Se wo were fi na wosan kofa a yenkyiri.

It is not taboo to go back for what you forgot or left behind.

An Exploration of the Influence of Apartheid Legacies on Gender-Based Violence in Diepsloot

Nyasha Maposa

A Doctoral Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy, London Metropolitan University

April 2025

Acknowledgements

Abstract

There is a growing body of work showing that the issue of sexual violence in present day South Africa is not a post-apartheid issue – but is deeply connected to histories of oppression under slavery, colonialism and apartheid. These studies often trace the genealogy of sexual violence to dispel notions of a 'crisis' of sexual violence in contemporary South Africa. However, as yet these studies have not been empirical nor context specific considering how apartheid legacies have implications for GBV, more broadly, within particular areas in the country. There has also been limited engagement with other apartheid legacies beyond structural racism and sexual violence to consider their ramifications for women's present-day experiences of violence. This thesis broadens the scope and framing of legacies implicated in GBV and makes them a core focus in understanding violence in Diepsloot. This is an approach to the issue in Diepsloot that has not been taken to date.

Analysis of 34 interviews with residents and those working in the GBV sector as well as data from Facebook and a field visit to Diepsloot is presented. The empirical evidence is analysed using Jeff Hearn's (2022) violence regime framework and other concepts developed throughout the research to explore the relationship between structural and interpersonal violence in Diepsloot. The research has four central aims, the achievement of which adds to the unique contribution of this thesis. Firstly, it aims to ascertain the implications of apartheid legacies beyond histories of sexual violence on women's experiences of GBV in Diepsloot. Secondly extending beyond the notion of "GBV hotspots" this research aims to explore how and why certain contexts lend themselves to higher rates of violence than others; with particular focus on infrastructure and the physical conditions it creates for women's safety or lack thereof. Thirdly – to understand the strategies of resistance and safety women employ to protect themselves and/or avoid violence in this context; beyond experiences of GBV there has been limited engagement with women in this way. Lastly, to build and extend on the work of previous studies which have pointed to risk factors for violence in Diepsloot – to consider what underpins these issues through a framework that can hold structural violence as rooted in the historical as well as the interpersonal.

Table of Contents

FIGURES

TABLES

APPENDICES

Chapter One: Introduction

Until we are able to address... the long histories we come from, approach them with imaginative new ways to break the patterns, we will continue to live with the scourge of gender-based violence (Gqola, 2015, p.66).

The thing that I found most interesting was South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy and this moment where there is this belief by some people that everything changed and essentially, through my research, particularly on foreign policy was actually very little change because entrenched interests, both within South Africa but also out with of South Africa, constrained the options of the ANC (Interviewee 24, Historian, White M).

South Africa has some of the highest rates of domestic abuse in the world, for a country not at war (Artz, 2008; Brodie et al., 2023; George, 2020; Gouws, 2022; Govendar, 2023; Moffett, 2006; Mogstad et al, 2016; WHO,2013). This statement has been frequently repeated and, in some studies, domestic abuse replaced by sexual violence (Boonzaier & Van Schalwkywk; 2011) or another form of GBV, for example, femicide. "South Africa is the rape capital of the world" (UNODC South Africa, 2002) is a statement that has been reiterated despite its accuracy being contested (Gqola,2015). The 2020 crime statistics showed that one in five South African women were victims of GBV (see SAPS, 2020) and South African Police Services (SAPS) data from 2015 to 2020 showed that seven women are killed daily (Mkwananzi & Nathane-Taulela, 2024, p.1). The question why informs the inquiry of this thesis, particularly what is it about a particular context that lends itself to some of the highest rates of violence against women in the world, especially a country with some of the most progressive laws and comprehensive definitions and remedies to safeguard women and provide survivors with legal protection and assistance. The Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 13 of 2022, The Criminal and Related Matters Amendment Act 12 of 2022, and The Domestic Violence Amendment Act 14 of 2022 are key Interventions of the National Strategic Plan on Gender Based Violence and Femicide in South Africa (Soci, 2024). The

National Council on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide Act signed on 24 May 2024 facilitates the establishment of a statutory body to provide strategic leadership in the fight against gender-based violence and femicide in South Africa (SA Government, 2022).

Local research and statistics point to a need for even further specificity that looks at what makes particular areas within South Africa "hotspots" for gender-based violence (Cele, 2020). Diepsloot is a township amongst the 30 areas identified as having the highest rates of GBV in the country showing a 43% increase in rape cases between 2010 and 2020 (Vetten, 2020; Cele, 2020). A 2016 study with 2,600 local men found that 56% admitted to either beating or raping a woman in the past 12 months (Christofides & Rebomboo,2016). This is more than double the rates that had been reported in other national studies (Sonke, 2016).

Conducting contextual research that does not problematise poor Black people by reifying racist rhetoric from apartheid, requires a complex multilayered examination that looks at the relationship between structural and interpersonal violence. This informs the main research question – in what ways are legacies of apartheid implicated in the current high rates of GBV in Diepsloot? Socioeconomic factors, a patriarchal imbalance of power, cultural norms and beliefs and legal factors have all been linked to the high rates of GBV in South Africa (CSVR, 2016; Jewkes et al, 2010a; Malatjie & Mamokhere, 2024; Zinyemba & Hlongwana, 2022). The intricate history and the subsequent systemic and structural violences that underpin these issues are mentioned in passing within these studies, raising questions around what this means for specific places dubbed as hotspots.

Apartheid and the multiple ways it fundamentally changed the fabric of South African society cannot be neglected in seeking to understand the relationship between structural violence and GBV. The apartheid regime was racist, patriarchal and economically driven resulting in the intersectional oppression of Black women based on race, gender and class. Sex discrimination extended beyond the structural into the institutional with gendered violence and a lack of female representation being evident in liberation movements (Meer, 2005). This leads to the questions of how intertwined present-day violence is with past violence and what continuities and reproductions occur when historical violence is not effectively addressed?

Legacies is a core focus of this study underlining continuities but also the reproduction of the gross inequalities produced by apartheid due to the subsequent non materialisation of promises made by the ANC (see section 4).There are nuanced complexities in accounting for the structural and interpersonal violence that Black men experience due to apartheid legacies, whilst holding these very same men accountable for the violence they perpetrate towards women, despite and in some cases as a result of their grappling with these legacies. The thesis centers the intersecting oppressions Black women experience because of the very same structures including their disproportionate experiences of GBV. The language used throughout the thesis epistemically centers the most marginalised historically. This chapter sets the scene by outlining the history and composition of Diepsloot and the aims of the study. It defines core concepts specifically legacies of apartheid, gender-based violence and violence against women and it ends by outlining the rest of the thesis.

Section 2: Setting the Scene, the Importance of Context

The history and development of Diepsloot is outlined in this section, along with the geographical and social configurations that characterise the township. A historical lens is adopted to show the ways in which present day Diepsloot is deeply informed by a past of racial oppression.

2.1 About Diepsloot

Diepsloot is Afrikaans for "deep ditch", it was established in 1994/1995, around the time Nelson Mandela was released from prison, but before the first democratic elections, by what was at the time known as the Rand Provincial Administration. It was initially constructed as a transit camp for people who had been evicted from informal settlements in Honeydew, Sevenfontein and Alexandra (SAHO, 2024), making it a relatively new township in Johannesburg in comparison to areas such as Soweto which have long histories, where people have been developing, growing and living in the space for decades. Located on the margins of northern Johannesburg Diepsloot is divided into extensions 1 to 13, otherwise known as neighbourhoods, it gained township status in 1999. A mixture of both formal and informal

settlements[1], it is densely populated; population figures are often unreliable as it is a dynamic and continuously expanding area with estimates between anything from 250,000 to 400,000 inhabitants (Diepsloot Youth Programme, 2025; Sobantu & Nel, 2019). Diepsloot mirrors the political and social dynamics of South Africa - including the burning issue of service delivery (Harber, 2011).

It bears the same characteristics of townships developed during apartheid as areas that were designated under legislation for exclusive occupation by people classified as Black, coloured, and Indian (Donaldson, 2014, p.1): this includes a minimum number of access roads and highways that lead to the city surrounded by open grassy space. Diepsloot aligns with Mills's (1989, p.67) description of the township as an enclave unto itself, which cannot be traversed during the day-to-day journeys from one area to another: it is a point of origin or destination but does not lie along a thorough route. The township evidences the specificity with which the apartheid regime constructed the environment that Black people were to reside in, with roads of a particular dimension and construction. The roads within Diepsloot are not paved, some consist of potholes making it a challenging place for vehicles to move through – townships were never meant to be places of mass transportation and suburban infrastructure whereby residents could commute in and out. Everything was controlled to produce inequality creating spaces that mass produced cheap Black labour, in the form of assembly line workers, mining and factory workers, needed for the economic sustainability of the apartheid regime (Kaur, 1994). Thus, the space itself is a legacy of apartheid.

The vast majority (98%) of the Diepsloot population is Black and the other 2% was designated as other according to the 2011 census[2] (SSA, 2011). The area comprises both South African nationals and foreign nationals: according to the 2011 census, a fifth of residents were foreign

---

[1] Informal settlements are residential areas in which the inhabitants have no security of tenure vis-à-vis the land or dwellings they inhabit, with modalities ranging from squatting to informal rental housing. The neighbourhoods usually lack, or are cut off from, basic services and city infrastructure and the housing may not comply with current planning and building regulations and is often situated in geographically and environmentally hazardous areas (UN Habitat, 2003).

[2] The most recent census was conducted in 2022; this was the first-ever digital census in South Africa census information was collected via a digital questionnaire, it was impossible to find desegregated data from this census with updated information on Diepsloot. This could be due to the unprecedented challenges during this census period, including riots, ongoing COVID-19 lockdowns and climate change issues such as flooding in some parts of the country (StatsSA, 2023).

nationals, mostly from Zimbabwe and Mozambique (Diepsloot CPF, 2024). These statistics may not be reflective of the true figures as residents are reticent to disclose personal information – a good proportion are migrants whose immigration status may be precarious or are distrustful of the government. Statistics South Africa estimates Diepsloot has an employment rate of between 53% to 56% (SSA, 2011). A more recent figure from a study conducted in 2022 on water access highlighted that just 28.7% of the population was employed (Tshililo et al, 2022). Leading to the development of a vibrant informal economy in Diepsloot, with people often on the roadside selling ready-made food, vegetables and fruits amongst other goods (Pfigu, 2014).

Post-apartheid, Harber (2011, p.19) has argued that development planning for Diepsloot has constantly lagged about five years behind reality, and the population has grown well beyond what authorities can deal with. Pfigu (2014) states that the story of Diepsloot and its people changes daily; it is a place where one witnesses intermingling improvishment. Constant mass relocation and unplanned rapid expansion have resulted in unequal access to basic services among residents in the township (Bénit, 2002).

