was intentionally vague, so as to encourage young men to assess the week's *igeza* and gauge for themselves whether they could successfully vie for the following week's title of being the week's *igeza lensizwa.*

There is a three-year gap between the unnamed *igeza lensizwa* (figure 24) and Vuyo Ngwabe (figure 25), yet each responded to the same casting call, which invited young men *bazethembayo* [confident in themselves]. The self-confidence that *igeza lensizwa* needed to have, was two-fold. He needed to be self-confident that he possessed the prowess's of being *isoka* and that required him to introspect and assess if women in his locale had affirmed this. The casting call for the 30th of October 2008 further affirmed this by stating, "*uma nawe uphendula amakhanda o-sistaz, wamukelekile ngokushayela*" [if you too turn young women's heads, you are welcome to call]. Secondly, he needed to compare himself against the week's *igeza lensizwa* and be sure that he could match his prowess's and illicit a thirst-trap reaction, which would validate his configuration of practices which secured his status as *isoka.*

The status associated with the title of being the week's *igeza lensizwa* bolstered his standing as *isoka* in the eyes of his peers who might have or have not shared style and habits. Moreover, with the title of the week's *igeza lensizwa* and with his friend's veneration, he could court young women with the confidence bestowed by the female persona's thirst-trap reaction. These validations operated because masculinities need to be proven and assessed (Kimmel 1994). Moreover, in Zulu culture, *ubusoka* also required the young men's peers to validate their status as *isoka* (Turner 1999). The impasse with these young men was that their configuration of practices were transgressive, and they were not easily getting approval from their male peers, rather; ridicule, as their practices casted aspersions on their sexuality. Myopically they were seen as venturing into the feared terrain of homosocial desires, turning into

homoeroticism. Of course, this was too juxtaposed, devoid of the complexity and messiness of desire. The *igeza lensizwa* section operated in the grey and encouraged a less myopic form of homosocial desire.

Therefore, by participating in the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section, young urban men articulated transgressive masculinities by drawing on the fact that they were popular amongst young women and had been publicly validated by the female persona. This then went a long way to normalising their modishness and "interpersonal attractions". Therefore, *amageza ezinsizwa* needed to be confident in their transgressive social and gender practices which ultimately was validated and enhanced their standing amongst other young men and deductively increased his allure amongst young women.

***Fanele uzizwe*[254]**

In the now anticipated playful voice, *igeza lensizwa* for the 4th of October 2012 was introduced in this fashion, "*Kuhayiza abesifazane uma kungena uKwanda Ngubo waseMlazi"* [The ladies go crazy when Kwanda Ngubo, from eMlazi appears].



Figure 26: Kwanda Ngubo, *igeza lensizwa* for the 4th of October 2012. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

[254] You must have self-regard.

With confidence that had been honed through his modelling career, Ngubo (figure 26) has a demure facial expression as he looks straight into the camera, with his eyes framed with his thick eyebrows. The photograph is well lit, showcasing his small frame, underneath a red and silver sleeveless hooded puffer jacket, and red pants. The casting call invited young men that met the following criteria, *"uma uzizwa futhi uzethemba ungashayela le nombolo"* [if you have self-regard/self-love and self-confidence, you may call this number]. The caption now included a second disposition which any *igeza lensizwa* that wanted to vie for selection and could outdo Ngubo (Figure 26) now also needed to embody. Any potential *igeza lensizwa* now needed *ukuzizwa* which is an isiZulu idiomatic expression which can be understood as to feel oneself, self-love or have self-regard. Self-regard is a dispositional trait and to assess if one had a good opinion of themselves, *amageza ezinsizwa* needed to introspect.

The female voice introduced Jesse Ngandu (figure 27) as the week's *igeza lensizwa* (31st of July 2008), describing his complexion as being cappuccino in tone and attested that the expression "dark is lovely" rings true to the Congolese born model; Jesse Ngandu. The female voice wished that she could transform into the tattoo that is etched onto Ngandu's defined pec's (Pectoral muscles) so she could be closer to him.

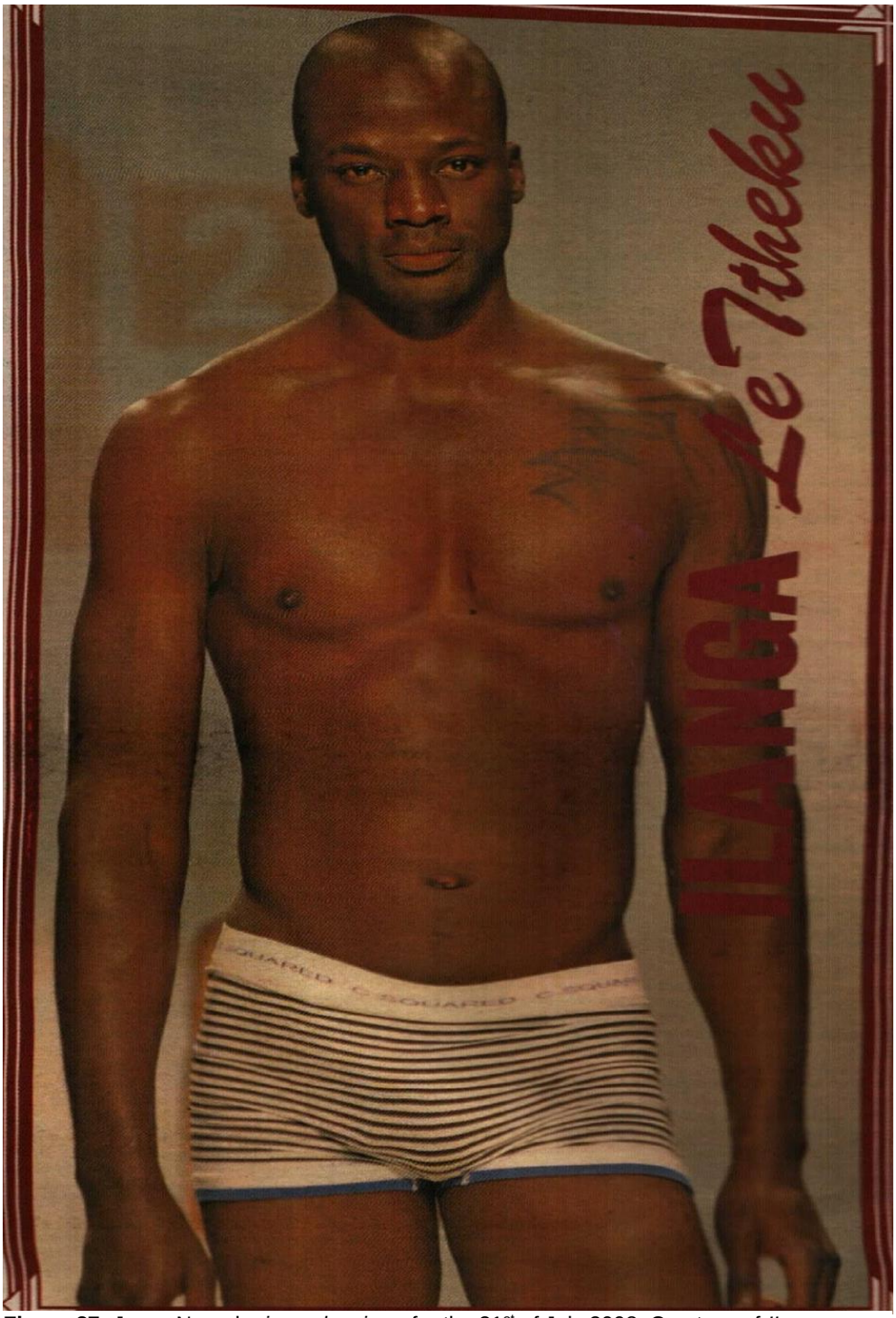


Figure 27: Jesse Ngandu, *igeza lensizwa* for the 31st of July 2008. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

The female voice jokingly remarked on Ngandu's love for the cinema, leaving the decision to him, on which movie they would watch "*uyozisholo wena!*" [you'll state your decision], on their fictive date. The then popular isiZulu idiomatic expression "*uyozisholo wena*" borrowed from the popular *Durban's Finest* Volume 2 song, titled "*Uyoy'sholo Wena*". It is a playful retort in the lyrics that the partying women gave to

the male artists who ask them "*sohamba nini?*" [when will we call it a night?], and the young women retorted with "*uyoy'sholo wena!*"

The casting call went on to invite young men, "*uma nawe uyinsizwa ezizwayo njengo Jesse, shayela ku"* [If you are a young man that has as much self-regard as Jesse, dial us]. As a professional model, Ngandu fitted the sense of self-regard that the photographic section wanted young men to embody. The female persona singles out his tattoo as a marker of his individuality, and remarks on his muscularity. His confidence (in his muscularity and himself) allows him to confidently walk down the runway in *C-Squired*[255] boxer briefs. His self-regard is in sync with the brands marketing promise that its wearers are young, urban black men of individual distinction, who value clothes of high quality.

