Hypersampling black masculinities, Jozi style

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ABSTRACT

In this article, I examine emergent performances of fashion(able) and fashion(ed) black masculine identities manifest in work by selected young fashion designers and design collectives currently practicing in the urban environs of Johannesburg. These vibrant, dynamic, youth-orientated forms of cultural practice encompass a range of transnational, transhistorical, transcultural, black masculine identities. I contend that such identities are achieved through use of "hypersampling": the remixing, re-appropriating, reintegrating, fusing, conjoining, interfacing and mashing-up of often disparate elements gleaned from a multiplicity of sources to produce new fashion styles.

Many of these practitioners' work can be said to include characteristics of "black dandyism" – appropriations of dandyesque dress and fashionable display as a means of performing black diasporic masculinities. Focusing on the work of two Johannesburg-based design collectives, Khumbula and the Sartists, I show how, through hypersampling strategies, both look back to the past, consuming, hypersampling and re-cycling images from Southern and South African history. Both deploy transhistorical and transcultural referents as a means of subversive resistance: a mechanism through which to negotiate, problematise or disrupt prevailing power relations embedded within them, whilst also operating as a form of creative agency through which to express shifting notions of black masculinities in the context of the African metropolis of Johannesburg.

Keywords: Hypersampling, hyperculture, black masculinities, black dandyism, fashion-dress-style, subversive resistance.

Introduction

Being well-dressed is an axis of meaning for African men. Kopano Ratele (2012:113).

2. The colloquialism "Jozi" is often used to denote the vibrant, dynamic nature of Johannesburg as 'the premier African metropolis' (Mbembe & Nuttall 2008:1). "Jozi" carries connotations of Johannesburg as being characteristic of urban life in post-apartheid South Africa; a polycentric, polyglot, cosmopolitan African city, whose history – 'shaped in the crucible of colonialism and by the labour of race' – permeates the present as a place of cultural intermingling and improvisation. Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nuttall (2008:1) observe that as the epitome of the 'African modern', Johannesburg is a context in which: '"worldliness" constitutes not only the capacity to generate one's own cultural forms, institutions, and lifeways, but also with the ability to foreground, translate, fragment, and disrupt realities and imaginaries originating elsewhere, and in the process place these forms and processes in the service of one's own making'. As such, "Jozi" is particularly pertinent to the work of the practitioners under discussion. The two design collectives whose work I discuss are Johannesburg-based, and their work is embedded within, and suggests new embodiments of, the "African modern" (Mbembe & Nuttall 2008:1).

In this article,[1] I examine emergent performances of fashion(able) and fashion(ed) black masculine identities manifest in work by selected young fashion designers and design collectives (hereafter referred to as "practitioners") currently practicing in the urban environs of Johannesburg (hereafter "Jozi").[2] Working across a range of interdisciplinary genres and media, these practitioners place emphasis on the sartorial as the core component of their work, but extend and develop this component in fashion-; Fine Art- and documentary- photography; fashion-films; music videos; artworks, installations; performances; and in the commercial realm.

These vibrant, dynamic, youth-orientated forms of practice encompass a range of emergent transnational, transhistorical, transcultural black masculine identities. I contend that these identities are achieved through use of what may be termed "hypersampling": the remixing, re-appropriating, reintegrating, fusing, conjoining, interfacing and mashing-up of often disparate elements gleaned from a multiplicity of sources to produce new fashion-styles.[3] Hypersampling may be related to a form of eclecticism in fashion that expands into a 'super-sampling' of styles and signifiers (see Theunissen 2005:19) particular to hyperculture – a fluid, increasingly complex culture where boundaries and spatial proximities lose significance owing to the predominance of digital technologies such as the Internet (Hunter 2013). Given their immersion in this multidimensional digital realm, and the seemingly endless accessibility it offers, the terms "hyperculture" and "hypersampling" are particularly pertinent to work by young Jozi-based practitioners forming part of the so-called Generation Z.[4]

My exploration is set against the backdrop of a recent surge in internationally based research[5] around the historical figure of the black dandy,[6] and identification of black dandyism as a contemporary diasporic fashion phenomenon (Lewis 2014). Shantrelle Lewis (2014) defines what she calls the 'Black Dandyism movement' as primarily, but not exclusively, African, African-American and British-based appropriations of fashionable dress and display as a means of performing diasporic black masculinities. Comprising individuals such as Ghanaian-born Savile-Row designer Ozwald Baoteng, New-York city-based Shayne Oliver (Hood by Air) and Parisian Olivier Rousteing (House of Balmain); design collectives such as the Bronx-based duo, Street Etiquette (Travis Gumps and Joshua Kissi); the London-based team Art Comes First (Sam Lambert and Shaka Maidoh), contemporary

3.   According to Susan Kaiser (2012:1), 'Fashion is also about producing clothes and appearances, working through ideas, negotiating subject positions (e.g., gender, ethnicity, class), and navigating through power positions. It involves mixing, borrowing, belonging, and changing. It is a complex process that entangles multiple perspectives and approaches'. "Dress" is a more neutral term used in global fashion theory to describe the traditional, symbolic, or functional use of clothing (Kaiser 2012:7). "Style" refers to the actual items of dress and the ways that they are combined and worn to create identity and difference. Carol Tulloch (2010:276) considers style as a form of agency 'in the construction of self through the assemblage of garments, accessories, and beauty regimes that may, or may not, be "in fashion" at the time of use'. Tulloch (2010:274) proposes the *articulation* of 'style-fashion-dress' as a complex system that can be broken down into part- and whole- relations between the parts (individual terms) and the wholes (the system that connects them). The larger articulation of style-fashion-dress locates style in the context of fashion: a social process in which style narratives are collectively 'in flux with time' (Riello & McNeil cited in Kaiser 2012:7). Following Tulloch, I use the term "fashion-style" to denote articulations of the fashion-dress-style system.

4.   Exact dates of when the millennial generation (Gen Y) end and Generation Z begins vary. Some sources (see for instance, Schroer [sa]) claim that Generation Z starts with those born in the mid-late 1990s to 2012, coming of age between 2013 and 2020.

5.   This research takes the form of exhibitions – *Return of the Rude Boys* (Somerset House, London, 2014); *Dandy Lion: (Re) Articulating Black Masculine Identity* (Columbia College, Chicago, 2015); publications (Miller 2009); conferences – *Black Portraiture{s} II Imagining the Black Body and Restaging Histories* (Florence, 2015); and films *Black Dandy* (Wizman & Lunetta 2015) – that explore black dandyism in a range of historical and contemporary global contexts.

black dandies interpolate global fashion and the black diaspora, mixing the codes of vintage, street fashion and contemporary *haute couture*, to create combinations such as African prints teamed with polka dots and flamboyant coloured fabrics, tailored according to classic lines (Lewis 2014).