Within the formal areas of the township essential services such as water, electricity, and refuse removals are available while informal settlements have limited access to basic services and are mostly served via communal points (Williams et al., 2016). This reflects some of the investment that has been made in Diepsloot over the past 20 years – in the beginning it was largely all informal. Within the parts of Diepsloot that are still underdeveloped the common strategy for accessing energy is *inyokayoka* – involving tapping a publicly accessible source such as a transformer or streetlight, or by contracting with nearby formal housing dwellers to use their connection, either through a pre-paid meter or by illegally bypassing the meter (Densmore & Scholemann, 2021).

Diepsloot consists of a variety of housing, shacks made of corrugated iron sheets, Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses made of brick walls, iron sheet roofing and bond houses made of brick walls and tiled roofing. RDP refers to the socio-economic policy framework implemented by the African National Congress (ANC) government of Nelson Mandela in 1994 to address socioeconomic issues such as lack of housing and

employment (ANC, 1994). This involved building government-subsidised housing in areas like Diepsloot, referred to as RDP housing, the programme is now used by politicians as a means to gain votes during the election season slowing down equal access to housing provision (Mathebula & Sebola, 2020). Around 76% of the households live in informal houses, of which 45% are backyard shacks in the formal settlements (Stats SA, 2011).

Three extensions consist only of shacks (1, 12 and 13), nine extensions have RDP houses (extensions 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11), but all the areas have shacks as well. Extension 3, also referred to as Tanganani, has bond houses, tarred roads and less trash in the street. A large proportion of residents rent their property from a landowner who has subdivided their stand. The extensions will be referred to throughout the thesis using the format EXT 1 and EXT 2. The closest neighbourhoods are wealthy gated communities in the affluent suburbs of Sandton, Fourways and Dainfern; making starkly visible the legacies of apartheid spatial planning and the subsequent socio-spatial exclusion[3]. The contrast driving from Sandton to Diepsloot is jarring from well built houses surrounded by high walls and electric fences to dilapidated infrastructure, dirt roads, and limited access to basic services such as electricity and running water.

It is also important to mention the dispossession of land experienced by Black South Africans during apartheid and its continued impact due to legacies of P.W Botha's project of disenfranchisement, that became the homeland system (Bennet, 1997; SAHO, 2014; Martin, 2019). Like many informal settlements, Diepsloot is a result of the politics of racial segregation under the Apartheid regime and the ANC government's failure to implement an effective land distribution and housing programme (Hasel, 2014).

---

[3] Socio-spatial exclusion contributes to the geographic marginalisation of particular individuals and groups because of where they live and who they are. It is characterised by their inability to access or effectively use a whole range of facilities and resources which improve well-being and position people to take advantage of available opportunities. Particular groups and individuals often suffer a disproportionate disadvantage because of their identity, which is physically represented in urban contexts by the presence of informal settlements (Fincher & Iveson, 2008)

2.2 GBV in Diepsloot and Apartheid Legacies

Previous studies in Diepsloot have made connections between high rates of GBV and gender roles, prior experiences of trauma, alcohol use, socioeconomic conditions and food insecurity (Hatcher et al, 2019). However, the study did not explore what could possibly underpin some of these issues. A behavioral change program conducted in 2016 focusing on changing men's attitudes in Diepsloot to decrease the rates of interpersonal violence was unsuccessful for the men who were really violent went on to be more violent and increase their use of interpersonal violence whilst those who were less violent became even less violent but this finding did not achieve statistical significance (Christofides et al, 2020; Hatcher et al, 2019). It has been argued that one of the downfalls of the trial was the failure to take the context into account: Diepsloot is marked by poor infrastructure, housing instability and a significant degree of informal housing, as well as high levels of crime and violence generally (Christofides et al, 2020).

In 2016 the Bhekisesia Centre for Health and Journalism launched the Vimba helpline in Diepsloot, as a way of assisting those experiencing GBV to access support. Over the two years of its existence the helpline received 7,811 calls. Roughly 1 in 3 of the calls that were received were from EXT 1, which is amongst the poorest most densely populated areas within Dieplsoot. SMS messages with information on where to receive help were sent to the callers, 29 percent of the SMS's were sent to EXT 1 and 11 percent to EXT 13 which is also amongst the poorest most densely populated parts of Dieplsoot (Vimba, 2016).

Previous research in Diepsloot has been centred around reducing the spread of sexually transmitted diseases (STIs), HIV and Aids, through creating effective public health interventions (Cathy, 2017). This is reflective of research on gender-based violence in South Africa which has taken a public health perspective, with emphasis on prevention, prevalence and risk factors (see, for example, Abrahams et al, 1999; Jewkes, 2002; Matthews et al, 2008; Wood and Jewkes, 1997; Zungu et al, 2024). Studies have also been conducted on the provision of healthcare services to survivors of GBV (Akibu, 2018; Basera et al.,2016). Linking GBV in Diepsloot to broader structural challenges Hatcher et al (2019) have argued that men's perpetration of GBV may be linked to food insecurity. However, the historical underpinnings

of these issues are not addressed. Similarly, looking at perspectives of men in Diepsloot about Interpersonal Violence (IPV), Pelowich et al (2024, p.1) detailed that men reported consumption of alcohol and lack of employment as triggers for IPV and other violence more broadly. Childhood exposure to abuse, culturally prescribed gender norms and constructs of manhood, were also mentioned as influential to the use of violence.

As yet, no study in Diepsloot has explored possible connections with legacies from the apartheid era, although research on GBV in Diepsloot has touched on poverty, racism and the pervasive violence within the country, to date none have made apartheid legacies a core focus. A historical/sociological lens linking apartheid legacies may provide a different understanding of GBV. While research has outlined the prevalence of GBV in Diepsloot, none have focused on understanding the contextual factors that create a conducive context for violence (Kelly, 2005). This research question, therefore, seeks to offer new and important insights to understand not just the levels of gender-based violence, but also how it might be prevented.

2.3 Why Diepsloot?

Diepsloot is a product of apartheid and the persistence of socio-spatial exclusion in post-apartheid South Africa making it a relevant site for this study. Its inclusion within the 30 GBV hotspots (Cele, 2020) presented an opportunity to unpack what made this context conducive to higher rates of GBV. Its inception in 1994 just before the end of apartheid means it is a relatively new township in comparison to areas like Soweto which have much longer histories. This made it an interesting context for an examination of apartheid history and its continued impact on context developed in post-apartheid South Africa. The makeup of the township population is predominantly Black South Africans and this was the demographic this research was particularly interested in engaging, considering that they are the most heavily impacted by apartheid legacies in South Africa.

Section 3: Background, Purpose of the Research and Important Concepts

The research questions and key concepts are outlined in this section setting out how they will be used throughout this thesis and the initial thinking that led to the research study.

3.1: Research questions

This study sets out to explore what underpins violence against women in Diepsloot, with specific focus on the legacies of apartheid. The central question that this study will explore is: In what ways are legacies of apartheid implicated in the current high rates of GBV in Diepsloot? Within this sit three sub- questions:

1. Are there connections between structural violence and gender-based violence, particularly rape and femicide within Diepsloot?

2. Did the normalisation of violence during the apartheid era contribute to the high levels of GBV in Diepsloot today?

3. How can structural violence, political violence, economic violence and interpersonal violence be theorised as interrelated within a case study of Diepsloot?

To address these questions, it is important to set out from the onset what constitutes legacies and how they are defined throughout this thesis.

3.3 The Gendered Legacies of Apartheid

Apartheid legacies is a core concept of this research: defined as ideas, objects or processes that originate in the past, persist into the present and influence the future. Legacies sometimes arise from extraordinary actions that can change the course of history as well as expectations of what is possible (Miller et al., 2009; Wittenberg, 2013; Wohl, 2019). The legacies of apartheid that have been cited in previous research include: structural racism and racial disparities; intergenerational trauma and psychological impacts; socioeconomic inequalities; education disparities; and infrastructural violence (Duncan et al, 2014; Gobodo-Madikizela, 2012; Maharaj, 2020; Treiman, 2007; Van der Berg, 2000). Whilst not an exhaustive list this covers the commonly reoccurring cited impacts of apartheid violence in present day South Africa. Looking at these legacies through a gender lens – this study expands on the notion of legacies to "gendered legacies" this is proposed to highlight that the continued effects of apartheid are not gender neutral, they impact men and women in specific

ways that have ramifications for GBV. It is also a recognition that apartheid society was stratified along both racial and gender lines therefore a gender-blind analysis of legacies may miss the nuances of women's continued oppression. Thus, legacies speak of the long-lasting impact of a violent system of oppression; when applied to gender they also highlight continuities in women's experiences of violence.

Apartheid, as a system of governance was incredibly patriarchal; within the National Party and government structure there were almost no white women involved. This was also evident within the liberation movements; within the African National Congress (ANC), Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) and Umkhonto we Sizwe the military wing of the ANC there were very few Black women, and those who were present often experienced sexism (Meer, 2005). Meer (2005) has documented gender inequality in the form of sexual harassment, domestic abuse and other forms of GBV within liberation movements. This is not specific to South Africa, Dyson (2008) delves into sexism in the Civil Rights movement in the US while Urban (2002) notes that despite female members being essential in the civil rights movement and necessary for the success of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) they were, nonetheless, victims of sexist oppression within the organisation. Seeing legacies as gendered visibilises the distinct experiences of men and women within liberation movements and beyond; as well as the potential implications of these experiences in post-apartheid South Africa.

3.4 From Gender-Based Violence to Violence Against Women

The term Gender Based Violence (GBV) is used throughout most of this thesis and was utilised in research questions and interview guides to reflect research and government documents produced on the topic in South Africa (see the first South African National Gender-Based Violence Study, Zungu et al, 2024). The term GBV is used based on the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW).

The term "violence against women" means 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 in private life (DEVAW, 1993).

This definition emphasises that GBV takes many forms and goes on to link patriarchy and GBV by emphasising that violence against women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to the domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of the full advancement of women (DEVAW, 1993). The European Commission defines GBV as follows:

> *Gender-based violence is violence directed against a person because of that person's gender or violence that affects persons of a particular gender disproportionately* (European Commission, 2023)*.*

This definition recognises that violence has a disproportionate impact on people of a particular gender, women which is reflected throughout this thesis. Where GBV is used in this study it is based on the DEVAW (1993) definition and the European Commission (2023); COFEM (2017) argue that GBV experts should confidently claim the language of 'GBV', as laid out in DEVAW fore-fronting the politically transformative meanings of GBV without the need for assuaging concerns of men "becoming marginalised."

Violence regime developed by Hearn et al, (2022) is a core concept of this thesis that is defined in detail in Chapter 4: they use the United Nations' Beijing Platform for Action definition of violence against women as: "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psycho-logical harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (article 1) (UN 1995). Arguing that for states to pursue all appropriate means of eliminating violence against women, the violence policy needs to be expanded, and policy makers urged to emphasize interconnections and inclusion of multiple forms of violence (Hearn et al, 2022, p.15). "Gender-Based Violence" allows the inclusion of physical, sexual and psychological violence in the family, general community and/or perpetrated or condoned by the state (DEVAW, 1993).