Ngubo (figure 26) and Ngandu (figure 27) are both showcased as young men that are self-confident and embodied a sense of self-regard. Both these dispositional traits that distinguished *amageza ezinsizwa* required them to introspect. Turn inwards and self-objectify themselves as they determined if they too embodied the qualities of self-confidence and self-regard. The quality of turning inwards and confronting themselves and having assessed themselves, whether they have the confidence to publicly vie for the title of the week's *igeza lensizwa,* distinguished these young black dandies. Although, there is a blurred line between *ukuzitshela* and *ukuzizwa* which *amageza ezinsizwa* needed to navigate. The word *ukuzitshela* is not in the Doke (et al. 2012) Zulu-English dictionary. But the stem "*tshela*" means "to tell, narrate" (Doke et al. 2012: 820). *Ukuzitshela* like, *ukuzizwa* is a contemporary isiZulu idiomatic expression which is meant to describe someone who is "full of themself" or someone who is "self-absorbed", the character trait is viewed in a negative light. The trait of holding oneself in high regard and disregarding other people is viewed disparagingly. Whilst *ukuzizwa* is considered a positive trait of feel oneself and self-objectifying

[255] CSquared was launched in 2002 and was conceived as a branch brand from the South African brand, Carducci which was established in 1978. It is owned by House of Monatic which also owns three lead South African brands: Carducci, CSquared and Viyella. Carducci is aimed at established white men with an emphasis on Italian textile quality, whilst CSquared is aimed at aspirational, modern urban black man, the brand claims to have a streetwear feel and like Carducci, emphasizes individuality and Italian textile quality. Lastly, Viyella emphasizes its British style influence and is aimed at wealth established white men.

without being boastful. It is an empathetic and considerate trait yet, unwavering about the self-objectifying project.

This dispositional trait is considered attractive as it is not boastful, and a person's self-regard is admirable. What distinguishes these two dispositions is intent. The intention of *ukuzitshela* is to conjure jealousy and veneration. Whilst the intention for *ukuzizwa* is self-love, as to turn inwards and make yourself your own project of scrutiny is an act of loving the self, and not pitting the self against another in a conceited manner. Moreover, the admiration that someone receives from *ukuzizwa* is secondary, as what the self feels and regards themselves as, trumps societal pressures.

Dressing to kill and "performing the thought"

ILanga le Theku's co-founder Zandile Tembe summed-up *igeza lensizwa* as someone who was, "conscious and deliberate about how they looked".[256] This deliberateness was underpinned by the "singular vision of self" (Barthes 2013) that was manifested by the dispositions that have been outlined in the previous section. Continuing with Barthes (2013) two-prong definition of dandyism, the clothing and how *amageza ezinsizwa* stylised[257] them, formed the techniques which validated his disposition of *ukuzithemba* and *ukuzizwa.* Without these two dispositions, the techniques elaborated on his body, lacked coherent meaning which rested on his assured situated subjectivity. Having said that, a natural link does not exist between a clothing item and what it is advertised to convey. As what the garment is made to give off (signified), and the actual clothing item (signifier) is united by the sign-maker. The sign is achieved through the process of signification (Barthes 1977) which is the unification of the signifier and the signified. Clothing or "fashionable objects" are discontinuous entities which are constantly being translated from one set of meanings into another (Carter 2003 & Barthes 1990). Key to our understanding of the techniques of black dandyism is understanding how the *igeza lensizwa* photograph operated as

[256] Zandile Tembe (Programmes Manager, uKhozi FM), interview by author, 13 October 2020.

[257] My usage of styling is aligned to Carol Tulloch's (2010) conceptualisation of style as agency and as a form of self-telling. This self-telling takes the form of constructing the self, through an "assemblage of garments, accessories, and beauty regimes that may or may not be 'in fashion'" (Tulloch 2010: 276).

a sign and reading its frozen temporal meaning. And as a sign, what meaning did the various clothing items and accessories imbue on him, borrowed from the items layered histories.

As outlined in chapter two, temporal meaning is provided by both the visual garment[258] and the written garment[259] (Barthes 1990), which in our case is the *igeza lensizwa* photograph and the accompanying caption. Barthes (1990 & 1995) contends that an image freezes an endless number of possibilities and language intellectualises the garment, as language permits isolating certain items/elements, and stressing their value so as to help guide how the stylised image should be understood. Through the process of isolation, the caption introduces a protocol of unveiling and guides the reader to understand what is essential and what should be considered an accessory.

The female persona could not contain her adulation and pride towards her Zulu heritage when she saw the unnamed *igeza lensizwa* (figure 28) with his Zulu sartorial swagger "*Kwavele kwathi mangigiye ngiqephuze ngitshengise ukuziqhenya ngokuba wum'Zulu uma ngibona insizwa igqoke kanje*" [I almost want to rise-up and do a traditional dance to show how proud I am to be Zulu, when I see a young man dressed like this].

[258] This is the photograph of the model in the clothing.
[259] This is the written description of the photograph of the model in the clothing.

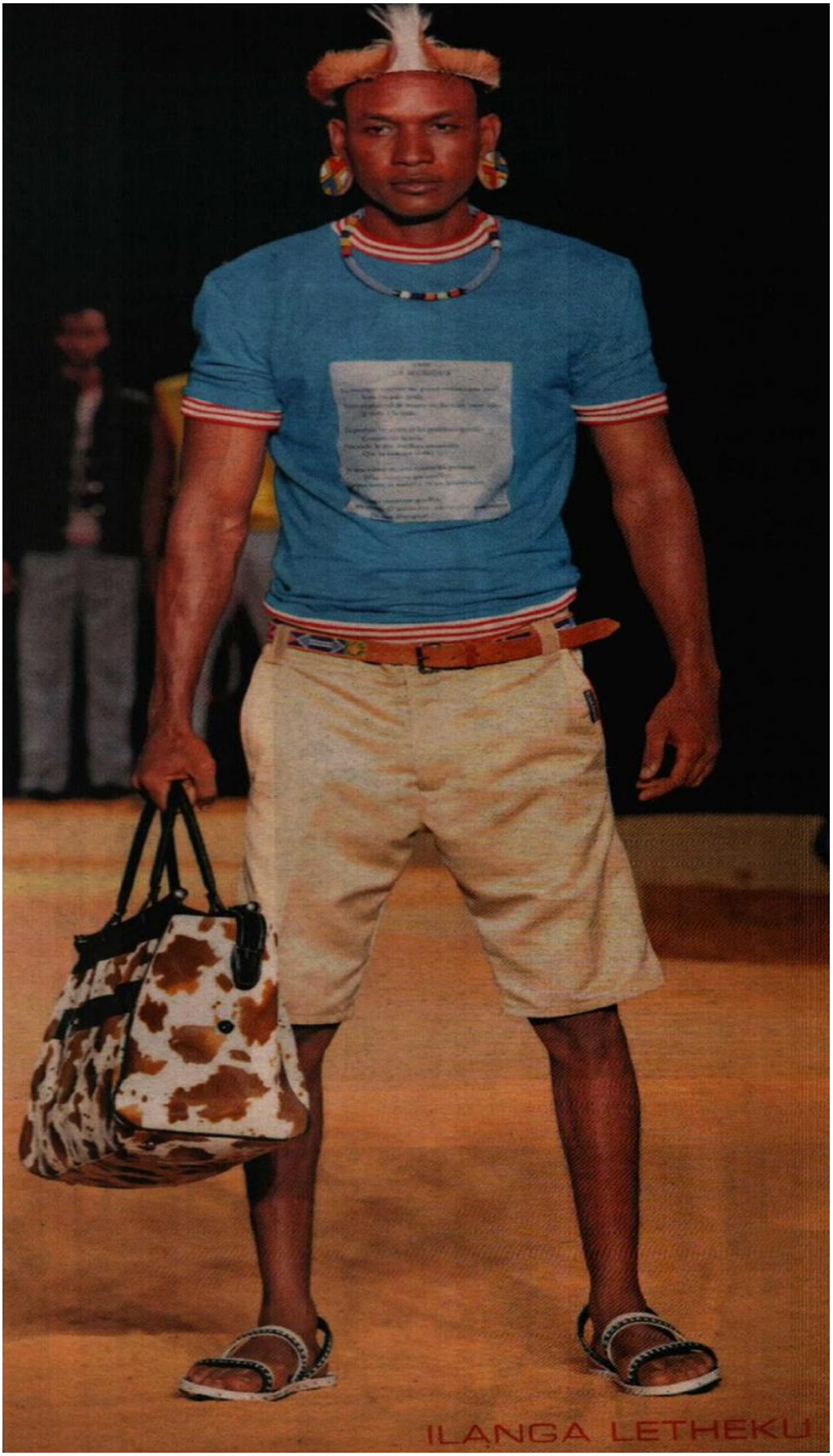


Figure 28: unnamed *igeza lensizwa* for the 7th of April 2011. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

Her smitten elation continued, "*Phela akusizo zonke eziziqhenyayo ngobuzona, kodwa uyabona ukuthi akubuzwa ukuthi iqhamuka kuphi*" [Of course, not everyone (young men) is proud of their heritage, but with this one, you can tell who he is and where he is from]. The female voice draws a link between *igeza lensizwa's* dress and his pride towards his Zulu heritage and culture. She then laments how many young men do not exhibit this pride for their Zuluness. Based on the photograph of the unnamed *igeza lensizwa* (figure 28), this is Zuluness that has been innovatively re-fashioned.