Jozi-based sartorial subcultural groups the Sbhujwas[7] and Isikothane;[8] young, street-savvy design collectives the Sartists (Wanda Lephoto and Kabelo Kungwane); Khumbula (Andile Biyana, David Maladimo, Harness Harmese and Bafana Mthembu) (Wizman and Lunetta 2015; Lewis 2014); the Smarteez (Corrigall 2012) as well as individuals such as Dr Pachanga and Jamal Nxedlana, could all be said to include characteristics of black dandyism in their fashion-styles.[9] Some of these practitioners, such as the Sartists and Khmbula, hypersample from the fashion-styles of established South African subcultural groups, specifically the Pantsulas[10] and Swenkas.[11] Both of these subcultural groups in turn were, and remain, influenced by elements of traditional and contemporary popular culture, and combine these with references from the urban environment in which they are located.

As subcultural groups established in the early 1970s, the Pantsulas's and Swenkas's fashion-styles draw on two mid-twentieth-century images of black South African masculine identities: the intertwined figures of the 'perfect gentleman' and the 'streetwise gangster-with-a-heart' (also known as the 'gentleman-gangster') (Goeller (2014b:[sp]). Writers and editors of *The African Drum* magazine, targeting a newly urbanised black male readership in the early 1950s, were particularly instrumental in creating and promoting these two interrelated historical images of black South African masculinities. These figures can be traced to the romanticised representations of the suave, dashing gentleman and glamorous American gangster portrayed in American films of the 1950s (see Fenwick 1996). The associations between gentlemanliness, criminality, black masculinity and fashion-style that they convey play out in interpretations of the American film star as a combination of the gangster and the mysterious, impeccable gentleman (Humphrey Bogart); musician (the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s, American Jazz); entertainer (Frank Sinatra, Fred Astaire); and political activist (Malcolm X, the Black Power movement, Nation of Islam black suits). In *Drum* imagery, signifiers of, and references to, fashion-styles of each of the abovementioned "types" are translated into classic 1950s dress codes, where they are used in ways that slip fluidly between the images of the perfect gentleman and the streetwise gangster-with-a-heart (Goeller 2014b:[sp]).

In my discussion, I show how, in selected works, Khumbula and the Sartists offer contemporary, of these two interrelated historical images. In so doing, they re-fashion these images in ways that subtly resist historical and contemporary

6.   The historical figure of black dandy originated amongst a select group of 'prestige' black slaves in seventeenth-century England who were not used as labour, but acted as companions to their masters and mistresses (Miller 2015). As Miller (2015) notes, they were among the first group of slaves that used fashion as a means by which the agency and subjectivity of black subjects could be imagined and produced. Known for their sartorial ingenuity and often-flamboyant personalities, black dandies complicated perceptions of blackness, particularly black sexuality, through their boundary crossings between hypervisibility and invisibility; luxury and labour.

7.   Emerging in the late 1990s to early 2000s, the Sbhujwa (from the French "*bourgeois*") dance form combines fast footwork with undulating movements of the torso and hips, as well as floor work and postures such as those used in house dance (Goeller 2014a).

8.   The Isikothane subculture originated amongst the youth of Kathlehong and Soweto in the late 1990s to early 2000s. In adopting a dress code comprising imitation Italian designer wear (seasonal fashions characterised by flashy colours and vibrant, floral patterns, sporting "Italianate" labels such as "Sfarzo" and "DMD/Linea Italiana"), the Isikotane present a conflation of masculinity, fashion and luxury. Set against the backdrop of capitalism and neo-liberalism, they flaunt conspicuous consumption through provocative behaviours: bragging in street-battles to show who has the most clothes; spoiling expensive alcohol, clothes and foodstuffs, and burning money (Goeller 2014c:[sp]).

9.   Ariel Wizman and Laurent Lunetta (2015) identify the Sartists and Khumbula as being proponents of contemporary black dandyism. Kabelo Kungwane (2015), however, clarifies that the Sartists do not consider themselves as part of a contemporary black dandy movement, and do not see their work as fitting under the rubric of "black dandyism", but rather that, for them, reading their work in terms of black dandyism is only one possible way amongst many, of approaching their practice.

hegemonic and/or normative constructions of South African black masculinities. Both historical figures themselves challenge hetero-normative representations of black masculinities: the perfect gentleman subverts depictions of the black male as poverty-stricken, uncouth, inferior, backward and disempowered, whilst also countering stereotypical associations between black masculinity and criminality.[12] While the gangster-with-a-heart works to bolster associations between the black man and crime, in the context of 1950s South African townships and as portrayed in *Drum*, he also takes on the status of an anti-hero; a figure to be admired, respected, and aspired to for his conspicuously displayed wealth, power and status. Khumbula and the Sartists hypersample from these already subversive tropes of historical South African black masculinities, foregrounding the attributes of the perfect gentleman and playing down the glammed-up styles of the gangster-hero. Thereby, they subtly undermine certain stereotypes associated with urban black masculinities: historically, the black man as "*tsotsi*", "*skelem*" (see footnote 12), gangster, or thug; and in the contemporary context of Jozi, as a dangerous element with a predisposition towards violent crime.

Khumbula and the Sartists's re-fashionings of these historical identities may therefore be considered as forms of what Deborah Willis (2003) calls 'subversive resistance' – a term she uses to describe strategies used by black people to produce visual images that counter dominant meanings or stereotypes. Its impact often comes through nuanced presentation of one's self, history and community that denote forms of unsettling, disrupting, dislodging and troubling hegemonic and/or normative codes, as opposed to overt representations of active protest such rebellion, transgression or defiance. Subversive resistance can also operate as a form of creative agency; a means of negotiating and articulating shifting notions of black identities in relation to particular temporal, geographic, socio-economic, political contexts.

The perfect gentleman/streetwise gangster-with-a-heart

FIGURE **Nº 1**

Jürgen Schadeberg, *Drum* character, 1954. Gelatin silver print, 36 x 36 cm

Courtesy Jürgen and Claudia Schadeberg, The Schadeberg Collection.

10.   Pantsula is a sub-culture that incorporates political consciousness, lifestyle, language, dress code, music and dance. It is rooted in apartheid township culture, specifically the street and *shebeen* (informal pub) cultures where it developed. Pantsula is influenced by the music (American jazz) and dance traditions from the Sophiatown-era (Marabi, Koffifi); fashion style (men's fashion portrayed in 1950s American gangster films and on jazz record covers); and the structural organisation of American gangster culture (street battles and competitions) (Goeller 2014a:[sp]).

11.   Swenking is as a cultural practice performed by Zulu men from Kwa-Zulu Natal living as migrant workers in the hostels in Johannesburg and surrounding areas. The practice involves a competition underpinned by emphasis on fashion style, deportment and good manners, which, when combined, determine the 'perfect gentleman' (Goeller 2014b:[sp]).

In a South African context, the intertwined figures of the perfect gentleman/gangster-with-a-heart derive from portrayals of the charming, sophisticated urban gentleman (actor, musician, political activist) and flashy American gangster portrayed in American films of the 1950s (Fenwick 1996; Goeller 2014b:[sp]). American gangster films provided a new source of identity for black South Africans who had

moved from rural to urban areas like Sophiatown in search of work. Mac Fenwick (1996) notes that:

> As a part of their wider project of resisting tribalisation and the credo of separate development, the writers at *Drum* took this already subversive element of American culture and appropriated it to black South Africa. They were thus able to create a figure who was an economic rebel at home in, and defined by, his black urban context. This appropriation in turn allowed them … to elaborate in their own society a subject-position that was both attractive to non-intellectuals, and congruent with the cultural and artistic aspirations of those more highly-educated urban writers who were trying to create for themselves a 'truly' black South African identity.