Through the process of making sense of gender within the violence regime it became increasingly important to be specific to avoid subsuming women's experiences of violence within a regime of violences. Additionally, gender neutral interpretations of GBV by interviewee participants reinforced the need for specificity; this shift towards a gender-neutral understanding of GBV to encompass the violence experienced by men is reflected elsewhere (see Read-Hamilton, 2014).

The gradual process undertaken throughout this thesis is reflected through the use of the term VAW in the final chapter "Where are the Women", which is more specific than gender-based violence in that it only applies to women who experience the vast majority of gender-based violence (Kirkegaard, 2020). VAW places gender and power at the centre of understanding violence against women (Bograd, 1990; Worcester, 2002), aligning with feminist frameworks which indicate that although women may commit acts of violence, the gendered context in which their violence occurs is important (Nixon, 2007). Loseke and Kurz (2005, p.84), argue that:

> *Men's violence toward women and women's violence toward men are not*
> *the same, because these acts occur within the historical, cultural, political,*
> *economic, and psychological contexts of gender.*

Men and women's social locations are significantly different which shapes how men and women experience violence (Bograd, 1990). GBV was the term that was initially used in this study and this is reflected in the information sheet and research questions. However, throughout the process of data collection it became abundantly clear that participants had differing definitions of GBV that did not always centre women's experiences of violence. It was incongruous to change GBV to VAW in all the chapters as the inconsistency in terms between the data and analysis was jarring. However due to the depoliticisation of the term GBV, which is addressed in Chapter 6, it was important to use language that unambiguously reflected that women were disproportionately impacted by violence. Consequently VAW is used in chapter 6 as this was the only chapter in which VAW could be used without a jarring discrepancy with the data. Additionally, using GBV in the first few chapters and VAW in chapter 6 and the conclusion reflects the process of learning that I underwent throughout this thesis in terms of

understanding the shifting priorities and perspectives around the term GBV and the need for specificity.

Section 4: Outline of the Thesis

The thesis consists of seven chapters including this introduction. Chapter Two looks at what has previously been published on gender-based violence in South Africa highlighting the gaps in the existing research. Chapter Three presents the methodological process of the research highlighting the challenges and successes of a hybrid approach that comprised of both virtual and face to face data collection. Chapter Four introduces the violence regime framework which will ground the empirical chapters, a framework that was adopted as a consequence of the methods journey and where it led. Using the empirical findings two sites of the Diepsloot violence regime; structural racism and socioeconomic violence are introduced, and their outcomes are outlined. Chapter Five looks at another site of the regime, infrastructural violence, highlighting how power is deeply embedded within everyday structures in racialised and gendered ways. Chapter Six explores the gendered violence site of the regime looking at women's reduced space for action [4] due to men's practices and women's strategies of resistance (Kelly, 2003). Chapter Seven concludes this thesis through an exploration of the initial research questions where they led and the additional questions that the data and analysis pose.

---

[4] Space for action theorises the way that violence increases men's 'space for action' whilst simultaneously narrowing that of women, this constraint is not limited to the actions of a perpetrator but also includes the failure of the wider community and organisations to effectively intervene (Kelly, 2003).

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Life is always difficult in the shacks. If you are poor and Black you can be killed with impunity... We live in life threatening conditions every day. We die in the fires, from disease, drugs and crime. Our children die from diarrhoea. Our neighbours die because the roads next to the settlements are not made safe for pedestrians. The economy excludes us. The development of the cities excludes us. We are denied access to land, electricity, water, housing, education and work. We are also denied the right to participate in the discussions about the future of our society and in decision making about our lives and communities. We do not count to this society. We are left to live a life that is dangerous, exhausting, and stressful. Death is always close by. We can work for years and still have nothing to give our children. We are treated like animals, not people. We are treated like rubbish. It is only in our struggle that the value of our lives is affirmed (Abahlali basemjondolo[5], 2016).

Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) does not begin with conflict or political instability and end with a transition to peace or democracy (Silgsworth & Vaji, 2012, p.115).

Section 1: Introduction

The problem of gender-based violence (GBV) in present day South Africa has been largely attributed to the patriarchal nature of South African society and thus the power inequalities that exist between men and women. Connections have been drawn between high rates of violence and inequalities between men and women, masculinities, the normalisation of

---

[5] Abahlali baseMjondolo (The Residents of the Shacks) is a autonomous, democratic, membership-based social movement for the poor in South Africa.

violence and poverty (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Mhkize & Njwala, 2016). There is a growing literature that looks at GBV in contemporary South Africa not as a new phenomenon but one that is deeply rooted in historical legacies of colonialism, apartheid, and structural violence; connecting historical oppression to present-day violence. This literature is particularly relevant and is discussed here to contextualise how this study attempts to address a gap in scholarly research. Alongside this, publications in gender studies with particular focus on histories of sexual violence in South Africa and the social construction of gender especially the influence of historical constructions of masculinities in contemporary South Africa are also discussed. Research detailing the legal landscape that survivors navigate to access justice and the informal mechanisms some opt for in cases of domestic violence is also presented.

Section 2: looks at histories of slavery, colonialism and apartheid making connections to the global research on racial oppression to frame the historical context of South Africa. Section 3: looks at research that has been conducted on the past from a gendered lens that tackles the construction of Blackness under colonialism and apartheid and the implications for women's experiences of GBV. This section also explores masculinities research that analyses the construction of masculinities and their relationship to structural violence indicating the ways in which apartheid was a gendered project. Section 4: outlines men's violent practices during apartheid with particular focus on *iintsara*, *ukuthwala* and jackrolling showing that Black women's experiences of repression under the apartheid regime occurred concurrently to the patriarchal tyranny within their communities. Section 5: details research that has been conducted on GBV in contemporary South Africa indicating the issues faced by survivors within the justice system, including literature on femicide and domestic violence. Bringing this work together reflects that whilst some scholars have linked GBV in contemporary South Africa to legacies of apartheid this has mainly focused on tracing histories of sexual violence. Thus, the implications of other legacies such as socioeconomic inequalities, infrastructural violence and structural racism for women's experiences of GBV have not been adequately considered. Similarly, how histories of sexual violence and their implications in contemporary South Africa may exist alongside other gendered legacies which curtail women's agency and facilitate conditions for violence remain underexplored. In addition to the literature presented here, findings chapters 4, 5 and 6 include discussion of the conceptual frameworks and relevant literature used to make sense of empirical findings.

Section 2: Histories of Colonialism and Apartheid

This section outlines the historical lens of this research study through an engagement with scholars who have delved into the effects of colonialism and apartheid in a material, systemic and psychological sense.

2.1 Colonialism and Apartheid

The effects of colonialism have been well documented by various scholars: Fanon (1967, 1963) and Cesaire, (2000) have shown the psychological effects of colonialism. Biko (1978, p.68) pioneered the Black Consciousness movement in South Africa in response to the oppression and dehumanisation of apartheid espousing that "the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed". Centralising the liberation of the mind as a primary weapon in fighting for freedom. Thiongo (1986) defends the mother tongue as a weapon against linguistic imperialism and recommends decolonising minds and the imagination, in Africa and Europe alike. Rodney (2018) argues that the African continent was deliberately exploited and underdeveloped by colonial regimes drawing connections between poverty, political stability, disease to the imperial extraction from the continent. Settler colonialism characterised this period in South African history in specific ways, Cavanaugh (2017) shows that this led to the forced displacement of indigenous populations, the establishment of a racially stratified society and ultimately, the apartheid system.

> *So too for South Africa. The nineteenth century casts a long shadow. Frontier wars and colonial expansion, military defeat or negotiated subjugation of African polities; the discovery of diamonds and gold their insatiable demand for labour and the embedding of migrant labour – these were in effect the first rough scrawls of what became codified and legislated in the twentieth century as segregation and then apartheid; they provided the basic structures of white minority rule* (Bundy, 2014, p.10).

Institutionalising centuries of racial oppression and shaping economic and social inequalities in contemporary South Africa; decades after independence, South Africa is still grappling with socioeconomic challenges, communicable diseases, and disadvantaged neighbourhoods, with

about half of its population living below the poverty line (Clark, 2018). Madlingozi (2017, p.146) notes that much has not changed for impoverished Black people in the transition from apartheid and discourse pertaining to post-apartheid constitutionalism allows beneficiaries of this transition to state that the year 1994 freed Black South Africans from racial domination. The majority of Black people still suffer from systemic exclusion and institutionalised racism however Seeking & Natrass (2005) have argued that the basis of inequality shifted in the last decades of the twentieth century from race to class. Similarly, Crankshaw (2022, p.195) hold that the concept of race is no longer a useful means to describe social inequality in Johannesburg suggesting housing and labour markets as more effective lenses to focus through.

Scholars such as Mignolo (2002, 2011), Lugones (2007), Quijano (2007) from the modernity/coloniality school of thought note that colonialism was not just about political and economic control, but also about the imposition of specific systems of gender relations rooted in patriarchal and Eurocentric ideas. Arguing that colonial encounters fundamentally reshaped gender relations, often imposing Western gender norms and hierarchies that marginalised and subordinated indigenous women and men, disrupting pre-colonial gender systems and social structures (Lugones, 2007).

> *Gender, under the coloniality of power, became one of the axes of oppression that permeated and controlled public and private spheres including sexual access, authority, labour, control of knowledge, and intersubjectivity* (Lugones, 2010, p.744).

Within the African context Oyěwùmí (1997 p.3) critiques western feminism's assumed universality of the category women noting that gender in many African and indigenous cultures did not subscribe to the western man/woman binary. Through her analysis of Yorùbá society she argues that gender is a Western cultural construct that did not exist amongst the Yorùbá prior to British colonial rule. Arguably, race and class are intertwined therefore historical racial inequalities deeply impact economic structures and social mobility, leading to significant wealth disparities (Mckeever, 2023). Furthermore, the construction of gender as an additional axis of oppression during colonialism intersects with these factors resulting in

the further subjugation of women. Moffet (2006) notes that in South Africa race, gender, class and sexuality continually inflect each other, and are often subsumed into one another, not just as a result of apartheid (which merged the categories of race and class), but also centuries of patriarchal colonialism which made strenuous efforts to monitor and control women along racial and ethnic lines. The resilience of the apartheid spatial divide upholds some of these inequities (Turok, 2013).

2.1 Urban Apartheid

Urban apartheid is still very much a legacy of the apartheid era that continues to endure in South Africa. Cities were arenas for spatial segregation and social differentiation, producing the social geography of contemporary South African cities – white suburbs and factories served by dormitory townships (Bundy, 2014, p.12). Between 1900 and 1904 the bubonic plague's threat to major centres, occasioned the mass removal of African urban populations to hastily established locations setting the ideological and institutional foundations of urban segregation (Swanson, 1977, p.410).