If I was to hazard a guess, the photograph was submitted to *ILanga le Theku* by the Durban fashion designer, Thokozani Mbatha as the unnamed model is wearing his fashion label; Black Pepper.[260] This was Black Pepper's 2009 menswear range titled the "new, modern safari". Mbatha contends that his "new, modern safari" style is an "incongruous pairing of Nguni culture and safari style" (Rovine 2010).[261] His "new, modern safari" concept takes the image of a colonial explorer/hunter such as Nathaniel Isaacs (1808–1872), crops out his white English figure, and in a Kehinde Wiley manner, replaces it with a black male body, in re-imagined safari garments.[262] This menswear range was launched at the 2009 Festival International *de la Mode Africaine* (FIMA)[263] in Niger (Rovine 2010). It was the only menswear range in the fashion show and won the Prix Ibrahim Loutou award.[264] Entire vibrant menswear ranges were only burgeoning on the African continent at the time. But Thokozani Mbatha's fusion of Nguni culture and safari apparel tantalised the female voice to acknowledge his designs as moving in the right direction of how Zulu identities through garments, could be modernised.

[260] Established in 2002 and specialised in made-to-wear clothing. Mbatha's designs are inspired by black South African cultures and a broad African aesthetic with a contemporary, youthful, and stylish feel.

[261] Interestingly in the late 1960s, the French designer Yves Saint Laurent was also inspired by representation of safari when he created the safari jacket which appeared in the 1969 cover of *Vogue* magazine.

[262] Kehinde Wiley's exhibitions, *inter alia, Passing/Posing* 2002 exhibition and 2005 exhibition *Rumors of War* addresses, and highlights the theme of reclamation, as Wiley replaces White European solders and aristocrats with contemporary African American men dressed in contemporary clothes. This he does to draw attention to black people's absence from canonical works of art history (Tsai 2015).

[263] It is an internationally acclaimed African fashion festival which was launched in 1998 (Fima Africa (fima--africa-com.translate.goog) (accessed 2 May 2022)

[264] Former Minister of Culture of Niger

The female persona foregrounds his clothing as the indicators of his Zulu heritage. Standing at the edge of the sand-covered runway, the model (figure 28) is wearing a blue cotton round neck printed t-shirt, a light brown leather belt with Zulu/Ndebele colourful patterns, and khaki shorts. On his head he adorns *umqhele*, the model has decorated clip-on *iziqhaza* on both his ear lobes, *umbhijo*[265] goes around his neck, his right-hand clenches a Nguni cow printed duffle bag and he is wearing *izimbadada.*[266] The khaki shorts and blue t-shirts are themselves "contemporary, youthful, and stylish without signalling an association with any specific ethnic or regional identity" (Rovine 2010: 6). His accessories are what signals his Zuluness. The caption draws our attention to the accessories which enable us to understand their essential place in us reading them as the signified: modern innovative Zuluness.

The discontinuous nature of fashion (Barthes 1990) allows Thokozani Mbatha to put together different garments and accessories into a temporal sign which he calls, "new, modern safari". He pairs together these Zulu accessories and borrows their layered meaning. *Umqhele* is a head-ring traditionally worn by young Zulu men and it is made from animal skin or beads (Nyembezi & Nxumalo 2018).[267] It is cylindrical in shape, with some, having splayed tufts of fur above the wearer's forehead (like figure 28). Traditionally, all Zulu men wore *umqhele* as part of their daily attire and on special occasions, various plumes were affixed to it (as laid out in chapter one). *Imiqhele* have made a comeback in recent years with various Zulu men, such as the South African Zulu rapper Jabulani Hadebe, best known as Sjava, wearing one with his everyday clothes as a proud signifier of his Zulu masculinity (and his affiliation with the Nazareth Baptist Church).[268]

The other essential accessory that the unnamed model is wearing which signals his Zulu heritage is *iziqhaza. Iziqhaza* are Zulu earplugs which started off as simple

[265] Beaded necklace worn by both men and women either as a necklace or waistband.

[266] Variations of these sandals were also worn in precolonial times, but their current design and the materials used, such as discarded moto car tyres, is derived from those made by African migrants.

[267] *Umqhele* is a generic term for all cylindrical head-rings. There are different *imiqhele* for different functions, for example, there is *ungiyane* and *amadevu.*

[268] The church was founded by Isaiah Shembe in 1910, and it incorporates Zulu garments in its church attire. For more, see Nombulelo Shange's Rhodes University Master of Arts dissertation titled, *Shembe religion's integration of African Traditional Religion and Christianity: A Sociological case study* (2013).

amashaza[269] which were worn by Zulu men as a sign of Zulu identity, prior to the destruction of the Zulu kingdom in 1884. Frank Jolles (1997) writes that these were worn as adornment in pierced ear lobes. The development of earplugs in the nineteenth century was linked to the ear-piercing rite of passage practice of *ukuQhumbuza* which was a ceremony whereby young children's (both sexes) earlobes were pierced when they entered puberty and were initiated into being "fuller adults" in Zulu society (Mahlobo & Krige 1934; Jolles 1997). Earplugs were worn over an extensive region of present-day KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape, and these earplugs lacked the intricate decorations that would characterise *iziqhaza,* made in the 1950s. Jolles argues that by the 1950s, the ear-piercing ceremony (*ukuQhumbuza*) had lost their ritual significance and by extension, the ritual significance of earplugs.

What is important though, is that earlier versions of earplugs had no noticeable regional and historical variations of style, nor any actual symbolic patterns (Jolles 1997). In their early form, they functioned as markers of national identity (Jollies 1997). Their meaning was set in the act of wearing and displaying and not in any intrinsic symbolism through colour or patterns. Therefore, the clip-on earplugs won by the unnamed *igeza lensizwa* (figure 28) are used in this old mode, to denote Zulu pride, just as *umqhele* denotes Zulu masculine pride. Thokozani Mbatha's menswear range demonstrates how clothing and accessories can be employed to navigate and negotiate what being Zulu and urban meant for young men *eThekwini*, as they crafted different masculine social practices. These were Zulu masculinities which were not stagnant but were continuing to shift and were more than amenable to young urban men's self-narration projects.

With the same adulation and Zulu pride, the female persona introduced the below unnamed *igeza lensizwa* (figure 10), "*Lena yinsizwa yom-Afrika ngemphela, nendlela egqoke ngayo iyasho*" [This is a true African man, and his clothes confirm this].

[269] These are ear-ornaments, commonly made of white bone (Doke et al. 2012: 735).



Figure 10: unknown, *igeza lensizwa* for the 1st of April 2010. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

The source of her adulation is the model's Zulu sartorial swagger. The model is dressed in Loxion Kulca's[270] 2010 summer collection titled, "Zulu in my Botsotso".[271] So iconic was this range that it was included in the 2019 Zeitz MOCAA museum's exhibition titled, "21 YEARS: Making Histories with South African Fashion Week" which celebrated the growth of South Africa's fashion industry since the establishment of SA Fashion Week in 1997 (Booyzen 2018).[272] Out of the thousands of garments and ranges that had been launched on the SA Fashion Week runway over the twenty-one years, Loxion Kulca's "Zulu in my Botsotso" range was celebrated as forming part of South Africa's menswear fashion history.

The star of the range was a pair of denim jeans with colourful patches called *umblaselo*. The female voice singled out *igeza's* vestment as the source of his African pride. This essential vestment was *umblaselo*. Loxion Kulca decided to fuse a popular streetwear material in the form of denim jeans and make *umblaselo* out of it. *Umblaselo* is a pair of embellished trousers which date back to the early twentieth century where Zulu migrant workers working in the Johannesburg mines, patched and embellished their old trousers with brightly coloured locally available materials (de Greef 2020). The pants feature distinctive, patchwork made with bright, primary-coloured triangular insets, rickrack braiding and contrast binding trims, and originated from old clothing that was patched over to further the life of the garment (De Greef 2019: 4).

Erica de Greef (2020) argues that the trousers symbolise agency and self-narrating as the wearer "belonged within the anonymity of migrant labour identity frameworks" (de Greef 2020: 12). *Umblaselo* provided the wearer the means to "imagine and make visible his transitory subjectivity" (de Greef 2020: 12). As mine workers, the men that wore these patchwork pants were deemed not worth seeing, only their labour was required in the cities. These patchwork pants marked their self-

[270] This streetwear label was established by Wandile Nzimande and Sechaba Mogale in 1998 and its ranges draw on the idioms of male, urban, township life (Bogatsu 2002). The label became part of post-apartheid black youth culture. Their fashion design is mainly focused on the male fashion market. Their style is a fusion of different styles from South Africa's cultural history.

[271] Township lingo for denim.

[272] It was also selected for inclusion in the SA Fashion Week commemoration book (2018) edited by its founder Lucilla Booyzen.

narration through style and made them visible as men, engaged in crafting their changing identity.

ILanga le Theku's project to craft a modern *igeza lensizwa* borrows the layered meanings that are associated with *umblaselo* as a vestment that denotes urban innovation (through the history of circular migration) and self-narration. These vestments (*umqhele* and *umblaselo*) and their associated meanings are isolated and celebrated as sartorial considerations that *amageza ezinsizwa* were being encouraged to master, as they matched their dispositions of *ukuzithemba* and *ukuzizwa*.

The female persona introduced Westin (figure 29) as a young man that has all the right body features and stylish sensibility, "*nokugqoka kwayo kusondele nohlobo lomculo ewuculayo i-hip-hop*" [even his dress sense is similar to hip-hop streetwear as he is a hip-hop singer]. Westin submitted the photograph himself, dressed in a yellow flat peak cap, turned backwards, an army camouflage sleeveless puffer jacket, chino shorts and brown Carvela moccasin ankle boots. The essence of streetwear[273] is mixing and matching garments to create a more comfortable look that expresses the wearer's disposition and Westin's style showcases his hip-up passion as he comfortably sits on the chair.

