

**Media Representations of Male Perpetrators of Violence against
Women and Children: A Decolonial Feminist Analysis**



**UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE**

Baleseng F. Maeneche

Student number: 4264399

**A mini thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in
Arts in the Women and Gender Studies department, University of the Western Cape.**

2023

Supervisor: Professor Tamara Shefer

DECLARATION

I declare that the mini-dissertation **Media Representations of Male Perpetrators of Violence against Women and Children: A Decolonial Feminist Analysis** is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university and, that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Name: Baleseng Faith Maenche

Signed:



Date: 18 July 2023



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To Tammy, my supervisor; words could never be enough. Rea leboha.

To my daughter, Mosa; you remain a constant source of joy, light and love. I am so blessed.

To my mother and my family; thank you for your unwavering support.

To the Department of Women's and Gender Studies; I have found a home in you. Le kamoso.

To my friends, Rasta (not really MY friend), Siphokazi, Mase, Alexis, Siviwe, Mamello; everyone deserves friends like you.

This journey could have never been actualised without so many who have and have not been mentioned here, it took a village. I will forever be grateful for every word of encouragement, every prayer and every "I believe in you" that I've been gifted in the past two years.

DEDICATION

“Bale, trust what you feel to be what you know.” – Karen Haire

Thank you for your teachings.

You will forever live through us.



For Professor Karen Haire who has joined my grandmother, Moliehi Maeneche. You were and continue to be sources of inspiration.

ABSTRACT

Rates of violence in South Africa continue to be on the rise, and impact negatively on society at large. The struggle to end this violence requires more nuanced understandings of its root causes, which has led to a call for a more holistic and collaborative approach to bring more effective and sustained change. Therefore, public and private institutions together have begun to seek more transformative approaches to this social injustice. Here, the emphasis is on media, as an important institution of social discourse, and a possible vehicle for awareness and consciousness. However, contemporary narratives within mainstream media reports on incidences of violence in society seem to be undermining efforts for social justice. Previous studies have argued that this is because media is a reflection of the society it operates in, often reproducing and legitimating problematic notions and representations of violence, instead of challenging them.

In terms of gender-based violence (GBV) in South Africa, it is argued that the media reinforces problematic structures of inequality that make the crisis more ambiguous. The core of this violence remains unscrutinised in social discourse and thus, problematic media representations may act as a barrier to transformative discourse and further undermine actions that could lead to the effective alleviation of this violence. When discussing the perpetration of GBV, there has been some focus on the representations of victims of this violence, which scholars have argued tends to reflect existing gendered, classed and raced othering discourses. However, there has been little focus on how male perpetrators are represented in the media, and to what extent this representation may reinforce or challenge dominant representations of men and masculinity. Scholars have highlighted a continued racist, classist othering of Black men and boys in the research literature; however, research on media representation in this respect is relatively lacking, particularly in contemporary contexts.

Therefore, this study asks the overarching question: How are male perpetrators represented in newspaper articles about GBV against women and children (GBVAWC), and what might a decolonial African feminist lens, that foregrounds the complex intersections of coloniality, race, class and gender, bring to such an analysis? As an attempt to diagnose the aforementioned claims, this study undertook a thematic and critical discourse analysis of newspaper reports of two relatively recent South African examples of GBVAWC by male perpetrators: the Joe Slovo informal settlement father (2018) and the Dros rape case (2018).

Through the deployment of decolonial feminist theory, the study found that colonial systems of gender, race and class underpin news representations of male-perpetrated GBVAWC. This analysis highlights the racist, classist and gendered lens that dominates in popular representations of male violence. It further illustrates how such representations rely on an erasure of the structural violences enacted through systems of oppression and the institutions thereof, and thus constructs a discursive representation of poor, Black men at the centre of the pervasive perpetration of GBVAWC. As a result, such men become ‘beasts of the nation’.

Key words: Coloniality; gender-based violence (GBV); gender-based violence against women and children (GBVAWC); news and media; representations; men and masculinities; decolonial feminism

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----|
| DECLARATION | i |
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS | ii |
| DEDICATION | iii |
| ABSTRACT..... | iv |
| CONTENTS..... | vi |
| CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION..... | 1 |
| 1.1 Introduction | 1 |
| 1.2 Problem Statement | 2 |
| 1.3 Rationale..... | 4 |
| 1.4 Study Aim and Objectives..... | 6 |
| 1.5 Research Questions | 6 |
| 1.6 Structure of the Report | 7 |
| CHAPTER TWO: DECOLONIAL FEMINIST VIEWS ON REPRESENTATIONS OF MALE VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA | 9 |
| 2.1 Introduction | 9 |
| 2.2 Literature Review | 9 |
| 1. Discourse on Violence in South Africa | 10 |
| 2. Constructing South African Men and Masculinities | 14 |
| 3. Media Representations and Construction | 17 |
| 2.3 Theoretical Framework: Decolonial Feminism..... | 20 |
| 2.4 Conclusion..... | 22 |
| CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY | 23 |
| 3.1 Introduction | 23 |
| 3.2 Research Design | 23 |
| 3.3 Research Method..... | 24 |
| 1. Case Descriptions | 26 |
| 2. Data Collection and Procedure | 31 |
| 3. Data Analysis: Thematic Analysis | 34 |

| | | |
|--|--|-----|
| 4. | Data Analysis: Critical Discourse Analysis..... | 37 |
| 3.4 | Reflexivity..... | 38 |
| 3.5 | Ethical Considerations..... | 40 |
| 3.6 | Conclusion..... | 43 |
| CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS | | 44 |
| 4.1 | Introduction | 44 |
| 4.2. | Findings..... | 46 |
| 1. | Legitimate vs Illegitimate Violence | 46 |
| 2. | Racialised Representations | 51 |
| 3. | Politics of Space | 58 |
| 4. | Aggravating vs Extenuating Social Psychopathy | 64 |
| 4.3 | Conclusion..... | 70 |
| CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION..... | | 72 |
| 5.1 | Introduction | 72 |
| 5.2 | Key Findings: Constructing beasts of a nation – humanising white perpetrators, bestialising Black perpetrators | 73 |
| 5.3 | Provocation..... | 78 |
| 5.4 | Study Limitations | 80 |
| 5.5 | Implications and Recommendations for Research..... | 81 |
| 5.6 | Conclusion..... | 82 |
| REFERENCES | | 83 |
| ADDENDUM A: CODEBOOK..... | | 98 |
| ADDENDUM B.1: JOE SLOVO FATHER ENCODES | | 106 |
| ADDENDUM B.2: DROS RAPIST ENCODES..... | | 115 |

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This study is a feminist decolonial qualitative analysis of South African newspaper representations of male perpetrators of gender-based violence against women and children (GBVAWC).

Despite 28 years of post-apartheid intervention strategies that emphasise gender justice as part of the larger goal of redress and constitutional freedoms, democratic South Africa remains one of the most violent states in the world for women and children to live (UN Women, 2019; UNICEF South Africa, 2022). Furthermore, studies have shown that men and boys are also affected by violence.¹ However, what is at the centre of these persistent high rates of violence, and specifically GBVAWC?

Violence has been a proven tool of patriarchal power and the subjugation of women and children. The persistence of gender-based violence (GBV) entrenches patriarchy as a system of power, thus creating an unequal and gendered society where feminised and other marginal bodies are under patriarchal control (Mack & Na'puti, 2019). However, within the popular social discourse that aims to address the high rates of GBVAWC and empower persons affected by it, men and masculinities that benefit most from patriarchy are rarely at the centre of the anti-violence talk. In reflecting on this premise, Gqola (2007, p. 117) shows how men and masculinities are at the periphery of such discussions:

¹ A study by Ratele (2008) shows that young black men living in poverty in South Africa are most at risk of interpersonal violence due to gangsterism, grievous bodily harm and widespread murder. Further, studies argue that such high rates of interpersonal violence experienced by men and boys stem from monolithic modes of performing masculinity, as constructed by patriarchal systems in South African society (Gqola, 2021).

The current hijacked ‘women's empowerment’ hype is not a real conversation because it is not transformative. It is a smokescreen and assumes that women are the only ones who need empowerment, as limited as routes to such empowerment are. It leaves the ‘cult of femininity’ intact and violent masculinities untouched.

Although there have been recent efforts to include men in anti-GBV work, through organisations such as Sonke Gender Justice,² men and masculinities continue to be the beneficiaries of patriarchy. Arguably, such efforts do not open up critical discussion of male perpetration of GBVAWC, and therefore undermine more just and effective discourse in the media. Perpetrators are thus invisible in much of the public discourse on GBVAWC. This invisibilisation and/or binary representation of male perpetrators thus obfuscates the complexities of the construction and representation of men and masculinities.

1.2 Problem Statement

The study was initially inspired by an article in the *Sunday Times* on November 29 (Jordaan et al., 2020), titled “Dangerous men and the women who love them”. While the article headlined the dangerous men, the content solely focused on “the women who love them”. The article extensively portrayed accounts, experiences, and perspectives of a group of women affected by intimate partner violence (IPV). While women are the ones affected by this violence, they are not the cause of it. Therefore, what was saliently missing in this article is the lens on perpetrators of GBVAWC. Therefore, the question arises: what should change for discourse on GBVAWC to be more effective, and to shift the dominant narrative? The answer to this question lies partly in the views expressed through gender-transformative approaches.

² Sonke Gender Justice is a South African-based non-profit organisation, working throughout Africa, that believes women and men, girls and boys can work together to resist patriarchy, advocate for gender justice and achieve gender transformation.

GBVAWC, as a tool of control, is part of more extensive patriarchal and (post)colonial power structures. Therefore, challenging GBVAWC is critical to gender transformation and gender equality, while simultaneously disrupting gender binaries and how they intersect with other injustices. Gender-transformative approaches thus seek to challenge gender inequality by moving “beyond individual self-improvement among women and toward transforming the power dynamics and structures that serve to reinforce gendered inequalities” (Hillenbrand et al., 2015, p. 5). Therefore, transforming the dynamics and structures of society means challenging the patriarchal system and its embeddedness in colonial histories and current global racial patriarchal capitalist contexts. However, change is not only needed in instances where GBVAWC produces violent moments; attention is also needed to interrogate how we speak about it. Language carries gendered power, and authorises and is authorised by patriarchal power. Speaking to the power of language, Bourdieu states that “the constitutive power which is granted to ordinary language lies not in the language itself but in the group which authorises it and invests it with authority” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 21). Thus, challenging GBV and the way it is spoken about is imperative for gender transformation efforts. In this respect, media, in its role of shaping public imaginaries, becomes an area of concern and possibilities. If media is to be an effective and radical agent of change, it needs to critically interrogate the patriarchal and colonial nature of GBVAWC. It is thus important that perpetrators of violence are focused on, and further, that we generate more nuanced analyses in media representations of GBVAWC. Therefore, this project shapes the understanding of male perpetratorhood through the proposition that how a problem is understood sheds light on how it may be solved.

1.3 Rationale

The problem of GBVAWC in South Africa is attributed mainly to how masculinities are constructed under patriarchy (Gqola, 2007). Thus, the system that dominates these masculinities needs to be centred in conversations about GBVAWC (Bourdieu, 2001; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). However, this centring will not be enough because, as feminist intersectionality theory has shown, systems of power carry multi-faceted areas of concern (Crenshaw, 1991). Because of its colonial history, patriarchal power in South Africa is entangled in systems of racial, sexual and classist power (Gqola, 2001; Gadzekpo, 2009; Ratele, 2013; Xaba, 2019; Boonzaier, 2022). Thus, while patriarchy awards gendered power to men and masculinities, race, class, sexuality and other forms of inequality mean that not all men are equal or equally privileged by patriarchal power (Mama, 1997; Biko, 1978/2015; hooks, 2015; Ratele, 2020). It is evident within the current post-apartheid and postcolonial society that certain men and masculinities exist within the confines of colonial constructs (Erlank, 2003; hooks, 2004; Farahani & Thapar-Björkert, 2019; Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2020; Ratele, 2021). Thus, a unitary view of masculinity, and specifically of male perpetrators, is not enough to achieve practical anti-GBVAWC discourse that could lead to better strategies for dealing with violence.

Viewing men as a homogenous unitary group fails to uncover the intersectional power dynamics that are a part of this system of power (Crenshaw, 1989; Collins, 1990; Mama, 1997; Gouws, 2017). Therefore, in centring and problematising patriarchy, intersecting power dynamics that exist within and as a part of this system need to be equally investigated in discourses around GBVAWC. This would help to create a more nuanced understanding of perpetrators of GBVAWC, and moments in which this violence happens. Such a lens needs to interrogate the tendency of dominant discourses to represent particular groups of men as a

problem; the same is true of racist-classist colonial narratives and how they are sustained in South Africa (Boonzaier, 2014; Du Toit, 2014; Shefer, 2016; Langa et al., 2020; Shefer and Hearn, 2022). What is further necessary to note is that particular groups of men have often been blamed for GBV in SA (Pattman & Bhana, 2006; Shefer, 2016; van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2019; Ratele, 2022). Thus, even when men are focused on, it has usually reproduced white male innocence, and portrayed Black³ men as always already sexual violence perpetrators (Lemon, 1995; Hübinette, 2020; Langa et al., 2020). However, the difference between the systemic and symbolic does not appear explicitly in society. In fact, through symbolic power that exists in normalised language, such distinct differences are often blindly accepted in society (Bourdieu, 2001; Bourdieu, 2003).

Against this backdrop, this study sought to add value to existing feminist studies of GBVAWC by critically exploring news representations of male perpetrators in South Africa. The study explored how male perpetrators of GBVAWC are represented in news articles about GBVAWC, focusing on two recent cases. This investigation questioned what these representations mean, what discourses they are underpinned by, and what dominant versions of gender, race, class and other forms of inequality they reproduce or may ‘trouble’. Thus, this research argues the importance of centring multiple and intersecting systems of power, and

³ This research uses the term Black as a political category derived from Biko (1978/2015). The term identifies South African’s racial classification of Coloured and Indian and all historically disenfranchised as included and not separate from the classification of Black. It does, however, acknowledge that because of this distinct hierarchy of South African racial classification, the experiences of Blacks in South Africa are different and highly contested. In current American political discourse, “black” as opposed to “white”, as an adjective for the African American population is capitalised to disrupt the white supremacist power that has for decades, dehumanised, and marginalised this population (Tharps, 2014). Here, contributions from critical linguists have further substantiated this discourse by highlighting that the English language is one that produces and reproduces power and, does not simply function as a “neutral medium of communication and social interaction” (Foster, 2003, p.1). While this discourse is dominant in American society, it is common academic practice in South Africa that has no explications. This discourse highlights the relation of symbolic power as one directly connected to systemic power and because of this reason that this dissertation adopts the practice. This, however, is not an assumption that the Black American experience is one that is identical to the Black South African experience. It is however, highlighting the relationship of symbolic and systemic subjugation as one that aptly reflects a universal “chasm of power and privilege” that separates white and black people (Bourdieu, 2001; Bourdieu, 2003; Foster, 2003; Žižek, 2008).

exposing how these axes of power may impact and shape larger social injustices and power relations that further perpetuate GBVAWC.

1.4 Study Aim and Objectives

This research project analyses how male perpetrators are represented in newspaper articles about gender-based violence against women and children, and ascertain what decolonial African feminism may contribute to such an analysis with a view to:

- Describe the types of incidences reported in articles about GBVAWC.
- Describe the representations of male perpetrators of GBVAWC in selected news articles.
- Comparatively analyse the representations of male perpetrators of GBVAWC across differences of class and race.
- Offer a decolonial feminist critique of newspaper reports of male perpetrators of GBVAWC.

1.5 Research Questions

The overarching question of this research project is: How are male perpetrators represented in newspaper articles about gender-based violence against women and children, and what might a decolonial African feminist lens bring to such an analysis?

Sub-questions include:

1. What kind of GBVAWC incidences are reported in the selected articles?

2. What are the similarities and differences in the incidences and descriptions in the two case studies?
3. What are the dominant representations of the male perpetrators in the articles?
4. How can these similarities and differences be understood within a critical, decolonial African feminist framework of male violence?

Through investigating news media representations of male perpetrators, the study questions whether news media further perpetuates systems that inflict violence. Specifically, this study employs a decolonial feminist lens to analyse the patterns and discourse evident in representations in select news articles about GBVAW.

1.6 Structure of the Report

This chapter (Chapter One) has provided the study's rationale, the literature's knowledge gap, the problem statement and research aim, objectives and questions. Following this, Chapter Two provides a literature review and theoretical framework, reviewing the body of literature relevant to the discourses surrounding violence in South African society, and the perspectives of media representations which explicate the power of the media in society. Additionally, it establishes the decolonial feminist theoretical framework that was used in the analysis of this study. Thereafter, Chapter Three presents this study's methods and takes the reader through the steps followed in the research process.

These steps enabled the gathering and analysis of data presented in Chapter Four, which presents, discusses and analyses the study's data, and attempts to address the abovementioned research question. Lastly, Chapter Five presents an overview of the study, and offers the

findings of the project by answering the study's research questions. Additionally, this chapter offers a reflection on the study's contribution to decolonial feminist discourses surrounding male-perpetrated GBVAWC and the representations thereof, and gives recommendations for further research to address the study's limitations.



CHAPTER TWO: DECOLONIAL FEMINIST VIEWS ON REPRESENTATIONS OF MALE VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section is a review of the dominant academic discourses on violence in South Africa, while the second section locates the study in the theoretical frameworks of decolonial feminism. In order to delineate this violence and contextualise its effects, the literature review is divided into three subsections: Explicable Violence, South African Men and Masculinities, and Media Representations and Constructions. The research recognises that violence in South Africa, and how it is represented in the media, is located in the contexts of race, class, gender and othered forms of social inequalities that may form group identities. Therefore, the second section of this chapter outlines the theoretical framework used to guide this research. Theories on decolonial feminist perspectives are presented, expounding on the key ideas that have been used as, and formed the framework for, this research.

2.2 Literature Review

This section presents works and ideas that have discussed and analysed the phenomenon mentioned above. It is centred on past and current discourses around violence and its effects on masculinities, and the representation of violence in the media.

1. Discourse on Violence in South Africa

Discourse on violence is often simplified and confined to violence that causes bodily harm; however, research shows how violence arises in many aspects of everyday life. There is a considerable amount of work that shows the different types of violence that are at play in society (Fanon, 1963; Bourdieu, 2003; hooks, 2015; Boonzaier, 2017). In the context of gendered violence, the United Nations General Assembly defines it as “any act of gender-based violence that results in or is likely to result in physical, sexual, or psychological harm, or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life” (United Nations, 1996). However, this definition does not give an understanding of the overlapping intricacies of pre- and post-colonial systems of gender, race and class.

Here, Fanon (1963; 1956/1964; 2008) has argued that, through systems established by colonialism, violence is a part and a residue of colonial systems of social stratification and domination. As a result, colonial conquest created multi-faceted systems of power which enforced the white, patriarchal and upper-classed man as the ideal identity (Fanon, 1963; hooks, 1995; Fanon, 2008). Thus, violence is used to and on systems and identities outside the ideal that hooks (1995, p. 29) called the “white supremacist capitalist patriarchy.” These systemic and identity ideals were upheld and enforced through colonial social institutions such as education, policing, and health (Fanon, 2008). Through these institutions, however, systems maintained intersecting domination that threatened and enacted violence upon those who revolted against them. Thus, physical and psychological harm became entrenched in social domination (Fanon, 1956/1964).

The harm sustained through social domination sometimes goes unnoticed as the violence enacted by systems is often not as explicitly seen in society as violence enacted at a personal level. Here, Bourdieu (2001, p. 9) states that the “social order functions as an immense symbolic machine;” thus, the violence enacted through this order becomes “symbolic”. It is symbolic because it is an imposition of systems that symbolise meaning in society and are accepted as legitimate. However, these systems are imposed through institutions. While this perspective was accepted by Žižek (2008), it required further expansion, as symbolic violence alone did not highlight the active agent of the system in the legitimising violence. Therefore, through explicating symbolic violence, Žižek identified violence as existing under two categories (Bourdieu, 2001; Bourdieu, 2003; Žižek, 2008).

The first type of violence that he unpacked is subjective violence, understood as the visible expressions of violence that are “enacted by social agents, evil individuals, disciplined repressive apparatuses, fanatical crowds” (Žižek, 2008, p. 11). This type of violence and its agents can be easily identified, such as a man raping a woman or a husband beating up his wife. This type of violence is plainly seen in the UN definition, and in most literature on GBV. The second type of violence, objective violence, is “inherent in a system: not only direct physical violence but also the more subtle forms of coercion that sustain relations of domination and exploitation, including the threat of violence” (Žižek, 2008, p. 9).

This form of violence has two subcategories. The first is symbolic violence, identified by Bourdieu (2001). This type of violence and its agents can be identified; however, it is mostly disguised and/or protected through legitimate institutions in society. This is because this type of violence is one which is “embodied in language and its forms” (Žižek 2008, p. 1). An example of this might be the slurs used in everyday language; for instance, sports fans use rape

as a sporting metaphor when one team is defeated by another (Bourdieu, 2001). It is also seen in how representations and cultural imaginaries may be violent themselves, naturalising violence, legitimating violence, and/or obfuscating certain violence. Therefore, symbolic violence is at work in cases of “incitement and the relations of social domination,” which are produced and reproduced in our regular, everyday speech forms (Žižek, 2008, pp. 1-2).

The second of the two subcategories of objective violence is systemic violence. This is defined as the “the often-catastrophic consequences of the smooth functioning of our economic and political systems” (Žižek, 2008, p. 2). This kind of violence “is thus something like the notorious ‘dark matter’ of physics, the counterpart to an all-too-visible subjective violence” (Žižek, 2008, p. 2). Such violence includes structural harm inflicted on individuals, such as poverty, racism and patriarchy, which are slow violence and that undermine health and well-being, leading to debility and/or disability (Puar, 2015). This form of violence is explored in this research in relation to and in combination with the subjective and symbolic forms of violence. Therefore, this definition of violence includes the concepts of subjective, objective (symbolic and systemic) (SOS) violence, thus considering violence that has been enacted physically as neither removed from or absent of the symbolic and systemic harms that are at play in society. This research, therefore, adopts the term SOS violence and the concepts explained by it and further adapts it into the current GBVAWC discourse.

Through this conceptualisation, it is argued that violence in colonial societies is located within the intersecting contexts of race, class, gender, and other subjugated and othered subjectivities and groups that form the basis of social inequalities built to sustain social order and domination. Thus, colonisation was conquest which established a material and symbolic hierarchal social order based on racist, classist, sexist, ageist, ableist and other forms of discrimination, hinging

on the colonised's subjugation (hooks, 1995; Gqola, 2001; Lugones, 2016; Hartman, 2019; Mohamed, 2023). These layered systems of race, class, gender and sexuality found a strong foothold in everyday South African identities and lived experiences (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). The multi-faceted layers of domination continue to have an afterlife in current South Africa, thus (re)creating coloniality (Lugones, 2016; Mack & Na'puti, 2019). Coloniality rarely has visible “handlers” that can be directly addressed and held accountable, as Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012, p. 48) observes, since it is “an invisible power structure that sustains colonial relations of exploitation and domination long after the end of direct colonialism.” Therefore, systems of power attached to colonisation and its afterlife of coloniality have enjoyed the invisibility of its roots (Stoler, 2020). Thus, from the point of seeking transformational solutions to violence, this project seeks to visibilise colonial powers and logics and their effects on South African society (Khoo & Vered, 2020).