Through a spatial analysis of multiple deprivation in South Africa Noble & Wright (2013, p.187) demonstrated that the most deprived areas in the country are in the former homeland/Bantustan areas highlighting legacies of apartheid spatial patterns. Several scholars have shown that this is influenced by race, Neely & Samura (2011) reveal how racial identities become closely linked to certain spaces. Eric Heikkila (2001) argues that spaces such as 'the ghetto' and 'the inner city' are spatial manifestations of a racial phenomenon because they are spatial forms of racial othering. In South Africa it is townships and/or informal settlements; places constructed for dehumanisation lacking good quality housing, medical facilities and education facilities. Ndebele (2010) argues that this conception of township settlements remains intact years after liberation, and post-apartheid housing provisions have not resulted in fundamental change that represents alternative conceptualisations of townships. Fanon poignantly describes the differences that often exist between the physical spaces that are occupied by the oppressed in contrast to the oppressor.

The settlers' town is a strongly built town, all made of stone and steel. It is a brightly lit town; the streets are covered with asphalt, and the garbage cans swallow all the leavings, unseen, unknown and hardly thought about. The settler's feet are never visible, except perhaps in the sea; but there you're never close enough to see them. His feet are protected by strong shoes although the streets of his town are clean and even, with no holes or stones. The settler's town is a well-fed town, an easy-going town; its belly is always full of good things. The settlers' town is a town of white people, of foreigners. The town belonging to the colonized people, or at least the native town, the Negro village, the medina, the reser-vation, is a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute. They are born there, it matters little where or how; they die there, it matters not where, nor how. It is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other, and their huts are built one on top of the other. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees, a town wallowing in the mire. It is a town of niggers and dirty Arabs (Fanon, p.39,1963).

Sherene Razack discusses the spatial dimensions of what she terms 'white settler societies' (2002, p. 17), or nations developed through colonial settlement. She argues that studying the history and contemporary conditions of white settler societies requires that we consider the connections between racial and spatial processes, especially since 'legal and social practices reproduce racial hierarchies' through space. Clyde Woods' (1998) work on the Mississippi Delta also calls our attention to the spatial dimensions of historical inequality and injustice; space and race are defined by inequality and difference. Power relations are often inscribed into material spaces and played out through racial interactions. Kevin Durrheim and Jon Dixon's (2001) study of race and space in South Africa illustrates how rhetoric about beach spaces was used in South Africa as a tool of racial exclusion after apartheid ended.

Service delivery is a big challenge in South Africa particularly within informal settlements like Dieplsoot. This is usually characterised by poor roads, long distances from social affairs services such as Home Affairs (Madlala 2022) poor street lighting. On her visit to Diepsloot in

2018 Public Services and Administration Minister Ayanda Dlodlo attested her concern for public service delivery in Diepsloot stating that, "the type of life that people live here is untenable, living in the midst of sewage, the houses are too close to one another and at some point, I thought it was one house while it was two homes. It's just too close for comfort" (Morgan, 2018).

In 2022 an article detailing how 100 people sharing two ruined toilets in Diepsloot spoke to how in ward 95 also known as Diepsloot EXT1 the toilets have a single tap attached to them, doors do not close properly the seat covers are broken the sewer most of the time blocks and overflows and litter and garbage is spread all over the place (Gilili, 2022a) Two residents stated that: "I think these toilets arrived around 2004. They are barely maintained. Life in Diepsloot is so inhumane and the biggest issue is that we are not united in addressing our grievances. No one takes our plight seriously. The squalor here is even evident in a stranger's eye, you can just see it needs no explaining. We have just given up hope" (Gilili, 2022b).

In January 2022 ENCA news broadcasted Diepsloot community members saying they had been drinking contaminated water for over two years, and their frustrations led to extension 5 and 7 community members deciding to give themselves the service delivery they deserve (Madlala, 2022). Space intersects with other social categories; Datta & Ahmed, (2020) speak to the interconnectedness of infrastructural violence and gendered violence in their research in Kerala South India which highlighted the gendered nature of the burden of infrastructural failure which often falls on women, stating that,

> *Everyday infrastructure of sewage water and so on and gendered violence are mutually constitutive in low-income settlements. Material infrastructures are inherently connected and constituted by the social infrastructures power relations and subjectivities of everyday life in NTL colony* (p.75).

Infrastructural violence is gendered Wilson (2016) has spoken about how infrastructure can become sites spaces and nodes for intimate violence. This is the social landscape, and

historical backdrop of Diepsloot; highlighting the necessity for an historical, contextual lens on the issue of GBV, one that this study aims to bring.

2.2 Violence

In a society where violence was sanctioned under the apartheid regime, colonialism and slavery arguably GBV in contemporary South Africa is linked to historical enactments of violence. Simpson (1992) has argued that the issue of gender-based violence is part of a broader societal issue within a society where violence is pervasive and thus it is symptomatic of much larger systemic issues. Correspondingly other scholars note how years of state sponsored violence under the apartheid regime and colonialism have led to physical violence becoming a first line strategy to resolve conflict or gain ascendency (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Jewkes & Abrahams, 1999). Thus, violence is ever present between nurses and patients, neighbours, teachers and pupils and colleagues in the workplace (Simpson, 1992).

Section 3: Legacies of Sexual Violence

Violence during apartheid and colonialism was gendered this is reflected through histories of sexual violence which have been documented by scholars dispelling notions around violence towards women as a post-apartheid crisis. While there is growing scholarship highlighting continuities in sexual violence there is limited engagement with the gendered nature of other legacies and their implications for sexual violence.

3.1 Slavery and Colonialism

Through an analysis of writing, journals and letters from different colonised parts of the world Loomba (2005) outlined the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war during colonialism. Arguing that in the colonial imagination the coloniser was represented as rapist and the conquered land as the naked woman centralising rape as a weapon of colonial war. Baderoon (2014) has written in depth about how the rape of slaves was central to the foundation of the slave-ordered Cape society; detailing the slave lodge built in 1679 which was turned into a brothel with slave women as sex workers. Within global literature Gunne & Thompson (2010) showed that rape was a core tenet of colonial rule for Spanish colonial armies who raped and abducted Native American women. In the United States sexual violence against enslaved black

women was a widespread form of oppression used by white men to reinforce white supremacy (Feinstein, 2018).

Looking at the colonial history of rape in the Eastern Cape of South Africa Thornberry (2019) unpacked understandings of sexual consent and the ways they intersected to shape the legal and social landscape of sexual violence. Highlighting the complex ways in which colonial power structures and racial ideologies shaped the social construction of sexual consent and contributed to the normalisation of sexual violence against Black women with enduring impact in contemporary South Africa. Similarly, Elbourne (2002) argued that in the Eastern Cape the British utilised rape as a weapon of warfare resulting in the institutionalisation of rape and other forms of GBV within enslaved societies. Most notably unpacking South Africa's complex relationship with rape Gqola (2015, p.52) goes back to slavery and colonialism disputing rape as a post-apartheid problem proposing that rape in contemporary South Africa is a legacy of unfinished pasts. Showing that African slave men were cast as dangerously sexual, with a ravenous sexual appetite better suited to slave women, but with particular danger to white women.

> *... the slavo-cratic society created stereotypes of African hypersexuality which sought to both justify and authorise the institutionalised rape of slaves. The stereotypes held that slave women could not be raped since like all Africans they were excessively sexual and impossible to satiate. Therefore, not only were slave women objects and legally incapable of being raped they were constructed as hypersexual and therefore would not have been rapeable even when free* (Gqola,2015, p.43).

Informed by the work of Oyĕwùmí (1997) and Lugones (2007) Coetzee & Du Toit (2017) and Du Toit (2019) argue for the decolonisation of sexual violence in South Africa on the basis that the effects of colonial racial oppression cannot be completely understood without accounting for its gender/ sexual dimension – which continues to inform sexual violence in contemporary South Africa.

The colonial logic of sub-human sexual categorisation of the Black woman as unrapeable and of the Black man as essential or natural rapist, permeates, and thoroughly infuses the ongoing colonial project of racialising the 'native'. The sexual wound at the heart of racial-colonial denigration and exploitation, and which to a great extent explains the abjection of the racialised body, is a key aspect of the colony and should therefore also be a central theme in any discourse on decolonisation in Africa .... Nothing short of a complete dislocation of the colonial remnants of gender structuring is needed to end the sexual violence against women and children in South Africa (Coetzee & Du Toit, 2017, p.224).

This was compounded by apartheid which further entrenched racist notions around Black women as unrapeable and Black men as dangerous and hyper sexual.

3.2 Apartheid and Sexual Violence

Exploring the archive of violence can help us answer the question 'how did we get here?' notes Fuentes (2020, p.121). In an attempt to understand GBV in contemporary South Africa this approach has been adopted by some scholars. There is a growing scholarship evidencing the GBV experienced by women during the colonial-apartheid era; the presence of GBV within liberation movements such as COSATU, Mkhonto we Sizwe and the ANC during apartheid has been highlighted by Meer (2005) see chapter one. Looking at rape during apartheid Armstrong (1994) highlights the pervasiveness of the issue during this era despite its invisibility – particularly the rape of Black women. Jewkes & Abrahams (2002) have shown that despite the presence of GBV in the Bantustans, figures were not included in the national figures prior to 1994, and the poor relationship between the police and Black South Africans deterred reporting. Quoting Heather Reganass director of South Africa's National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders at the time – stating that convictions for rape during apartheid carried the death penalty, however until its abolishment no white man had been executed for rape, whereas the only Black men who were hung for rape had been convicted of raping white women. No white men or Black men had been convicted and sentenced to death for raping a Black woman going on to state:

When we started investigating, we discovered that rape, particularly of Black women, was so prolific in South Africa that it was just accepted by everybody: social workers, doctors, policemen, and even the victim herself. A Black woman's life was considered valueless, and what had happened to her unimportant. We wanted to question that assumption: rape is abhorrent and cannot be condoned, whoever the victim is (Armstrong, 1994, p.35-36).

Despite the prevalence of rape against Black women it is clear that there was structural invisibility of the issue rooted in apartheid constructions of Black womanhood. A study in 1993 (see Martin, 1999) conducted by the Hillbrow Medico Legal Centre in Johannesburg of 584 rape cases reported to the South African Police Service (SAPS) found that 71 percent of the victims and 78 percent of perpetrators were Black, despite the 1991 census recording three times as many white women as Black women in the area. Recorded rapes were also far less common in white suburbs thus there is limited research documenting this despite the knowledge that there was rape perpetrated by white men during apartheid, against both Black and white women (Armstrong, 1994; Martin, 1999). Drawing on narratives from the apartheid archive Shefer & Ratele (2011) have argued that the racist construction of Black bodies during apartheid served to rationalise white male power and privilege and justify Black oppression. Outlining that the rape of white women by Black men was termed *swart gevaar* an Afrikaans term translating to black peril or black danger, and this construction of Black men as dangerous sexual predators served to legitimise residential segregation and the implementation of pass laws. Going on to state that the sex laws of colonial and apartheid South Africa were not only central to the creation and reproduction of racism but were significant in the construction of a sexually entitled, racially belligerent white manhood. Within this equation Black women were regarded as less traumatised and harmed by being raped by white men.