[273] Streetwear initially developed out of sportwear (t-shirts, sweatsuits), workwear (denim wear, carpenter jeans, dungarees, checked shirts, body warmers) and combat-ear. It was the appropriation and re-contextualisation of those styles of clothing that freed the garments from their original intended use. Streetwear combined different elements from these styles, putting them in a new setting – remixing, re-adapting, to create new meaning (Adz & Stone 2020: 23).



Figure 29: West, *igeza lensizwa* for the 19th of July 2012. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

A key vestment which is part of Westin's creative streetwear assemblage and locates the stylish ensemble to KwaZulu-Natal's youth popular culture are his brown suede Carvela Moccasin ankle boots. For close to a decade now, Carvela Moccasin shoes have been a statement piece amongst the youth of KwaZulu-Natal as the brand signals aspiration and "Italian quality", and owning one, according to Spitz's

merchandise director, sends the message that, “I have arrived”.[274][275] These handmade Italian shoes are exclusively sold at the atelier called Spitz[276] and they are their bestselling item in KwaZulu-Natal atelier’s. So popular are the shoes in KwaZulu-Natal, that Spitz approached the South African Zulu rapper and style influencer, Siyabonga Nene, best known as Big Zulu, to be their brand ambassador. In 2016, he signed a partnership deal with Carvela to co-design a Carvela Moccasin which has been named the Carvela Medallion Regio and it retails for four thousand rand.

The Carvela brand offers accessible luxurious Italian craftmanship which gives the wearer confidence imbued by a classic handmade pair of Carvela Moccasin’s. Such clothing items with their intended meaning to denote luxury, are used by their wearers to negotiate lack and signal aspiration (Bessire & Firstenberg 2000). As part of the technique of black dandyism is to borrow the parts that the black dandy feels that they lack (Hall & Sealy 2001). *Amageza ezinsizwa* as young men are ambitious and are intent on meeting their ambition halfway by affording themselves a taste of the future lives that they dream of.

Ballroom dancer Sabelo Khulekani Shongwe (figure 30) was selected as the week’s *igeza lensizwa* for the 23rd of August 2012. The female voice described Shongwe as Danone yoghurt[277] with its connotation of being smooth and delectable. This, in the captions thirst-trap tone, insinuates that he would make a scrumptious snack.

[274] Meet the men behind timeless shoes (iol.co.za) (accessed 31 July 2021)

[275] According to the 2022 Spitz price list (Carvela - Brands - Men (spitz.co.za), an entry level pair of Carvela moccasins is around two thousand rand. But a decade ago, when *ILanga le Theku* was still in print, the entry level price was one thousand rand.

[276] Spitz was established by Anthony and David in 1968 in Johannesburg’s CBD and it is currently owned by AVI Limited which is a limited luxury goods and FMCG group, the Group has over fifty brands under it.

[277] A popularly consumed yoghurt brand in South Africa, marketed as a smooth and healthy snack.



Figure 30: Sabelo Khulekani Shongwe, *igeza lensizwa* for the 23rd of August 2012. Courtesy of *ILanga* newspaper.

Shongwe (figure 30) must have been out and about town when Sihle Masinga street-casted him. The flash of the camera makes a stark contrast between Shongwe's light-skin and the pitch-black background. Confident Shongwe has his sunglasses on, holding the back of the chair with his right hand and his left elbow rests on his thigh,

with his left hand gently positioned under his chin. The dark jacket he is wearing, and blue skinny jeans all accentuate the white round-neck t-shirt with a popular isiZulu idiomatic expression printed on it: *Bekumnandi Ungekho* [it was fun in your absence].

Our eyes are drawn to this isiZulu slogan printing on his white round neck t-shirt. Although unofficial, Sihle Masinga had been in talks with Durban designer Lwazi Mathonsi to profile his printed t-shirts, especially those with the popular expression: *Bekumnandi Ungekho*.[278] Branded t-shirts[279] are quintessential streetwear items, as in the 1960s printed t-shirts rose to popularity as garments for self-expression as the blank t-shirt was seen as a canvas to advertise on.[280] Moreover, it was also seen as a canvas for humour as phrases, such as "my mom went to [insert city here] and all I got was this lousy t-shirt" these were printed on them in the 1970s (Adz & and Stone 2020: 34). Beazley (2015) contends that, one particularly special element of streetwear design is its tendency to re-appropriate imagery and phrases from popular culture and twist it to make something new (Beazley 2015: 6). Mathonsi's *Bekumnandi Ungekho* t-shirts did just that. It took a tongue-in-cheek isiZulu idiomatic expression and made it into a popular cultural phrase by printing it on a basic white t-shirt. Moreover, creating an element of exclusivity to those that wore the t-shirts, as the act of wearing a *Bekumnandi Ungekho* t-shirt mocked those that had FOMO (Fear Of Missing Out).

Westin (figure 29) and Shongwe (figure 28) both showcase the nuances of self-narration through the mixing and matching tone of streetwear. Fusing American baseball flat peak caps with Italian handmade shoes, representing KwaZulu-Natal urban youth cultures. Pairing denim skinny jeans with t-shirts with isiZulu idiomatic expressions which capture *eThekwini's* urban youth popular culture. Underpinning

[278] The t-shirt is made by Lwazi Mathonsi a Durban based fashion entrepreneur who started this line of printed t-shirts in 2006. After buying himself a printing machine, Mathonsi decided to print a popular isiZulu slogan of the time, *Bekumnandi Ungekho* [it was fun in your absence] on t-shirts and started selling these t-shirts at the annual Durban Jazz Festival held on the banks of the Hazelmere Dam. These insights are based on a Facebook DM chat I had with the Durban based designer; Mxolisi Luke Mkhize who was a contemporary of Lwazi Mathonsi and the late Thokozani Mbatha (Black Pepper). The t-shirts were sold as mementos, for those that attended the festival to wear and "brag" to those that did not attend when the festival ended.

[279] The garment we now know as the t-shirt has military origins, basic white under garment, first issued to US naval personal in the late eighteenth-century (Spanish-American war). Off-duty soldiers and veterans started wearing these as casual clothing, which took the garment outside its military confines for the first time and brought it to an entirely new audience (Beazley 2015: 9)

[280] Shawn Stüssy, a Californian surfboard designer and maker is considered as the forefather of modern streetwear. In the 1980s he started silk-screening his surname onto t-shirt to advertise his surfboards and Stüssy t-shirts are still considered desirable streetwear classics until today.

these photographs is the disposition of Self-confidence and self-regard as these young men were confident enough and had the skills to tactfully mix and match streetwear vestments.

Conclusion

The chapter's main aim was to think alongside Barthes (2013) two-prong definition of dandyism as being comprised of a young man's ethos and techniques, and contextualise this framing to *amageza ezinsizwa*. The accompanying captions were analysed to identify isiZulu descriptors, which were then verified with the editorial team, to determine their dispositional qualities. The chapter intricately contextualised Barthes ethos into a Zulu context and demonstrated that in the context of *igeza lensizwa, ukuzithemba* (self-confidence) and *ukuzizwa* (self-regard) were the dispositions that undergirded the techniques. These dispositional terms made it possible for these young, urban black men to configure transgressive masculinities which were made-up of different configurations of social and gender practices that *amageza* were proud of enacting. The chapter has demonstrated how the casting call invited young men to introspect and assess if they embodied these dispositions and moreover, if they considered themselves *amasoka* [popular amongst women]*.* Having introspected, they were further asked to assess themselves against the week's *igeza lensizwa* in a sparring manner.

How *igeza lensizwa* posed and stylised himself were the techniques that he employed to self-stylise himself, which was underpinned by his dispositions of *ukuzithemba* and *ukuzizwa*. Young, urban black men's modishness and stylishness formed new prowess's which were validated by the female persona and her adulating captions. The chapter also demonstrated how the limits of homosocial desire were challenged, acknowledging the complexity and messiness of desire, as young men were also encouraged to compare their looks against the weeks *igeza lensizwa.* The chapter has argued that by acting as a validating platform, the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section invited young urban black men to re-configure their masculine practices and proudly show what being urban and Zulu meant to them. By doing this, *ILanga le Theku* saw *igeza lensizwa* burgeon to be a young man who had an instinctive

regard for himself as set by the two dispositions. Moreover, a young man that understood that clothing and style could be utilised to make statements about his own masculinity.

The next chapter tables a wider discussion of the impact of *igeza lensizwa* and *ILanga le Theku* as it foregrounds concluding remarks.

Chapter Six

Concluding implications of *amageza ezinsizwa kwi'Langa le Theku*

In bringing this study to a conclusion, this chapter briefly illustrates how the study has responded to its initial aim and objectives and whether it was able to answer the questions that the research aimed to address. This chapter also sums up the entire study. In addition to this, the chapter outlines the major findings of the study and makes concluding arguments on these findings.

The main focus of this study has been the fashioning of *igeza lensizwa* through the multiple editorial decisions made by the *ILanga le Theku* editorial team. These editorial decisions had wide implications that affected various interlocutors that were engaged in the fashioning of *igeza lensizwa.* The interlocutors being the young men that were street-casted for *igeza lensizwa*, the mainly male photographers that street-casted and photographed them, the young men that refused to be street-casted/photographed, and the implied female audience that was represented by the female persona. In-between these interlocutors were looking-relations, that shifted spectatorship relations. Shifting them by empowering women through a female gaze that co-configured Zulu masculinities, and a male-on-male gaze that encouraged homosocial desires that began to sever the assumed links between the physical body and social body. Moreover, begin to corrode, what Malose Langa calls the "assumptive links between biology and desire" (Langa 2022: 10).