Thus, it is clear that violence in South Africa is not new. Imperialists used violence in their conquest of Africa to establish power over the colonies (Fanon, 1963). Acts of gratuitous violence can be traced back to centuries of colonisation, and continued through coloniality vis-a-vis institutions of power, including in the university (Mama, 1997; Mack & Na'puti, 2019; Stoler, 2020). However, in an attempt to fight back against the brutal and direct violence of invisibilised powers, African and other subjugated people in South Africa have always fought against institutions of oppression through equally organised forces (Buntman, 1996; Mashike, 2005; Webb, 2015). This quest to conquer and its resistance thus derived a “pervasive culture” of violence (von Holdt, 2012). The culture has been passed down from one generation to the next and has, for decades, created a lineage of violence (Snodgrass, 2016).

As a result, gendered relations in South Africa are marred by violence because the vision and materiality of racial and capital superiority “went hand-in-hand with their gender ideologies and hierarchies” (Britton, 2006, p. 148). Therefore, in a society where patriarchy is the system of gendered rule, how masculinities are formed is entangled in the colonial lineage of violence. Violence was and remains a tool of subjugation inflicted through overt, physical expressions and systems that create a safeguard for violent moments to occur (Bourdieu, 2003; Žižek, 2008). Furthermore, violence, through its banality, and systemic violence of poverty, race and patriarchy, operates insidiously to debilitate, maim and kill Black, poor people every day (Mohamed, 2023). Here, some research argues that an identifiable result of the coloniality of gender is the presence of violence in the articulation of masculinities in South Africa and, more specifically, GBVAWC (Boonzaier, 2017; Langa et al., 2020; Gqola, 2021). This assertion is further unpacked in this thesis.

2. Constructing South African Men and Masculinities

As elaborated above, violence has become a part of the fabric of South Africa, and shapes subjective experiences and identities; however, the pervasive culture of violence has been particularly embedded in the construction of men and masculinities (Pattman & Bhana, 2006; Ratele, 2006; Shefer et al., 2007; Mohamed & Ratele, 2012; Langa, 2020). Through this embeddedness, violence has been gendered (Britton, 2006). Men and masculinities are awarded gendered power through the coloniality of gender, thus exerting power over identities that are constructed in juxtaposition to masculinist colonial ideals (Lugones, 2016). These othered identities are therefore feminised (Kumalo, 2018). However, through the coloniality of race, class and other systems of domination, not all men and masculinities are equal (Hübinette, 2020; Ratele, 2020). Here, the work of critical studies on men and masculinities (CSMM)

becomes essential, as it highlights how power can create inequalities among men and masculinities (Kimmel et al., 2004; Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005; Shefer et al., 2007).

Black men were subjected to excessive violence as a form of control, for colonisers to gain maximum labour for higher profits (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012; Biko, 1978/2015; Ratele, 2021). Thus, black men and masculinities existed only as a labour force and, in a colonial and racist society, were deemed non-human (Ratele, 2020). Racial-gendered relations created a hierarchy that afforded white men ultimate supremacy, while subjugated ‘others’ were relationally disregarded (Lugones, 2016). Tamale (2011) stresses that coloniality not only others, but violently “bestialises,” black identities. Therefore, these identities are constructed within a context of notions of western, European “civility” in relation to “beasts” prone to “bestial” ways of life, where violence is normalised (Tamale, 2011). This project therefore acknowledges that some men and masculine identities exist within a spectrum of victims and perpetrators of violence in South Africa (Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2020).

GBVAWC is thus complicated by the “othering” of particular identities in a racist, classed, patriarchal, ageist society. It is clear that violence statistics show that black men are affected by the pervasive culture of violence in South Africa, since the dominant form of non-natural mortality for young men is through violence (Ratele, 2013; Ratele, 2008). However, while acknowledging this, Boonzaier and van Niekerk (2020, p. 457) highlight that “violence is explicitly gendered and implicates the question of masculinities whether we are talking about violence against women, children or against other men.” Thus, feminised bodies, and men themselves, suffer at the hands of violent masculinities, though primarily at the hands of patriarchal racial capitalist systems. Patriarchy and hegemonic forms of masculinity are thus implicated in all forms of violence; thus, how men perform prescribed masculinity opens them

up to possibilities of being violent to women, children and other men (Tamale, 2011; Mohamed & Ratele, 2012; Shefer, 2016).

White masculinities and systems of male, white, colonisation and capitalism, have dehumanised Black men and women, and while Black masculinities are affected by this dehumanisation, society continues to deal with incidences of GBVAWC selectively and without urgency (Xaba, 2019). However, even within their dominance as men, Black masculinities are only awarded ‘crumbs of power’ through racialised patriarchal systems (Lewis & Hendricks, 2017; Ramaru, 2017; Xaba, 2019). Feminised bodies find themselves at the centre of both the material violence and the public discourse on GBVAWC in South Africa. While it has been essential to centre women and girls, there are also challenges. I argue that centring feminised bodies does not change the dire situation that affects them; instead, it continues to invisibilise the systems that shape and exacerbate the high levels of GBVAWC (Shefer et al., 2007).

This research centres men and masculinities to contribute to the dialogue to transform not only GBVAWC, but the culture of violence that is articulated through masculine identities and performances. Here, GBVAWC is understood as enacted through subjective, symbolic and systemic layers of society, and the study is located against this backdrop. The research, therefore, analyses GBVAWC as both perpetrated and victimising, physically, institutionally and systemically. The study engaged GBVAWC by locating it in invisibilised colonial powers and their relation to the lineage of raced, patriarchal and class power in contemporary South African society. Furthermore, the theoretical and empirical work on how this lineage of violence affected South African men and masculinities, and their relation to othered identities, is analysed to contextualise the pervasive state of GBVAWC.

3. Media Representations and Construction

News media represents social realities, meaning, and power, and is a particular site of social and political contestation (Buiten, 2009). Many studies have highlighted how media representations reflect and reinforce the social realities of power and othered identities (Gqola, 2007; Gadzekpo, 2009; Hall, 1997b). However, in the context of systems of power that construct social realities, what kind of representations are offered in media where the pervasive state of GBVAWC is discussed? Research on gender in media representations shows how women's subjugation is produced and reproduced in media (Bosch, 2011). Literature has illustrated how men's violence towards women and children in South Africa tends to be skewed in ways that centre the victims of this violence, rather than the perpetrators or perpetrations of it (Boonzaier, 2017; Brodie, 2019). What is further worrying are studies highlighting how different power structures affected these representations. For example, representations and society's reactions are raced and classed, where some victims are viewed as expendable and others more precious (Butler, 2005; Puar, 2015; Boonzaier, 2017; Brodie, 2019; Gqola, 2021). Through representation, these works show how the media has further violated victims of GBVAWC through symbolic violence.

Media may hinder or support progress in how society understands and reacts to the perpetration of GBVAWC. Thus, media is a powerful tool for social discourse to be constructed and analysed (Erlank, 2003). How media represents issues that affect the most marginalised in society significantly reinforces power dynamics in unequal social relations (de Beer & Botha, 2008; Boonzaier, 2017), due to the power of media representations. Because of this power, analysing news representations is an important area of analysis for feminist concerns (Bosch, 2011).

As a result, the work of representation becomes a vital discourse within this study, and central to the study are Stuart Hall's theoretical works (1996; 1997a; 1997b). Hall's scholarship analyses how popular media and news representations of particular issues or social groups can be underpinned by and shape dominant discourses in society, normalising, naturalising, and even legitimising social perceptions of these issues or social groups. However, Hall (1996) further states that representations are actively constructed by the media. He argues, for example, that certain representations are “not fortuitously occurring at the margins, but placed, positioned at the margins, as the consequence of a set of quite specific political and cultural practices which regulated, governed and ‘normalised’ the representational and discursive spaces of ...society” (p. 442). Therefore, media does not simply represent social realities, meaning and power; it actively constructs meanings that maintain power to shape specific dominant social realities.

Within the specific context of GBVAWC, there is a considerable body of work around media representations of rape and violence. How media represents GBVAWC has the power to either promote misconceptions of this social ill, or to undo problematic narratives that further perpetuate this violence (Los & Chamard, 1997; Gouws, 2013; Happer & Philo, 2013; Gqola, 2015; Sutherland et al., 2019). In the South African context, news media affects the way society views and reacts to the binarised masculine and feminine societal norms that perpetuate gendered violence (Gouws, 2013; Graham, 2013; Gqola, 2015). GBVAWC continues to be understood within a curated context that obscures society's understanding of both gendered relations and the violence that is continuously at play in these relations (Gqola, 2007), thus obfuscating the cause and effect of GBVAWC in society.

Against the gendered, racialised and classed system of this violence, Boonzaier (2022) argues that, when looking at male perpetrators of GBVAWC, “narratives construct the violence perpetrated by [Black] men ... as expected and ‘normal’ whereas the violence perpetrated by white, wealthy or middle-class men ... requires much more ‘explanation’ and interrogation – perpetuating the very same colonial racialisation of the violence” (p. 14). Therefore, representations of male perpetrators are affected by systems of power which have regulated, governed and normalised violence perpetrated by Black men living in poverty. Representations tend to bestialise Black men, while simultaneously awarding white men understanding and empathy for their violent actions (Lemon, 1995; Ratele, 2013; Hübinette, 2020; Langa et al., 2020). Therefore, through differing representations of male perpetrators, news media reproduces a dominant colonial social discourse, placing men most affected by systemic violence as the dominant face of GBVAWC in South Africa.

It is against this backdrop that the study addresses the call of Boonzaier and van Niekerk (2020, p. 458), that “studies on violence take a contextual, historical and intersectional perspective to generate greater insight into the complex ways in which violent moments are produced.” Therefore, within the identified points of intersection, the study pursues this call in two ways: firstly, visibilising the powers of patriarchy by problematising violent masculinities in the discourse of GBVAWC through a sole focus on male perpetrators; and secondly, focusing on male perpetrators within a perspective that acknowledges and highlights the historical and intersectional systems at play in moments of GBVAWC. In this way, it will facilitate greater insight into the complexities, or lack thereof, in constructing a discourse of male perpetrators in news media. Therefore, the study aims to analyse SOS violence with a focus on media as a colonial institution of power. This requires a lens that allows all avenues of this issue to be

covered; thus, the study utilised a decolonial feminist perspective of gender and violence in South African news reports of GBVAWC.

2.3 Theoretical Framework: Decolonial Feminism

Feminists have long argued against systems that aim to subjugate women in society; thus, GBVAWC has become a critical feminist concern. However, decolonial feminist theory further acknowledges that these systems stem from coloniality and the struggles attached to them (Lugones, 2016; Boonzaier, 2017; Mama, 2017; Mack & Na'puti, 2019). Therefore, decolonial feminist views of GBVAWC highlight the complexity of violent masculinities (Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2020). Masculinities are portrayed as violent by compound and intersecting systems of social order. Coloniality thus affects the collective, which is bound together and divided by systems of domination, such as race, class, gender, sexuality, etc. (Mama, 1997). As a result, decolonial feminism argues that, for feminised bodies to be liberated from patriarchy and violence, colonial systems must be dismantled altogether (Lorde, 1984; Mack & Na'puti, 2019; Xaba, 2019). hooks (1995, p. 60) coined the term “imperialist white supremacist hetero-patriarchal system” to more accurately name the focus of resistance in the decolonial feminist project of liberation.

Within this project, masculinities require further analysis for the disruption of patriarchal domination. Therefore, when colonisation constructs Black men as bestial, it entraps them within “the peculiar fixation with spectacles of violence inflicted on the Black male body” (Lewis, 2011, p. 203). Here, the victimhood of Black men is invisibilised through the normalisation of this infliction. Further, it trivialises the victimhood of Black women and constructs their bodies as unviolatable and/or always already violated (Mama, 1997; Boonzaier,

2017; Helman, 2018; Gqola, 2021). Coloniality, therefore, continues with narratives that depicted Africans as “bestial and inhumane” to justify the colonisers’ brutal force and harm inflicted through colonisation (Tamale, 2011). Further, this harm has left a myriad of afterlives that carry “sticky” affective embodiments of the colonised people (Ahmed, 2010, p. 29).

From systems that cause dispossession and forced labour, coloniality has constructed raced, classed and gendered identities. These identities are turned into illegitimate bodies, and the violence inflicted upon them is legitimated (Mack & Na’puti, 2019). However, through the decolonial feminist perspective, the illegitimation and bestialising of these bodies is highly problematised. Here, decolonial feminism thus deems SOS violence as a central concern, undermined by the hypervisibilised dominant constructed focus on individual, interpersonal violence (Xaba, 2017).

Decolonial feminist perspectives are therefore used for this study’s media analysis for two reasons. Firstly, this perspective recognises, and thus identifies, the symbolic modes of power that, secondly, uncover the extent to which media upholds (or disrupts) colonial systems of power. Therefore, this study aims to analyse the representations of male perpetrators of GBVAWC through a decolonial feminist perspective. This theoretical framework allows for greater insight into how power is reproduced in contemporary news representations of male perpetrators, and the systemic intricacies thereof. Thus, surfacing these themes pushes back against superficial engagement (Lorde, 1984).

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has delved into the discourse around violence, male perpetrators and media representations. Key concepts such as SOS violence, dehumanisation, perpetratorhood, victimhood representation and constructed identities were highlighted and explicated. These concepts form a significant part of how the study will analyse news media representations of male perpetrators of GBVAWC. Thus, they are the key concepts in the decolonial feminist analytical lens. Further, through this literature review, the study locates itself in the discourse of GBVAWC. As evident in the review, this study fills a research gap by highlighting invisibilised patriarchal, colonial and racial capitalist systems of power in media representations. The study generates recommendations on how news media can change its dominant discourse to one that is helpful in the persisting battle against GBVAWC in South Africa. By utilising a decolonial feminist lens, this chapter has flagged how decolonial feminist perspectives may inform media analyses, thus answering the central question of this study: How are male perpetrators represented in newspaper articles about gender-based violence against women and children, and what might a decolonial African feminist lens bring to such an analysis?

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This study utilised decolonial feminist theory. Therefore, when searching for a methodology, the design and process had to be aligned with decolonial feminist principles. This chapter presents the research design and the methodology applied in this study. The chapter first explains the case study methodological approach, and discusses the importance and relevance of this approach for the current study. Thereafter, the chapter describes the data preparation, extraction and analysis process. Further, this chapter discusses the ethical considerations that informed the research process. Finally, a discussion on the researcher's positionality and reflexivity is presented.

3.2 Research Design

This study utilised a qualitative decolonial feminist research approach to analyse selected newspaper representations of male perpetrators of GBVAWC. Since the answers to the research question will unearth possible reproduction of gendered, class and racial power in news media, decolonial feminist perspectives were most suited. Qualitative approaches are consistent with the decolonial epistemologies that frame this study. As Smith (2013, p. 198) highlights, decolonial qualitative research allows for “emancipatory possibilities and power relations associated with researching marginalised and vulnerable communities, the outsider ‘Other’ possible.” Thus, decolonial feminist qualitative approaches allowed this study to not only uncover the “othering” and its effects on women and children, but enabled it to pick up on “othered” representations and their effect on GBVAWC through a reality that is “not an

objective entity; rather, there are multiple interpretations of reality” (Merriam, 1998, p. 22). Further, this research aims to identify how a decolonial feminist lens makes sense of news representations of male perpetrators of GBVAWC, by using an inductive approach where data will emerge and inform theory. Therefore, the study chose case studies to answer the research question, to implement the aims and objectives mentioned above.

Feminist research methodologies are grounded in principles of social justice research and an intersectional gender lens (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002; Boonzaier, 2014; Shefer, 2021). This study forms a part of the social justice body of research, as it highlights the full spectrum of power relations at play in representations of GBVAWC. However, only a small part of this research analyses the male perpetrator as the subject of interest. Thus, the current study challenges the underlying power that is reproduced in some instances of knowledge production. Challenging and contributing to this body of work therefore reminds us of the “iterative nature of knowledge and the power relations that produce it for people seeking social justice” (Collins, 2012, p. 20). Further, by using decolonial feminist principles, the study is intersectional, whereby race, gender and class become equally foregrounded in the analysis (Crenshaw, 1989; Lewis, 2001; Scott, 2021). This allows for a reflexivity that encourages the disavowal of researcher neutrality and objectivity (Mama, 2011a; Smith, 2013; Khoo & Vered, 2020).

3.3 Research Method

This study utilised a case study methodology. Stake sees a case study as a “study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances” (1995, p. xi). Therefore, this method was chosen as it “offers a means of investigating complex social units consisting of multiple variables of potential importance in

understanding the phenomenon” (Merriam, 2009, p. 50). Thus this study, informed by decolonial feminist theories, focuses on GBVAWC as a result of the social unit of colonial power (Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2018; Mack & Na’puti, 2019). Within these perspectives, the power that shapes GBVAWC is more complex than previously represented, as it is embedded in material conditions of inequality and injustice. As emphasised in the previous chapters, GBVAWC is a complex phenomenon complicated by multiple power systems, such as gender, class, and race. The case study methodology allowed this study to excavate the significance of race, class, and gender within the news representations of this violence; i.e. how the news representations highlight certain aspects of GBVAWC and silence others, in order to rationalise and reproduce particular sets of inequality along racist, classed and gendered lines.

Therefore, by “concentrating on a single phenomenon or entity (the case), the researcher aims to uncover the interaction of significant factors characteristic of the phenomenon” (Merriam, 2009, p. 43). Thus, with GBVAWC being so widely covered and reported on in South Africa, how were the cases for this study chosen? Here, Stake (1995, p. 4) suggests that case studies be chosen based on cases that are “likely to lead us to modify generalisations” of the phenomenon. Consequently, the first case study selected was that of the “Joe Slovo Informal Settlement Father,” which was chosen because the incident came to light on social media and sparked outrage. In this outrage, race, class, and gender were part of the underlying conversation of the violence captured, and widely shared, in photographs and videos. As a result, this incident caught the attention of decolonial feminist concern. However, “the inclusion of multiple cases is a common strategy for enhancing the external validity and generalisability of findings” (Merriam, 2009, p. 50). Merriam (2009, p. 49) suggests that “individual cases share a common characteristic or condition” and that the additional cases chosen are further “somehow categorically bound together.”

Informed by these guidelines, this study chose the “Dros Rapist” as its second case study. While these cases seem to be subjectively unaligned, they both sparked social outrage in their respective racial, class and gender power contexts in South African society. The second case study involved a white middle-class perpetrator, while the first involved a Black poor perpetrator; this allowed for a reading of the two cases through each other to draw out differences that speak to racist, classist narratives. Therefore, these two case studies are bounded at three converging points, as Merriam (2009) suggested. Firstly, in terms of time frames, both violent moments occurred in the year 2018. Secondly, they are bound through space, since both occurred in South African public spaces, and not in private spaces such as the home. Lastly, they are bound by public attention; these cases were the centre of social discourse that highlighted the persistent prevalence of GBVAVC and its public display in the country. However, the two case studies also differ considerably at the level of race and class contexts. Notably, the one case took place in a poverty-stricken informal settlement, while the other took place in a middle-class family restaurant.

These commonalities and divergences are described and explicated in the individual case descriptions below.

1. Case Descriptions

The following is a presentation of the case studies utilised in this study, providing a descriptive analysis of each case, as reported in different forms of media from the year 2018 to 2019. The presentations describe what social, online, and news media reported on each case, ranging from the incident to the time of perpetrator sentencing, respectively (12 April 2018 and 22 September 2018). While the incidences and contexts of violence were vastly different, they were similar

in that they were the focus of social discourse around GBVAWC in South Africa in 2018; therefore, these case studies were a productive space to apply a decolonial feminist analysis of the representation of male perpetrators in contemporary South Africa. The two cases are individually described below.

The “Joe Slovo Informal Settlement Father”

On 12 April, 2018, municipal officials, under the supervision of the Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Police, demolished houses built in Joe Slovo informal settlement in Port Elizabeth (called Gqeberha, since February 2021). The South African Police Service was also heavily present in the area to “safeguard” the demolition process (Buso et al., 2018). About 90 houses were demolished, stirring heavy emotional build-up in homeowners as they watched the process unfold, which brought on tensions between residents and government officials. As the last standing house was about to be demolished, the homeowner climbed up the roof of his house with his then-one-year-old daughter. With the assistance of the child's mother and the support of his community, the man climbed up onto his roof and sat holding his daughter to his chest. According to most of the reports, the father threatened to throw the child off the roof if officials refused to stop the demolition process (O'Reilly, 2018).

At first, police were reported to have tried to negotiate with the father from the top of a hippo⁴ parked nearby. When these negotiations failed, the police climbed up onto the roof of the house. The ambush led to a scuffle between officers and the father, resulting in the father allegedly throwing his one-year-old daughter off the roof (Buso et al., 2018). Constable Luyolo Nojulumba successfully caught the child, and the father was arrested (Sain, 2018). This

⁴ The hippo is a South African armoured personnel carrier specially designed to be mine-resistant. The carrier can carry ten police officers and has a remote-operated turret that mounts dual 7.62mm machine guns.

incident was captured by journalists in a series of photographs. Images were shared by the “Truth and Justice Continue” Facebook page, with the child's face notably *not* blurred. These images were further shared through different online platforms. The story and images (with the child’s face blurred) were then published, first in The Herald on 13 April, 2018, a day after the incident occurred (Buso et al., 2018).

Constable Nojulumba was later awarded for bravery in saving the toddler's life. The father appeared in court, and his identity was published immediately after his first court appearance (African News Agency, 2018a; Dorfling, 2018; Pyatt, 2018), which went against both legal and media statutes (Bird, 2018). Publishing the perpetrator’s name contravenes the press Code of Ethics and Conduct for South African Print and Online Media (2016), Section 8:

In the spirit of Section 28.2 of the Bill of Rights, the media shall exercise exceptional care and consideration when reporting about children. If there is any chance that coverage might cause harm of any kind to a child, he or she shall not be interviewed, photographed or identified without the consent of a legal guardian or of a similarly responsible adult and the child (taking into consideration the evolving capacity of the child); and a public interest is evident.

While Section 8 does not specifically mention not naming a perpetrator, it was contravened through the child’s relationship with the perpetrator. Here, naming the father and his relationship to the child, exposes the identity of the child. Therefore, naming the father put the child at risk. While this code of ethics puts the burden of care on the media outlet, the code of ethics strives to protect children from harm. This ensures that news articles do not make public information that might be identifiable or harmful, thus upholding Section 28.2 of the South African Bill of Rights which highlights that “a child's best interests are of paramount importance in every matter concerning the child”.

This research argues that the name of the Joe Slovo informal settlement father should never have been printed in any news articles, as his direct relationship with the child makes her identity easily identifiable. There is no indication as to whether the issue of naming the perpetrator was applied for as a part of legal proceedings or not. What is reported, however, are the reasons why the perpetrator was refused bail (African News Agency, 2018).

At his initial bail hearing, the court refused bail because the perpetrator did not have a verified address. His state-provided legal aid, however, argued that this was the fault of the police and not the accused. The perpetrator received noticeable support from community members of Joe Slovo, who were calling for his release (O'Reilly, 2018). The trial continued. The perpetrator was sentenced on 13 June, 2019, on charges that were downgraded from attempted murder to child abuse. and received a one-year jail sentence, suspended for five years, and a fine (Dresch, 2019). The child was later returned to the care of her mother and the perpetrator, after social workers found that the child was in no danger in their care.

The “Dros Rapist”

On 22 September, 2018, a report of a sexual assault at the Dros Steakhouse restaurant in Silverton surfaced on Facebook. The events following this post would later cause a social media uproar. On 25 September, the National Prosecuting Authority confirmed an arrest had been made at a Dros restaurant in Pretoria. The following day, the Dros restaurant issued a closed statement confirming “that an incident (involving a minor child) took place” at the Silverton outlet (News24, 2018b). This statement was not well-received by the public, who accused the franchise of lacking “humanness” in their statement (Matshili, 2018a). Following the Dros statement, a video of the incident was uploaded to Twitter, depicting the naked

perpetrator covered in blood, seemingly recorded on a cell phone. This video pushed social media conversations about the Dros rape to a peak.