Given the powerful intersection of white privilege and power over Black bodies and male privilege and power over female bodies the history of white

male sexual violence towards Black women has not even begun to be told

in South Africa (Shefer & Ratele, 2011, p.43)

Subsequently there is limited documentation of the sexual violence experienced by Black women during apartheid, with the exception of work by Motsei (1990, p.14) which explored the physical, sexual and verbal violence Black women domestic workers experienced at the hands of their white employers.

Domestic workers were sexually harassed because some white employers think they can do whatever they want with them because they are Black. We know of endless numbers of cases where women are beaten up if they don't give in to their employers and others are sacked and made to leave the premises immediately without pay.

In addition to sexual violence during this period Mientjies (1998) argues that political violence was also extremely gendered detailing the experiences of former women detainees who reported fear of being raped by their captors and jailer's exploitation of this fear to extract information and confessions. Other tactics included electric shocks to the breasts and genitals, unnecessary strip searches and body cavity searches, verbal insults and threats of a sexual nature (Brown, 2012, p.50). An exhibition at the Apartheid Museum, (2006) further highlighted that the threat of rape and sexual assaults was regularly used as a political weapon against female prisoners by both apartheid and anti-apartheid forces – highlighting that women were not excluded from extreme physical torture. This was also evident in Chile around the same period (see Moenne, 2005). Dispelling arguments that sexual violence is a post-apartheid crisis Posel (2005) conducted a genealogy of sexual violence as a contested public and political issue that traced it from its initial minimisation during the apartheid era to the anxieties around baby rape[6] in post-apartheid South Africa. Arguing that the explosion of anger and anguish around sexual violence in post-apartheid South Africa had less to do with

---

[6] Baby rape also referred to as child rape or infant rape refers to the sexual assault of infants and toddlers. In South Africa infant rape has been connected to a myth that intercourse with a very young virgin infant will enable the perpetrator to rid himself of HIV/AIDS or other sexually transmitted infections (Pitcher & Bowley,2002, p.1).

feminist analysis and politics and more to do with ideological and political moral anxieties about the new nation.

> *The discovery of baby rape in 2001 then ignited an already volatile field of public concern and controversy, into nothing short of a moral panic, manifest as a crisis of manhood. With the figure of the father, once the protective and powerful guardian of moral order, having merged with the figure of the rapist, popular anxieties about sexual violence became a crucible of wider fears and arguments about the normative foundations of the new democratic nation* (Posel, 2005, p.250).

A historical analysis by Bridger (2024) looking at the period between 1970-1990, similarly evidenced that neither sexual violence nor the public concern about it are new in South Africa. Highlighting the era of panic around GBV that emerged in the late 1970's and 1980's to challenge narratives that dominate public discourse about rape in South Africa as characterised by linear progress or ever-worsening decline (p.279). Going on to argue that the framing of sexual violence as a 'crisis' itself can foster amnesia about the longer histories of sexual violence (Bridger, 2024). Recent research by Bridger (2025) points to the collective unremembering of sexual violence during the apartheid era by older Black women, which may contribute to this notion of "crisis" in post-apartheid South Africa. She attributes this collective unremembering to four explanations:

> *First, for many women, rape as an identified social problem did not exist in the past because of its active silencing by families, communities and the police. Second, much sexual violence during apartheid was not labelled as 'rape' but instead as 'force' in a way that neutralized and normalized rape, particularly against Black women. Third, dominant historical and politicized narratives about the apartheid past have subordinated histories of intra-communal sexual violence and gender oppression to histories of racial oppression and the fight against it. And last, the current framing of sexual violence as a contemporary 'crisis' in South Africa has encouraged historical*

> *amnesia about the problem and nostalgia for a past seen to be without rape*
> (Bridger, 2025, p.3).

This work reflects that there are continuities, between the past and present, in terms of GBV in South Africa, continuities that have yet to be explored through empirical work. Evidencing these long histories Bridger and Hazan (2022, p.300) show that while sexual violence was ignored by the apartheid state, it was not absent from Black communities worldviews but made highly visible across newspapers, magazines and short stories. Arguing that the ways sexual violence was defined and catalogued in archives did further violence to women – often rendered nameless and written about in a misogynistic manner that mirrors present day South Africa.

> *Sexual violence in the country today is often reported on in ways reminiscent of the apartheid archive, leaving women faceless and disposable, emphasising either numbers and statistics, or gruesome details of violence without offering wider contextual analysis of gender-based violence*
> (Bridger & Hazan, 2022, p.300).

Vetten (1995) documented the sudden interest in rape during the Soweto uprising in 1976 which culminated in the first survey on rape. The interest was specifically around Black women which she argues may have been a means to reinforce racist ideas about Black men. Armstrong (1994) holds that sexual violence is a legacy of the past that has stretched into the present, beyond the boundaries of apartheid.

It is widely acknowledged that the Truth and Reconciliation Commision (TRC) did not pay enough focus to sexual violence (Emdon & Naidoo, 2016; Goldblatt & Meintjies, 1998; Kusafuka, 2010; Oboe, 2007). It is important to see this lack of justice for survivors of gender-based violence in post-apartheid South Africa not as solely the fault of the TRC's; instead, the TRC must be understood on a continuum of injustices; a symptom and reinforcement of societal silencing of gendered oppression in a history of apartheid, colonialism and slavery argue Emdon & Naidoo (2016). Showing that knowledge production and historical recollections have silenced and/or made invisible women's experiences. Furthermore

Kusufuka (2010) details constraints of time, resources, the lack of a proactive gender strategy and sustained involvement of feminist organisations as factors that impeded adequate assessment of gender issues during apartheid, going on to state that,

> *The South African case illustrates both the need for gender-friendly legislation when establishing a truth commission and, more critically, the necessity for a sustained and proactive relationship between a commission and the broad community of women's activists in order to place gender in the foreground of a commission's work. Failing to do this results in a missed opportunity to examine the structural, ideological, and systemic background of gender-based abuses. As a result, South Africa's Commission failed to unmask and address the links between structural and gendered violence that continue to plague the country* (Kusufuka, 2010, p.65).

This research study hopes to engage how other legacies participate in the perpetuation of sexual violence and potentially contribute to the silencing and invisibility of Black women. Legacies of men's violent practices have also contributed to women's experiences of violence. Moffet has argued that "South Africans of all races it seems, assume that the perpetrators of sexual violence are Black men, no doubt because of apartheid narratives they have internalised" (Moffet, 2006). Though Bowman (2010) has specifically looked at the racialisation of perpetrators of child sexual abuse in South Africa aspects of his work demonstrate that even the paedophile cannot be effectively researched without considering the historical co-ordinates that so powerfully contoured its emergence as an important object of study and social intervention within South Africa's highly racialised systems of thought.

4. Legacies of Men's Violent Practices

This section details that the political violence women were forced to deal with during apartheid was accompanied by men's violent practices within townships that further compounded women's experiences of oppression.

4.1 Culture and GBV: Jackrolling, Iintsara and Ukuthwala

The sexist and racist state brutality that women were subjected to under the apartheid regime was accompanied by jackrolling, *iintsara* and *ukuthwala* which will be referred to collectively as men's violent practices. *Iintsara* was the name of youth gangs from Nyanga township in Cape Town active between the 1980s and 1990s, these gangs were famous for stabbing, rape and other violent crime. Jackrolling is the name given to the high level of gang-raping that became endemic in townships around Johannesburg and Pretoria in the 1980s and 1990s – coined after a gang called the Jackroller gang which existed between 1987-1988 in Diepkloof, Soweto (Glaser, 2000, 1990). Jackrolling constituted the group abduction and rape of Black women, by youth gangs in predominantly Black townships. Mokwena (1991) has looked at the issue of gang rape[7] by the jack rollers in the context of broad structural violence, looking at the challenges faced by African working-class youth during the apartheid era such as political unrest, familial disintegration, deepening poverty and intergenerational conflict.

There has been limited engagement with the women who were involved in these gangs except for Glaser (2000 & 1990). Vetten (2000) argued that the absence of research on women gangsters is reflective of broader invisibility in South Africa around women engaged in violent or illegal activities. This is also evident elsewhere Lauderdale & Burman (2009) outlined that early literature showed few women in gangs and those who were represented were often in periphery roles.

Looking at "streamlining" a local term for a common form of collective sexual coercion involving a group of male friends and one or more women in the Transkei region[8], Wood (2005) argued that group rape in the Transkei area not only speaks to the marginalisation of Black men and the utilisation of rape as an act of power, but is connected to other cultural practices such as *ukuthwala[4]* – which are important in understanding the context of men's violence. The word *ukuthwala* means 'to carry'. It is a culturally legitimated abduction of a woman whereby, preliminary to a customary marriage, a young man will forcibly take a girl to

---

[7] The term "gang rape" is used in this context however there is a recognition that "multiple perpetrator rape" is a more recent formulation see Horvath, M. A. H., & Kelly, L. (2009) that encompasses a series of subtypes.
[8] Transkei meaning the area beyond the river, was an unrecognised state in the southeastern region of South Africa from 1976 to 1994. It was, a Bantustan for the Xhosa people, and operated as a nominally independent parliamentary democracy.

his home. Some authors have described *ukuthwala* as the act of 'stealing the bride'. *Ukuthwala* has also been described as a mock abduction or irregular proposal aimed at achieving a customary marriage. From these definitions, we see that *ukuthwala* is in itself not a customary marriage or an engagement. The main aim of *ukuthwala* is to force the girl's family to enter into negotiations for the conclusion of a customary marriage (Mwambene & Nielsen, p.2).

> *As other researchers have pointed out, contemporary actions occurring in one context, such as group rape, are linked contextually to other domains of cultural practice. In this particular South African context, the practice of ukuthwala or "bride capture", which persists in some rural areas of the former Transkei, is worth exploring, not in a directive explanatory sense, but as part of a context in which male collective coercion has long been deemed historically acceptable* (Wood, 2005, p.313).