Through a discursive approach, the thesis made an overarching argument that the young, urban, black, men that were street-casted for the fashion inspired photographic section, were engaged in configuring a medley of gender and social practices which *ILanga le Theku* proudly showcased. The thesis has meticulously demonstrated that this pride was driven by the lifestyle supplement's decision to have the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section transmit new public scripts (Ligaga 2020) to fashion urban Zulu masculinities. Mover, through the conceptualised thirst-trap toned captions, the thesis has demonstrated how affective expectations were crafted as different forms of desire were fashioned.

The thesis concerned itself with understanding the implications that these varied configurations of social and gender practices had on urban Zulu masculinities. A focus on the configurations of the social and gender practices, allowed the thesis to home in and explore individual choices (read off the photographs) made by the young men as they made situationally specific choices on how they wanted to be photographed. Once the young men were selected for the photographic section, the thesis made the argument that *ILanga le Theku* then validated these young men's social and gender practices through crafted forms of female desire, honed by the lecherous gaze of the female persona that wrote the captions in saucy and salacious ways. The thesis carefully analysed and demonstrated how the editorial team made decisions to cater for its implied male and female readers, as masculinities are constituted within a structure of gender relations.

The thesis was grounded in Connell's (2005a) conceptualisation that masculine patterns are made-up of practices and relations. Moreover, Ratele (2016) provided me with insights of how the individual psychological reality of men was important in how they fashioned their brand of masculinity. Throughout the project I contextually explored these relations and foregrounded three forms of relations. The first relation was how men, within the gender identity of masculinities, reacted to each other, based on their configuration of practices. This took the form of them sparring and vying against those that had been selected to be *amageza ezinsizwa.* The thesis explored this first relation through the marked shifts in the type of *amageza ezinsizwa* that were photographed and the type of configurations that they represented. This relation also benefited from my own honed queer lens (as method) which highlighted the limits of homosocial desire, and foregrounded the *igeza lensizwa* section, as encouraging the complexity and messiness of male desire. Through my queer lens as method, I inferred an additional two other looking relations. Firstly, between the male photographers and the young men they street-casted and photographed, which was focused on how the male photographers were able to street-cast *amageza ezinsizwa* but then denied being able to identify and describe a good-looking young man. The second looking relation was between the young men at home, seeing *igeza lensizwa* photographs and having to confront masculine beauty in order to compare himself and the weeks *igeza lensizwa* before deciding to submit his photograph. The project employed a definition of queer which attempted to embrace the messiness of

complexity and by definition, “whatever is at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant” (Allan 2020: 73). The project demonstrated that queer, in this understanding, when applied to the looking relations between the male photographers and the street-casted young men, and between young men at home comparing himself with the weeks selected *igeza lensizwa,* produced more thoughtful interpersonal attractions. This was possible when I, as a researcher, focused my attention on these looking relations and made inferences on the “unsaid, the non-normative, and the complexity and messiness of desire” (Allan 2020: 74). The final looking relation, was between men and women, as these gender identities are co-constituting. This relation was explored through the influential editorial decisions taken by the female led editorial team of *ILanga le Theku.*

A historical case for Zulu male fashionability was made in chapter one titled, ***Locating igeza lensizwa,*** as I positioned the study of *igeza lensizwa* and laid out the aim, rationale, objectives, and research questions. In locating alternative archives in the making of Zulu masculinities, the chapter situated the contemporary figure of *igeza lensizwa* within Zulu cultural history. Further, I asserted that the dictionary definition of *igeza lensizwa* offers conceptual clues to the crafting of *igeza lensizwa* as sartorial items are imbedded in the definition which differentiates young men (*izinsizwa*) from older men (*amadoda*), through rituals as continuums (Mupotsa 2020). The chapter laid out the projects two overarching aims. Firstly, to explore and describe the fashioning of *igeza lensizwa* as represented on the back page of the isiZulu-language lifestyle supplement called *ILanga le Theku*. Secondly, to interpret *igeza lensizwa* in *ILanga le Theku* as a site of contestation and articulation. These two aims were fuelled by the interest in the editorial decision-making processes that were made and revised as *ILanga le Theku* catered for its young urban Zulu male and female audiences.

The study had three main questions. These main questions were: firstly, what are the implications of ***amageza ezinsizwa’s*** employment of certain practices from *ubusoka* have for crafting transgressive masculinities? With the understanding that there are multiple masculinities in any given society, what effect would the emergence and articulation of transgressive masculinities have, as an alternative to more dominant Zulu masculinities? Moreover, what beneficial role does the multi-fold nature of *ubusoka* have in enhancing transgressive masculinities? Secondly, what implications does *ILanga le Theku* as a site of production and circulation have for *igeza*

lensizwa? As the first isiZulu-language lifestyle supplement, *ILanga le Theku's* young editorial team was attuned to the type of readers that they catered for. Borrowing their speaking mannerisms, devising writing styles and tapping into popular culture to ensure relevance. The thesis explored the *igeza lensizwa* captions as a reflection of the creative ingenuity that was *ILanga le Theku*. Through interviews with the editorial team, the editorial decision-making processes were analysed to understand and articulate the three shifts that were evident in the photographic sections eight-year run.

The second question was further explored through considering how desire was crafted. The captions accompanying *amageza ezinsizwa* and their thirst-trap tones, as articulated by the female voice, were explored as configurations of desire. This was done by considering how the editorial team articulated the "learnt affective expectations and sociocultural scripts about desire" (Regan & Berscheid 1999) in relation to *igeza lensizwa*. The thirst-trap captions subverted some Zulu sociocultural scripts, such as, who gets desired, and what "appropriate" affections should the one doing the desiring have. The configuration of desire was explored by examining how the editorial team wanted *amageza ezinsizwa* to "affect" the female audience, with a focus on isiZulu verbs (used by the editorial team) that denote lust and desire such as *ukuheha* [to entice] and *ukuchaza* [to have an affect]. Thirdly, what conceptual value did considering the articulation of *igeza lensizwa* through Roland Barthes (2013) two-prong definition of dandyism have for putting forward a conceptual definition of *igeza lensizwa*? This question took the two aspects that make-up a dandy; his ethos/dispositions and his techniques (style and social practices) and contextualised them to my exploration of the making of *igeza lensizwa*. In answering this question, I analysed the captions to identify isiZulu descriptors that characterised the type of young men that were considered *amageza ezinsizwa*. Moreover, I explored the editorial decisions that were made in articulating the shifting brief of what made *igeza lensizwa*. Lastly, I paid attention to the young men's style and approach them as style narratives, as these represented the young men's ambitions, and at times, negotiated what they might have materially lacked, but signalled how they envisioned themselves.

After this initial introduction, the focus moved onto engaging key concepts, literature, and interpretive modes in chapter two, titled ***Reading Igeza Lensizwa****.* The chapter was mapped out in a manner that engaged the selected literature so that it helped shape the concepts that I would be contributing to scholarship of masculine representations. These concepts being, thirst-trap as being made-up of *ukuheha* [to entice] and *ukuchaza* [to affect]*,* and *igeza lensizwa* as being comprised of *ukuzithemba* [self-confidence] and *ukuzizwa* [self-regard]. I engaged literature on gendered representation in the media, Critical Masculinities Studies, and identity as situated subjectivity. The chapter critically engaged on the impact of biological determinism and sexuality being used as a technique of power to interlink, sex, sexuality, gender, and desire. I mapped out how I would utilize Connell's discursive approach to understanding urban Zulu masculinities in the form of *amageza ezinsizwa.*

Connell's (1996) discursive approach to the concept of masculinities was further evaluated as being crucial to my study as it contends that masculinities are comprised of practices (gender and social) and relations. Put simply, practices are the way men act, behave, dress, speak, and these are "creative and inventive, and contribute towards the configuration of gendered identities" (Connell 2005a: 72, also Kimmel 1994; & Bowstead 2018). Moreover, these practices, performed by men to constitute their masculinity, are also relational to historical gender patterns, this is because men are also able to borrow practices from a cultural repertoire of masculine behaviour (Connell 2005a). There are constraints to these practices though, as situations allow certain practices and not others, but situations are structured differently, as practices can also "constitute and re-constitute structures. They make the reality we live in" (Connell 2005a: 65).

Chapter two further foregrounded the conceptual value of transgressive masculinities (Anderson 2009 & Hall 2015) in the shifting configuration of patterns as exhibited by *amageza ezinsizwa*. Furthermore, explored the critiques and shifts in the concept of hegemonic masculinities (Demetriou 2001 and Connell & Messerschmidt 2005). Since the study was primarily on *igeza lensizwa* fashion inspired photographs, an entry point into media and gender representation was made, using Dina Ligaga's (2020) framing of public scripts as foregrounding gendered values and expectation. Works on gendered representation in men's glossy magazines, particularly by Nixon (1996), Edwards (2016) and Viljoen (2012) were engaged as crucial entry points into

understanding how fashion photographs in print media operate as public scripts that transmit new visual masculine representations. This clustering of concepts allowed the study to make nuanced readings of the *igeza lensizwa* image and the four sites where an image's meaning rests, which are: the site of production, the site of the image itself, the site of its circulation and, the site of its audiencing (Rose 2016). The chapter also outlined how the inaugural editorial team members were identified, approached, and interviewed using semi-structured questionnaires. Moreover, how from the close to four-hundred photographs of *amageza ezinsizwa,* I made my selection of twenty-seven photographs for analysis.