Social media users discussed the perpetrator's identity, and argued that the bulk of media outlets protected his identity because he was a white man. In response to the accusation, media outlets published statements from criminal law experts who explained the unlawfulness of naming the perpetrator at this stage (Bird, 2018; Gwangwa, 2018). These experts echoed the pleas of the South African Government Twitter page, which, the day before had asked South Africans to stop sharing the disturbing video of the perpetrator, as it involved the rape of a child (Gous et al., 2018). The government appealed to the public to remain calm and allow the law to take its course, as the perpetrator had been remanded into custody and would appear in court on 2 October (Gwangwa, 2018).

At the perpetrator's bail appearance, activists protested outside the court and called for him to be charged with attempted murder (Matshili, 2018b). Media outlets, however, were divided on naming the perpetrator, despite the NPA's announcement that the perpetrator could now be named (Dlamini, 2018). He was not granted bail and, at his next court appearance, his legal team asked for mental observation to determine whether he was fit for trial; this request was granted (Gous et al., 2018). The perpetrator was deemed fit to stand trial and later pleaded guilty to raping the child, following harrowing descriptions of the incident. The court later found the perpetrator guilty of rape, possession of drugs and defeating the ends of justice, and sentenced him to life imprisonment on 17 October, 2019 (Citizen reporter, 2019).

The case studies above are independent cases, and each "individual case study consists of a 'whole' study, in which facts are gathered from various sources and conclusions drawn on

those facts” (Tellis, 1997, p. 5). A study sample of newspaper representations of male perpetrators was chosen from these case studies. The sampling technique and process are presented below.

2. Data Collection and Procedure

This study used newspaper articles reporting on the case studies described above. However, these newspapers could not all be used as they were either in Afrikaans or too short, and thus, a study sample had to be drawn. Sampling means selecting the group that will form the focus of the research. Sampling is a crucial aspect of case study research, and the researcher must be clear and transparent in the rationale and method of selecting cases (Yazan, 2015). Case studies aim to select the most appropriate and informative cases for the research question being studied.

This study utilised purposive sampling, which is “typically used in qualitative research to identify and select the information-rich cases for the most proper utilisation of available resources” (Etikan et al., 2016, p. 2). Purposeful sampling involves selecting sources of data based on specific characteristics that are relevant to the research question (Etikan et al., 2016). For example, this study has purposefully sampled newspaper articles that reported on the Joe Slovo informal settlement father and the Dros rapist (Merriam, 1998).

This study utilised the Sabinet SA Media database, which provided access to various academic journals, newspapers, and other publications. “Sabinet SA Media database is the most comprehensive media database in South Africa that contains over 3 million newspaper clippings from various South African newspapers” (Boonzaier, 2022, p. 5), including 39 local and national South African publications (Brodie, 2019). The process of sampling newspaper clippings was based on the times of the legal proceedings of each case, i.e., the moment of

violence or laying of the charge, the first court/bail appearance and the sentencing of each perpetrator. Therefore, newspaper clippings published nationally and locally covering the Joe Slovo informal settlement case, and the Dros rape case could be retrieved from this database.

The study first sampled articles relating to the Joe Slovo informal settlement case, using the search phrase “Joe Slovo informal settlement father”, and the time range of 12 April 2018 to 19 June 2019. This period was based on the day of the moment of violence to seven days after the perpetrator’s court sentencing proceedings. This initial search generated ten articles, of which nine were relevant to the study. These news articles were then scanned to establish whether they provided an in-depth and information-rich representation of the case.

Here, the criteria for an in-depth and information-rich article meant that it was long (more than 250 words) and placed in the most prominent sections (first five pages) of the newspaper (Gadzekpo, 2009). After this initial scan, a second, more specific search was needed, so keywords were added and refined. The boundary of time was left as it was, and the keywords “Luyolo Nojulumba” and “{name of the father}”⁵ were separately entered. This generated 13 newspaper articles; however, six were repeats from the previous keyword search, and three were published in Afrikaans. Therefore, this final search generated 13 relevant articles published from 13 April 2018 (a day after the moment of violence occurred and was shared on social media) to 06 June 2018 (for a brief court appearance).

⁵Although published in the archived news, the perpetrator's name, which is now publicly accessible, will not be mentioned in is study, as it would go against decolonial feminist principles of ethics. These will be further explicated in the ethical considerations of this chapter.

The first article was breaking news,⁶ titled “Under-siege dad flings toddler off shack roof” (Buso et al., 2018), while the second was titled “Officer hailed as hero after saving baby from fall” (Sain, 2018). The following two sampled articles were about the perpetrator’s first court appearance, and were titled “Support for dad who flung tot” (O’Reilly, 2018) and “PE dad denied bail after child abuse charges” (African News Agency, 2018). Lastly, the final set of articles was intended to be about the perpetrator’s sentencing. However, there were no such articles available on the database. Thus, it was assumed that this meant an absence of such reports. Therefore, articles that reported on the perpetrator’s statement to the media, and the last published article on the Joe Slovo informal settlement father, were used. This left only two articles that fit the criteria, titled, “Baby-tossing dad: ‘I didn’t want to kill her’” (News24, 2018a). These criteria presented this case study with a total sample of five news articles for analysis, and the sampling of the second case study could commence.

In the sampling process of the second case, the preliminary search was guided by the search phrase “Dros rape”, and the time range of 22 September 2018 to 24 October 2019. Like the first case study, the date range was set based on the day the moment of violence occurred to seven days after the perpetrator’s court sentencing proceedings. Here, however, the initial search generated a much higher total number of articles, rich enough to draw out a sample; thus, no further searches were needed. The search generated a total of 79 relevant articles dated from 27 September 2018 (five days after the moment of violence occurred and shared on social media) to 19 October 2019 (a week after the perpetrator’s first sentencing appearance). Although the population size of this case study was rich, the systematic approach established in the first case study guided the sampling process.

⁶ Breaking news is distinguishable from predictable news in that breaking news sets the journalistic pulse racing: of being first on the scene at a major news story or "breaking" a story through dogged journalistic endeavour (Lewis & Cushion, 2009).

Six of these 79 newspaper articles were chosen to make up the study's sample. Because the case study was deemed a sensitive case that could not be reported on by news media "until the accused pleads the charge" (Gwangwa, 2018, p. 2), the violent incident was not directly reported on until five days after it occurred. Thus, only one article qualified as an in-depth, information-rich article that was placed in the most prominent sections of the newspaper (Gadzekpo, 2009), titled "Dros reacts to child's rape at restaurant" (News24, 2018b). The selection of the second article was based on the perpetrator's first court appearance, where only one article was fit for the sample, titled "Cheers as Dros rape accused drops bail bid" (Gous et al., 2018). The last three articles were selected based on the perpetrator's pre- and post-sentencing court proceedings, and were titled "Drugs made me rape her" (Tlhabye, 2019); "I intentionally raped girl (7) at the restaurant - Ninow" (Jordaan, 2019) and; "Drug-using child rapist gets life" (Citizen reporter, 2019). These criteria presented this case study with a total sample of five news articles for analysis, bringing the study's final sample to ten articles. From this, a data collection procedure was implemented.

3. Data Analysis: Thematic Analysis

Once the sample was set, the data collection process started. The first step of data collection was a quick scan of the study sample, using an inductive approach, and thus relying on data to elucidate themes in each case, and between the cases (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). An inductive research approach involves reading and interpreting raw textual data to develop concepts, themes or a process model through interpretations based on data, and relying on the theoretical underpinnings of this study (Thomas, 2006). These emerging themes would then be used in the study's analysis. As Yazan (2015) suggested, case studies require the overall collection and analysis process for one case to be completed before moving on to the second.

This is because “we take a particular case and come to know it well, not primarily as to how it is different from others but what it is, what it does” (Stake, 1995, p.8). Thus, the study focused on news articles from the Joe Slovo informal settlement case first.

The second step of data analysis entailed a close reading of articles in the Joe Slovo informal settlement case, to achieve a deeper familiarisation with the case, and identify preliminary codes (Stead et al., 2016; Mackieson et al., 2019). The initial codes were: 1. Violence; 2. Representation; 3. Space. The study then reverted to the research questions to identify whether these codes could build themes that would align to decolonial feminist theory, and adequately answer the research question of this study (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Yazan, 2015). It was established that the code “Violence” spoke to the first research question, i.e. What kind of GBVAWC incidences are reported in the selected articles? The second code, “Representation”, spoke to the second research question, i.e. What are the dominant representations of the male perpetrators in the articles? The third code, “Space”, spoke to research questions one and two.

The codes then had to be broken down into sub-codes for data extraction. Sub-codes were named, defined, assigned a colour and recorded in a codebook, which ensured that key elements and steps of data analysis were recorded. It also articulated how the data informed the broader code that would turn into a theme (Mackieson et al., 2019). This process generated six sub-codes that were recorded into the codebook: violence inflicted, violence endured, censored representations, accepted representations, occupiable spaces, and restricted spaces. For complete initial definitions, assigned colour, scope and theme build-up of each sub-code, please refer to Addendum A.

The application of codes to the two cases involved highlighting text in each news article in the colour assigned to the relevant code in the codebook. The coded text was made up of phrases, sentences, paragraphs and images. This allowed for the identification of recurring patterns in data that would later be used in the analysis stage. This process was applied article by article, where each reading was dedicated to one code. Therefore, each article was read three times, once for each code. Once this was done, a final reading of all articles was done to check for continuity, omissions and/or possible additions. The outcome of this process is presented in Addendum B. This process was then replicated and applied to the Dros rape case study.

In the coding process of the Dros rape, a new theme emerged: 4. Social Psychopathies. For the purposes of validity and continuation, the emergence of this theme required an addition to the codebook, where the additional code was named, defined and assigned a colour. The new codes were named 'extenuating and aggravating social psychopathies' and placed in the section of Level II coding. In contrast, the first three codes were titled Level I codes. Once coding was completed in the Dros rape case study, a second level of coding was implemented in both case studies: first, to apply the new code to the first case study; second, to ensure the continuity of codes in all articles.

This process created a data set, which was carefully read in the final step of data analysis, and the codes/themes were revisited. It was found that some codes/themes needed renaming and redefining, as they no longer sufficiently reflected the data set. Therefore, new themes were presented in the last column of the codebook as 1. Legitimate vs Illegitimate Violence; 2. Representation: A Racialisation of Male Perpetrators; 3. Politics of space; and 4. Aggravating vs Extenuating Social Psychopathy. This led to the final stage, the data analysis.

The data were analysed using thematic and critical discourse analysis to create a more complex understanding of the discourse around the case studies. Thematic analysis was used as the first level of analysis, followed by critical discourse analysis. Thematic analysis is a method that involves identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) that emerged from the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This made up the first level of analysis for this study. Through the coding process, common themes were identified and, with the help of existing literature, meaning was assigned to them (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). After that, connections and disconnections of this meaning were presented. Thus, this first level of analysis allowed the study to answer the third research question posed in this study; What are the similarities and differences in the incidences and descriptions in the selected articles?

4. Data Analysis: Critical Discourse Analysis

This study required more than merely discussing and analysing the patterns found in the data, as it aimed to find deeper meaning in how these patterns further spoke to systems of power. As the study grounded itself in decolonial feminist perspectives of systems of power that affect GBVAWC, it was essential to use a contextual, historical and intersectional perspective for the analysis (Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2020). As a result, a second level of analysis was introduced.

For this, critical discourse analysis was applied to the findings of the thematic analysis. Critical discourse analyses primarily study how social power, dominance and inequality are enacted and reproduced in society (van Dijk, 1993). What is less salient than the patterns present in data was the underlying modes of power that were at play. Thus, critical discourse analysis made “transparent the connections between discourse practices, social practices, and social structures, connections that might be opaque” in the everyday use and consumption of news

(Xie, 2018, p. 399). Therefore, through the use of critical perspective, the CDA will highlight underlying modes of capitalism, race and patriarchy that could be carried in the themes that are identified. For example, in the theme 1. Legitimate vs Illegitimate Violence, systems of race and class underpin which violences are legitimate and which are illegitimate. Here, language used describe violence perpetrated by oppressed people is plain and patent. However, the language used to describe the violence perpetrated by groups, institutions and systems of power is unobtrusive and sometimes, affirming violence in society (Boonzaier, 2017; Gouws, 2017). In this theme, the connections between discourse on male perpetrators, news media's use of language in reporting of violence and, structures of race and class are thus made apparent and analysed.

Once themes and patterns of meaning were identified, they were analysed using decolonial feminist perspectives. These perspectives confront the production and reproduction of systems of domination that maintain social power and inequality (Lugones, 2016; Mack & Na'puti, 2019; Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2020; Tamale, 2020), and highlight how these systems further aggravate and normalise the problem of GBVAVC in South Africa. Therefore, the differences and similarities picked up from the thematic analysis allowed this study to answer the final research question of this study; How can these similarities and differences be understood within the context of a critical, decolonial feminist framework of male violence?

3.4 Reflexivity

A critical aspect of doing decolonial feminist research is the acknowledgment that our situatedness and subjectivity is always bleeding into the analysis and lenses that we use as researchers (Mama, 2011b; Ahmed, 2014; Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018). Reflexivity is thus both

“an ethical and political practice” (Harcourt, 2016, p. 240), and my situatedness and subjectivity formed a part of the critical engagement of the research process. This reflexivity allowed me to recognise the obvious and underlying effects of doing violence research that could be mistaken as removed from the research process (Mohamed, 2023). As a Black woman living in a violent, racist, (post)colonial and capitalist South Africa, I have experiences politically shaped by the race, class and gendered systems that control society. Further, my past experiences of sexual and gender-based violence have shaped my outlook on both victim and perpetratorhood. Therefore, throughout this study, I continuously revisited past subjective, institutional and systemic effects of this trauma, which may have informed some aspects of my reading of the case studies and their data. Therefore, reflexive work became a major part of this research process.

Reflexive work must intentionally be part of research as it helps create knowledge that is reflective, and recognises positions of power that may have a role in the reproduction of SOS violence (Ahmed, 2014; Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018). In this study, reflexive work was achieved through voicing my sensitivities and feelings with my supervisor and throughout our Feminist Research Methodologies class. A memorable supervision session ended with my supervisor reminding me, “Bali, this is difficult, taxing work. Take time out to reflect and replenish”. Another was when Kharnita Mohamed, a guest lecturer for a Feminist Research Methodologies class titled “Considering affect in feminist methodologies”, stated that “sometimes you feel like you’re a lazy student, but have you considered the effects of repeatedly consuming violent stories?” Such interactions helped me consciously and continuously locate and relocate myself within this difficult process (Ahmed, 2005). Alongside this, I realised that, as a researcher, I sometimes had to do extra reading of literature and data, in order produce quality findings.

In retrospect, as difficult as the process was, I believe that the reflexive work was needed, as it helped me think creatively around research that tries to minimise harm and maximise care, while equally challenging institutions and systems that are entrenched in violence (Shefer & Bozalek, 2022). I am appreciative to my lecturers who always reminded me that one's experiences in life have the possibility to yield knowledge that may change how we do things.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethics approval for this study was obtained from the University of the Western Cape's Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, under Reference Number: HS22/8/50. One of the committee's requirements relates to storing data. The articles used in this study were stored on a Google drive that is accessible to both the supervisor and the student, which allows for the capability of data for future use and possible validation of the study, if needed. However, once the period of 5-10 years required for storage by the committee has lapsed, the Google folder will be deleted. This issue of ethics is based on procedural data considerations; however, this project required further ethical research principles to be considered.

Issues of ethical care were a central part of this research. While the study does not involve human participants, ethical care was still needed, as newspaper articles reported on issues affecting people, and people belonging to vulnerable groups. Here, the information was already in the public domain. However, parts of this information were still considered harmful. This study grounded itself in decolonial feminist principles of ethics and, thus, implemented ethical considerations that the public might have ignored.

Feminist ethics differ from normal modes of ethics in that they ensure that the “means (research methods and practices) be compatible with the ends (liberatory and transformative)” (Mama, 2011b, p. e13). Since the research study carried aspects of liberatory and transformative objectives, decolonial feminist ethics aligned with the study’s epistemology and ontology. This required me as the researcher to continuously and ultimately engage with a different way of doing research, one in which power was manifested outside of and through my engagement with this project. Further, they required me to include and engage with ethical dilemmas that I faced, which contradicted some feminist commitments (Mama, 2011a; 2011b). These engagements are discussed in detail below.

I was faced with the first ethical concern of this research during the conceptual phase. At the time, the concern arose from the anti-GBV activist role I have lived in for many years. A key aspect of this is the importance of effectively calling out perpetrators of GBVAWC to deal with the scourge (Gqola, 2007). However, this study has consistently positioned itself as one that seeks to unearth and question the loci of power, rather than only blaming individuals. Later, I would find that this concern, from a researcher’s perspective, spoke to the issue of justice that has become one of the guiding ethical research principles. I therefore continued, as I saw the need to uncover how systems of violence create and continue the cyclical nature of violence, which is so often omitted and misrepresented in the public discourse around GBVAWC. Thus, while it may be construed as moving away from the feminist commitment to unmasking the seemingly ambiguous predator that perpetuates this violence, this project sought to elucidate how public discourse ignores systemic and institutional acts of violence, which further exacerbates GBVAWC in South Africa.

The second ethical concern related to the issue of non-maleficence. As stated above, the project utilised information already in the public domain; however, this information did not meet the requirements of decolonial feminist ethics, as mentioned by Mama (2011). When the news media named the Joe Slovo informal settlement perpetrator, it was regarded as information that was in the public domain; however, it showed the power, or lack thereof, that some perpetrators and victims have in society. This view is based on the Press Code of Ethics and Conduct for South African Print and Online Media, Section 8, which was outlined earlier in this chapter.

Therefore, as an act of undoing this gross violation, this project does not mention the perpetrator's name, even though it was made public in news articles. Further, the decolonial feminist principles underlying this study brought about some discomforts when using images that were published in newspapers (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002).

Violence can be reproduced through what we choose to show (Bourdieu, 2003). Newspapers, and the imagery used in them, can become a part of the banalities of everyday life; once printed and read, the images “disappear” into the everydayness of society. This disappearance desensitises society and erases the shock that would generally call us into action and/or despair (Puar, 2015). The series of photographs of a young child flung over the roof were plastered all over newspapers without causing outrage. Both these cases involved children who will one day grow up with the trauma of the incidents, and who may be further traumatised by the banality of the violence shown in videos and photographs (Hartman, 2008).

I wondered why the news media was not called out by society for publishing such gratuitously violent imagery. Here, questions on the need and effectiveness of the imagery arose. Decolonial feminist literature highlighted the carelessness of media, and their representations of

marginalised people where their pain is involved (Puar, 2015; Boonzaier, 2017). This literature made me sensitive to and aware of practices that might be widely accepted, yet are underpinned by symbolic and systemic violence. As a result, I felt that the textual imagery of both cases was enough to form a critically qualitative analysis, and neither of them required any images of the incidents (Fuentes, 2016). I felt obliged to not include any images when compiling this report. This decision was both a practice established on an ethics of care, and a protest against the circulation of the imagery. For this research, I do not believe that showing the photographs would generate further clarification to what has already been described textually.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter described the qualitative inductive approach and case study methodology undertaken in this study, explaining why the approach and the methodology were suited for this study. Further, this chapter outlined the systematic process followed in sampling, collecting and analysing the data, showing how this process helped to answer each research question posed in this study, and further introduced the themes that will be discussed in the following chapter. After that, the chapter discussed ethical issues that needed to be considered, and how these issues were informed by the researcher's reflexivity and decolonial feminist thought that underpinned the research process.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation, discussion and analysis of findings. The overarching question of this proposed research project is: How are male perpetrators represented in newspaper articles of GBVAWC, and what might a decolonial African feminist lens bring to such an analysis? Sub-questions are: What kind of GBVAWC incidences are reported in the selected articles? What are the dominant representations of the male perpetrators in the articles? What are the similarities and differences in the incidences and descriptions in the selected articles? How can these similarities and differences be understood within the context of a critical, decolonial feminist framework of male violence?

This chapter will answer these questions through the perspective of decolonial feminist theories. Hall (1996) has troubled media representation in general, while Boonzaier (2022), amongst others who write in the South African context, highlights the problems of media representations of issues such as GBVAWC in society. Hall (1996) came to the conclusion that representations are not accidentally made, but rather placed and positioned by the media in sometimes strategic, but always political, ways. In local contexts of GBVAWC, Chapter Two further described how Boonzaier (2022) specifically highlighted how contemporary media narratives in SA construct the violence perpetrated by some men as expected and normal.

Thus, when trying to understand how news media has reported on violence, these critical perspectives on media representations are key. From Hall (1996), we see that those in power own the media, and therefore what is shown in the media maintains dominant power structures. To understand whose ideologies are represented in the media, this research is underpinned by

the theoretical framework of decolonial feminist theories, as elaborated in Chapter Two. Theorists such as Tamale (2011), Mack and Na’puti (2019) and Boonzaier (2022) highlight that the locus of social control lies in people, institutions and systems that represent the dominant class, race, gender and heteronormative groups in society. Thus, in historical contexts of colonisation and contemporary, ongoing global inequalities, dominance is awarded to what hooks (1995, p. 60) calls an “imperialist white supremacist hetero-patriarchal” ideal.

As outlined earlier, systems of race, class, gender and sexuality continuously recreate a social hierarchy where white, wealthy, heterosexual men are humanised and represented as the idealised norm, while the rest of society is othered or dehumanised. In racial capitalist, unequal patriarchal societies, those located in subjugated identities are excluded, and pushed into positions and feelings of inferiority, abandonment and alienation that continuously work to maintain the locus of social power. This inflicts harm on specific groups of men, women and children in South Africa, through privileging, subjugation, othering and dehumanisation. Moreover, this research argues that news representations of GBVAVC have reinforced these hierarchical group identities and power inequalities through their representations of male perpetrators. This analysis, therefore, seeks to highlight the normalised ‘everyday’ narratives that effect social discourse around GBVAVC, as shown in news media about male perpetrators of violence against women and children.

This chapter is an explication of the thematic and critical discourse analysis of the data, as outlined in the methodology chapter. It begins by presenting and discussing the four emerging themes, followed by a decolonial feminist analysis in the respective themes.

4.2. Findings

The emerging dominant and silenced discourses are analysed within four central themes: legitimate vs illegitimate violence, racialised representations, politics of space, and aggravated vs extenuated social psychopathic representations. These themes were defined, described and analysed according to theories that were aligned to decolonial feminist ideologies.

1. *Legitimate vs Illegitimate Violence*

Violence has a long history in South African society; through this history, violence has become an everyday part of society. The everydayness of this violence is entrenched in diverse social narratives. Conversations around violence rightfully but problematically abnormalise violence that causes bodily harm, i.e., physical and sexual harm, while systemic violence that causes other types of harm, such as the structural violence of poverty and the dehumanisation of certain bodies, causing economic, psychological and institutional harm, are marginalised, trivialised, or outright ignored. This visibilises and legitimises certain types of violence, while obfuscating and illegitimising others, as there is widespread erasure of the fact that violence is built into the fabric of South African society.