Lindsay Clowes (2001) explains how, in the 1950s, *Drum* writers and editors often explicitly draw links between these new urban African masculinities, social success, economic prosperity and "progress" (as defined within the framework of western modernity). The westernised suit is pivotal to this image of modern urban African masculinity. Set in a hierarchically privileged position in relation to the traditional/ rural, in *Drum*, the suit is a visual marker of western-defined socio-economic success, and identifies its wearer as a modern, urbane gentleman (Clowes 2001:11) (Figure 1). *Drum* writers promote the suit as such by deeming men wearing them to be 'smartly dressed' or 'immaculately attired', and proffering these images 'as manly and attractive role models for urban audiences' (Clowes 2001:11). Advertisements reinforce these "progressive" links between urbanisation, westernisation, and modernisation: men without "appropriate" education are represented as "backward": shoeless and shirtless, often carrying buckets, and accompanied by cows, 'whereas those that took advantage of the opportunities to "modernise" themselves were pictured sporting smart western suits, shirts and ties, ready to become the breadwinners of the modern western society located in the towns' (Clowes 2001:15).

The suit therefore held powerful currency for those African men who wanted to locate themselves within the context of urban western modernity. A similar embrace of modernity can be traced to the westernised dress, manners, self-conceptions and forms of self-representation adopted by the Christian mission-school educated black intelligentsia of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Southern Africa. These colonial Natal mission-schools educated what Hlonipha Mokoena (2012) calls 'Renaissance people' – historians, literati, publishers and politicians such as Isaac William Wauchope (1852-1917), Sol Plaatjie (1876-1932), John Tengo Jabavu (1859-1921) and Magema Fuse (1840-c.1922) – an elite class of modern-identified black Southern/South Africans who saw themselves as equal to their

12. Associations between the black male and criminality can be traced throughout global history. In a pre-apartheid South African context, it takes on various manifestations, such as township gangsters that can be traced to the 1930 called the "clevers", followed by the "*tsotsis*", who emerged in the 1940s (Glaser 2000:108). 'Clevers' were streetwise city slickers who asserted an urbanness that defined insiders and outsiders according to dress, language and style codes. The antithesis to the clever was the "*moegoe*" (country bumpkin). The *tsotsi* style was initially a "sub-clever" style in the 1940s, but eventually became almost synonymous with the "clever" by the 1950s. The term *tsotsi* gradually developed a much clearer criminal connotation over time (Glaser 2000:108). Early renditions of Pansula fashion-dress-styles drew sartorial connections with both 1950s American gangsterism and the South-African figure of the gangster-hero. These connections contributed to the associations between the Pantsulas and the "*tsotsi*" or "*skelm*" – South African colloquialisms that, while denoting "criminal" and "thief" respectively, also refer to the emblematic figures of the 'pantsulas', or 'bad boys' of Sophiatown in the 1950s (Nuttall 2009:117). Contemporary Pantsula fashion styles have shifted to incorporate lighter, less expensive items, with the "*spoti*" – a cotton cloth cap worn in place of the Fedora hat – and the more flexible Converse "Chucks" All Star sneakers replacing high quality leather shoes (Goeller 2014c:[sp]). However, while the Pantsulas initially wore Converse All Stars as a play on African-American urban "gangsta" fashions, they ironically reiterate the subculture's sartorial connections with both 1950s American gangsterism and the hip-hop "gangsta" fashion-styles of the mid-to late 1990s.

white counterparts (see Nyamende 2013). These first generation converts made the transition from oral to literate cultures, the homestead to the mission and from being "native informants" to what was known as "Kholwa" intellectuals (Mokoena 2012). The amaKholwa used not only the instruments of cultural imperialism (petitions, letters, books, newspapers), but also its dress-style as a means of resistance to subjugation and conquest. In the context of the dialectic between modernity and traditionalism underscoring colonialist discourse, the amaKholwa's adoption of the westernised suit and its accessories played a pivotal role as 'that [which] refused the dichotomy between [indigenous African] adornment and clothing' and 'produced new kinds of identities, classes, genders and persons' (Mokoena 2012).

The amaKholwa thus set a trend for the emergence of a form of African dandyism associated with the black intelligentsia, political activism and gentlemanly refinement. It is from this elite that the educated *Drum* writers, who were trying to create a 'black South African identity', emerged (Fenwick 1996). Connections between the westernised, educated, urban gentleman, social success, economic prosperity and identification with "progress" – promoted and conveyed through the signifier of the suit – took on varying dimensions with the rise in popularity of the gangster figure in *Drum* from the early 1950s to 1960s (see Fenwick 1996) (Figure 2). The South African figure of the black gangster of the mid-twentieth century reverses stereotypical representations of the migrant rural black protagonist as poverty-stricken and powerless in the city; he is represented as an urban survivor who is able to achieve a material and social standard of living usually denied to blacks under apartheid (Fenwick 1996). While his clothing (typically, three-piece suits, combined with a dusk-coat, two-tone or plain Italian leather shoes and Fedora hats (Goeller 2014b:[sp])) and the labels he wears are similar to those of his American counterparts, he differs in that he is not considered to be an anti-social criminal element, but rather, an anti-hero: 'an extreme character living on the societal fringe ... [who] learns to shift the moral codes by which he lives' (Lütge 2011:13-14).

Drum reiterates this image of the Sophiatown gangster – said to have a "heart-of gold" or called an "African Robin hood" because they sold goods stolen from white men at low prices in the townships – by running regular features on urban crime, wherein the gangster's adoption of western-style clothing is valorised. Sophiatown gangs such as the snazzily dressed Americans who wore "expensive Yankee wear" – including cardigans, brown and white two-tone brogues and narrow blue trousers called "Bogarts" – often appear in the fiction and journalism sections, where they are portrayed as admirable characters to be aspired to and respected for their ability to outwit the apartheid system, and ways in which they took advantage of the city highlife (Clowes 2001:11). Although writers in the early
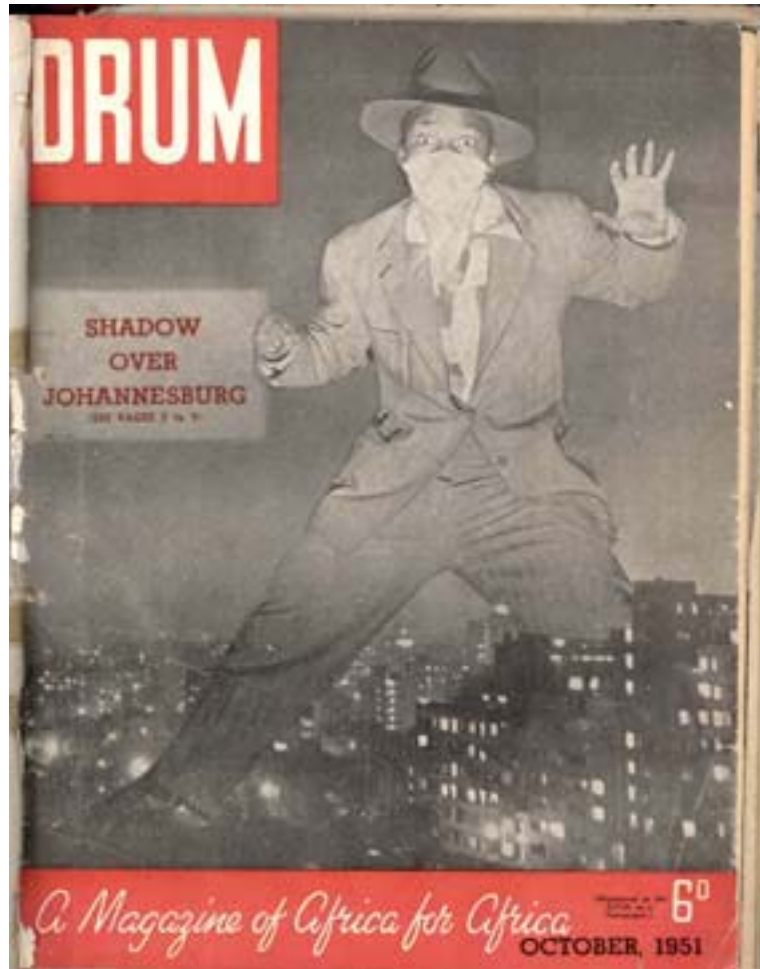
FIGURE **Nº 2**   ‹