The chapter offered a theoretical discussion of Barthes' (1990) application of social semiotics in crafting a fashion system, which was then reviewed and evaluated. The chapter forwarded an argument for the application of Barthes (1990) triad understanding of fashion to unpack the different components of the *amageza ezinsizwa* photographs; their real garments, written garment (captions), and the visual garment (model and background). To facilitate nuanced readings of the photographic backgrounds, the chapter paired Barthes (1990) conceptualisation of the visual garment with Henri Lefebvre's (2011) understanding of social space, to better tease out the relationship between the figure of *igeza lensizwa* in the foreground and the contents of the photographic backgrounds. The selection and interpretive modes (critical visual methodology) used on these photographs, was influenced by what Tina Campt (2012) implores visual scholars to bear in mind, that modes of interpretation need to engage how photographs move us and consider the photographs semiotic capacity. Barthes (1990) aided in this regard.

Lastly, the chapter engaged the concepts of situated subjectivity (Brubaker and Cooper 2000) and black dandyism (Miller 2009; Barthes 2013) and identified them as being apt for reading the multiple choices made by the young men, as visually represented, foregrounding them as responses to the editorial decisions. The study applied the concepts of situated subjectivity and black dandyism to further consider the formation of urban Zulu masculinities at the level of personality, in its intention to contribute new knowledge through crafting a conceptual argument for *igeza lensizwa*.

The establishment, uniqueness, and innovative work that was done in *ILanga le Theku* were explored in chapter three, titled ***Iphepha Labantu Abasha****.* The chapter

unpacked the significance of the launch of *ILanga le Theku* as the first isiZulu-language lifestyle supplement, in relation to competing for readers with *Isolezwe* and how the inaugural editorial team conceptualised the lifestyle supplement. The chapter built a strong argument for *ILanga le Theku's* uniqueness, as isiZulu newspapers had never been studied for their visual gender representation. As a Zulu-language tabloid, *ILanga le Theku* drew from African indigenous newspapers tradition of finding new voices and writing styles to address their readers. Additionally, as a tabloid, it had creative freedom, unrestricted by mainstream journalistic conventions and orthographic language practices. This unique position made it possible for *ILanga le Theku* to fashion visual masculine representations that drew upon freedoms found in tabloid press conventions and innovations found in the histories of African print presses.

The chapter further focused on the editorial conception of *igeza lensizwa* as a pin-up boy/thirst-trap and the accompanying captions which were written as a form of affective expectations. The chapter contended that this was inspired by the isiZulu practice of *ukukhuzela* [shouting of love vocatives]. Moreover, the chapter argued for an isiZulu understanding of thirst-trap that considered how the captions created affective expectations through *ukuheha* and crafting *ukuchaza.* Through in-depth interviews and detailed analyses of the accompanying captions, the chapter explored how the *amageza ezinsizwa* photographic section went about targeting both the implied readers: young urban Zulu male and female readers from *eThekwini*.

For female readers, *amageza ezinsizwa* were foregrounded as thirst-traps and were guided to this conclusion by the voice of the female persona that was created to craft the captions and craft forms of desire and lust. Through adulations and titillating fictive scenes, the captions provided a space where female readers could enjoy *amageza* firstly vicariously as thirst-traps. And secondly, offer a glimpse into the egalitarian lives of young Zulu women *eThekwini* who were unafraid to break patriarchal convention and initiate courtship, instead of being coy and politely awaiting to be courted. This voice borrowed its urban Zulu readers speaking mannerisms, colloquialisms and referenced popular culture and Zulu culture to chime in with its readers interests. The captions mixed isiZulu, English, and other linguistic varieties such as *tsotsitaal,* which was starkly different from how *ILanga* (the mother paper) positioned itself as a custodian of isiZulu. *ILanga le Theku* positioned itself as the

custodian of the urban Zulu reader who had an affinity for an “impure form of Zulu” (Ndlovu 2011) and proudly showcased the changing realities of their lives.

For young urban Zulu men, the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section was initially conceived as a didactic masculine type for young men to aspire towards, as the editorial team and the female persona foregrounded alternative masculinities which they wanted young men to emulate. Through the shifting photographic types (three in total), the voice of the female persona changed, as young men made it known that they too were changing and valued different prowess’s as they embraced changing forms of self-expression and articulated their urban identities without shame. These young, urban, Zulu men foregrounded changing social and gender practices that had a bearing on their masculinities. Moreover, the chapter demonstrated that the conceptualisation of *igeza lensizwa* as a thirst-trap also worked for young men, both the modish and the unmodish, despite their differing gender and social practices. Both these loosely defined groups valued the prowess of being a charmer and being popular amongst young women (*ukuba isoka*). These prowess’s were heightened if one appeared on the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section and the voice of the female persona, through its adulations, made these young men the “it” guys for the week and validated their configuration of practices. Through a queer lens, the chapter also demonstrated how the myopic limits of homosocial desire and their rigid framing of “interpersonal attractions” was challenged and relaxed to consider non-normative forms of male-on-male desires.

The publication became a site where popular consensus was created and where expressions of desires for alternative futures were articulated (Newell & Okome 2014; Barber 2018). *ILanga le Theku* openly challenged dominant Zulu masculinities and validated young men with different configurations of social and gender practices, marked by the three shifts in photographic representation: *izidlakela eziqimbile* [topless muscular men]*, izinsizwa ezidla ukotini* [young men that are stylish]*,* and *oshukela base Thekwini* [soft life young men from Durban]. The chapter further made the argument that young people in the newly formed *eThekwini* Metropolitan Municipality, were boldly showcasing their shifting urban lives which were altering *eThekwini’s* popular culture scene at the turn of the twenty-first century. Whilst Hedi Slimane was redefining men’s wear for the House of Yves Saint Laurent and Dior Homme in the early 2000s, Thokozani Mbatha was doing the same *eThekwini* with his

Black Pepper fashion label. The newly formed *eThekwini* Metropolitan Municipality (2000) extended the boundaries of the City of Durban and branded itself as “South Africa’s playground”. Music by the kwaito trio *Big Nuz*[281] (2002), the house music duo *Durban’s Finest*[282] (2004) and Dj Tira’s record label *Afrotainment* (2007), captured what this playground offered its young, urban black habitants and continues to do so. The Chapter made the argument that the young editorial team were emersed in this vibrant popular culture scene. They knew the lyrics to “Always on Time” by *Ja Rule*[283], the chorus to “*Uyoyisholo Wena*”[284] by *Big Nuz* featuring *Durban’s First,* and they eagerly await the Durban July handicap[285] each year to feast their eyes on the couture garments. The chapter intricately argued that these young media professionals were perfectly positioned to be at the helm of the *ILanga le Theku* lifestyle supplement, as they were the very kind of readers that they were targeting.

In Chapter four, titled ***Igeza lensizwa eThekwini****,* the focus shifted to reading relationships between *amageza ezinsizwa* in the foreground and the contents of the photographic backgrounds. The chapter built an argument for viewing the contents of the backgrounds behind the *amageza ezinsizwa* fashion inspired photographs as both stage-settings and social spaces. The chapter then went about making two arguments. Firstly, that adopting these lenses allowed for nuanced readings that gave us access to the Durban Point’s layered history. This layered history was accessed by inferring connections between non-dominant architectural buildings and the imaginative investment that is required to read ruins in photographs. The chapter linked this layered history to *amageza ezinsizwa* in the foreground of the photographs. The chapter established this inferred connection by placing *amageza ezinsizwa* at the end of the historical continuum of the ruins and crafted innovative narratives that speak to shifting Zulu masculinities, drawn from Morrell’s (1998) arguments on waning African masculinities and burgeoning black masculinities. The second argument was that, once the backgrounds are read as social spaces and stage-settings, locating key buildings such as The Stevedore, allowed me to unpack the relationship between this

[281] The group is named after the car registration prefix of eMlazi township: "NUZ" (Natal Umlazi). The group was made-up of Mandla “Mampintsha” Maphumulo, Mzi “Danger” and Sbu “Mashesha”.
[282] Dj Tira (Mthokozi Khathi) and Dj Sox (Mbusi Sokhela).
[283] Jeffrey Atkins is an African American rapper, and the song is from his 2001 album, *Pain is Love.*
[284] Released in 2007 when Big Nuz signed onto Dj Tira’s Afrotainment record label.
[285] Since July 1897, Greyville racecourse has held a thoroughbred horse race every first Saturday of July and has become synonymous for its annual sartorial themes and couture garments.

building and *amageza*. This is based on what the building holds as a conceived space, and how the buildings latent information can be put into conversation with *amageza ezinsizwa* in the foreground. The chapter unpacked this inferred connection between what The Stevedore represents as a social space and what *amageza ezinsizwa* represent in the foreground. By doing this, I demonstrated that *amageza ezinsizwa* in the foreground with their own shifting masculinities, changing prowess's and social practices were engaged in the same shifts that young men before them, in this very area had engaged in. I demonstrated that this inferred connection is only activated by the fact that the meaning of a space is determined by who is occupying it, and the experiences they bring to the space.

The chapter demonstrated the intricate balance that *amageza ezinsizwa* were being encouraged to strike. Engage modishness and popular culture, whilst being steadfast to the virtues that made him a young urban Zulu man. Virtues, which themselves were undergoing changes as these contemporary Zulu men were being asked to balance being urban, educated, and modish and react to shifting social agencies which underpinned their masculinities, in the same manner that their forebears had (who lived in the then native hostel now revamped and called The Stevedore). The chapter strongly argued that it was not possible for them to react in a similar fashion as their forebears, as their circumstances were drastically different. For young contemporary urban Zulu men, *eThekwini* was their home, and they were not in a sojourn relationship with *eThekwini*. They had no pressure to establish and head homesteads, where their Zulu patriarchal power would be drawn from. *Amageza ezinsizwa* unashamedly made themselves their prime priority.