This was evident in the selected articles. At the same time, the language used in the news articles presents different types of violence, whether focusing on the abhorrent acts of individual male violence or the admirable acts of individual rescue from physical violence. For example, in the Joe Slovo Father case study, the following headlines are relevant: “Under-siege dad flings toddler off shack roof” (Buso et al., 2018); “Officer hailed as hero after saving baby from fall” (Sain, 2018); “PE dad denied bail after child abuse charges” (African News Agency, 2018); “Support for dad who flung tot” (O’Reilly, 2018). The father’s violent act of throwing his daughter off the roof is repeatedly mentioned in these headlines. However, while this

individualised act of violence is headlined and discussed in the body of the articles, an equally prominent collective violence is evident in the story, yet erased, silenced and marginalised in the discourse. That is the state violence, through its policing norms and inability to provide housing for its citizens. Further in the periphery is the structural violence of poverty that is related to centuries of colonisation, decades of poverty, and continued local and global inequalities that sustain and bolster these histories of inequality. In these articles, the police are represented as a mediator of violence, and their role as initiators of violence is glossed over through phrases such as “safeguard the process” (Buso et al., 2018), and “An officer unsuccessfully tries to stop the man” (Sain, 2018). However, the articles simultaneously represent a heavy police presence through the use of phrases such as, “Under-siege” (Buso et al., 2018); “hippo parked close by” (Buso et al., 2018); “amid a heavy police presence” (O’Reilly, 2018); “overpowered by police” (Buso et al., 2018); “officer unsuccessfully tries to stop the man” (Sain, 2018). Contrary to their representation as keeping the peace and “safeguarding” communities, these phrases gesture to an almost militarised operation initiated and organised by the police against the community. This raises the question, why is this “siege” not highlighted as a violent encounter by the media?

Additionally, articles mention that the Joe Slovo father “had been evicted from a back-yard shack in the Joe Slovo informal settlement, as they had been unable to pay rent” (News24, 2018a); thus, they built a home on a vacant piece of land, and it “was then demolished by the municipality” (African News Agency, 2018). As a result, “the man’s family, which included his four children, is destitute” (News24, 2018a). News articles highlighted that the “government can’t keep up with the housing demand because the national fiscus cannot afford it” (Buso et al., 2018). Thus, the second question that arises is why the perpetrator’s destitution,

and thus the structural violence of poverty, is also not highlighted as a violent reality for this perpetrator and his family?

Minimising the conditions of the perpetrator's life falls within the legitimised structures of social class stratification. On the surface, social class conditions are accepted and normalised as integral to the societal set-up; rich, middle-class and poor. However, these conditions indicate a reality of violence, perpetrated by institutions and structures instead of individual actors in communities. It is thus essential to note that news media has not engaged with the violence that this perpetrator has endured through poverty, or how, when trying to navigate around this violence, institutional violence reinforced the existing harm perpetrated by the system of class inequality. This pervasive structural violence, that is continuously met with in this case study, can thus not be ignored in the discourse of GBVAWC, and violence in South Africa as a whole. Poverty is the main reason this family was left destitute and dispossessed, forcing this father and his family to occupy vacant land to build a safe and secure home. Thus, poverty and its violence are essential factors in the narrative of the Joe Slovo informal settlement case. This narrative could have shaped the social discourse to one that questions and investigates the interpersonal violence of this perpetrator. However, it became a silenced narrative of the male perpetrator, his family and his community, while further invisibilising the harmful nature of the classist social structure.

Following Hall's analysis, the answer to the question, of why the perpetrator's destitution, and thus the structural violence of poverty, is also not highlighted, is due to the locus of power in South Africa. An article published by *The Herald* on 13 April, 2018, stated that the president of South Africa had said earlier in 2018 that, "those occupying land illegally should face the full might of the law" (Buso et al., 2018). Therefore, the articles imply that the mere occupation

of vacant land legitimises the criminalisation and violent removal of those who “occupy land illegally.” These laws, constraining people to specific spaces according to their race and class, are reminiscent of the draconian laws put in place to control the movement of Black people in colonial-apartheid South Africa. Historically, such laws enforced land taxes that were impossible for Africans to pay; they legitimised the confiscation of cattle, assets and land; and they forced Black people into the labour market to further the imperialist race for capital domination (Wolpe, 1972; Legassick, 1974). These laws declared that those without capital were unable to keep and own the land they live on (Rodríguez Castro, 2021).

Currently, the South African government is in the hands of the Black majority, and constitutional laws aim to protect people from the injustices carried out in colonial-apartheid South Africa. However, the state violence inflicted upon people through contestations over space has barely changed, and it continues to be Black people who live in poverty and are affected by land ownership laws. Systems of race and class are violent in that they are normalised, and they further produce and reproduce social domination (Žižek, 2008). People living in the margins of these systems are often not treated with human dignity or allowed to attain basic human needs. Yet, these inhumane conditions of living have been normalised through the colonial history, resulting in the current social context of Black people forming the largest group of people living in poverty (Abdulla, 2017). The community of Joe Slovo faces systemic violence of being Black and living in poverty. The state controls land for capitalist gain; if one cannot afford to buy land, one will be assigned land which government sees fit. Thus, through systemic violence, the existence of a Black person living in poverty is as normalised now as it was in colonial-apartheid South Africa. Such people are called “illegal dwellers” and “land grabbers” because of systems of race and class.

The identity of the illegitimate body has not changed, and the legitimization of violence inflicted upon them remains unquestioned; they continue to be illegitimised and violatable. Hartman (2018, p. 476) notes that laws of dehumanisation might change, but their processes remain, stating that one mode of regulation “did not supersede the other, but extended the state of servitude, violence, and death in a new guise.” The state of servitude here is the inability to occupy free land, thus criminalising the very notion of terra nullius that was used to dispossess Black people in South Africa by colonisers (Mack & Na’puti, 2019; Shefer & Bozalek, 2022). The violence continues to be inflicted in a militarised manner against those who occupy land and spaces they have not been sanctioned to occupy (Rodríguez Castro, 2021). The new guise, however, is state-sanctioned laws that have made it illegal to build safe and secure homes. These laws have turned homes into “illegal structures” and illegitimised the occupation of open land by calling it “land invasion”. The state has legitimised their violence by stating that the land was earmarked for “projects approved for individuals to get houses” (Buso et al., 2018, p. 2), within a South Africa that claims to uphold freedom for all, thus undoing the injustices of the past. Yet, these injustices have not been undone. Because systemic violence is normalised, when poor and Black people “respond to structural violence, they are problematised and criminalised” (Xaba, 2017, p. 96). This justifies the extreme force with which the state responded to the eviction process of this community. However, while the violence is state-sanctioned, it still constitutes violence against the community, the perpetrator and the victim.

The dominant narrative shaped in the news articles is of a child violated by her father, who was going against efforts to rid society of the scourge of GBVAWC. The violence perpetrated against the Joe Slovo community, sidelined in media narratives, was therefore legitimised in news articles that focused on violence against a child living in the same community. However, the less salient, implicit discourse, and the material conditions that underlined the news report

of the Joe Slovo community “siege,” was one of state violence. Articles failed to recognise that the state violated the child too (as well as the father and the community) and that this state violence goes against the same efforts to end GBVAWC.

Here, news has represented both the victims and perpetrators of GBVAWC within the bounds of gratuitous, colonially constructed discourses of violence, and therefore discusses GBVAWC in oversimplified moments of individual violence that seem to justify further dehumanising modes of news reporting on both victims and perpetrators. By decontextualising this violence, the articles imply that women and children who try to protect themselves against the control of the state will inevitably be violated, and that this violation is legitimate and periphery. Further, the oversimplified discussions around the perpetrator ignore that he was simultaneously a victim of violence.

2. Racialised Representations

The violence enacted by the father was the only violence deemed illegitimate, and as contributing to the current state of GBVAWC in South Africa. It is therefore expected that the media would ensure that coverage of this violence would be aligned with the ethics of responsible reporting that protects victims of GBVAWC. However, the discussion above unearthed how the narrative further harms victims of GBVAWC. Existing research on the media substantiates this finding, showing that these narratives are often presented under a white-supremacist patriarchal lens that “spectacularises” and “monsterises” (Boonzaier, 2022, p. e14) certain bodies in its representations (Boonzaier, 2017; Brodie, 2019; Gqola, 2021). These studies also found that reporting on GBVAWC in news media was marred by gratuitous images of particular victims (Brodie, 2019; Gqola, 2021). What is less salient from these

representations, however, is how media further monsterises some perpetrators while humanising others (Boonzaier, 2022).

Because of the sensitive nature of GBVAWC, it is imperative that images used are not only relevant to the story, showing the context of the GBVAWC, but also do no further harm to persons affected by this violence⁷. In South Africa, specific laws and codes of ethics are put in place around which images can and cannot be used in news coverage, as unpacked in Chapter Three. This puts the burden of care on the media outlet, ensuring that news content protects children from possible further harm, by not making public any information that might be identifiable or harmful.

In the Dros rape case, news articles highlighted the sensitive nature of the violation, quoting the NPA who stated that the rape “involves a minor so I can’t disclose any information about it” (News24, 2018b). The reports of the sexual assault “first surfaced on Facebook” (News24, 2018b), with a video that was “purportedly taken moments after the rape ordeal, depicted a naked man who was partly covered in blood” (Gous et al., 2018), and later appeared on Twitter. Notably, news media in this case upheld their code of ethics, informing the public about the legalities and ethics of not publishing the images. To support these ethical modes of practice, a Tweet by the government was quoted, pleading with South African social media users to not “share the disturbing video” (Gous et al., 2018).

Images relating to the case only started surfacing in the media once the courts allowed the “application for still photographs” (Gous et al., 2018). From here on, different court images of

⁷ For the purposes of research, this study has provided a narration of images used in news articles. However, although the imagery exists in the public domain, this study has not republished the photos because of their violent and unethical nature, as discussed under the ethical considerations in Chapter Three (Hartman, 2008; Kwansah-Aidoo & Osei Owusu, 2012).

the perpetrator were widely published, with captions such as “Nowhere to hide: the man accused of raping a child at a Dros restaurant appears in the Pretoria Magistrate’s court on Tuesday” (Gous et al., 2018); and “Convicted rapist Nicholas Ninow is led into the high court in Pretoria yesterday to testify in mitigation of his sentence” (Jordaan, 2019). The rights of the victim and the perpetrator were considered and upheld, while educating and informing the public. Moreover, by stating the ethical obligations, and legal and moral impacts of the public imagery around this case, the media ensured that the violation of the young girl was not reproduced through news production (Kwansah-Aidoo & Osei Owusu, 2012).

While the media abided by their code of ethics in the Dros rape case, it is in a crude contrast to the violent imagery plastered all over articles of the Joe Slovo informal settlement father case. The implication is that certain bodies are more valuable, fragile and in need of protection than others, and this is usually along racial and class lines (Puar, 2015). In the case of the Joe Slovo informal settlement, news articles were full of multiple disturbingly violent images, headlined with spectacularised language (Boonzaier, 2022). Words such as “fall”, “toss” and “fling” are followed by images of a little body's fall from the roof of her home, amidst a scuffle between her father and a policeman (see Buso et al., 2018; O'Reilly, 2018; Sain, 2018). The pictures are captioned, “The father dangles his baby from the roof of his shack, with the aim of throwing her off” (Sain, 2018); and “An officer unsuccessfully tries to stop the man from throwing his baby off the roof” (Sain, 2018). While a further caption mentions “Constable Luyolo Nojulumba caught the baby before she hit ground” (Sain, 2018), the photos show some civilians and police officers catching the little child. More disturbingly, one photo is captioned, “Rooftop spectacle: this series of dramatic images show how a toddler was thrown from the roof of a shack in Joe Slovo and caught by metro police officers” (Buso et al., 2018). These images and narratives further highlight how one perpetrator of violence is seen as violent, while

the enforcer of systemic violence is celebrated, as seen in the caption “Cop praised: Constable Luyolo Nojulumba, who caught the child, with Metro Police chief Yolanda Faro at the court” (O’Reilly, 2018). These acts were both violent, but only one was deemed violent in news articles.

Images can tell a story and cultivate certain emotions. The politics of affect highlight how emotions become the foundation of human behaviour. Here, Ahmed (2005, p. 108) argues that the “intimate labour of emotions involves the transformation of some others into unlikeness (not like me) and others into likeness (like me) through the very process of moving towards and away from others.” Therefore, images used in the news, and the affect that they invoke, become an essential point of analysis when unpacking discourse. This discourse transforms both perpetrator and victim into those like us who have harmed or been harmed, or those unlike like us who harm or have been harmed. Here, the affect thus works to rehumanise both perpetrator and victim through empathy. As a result, acts of care work against any further harm that could be enacted beyond the moment of violence.

While the child's face has been blurred in the pictures, the use of these pictures by newspapers is unethical, according to their own regulatory frameworks. The pictures contravene two aspects. Firstly, publishing these images was careless, as the image of a person being thrown off a roof is gratuitously violent. Gratuitous images of violent acts desensitise readers, as it normalises this type of violence and thus becomes a form of harm in itself (Boonzaier, 2017). Secondly, it is concerning that, while the articles blurred the child's face, they jeopardised the child's anonymity by publishing her father's name in some of these articles, and continuously mention the relationship between the perpetrator to the child. Thus, society can identify the child, now and in the future, eternalising the child's connection to and victimhood in the alleged

abuse. It is not mentioned whether naming the perpetrator was a point of discussion in the news articles, which further poses the question of whether these articles are legally justified, not only in the gratuitous reproduction of this violent incident, but also in the jeopardised anonymity of the child.

Further, were reporting ethics in these two cases equally considered? This obvious difference forces us to question the less obvious meanings that arise when two moments of violence are analysed against each other, and question how race and class shape media narratives. It is, however, important to reiterate that both acts of abuse are violent, and that each perpetrator displayed illegal violence towards children. However, what is represented in the media draws an implicit difference between the acts of violence. Boonzaier (2022, p. 14) argues that, when reporting on GBVAWC, media representations carry a “spectacularised and monsterised” narrative that is raced and classed. However, when juxtaposing the reporting on these two cases, we see that the media has done this for one case but not the other. In the case of the Dros rape, news articles report on his grandmother’s court statement that explains how this perpetrator has a childhood history of being abused by his mother and her partners (Tlhabye, 2019). Further, news articles give the perpetrators account of how his mother “introduced” him “to chemical drugs” (Jordaan, 2019). In these articles, the media presented a history of tragic life events that can be argued to have created a susceptibility in the perpetrator to performing the act of violence, thus excusing him for his violence. This narrative of his life history, as it emerges in the media, portrays the perpetrator as a victim of devastating life circumstances and that the moment of violence was impulsive and, therefore, separate from who he is.

These representations reproduce meaning that is entrenched in coloniality. In the case of the Joe Slovo father, the Black, poor perpetrator is spectacularised and demonised as violent, with

no attempt to provide extenuating factors for his violence. However, in the Dros rape case, the white rapist was represented through his history of trauma and the development of extenuating factors to explain away his violence, thus evoking societal empathy. Seen through a colonial lens, Black masculinities are deemed naturally violent, thus always needing force to contain them (Fanon, 1963, 2008; Pattman & Bhana, 2006; Ratele, 2013; Langa et al, 2020; Shefer, 2021). This force is seen as justified because it is the only sensible way of dealing with a savage who is capable of throwing his daughter off the roof. Moreover, the series of photographs are not deemed as gratuitous because, as Boonzaier (2022, p. 14) highlights, media narratives construct the violence perpetrated by black men as “expected and ‘normal.’” However, she also argues that “the violence perpetrated by white, wealthy or middle-class men,” like the Dros rapist, requires much interrogation (Boonzaier, 2022, p. 14). This type of interrogation, however, cannot be the psychologised and excusing explanation that tends to be awarded to white, middle-class perpetrators in South Africa (Boonzaier, 2022).

Such differences in representation serve to recycle colonial ideologies, perpetuating the “very same colonial racialisation of the violence” (Boonzaier, 2022, p. 14). Such representations enforce an ideology that constructs Black male perpetrators as monsters, thus dehumanising the Black man, as Biko (1978/2015) pointed to decades ago. The media's omission of the Joe Slovo father's life circumstances before the violent incident fixes his identity in the moment of his violent act. What could have been described as an act of violence out of desperation was merely represented as a “rooftop spectacle,” which reinscribes a stereotype of poor Black men. The perpetrator is re-presented within the narrow spectrum of the violent removal of “illegal dwellers,” without presenting him as a person, a parent, who could have had devastating life circumstances that aggravated the moment of violence.

His Black identity was decontextualized, removed from its historical narrative of being othered as primitive mentally, and animalistic by nature (Fanon, 2008). Not only was the child's threat of harm spectacularised as a mere “series of dramatic images,” but the father's moment of violence was demonised through these images. These representations further reproduce a unitary picture of white identity as the only one worthy of contextualisation (Fanon, 2008). Furthermore, in terms of the racialisation of representations, the Dros rape victim's identity is considerably protected, while the Joe Slovo victim's is not. The question that arises is, why is the former deemed more in need of protection than the latter? While both victims are Black, here class seems to play a role in terms of state responses and public representations of both perpetrator and victim. The effort to apply the laws and ethics of care legitimise one victim, and their right to seek extensive avenues of justice is most likely shaped by class privilege. Legitimising the victim further necessitates that the perpetrator is scrutinised and critically analysed beyond the moment of violence (Gouws, 2013; Boonzaier, 2017).

Here, the discourse around violence moves beyond the conversation on whether violence is legitimate. Instead, it illustrates which perpetrator's identity is fixed in the moment of violence, and which is not. Therefore, in reading these two cases, media representations serve to monsterise some perpetrators through aggravating representations, while humanising others through extenuating representations. Therefore, raced, classed and gendered representations fix the identity of a Black man living in poverty in the aggravated moment of violence that was captured in a series of images. This captures the man, but further holds him captive in his moment of violence, thus constructing a bestial identity (Tamale, 2011). However, a white middle-class man is represented in a spectrum of extenuating circumstances which separate the monstrous, “disturbing” act caught on video from the man on trial for rape. These representations fixate Black men as violent beasts, while privileging white masculinities as

violent only under exceptional circumstances. These representations invisibilise the context of the act, while simultaneously visibilising the man who perpetrated the act.

3. Politics of space

The sections above detailed how systems of race and class work to dehumanise certain bodies, deeming certain people not worthy of restoration, care and understanding within the community. What is further inferred is the ability to control, restrict and discipline certain groups of people with violence, thus maintaining systems that alienate and take individual and collective agency away from people. Therefore, there runs a parallel between privilege and freedom for some bodies to take up physical space. However, these privileges are also reproduced in news media. This privilege of space is predominantly awarded to white bodies, which has been carried through from colonisation to the present, and from material geography to the symbolic geographies of coverage of male-perpetrated GBVAWC.

Land ownership has been a focus of South African society for decades. During the colonisation of South Africa, violent battles erupted between Blacks and the colonisers over territory and land seizure. These violent encounters include, among others, the Hintsa's War (1834-1836), Senekal's War (1858-1868), and the Phokwane Uprising (1878) (Matlhako, 2013; Webb, 2015; Coplan, 2001). Once the land was seized, Black people continued to suffer under regulations that prohibited and restricted movement. The establishment of power over Black people across South Africa was achieved through legislated annexation and control of land. The apartheid government further developed and entrenched this legislation. Thus, violence in South Africa was legitimised and furthered by the legalised appropriation, constraint and control of occupiable spaces (Biko, 1978/2015).

Through systems of control and discipline, Black bodies are disciplined in how they act in certain spaces, through the freedom (or lack thereof) they are allowed within them (Xaba, 2017). The exclusion and inclusion of bodies into prescribed spaces carry with them a narrative of who is visible and who is invisibilised in society, alongside the maiming of bodies through rules about who can occupy space. Space thus becomes an arena of the colonial stronghold and decolonial concern. As mentioned above, terra nullius is criminalised; thus, colonial harms of dispossessions cannot be undone, but rather are continuously repeated.

Within the political discourse of space, dispossession strips people of property, land and the ability to produce and sustain life within capitalist social stratification. However, dispossession does more significant harm, and its effects are seen in multiple layers of human experience. Dispossession thus carries a physical, psychological and cognitive violation of people affected by it, and has multiplicitous effects that result in the erasure of communities. This hyper-visible erasure simultaneously works to invisibilise humanness in dehumanised bodies. Dispossession, therefore, goes beyond the discourse that limits life to politics and jurisprudence; instead, the focus moves to the biopolitical responsibilities of the state. This dispossession thus results in the maiming and maimability of Black bodies living in poverty. Here, Puar (2015) highlights that systems of power often wound or injure marginalised communities by denying them adequate humane infrastructure. She calls attention to “the maiming of infrastructure to transform the able-bodied into disabled through the control of calories, water, electricity, health care supplies, and fuel” (Puar, 2015, p. 220). Here, Black people living in poverty are not given adequate resources to enable them to live healthy, meaningful lives, or to potentially emerge out of poverty. Dispossession deprives people of the opportunity to build a home, and a safe and nurturing environment that humanises communities. This deprivation separates them from the greater society and forces them into the ubiquitous control of capitalist ideals. Thus, the

erasure of individuals and depersonalisation of their communities is of significant concern to society. While the state is responsible for producing this, the media becomes an accessory to state maiming through their coverage of individual cases of violence, as illustrated in these two case studies.

The erasure of the Joe Slovo perpetrator's complex relationship with the politics of space is implied in news statements such as "illegally occupied municipal land" (Buso et al., 2018); "he could not be released as he didn't have a fixed address after his structure was demolished" (African News Agency, 2018); and that government "can't keep up with the housing demand because the national fiscus can't handle it" (Buso et al., 2018). The people of Joe Slovo did not want to accept that "only 15 out of the 125 sites in the area would be made available to Joe Slovo residents and the surrounding areas" (Buso et al., 2018). Homes that were built by this community are referred to as "illegal structures" (News24, 2018a) and "illegal houses" (African News Agency, 2018); these statements show how, biopolitically, the perpetrator's home was not considered a home, but rather an illegal structure. While the harm done to these homes through removals is accepted through its legitimisation by state laws, the harm is identified as an erasure of the person and community. Puar (2015) further equates this to the state performing partial executions through dispossession. She argues that maiming "thus functions not as an incomplete death, or an accidental assault on life, but as the end goal in the dual production of permanent disability via the infliction of harm and the attrition of the life support systems that might allow populations to heal" (Puar, 2015, p. 220). Here, the exclusion from terra nullius was used to inflict harm, but could rather have healed the people who were most affected by the colonial apartheid violence of dispossession.

Therefore, due to the systematic restriction and control of Black bodies, the state erases the Joe Slovo community from fully belonging in South Africa, and legitimates their maiming and maimability. However, while dispossession is inflicted upon Black bodies, in post-apartheid times, terra nullius is still reserved for white bodies. Colonisation restricted Black bodies, while privileging white bodies with freedom of movement and occupation. Further, the inherited class position has enabled the majority of white bodies in South Africa to maintain land occupation, and access more land, due to sustained access to capital. As seen through studies such as those of Miller (2018), occupation of vast and best tracts of land was and continues to be by predominantly white, middle-class South Africans; cramped, less-attractive spaces are occupied by Black and poor South Africans (Miller, 2018). The more affluent the population, the more space they occupy (Abdulla, 2017). This freedom is extended into everyday life and everyday movement; thus, in South Africa, the movement of white bodies is never questioned (Mack & Na'puti, 2019).

In the case of the Dros rape, news articles reported on how the perpetrator “watched the little girl in the restaurant play area” (Gous et al., 2018) and sat “in the kiddies’ area” while claiming to be “waiting for someone” (Jordaan, 2019). This type of unquestioned occupation of spaces reserved for children did not alarm anyone in the restaurant because of the inherited white privileges of terra nullius through coloniality. What these privileges hold in the context of space is that for white bodies, the right to belong is unquestioned, even under questionable circumstances. The people who are faced with dispossession and restriction of movement are largely Black in South Africa.