Evaluating the implications of the Children's Act 38 of 2005 for *ukuthwala,* Mwambene & Sloth-Nielsen (2011, p.1) link the practice to tradition as a preliminary procedure to a customary marriage going further to underline that in recent times, the practice has taken on other dimensions, such as harmful marriage practices for example very young girls being married to older men. Daluxolo Ngidi et al (2021) have also connected jackrolling to the abduction and sexual violation of adolescents in contemporary South Africa. *Iintsara*[5] were Black youths from Nyanga township in Cape Town in the late 1980s and 1990s who were known for violent crime rape was included in the range of criminal and violent ways in which they operated (Gqola, 2007). Subsequently explanations of jackrolling, iintsara and *ukuthwala* as Black-on-Black violence are unhelpful as they do not address the collective trauma nor the messaging in Black women's formative years that they do not have freedom of movement. Gqola draws links between the messages women are given in contemporary South Africa to the implicit and/or explicit message of *iinstara*, jackrolling and *ukuthwala*; that woman should modify their behaviour adjusting all aspects of their life to avoid falling prey to violence (Gqola,2015, p.71).

They are the same messages that iintsara and jackrollers and those who engaged in ukuthwala communicated to the 45 percent majority that is Black women in this country, and, in this regard, they were in line with apartheid state sponsored terror. They communicate this quite clearly: you had better make yourself seem safe in order to be safe—stay at home, participate in the cult of femininity, give in to unwanted sexual advances, surrender many choices, make yourselves as small, quiet and invisible as possible. But in the true style of all patriarchy's promises, they lie, because South African women are saying we cannot escape gender-based violence even when we play by the rules of the cult of femininity (Gqola, 2007, p.121).

Recently published research by Mutero (2025) looks at the relationship between *ukuthwala* and 'corrective rape' within townships in South Africa, which refers to the sexual assault of lesbians by heterosexual men under the guise of "curing" their homosexuality (see Brown 2012). Mutero (2025) argues that *ukuthwala* outlines the ways in which cultural norms reinforce male entitlement over women's autonomy – the same way of thinking that underpins "corrective rape". This is reinforced by Jewkes et al (2010b) who state that *ukuthwala* exists within a patriarchal framework that reinforces male ownership over women's bodies. While *ukuthwala* is not exclusively experienced by lesbian women, it embodies the same gendered power structures that underpin "corrective rape".

Rice (2014) and Wood (2005) have looked at the issue of gang rape contextualising it in terms of gender discourses, subcultural issues and cultural practices, experiences of marginalisation and links between the political economy and violence. Whilst Masondo, (2006) indicates that historical practices cannot be ignored when looking at the pervasiveness of GBV in contemporary South Africa and the failure to address this period in history ignores the experiences of many Black women who were kidnapped and gang raped over a period of decades in urban areas and rural areas. Questioning what happened to the trauma that was experienced by these women, the collective trauma of *ukuthwala,* being jackrolled or falling prey to *iinntsara*? There is currently no research that delves into the specificities of survivor's experiences nor the legacies of men's violent practices on these women. However other research has been conducted delving into the role of tradition and history in shaping

hierarchical gender relations. This shows similarities in cultural practices and apartheid regimes to ensure the control and subordination of women – setting the scene for Black women in contemporary South Africa. This is relevant to this study as it outlines the multiple components contributing to the oppression of Black women and the importance of a gendered legacies perspective that considers Black men's violent practices intra-communally.

Looking at the gender dynamics in hostels in Capetown during the apartheid era, Ramphele (1989, 1993) argues that along with gender, race and class, tradition is an important fourth factor in shaping social relations and stratified gender relations. Ramphele (1989) cites the traditional practice of bride wealth and/or lobola see below, as well as the practice of gathering[9]:

> *Another symbolic practice that is still said to be widespread is the barring of women from the 'cattle kraal' in deference to the departed, who used to be buried there. The 'kraal' is also an exclusive male area where meetings are held. In one hostel in Guguletu, women are barred from the common 'front' room during certain periods, on the grounds that it was ebuhlanti (the kraal'), which men used for meetings and discussions. Women are in some cases forced by this ruling to eat their meals in the overcrowded sleeping rooms, sometimes in the presence of tuberculosis sufferers coughing up blood* (Ramphele, 1989, p.401)

Scholars have also written in depth about the connections between the longstanding cultural practice of lobola and gender-based violence in South Africa arguing that lobola is often used to justify violence and abuse in relationships, on the basis that their wives were paid for thus they are owned by the man (Montle, 2020; Parker, 2015; Khomari et al, 2012). This section shows that structural violences, men's violent practices and culture have implications for GBV, additionally these factors produce specific complexities around masculinity. It is within this context that Gqola (2015, p.73) asks what happened to the young men who were jackrollers

---

[9] Most traditional families in rural South Africa own kraals, or enclosures designated for livestock during rituals, women are traditionally not allowed inside the kraal, unless they are more mature and elderly, and on the rare occasion, selected to speak (Monnakgotla, 2019).

or iintsara? In what ways did being able to get away with mass rape solidify patterns of violent masculinities. How might this have shaped socialisation processes for men and boys? What unintended consequences for gender relations and how gender is shaped and articulated? How can we understand in a cohesive way the tapestry of masculinities that have existed and continue to exist in South Africa influenced by race, culture, sexual orientation, context and legacies of apartheid.

4.2 Constructions of Masculinity

Theories of men and masculinities have been used to explore past and present violence within the South African context. Social constructionist approaches reframe gender as being based on fixed character traits, to understanding gender as socially and relationally constructed through practices. Connell's (2009) theory of hegemonic masculinities, posits, that there are multiple ways of being men which at any one time, in any one place will be contesting and interacting with one another. Connell's theory depicts hierarchies amongst men, where ways of being a man are formed in relation and tension with one another – hegemonic masculinity(ies) being the most culturally exalted in shifting contexts. In this Connell's framework, is about the operations of power, between men as they jostle for dominance, and 'winning styles' of being a man. Morrell (1994, 1998, 2001) was one of the first to apply hegemonic masculinity to the South African context arguing that within a historical context where the political and economic landscape was distinguished along class and racial lines there were multiple hegemonic masculinities (Morrell et al., 2012). Morrell's focus on South Africa helps to highlight the complex context of South Africa as illuminating Connell's multiple masculinities.

> *Proposing not just one masculinity that was hegemonic, but at least three—*
> *a ''white'' masculinity (represented in the political and economic dominance*
> *of the white ruling class); an ''African,'' rurally based masculinity that*
> *resided in and was perpetuated through indigenous institutions (such as*
> *chiefship, communal land tenure, and customary law) and finally a ''Black''*
> *masculinity that had emerged in the context of urbanization and the*

development of geographically separate and culturally distinct African townships (Morrell et al., 2012, p.12).

Though Morrell (1994) mentioned context in passing for example rural and communal land there has been less interrogation of how physical space can shape ways of being a man. Critical analysis of how infrastructure and lack thereof may inflect on ways of being a man, as well as history and socio-political legacies are as yet less explored. Du Pisani (2001, p. 158) has argued that during the apartheid era the Afrikaner government used their political power to impose new ideas of masculinity which supported a hierarchical social order, glorified militarism and the Afrikaner frontier history: a masculinity only available to white men. In response Gqola (2015) proposed that African masculinities can therefore be regarded as an amalgamation of multiple things, expressions of freedom from this imposition of an unattainable masculinity and claims to manhood in a context where they were infantilised under colonialism and apartheid and an expression of patriarchal power. Reiterating the construction of Black men as boys during apartheid Suttner (2009, p.222-236) holds that:

> *The infantilisation of Africans and men in particular links to or seeks to justify political domination by designating Africans as a race of children. In reading African assertions of manhood therefore, we need to understand it as a challenge not only to a childlike status but as symbolising wider rejection of overlordship... the assertion of manhood is in this context a claim of freedom* (Suttner, 2009, p.222-236).

Xaba's (2001) analysis of Black masculinities in the 1980s and 1990s, proposed the concept of a "struggle masculinity" arguing that during the struggle against apartheid, being a comrade gave status and respect to otherwise marginalised men. However, at the end of apartheid these men, who had in some instances forgone a formal education to be involved in the liberation struggle, were sidelined via an emphasis on "post-struggle masculinity", which placed importance on human rights and gender equality. Especially as struggle masculinity often considered women to be fair game and rape was used at that time as a way of disciplining women and controlling territory (see Bonnin 2004; Goldblatt & Meintjies 1998). Seeking to participate alongside male comrades Bridger (2018) highlights how young women

also adopted many of the characteristics of struggle masculinity in their dress, behaviour and use of violence. These women also had nuanced experiences shaped by their gender.

> *However, the gendered hierarchies of township life shaped the nature of female comrades' involvement in protest and violence, as their adolescent experiences of sexual violence and subordination remained salient in determining why and how they engaged in the liberation struggle* (Bridger, 2018).

For these female comrades engaging in collective action was also a means to address specific gender inequalities and victimisation, not only by defying traditional gender roles through their use of violence but also by using their new-found authority to target the perpetrators of sexual violence directly (Bridger, 2018, p.561). Studies within the country have also shown the presence of recuperative masculinity (see Fulu & Miedema,2015) to argue that when men cannot fulfil their expected responsibilities as the heads of households and breadwinners, they feel disempowered and humiliated leading them to reassert power and dominance in the one realm they still have control over, which is the family. Makusha & Richter (2010) go on to say that the absence or inadequacy of men's financial support for children is one of the main reasons for gender conflicts within families which has been associated with domestic abuse. In a study conducted in KwaZulu Natal, Campbell (1992, p.623) argues that in a community where the opportunities for assertion of masculine power are limited, violence is a manifestation of the structural forces of patriarchy reasserting themselves at a time when race and class oppression has dealt the status of adult men a particularly severe blow.

Richter & Morrell (2006) have also pointed out that apartheid forced movement and unemployment also resulted in men's loss of power and that these processes have all disempowered men and limited their capacity to live and support families. In response to this, social adaptations have emerged amongst men which further alienate men from children, such as machismo related to conquest of women (Morrell & Richter, 2004; Hassim, 2009). For both ex-combatants and security forces, demobilisation and demilitarisation can lead to a sense of emasculation, leading to a desire to reassert "manhood" within areas where one still has some form of control and power and in most cases that is in intimate relationships.

Turshen & Twagiramariya (2001) note that gender roles are disrupted during a period of conflict or national turmoil, oftentimes this means that women who had not been part of public life become economic providers, leaders and activists. These shifts have resulted in backlash from some men notes Hamber (2010) and Gear (2005) who link this to the high levels of violence against women in post-apartheid South Africa. Similarly, Campbell (1992, pp.623-624) argued that when opportunities for assertion of masculine power are limited, violence is a manifestation of the structural forces of patriarchy–reasserting themselves at a time when race and class oppression dealt the status of adult "men a heavy blow". Arguably while the concept of "crisis in masculinity can reveal useful connections and continuities between past and present ways of being a man it can fail to critically engage men in ways that hold them accountable.