Chapter five titled, ***Kusayilo igeza lensizwa naleli?*** focused on the editorial decisions of what made *igeza lensizwa* and the practice of reading the style narratives of the photographed young men. The chapter thought alongside Barthes' (2013) two-prong definition of dandyism, being comprised a young mans ethos and techniques, to develop the concept of *igeza lensizwa*. The accompanying captions were analysed to identify isiZulu descriptors, which were then verified with the editorial team, to determine their dispositional qualities. The chapter intricately contextualised Barthes ethos into a Zulu context and demonstrated that in the context of *igeza lensizwa, ukuzithemba* (self-confidence) and *ukuzizwa* (self-regard) were the dispositions that undergirded the young men's style narrative. These dispositional terms made it

possible for these young, urban black men to configure transgressive masculinities which were made-up of social and gender practices that *amageza* were proud of enacting. These were transgressive because young men that embody dominant Zulu masculinities, and those that are complicit to these, fear stepping out of the standard configuration of gender and social practices, as masculinities are "demonstrated for other men's approval" (Kimmel 1994: 214 & Connell 2005a).

Chapter five demonstrated that *amageza ezinsizwa* did not reject dominant Zulu masculinities, as they still valorised being *amasoka* [young men popular amongst girls] and the practices of *ukucupha isisoka* [techniques to woo women into being lovers], and having prowess's to attract women, and the relished acclaim associated with out-going other young men by being showcased in *ILanga le Theku. Amageza ezinsizwa* articulated their masculine gendered identity by configuring different social and gender practices, but these were not radically different from heteronormative Zulu masculinities. Using arguments on transgressive masculinities as articulated by Anderson (2009) and Hall (2015), chapter five built a steady argument that *amageza ezinsizwa* drew on some key characteristics from heteronormative Zulu masculinities such as being *isoka* [being popular amongst women and admired by men for it]. By honing different prowess's to becoming a contemporary *isoka*, *amageza ezinsizwa* were then able to transgress on some masculine social practices such as the disdain against vanity and modishness (Anderson 2009 & Hall 2015).The chapter, through the my own developed queer lens as method, inferred additional looking relations, to demonstrate how the casting call invited young men to introspect and assess if they embodied these dispositions and moreover, if they considered themselves *amasoka.* Having introspected, they were further asked to assess themselves against the week's *igeza lensizwa* in a sparring manner. The casting calling inadvertently asked young men to assess the beauty of *igeza lensizwa,* against their own. This drew young men into the messiness of complexity and the messiness of desire as they were asked to test the limits of homosocial desire and its one-track understanding of attraction, being only interpersonal attraction.

How *igeza lensizwa* posed and stylised himself were the techniques that he employed which were underpinned by his dispositions of *ukuzithemba* and *ukuzizwa*. The chapter argued that these techniques were also style narratives, as style denotes agency in the construction of the self. Carol Tulloch's (2010 & 2016) argument that

styling is a form of autobiography was utilised to bolster my reading of the young men's agency. Young, urban, black men's modishness and stylishness formed new prowess's which were validated by the female persona and her adulating captions. The chapter argued that by acting as a validating platform, the *igeza lensizwa* photographic section invited young urban black men to re-configure their gender and social practices and proudly show what being urban and Zulu meant to them. By doing this, *ILanga le Theku* saw *igeza lensizwa* burgeon to be a young man who had an instinctive regard for himself as set by the two dispositions, moreover, a young man that understood that clothing and style could be utilised to make statements about his own masculinity.

The thesis foregrounded how the multiple representations as foregrounded in project, demonstrated shifts in the constitution of public scripts on Zulu masculinities and their perceived normativity. Therefore, the *igeza lensizwa* photographs and their accompanying captions re-configured representations of urban Zulu masculinities thereby, effecting the construction of "cultural normative knowledge". By examining the intricacies that were involved in the shifting visual representations of *amageza ezinsizwa* in *ILanga le Theku,* the study has contributed to the body of knowledge on discursive masculinities. In its exploration of *igeza lensizwa* as fashioned by *ILanga le Theku,* the project articulated two innovative concepts and one nuanced methodological lens. Firstly, the project articulated a conceptual understanding of *igeza lensizwa* that was undergirded by *ukuzethemba* and *ukuzizwa.* This broadening of the meaning enables the concept to consider aspects of self-understanding and the usage of black dandyism techniques in self-stylisation. Secondly, the project articulated an understanding of thirst-trap that is undergirded by isiZulu verbs that denote lust and desire such as, *ukuheha* and *ukuchaza.* This understanding enables a reading of the subversive techniques that the female voice used to position women as constituting a voice in the configuration of masculinities and importantly, in articulating their desires. Lastly, the project articulates a queer lens to infer two male-on-male spectatorship relations. This is the looking relationship between young male audiences looking at the image of *igeza lensizwa.* And the looking relationship between the male photographers and the young men they street-cast and photograph. This queer methodological lens enables the exploration of the limiting boundaries of

homosocial desire. Moreover, it makes it possible to explore more nuanced forms of desire, which do not necessarily have to be sexual.

I approached the *ILanga le Theku* lifestyle supplement and the *igeza lensizwa* fashion inspired section as sites which grappled with desires in their many iterations. The study ultimately demonstrated that *igeza lensizwa* was not just a handsome young man nearing manhood. *Igeza lensizwa* represented shifting public scripts, as contested by different groups of men and women, of how a young black man should carry himself, as a reflective man that had a sense of self-confidence and self-regard.

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ILanga le Theku cover page. 27 July 2006

Mthoko Ngubane, *igeza lensizwa* and caption*,* 6 February 2006

S'phelele Nala, *uSwahla Lwensizwa* and caption*,* 15 February 2006

Boysie Ngcobo, *igeza lensizwa* and caption*,* 31 May 2006

Taye Diggs, *igeza lensizwa* and caption*,* 27 July 2006

Unknown, *igeza lensizwa* and caption, 10 August 2006

Thabo Mathunyane, *igeza lensizwa* and caption*,* 12 April 2007

Nhlakanipho Mdlalose, *igeza lensizwa* and caption*,* 24 May 2007

Mbongeni Mfekayi, *igeza lensizwa* and caption*,* 5 July 2007

Dumisani Shibase, *igeza lensizwa* and caption, 10 January 2008

Patriq Lukadu, *igeza lensizwa* and caption*,* 24 July 2008

Jesse Ngandu, *igeza lensizwa* and caption, 31 July 2008

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Vuyo Ngwabe, *igeza lensizwa* and caption, 11 December 2008

Unknown, *igeza lensizwa* and caption*,* 1 April 2010

Msawakhe Mantengu, *igeza lensizwa* and caption*,* 8 April 2010

Billy Khambule, *igeza lensizwa* and caption*,* 6 May 2010

Alex Wyne, *igeza lensizwa* and caption*,* 18 November 2010

S’busiso Ndlovu, *igeza lensizwa* and caption*,* 9 December 2010

Unknown, *igeza lensizwa* and caption, *7* April 2011

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Sabelo Khulekani Shongwe, *igeza lensizwa* and caption, 23 August 2012

Kwanda Ngubo, *igeza lensizwa* and caption, 4 October 2012

Mashiya Ngcobo, *igeza lensizwa* and caption*,* 25 October 2012

Mthuthu Ndebele, *igeza lensizwa* and caption*,* 6 December 2012

Nzuzo Miya, *igeza lensizwa* and caption*,* 21 February 2013

Dez Peterson, *igeza lensizwa* and caption*,* 28 February 2013

Appendix 1: Approval of Study

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Mr Simphiwe Blessing Mthokozelwa Ngwane
369 Panorama Rd
No. 25 Accordion Park
Woodwind Estate
The Reeds
Pretoria
0157
Gauteng
South Africa

Student Number: 717988

22 January 2020

CC. Prof Hlonipha Mokoena

Dear Mr Simphiwe Blessing Mthokozelwa Ngwane

DECISION ON RESEARCH PROPOSAL SUBMITTED FOR THE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN AFRICAN LITERATURE

I am pleased to advise you of the decision reached by the reader/readers of the Graduate Studies Committee on your proposal entitled: "***Igeze Knsizwa and black dandgism in iLanga Le Theku.***"

Reader's decision on proposal:

Accepted, but candidate should take note of warnings/ recommendations

I confirm that Prof Hlonipha Mokoena has been appointed as your supervisor.

Please take note of the information on the Criteria for submitting research for examination which is attached and ensure that the Faculty is informed of any changes of address during the year.