News coverage refers to any news programme, news update, or news story in any media format devoted solely to broadcasting or distributing information on a particular current event or a

series of events (Gadzekpo, 2009; Bosch, 2011). However, the coloniality of terra nullius is not limited to physical space; it can be picked up in news coverage of the cases in question. When generating the initial search for articles in this case study, I utilised only one search term for each case study. The search terms used were “Joe Slovo Informal Settlement Father” within the timeframe 12 April 2018 to 30 June 2018; and “Dros Rape” within the timeframe 22 September 2018 to 30 October 2019. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this search produced a vast difference in news articles. A total of nine articles were generated in the Joe Slovo Informal Settlement Father search, while 79 articles were generated for the Dros rape search. The former only produced articles from April 2018 until June 2018, while the latter produced articles published throughout the timeframe window. Therefore, the Joe Slovo case received only three months of news coverage, while the Dros Rape case received (but was not limited to) 12 months of news coverage. However, as mentioned above, both cases were reporting on as highly violent acts of GBVAWC.

When combining the thoughts of Mack and Na'puti (2019) with those of Hall (1997a; 2020), this vast difference can be understood as the news media perpetuating coloniality. Through this vast difference in coverage and the taking up of public space, it is deduced that media perpetuates privileged access to terra nullius, and the effects of it continue to humanise white bodies through visibility and dehumanise Black bodies through erasure. News coverage thus becomes a terrain for reproducing symbolic privileges of space, while rationalising material privileges or subjugations. While terra nullius of land occupation was achieved in the subjective, physical realm of space, in news media, the notion of terra nullius is achieved through the symbolic, institutionalised realm of space occupation (Žižek, 2008). Symbolic imperialist white supremacist ideals are perpetuated, even without more visible, “subjective”

domination. Here, symbolic domination thus “takes the form of a denial of public, visible existence” (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 119).

The denial of public space is linked to the invisibilisation of a group’s existence through coverage. Coverage thus speaks to an important marker of the media's commitment to addressing a social issue, or actors of prominence who embody the issue (Buiten, 2009; Brodie, 2019). The low coverage of the Joe Slovo informal settlement case illustrates the silencing of Black bodies living in poverty through the denial of public space, and the perpetuation of symbolic violence through the lack of media coverage. The lack of coverage thus devolves into and represents lack of public interest and care for these conditions of gross deprivation. The existence and reporting of both cases in the media indicates a commitment to addressing GBVAWC in South Africa. However, the prominence of the Dros rape case indicates the media's over-commitment to specific cases over others. It then speaks to the larger inequalities over which bodies and lives matter. Here, we see the way that white middle-class bodies and lives are privileged, and Black poor bodies are dispensable and maimable. As a result, terra nullius becomes an essential factor to consider when trying to make sense of this over-representation.

If media is an institution that reproduces colonial ideology through symbolic space, their empirical over-commitment to the Dros rape translates into the privileges subsumed by terra nullius (Mack & Na’puti, 2019). In media, however, terra nullius carries the power to assign power and vulnerability to space occupation. Through coverage of the Dros rape, the perpetrator is awarded an opportunity to be “visible and, consequently, also arguably vulnerable” (Hübinette, 2020, p. 136). Through this over publicised (Hübinette, 2020, p. 136) coverage, the Dros rape perpetrator is given the privilege of varying perspectives and

understandings that visibilise him and provide a context for his life and his act of violence. This visibilising thus acts as an extenuating factor in the greater narrative of the perpetration. This shows how the imbalanced coverage reproduces the colonial “raison d’être” of masculinity and whiteness in the context of GBVAWC (Hübinette, 2020, p. 136).

4. Aggravating vs Extenuating Social Psychopathy

We are predisposed, as social beings, to need community or bonds with others. However, where violence is enacted, and the violations are brutal, severe, and intimate, the assault breaks community bonds, and divides the community into perpetrators and victims. The perpetrators are ostracised, and victims are given extra care. However, these binary distinctions are often not as clear and exclusive of each other as they seem (Ammann, 2018).

As discussed in the first theme, systemic and symbolic violence in post-colonial times continues to affect people in their everyday lives. In a country like South Africa, where violence is enacted on different levels of society, the binary of victim and perpetrator ignores the dynamics at play in moments of violence (Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2020). Through these systems, such binaries “often bleed into one another or change over time as many people resort to violence not intentionally, but due to the complex social, political, economic, and environmental structures and lived realities that define their lives” (Ammann, 2018, p. 49). As a result, perpetrators often are or were victims of violence themselves and, thus, carry wounds from harm inflicted through the violence they have experienced.

While violence does not always carry physical effects, it can be seen through the psychological trauma that stays with its victims (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008). When tracing the cycle of trauma, traumatised people often cause trauma to others; therefore, “victims also produce

victims” (Ammann, 2018, p. 49). Furthermore, it has been identified that perpetrators of sexual and violent crimes against women and children are often suffering from psychological distress as a result of the trauma that they have experienced (Carstens & Stevens, 2016; Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2020; Pritchard et al., 2018). These studies show that moments of GBVAWC are complex, and these complexities are not captured in the binarised narrative of victim- and perpetratorhood. The result of this is that public and academic discourse needs to unearth the “complex ways in which violent moments are produced” (Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2020, p. 458). The unearthing of such complexities thus undoes the “us against them” narrative, which reinforces colonial processes of othering (Hall, 1997a; Chow, 1999; Mack & Na'puti, 2019), and rather enables discourse on GBVAWC to be more representative of its root causes. Here, news media can potentially become essential for disrupting problematic discourses.

Studies show that, in some cases, news media effectively reflects the complexities of perpetratorhood by narrating the circumstances that aggravate perpetrator actions (Johnson, 2016; Langa et al., 2020). These studies show that media does this not only through contextualising events leading up to the moment of violence, but through highlighting the conditions that could have impaired the perpetrator’s socio-psychological reasoning in the moment of violence (Langa et al., 2020). In the Dros rape case, news articles continuously mention the perpetrator’s psychological challenges, such as drug abuse and past abuse, leading up to and at the moment of violence. Langa et al. (2020) show the similarities in the case of Oscar Pistorius, a white, wealthy, famous South African sportsman with a disability, who was continuously represented as having a fear of harm and loss and, thus, reacted irrationally and shot his girlfriend while she was in the bathroom of their house. In this way, a psychopathological account of his challenges as a disabled man was deployed to provide mitigating factors for his violence, both in the media and in the law courts.

A news article preceding the sentencing, titled, “I intentionally raped girl (7) at the restaurant – Ninow,” also used the subtitle “My mom introduced me to chemical drugs” (Jordaan, 2019). In this, the article foregrounds the harsh conditions of the perpetrator’s upbringing, which reportedly later turned him to drug and alcohol abuse. The article highlighted how the perpetrator's first consumption of “chemicals was with my mother...at the age of 13” (Jordaan, 2019), The article further reports that “his mother had always been on drugs” (Jordaan, 2019); and that “He described his relationship with his mother, who is 37 years old, as that of brother and sister” (Jordaan, 2019). In a different article, titled “Drugs made me rape her”, his grandmother is reported to have “not believe(d) her grandson would have hurt anyone, especially a child if he had not consumed alcohol and drugs for three days in a row” (Tlhabye, 2019). Further, his grandmother highlighted that “she knew him as a protective person who had protected her all his life”, but “because the first eight years of his life [while in the care of his mother] he was abused and used...this happened” (Tlhabye, 2019).

These articles flag how the turmoil and violence experienced by the perpetrator during his childhood in the care of his mother constructed him as a victim of abuse and severe neglect. The articles also emphasised how young his mother was when she gave birth to him, through the constant flagging of her age. These descriptions delineate violence passed on through two generations, providing an explanatory narrative for the perpetrator’s use of substances and violence. Through these mentions and descriptions, the Dros rape is contextualised within the perpetrator’s challenging life, in order to provide an explanation for why the perpetrator became a perpetrator. In this way, empathy and understanding is developed in the reader, and the perpetrator is excused of his crime. These articles do more than contextualise the moment

of violence; they more explicitly represent what is in these articles, how this childhood trauma affected his young adult life.

This trauma is reflected in the articles mentioned above, which highlight the perpetrator's dependency on alcohol and drugs, and how this resulted in a struggle with psychological illness. This narrative on trauma-related addiction was further corroborated through the psychologist's reported testimony, which stated that the perpetrator "indicated during their sessions that ... he tended to use drugs in stressful situations and to avoid his problem" (Tlhabye, 2019). These descriptions indicate the perpetration of the rape was aggravated by his psychological challenges. These claims are further legitimised through the "scientific" authority of criminology and forensic psychology (Carstens & Stevens, 2016; Berg et al., 2017; Pritchard et al., 2018). As a result, these news representations undid binaries of the dominant victim- and perpetratorhood narrative, and shown how victimhood can affect perpetratorhood. Thus, some violent acts are understood as complex moments that carry a myriad of pasts and presents, contrary to the other case (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008; Ammann, 2018; van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2019).

This type of reporting thus changes the discourse on how society perceives violence and the perpetration thereof, by contextualising and complexifying the ways violent moments are produced (Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2020). However, this is only the first basis of the problematised representations of male perpetrators of GBVAVC, as scholars also point to the selective processing of these representations. Decolonial literature argues that such representations are only afforded to privileged white perpetrators in South Africa, and worldwide (Sutherland et al., 2019; Langa et al., 2020; Boonzaier, 2022). These representations are actively produced to humanise white perpetrators of GBVAVC and, thus, exclude them

from the greater social problem of violence. At the same time, Black perpetrators, as in the Joe Slovo case, are represented in unitary terms of their alleged violence, outside of the context and complexity of their lives.

Through these representations, white masculinity is absolved and distanced from the problem of GBVAWC, which is represented as a Black masculine problem (Langa et al., 2020). When reading through the Joe Slovo case, this argument is more than evident. There is no mention or discussion of the father's mental state in and before the moment of violence. However, like the Dros rape, his testimony in court is discussed in an article titled "Baby-tossing dad: I didn't want to kill her" (News24, 2018a). The article describes how the father claimed that he intended to "give the child to her mother" as he saw that the "roof zinc was bending and thought it was going to be dangerous to fall inside the shack with my child" (News24, 2018a). This quick decision-making happened after "one policeman climbed onto the roof" and the father saw "other police up there" (News24, 2018a).

Further, this article highlights "the social worker's report that which indicated that the man's family, which includes four children, is destitute" (News24, 2018a). Unfortunately, this was the only article in the data set, and one of two in the sample, that mentioned the father's possible socio-psychological circumstances, as well as the complexity of the moment and his intentions to protect rather than hurt his child. As discussed above, the literature indicates that parents who [attempt to] kill their young might have a psychological illness (Pritchard et al., 2018). However, this perpetrator's possible psychological illness is omitted in representations. This glaring difference in the extensive socio-psychological investigation of each perpetrator is explained in literature as entrenched in colonial logics.

With respect to socio-psychological understandings, the media has constructed a representation of one perpetrator as an individual who has been through a lot of suffering, and another as an angry Black man. Further, the Joe Slovo father is represented as a perpetrator who was not remorseful about his acts of violence. On the other hand, the Dros rapist was represented and described as showing shame and remorse for his actions. Here, disidentification is promoted in relation to the Joe Slovo father, while empathy is garnered for the Dros rapist (Ahmed, 2005; Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008). Disidentification works to separate those we deem “unlike us” from those “like us,” as elaborated in the works of Ahmed (2005, p 108). However, we see that the work of empathy does the inverse, as elaborated by Gobodo-Madikizela (2008). If society deems GBVAWC as completely unacceptable, why would media disidentify with one perpetrator, yet, empathise with another?

Literature shows that systems of race continuously construct Black masculinities as “non-human”, “monsterised”, and/or “bestialised” (Lewis, 2011, p. 201; Ratele, 2020, p. 127; Boonzaier, 2022, p. e14). The colonial project and its narrative, that depicts Africans as “bestial and inhumane,” is reiterated and re-entrenched to justify the colonisers’ brutal force and harm inflicted through colonisation (Tamale, 2011). The coloniality of violence thus creates a narrative that places the gratuitous violence of white men as explainable, while the violence perpetrated by Black men is to be expected, and therefore does not require explanation. Therefore, white men are portrayed as perpetrators of GBVAWC within a specific, exceptional context, while violence perpetrated by Black men is constructed as normative, that of bestial beings.

However, in a case where an act is deemed uncivilised, like the rape of a child, the system finds explanatory circumstances that somehow justify why one who is considered human and

civilised could exhibit monstrous qualities. The man is separated from his act, which is viewed as just a moment of irrational, yet understandable, violence. However, through care and therapy, this man can still be healed and restored (Berg et al., 2017). The coloniality of media here has justified and re-presented this systemic framing by omitting the psychological effect that the violence of poverty, race, and dispossession have had on the Joe Slovo perpetrator, and many like him. He was a victim of the system; his violence was in response to the systemic violence that engulfed him and his family (Xaba, 2017).

Thus, through narratives that legitimise and illegitimise specific acts of violence, racialised representations restrict the freedom to occupy certain spaces, and use aggravating and extenuating psychopathies. In this context, the media reproduces problematic narratives around perpetrators and perpetration of GBVAWC in South Africa. Significantly, analysing these narratives from a decolonial and feminist perspective paints a worrying picture of the current situation of public and academic perspectives regarding violence in South Africa.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter was a presentation, discussion and analysis of data that made up the Joe Slovo informal settlement father and the Dros rapist case studies. The findings are presented within thematic and critical discourse analyses of select news articles within the four themes: Legitimate vs Illegitimate Violence, Ethical vs Unethical Representations, Politics of space, and Aggravating vs Extenuating Social Psychopathy. The findings in this section show that news media represents some male perpetrators as perpetrators of violence, but never victims of structural violence. However, other perpetrators are represented as victims of a myriad of acts of violence, and equally as perpetrators of interpersonal GBVAWC. Secondly, findings show that the news deems some visual representations of male perpetrators as too gratuitous and

gruesome to show; however, the media repetitively shows violent visual representations of other male perpetrators. Thirdly, space allocation to some male perpetrators was vast, while others were limited, thus reproducing the raced and classed restriction and constraint of occupiable space imposed on some bodies. Lastly, the analysis found that news media extenuates perceptions of some male perpetrators through a focus on psychologisation of some acts of violence.

Therefore, these analyses found that the media constructed a discourse where GBVAWC is perpetuated by individual agents who need to be excommunicated from society. However, this representation was only applied to Black, poor, male perpetrators, such as representing the Joe Slovo Father as inherently violent and held captive in the moment of violence. In contrast, the Dros rapist was represented as a tortured soul caught in a moment of irrationality and weakness. Therefore, the analysis found that the media actively follows and reproduces the colonial processes of constructing Black men living in poverty as “violent beasts,” while white men are people who have performed violent acts (Hall, 1996, 2020; Tamale, 2011; Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2018; Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2020; Boonzaier, 2022). Through the findings of this chapter, the study was able to present and discuss the findings of its research questions. These findings and concluding remarks are discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This study was a qualitative analysis of selected newspaper representations of the Joe Slovo informal settlement father and the Dros rapist, over the 2018 to 2019 period. Decolonial feminist concerns about invisibilised systems of violence in post-colonial South Africa underpin the research.

The study concludes in this chapter by first providing an overview of the study, where the research problem is revisited, after which the key findings are summarised. Following this, the chapter offers a decolonial feminist provocation that arose from the findings of this study, before presenting a brief discussion of the study's limitations, then suggesting theoretical implications and recommendations for further research.

Informed by literature around violence, men and masculinities, the persistent problem of GBVAVC and the power of representations in South African news media, this study suggested that the news media's discourse around GBVAVC did not reflect the systemic entanglements of power as seen through decolonial feminist lenses. Rather, they repeated certain racist, gendered and classed othering and demonisation. Thus, applying decolonial feminist perspectives to unearth power structures and domination, the problem statement further suggested that the nature of discourse produced in the news articles could further perpetuate the culture of GBVAVC in South African society. Given this, the study's task was to analyse media representations of male perpetrators of GBVAVC, using specifiers of decolonial feminist theoretical perspectives.

The study was able to draw conclusive answers to the research questions posed at the beginning of this report. These findings are summarised in the following section.

5.2 Key Findings: Constructing beasts of a nation – humanising white perpetrators, bestialising Black perpetrators

News media are a social institution that represent social realities, meanings and power. Therefore, they are expected to initiate, sustain and conscientise social discourse on GBVAWC (Bosch, 2011). However, due to the dominance of a colonial lens, news media often reproduce problematic discourses that obscure more constructive narratives around violence (Boonzaier, 2017). Therefore, this research aimed to unearth how media represents male perpetrators in reporting on the persistent problem of GBVAWC in South Africa. As a result, this study was able to form key findings around media's impact on identity formation and public imaginary in South African society. This research thus builds on the works of scholars that highlight the problematic nature of the current social discourse of male perpetrators of GBVAWC. This study, however, focused on the news media as producers and reproducers of this discourse.

This study posed four sub-questions, which speak to the study's main research question: How are male perpetrators represented in newspaper articles about GBVAWC, and what might a decolonial African feminist lens bring to such an analysis? In the first question, the study asked; What kind of GBVAWC incidences are reported in the selected articles? Here, the analysis of the two case studies found that articles predominantly reported on GBVAWC as centred on individualised, subjective violence, while material and structural violence is rarely discussed as a form of violence. The violence inflicted by the police, and violent systems of race, class

and gender, were rarely discussed or foregrounded in the reporting. Rather, police violence was praised, and race and class violence were silenced and thus justified.

The second research question asked: what are the dominant representations of the male perpetrators in the articles? The study found that, through the deployment of particular imagery and language, the dominant representation of perpetrators came in two forms. The first was that of a (poor, Black) man represented as capable of throwing his child off the roof to defy a system of social order. Here, Sylvia Tamale's notion of a "bestial and inhumane" perpetrator, capable of the unimaginable, captures the dominant representation of the Joe Slovo perpetrator (2011; p. 609). On the other hand, the (white, middle-class) Dros perpetrator is not captured, but captioned in his representation. Here, representations offer an extensive history of the perpetrator's victimhood and, equally, his perpetratorhood; the media constructed an identity full of nuance and complexities, which served to excuse him and represent the violence of such men as an exception, rather than the rule.

These representations converged and diverged at different points, leading the study to answer the third research question: what are the similarities and differences in the incidents and descriptions in the selected articles? In their similarities, the case study presented two points of convergence. News media represented both cases as incidents that epitomised the violation of children, and thus contributed to the more significant persistence of GBVAVC in South Africa. Secondly, they represented the perpetration of GBVAVC as about male violence against children (and women) only.

However, the points of divergence in this representation of male perpetrators lie in the raced and classed descriptions of them. These divergent representations were evident in three main

aspects. The first is that of incurring harm as a perpetrator. Here, the harm inflicted on the Joe Slovo father as a result of the institutionalised violence of poverty and homelessness was not mentioned; however, the harm that the Dros rapist endured at the hands of different people was repeatedly part of how he was described. Secondly, this harm was delineated throughout his life, and he was represented as an adult who was abused as a child. On the contrary, the Joe Slovo informal settlement perpetrator was not presented with any life history outside his moment of perpetration. The media thus awarded this perpetrator a unidimensional identity through their representations. The last difference that was identified in news representations was that of an innately violent perpetrator who has perpetrated an act of violence, versus a perpetrator who was caught in a drug-induced moment of violence. Here, the Dros rapist is represented as a perpetrator whose moment of violence was caused by his drug addiction and earlier life trauma, who was later filled with shame and remorse for his action. However, the Joe Slovo father was represented as an angry and irrational perpetrator who showed no shame or remorse for putting a child in harm's way.

These differences were unearthed through a decolonial feminist lens that answered the final research question: how can these similarities and differences be understood within the context of a critical, decolonial feminist framework of male violence? Decolonial feminist perspectives allow for the recognition and emphasis on the violence of coloniality, both material and symbolic, which goes deeper than the subjective violence inflicted between individuals. Coloniality created systems of power and domination, in which the colonised are constantly situated as non-human, which allows for uninterrupted and continued brutal imperial rule of society (Tamale, 2011; Mama, 2017; Hartman, 2019).

Therefore, colonial social stratification created systems of violatable bodies that are non-human and, thus need to be restricted, controlled and disciplined using the highest force. This construction explains why the excessive violence used on colonised nations was viewed as needed and justifiable. Here, Tamale (2011, p. 609) explicates that “through such depictions, it was fairly easy to make the next step in describing the imperial enterprise as a ‘civilising mission’ designed to enlighten and liberate the barbarian and savage natives.” However, the effects of this mission are still practised today, not to establish colonial power, but to sustain it through continued colonial systems, entrenched through the structural inequalities of global and local racial capitalism. Further, these systems and their logics are maintained and normalised through institutions meant to serve our current society. As a result, news media has reproduced colonial discourses of social reality, meaning and power. These are further seen when the representation of the Joe Slovo alleged violence is juxtaposed against the Dros rape, which clearly illustrates how the media does not represent all perpetrators in the same way.

When complexities relating to the context of the perpetrator are presented, as in the Dros rape case, feelings of empathy are evoked, which neutralises the beastly acts of the perpetrator and offers an identity worthy of reintegration into society. As social beings, we are predisposed to needing the “warmth of community,” thus healing the alienating effects of social stratification and isolation violence. This becomes a central aspect of reconciling the individual with a community, thereby undoing depersonalisation (Fanon, 1963; Biko, 1978/2015; Chow, 1999). Being part of a community means being allowed entry into physical spaces, being validated through recognition and acknowledgement, and being allowed to repent (Chow, 1999). Through these three aspects of admittance, the cyclical nature of violence can be undone and the community reformed, through what Gobodo-Madikizela (2008, p. 341) called, “the empathic movement that draws victim and villain into shared human community.” Here the

perpetrator is seen as someone who has harmed, and not as a harmful beast. This was denied to the Joe Slovo father, who clearly has suffered the structural violences of poverty and homelessness, not to mention from centuries of inter-generational trauma of colonial dispossession, enslavement, and dehumanisation.

Therefore, the news media represents the sustained and persistent control of the violent system of race, class and gender in South Africa. As argued by Xaba (2019) and Mack and Na'puti (2019), amongst others, it is thus difficult to accept that the media's central concern in reporting the two case studies is the problem of GBVAWC. If that was the case, the violence perpetrated by the system and its institutions, through the demolition of homes and dispossession of Black women and children living in poverty, would have been a point of discussion. The invisibilisation of this suffering carries a more profound discourse around Black communities (who are multi-gendered) burdened by poverty, implying that identities oppressed in these systems are not protected from violence inflicted upon them. Here, the media has ostensibly (re)constructed black bodies living in poverty as "violent beasts."

It is thus this study's conclusion that, through a decolonial feminist lens, the dominant discourse of GBVAWC in media is that it is perpetrated by "beasts of a nation" that need to be excommunicated from society. However, not all perpetrators are bestialised; discourse is constructed to hold Black male perpetrators living in poverty as inherently violent, while white male perpetrators are "harmed" individuals who are victims of circumstance, thus exceptionalising their violent act and separating it from their personhood and collective identity as white men. This discourse thus reserves imperial-racialised privileges for some perpetrations and perpetrators, creating affective forms of dis-identification, wherein society "reads the bodies of others" as othered Ahmed (2005, p. 108).

5.3 Provocation

Against the backdrop of this study's findings, I would like to present a provocation of the perspective that the Joe Slovo father was a perpetrator of GBVAWC, although this is more of a question than an answer. Was the Joe Slovo father a perpetrator, or was he defending himself and his family against an act of harm? I present this question against two narratives: first, the article that reported on his statement (News24, 2018a); and second, a repeated narrative that highlighted the Dros rapist perpetrator needing to be protected from angry patrons at the restaurant (Gous et al., 2018; News24, 2018b). When considering the responses of society towards objective violence, Fanon (1963) and Žižek (2008) argue, in their theories of violence and the necessity of violence in oppressed societies, to remove the power of coloniality from a society. However, from a feminist perspective, Xaba (2017) argues that this cannot be considered a perpetration of violence but rather a defence against it. In law, self-defence is seen as a plausible and reasonable act of violence. Thus, it recuses one from the perpetrator position, instead placing one in the victim position (Langa et al., 2020).