Jürgen Schadeberg, *Drum* cover, October 1951. Gelatin silver print, 36 x 36 cm

Courtesy Jürgen and Claudia Schadeberg, The Schadeberg Collection.

1950s warned that crime should be avoided, they also increasingly highlighted the 'excitement and adventure' of a gangster's life (Fenwick 1996): *Drum's* gangster-heroes are portrayed as frequenting or running shebeens, driving flashy 1950s cars, and dressing in exclusively styled, imported American and English clothing. In Blake Modisane's (1963:52) words,

> the boys were expensively dressed … "Jewished" in their phraseology … Shoes from America – Florsheims, Winthrops, Bostonians, Saxone and Mansfield from London; BVD's; Van Heusen, Arrow shirts; suits from Simpsons, Hector Powe, Robert Hall; Dobbs, Woodrow, Borsolino hats. The label was the thing.

The gangsters' lifestyle and its accessories served to highlight their wealth, power and status in the township, and, notably, their sexual prowess. As Clive Glaser (2000:135) observes, in *Drum* articles, sexual conquest is frequently used as a sign of the gangster-figure's masculinity, virility and machismo. In *Drum's* iconographic framework, the figures of the perfect gentleman and gangster-hero are thus intermeshed through their fashion-style. On the one hand, the suit represents the detribalised, sophisticated, economically successful, educated, modern urbane man-about-town; on the other hand, this image is extended to convey a glamorous version of hyper-masculinity that revolves around violence, criminality, virility, wealth, power and status.

The black dandy as "African trickster"

The historical South African figures of the amaKholwa, the newly urbanised black male and the gangster-hero of the 1950s, may be likened to Lewis's (2015) definition of the contemporary black dandy as:

> A self-fashioned gentleman who intentionally appropriates classical European fashion with an African Diasporan aesthetic and sensibilities … a modern day representation of the African trickster. … In styling himself, particularly in dress mostly associated with a particular class, station in life, education and social status of another race, as trickster the African Diasporic dandy cleverly manipulates clothing and attitude to exert his agency rather than succumb to the limited ideals placed on him by society.

In considering the contemporary black dandy as an 'African Trickster', Lewis (2014) challenges colonial and post-colonial readings of black dandyism, wherein it is often dismissed as a 'mere imitation of whiteness', as well as the negative connotations of foppishness and decadence that the term "dandy", when used to describe his white historical counterpart, carries.[13] Monica Miller (2009) adopts a similar view, reading black dandyism as a 'self-conscious strategy of performance designed to draw attention to the social, cultural, political and occasionally legal structures that determine how people identify themselves and recognize others' (Corbould 2012:171-172). Proposing black dandyism to be a 'cosmopolite self-concept', Miller (2009:11, 178) situates the dandyesque mode as a means whereby the subject may propose more fluid identities transcending indexes of race, gender and class:

> A concentration on the dandy's cosmopolitanism establishes the black dandy as a figure with … European and African and American origins, a figure who expresses with his performative body and dress the fact

13. Both the word "dandy" and the style associated with it originate from Victorian Europe, specifically nineteenth-century Britain. Citing the *Oxford English Dictionary* of 1780, Miller (2015) points out that the dandy's look signifies more than excessive attention to personal style; he 'studies above everything else to dress elegantly and fashionably'. The western dandy represents a paradoxical figure: while he embodies "good taste" and sophistication, his predilection for flamboyance and excess makes him a figure of ridicule and absurdity. He defies the prevailing social order by (i) presenting a rejection of Victorian prudishness, propriety, decorum and essentialism of hegemonic masculinity; (ii) transgressing hetero-normative white masculinities through revealing and contesting the limits of "socially acceptable" behaviour prescribed within this paradigm; and (iii) drawing from signifiers of masculinities and femininities, and navigating gender and sexual categories in ways that trivialise them and destabilise their boundaries (Feldman cited in Mintler 2010:124).

that modern identity, in both black and white, is necessarily syncretic, or mulatto, but in a liberating rather than constraining way.

Therefore, as Mary Corrigall (2012:153) notes, by detaching dandyism from its western origins, Miller and Lewis allow the term and the sartorial mode associated with it to be linked to arbiters of style who engage in deliberate acts of reconstructing masculine identities that are relative to negotiations of race, sexuality and class in relation to specific temporal and geographic contexts. Read in this way, contemporary black dandyism may be deployed as a means of subversive resistance: a mechanism through which to negotiate, problematise or disrupt prevailing normative conceptions of black masculinities and the power relations embedded within them, whilst also operating as a form of creative agency through which to express shifting notions of black masculinities in an urban context.

Yet, as Miller (2009) and Lewis (2014) observe, strategies of using dress-fashion-style as a form of protest, subversion and an assertion of agency in (re)defining self/gendered identities and subjectivities, are not particular to contemporary black dandies. For centuries, African diasporic men have used fashion-style as a subversive tool and mechanism for self-expression, and dandyism as a productive strategy of resistance and means by which their agencies and subjectivities could be imagined and produced.[14] Writing on black dandyism as situated within the historical context of American slavery, Miller (2015) argues that it was particularly useful as a strategy of resistance for Africans experiencing the attempted erasure or a reordering of their identities during the periods of the Atlantic slave trade and European colonisation and imperialism. In order to survive the dehumanisation of slavery, Africans arriving in England, America or West Indies had to (self)-fashion new identities; through their manipulation of 'the relationship between clothing, identity and power [which] dandyism affords', 'Africans and later African-Americans and Afro-Europeans [gained] an opportunity to dress their way from slavery to freedom, to restyle given categories of identity, to turn slaves into selves' (Miller 2015).