The work that has been done on recuperative masculinity is useful to gaining further understanding of the relationship between socioeconomic inequalities and violence however the claim to recover from emasculation may legitimise GBV. This argument has been questioned by several scholars internationally and within South Africa with the exception of Mgnxitama & Joja (2018) who argue that Black men cannot inflict violence on Black women as they also have the status of "women" under white supremacy. Which is of course untrue as Black men do inflict violence, and their experiences of structural racism do not absolve them from the harm they cause. Mgnxitama & Joja's (2018) problematic notions echo former South African president Thabo Mbeki who publicly attacked white anti-rape campaigner Charlene Smith; stating that by tackling the issue she implied Black men were "rampant sexual beasts … unable to keep it in [their] pants" and thus she was racist (Moffet, 2006, p.133). Evidencing the need for a complex analysis that equally holds both the structural violence experienced by Black men and the violence they inflict.

In contestation to the crisis in masculinity argument several scholars have posed that it is problematic, that crisis implies that masculinity has only recently come under threat, whereas it has been questioned and has been evolving throughout the 20th century (Whitehead & Barrett 2005). Arguments have been made here, that male identity is a fragile and tentative 'thing' that is relatively easily changed (Brittan 2005). Crisis, also implies, that traditional masculinities are disappearing, when in fact violent masculinities, or men's violence is evident

in number of spheres (Hassim 2008; Whitehead & Barrett 2005). Analysing the Jacob Zuma trial Suttner (2009, p.222-236) has also shown that ideas of masculinity are conditional contested ambiguous and contradictory and have varied over time and at any moment and within any experience. Research on lesbian masculinities has added additional nuance to understanding GBV in South Africa.

In their work Paradoxes of Butchness: Lesbian Masculinities and Sexual Violence in Contemporary South Africa Lock-Swarr (2012, p.962-983) speaks on lesbian masculinity particularly butchness and how it evokes particularly violent responses which are intended to be corrective or punitive as butch lesbians undermine the monolithic ideas of masculinity and heterosexuality. Additionally, they call the masculinity of men into question through articulations of lesbian masculinities. A pamphlet by the Lesbian and Gay Equality Project (2002) titled a State of Emergency Hate Crimes against Black Lesbians articulated that hate crimes against lesbians said a lot about how men respond when their power/dominance is seemingly threatened.

> *Hate crimes against Black lesbians must not be seen as separate and distinct phenomenon from the high incidence of gender-based violence in this country. There are differences in so far as sexual orientation is concerned, yet before one is a lesbian, one is a woman. Her sexual orientation may nevertheless pose added difficulties and challenges in respect of her ability to access resources and services. On a daily basis lesbians are subjected to violence including rape in the belief that it will cure them of their sexual orientation is important to stress that patriarchal societies have always aimed to define and dominate female sexuality and self. Women who live a self-determined sexuality challenge this man-centred system. In this respect, violence against lesbians is clearly linked to violence against women and to a worldwide patriarchal attitude* (The Lesbian and Gay Equality Project, 2002 Quoted in Gqola, 2015, p.92).

To give a deeper contextual analysis of the multiple overlays that characterise patriarchal attitudes and structures shaping masculinities in particular ways it is important to look at

militarisation. Rather than configurations of practice men's oppressive practices can be considered as a coherent system.

4.3 Masculinities and Militarisation

Slavery and colonialism were heavily rooted in violence this meant that self-defence also manifested in the taking up of arms which led to centuries of warfare across the African continent. This is also true for the apartheid regime which capitalised on physical violence through militaristic control and the structural economic violence (Forde et al, 2021). Cock (1989) shows that the masculinity cultivated in the South African Defence Force (SADF) involved insensitivity, aggression and violence arguing that the failure to dismantle the ideology of militarism is directly implicated in the problems being faced in post-apartheid South Africa one of which is GBV. Expanding on this Gqola (2015) connects the violent masculinities of the contemporary era to the hypermasculinity embraced by both sides of the struggle to end apartheid arguing that given the patriarchal culture of South Africa this high militarisation could have only taken on very gendered forms. She exemplifies her argument through the gun toting, militaristic Afrikaner masculinity, which was embodied in figures like Oscar Pistorius, to Jacob Zuma evoking the heroic masculinity from apartheid during his rape trial singing *umshini wami*[10].

Gqola (2015) went on to argue that this was hugely inappropriate as it located Zuma in the realm of heroic and militant masculinity and the complainant (Khwezi) by implication was placed in opposition to struggle masculinity. Based on a literary study of the autobiographical writings of anti-apartheid struggle heroes, Unterhalter (2000) shows how the struggle for freedom and the project of nation building have been cast as the right and duty of men alone, and how " heroic masculinity " entails giving oneself to the struggle and thereby finding a place in history (Unterhalter, 2000). She sees heroic masculinity as identified with a particular understanding of work as political work which ensured an old oppressive order was dismantled. Correspondingly Gqola (2021) notes that,

---

[10] "Umshini wami", also known as "Awuleth' Umshini Wami" Bring My Machine Gun in English is a struggle song used formerly by members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the African National Congress during the struggle against Apartheid in South Africa (Mangena, 2007).

South African nationalism rests on heroic nationalism: the triumph of a just struggle over slavery, colonialism and apartheid through the disavowal of fear. The courage and activism of the liberation movements is signalled as heroic masculinity in a multitude of ways through the masculinist embodied spectacle, the foregrounding of men's activism and the narrative of founding fathers Mandela, Tambo, Tutu and De Klerk (Gqola, 2021, p.168).

There is distinction between Xaba's (2001) notion of struggle masculinity which they regard as something of the past – a marginalised, " left-over masculinity " from the anti-apartheid struggle, whereas Unterhalter (2000) sees heroic masculinity as a political discourse that is still celebrated and embodied by the current leadership. The work of both these scholars underlines that there are perpetuities and differences in the construction of masculinities in post-apartheid South Africa, which have material effects in shaping violence. Dismissing arguments that war is a male affair, and the military is a patriarchal institution Cock (1989) has shown that white women contributed to the militarisation of South African society in both material and ideological terms and at the same time a minority of white women were a source of resistance to the system of apartheid. Further research that looks at the legacies of white women's militarisation and their experiences of violence is required. This section has mobilised existing literature on and critiques of men and masculinities to locate GBV in SA as an historical and contemporary problem, linked to legacies of men's oppressive practices. This is often not included in conceptualisations of legacies which serves to invisiblilise women's experiences of violence and men's practices of violence during this era and their implications. A gendered lens to legacies accounts for apartheid structural violence and the GBV perpetrated by Black men. Dube (2016) holds that in the South African context, the concentration on Black men's experiences has given exaggerated emphasis to the destructive and anti-social aspects of such experiences, which have also been incorporated into both thin and thick descriptions of a general construction of Black masculinities. Which has resulted in perspective that lacks nuance and complexity on Black masculinities. The nuance and complexity this research seeks to explore is both contextual as well as historical.

Section 5: Conducive Context for GBV

This section looks at research on GBV in contemporary South Africa through the lens of a "conducive context" by Kelly (2005) who formulated the concept through research conducted in Central Asia on trafficking. Speaking to legacies of Soviet centralised control which included under-used land and unemployed adults, Kelly (2005) argued that these constituted a conducive context for trafficking and exploitation. Therefore, it was necessary to analyse and understand the interconnecting social, political and economic conditions within which exploitative trafficking operators profit from the misfortunes of others. The previous sections outlined historical violences and their continuities; to reiterate Masondo (2006) historical practices cannot be forgotten in understanding the pervasiveness of GBV in contemporary South Africa. They can also not be neglected in understanding how they produce a conducive context for GBV.

5.1 The Justice System and GBV

It is widely accepted that it is hard to gain accurate statistics on GBV in SA (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Artz, 2008; Mogstad et al., 2016; Vetten, 2014b; Armstrong, 1994). Underreporting, corruption involving police officers being paid by perpetrators to lose dockets (see Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002) and the barriers to accessing police stations being some of the many issues contributing to this problem (Bollen et al, 1999; Nduna & Tshona 2021). Wood & Jewkes (1998, 2001) showed that the discourse surrounding rape in certain communities often confine the word "rape" to describing more violent acts by strangers which has implications for women's interpretation of their own experiences of violence (Wood & Jewkes, 1998, 2001).

Deficiencies in the justice system particularly in terms of gender and racial inequality also deter women from reporting (Ozemoena, 2015). The Office of the Public Protector (2024) disseminated a report detailing poor infrastructure, unnecessary delays, inadequate assistance amongst other things as derailing the processing of gender-based violence (GBV) related matters in the South African criminal justice system. Nortje & Hull (2024) concur citing the need for reform in the South African Police Service (SAPS) and awareness campaigns to reduce GBV. The continued presence of racism and inequality within the judicial system often leads to the Black population contending with substandard judicial processes, in turn leading

to a reluctance to report violence and abuse by Black women survivors (Ozeomena, 2015; Dissel & Kollapen, 2002).

A high likelihood of police officers killing their partners was also evident in a 1995 study within which just under a third of the perpetrators were described as policemen (Vetten, 1995). Prior to the murder women were too afraid to call for help fearing that it may be a co-worker of their abusive partner who comes to the door (Holtzhausen, 2004). In a study on femicide committed by South African Police Service (SAPS) members respondents all made evident that girlfriends or wives did not report abuse in order to protect their husbands from the law (ICD, 2009). Reflecting another obstacle to accessing assistance from the justice and/or law enforcement system. Equally when addressing domestic violence – law enforcement officials are often unwilling to intervene due to the perception that domestic abuse is a domestic affair and/or household dispute (Artz, 2008; SAPS, 2025; Bendal, 2010). Progressive legislation, combined with patriarchal attitudes among law enforcement agents, has created negative attitudes towards complainants resulting in the secondary victimisation of the women who are abused (Parenzee et al, 2001, p.83). This section shows that issues within law enforcement produce a difficult context for survivors to navigate. However, this research has often not taken a context specific lens that looks at the specificities of women's experiences with the legal system and law enforcement.

5.2 Patriarchal Family Structure and Domestic Abuse

The patriarchal family structure has also been framed as creating a conducive context for intimate partner violence (Dawes et al., 2004; Jewkes et al., 2002; Wood & Jewkes, 2001). The patriarchal imbalance of power has been cited by several scholars who have argued that men's position of power in society puts women in a subordinate position (Christofides & Rebombo, 2016; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Nadar, 2009; Sathiparsad et al., 2008; Sathiparsad, 2005). Research on domestic abuse in South Africa has shown that it is often regarded as a private or domestic issue therefore a matter within which it is inappropriate to involve the police (Curran & Bonthuys; 2005 Mogstad et al, 2016) this has also been evidenced in other contexts (see Davidge, 2022). Research conducted in the informal settlement of Kayelitsha in the Eastern Cape showed that most participants thought that involving the police was unacceptable or

disloyal (Mogstad et al, 2016), which includes seeking guidance from the in-laws and other family members instead of going to the police (Makofane & Du Preez, 2000; Artz, 2008). Other studies found that many Black women in South Africa prefer traditional methods of resolving domestic violence rather than formal legal mechanisms (Basadien & Hochfield, 2005; Curran & Bonthuys, 2005; Moore & Himonga, 2015; Mogstad et al, 2016). This includes community mediation, with a conflict resolution approach and family intervention (Moult, 2005). This may evidence a continued distrust of the state especially the police and the legal system which for so long oppressed Black people – a legacy of apartheid. Women's preference for informal mechanisms to address domestic violence may also indicate coercion, in the form of pressure from their families to restore peace without police intervention. However, Moult (2005, p.19) has shown other reasons as to why women turn to informal mechanisms.