The articles positioned the Dros rapist as a victim, through frequent mention of the injuries he sustained from patrons when he was caught with the child in the toilet, leading to him locking himself in the cubicle and “defending” himself against patrons and staff with his belt. News articles therefore portray this aspect of his further violence as understandable, in order to minimise the harm being done to him in response to him raping a child. In contrast to this is that the Joe Slovo father's actions are not narrated as being in defence of the child's life and livelihood, but instead as an offence against the child and the legislation that dispossesses them. Thus, the narrative suggests that the child is protected against the possible interpersonal harm, but not against the slow, debilitating harm of the system of race and class. However, if these

articles are read through a provocative disruption of the colonial discourse, the father's actions are defending his family and himself from harm inflicted on them by the system of race and class. However, the media reproduced the discourse representing his actions as a bestial attempt to harm his child.

In terms of the current discourse of a man's role in society, I question how much the Joe Slovo father was perpetrating harm, versus him with using himself and his child to expose and protest against the harm of dispossession and homelessness being perpetrated against him. The current patriarchal context of masculinity expects men to protect and provide safety and security for their families. If a man cannot do so, he is not considered "man enough." Further, dispossession takes away his and his family's livelihood, inflicting a living death (Puar, 2015). Therefore, the father's violence can be read as a way of emphasising the impact of state violence on him and his family, particularly by undermining his capacity to nurture a young child to adulthood. Before the father's "attempted murder," as it was named by the media, poverty and state action is engaged in a form of murder of him and his family, by taking away their home. How does a man impede his and his family's inevitable death? He stops it through any means possible, while the child becomes an inevitable victim in the hands of both the father and of the system (Puar, 2015; Mack & Na'puti, 2019).

Through these decolonial feminist comparative readings of the case study articles, I repeat a question that I am grappling with, as someone who understands the probable harm that could have been caused to the child, while also understanding the self-defence of the father. I leave this question for further and future thought for myself and other researchers: was the Joe Slovo father a perpetrator?

5.4 Study Limitations

This study analysed news representations of male perpetrators of GBVAWC, using the case studies of the Joe Slovo informal settlement father and the Dros rape.

The study undertook an in-depth analysis of the case studies to uncover how, from a decolonial feminist perspective, news media represents the perpetration of GBVAWC in 2018, thereby surfacing the modes of power involved in these representations, in particular race, gender and class. Notably, this study does not offer a comprehensive analysis of news representations of male perpetrators in South Africa, but rather works with two specific cases to illustrate the way in which they reflect particular discourses that characterise SA society. Further, the study drew data from only English print media news articles, which was a limitation since these newspapers are not a comprehensive reflection of all South African news media or all South African newspapers. With the development of technology and online media, this study does not therefore include an analysis of possible disruptions or reproductions that may occur as a result of technological developments. As a result, the use of the term “media” in this study, is limited not only to news media as previously mentioned, but it further is also limited to print media, that is newspapers, as the focus of analysis. Further, I also note that while I speak of the media and provide critiques on the basis of my case studies, I acknowledge, as many point out, that the media is not unitary or undifferentiated and that there always contestations and diversity in media representations.

In terms of the goal of deconstructing media representations of GBVAWC, the study acknowledges that media is shaped by different factors, such as media houses, businesses and organisations. These aspects in themselves carry meaning and power established in global capitalism, with underlying approaches to how they report on events. It was not feasible in this

study to explore the differences between the politics of different media houses which own and control media. However, this limitation was mitigated by analysing reports on the same incident by different media houses. Such limitations offer opportunities for further research in critical studies on news representations of male perpetrators of GBVAWC, by looking at the nuances in aspects and layers of the media.

5.5 Implications and Recommendations for Research

Feminist media scholars have called for research into media representations that reflect the society we live in, and the systems of harm that affect the most marginalised. This research echoes and attempts to respond to these sentiments. Through a decolonial feminist lens, it is evident that news media representations of the perpetration of GBVAWC at large need to be further interrogated. The current study suggests two specific areas for further investigation. The first is how news media, as a social institution that constitutes social realities, meaning and power, participates in and/or hinders the efforts of ending GBVAWC in South Africa.

Such studies would include the particular impact that social institutions and systems have on GBVAWC eradication in South Africa, in line with the efforts of decolonial feminists to dismantle all systems that enable the oppression of all those marginalised by coloniality in any form. Here, the function of the media as a capitalist tool become more apparent. This is because as prominent media ownership in South Africa is centred around profit making. In relation to GBVAWC, the media's central concern is therefore not to challenge the social issues, but rather to make profit for the owners. As a result, further investigation is needed into the effects of this capital-centred function which undermines South African society's commitment to social justice. Thus, the media as an institution of the system and the media as a corporative business that yields so much power in society needs further interrogation.

The second area is the role of systems in the perpetration of GBVAWC. If violence is shown to be cyclic, how we view acts of violence need to be further investigated. More extensive reviews are needed in the area of media representations of male perpetrators, which could additionally cover all aspects of GBVAWC across different language media, and across diverse forms of media, to provide an extensive analysis to supplement the current in-depth findings.

5.6 Conclusion

This study notes that the media is neither monolithic nor hegemonic. Analysts have noted that the media is never undifferentiated and that there are always gaps in dominant narratives precisely because hegemonic narratives are never absolute. However, news media remains integral to South African society, as it carries significant power, which can either be used to disrupt systems of harm or reproduce them through harmful discourse. Thus, reporting standards need to be taken more seriously and given far more attention when reporting on GBVAWC, as they are a building block to achieving a society free of the cyclical nature of violence. Decolonial feminists have offered solutions and practical ways to improve media reporting on sexual violence, with respect to representations of both women and men; however, it is up to the media to seriously consider changing its own culture, which can contribute to GBVAWC in society, and sensitising itself to the valuable role it can play in disrupting these normative representations of violence at large.

REFERENCES

- Abdulla, M. J. (2017). *What exactly is 'spatial apartheid' and why is it still relevant?* Retrieved November 10, 2020, from <https://www.thedailyvox.co.za/what-exactly-is-spatial-apartheid-and-why-is-it-still-relevant-in-2017-mohammed-jameel-abdulla/>
- African News Agency. (2018, April 14). PE dad denied bail after child abuse charges. *Cape Times*, p. 4.
- Ahmed, S. (2005). The skin of the community: Affect and boundary formation. In T. Chanter, & E. P. Ziarek (Eds.), *Revolt, affect, collectivity: The unstable boundaries of Kristeva's polis* (pp. 95-111). Albany: SUNY Press.
- Ahmed, S. (2010). Happy Objects. In G. J. Seigworth, & M. Gregg (Eds.), *The affect theory reader* (pp. 29-51). Durham: Duke University Press.
- Ahmed, S. (2014). *Cultural politics of emotion*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ammann, T. (2018). Nonhuman and Human 'Victims' and 'Perpetrators': Intra-active InSecurity Becomings of the Ebola Outbreak. *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning*, 27(1), 47-59.
- Berg, M. K., Hobkirk, A. L., Joska, J. A., & Meade, C. S. (2017). The Role of Substance Use Coping in the Relation between Childhood Sexual Abuse and Depression among Methamphetamine Users in South Africa. *Psychol Trauma*, 9(4), 493-499.
- Biko, S. (1978/2015). *I write what I like*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bird, W. (2018, October 02). How media reports on rape is vital. *The Witness*, p. 9.
- Boonzaier, F. A., & van Niekerk, T. J. (2018). "I'm here for abusing my wife": South African men constructing intersectional subjectivities through narratives of their violence. *African Safety Promotion: A Journal of Injury and Violence Prevention*, 16(1), 2-19.
- Boonzaier, F. (2014). Methodological disruptions: Interviewing domestically violent men across a 'gender divide'. *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies*, 9(4), 232-248.

- Boonzaier, F. (2017). The life and death of Anene Booysen: Colonial discourse, gender-based violence and media representation. *Psychological society of South Africa*, 47(4), 470-481.
- Boonzaier, F. (2022). Spectacularising narratives on femicide in South Africa: A decolonial feminist analysis. *Current Sociology*. doi:10.1177/00113921221097157
- Boonzaier, F., & van Niekerk, T. (2020). Discursive trends in research on masculinities and interpersonal violence. In L. Gottzén, U. Mellström, & T. Shefer (Eds.), *Routledge International Handbook of Masculinity Studies* (pp. 457-466). Oxfordshire: Routledge.
- Bosch, T. (2011). African feminist media studies. *Feminist Media Studies*, 11(01), 27-33.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2001). *Masculine Domination*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2003). Symbolic Violence. In R. Célestin, E. DalMolin, & I. de Courtivron (Eds.), *Beyond French Feminisms* (M. Colvin, Trans., pp. 23-26). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology. *Qualitative research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.
- Britton, H. (2006). Organising against Gender Violence in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32(1), 145-163.
- Brodie, N. (2019). *Using Mixed-Method Approaches to Provide New Insights into Media Coverage of Femicide*. University of the Witwatersrand. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.
- Buiten, D. (2009). *Gender transformation and media representations: Journalistic discourses in three South African newspapers*. University of Pretoria. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

- Buntman, F. (1996). Resistance on Robben Island 1963–1976. In H. Deacon (Ed.), *The island: A history of Robben Island 1488-1990* (pp. 93-136). Belville: David Phillips Publishers.
- Buso, N., Sesant, S., & May, Z. (2018, April 13). Under-siege dad flings toddler off shack roof. *The Herald*, pp. 1-2.
- Butler, J. (2005). Violence, mourning, politics. *Studies in Gender and Sexuality*, 4(1), 9-37.
- Carstens, P., & Stevens, P. (2016). Paraphilia and Sex Offending — A South African Criminal Law Perspective. *International journal of law and psychiatry*, 47, 93–101.
- Chow, R. (1999). Female sexual agency, miscegenation, and the formation of community in Frantz Fanon. In A. C. Alessandrini, *Frantz Fanon: Critical perspectives* (pp. 35-58). London: Routledge.
- Citizen reporter. (2019, October 18). Drug-using child rapist gets life. *The Citizen*, p. 2.
- Collins, P. H. (1990). Black feminist thought in the matrix of domination. *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*, 138, 221-238.
- Collins, P. H. (2012). Looking back, moving ahead: Scholarship in service to social justice. *Gender & Society*, 26(1), 14-22.
- Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & society*, 19(6), 829-859.
- Coplan, D. B. (2001). A River Runs through It: The Meaning of the Lesotho-Free State Border. *African Affairs*, 100(398), 81-116.
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1(8), 139-167.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241-1299.

- de Beer, A. S., & Botha, N. (2008). News as representation. In P. J. Fourie (Ed.), *Media Studies: Policy, management and media representation* (pp. 227-242). Cape Town: Juta & Co.
- Dlamini, P. (2018, October 03). Contusion over naming of child rape suspect. *Sowetan*, p. 2.
- Dorfling, C.-L. (2018, May 30). Inwoners steun pa wat kind van dak gooi. *Die Burger*, p. 6.
- Dresch, M. (2019, June 14). Monster dad spared jail for throwing his baby daughter off roof in protest. *Mirror*. Retrieved November 25, 2022, from <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/monster-dad-spared-jail-throwing-16515757>
- Du Toit, L. (2014). Shifting meanings of postconflict sexual violence in South Africa. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 40(1), 101-123.
- Erlank, N. (2003). Gender and masculinity in South African nationalist discourse. *Feminist Studies*, 29(3), 653-671.
- Etikan, I., Musa, S. A., & Alkassim, R. S. (2016). Comparison of Convenience Sampling and Purposive Sampling. *American Journal of Theoretical and Applied Statistics*, 1-4.
- Fanon, F. (1963). *The Wretched of the Earth* (First ed.). New York: Grove Press.
- Fanon, F. (1964). Letter to the Resident Minister (1956). In F. Fanon, *Towards the African revolution: Political essays* (H. Chevalier, Trans., pp. 52-54). New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Fanon, F. (2008). *Black skin, white masks*. (R. Philcox, Trans.) New York: Grove Press.
- Farahani, F., & Thapar-Björkert, S. (2019). Postcolonial masculinities: Diverse, shifting and in flux. In L. Gottzén, U. Mellström, & T. Shefer (Eds.), *Routledge International Handbook of Masculinity Studies* (pp. 92-102). Oxford: Routledge.
- Fereday, J., & Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: A hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development. *International journal of qualitative methods*, 5(1), 80-92.

- Fuentes, M. J. (2016). *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Gadzekpo, A. (2009). Missing links: African media studies and feminist concerns. *Journal of African Media Studies*, 1(1), 69–80.
- Gobodo-Madikizela, P. (2008). Empathetic Repair after Mass Trauma: When Vengeance is Arrested. *European journal of social theory*, 11(3), 331-350.
- Gous, N., Pijoos, I., & Mabuza, E. (2018, October 03). Cheers as Dros rape accused drops bail bid. *The Herald*, pp. 1-2.
- Gouws, A. (2013, February 25). Anene, Reeva media frenzy reveals a nation's shallowness. *Thought Leader*. Retrieved March 31, 2023, from <https://thoughtleader.co.za/anene-reeva-frenzy-reveals-a-nations-shallowness/>
- Gouws, A. (2017). Feminist intersectionality and the matrix of domination in South Africa. *Agenda*, 31(1), 19-27.
- Gqola, P. (2001). Ufanele uqavile: Blackwomen, feminisms and postcoloniality in Africa. *Agenda*, 16(50), 11-22.
- Gqola, P. D. (2007). How the 'cult of femininity' and violent masculinities support endemic gender based violence in contemporary South Africa. *African Identities*, 5(1), 111-124. doi:10.1080/14725840701253894
- Gqola, P. D. (2015). In *Rape: A South African nightmare*. Auckland Park, South Africa: MF Books Joburg.
- Gqola, P. D. (2021). *Female Fear Factory*. Johannesburg: Melinda Ferguson Books.
- Graham, L. V. (2013). The importance of confronting a colonial, patriarchal and racist past in addressing post-apartheid sexual violence. *African Safety Promotion: A Journal of Injury and Violence Prevention*, 11(2), 28-37.
- Gwangwa, V. (2018, October 08). Calls for ethical media. *The Star*, p. 2.

- Gwangwa, V. (2018, October 08). Calls for ethical media. *The Star*, p. 2.
- Hall, S. (1996). New Ethnicities. In S. Hall, *Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* (pp. 442-451). London: Routledge.
- Hall, S. (1997a). The work of representation. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (pp. 13-74). London: SAGE Publications.
- Hall, S. (1997b). The Spectacle of the Other. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (pp. 223-290). London: SAGE Publications.
- Hall, S. (2020). The work of representation. In T. Prentki, & N. Abraham (Eds.), *The Applied Theatre Reader* (pp. 74-76). Oxfordshire: Routledge.
- Happer, C., & Philo, G. (2013). The Role of the Media in the Construction of Public Belief and Social Change. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 1(1), 321-336. doi:10.5964/jspp.v1i1.96
- Harcourt, W. (2016). Revisiting global body politics in Nepal: A reflexive analysis. *Global Public Health*, 11(1-2), 236–251.
- Hartman, S. (2008). Venus in two acts. *Small Axe: A Caribbean Journal of Criticism*, 12(2), 1-14.
- Hartman, S. (2018). The anarchy of colored girls assembled in a riotous manner. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 117(3), 465-490.
- Hartman, S. (2019). *Wayward lives, beautiful experiments: Intimate histories of riotous Black girls, troublesome women, and queer radicals*. New York: WW Norton & Company.
- Helman, R. (2018). Mapping the unrapeability of white and black womxn. *Agenda*, 34(2), 10-21.
- Hillenbrand, E., Mohanraj, P., Karim, N., & Wu, D. (2015). *Measuring gendertransformative*. Atlanta: CARE USA.
- hooks, b. (1995). *Killing Rage: Ending Racism*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

- hooks, b. (2004). *The will to change: Men, masculinity, and love*. New York: Beyond Words/Atria Books.
- hooks, b. (2015). Feminist movement to end violence. In b. hooks, *Feminist theory: From margin to center* (pp. 117-132). New York: Routledge.
- Hübinette, T. (2020). White masculinity. In L. Gottzén, U. Mellström, & T. Shefer (Eds.), *Routledge International Handbook of Masculinity Studies* (pp. 135-142). Oxfordshire: Routledge.
- Johnson, K. (2016). Trial by media: The framing of Oscar Pistorius as the media spectacle. *Journal of African media studies*, 8(3), 379-395.
- Jordaan, N. (2019, October 1). I intentionally raped girl (7) at the restaurant - Ninow. *Sowetan*, p. 6.
- Jordaan, N., Tshikalange, S., Pijoos, I., Hosken, G., & Broughton, T. (2020, November 29). Dangerous Men and the Women Who Love them. *Sunday Times*, p. 8.
- Kessi, S., & Boonzaier, F. (2018). Centre/ing decolonial feminist psychology in Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 48(3), 299-309.
- Khoo, S.-m., & Vered, A. (2020). Including the 'Invisible Middle' of Decoloniality. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 21(7), 225-242.
- Kimmel, M. S., Hearn, J., & Connell, R. W. (Eds.). (2004). *Handbook of studies on men and masculinities*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Kumalo, S. H. (2018). Epistemic justice through ontological reclamation in pedagogy: Detailing mutual (in) fallibility using inseparable categories. *Journal of Education (University of KwaZulu-Natal)*, 72, 4-19.
- Kwansah-Aidoo, K., & Osei Owusu, J. (2012). Challenging the status quo: A feminist reading of Shirley Frimpong-Manso's *Life and Living It*. *Feminist Africa*, 16, 53-70.

- Langa, M. (2020). *Becoming men: Black masculinities in a South African township*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Langa, M., Kirsten, A., Bowman, B., Eagle, G., & Kiguwa, P. (2020). Black masculinities on trial in absentia: The case of Oscar Pistorius in South Africa. *Men and Masculinities*, 23(3-4), 499-515.
- Legassick, M. (1974). Legislation, ideology and economy in post-1948 South Africa. *Journal of South African Studies*, 1(1), 5-35.
- Lemon, J. (1995). Masculinity in crisis? *Agenda*, 11(24), 61-71.
- Lewis, D. (2001). African feminisms. *Agenda*, 16(50), 4-10.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2001.9675989>
- Lewis, D. (2011). Representing African Sexualities. In S. Tamale (Ed.), *African sexualities: A reader* (pp. 199-216). Cape Town: Pambazuka Press.
- Lewis, D., & Hendricks, C. M. (2017). Epistemic Ruptures in South African Standpoint Knowledge-Making: Academic Feminism and the #FeesMustfall Movement. *Gender Questions*, 4(1), 18.
- Lewis, J., & Cushion, S. (2009). The thirst to be first: An analysis of breaking news stories and their impact on the quality of 24-hour news coverage in the UK. *Journalism Practice*, 3(3), 304-318.
- Lorde, A. (1984). The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House. In A. Lorde, *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (pp. 110-114). California: Crossing Press.
- Los, M., & Chamard, S. E. (1997). Selling newspapers or educating the public? Sexual violence in the media. *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, 39(3), 293-328.
- Lugones, M. (2016). The coloniality of gender. In W. Horcourt (Ed.), *The Palgrave handbook of gender and development* (pp. 13-33). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Mack, A. N., & Na'puti, T. R. (2019). "Our Bodies Are Not Terra Nullius": Building a Decolonial Feminist Resistance to Gendered Violence. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 42(3), 347-370.
- Mackieson, P., Shlonsky, A., & Connolly, M. (2019). Increasing rigor and reducing bias in qualitative research: A document analysis of parliamentary debates using applied thematic analysis. *Qualitative Social Work*, 18(6), 965-980.
- Mama, A. (1997). Sheroes and Villains: Conceptualizing Colonial and Contemporary Violence Against Women in Africa. In M. J. Alexander, & C. T. Mohanty (Eds.), *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures* (pp. 46-62). New York: Routledge.
- Mama, A. (2011a). What does it mean to do feminist research in African contexts? *Feminist Review*, 98(1_suppl). doi:10.1057/fr.2011.22
- Mama, A. (2011b). The challenges of feminism: Gender, ethics and responsible academic freedom in African universities. *Journal of Higher Education in Africa/Revue de l'enseignement supérieur en Afrique*, 9(12), 1-23.
- Mama, A. (2017). The Power of Feminist Pan-African Intellect. *Feminist Africa 22 Feminists Organising—Strategy, Voice, Power*, 22(1).
- Mashike, J. L. (2005). *Down-sizing and right-sizing: An analysis of the demobilisation process in the South African National Defence Force*. Johannesburg: Wits University.
- Matlhako, C. (2013). *The Langeberg rebellion : Luka Jantjie, Galeshewe and Toto – their little known story of courage and bravery in defence of their people, land and livelihoods*. Retrieved 05 31, 2021, from https://ujcontent.uj.ac.za/vital/access/manager/Repository/uj:42556?site_name=GlobalView&query=Matlhako%2C+Chris&f0=sm_creator%3A%22Matlhako%2C+Chris%22&sort=ss_dateNormalized+desc%2Csort_ss_title+asc&queryType=vitalDismax

- Matshili, R. (2018a, September 28). Dros rape: 'We're watching you'. *The Star*, p. 3.
- Matshili, R. (2018b, November 01). Protests expected at Dros rape accused's court hearing. *Pretoria News*, p. 1.
- Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education. Revised and Expanded from " Case Study Research in Education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Merriam, S. B. (2009). Qualitative Case Study Research. In *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation* (pp. 39-54). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Books.
- Miller, J. (2018). Unequal scenes. In J. Barnard-Naudé, & J. Chryssostalis (Eds.), *Spatial Justice After Apartheid: Nomos in the Postcolony* (pp. 188-192). Oxfordshire: Routledge.
- Mohamed, K. (2023). *Protesting death-disability-debility imaginaries: Ontological erasure and the endemic violences of settler colonialism*. University of the Western Cape, Department of Women's and Gender Studies. Cape Town: University of the Western Cape.
- Mohamed, K., & Ratele, K. (2012). 'Where my dad was from he was quite a respected man'. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 18(3), 282.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2012). Coloniality of Power in Development Studies and the Impact of Global Imperial Designs on Africa. *The Australasian Review of African Studies*, 33(2), 48-73.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2013). *Coloniality of Power in Postcolonial Africa: Myths of Decolonization*. Oxford: African Books Collective.
- New24. (2018b, April 24). Baby-tossing dad: 'I didn't want to kill her'. *The Witness*, p. 3.
- News24. (2018b, September 27). Dros reacts to child's rape at restaurant. *The Witness*, p. 4.
- O'Reilly, A. (2018, April 17). Support for dad who flung tot. *The Herald*, p. 3.

- Ouzgane, L., & Morrell, R. (Eds.). (2005). *African masculinities: Men in Africa from the late nineteenth century to the present*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pattman, R., & Bhana, D. (2006). Black boys with bad reputations. *Alternation*, 13(2), 252-272.
- PCSA (Press Council of South Africa). (2016). *Code of Ethics and Conduct for South African Print and Online Media*. Johannesburg: PCSA.
- Pritchard, C., Williams, R., & Fernandez Arias, P. (2018). A New Paradigm on Parents Who Kill: 'The Mental Health Syndrome Paradigm'. In T. Brown, D. Tyson, & P. Fernandez Arias (Eds.), *When Parents Kill Children* (pp. 103-124). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Puar, J. K. (2015). The 'Right' to maim: Disablement and inhumanist biopolitics in Palestine. *borderlands*, 14(1), 1-27.
- Pyatt, J. (2018, April 16). Tot throw dad charged. *The Sun UK*. Retrieved November 25, 2022, from <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/6068412/dad-threw-toddler-off-roof-charged-child-abuse/>
- Ramaru, K. (2017). Feminist reflections on the Rhodes Must Fall movement. *Feminist Africa*, 22(1), 89-103.
- Ramazanoglu, C., & Holland, J. (2002). *Feminist methodology: Challenges and choices*. London: Sage.
- Ratele, K. (2006). Ruling masculinity and sexuality. *Feminist Africa*, 6, 48-64.
- Ratele, K. (2008). Masculinity and male mortality in South Africa. *African Safety Promotion*, 6(2), 19-41.
- Ratele, K. (2013). Subordinate Black South African Men Without Fear. *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 53(209-210), 247-268.