While dandyism operated as a productive strategy of resistance in the context of Atlantic slavery and European colonisation and Imperialism, within colonial and apartheid era Southern and South Africa, the black dandy is defined according to a legacy of articulations expressing shifting notions of black masculinity, particularly amongst traditional groups such as the amaZulu and amaXhosa.[15] Mokeona (2013) argues that for these groups, black dandyism becomes a way of negotiating masculinities through experimenting with and expressing fusions between the colonial dress and traditionally African sensibilities. For example, the dress-styles of groups such as the amaMfengu (Fingo) interpolate colonial and

14.   Miller (2015) examines various historical and contemporary manifestations of the black dandy. She traces his appearance in American nineteenth-century slave festivals and on the minstrel stage; his portrayal in black American literature; and his role in the Harlem Renaissance of the early twentieth century, where 'new Negroes' resident in an urban area post-emancipation, sought a form of 'modern blackness', characterised by transgression of racial and sexual boundaries (Miller 2015). She continues her investigation by looking at the figure of the contemporary black dandy in Britain, where, starting in the late 1980s, visual artists such as Isaac Julien, Lyle Ashton Harris, Iké Udé, and Yinka Shonibare have taken the legacy of black dandyism as their subject and revived it into a form of 'Afro-cosmopolitanism' (Miller 2015). Miller argues that Afro-cosmopolitanism is evident in the sartorial approaches of certain prominent black hip-hop artists and contemporary proponents of black dandyism in the fashion and art worlds of London, Paris and New York.

15.   Mokoena (2013:2) notes that the "Zulu Dandy" was associated with young Zulu men in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who wore spectacular hairstyles. Other manifestations of the Zulu Dandy take the form of the "Zulu Ricksha" and "Zulu Policeman" as they were represented in colonial tourist postcards and photographs.

traditional garb, mixing the two, as an expression of shifting notions of "Zuluness" and "blackness" in colonial Southern Africa. Caught between colonial society and the ties that bind them to traditional society and culture, their identity is fashioned through the practice of *bricolage* – the cobbling together, in indeterminate and sometimes contradictory ways, of elements from both colonial and indigenous cultures (Mokoena 2013:4).

Parallel to the current international interest in historical and contemporary black dandyism, in global Fashion Studies focus is being placed on masculinities, particularly the study of (western) men's fashion-dress-style, which has been relatively marginalised in relation to women's (see McNeil & Karaminas 2009:1; Reilly & Cosby 2008:xi). In a South African context, fashion 'has proved to be the ideal vehicle for South Africans to redetermine and remap previously fixed racial and national identities in the postapartheid era' (Corrigall 2015:151), as it allows for multiple forms of expression whereby wearers can '(re)-claim and (re)-define new social territory' (Gondola cited in Corrigall 2015:151). Sarah Nuttall (2008:108) identifies the youth culture of the first post-apartheid generation as an example of ways in which the apartheid era's resistance politics is replaced by 'an alternative politics of style and accessorisation, while simultaneously gesturing, in various ways, toward the past'. According to Nuttall (2009:108), 'Y-Culture' – emergent in 2002 and established by 2008 – represents a 'repositioning of the black body' in ways that draw on black American style formations with local re-workings thereof.

Since Nuttall's study in 2009, as part of work being done on the production of masculinities in post-apartheid South Africa (see for instance, Luyt 2012; Moolman 2013), a fledgling body of local research is emerging on fashion-dress-style in relation to the construction of black masculine identities (see for instance, Ratele 2012; Msibi 2012; Viljoen 2012, 2013). As a key contributor to this developing field, Corrigall (2012, 2015:151) draws links between multiple forms of contemporary and historical dandyism and what she calls 'self-styled individuals' in post-apartheid South Africa who 'liv[e] as dandies, embracing the historical concept of dandy as "both artist and living art"' (Fillin-Yeh cited in Corrigall 2015:151). Corrigall (2012:174; 2015:151) discusses how South African performance artist Athi-Patra Ruga's practice evokes the dandyist mode and identifies the Smarteez as an example of a young black South African design collective working under the rubric of black dandyism.

This article is intended to contribute to this nascent body of research, representing a departure point for further exploration into what appears to be a rich, currently under-acknowledged terrain in South African academia. The practitioners whose work is discussed here signal a shift from the Y-Culture generation; while

hypersampling elements from this, they manifest diverse means of leveraging fashion-style that is particular to Generation Z. My argument is based on the premise that these young, emergent practitioners, and their work, are important, yet underexplored, agents of socio-cultural change in contemporary South Africa. The focus on performances of black masculine identities does not discount other forms of identity construction taking place in Jozi through fashion-style. Rather, it is generated through what is identified as an innovative, dynamic, youth-orientated area of creative production currently underway in Jozi's urban environs, and the rich skeins of visual material and theoretical concerns such production presents. The current global interest in black dandyism as well as the international and local scholarly focus on (fashionable) performances of masculine identities indicates a need to explore the topic in local terms, whilst situating this exploration in relation to broader South African, African, black diasporic and global fashion arenas.

Hypersampling and hyperculture

An underpinning thread of connectivity in this predominantly digital creative network of production, dissemination, promotion and consumption, is the strategy of "hypersampling": the remixing, re-appropriating, re-integrating, fusing, conjoining, interfacing and mashing-up of often disparate elements gleaned from a multiplicity of online and offline sources to produce new fashion-styles. Materially, sartorial strategies of hypersampling might involve thrifting; recycling; repurposing and upcycling, as well as the combination of differing design elements, fabrics and/or motifs. Hypersampling goes beyond this, however, in that it is integrally connected to a hypercultural society capable of speed-of-light communication and readily available access to information. I position hypersampling in relation – rather than hierarchically opposed to, or as a linear development of – "sampling"[16] and other terms that denote the "cutting, pasting and combining" of visual elements, images and styles. Ted Polhemus (1994:131) designates sampling as a postmodern phenomenon, operative in what he calls the 'Supermarket of Style', where

> all of history's streetstyles … are lined up as possible options as if they were cans of soup on supermarket shelves ... separate eras are flung together in one stretched, "synchronic" moment in time, all reality is hype and "authenticity" seems out of the question.

Hypersampling incorporates this consumerist, capitalist-driven approach, but extends beyond it; denying progressive linearity, it opens up new ways of conceptualisation and practice in which seemingly limitless options and connections

16. "Sampling" is a practice common to all cultural fields. The term is commonly used in relation to fashion history/theory, Djing, Vjaying and with regard to sub-cultures. Sampling occurs when existing elements are de-contextualised and re-used in combinations that generate new meanings. Dick Hebdige's (1979:102-106) concept of "bricolage", used in the context of subcultures, refers to the decontextualisation of known elements and their re-contextualisation in a new style regime that denotes new meaning. Given its relation to the digital realm, hypersampling differs from postcolonial terminology used to describe processes of cultural contact, fusion, intrusion, disjunction, crossovers and assimilation that occur owing to border crossings by cultures and peoples, and which trigger the forging of new identities. These include terms such as "acculturation" (James Clifford; Paul Gilroy); "hybridity" (Homi K Bhabha); "transculturation" (Nestor García Canclini); "creolisation" (Édouard Glissant); "amalgamation" (Gilberto Freyre); and "entanglement" (Sarah Nuttall).