Kindly note that all MA and PhD candidates who would like to graduate as soon as possible must ensure that they meet the ETD requirements within six (6) weeks of receipt of the examiners' reports by the supervisor. **A student is required to remain registered in the Faculty until his/her graduation.**

Yours Sincerely

A Mahomed

Asiya Mahomed (Ms)
Faculty Officer
Faculty of Humanities
Private Bag X 3
Wits, 2050

Appendix 2: Approval of Ethics Certificate

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Ngwane

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H20/03/17**
PROJECT TITLE	Igeza Lensizwa and black dandyism in iLanga le Theku
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Mr S Ngwane
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	School of Literature, Language and Media/
DATE CONSIDERED	13 March 2020
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Risk Level: Minimal
EXPIRY DATE	13 April 2023

DATE 14 April 2020 **CHAIRPERSON** _____
(Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Prof H Mokoena and Dr D Mupotsa

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to submit an amendment of the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a regular progress report. For Minimal and Low studies, this is due annually on 31 December. For Medium and High Risk studies, this is due twice annually on 30 June and 31 December.**

_____ _____/_____/_____
Signature **Date**

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

Appendix 3: Informed Consent Form

WiSER
WITS INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Participant Consent Form

Interviewer/Researcher: Simphiwe Ngwane

Title of project: ***Igeza Lensizwa and Black Dandyism in iLanga le Theku***

I....., agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve. I agree to the following:

(Please circle the relevant options below).

I have not been pressured to consent to participate in this research project.	YES	NO
I have fully discussed and understood the purpose and procedures of this study.	YES	NO
I have been given the Participant Information Sheet and the opportunity to ask questions about his study and have received satisfactory answers.	YES	NO
I understand that my participation is free and voluntary and that I am free to withdraw my participation at any time, without penalty or negative consequences or give any reasons.	YES	NO

1

6th Floor Richard Ward Building, East Campus, University of the Witwatersrand, 2050, Johannesburg,
Tel: 011 717 4220

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous.	YES	NO
I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes in his research report.	YES	NO
I agree that the interview may be audio recorded.	YES	NO
I agree that the information I provide may be used after this project has ended, for academic purposes such as book chapters, journalistic articles by the researcher.	YES	NO

I therefore give my consent to participate in this research study.

_____
Interviewee:
Date:



Interviewer: Simphiwe Ngwane
Mobile: 082 515 9156
Date: 25 November 2020

6th Floor Richard Ward Building, East Campus, University of the Witwatersrand, 2050, Johannesburg,
Tel: 011 717 4220

Appendix 4: Participant Information Sheet

WiSER
WITS INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Participant Information Sheet

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Simphiwe Ngwane and I am a PhD candidate at the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research (WiSER) at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am being supervised by Professor Hlonipha Mokoena (WiSER) and Dr Danai Mupotsa (African Literature).

I am conducting research on the weekly supplement published in *Ilanga* with a special focus on the *igeza lensizwa* photographic portraits which were a standard featured in *iLanga Le Theku* newspaper. The title of my PhD project is ***Igeza Lensizwa and Black Dandyism in iLanga le Theku.***

My study intends to explore *igeza lensizwa's* photographic portraits as an example of the production of Zulu masculinities in the post-apartheid period. As part of the research, I am using the term "soft masculinities" to describe the ways in which these photographs borrow from Zulu cultural history. My study intends to shed light on the possibility that "soft Zulu masculinities" are a continuation of the age-old *amabutho* Zulu age-grade system and that through tools of self-fashioning, young Zulu men are articulating what it means to be young, urban, male and Zulu in Durban using the oldest South African isiZulu newspaper, *iLanga* as a medium. In summary, the aim of this research project is to define the *igeza lensizwa* as a Zulu cultural icon that tracks the shifting meaning of youthful Zulu masculinity.

The thesis will employ a multimodal semiotic analysis and an intertextual reading of the photographic portraits of *igeza lensizwa*. Through my selected interpretive modes, the study intends to initially thematise the photographic portraits broadly into three portrait styles, this will be based on poses and fashion styles. A dialogical reading of the photographs will help me read meaning in the intertextual usage of fashion items and the various semiotic items within the frame of the photographs which contribute to the multimodal meaning system which constructs *igeza lensizwa*.

As part of this project, I would like to invite you to take part in an interview. The interview will involve talking about your journalistic background and your role in the

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Johannesburg
Tel: 011 717 4220

editorial team when it came to the selection and production of the *igeza lensizwa* photographic portrait. The interview will be around 45 minutes. With your permission, I would like to also record the interview using a digital device.

Your participation in this study would be greatly appreciated. There will be no personal costs to you if you participate in this project, You will not receive any direct benefits from participation but there are no disadvantages or penalties if you do not choose to participate or if you withdraw from the study. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question if you do not want to.

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research, feel free to contact me on the details listed below. At the completion of my research, I will write and submit a PhD thesis which will be publicly available via the University of Witwatersrand's main library and the Universities online platform Wits WIRedspace (Wits Institutional Repository). The data collected from this research project will be stored in my password access OneDrive and will be kept for the duration of my PhD and three years after that. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrec-medical.researchoffice@wits.ac.za.

Kind Regards,

SBM Ngwane
Researcher: Simphiwe Ngwane

PhD Candidate at the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research (WISER)
Email: 717988@students.wits.ac.za
Mobile: 082 515 9156

Hlonipha M.
Supervisor: Professor Hlonipha Mokoena

Associate Professor at the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research (WiSER)
Email: Hlonipha.Mokoena@wits.ac.za
Tel: 011 717 4223

Danafta
Supervisor: Dr Danai Muptosa

Senior lecturer in the Department of African Literature
Email: Danai.Mupotsa@wits.ac.za
Tel: 011 717 4301

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Tel: 011 717 4220

Should you experience any emotional discomfort due to recall of unpleasant incidences during the interview, please contact:

Life Line on: 031 303 1344

Or alternatively, please contact the South African Depression and Anxiety Group (SADAG) The office is based at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), Howard College Campus, 238 Mazisi Kunene Road, Durban.

Office Cell: 078 278 7047

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Johannesburg
Tel: 011 717 4220

Appendix 5: Interview Guide

Interview Schedule	
Name and Surname:……	**Date:……**
Designation:…….	**Duration of interview:**

1.	Could you tell me about yourself, where you studied, did you study journalism/photography and why journalism?
2.	When did you join *iLanga le Theku?* Did you work for the main newspaper before? Which other publications did you work for? And in which divisions? Are you still with *iLanga?*
3	During your time with *iLanga le Theku* do you recall who formed the editorial team and who did what?
4.	How and why did *iLanga Le Theku* start? Where you around from its inception? Was it a response to reader changes? **[To probe further]**
	When did *iLanga* move from Grayville to the Durban Point Waterfront?
5.	How would you describe an average reader of *iLanga le Theku?*
6.	How did the *igeza lensizwa* portraits start? For what purpose where they introduced?
7.	What was the selection process/criteria for the selection of the week's *igeza lensizwa?*
	Who wrote the captions that accompanied the portraits?
8.	Was there a "proto-type" that guided the process? Did *iLanga* have an ideal version of *igeza lensizwa* that it used as part of the selection criteria?
9.	In your view, what makes "*igeza lensizwa*"? What were your thoughts on the section?
10.	Do you believe that *igeza lensizwa* altered or contributed towards ideas of young urban Zulu masculinity? In what why?

11.	Were traditional ideals of Zulu masculinity important in the fashioning of *igeza lensizwa?*
12.	Who do you think were the “audience” for the *igeza lensizwa* portraits?
13.	Did you ever get any feedback from viewers that disagreed with the paper’s version of “*igeza lensizwa*”?
14.	Who from the editorial team, went out to take the photographic portraits?
15.	Were there any poses that were preferred/agreed upon or did the photographers have creative license in capturing *igeza lensizwa?*
16.	From my analysis there were “three” entry channels: 1) submitted photographs, 2) those taken by the *iLanga* photographer and 3) bought images.
17.	Can you tell me more about the selection criteria for each?
18.	Was *igeza lensizwa* briefed beforehand on the poses, “dress-code”, style or this was entirely up to them?
	On average, how many entries did you receive for the *igeza lensizwa* section?
19.	Did the editorial team, ever disagree on the week’s selection? If, so, can you share some instances where differing viewpoints clashed and how was the final selection made?
20.	I have noticed that some weeks, African American male models are used as the weeks *igeza lensizwa,* why was this the case? Was their inclusion due to the fact that there were no entries for that week’s *igeza lensizwa*? Who made the selection of the African American male model and do you recall the criteria used in the selection?
21.	Why did the *igeza lensizwa* photographic portrait end?
22.	Do you know why the *ubuhle bendalo* section was removed from *iLanga le Theko* supplement and placed in the main *iLanga* and in its place, the *igeza lensizwa* section was introduced?
23.	Besides the weekly entries, did you ever receive any reader comments on the *igeza lensizwa* section and what was the general engagement?

Appendix 6: *ILanga* Permission letter

ILANGA

Tel: 031 334 6700
Fax: 031 337 9821

19 Timeball Boulevard, Point Waterfront, Durban
PO Box 2159, KwaZulu-Natal, Durban 4001
www.ilanganews.co.za

20 May 2020 By E-mail

Dear Mr. Simphiwe Ngwane,

I refer to your application to use material from Ilanga's library as part of your PhD project titled, ***Igeza Lensizwa and Black Dandyism in iLanga le Theku.***

The permission is conditional to you liaising directly with Mrs. Nokukhanya Zibani for all your library data requirements. Additionally, permission is granted for you to approach the editorial team that was involved in the "making" of *igeza lensizwa* section for interview request. Ilanga requires you to submit the draft of interviews with staff before publication.

ILanga requires that you credit the newspaper for the data used for your PhD.

Yours sincerely,

A.J Konigkramer
Managing Director

Directors: Arthur Konigkramer (Managing), Mr. M.Z Khumalo.
REGISTRATION NO. 1987/001221/07
MANDLA-MATLA
ILANGA ILANGA le Theku