- Ratele, K. (2020). African and black men and masculinities. In L. Gottzén, U. Mellström, & T. Shefer (Eds.), *Routledge International Handbook of Masculinity Studies* (pp. 125-). Oxfordshire: Routledge.
- Ratele, K. (2021). Biko's Black Conscious Thought Is Useful for Extirpating the Fear of Whites Deposited in Black Masculinity. *Studies in Gender and Sexuality*, 22(4), 311-321.
- Ratele, K. (2022). *Why Men Hurt Women and Other Reflections on Love, Violence and Masculinity*. New York: NYU Press.
- Rodríguez Castro, L. (2021). Decolonial Feminisms: Place, Territory and the Body-Land. In L. Rodríguez Castro, *Decolonial Feminisms, Power and Place: Sentipensando with Rural Women in Colombia* (pp. 33-58). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sain, R. (2018, April 14). Officer hailed as hero after saving baby from fall. *Saturday Argus*, p. 5.
- Scott, L. (2021). The queer in decolonial times: Rhodes Must Fall and (im) possibilities in times of uncertainty. In J. Barnard-Naude (Ed.), *Decolonising the Neoliberal University: Law, Psychoanalysis and the Politics of Student Protest* (pp. 77-92). London: Birkbeck Law Press.
- Shefer, T. (2016). Resisting the binarism of victim and agent: Critical reflections on 20 years of scholarship on young women and heterosexual practices in South African contexts. *Global Public Health*, 11(1-2), 211-223.
- Shefer, T. (2021). 'Troubling' politics of research on young sexual practices in South African contexts. *Feminist Encounters: A Journal of Critical Studies in Culture and Politics*, 5(1), 1-12.
- Shefer, T., & Bozalek, V. (2022). Wild swimming methodologies for decolonial feminist justice-to-come scholarship. *Feminist review*, 130(1), 26-43.

- Shefer, T., Ratele, K., Strebel, A., Shabalala, N., & Buikema, R. (2007). From boys to men: An overview. In *From boys to men: Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society* (pp. 1-12). Lansdowne: UCT Press.
- Smith, L. T. (2013). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples* (2nd ed.). London: Zed Books.
- Snodgrass, L. (2016). The sins of the father: Gender-based violence in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Commonwealth Youth and Development, 14*(2), 57-70.
- Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. California: Sage Publications.
- Stead, M., Dobbie, F., Angus, K., Purves, R. I., Reith, G., & Macdonald, L. (2016). The online bingo boom in the UK: A qualitative examination of its appeal. *Plos one, 11*(5). doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0154763
- Stoler, A. L. (2020). Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule. In S. Howe (Ed.), *The New Imperial Histories Reader* (pp. 177-194). Milton Park: Routledge.
- Sutherland, G., Easteal, P., Holland, K., & al., e. (2019). Mediated representations of violence against women in the mainstream news in Australia. *BMC Public Health, 19*(502). doi:https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-019-6793-2
- Tamale, S. (2011). Interrogating the link between gendered sexualities, power and legal mechanisms: experiences from the lecture room. In S. Tamale (Ed.), *African sexualities: A reader* (pp. 606-621). Cape Town: Pambazuka Press.
- Tamale, S. (2020). *Decolonization and Afro-feminism*. Québec: Daraja Press.
- Tellis, W. M. (1997). Application of a Case Study Methodology. *The Qualitative Report, 3*(3), 1-19.
- Thomas, D. R. (2006). A general inductive approach for analyzing qualitative evaluation data. *American journal of evaluation, 27*(2), 237-246.

- Tlhabye, G. (2019, October 17). 'Drugs made me rape her'. *Pretoria News*, p. 1.
- UN Women. (2019, November). *Facts and figures: Ending violence against women*. Retrieved June 5, 2020, from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/facts-and-figures>
- UNICEF South Africa. (2022). *352 child murders in ninety days are 352 too many*. Pretoria.
- United Nations. (1996). *Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women*. New York: United Nations.
- Vaismoradi, M., Turunen, H., & Bondas, T. (2013). Content analysis and thematic analysis: Implications for conducting a qualitative descriptive study. *Nursing and Health Sciences*, *15*, 398-405.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse & Society*, *4*(2), 249-283.
- van Niekerk, T., & Boonzaier, F. (2019). The life history approach as a decolonial feminist method? Contextualising intimate partner violence in South Africa. In F. Boonzaier, & T. van Niekerk (Eds.), *Decolonial feminist community psychology* (pp. 43-57). Cham: Springer.
- von Holdt, K. (2012). The violence of order, orders of violence: Between Fanon and Bourdieu. *Current Sociology*, *61*(2), 112-131.
- Webb, D. A. (2015). War, racism, and the taking of heads: revisiting military conflict in the Cape Colony and western Xhosaland in the nineteenth century. *The Journal of African History*, 37-55.
- Wolpe, H. (1972). Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid. *Economy and society*, *1*(4), 425-456.
- Xaba, W. (2017). Challenging Fanon: A Black radical feminist perspective on violence and the Fees Must Fall movement. *Agenda*, *31*(3-4), 96-104.

- Xaba, W. (2019). The decolonization manifesto. In S. de Jong, R. Icaza, & O. U. Rutazibwa (Eds.), *Decolonization and feminisms in global teaching and learning* (pp. 69-74). Oxford: Routledge.
- Xie, Q. (2018). Critical Discourse Analysis of News Discourse. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 8(4), 399-403.
- Yazan, B. (2015). Three Approaches to Case Study Methods in Education: Yin, Merriam, and Stake. *The Qualitative Report*, 20(2), 134-152.
- Žižek, S. (2008). SOS Violence. In *Violence: Six sideways reflections* (pp. 9-39). New York: Picador.



ADDENDUM A: CODEBOOK

| Media Representations of Male Perpetrators of Violence against Women and Children: A Decolonial Feminist | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|--|--------------------|---|--|--|
| Emergent themes | Code | Definition | Colour Code | Scope | | Example and Build-up |
| | | | | Application guideline | Application limitation | |
| <u>Level I Coding</u> | | | | | | |
| 1. Violence | violence inflicted | Text/visuals that show an act of violence or harm that was inflicted on a victim | Yellow | Apply this code when text/visuals emphasise the harm that the perpetrator inflicted or threatened to inflict on others. | Do not use this code when act of violence or harm was inflicted on the perpetrator – refer to code <i>violence endured</i> . | ‘The father dangles his baby from the roof of his shack, with the aim of throwing her off it.’ |
| | violence endured | Text/visuals that show harm that was inflicted on perpetrator | Orange | Apply this code when text/visuals emphasise any harm that the perpetrator endured by the perpetrator | All acts of SOS violence should be considered in this code. However, media’s violence should not be considered here - | ‘Flung from the roof of a shack’ ‘A total of 90 homes were demolished’ |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|--|-------|--|---|---|
| | | | | | refer to code <i>accepted representations.</i> | |
| 2. Representations | censored representations | Text/visuals that have censored the perpetrator according to media regulation | Green | Use this code when violent acts and perpetrators of violence are kept anonymous. | Do not use this code when victims of violence under the age of 18 are censored. | ‘The man – who cannot be named to protect his daughter’s identity’ |
| | accepted representations | Text/visuals that would be deemed violent from a decolonial feminist praxis, but have been accepted. | Blue | Use this code when violent acts and perpetrators of violence are named. | Do not use this code when victims of violence under the age of 18 are named or shown. | ‘This series of dramatic images shows how a toddler was thrown from the roof of a shack...’ |
| 3. Space | occupiable spaces | Text/visuals that show a freedom or unquestioned occupation of space | Red | Use this code where language and visuals allude to the freedom people have to | Do not use this code outside of victim and perpetrator context. | ‘This was after they did not accept that only 15 out of 125 sites in the area would be made |

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|--|--------|--|--|---|
| | | | | exist unopposed in spaces. | | available to residents of Joe Slovo...’ |
| | restricted spaces | Text/visuals that show a freedom or restriction or legislation against occupation of space | Pink | Use this code where language and visuals allude to the restrictions people have to exist unopposed in spaces. | Do not use this code outside of victim and perpetrator context. | “’ when you build a shack illegally, I’m going to stop you” |
| <u>Level II Coding</u> | | | | | | |
| 1. Violence | violence inflicted | Text/visuals that show an act of violence or harm that was inflicted on a victim | Yellow | Apply this code when text/visuals emphasise the harm that the perpetrator inflicted on others i.e., the act of violence and the threat of violence | Do not use this code when act of violence or harm was inflicted on the perpetrator – refer to code <i>violence endured</i> . | ‘The father dangles his baby from the roof of his shack, with the aim of throwing her off it.’ ‘The 20-year-old man accused of |

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|--------|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | raping a seven-year-old girl in the bathroom of the Dros restaurant in Silverton. |
| violence endured | Text/visuals that show harm that was inflicted on perpetrator | Orange | Apply this code when text/visuals emphasise any harm endured by the perpetrator | All acts of SOS violence should be considered in this code. However, media's violence and histories of violence should not be considered here - refer to code <i>accepted representations</i> . and aggravating social psychopathies. | 'Flung from the roof of a shack' 'A total of 90 homes were demolished' 'He had visible injuries to his face and ear, allegedly inflicted after he was caught. | |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|--|-------|--|---|--|
| 2. Representations | censored representations | Text/visuals that have censored gratuitous violence according to media regulation | Green | Use this code when violent acts and perpetrators of violence are kept anonymous. | Do not use this code when victims of violence under the age of 18 are censored. | <p>‘The man – who cannot be named to protect his daughter’s identity’</p> <p>‘The man, who cannot be named by law until he has pleaded...’</p> |
| | accepted representations | Text/visuals that would be deemed gratuitously violent, but have been accepted and represented in news articles. | Blue | Use this code when gratuitously violent acts and perpetrators of violence are named outside of the bounds of the media regulation. | Do not use this code when victims of violence under the age of 18 are named or shown. | <p>‘This series of dramatic images shows how a toddler was thrown from the roof of a shack...’</p> <p>‘A video, purportedly taken</p> |

| | | | | | | |
|----------|-------------------|--|-----|--|---|---|
| | | | | | | <p>moments after the rape ordeal, depicted a naked man who was partly covered in blood. The government has called on people not to share the “disturbing” video.’</p> |
| 3. Space | occupiable spaces | Text/visuals that show a freedom or unquestioned occupation of space | Red | Use this code where language and visuals allude to the freedom people have to exist unopposed in spaces. | Do not use this code outside of victim and perpetrator context. | ‘This was after they did not accept that only 15 out of 125 sites in the area would be made available to residents of Joe Slovo...’ |

| | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|---|------|--|---|--|
| | | | | | | ‘According to patrons, the mother of the child went looking for her after she noticed she was not in the play area.’ |
| | restricted spaces | Text/visuals that show a restriction or legislation against occupation of space | Pink | Use this code where language and visuals allude to the restrictions people have to exist and move unopposed in spaces. | Do not use this code outside of victim and perpetrator context. | <p>“” when you build a shack illegally, I’m going to stop you”</p> <p>‘The man allegedly watched the little girl in the restaurant play area and later</p> |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|--|--------|---|--|--|
| | | | | | | followed her to the bathroom.' |
| 4. Social Psychopathies | extenuating social psychopathies | Text/visuals that ignore the possible socio-psychological diagnosis or struggles of the perpetrator as a possible link to the violent act. | Grey | Use this code where language and visuals highlight the act without the possibility sociopathic struggles of perpetrators. | | '...the man's actions had undermined their struggle to protect their homes.' |
| | aggravating social psychopathies | Text/visuals that use the socio-psychological diagnosis or struggles of the perpetrator as a possible link to the violent act. | Purple | Use this code where language and visuals highlight the act as a result of a possible sociopathic struggles of perpetrators. | | '...the man was allegedly found with substance that looked like cocaine.' |

Under-siege dad flings toddler off shack roof

Baby in middle of protest unharmed after being caught by metro cops

Naziziphiwo Buso, Siyabonga Sesant and Zizonke May

PIERCING screams marked the moment a Port Elizabeth man tussling with a police officer flung his toddler from the rooftop of a shack as he defied officials trying to demolish his home yesterday.

As residents screamed, metro police officers standing below deftly caught the smiling one-year-old – unharmed – who seemed unaware of her perilous situation.

More violence was to follow when a mob from the Joe Slovo informal settlement, near KwaDwest, tried later to burn down the house of a councillor whose wife and two children were trapped inside, but dispersed when police were alerted.

The young father's shocking actions followed a tense standoff in Joe Slovo during which an SAPS officer had, moments before, tried to negotiate with the man from the top of a hippo parked close by.

After a frenetic rooftop scuffle with police, the 38-year-old man was overpowered, arrested and charged later with attempted murder.

The frightening scene – watched by horrified Joe Slovo residents – was captured in a series of dramatic images taken by a Herald photographer.

The man had been clutching his baby daughter to his chest on his corrugated iron rooftop amid a heavy police presence in the area

to safeguard the process as the SAPS, metro police and municipal officials started demolishing shacks built on illegally occupied municipal land.

The father, with the assistance of a 35-year-old woman identified as the toddler's mother, had climbed onto the roof of the last shack still standing with his child after about 150 residents had urged him to do so, some chanting: "They will do nothing to it [shack]."

Almost 90 structures had been demolished earlier.

But, later, a furious mob whose shacks had been destroyed attacked the home of Ward 41 councillor Simphiwe Tyukana.

The screams of the councillor's wife, Zanele, her two small children and a neighbour did nothing to deter the group, who appeared determined to burn the house down – with the four trapped inside.

Tyukana was not home at the time. "The one moment we were sitting inside the house, the next, rocks came flying through the windows – all of the windows are shattered," Zanele said.

"A boulder landed right in front of me and my children, along with the curtain.

"I was terrified for my children, who were crying hysterically.

"The mob shattered all of the windows, then set a tyre alight, which – at first – they tried to force through the lounge window.

"When that didn't work, they put

the burning tyre at the front door [in an attempt to burn it] to get inside."

Zanele said the two bodyguards appointed by the municipality who were with them at the time had fled the scene.

At his office not far from his house, Tyukana had received a call from his brother, informing him protesters were trying to burn his house down.

"I immediately called the police and then jumped into my car to drive home," he said.

Tyukana said the protesters had fled in all directions when they heard the police were coming.

Police were still on the scene last night after Tyukana opened a case of public violence and arson.

Police spokesman Captain Andre Beetge said the case was being investigated. Referring to the inci-

REPORT CONTINUES: P2





ROOFTOP SPECTACLE: This series of dramatic images shows how a toddler was thrown from the roof of a shack in Joe Slovo and caught by metro police officers

Pictures: WERNER HILLS



The Herald , 13 April 2018, Page 1



Dad flings toddler off shack roof

REPORT CONTINUES FROM P1

dent involving the child who was tossed from the rooftop, Beetge said social workers would be called in and the little girl would be handed over to her mother while the Motherwell Cluster Family, Child Protection and Sexual Offences unit investigated.

A resident, who did not want to be named, said: "I did not expect him to throw his baby off his roof – what he did is disgusting because the poor baby had nothing to do with the protest."

"We were only protesting over the demolishing of our structures after the councillor had told us he would protect [them from being pulled down]."

The resident said the man's actions had undermined their struggle to protect their homes.

It was claimed that Tyukana had allowed people who had been waiting for houses for more than 25 years to live on the land earmarked for housing development.

This was after they did not accept that only 15 out of 125 sites in the area would be made available to residents of Joe Slovo and the surrounding areas.

But Tyukana said yesterday: "There's a lot of [land] invasion which is taking place here and, from

the onset, I warned them not to invade open spaces in the ward, that it is illegal.

"I've addressed them and I have records [of these meetings] as proof.

"In two meetings last month, I told them 'when you build a shack illegally, I'm going to stop you because it is wrong'."

Another resident watched in dismay as the municipal workers demolished the shack she had just built a week ago.

"I had paid R2 000 two weeks ago for this material they are demolishing now," she said.

"I thought this could be a temporary home for me and my grandmother, who is 105."

Mayoral committee member for housing development Nqaba Bhanga said the people who were removed from Joe Slovo East were illegal dwellers.

"It is illegal for people to occupy land, particularly in areas where there are projects approved for individuals to get houses because, in Joe Slovo, there are plans for people to get houses," he said.

"People have waited for years to get these houses – and people are trying to steal their opportunity."

Asked whether the municipality

could keep up with the housing demand, Bhanga said: "The government can't keep up with the housing demand because the national fiscus cannot afford it.

"Our [municipal] grants have been reduced as local government."

To counter the issue of insufficient funding, the municipality is planning to develop more "site-and-service" projects where people will be placed while funds are being generated.

These sites will have water and electricity available.

Land invasions have gripped the country, with municipalities in Tshwane, Hermanus and Nelson Mandela Bay struggling to stop them.

President Cyril Ramaphosa said earlier this year that those occupying land illegally should face the full might of the law.

But the issue is at the heart of the EFF's mantra for people to be unapologetic in their quest to take back the land.

EFF leader Julius Malema appeared briefly in the Bloemfontein Magistrate's Court last week to answer for allegedly contravening the Riotous Assemblies Act for inciting his supporters to invade land.

The prosecution asked for the matter to stand down until July 27.

Officer hailed as hero after saving baby from fall

RAAHIL SAIN

A NELSON Mandela Bay metro police officer has been hailed as a hero after he caught a one-year-old baby girl after she was flung from the roof of a shack by her father.

Constable Luyolo Nojulumba caught the baby after her 38-year-old father dangled her by her ankle before throwing her from the roof of their shack in the Joe Slovo informal settlement during tense evictions on Thursday.

The drama made international headlines. Not a man of many words, Nojulumba, 27, was rewarded with a commendation by metro police chief Yolande Faro yesterday.

Nojulumba, who plays rugby for a local club, said when he caught the baby, she stopped crying immediately.

"When I caught the baby she stopped crying. Then I ran with her because members of the public were throwing stones. When she got in the vehicle, she fell asleep and then woke up at Kwadesi police station, but she was no longer crying," he said.

Nojulumba, a metro police officer for just over a year, described the incident as a terrifying experience.

Faro said it was a proud moment and the team was grateful that Nojulumba had managed to catch the baby.

because if she had fallen to the ground a tragedy might have occurred. "He goes out there to serve and protect. When I asked him, 'What were you thinking?', he said the only thing he was thinking about was that the baby must be safe and he needed to do everything in his power for the baby not to be harmed," said Faro.

What she found surprising was that the child was crying while with her father, but the moment Nojulumba caught her she stopped crying.

"(It was) like the baby felt she was out of danger, and I mean she is only one-year-old. That was one thing that struck me completely in terms of the

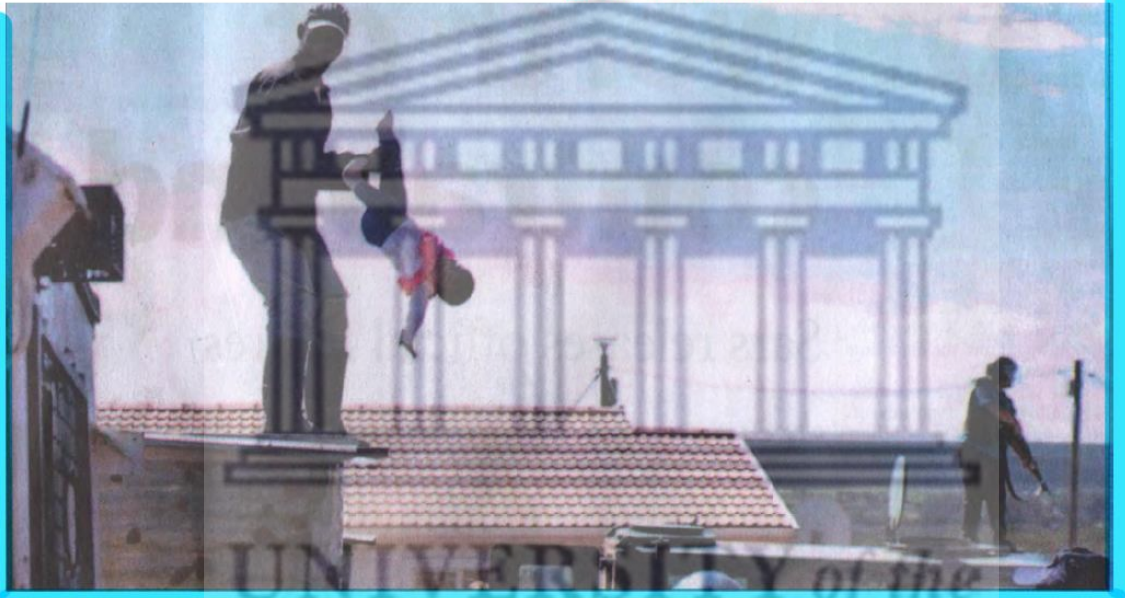
incident," Faro said.

In October last year, Nojulumba received a commendation for being the first metro police official to confiscate an illegal firearm in the Motherwell area.

The baby's father is in custody and is to appear in the New Brighton Magistrate's Court on Monday on a charge of attempted murder.

The shocking incident occurred during the demolition of illegal structures by the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality. A total of 90 homes were demolished.

The baby girl has been handed back to her mother, African News Agency (ANA)



The father dangles his baby from the roof of his shack, with the aim of throwing her off it.

WESTERN CAPE





An officer unsuccessfully tries to stop the man from throwing his baby off the roof. The baby was caught by Constable Luyolo Nojulumba before she hit the ground. PICTURES



Support for dad who flung tot

Community rallies round as Joe Slovo dweller appears in court

Athena O'Reilly

JOE Slovo community members arrived at the New Brighton Magistrate's Court yesterday in support of a father who tossed his one-year-old daughter from a shack roof last week.

The man – who cannot be named to protect his daughter's identity – appeared on charges of child abuse pending further investigation.

He had initially faced a charge of attempted murder and is being held in custody.

The court appearance relates to a tense stand-off in Joe Slovo on Thursday when the 38-year-old father flung his child from the roof of his shack while defiantly resisting the demolition of the structure.

The man had been clutching his baby daughter to his chest on his corrugated iron rooftop amid a heavy police presence in the area to safeguard the process as the SAPS, metro police and municipal officials started demolishing shacks built on illegally occupied municipal land.

He was on the roof for about five minutes before he threw the baby, spurred on by members of the community, who shouted "throw, throw, throw".

Dozens of community members who wanted to see the man released on bail claimed yesterday he did not throw his child off the roof.

"He didn't throw the child off the roof, he was being pressurised by the situation. He would never do that," one of the residents, who refused to be named, said.

DA councillor Nqaba Bhanga said they were in support of the court's de-



SHOCKING MOMENT: The man throwing the little girl off the shack roof last week. Picture: WERNER HILLS

cision to deny bail. "This is a typical example where we do not value the life of our children, we use our children to make a statement – [that] is not acceptable," he said.

"The court was very clear that bail was denied and we are happy [about that] because we have to protect our children.

"We have a situation in South Africa where our children's rights are undermined and I think this community and the father should learn that the lives of our children are very important."

Metro Police chief Yolanda Faro, who attended the proceedings along with Constable Luyolo Nojulumba – who caught the baby after she was flung off the roof – said she had faith justice would prevail.

"We are against women and child abuse. We understand and agree that the court needed to postpone the matter as more charges might be added, pending the investigation," she said.