form nodes within a rhizomic matrix of interconnectivity. Such interconnectedness enables what Doreen Massey (1991:24-29) refers to as 'flow[s] and interconnections' that give rise to new structures of 'power in relation to … movement[s] and relationships between different social groups and individuals'. While it is not only the hypercultural platform *par excellence* where hypersampling strategies are employed, the Internet operates as what Massey (1991) calls a third space of 'in-betweenness' – an apparently horizon-less zone – in which rapid communication and access to information produces an environment of seemingly unlimited possibility. Boundless and boundary-less, the Internet enables what is often perceived as non-hierarchical, non-linear, synchronic and diachronic interchanges across fields such as fashion, dance, music, performance, visual art, entertainment, and commercialisation; continuous processes of reworking, reinventing, reimagining signifiers (semiotic) and styles (visual), and the formation of fluid, ever-emerging identity constructions. In hypercultural societies,

> [e]verything may be used to make something. All culture and history, and all materials. Evidence of this is the remix culture of YouTube videos, the musician Girl Talk, and the re-commodification of history and historical objects by hipster culture. In a hypercultural era, all of history is in the cultural domain, all culture is capable of being processed, wound down, and remixed. … Hyperculture is … a melting system of objects and value where everything blends together. … The ultimate melting pot of thought, image, and existence (cyborganthropology).

While physically located within, and moving between, Jozi's seams (the Central Business District, Daveyton, Soweto, Alexandra, Tembisa), for Generation Z practitioners, this multi-dimensional digital realm plays a pivotal role in their creative processes. Hypersampling may be a conscious act or a subconscious response to the fluctuations of imagery and fashions circulating in social and online media in an already mish-mashed stream of information. Working with the concept of the "infinity wave" – which takes the visual form of the double helix that represents energy turning infinitely turning back on itself (Nxedlana 2015) – and hypersampling from potentially limitless combinations of visual and material signifiers and styles, practitioners work towards creating new fashion products. Their reliance on digital platforms means that the forms of individualised and collective agencies they attempt to establish cannot be divorced from the broader spectrum of consumer, visual, and entertainment culture. Positioned within a hypercultural space, for these "third space kids", platforms such as social media as well as mobile technologies are a vital means of communication, articulation, and dissemination, as they present multiple opportunities for claiming agency over one's self-

representation (Nxedlana 2015). In this digital field, control over one's image and identity is closely linked to self-promotion; the marketing of not only one's products and practice, but of the self as a brand "name". With access to an immediate digital market, their (self)-representations of brand identities are readily available for visual consumption. Picked up on by bloggers, "look-creators" and trend-spotters, the hype of digital technology rapidly increases the potential of creating new trends, and promotion of the self as product, practice and brand.

Hypersampling from the past, practitioners adopt and adapt vintage and retro style referents, remixing them with contemporary design and materials to refashion garments in ways that signify new meanings. Their transhistorical and transcultural hypersampling traverses wide temporal and geographic terrain, spanning, for example, signifiers of, and references to, fashion styles of historical black sartorial figures of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe (the Black Dandy; -Mungo Macaroni); twentieth-century sartorial "types" (the -homeboy; -gangsta of the 'hood; -hipster;- city-slicker; -preppie); colonial Southern African figures such as the amaKholwa; Afrikaans Calvinism and the Voortrekkers; and the apartheid era, specifically fashion styles from the 1950s jazz culture of Sophiatown. They also hypersample from the fashion-styles of the Pantsulas and the Swenkas – some of which are rooted in 1950s Sophiatown fashions (Goeller 2014a) and are drawn from the intertwined figures of the perfect gentleman/gangster with a heart. In the practitioners' works, transhistorical and transcultural referents of referents are digitally mediated, remixed or mashed up with images, sounds and ideas globally circulated on the Internet, as well as elements from popular-, youth-, music-, prison- and cyber- cultures. They also draw on their urban environment, as well as cross-cultural exchanges taking place as a result of cultural migration into South Africa from across the African continent, often fusing global elements with the local to create new "glocal" identities.

In the following section, I demonstrate how some of these complex interwoven transhistorical and transcultural relationships play out in two photographic works by the Sartists and Khumbula respectively. I tease out their hypersampled references to forms of self-styling by the amaKholwa; the figure of the perfect gentleman; as well as the Congolese Sapeurs (*La S.A.P.E*)[17] and the Swenkas. In the Sartists's and Khumbula's works, '"nostalgia mode" is set at full hilt' (Polhemus 1994:131); my emphasis is on how both collectives look back to the past, consuming, hypersampling and re-cycling images from Southern and South African history in ways that denote various forms of subversive resistance. Following Carol Tulloch's (2010:276) observation that style is 'part of the process of self-telling, that is, to expound an aspect of autobiography of oneself through narratives', I show how

they use these transhistorical and transcultural referents and foreground the image of the perfect gentleman to unsettle and dislodge hegemonic and/or normative codes through which stereotypical representations of black masculinities are constructed, and expose the power-relations that are inherent within them.

Hypersampling from the past; imagining the future-present

FIGURE **Nº 3**

Khumbula, *The three stages of preparing tea*, 2014. Digital print

Photographer Harness Hamese. Courtesy of the artists.

In a black and white photograph, titled *The three stages of preparing tea* (Figure 3), Khumbula articulate the attributes of the perfect gentleman through a range of transhistorical references. The image, digitally retouched with muted colour so that it resembles a period hand-tinted photograph, shows three black men donned in tailored gentlemen's three-piece suits referencing classic tailoring styles of the 1950s. One wears a straw Panama hat the other a black woollen beret. Careful attention is paid to period detail: a lapel pin is discreetly attached to one man's jacket; another wears a Scottish tiepin. They are drinking tea out of white china teacups with gold rims, poured from a sliver teapot, while seated at a table on the streets of what could be Soweto. The combination of the ceremonious Anglicised tea drinking ritual and elegant formal attire in which it is undertaken, combined with the period styling and sense of gentility the men assume through their poses is performative, invoking what Ann Hollander (1995:27) calls a complex, interactive and ever-evolving 'visual narrative'.

Khumbula's visual narrative references a trademark of black dandyism: the suit as signifier of respectability and refinement. For international proponents of contemporary black dandyism, such as Art Comes First[18] and Street Etiquette, the suit represents a physical and psychological embodiment of black masculinity (Wizman & Lunetta 2015). Not only does it convey the visual narratives of respectability: self-pride, -confidence, -assurance, elegance, dignity and social standing, but also the concept of refinement: it is a means of visually articulating a sense of moral rigour, self-discipline, gentility, manners, values and codes of conduct.

In deploying the suit as signifier of respectability and refinement, Khumbula appear to hypersample from the Swenkas's and their counterparts, the Sapeurs's practices, wherein the image and attributes of the perfect gentleman are foregrounded. The Sapeurs originated in the early twentieth century during the French colonisation of the Congo. Congolese men who worked for the colonisers, or spent time in France, began adopting French sartorial elegance and aristocratic affect, combining this with a nod to the zoot-suit styles of the 1920 Harlem Renaissance jazz age. The Sapeurs exhibit extravagant enactments of dandyism and gentlemanliness, using flamboyant fashion-styles to assert a form of (hyper)masculinity. Adorned in vividly coloured, impeccably tailored suits, polished leather handcrafted shoes and accessories made from fine silks, all carrying high end labels from top global designers, and performing their ensembles with a distinctive "Afroswagger" (a form of exaggerated nonchalance and panache), they exemplify the word "peacocking". The Swenkas, on the other hand, choose to dandify themselves through less expensive means, whilst similarly performing the practice of sartorial elegance. Like those of the Sapeurs, the Swenkas's performances focus not only

18. Art Comes First draw from the fashion styles of the 1950s Jamaican Rude Boys (*aka* 'Rudie') – young rebels who wore sharply styled Mohair suits, thin ties and pork pie hats.

on the clothing, but the way it is assembled and worn on the body, the wearer's self-image, attitude and bodily movements. Swenking is therefore not just about being elegantly dressed according to the subculture's aesthetics and codes; but rather, an enactment of black dandyism that entails 'portraying, thinking of oneself, acting as, and in all senses of the word, "being", a gentleman'; and embodying the attributes of self-respect, dignity, class and social standing with which he is associated (Goeller 2015). In some respects, the Swenkas's and Sapeurs's form of self-fashioning echo the characteristics of the western 'aesthetic' and 'aesthete' dandy of the seventeenth century (see Mintler 2010). The former is associated with excess, decadence, flamboyance and theatricality; the latter with attributes of gentlemanly refinement, including grooming, deportment, elocution, poise and taste.

'Nurtured by fantasies of the past and paternal values' (Wizman & Lunnetta 2015), Khumbula look back to, and hypersample from, the fashion-styles of their fathers and grandfathers – and by extension, forms of 1950s black urban masculinities portrayed in *Drum* – as well as, perhaps inadvertently, earlier forms of black dandyism such as the *amaKholwa*. In emulating their 'Afro-elegant' (Wizman & Lunnetta 2015) predecessors, it could be said that Khumbula are literally "trying to walk in their fathers' shoes"; to create a form of homage to or commemoration of the ways in which, for them, the suit functioned as a means to represent themselves as embodying the attributes of respectability and refinement. As Harnes Harmese (cited in Wizman & Lunnetta 2015) says: '"*Khumbula*" is the Nguni word for "remember" … I want to remember how it is to [be] an African and loving who I am as an African [*sic*] … I want people to *khumbula* that being black is beautiful'. In foregrounding the attributes of the perfect gentleman and playing down the more glammed-up styles of the gangster-hero, they also subtly undermine certain stereotypes associated with urban black masculinity and criminality.

While Khumbula foregrounds the perfect gentleman through overt reference to the suit as a signifier of respectability and refinement, the Sartists take this historical figure into a differently nuanced terrain. Denying any associations between black masculinity and criminality, they use satire to foreground an image of the perfect gentleman that, like Khumbula's rendition, also subverts stereotypes of black men as inferior, poverty-stricken and unintelligent, albeit in a different way. This is evident in their depiction of themselves as the "Tennis Boys" (Figure 4), a black and white photograph in which they are seated on an Edwardian-style park bench, in what appears to be an urban setting. Their frontal poses and direct gaze into the camera lens is reminiscent of group portraits of colonial tennis players in the Edwardian era.

FIGURE **Nº 4**   ‹

Andile Buka, *The Sartists, Untitled III, from the Sartists' Sports project, Part 1, The Tennis Boys*, 2014. Digital print

Courtesy of Andile Buka.

With their apparently effortless sense of style and relaxed poses, they exude confidence, even nonchalance: one crosses his arms and rests his leg on his thigh with a self-assured look on his face, another displays what appears to be a friendly attitude towards the viewer, while the central figure looks straight into the lens with a slight smile; a tennis racket is propped between his legs as he steadies a tennis ball under his polished shoe. The pristine whites of their pants, shirts, blazers, socks, and V-necked jerseys; wide-brimmed spectacles, sports caps, boater hat and brogues not only gesture towards tennis as a pastime of the "leisured class" in British colonies, but also suggest that they may be Oxbridge graduates, or members of a quintessentially black Ivy League.

In this image, the Sartists hypersample from a range of contemporary and transhistorical sources. They explain that their rendition of themselves as "tennis boys" is inspired