"At this stage we are in agreement and know that the police will do a proper investigation to ensure the law runs its course."

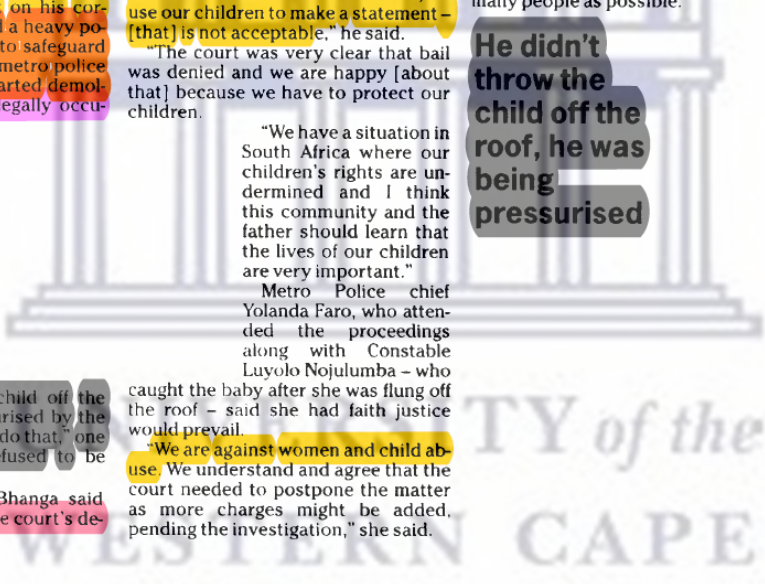
The case was postponed to April 23 for further investigation as a social worker's report needs to be presented. The man will remain in custody until then.

The DA's Zakhele Mbhele said there were several pressing issues around the case.

"I know the metro is making every effort within its limited resources to provide housing opportunities and it does not help if those processes then become blocked because of things like protests and illegal occupations," Mbhele said.

"We need everyone to come on board and get on the same page so that the municipal process can help as many people as possible."

He didn't throw the child off the roof, he was being pressurised





LET HIM GO: A small crowd demonstrates outside the court where a father was charged with child abuse



COP PRAISED: Constable Luyolo Nojulumba, who caught the child, with Metro Police chief Yolanda Faro at the court

The Herald , 17 April 2018, Page 3

PE dad denied bail after child abuse charges

African News Agency

A PORT Elizabeth father has made his first appearance in the New Brighton Magistrate's Court on a charge of child abuse after he allegedly flung his one-year-old baby girl from a roof during the demolishing operation of illegal houses.

A charge of attempted murder was withdrawn against Mthobeki Katali after the prosecution indicated that he would be charged with child abuse, a schedule one offence, until such time there was further evidence to institute a charge of attempted murder.

The issue of a fixed home address also became a contention, with the State arguing

that he could not be released as he didn't have a fixed address after his structure was demolished last week.

Last week, Katali allegedly used his daughter and threatened to throw her from a shack roof in an attempt to force metro officials not to take down the structure.

As police moved in to stop him, Katali allegedly threw the little girl from the rooftop.

But she was caught by a metro police member and was unharmed during the ordeal.

The baby girl has since been placed in the care of social services.

State prosecutor Nontshumayelo Balicawa opposed bail based on the charge of child abuse being provisional.

The prosecutor added that police were unable to verify his new address after his shack was demolished.

Balicawa said: "If you look at the nature of the offence, the child was thrown from a roof."

However, legal aid attorney Mxolisi Moolman argued that it was not procedure for an accused person to be kept in custody because the state "was still thinking" about a future charge.

Moolman said police had 48 hours to verify his address and Katali should not be kept in custody because the police did not do their jobs.

But Balicawa questioned that, if he were to be released on bail, where would he go. "If he is released, then where to?"

The address is not verified. "Where will the court release him to?" she asked.

Magistrate Shivan Maharaj said the court needed to take the child's interests into consideration.

"The court is more comfortable getting a social worker's report in the interests of the child. The address needs to be verified, we can't allow bail and there is no fixed address," she said.

The case was postponed until April 23 for the verification of Katali's address.

Metro police member, Luyolo Nojulumba, who caught the baby girl during the ordeal was also at court yesterday, as were members of the community in support of the father.

WESTERN CAPE



Cape Times, 17 April 2018, Page 4

Baby-tossing dad: 'I didn't want to kill her'

THE man accused of throwing his one-year-old daughter from the roof of a shack earlier this month during municipal demolitions of illegal structures has been released on a warning by the New Brighton Magistrate's Court in Port Elizabeth.

The 38-year-old, whose name is being withheld in the interests of the child, was captured in a dramatic series of pictures, first as he threatened to throw her off the roof of a shack in Joe Slovo informal settlement and eventually as he did. The child was caught by a metro police officer, Constable Luyolo Nojulumba.

Prosecutor Nontshumayelo Balicawa said the father was now facing a charge of child abuse, after the initial charge was downgraded from attempted murder during his first appearance last week. The state was not opposed to bail.

Legal aid attorney Mxolisi Moolman petitioned the court yesterday for his client be released on warning. Moolman read

"I could see the roof zinc was bending and thought it was going to be dangerous to fall inside the shack with my child."

from the social worker's report which indicated that the man's family, which includes four children, is destitute.

He said the family had no fixed income, aside from a social grant of R1 200 a month, and had been evicted from a backyard shack in the Joe Slovo informal settlement, as they had been unable to pay rent.

He said this led them to erect the dwelling on the vacant piece of land, which was then demolished by the municipality.

Magistrate Shivan Maharaj released the father on a warning, and said that as part of his release, he was to meet with the social worker in order to visit his child.

The case was postponed to May 29. Speaking to the media outside the court, the father said he had seen the police were in the process of demolishing the homes, and he thought they would skip his house if he jumped on the roof with his child.

"One policeman climbed onto the roof of my house and then I saw other police up there. I could see the roof zinc was bending and thought it was going to be dangerous to fall inside the shack with my child.

"I thought I would give the child to her mother. It's not the way they're portraying this story. I didn't want to kill my child."

NPA spokesperson Tsepo Ndwalaza said there was no proof that the man had intended to kill his daughter. -- News24.

WESTERN CAPE



ADDENDUM B.2: DROS RAPIST ENCODES

Reproduced by Sabinet Online. Copyright of this material belongs to the publisher of this article

1 of 1

Dros reacts to child's rape at restaurant

THE Dros restaurant group has issued a statement three days after the alleged rape of a six-year-old girl at one of its restaurants.

On Saturday, the girl was allegedly raped in the men's toilet of a Dros steakhouse franchise in Silverton, Pretoria.

In the statement, the restaurant "confirms" the incident.

"We have been in contact with the parents of the child to convey our sympathy and offered our assistance in any form that would (or could) reasonably be required in a matter of this nature," the statement reads.

The 20-year-old suspect had been provisionally charged with rape, possession of drugs, assault with intent to do bodily harm and intimidation, Phindi Mjonondwane of the National Prosecut-

ing Authority (NPA) told Talk Radio 702 on Tuesday.

"The incident involves a minor so I can't disclose any information about it," police spokesperson Lieutenant-Colonel Lungelo Dlamini told News24.

Reports of the sexual assault first surfaced on Facebook, Netwerk24 reported.

The post, dated September 22, reads: "I'm at Dros in Silverton en this man jus raped a six year old in the toilet...police are here, she is bleeding...the guy looks 24...apparently he was scouting her while she was playing in the kids area en waited for her to go to the toilet (sic)."

On Tuesday, the *Citizen* reported that the man allegedly snatched the girl from the women's toilet and took her to the men's toilet where he raped her.

According to the paper, the mother

of the child could not find her and heard noises coming from the toilet.

She reportedly could not open the door and started making a commotion.

The man then opened the door and was found to be naked. The child was also undressed and bleeding from the groin.

A witness told the *Citizen* that patrons assaulted the suspect. He had to be locked in the toilet for his protection, and was taken to hospital by ambulance after his arrest.

The Dros head office said it had been in close communication with the owners, management and staff of the Dros outlet where the incident took place, but declined to comment further because of the "sensitive nature" of the case.

— News24.

WESTERN CAPE

The Witness, 27 September 2018, Page 4

The collage contains two main parts. The top part is a newspaper clipping with the headline "Gone with the wind" and a photograph of a person. The bottom part is a "HOWICK MEAT CENTRE" advertisement listing various meat products and prices:

| Product | Price |
|--------------------------|-------|
| Lean Oxtails | 69¢ |
| Mixture RUMP Steak | 89¢ |
| Mixture SIRLOIN | 89¢ |
| Fresh healthy Super Lamb | 95¢ |
| Chicken Livers | 59¢ |
| Chicken Mince | 59¢ |
| Chicken Jumbo Prawns | 59¢ |
| Red Fish | 59¢ |
| Underberg Butter | 59¢ |

Cheers as Dros rape accused drops bail bid

Nico Gous, Ivan Pijooos and Ernest Mabuza

The crowd in the packed courtroom erupted and cheered when they heard the news – the alleged Dros rapist is not applying for bail and will return to prison.

The 20-year-old man accused of raping a seven-year-old girl in the bathroom of the Dros restaurant in Silverton, Pretoria, was visibly nervous – biting his lip and staring in front of him – during the court proceedings.

Civil society movement Not in my Name has called for a charge of attempted murder to be added.

The man, who may not be named by law until he has pleaded, wore a dark grey sweater, black jeans, white socks and orange flip-flops.

He had visible injuries to his face and ear, allegedly inflicted after he was caught.

Children carrying placards reading “No bail for rape and murder” and “Don’t hurt us” joined scores of people outside the Pretoria Magistrate’s Court during the hearing.

Tshwane mayor Solly Msimanga, ANC regional chair Kgosi Maepa and ANC Women’s League general secretary Meokgo Matuba were also at the court, where political parties and onlookers had gathered in large numbers.

Some peeked through a

window in the door to try to get a look at the accused, whose hair has been completely shaved off.

Roads around the court were closed and there was a heavy police presence.

The court first heard an application by Netwerk24 to allow the media to take photographs before and after court proceedings.

Magistrate Marley Mokoena granted the application for still photographs, but allowed no filming.

The accused was returned to the holding cells after this, but returned after the adjournment with a changed outfit, this time emerging in a light grey hoodie.

His eyes were glued to the floor as he covered his face.

Mokoena postponed the case to November 1.

The state asked for the postponement for further investigation, to launch an application to obtain the suspect’s cellphone for “forensic downloading” and outstanding DNA evidence.

“His grandmother indicated that he [the accused] does have a cellphone and he knows where it is,” state prosecutor Sanet Jacobson said.

According to Netwerk24, one reason why the man is not applying for bail is because he had been living with his grandmother, who has cut ties with

him and is reportedly not willing to provide her home address for his bail application.

Legal Aid attorney Riaan du Plessis, representing the suspect, said that if the state wanted to obtain the man’s cellphone, it must apply to do so.

“It is the accused’s private property and he has the right against self-incrimination and providing [the] cellphone, and just making an order without a proper application from the state does not mean it should be granted.

“It is my submission that it will lead to an unfair trial, because the accused has the right against self-incrimination,” Du Plessis said.

“It is my instruction from the accused that he does not want to help the state regarding these issues at this stage.”

Elaborating on the man’s injuries, Du Plessis claimed that police officers at the Silverton police station had instructed him to do push-ups, before kicking him.

“There are other instances of assault, which the accused also reported, that is that he was hit with open hands and with belts,” he said.

Du Plessis said the man had sustained some injuries when customers at the Dros had hit him on the head with a broken beer bottle after he was caught.

His injuries included a cut

to his right ear, resulting in four stitches, two cuts to his forehead of about 15cm each, and a bloodshot left eye.

Huisgenoot reportedly spoke to a family member of the victim, who said: “She is getting all the support that she needs.

“She has doctors and paramedics who looked after her and are still taking care of her.”

Msimanga, who met with the family of the victim on Monday to offer support, said they were “taking it very, very hard”.

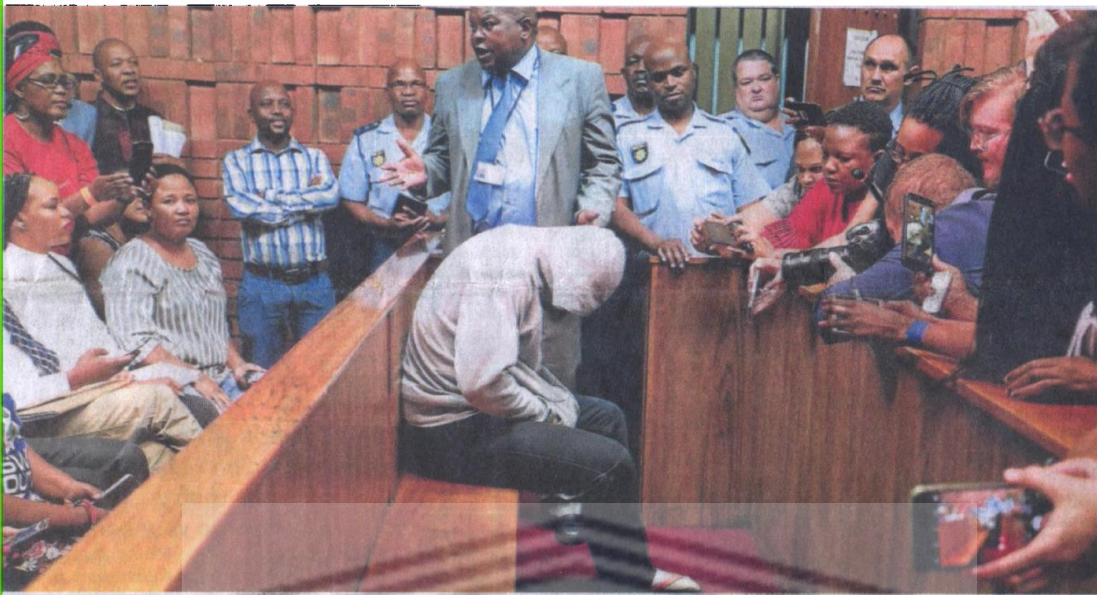
The mother had not been available for the meeting.

“We will continue to offer whatever support they need from us in this particular time,” he said.

“The engagement was very heartbreaking, because you have an innocent child who doesn’t know what is happening around [her]. You feel a

REPORT CONTINUES: P2





NOWHERE TO HIDE: The man accused of raping a child at a Dros restaurant appears in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court on Tuesday

Rape accused drops bail bid

REPORT FROM: P1

sense of wanting to do more but you don't know what more you can do."

He said that when he had engaged with the police, he was told that there were signs that a rape had occurred at the restaurant.

Different political parties, civic organisations and others joined hands outside the court in a show of solidarity against rape.

Bikers against Child Abuse were also present, with the streets outside the court echoing with the revving of motorcycles.

Themba Masango, secretary-general of the Not in My Name movement advocating for the protection of women and children, said the accused must never see the light of day again.

"This is not just rape. A child almost died at the Dros restaurant," he said.

"That is why we say this should be escalated to a charge of attempted murder."

The accused made his first appearance in court on Tuesday last week, when the case was postponed for seven days

for further investigation.

He faces a charge of rape, possession of drugs, intimidation and assault with intent to cause grievous bodily harm.

The man was allegedly found with a substance that looked like cocaine, which has been sent for forensic testing.

The assault charges relate to him allegedly hitting out at waiters with a belt after he was caught.

The man allegedly watched the little girl in the restaurant play area and later followed her to the bathroom.

According to patrons, the mother of the child went looking for her after she noticed she was not in the play area.

She allegedly caught her daughter's attacker in the act.

A video, purportedly taken moments after the rape ordeal, depicted a naked man who was partly covered in blood.

The government has called on people not to share the "disturbing" video.

Commission for Gender Equality spokesperson Javu Baloyi said they were monitoring the case. – *TimesLIVE*, with additional reporting by Siphso Mabena

The Herald , 03 October 2018, Page 1

'Drugs made me rape her'

Dros rapist Ninow – set to be sentenced today – tells court of his years of substance abuse, even in prison

GOITSEMANG TLHABYE

AHEAD of his sentencing today, convicted child rapist Nicholas Ninow said he believed he could be an "amazing person" if given another chance because he was now motivated to keep focused on fighting his drug addiction.

This is despite admitting in court that he had continued to use drugs since his arrest for the rape of the 7-year-old girl in the female bathroom stall of the Dros restaurant in Silverton in 2018.

Ninow said his drug use had continued unabated. "Drugs are everywhere in prison and I've been using them since I was arrested."

He told the court he had used drugs up to 20 times at the Kgosi Mampuru II Correctional Centre.

Ninow was speaking during his sentencing proceedings in the Gauteng High Court, Pretoria, yesterday.

Psychologist Marina Genis, in delivering her report, said Ninow had indicated remorse for his actions, especially with regards to the impact it had on the

girl and her family.

He said "she did not deserve what I did to her; she did nothing."

Genis said Ninow had indicated during their sessions that he was now motivated to quit using drugs. However, she also told the court he tended to use drugs in stressful situations and to avoid his problems.

By Ninow's own account he has said he was full of anger and hatred the day he raped the girl.

He was heavily on drugs and did not care about anything.

Ninow broke down in tears as he said it had been difficult to say what he had done in public and especially with the media attention.

"I didn't care about anything at that time. I intentionally took her from the bathroom and intentionally did what I did; the regret only came later."

"I was angry and full of hatred as I

was in a tough place in my life. If I was sober-minded I would have never done that to anyone, let alone a child."

His grandmother Pauline Gerike said she still did not believe her grandson would have hurt anyone, especially a child, if he had not consumed alcohol and drugs for three days in a row.

She said she knew him as a protective person who had protected her all his life.

Gerike said growing up, Ninow was always the one who stood up for the "underdog" in class. "There's a side that I love, a side I raised to be a good boy. Because the first eight years of his life he was abused and used, and because of the drugs that were brought into his life, this happened."

She added that despite her beliefs in mitigating factors, she did not for a minute believe Ninow should not be punished for his actions.

Ninow submitted a poem he had composed for the girl and an apology letter to the family.

However, State prosecutor Dorah Ngobeni said according to a victim impact statement, the girl verbalised she was having nightmares about the incident.

She questioned Ninow's remorse, stating that if he had indeed been sorry for his actions he would have taken the court into his confidence and told the truth as to what really happened on the day.

Instead she said Ninow was now trying to seek a "discount" by blaming his actions on the drug addiction he had been battling with since he was 13 years old. She said he had failed to indicate at any point during the trial proceedings that he wanted to apologise to the family or the girl until now.

Ninow vehemently denied looking for a "discount" or not being genuine, repeating that if he had been sober he would not have committed the crime.

He acknowledged that he had to pay for his actions



CONVICTED child rapist Nicholas Ninow stands in the dock before testifying in mitigation of sentence in the Gauteng High Court, Pretoria. Ninow was found guilty of raping a 7-year-old girl, being in possession of drugs and defeating the ends of justice. | THOBILE MATHONSI African News Agency (ANA)



I intentionally raped girl (7) at the restaurant - Ninow

'My mom introduced me to chemical drugs'

By **Nomahlubi Jordaan**

Convicted rapist Nicholas Ninow has told the court that he started using drugs with his mother at a young age.

Ninow, who took the stand yesterday in the North Gauteng High Court in Pretoria where he was found guilty of raping a seven-year-old girl, told the court that he had taken drugs three days before the incident in September last year.

He admitted to raping the child in a female toilet cubicle at the Silverton Dros restaurant in Pretoria.

Ninow told the court that he left work early three days before the incident. He called his drug dealer, who delivered drugs to him.

When he was at the Dros, he ordered beer. He said he did not intentionally choose to sit in the kiddies' area. He also

denied telling the waitress that he was waiting for someone.

On the day, Ninow said he consumed large quantities of alcohol and drugs. "I started drinking and it got out of control."

He said he moved to the bar area where he sat with a man he did not know.

The court heard that Ninow did not have money to pay his bill.

This despite evidence before court that he told a waitress that she should tell him when his tab had reached R650.

He said he remembered going to the female toilet to take drugs.

"It's difficult to say what happened," Ninow said, breaking down in tears.

"This is something I have to live with... I made a mistake. I intentionally did those things to her.

"I knew what I was doing. I was in a different mind state. There was no emotion

attached," he said.

Ninow told the court that he started using drugs at the age of 13. He was introduced to "chemical" drugs by his mother. "The first time I consumed chemicals was with my mother."

He said his mother had always been on drugs.

He described his relationship with his mother, who is 37 years old, as that of brother and sister.

He claimed drugs gave him a different personality and that they were a coping mechanism for him.

"It's always been a coping mechanism... all my life."

Ninow told the court that he was using drugs in prison because "drugs are everywhere in prison".

The trial continues.



Convicted rapist Nicholas Ninow is led into the high court in Pretoria yesterday to testify in mitigation of his sentence. / PHILL MAGAKOE / GALLO IMAGES



Drug-using child rapist gets life

NICHOLAS NINOW: ABUSED SEVEN-YEAR-OLD IN TOILET

Citizen reporter

Judge Mokhele Mosopa handed down a life sentence to convicted child rapist Nicholas Ninow yesterday in the High Court in Pretoria.

Ninow also got five years for possession of drugs and another five for defeating the ends of justice, the latter to run concurrently with the life sentence.

The court earlier heard arguments in mitigation and aggravation of sentence, with the state asking for the maximum of a life sentence and the 21-year-old Ninow pleading for clemency, saying he would kill himself if he was sent to prison for life.

In his judgment, Mosopa referred to the scourge of gender-based violence in South Af-

rica, and that the court had been asked to impose sentences that could function as a deterrent.

Ninow admitted on Wednesday that he had not cared about the consequences of his actions when he had raped a seven-year-old girl in a toilet cubicle at the Dros restaurant in Silverton, Pretoria last year.

He said recreational drugs had made him "angry and full of hatred" and that he had been acting on impulse alone.

"Sober-minded, I would never have done such a thing, not to anyone, never mind a little child.

"I could not get physical with anyone sober, I am not violent," he told the court.

He added that his grandmother would attest to his assertion

that he was a "different person" when high. His grandmother, Pauline Gericke, did indeed testify in favour of Ninow's character yesterday, blaming his mother for reintroducing him to drugs after he had been "clean" for some time.

Ninow earlier detailed his history of drug abuse, which began when he was 13 after his mother introduced him to khat (methcathinone).

The court was also asked to consider his young age and his first-offender status as mitigating factors.

Judge Mosopa acknowledged that Ninow appeared to be a broken person. "The person who was supposed to protect him introduced him to drugs," he said.

However, he said the harm caused to the victim could not be downplayed. "The complainant is scared of being in the company of men. Ninow violated a child he should have protected."

Testifying in aggravation of sentence yesterday, forensic social worker Captain Karin Botha detailed the trauma of the rape and how it still haunted the victim. Thirteen months later,

the now eight-year-old still had nightmares about him and feared he would attack her in her room.

Botha told the court that the victim, who cannot be named to protect her identity,

could still vividly remember what Ninow looked like and what he wore on the day he raped her in September last year.

According to Botha, who compiled a victim impact report, the girl was extremely anxious and nervous all the time and this was reflected in her body language.

Since the incident, she had been petrified of restaurants and men, Botha testified.

Botha added that the victim was suffering from deep-rooted trauma that may well continue into adulthood and cause mental issues. - Additional reporting by News24 Wire

➔ **Victim impact report states victim may have psychological issues in later life.**

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE





CASE CLOSED. Nicholas Ninow in the dock of the High Court in Pretoria while testifying in mitigation of sentence on Wednesday. Yesterday he was sentenced to life imprisonment for of raping a seven-year-old girl in a Dros restaurant's bathroom, possession of an illegal substance and defeating the ends of justice. Picture: Gallo Images