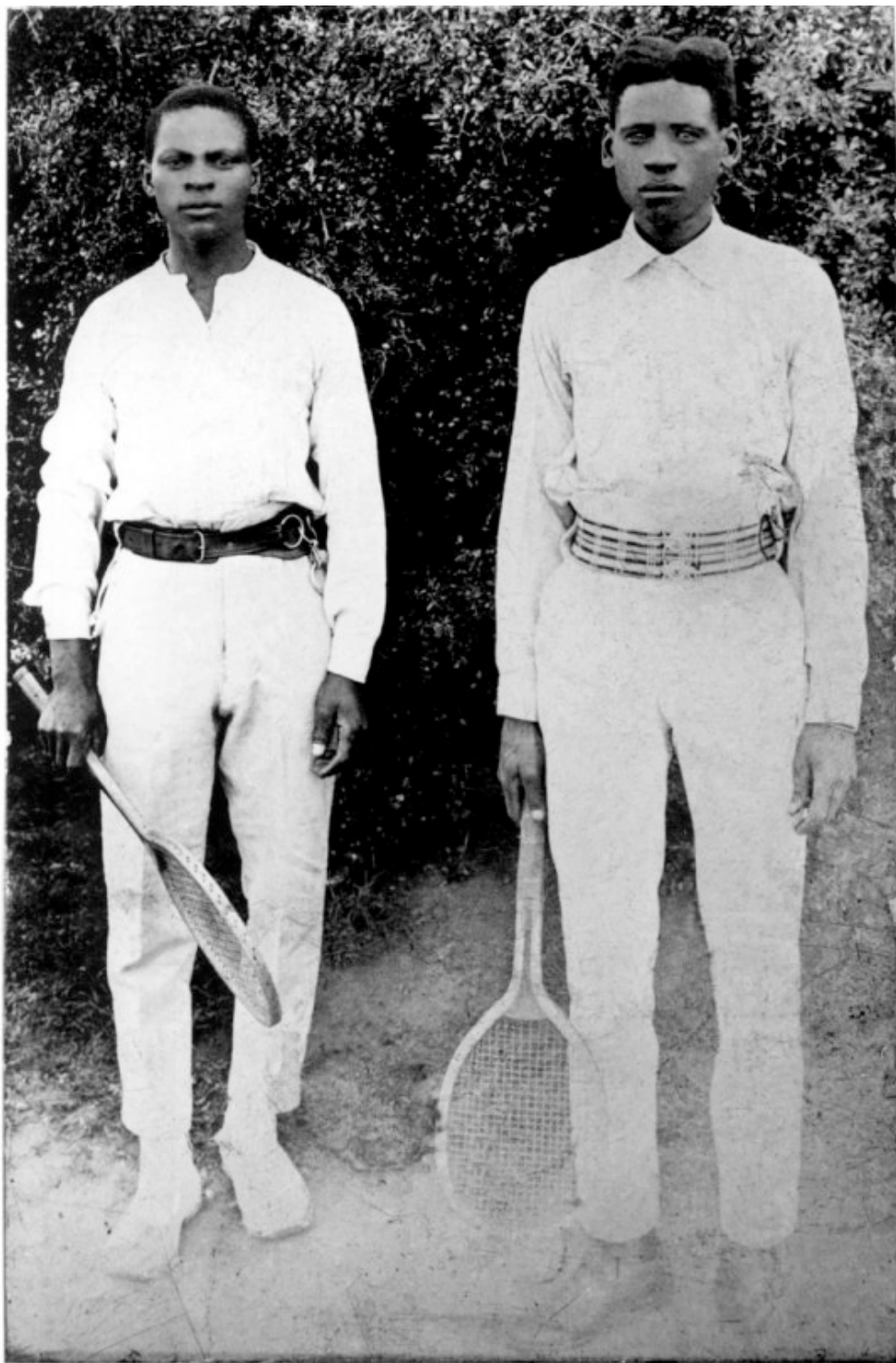FIGURE **Nº 5**   ‹

Santu Mofokeng 1977. *Black Photo Album/Look at Me: 1890-1950. Moeti and Lazarus Fume*, 1920. Silver bromide print

Photographer unknown. Courtesy of MAKER.

by Street Etiquette's preppie *Black Ivy* clothing range, which thumbs its nose at the prestigious, but not necessarily egalitarian American Ivy League universities, and their historical affiliations with "academic prestige", racialised, class-based and gendered elitism and "old money" (the Sartists cited in Wizman & Lunetta 2015). Through their black varsity chic look, Street Etiquette thus advocates a form of subversive resistance by challenging clichéd representations of African-American black masculinities as gangstas of the hood.

In referencing the *Black Ivy* range, the Sartists also point to the "ivies" – a male subcultural style popular in Soweto during the 1960s and 1970s whose name derives from the exclusive American "Ivy League" image that was transmitted to urban Africans via films and magazines (Glaser 2000:107). In contrast to their counterparts, the "clevers" – originally a township gang of the 1930s – ivies were non-criminals and shied away from violence; they tended to be employed or better-off youths. Whereas the clevers modelled themselves on American gangster and hustler imagery, the "ivy" style was 'clean and dandyish, even prissy' (Glaser 2000:108). Strongly influenced by elite American fashion, the ivies saw themselves as classier than the clevers, whereas the clevers, with their urban machismo, generally regarded ivies as "good boys" or "sissies" (Glaser 2000:108).

Another source the Sartists hypersample from is the Edwardian photograph of *Moeti and Lazarus Fume* (1920) (Figure 5) – the first reference of black people wearing tennis clothes in South Africa – included in Santu Mofokeng's artwork titled *The Black Photo Album/Look at Me:1890-1950*. Although the Sartists's image of *The Tennis Boys and Moeti and Lazarus Fume* speak of shifting performances of masculinity from a pre-apartheid to a post-apartheid context, both images may be considered as examples of subversive resistance, albeit in different ways. *Moeti and Lazarus Fume* forms part of the collection of family studio portraits of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century South Africans that portray the modern self-representation of urban black African subjects. These images convey a sense of black pride and agency in an era when the South African state archives functioned as instruments of power over black Africans, classifying them according to racial typologies based on pseudoscientific race theories drawn from tenets of social Darwinism. They visualise a different history of the colonial and Edwardian eras by foregrounding a group of subjects who commissioned and posed for their own portraits, thereby taking ownership over their self-representation, visualising themselves as successful, dignified, proud individuals.

Yet, despite this adoption of agency in their self-representation, *Moeti and Lazarus Fume* assume stiff, formal stances; their bodies are both still and 'still', as they

stare beyond the picture frame with expressionless faces. It is likely that their rigidly upright positions were confined by the slow film stock of the time, which necessitates that poses and eye focus be held for long periods to avoid blurring, as well as by formalised Victorian and Edwardian studio portraiture conventions. However, their dispositions also suggest a sense of physical and psychological dis-ease, both in front of the camera and in the sports clothes that they wear. Their dis-ease within the picture frame is actual and metaphoric; like the African dandy, it is possible that they attempted to style themselves by using clothing to assert agency over their self-representation and deny the limitations placed on them by their societal context, yet, they appear to remain trapped within the image and the limitations of their lives within the colonial context in which it was taken. In this sense, the image emerges from the private realm to form a community of people linked by a history of oppression.

This sense of dis-ease captured in the colonial image stands in sharp contrast to the ease with which the Sartists's assume and assert their agency in their revision of the past, and through the subtle form of satire that they employ in "performing" their clothing. Their overt assertion of agency over their self-representation might be read as a form of subversive resistance to their grandparents' experiences of invisibility or erasure under colonialism. It could also be read as an assertion of themselves into the past from within the present; they claim their history in a Southern and South African context with a sense of ownership and pride. In so doing, as black subjects, they assert a form of creative agency, placing themselves in history, but, crucially, it is from their positions as Jozi-based, Generation Z "third space kids".

For the Sartists, referencing South Africa's troubled colonial history is therefore not an unproblematised, nostalgic looking back to a romanticised past, but rather, part of Tulloch's (2010:276) process of 'self-telling': an expounding of autobiographic aspects through visual narratives: as they put it: 'We want to reference styles before apartheid because there are beautiful stories that are not told … about the black people that lived in those times' (the Sartists cited in Wizman & Lunetta 2015). As in Khumula's work, their fashion vignettes are an expression of pride in their heritage; created in homage to their grandparents' struggles, the Sartists locate and reproduce the beauty and fragility of those communities, and portray their lived experiences in ways that convey a sense of dignity and respect.

Conclusion

Lewis (2014) observes that global contemporary sartorial groups such as Art Comes First and Street Etiquette have 'mastered the art of protesting with style, using the dandy's signature tools – clothing, gesture, and wit – to break down limiting identity markers'. This is also applicable to the ways in which Khumbula and the Sartists deploy hypersampling as a means though which to refashion black masculine identities in ways that subtly interfere with, disrupt, transgress, satirise or problematise hetero-normative, stereotypical images of historical and contemporary black masculinities.

Within a South African context, the black dandy can be defined according to a legacy of articulations expressing shifting notions of black masculinity amongst traditional groups such as the amaZulu and amaXhosa, as well as the amaKholwa during the colonial period. Mid-century tropes of the perfect gentleman/gangster-with-a-heart are a continuation of this legacy, which in turn becomes a productive source that Khumbula and the Sartists hypersample from and use as a tool to disrupt hetero-normativity and express new forms of subversive resistance, based on a commemorative return to the past. In redefining themselves in relation to the past, they operate in an infinity wave of past and present that points to an imagined future. Rewinding and fast-forwarding from their positions in the present, working within the urban context of an ever-changing Jozi cityscape, scaffolded by consumerist, marketing and digital technologies, and fed on sound-bytes of apartheid and colonial Southern and South African histories, these young practitioners use hypersampling as a means to articulate expressions of new forms of agency. Fashion-style becomes a signifier for tensions between expressions of personal and collective identities, and the re-fashioning of contemporary black South African masculinities in transition.

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