> *Many turn to non-state mechanisms because of the emotional and financial costs of seeking state assistance, the risk of secondary victimisation at the hands of criminal justice practitioners, and questions about the legitimacy of the state system. Many women are also dissatisfied with the outcomes of formal legal remedies because they fail to provide a sense of justice.*

Research by Mogstad et al (2016) went on to show that whilst male participants regarded the use of informal mechanisms as "culture working" female participants stated that this system of resolution addressed violence without much consideration for the women's opinion. It is important to mention that despite the circumstances some women do still report cases of violence. This section sets out some of the issues that characterise women's experiences of GBV. Detailing deficiencies in the justice system, and patriarchal family structures, to outline how they combine to create a conducive context for GBV in contemporary South Africa. A missing link in this body of work, is an explicit, linking of this context to the past.

Section 6: Conclusion

This chapter has drawn on literature to offer an historical lens for the problem of high rates of GBV in contemporary South Africa. Various studies on GBV have indicated that it is not a recent nor new phenomenon in post-apartheid South Africa but one that is influenced by the

past and deeply embedded in the historical fabric of South Africa. Other research has tackled poverty, racism and the pervasive violence within the country as contributory factors. However, there are few if any, context specific research studies that have discussed GBV not only as a legacy, but as existing in symbiosis with other legacies that equally need interrogation if we are to address the issue of violence against women in this specific context. Furthermore, there are contexts that are conducive to GBV, and it is important to unpack what it is about them that facilitates violence.

As this chapter has shown, there are a multiplicity of legacies, beyond the most obvious racism, that can be explored as directly and indirectly contributing to the high rates of GBV in post-apartheid South Africa. Yet, few empirical studies have pulled them all together to explore the problem, as both an historical and contemporary one, how much of what has become normalised has some roots in the past? The contemporary sexual violence in post-apartheid South Africa has been linked to justificatory narratives rooted in apartheid practices that legitimised violence against the disempowered in political arenas, social, informal and domestic spaces (Moffet, 2006, p.129). Regardless, Gqola (2015) asks at which point do we take responsibility for unlearning harmful behaviour regardless of which part of our complicated history it comes from at which point do violent men stop using culture and the past to justify violating women (p.73).

Jackrolling, iintsara and ukuthwala point to culturally legitimised practices of violence against women and girls. The warnings given to women through iintsara ,jackrollers and ukuthwala was that public spaces do not belong to women in this regard they were in line with apartheid state sponsored terror (Gqola, 2015, p.74). Women's freedom of movement continues to be restricted by the 'female fear factory'. Masculinities were shaped and continue to be shaped in particular ways by socio-historical contexts, evident through struggle masculinity, heroic masculinity and recuperative masculinity to name a few considering the gendered nature of both apartheid and anti-apartheid initiatives. The erasure of discursive legacies is evident through limited literature speaking on the violence experienced by Black women during apartheid and the lack of research outlining the gendered violence perpetrated by white men during apartheid. By setting out the existing literature it is evident that there is need for a gendered approach to legacies that extends beyond sexual violence to consider the ways in

which other apartheid continuities create a conducive context for GBV. Going on to argue that the framing of sexual violence as a 'crisis' itself can foster amnesia about the longer histories of sexual violence (Bridger, 2024).

Chapter Three: Researching GBV and Connection to Legacies in Diepsloot

There can be no discourse of decolonisation, no theory of decolonisation, without a decolonising practice (Cusicanqui, 2012; p.100)

Section 1: Introduction

The methodology for this research was borne out of circumstance, specifically the COVID 19 pandemic which led to finding an approach that accounted for the restrictions posed on international travel. Virtual interviews and observation research were supplemented by a visit to South Africa in 2023. A feminist decolonial praxis shaped the methodological framework which embraced these complexities as an essential continuous process of becoming, unlearning, relearning, re-existing (as opposed to resisting) and delinking to conduct timely, ethical and relational research (Udah, 2024, p.3).

A core component of this praxis is centralising the experiences and voices of the marginalised to challenge knowledge dominance and hierarchies to avoid epistemic extractivism (Grosfoguel, 2016) and seek epistemic justice (Fricker, 2007). This involved a critical analysis of my positionality as the researcher through reflexivity, facilitated through writing in a research journal and dialogue with my supervisors. This was further reflected through dialogue with research participants to accommodate the most accessible way for them to participate in the research. When travel restrictions were lifted, a field visit to South Africa was conducted in March 2023 to supplement the data collected virtually with face-to-face interviews and sensory and visual information gained from embodying Diepsloot. The study is based on three datasets: Facebook data; virtual and face to face in-depth interviews; and field notes from Diepsloot. The interviews sought to gain insight from those working in the GBV space in Diepsloot, and South Africa more broadly: 24 participants were interviewed online and 14 in person.

This chapter outlines the process of collecting and analysing these three datasets, the nuanced challenges of the research and the ethical processes and considerations. The global context of the research is outlined to provide a full understanding of the reasons for the chosen methodology. Primary data is used in this chapter in instances where its relevant, this was done to not speak on behalf of research participants and credit the insight they provided throughout this process, it also aligns with the decolonial principles which underpin this methodology specifically research as just not about creating new knowledge but returning knowledge that has been stolen to the people it belongs to (Tynan, 2024). Data is used in some cases to show instances when white participants exercised their privilege, I find it important to show these instances in the actual words of these participants because it is empowering: they chose to say slurs in a recorded interview, and I am choosing to evidence that in my thesis.

1.1 COVID 19 and the Global Context

The research project began in February 2021 which was almost a year into the global pandemic – restrictions ordering people to stay at home and limiting international travel were in place. The emergence of various Covid 19 variants and practices rooted in global neo-colonial legacies made travelling to South Africa to conduct primary data collection untenable. In January 2021 the South African variant of coronavirus was found to be more infectious, during this period AstraZeneca warned that the Oxford/AstraZeneca vaccine had significantly reduced efficacy against this variant (Steinhause, 2021). Consequently, in June 2021 South Africa imposed new Covid-19 restrictions including school closures and a curfew to stop the spread of the Delta variant, recording 24,270 new Covid-19 cases in 24 hours, the highest figures since the pandemic had begun (McKenzie & Princewill, 2021). In August 2021 South African scientists detected a new variant of Covid-19, Omicron which was said to be even more transmissible. However, whilst Botswana and South Africa alerted the world to this variant, it subsequently resulted in Southern African countries being placed on a red list which banned citizens of these countries from travelling to the UK, although the variant was found among travellers who reportedly flew in from Europe. It was subsequently found that the variant was reported in the Netherlands a week before the announcement from Africa. The negotiating power of western countries allowed them to procure more than enough vaccines for their

countries leaving almost nothing for poorer countries in the global south highlighting enduring legacies of colonialism. The parallels between the global context and the themes within the thesis certainly contributed a unique texture to the research. It also, however, posed some challenges including obstacles to data collection and uncertainty around the research process. The next section outlines my position in relation to research participants speaking on the critical reflexivity that was required to move away from a hierarchical distinction of interviewees. The self-care and 'safety work' which speaks to the form of invisible work mandated for women and girls in public (Kelly, 2012; Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020) that was conducted throughout the research to safeguard myself and participants is also detailed. This concept became a recurring one across findings chapter as well. This is followed by discussions of the mixed methods approach towards data collection, the non-linear use of and recruitment of interviewees. A later section describes the profound difference being able to travel to Diepsloot made to the study as a whole. The penultimate section explores data analysis including how interview extracts and Facebook data are presented in the thesis. The final section presents the approach to ethics in practice including ensuring confidentiality and safeguarding considerations.

Section 2: Positionality: Reflexivity and Self Accountability

Prior to delving into the methods of this research it is important to set out how my own perspective and lived experience informed the research. This section delves into my positionality and its implications for the research.

2.1 Epistemology: About the Researcher

Positionality refers to the position that the researcher occupies in relation to their research including its social political context (Foote & Bartell 2011; Savin-Baden & Major, 2013; Rowe 2014). This includes the individual's world view, ontological and epistemological assumptions and how we embody reality as well interact and relate to it (Bahari, 2010; Grix, 2019; Scotland, 2012; Sikes, 2004): aspects of positionality include gender, race, nationality and political views (Darwin, 2020). I am a Black African women born in Zimbabwe: due to the country's history as a former British colony growing up there was an emphasis on aspiring towards Westernisation as a marker of success and civilisation. The importance of having a good grasp on the English

language and the adoption of Western culture and values was ingrained via Westernised education systems. These were hard to escape as they were lauded as the best educational institutions: for example, I attended Murray Macdougal in Triangle Zimbabwe a school named after a settler that occupied the southeast lowveld during the early years of the twentieth century and established the Triangle Sugar Estates (Manamere, 2020). MacDougall's legacy is tainted by claims of cattle rustling, forced labour, and cruel treatment of indigenous African people (Thondhlana et al, 2022). At age 10 we moved to Tanzania for 10 years which further illuminated the impact of Western colonialism – attending an international school for 2 years – and the impact of Arab settlers was also apparent through the food, language and culture of Tanzania (Mbogoni, 2013). Furthermore, learning about Julius Nyerere began the process of raising awareness around decolonisation and anti-colonial struggle. Concurrently, between the ages of 12-18 attending boarding school in Grahamstown, South Africa raised consciousness about structural violence through grappling with institutional racism and patriarchy (Fengu, 2019; Carlisle, 2019). Eventually moving to the UK for education in 2014 for undergraduate and postgraduate courses exposed ongoing neocolonial violence, epistemic violence through the western hegemony of knowledge, and the structural racism embedded within global and local structures. Consequently, legacies of colonialism and apartheid are ingrained into my experience which informs the adoption of a decolonial feminist epistemology.

Section 3: Methodological Approach

This section begins by outlining decolonial feminist principles followed by exercising this approach in practice through detailing my positionality followed by a critical reflection of my own biases and how I navigated them.

3.1 Decolonial Feminist Research

Research is not exempt from upholding and perpetuating the very same legacies and hierarchies of power. Research conducted in countries which were previously colonised has been criticised for serving the interests of the privileged and not solving the social and structural problems of the marginalised, as well as reproducing historical discourse and legitimization of Western thought (Kessi, 2017). Therefore, decolonial feminist principles were

utilised to avoid reproducing inequality. The decolonial feminist tenets of critical reflexivity, reciprocity and respect for self-determination and embracing "other(ed)" ways of knowing (Thambinathan & Kinsella, 2021).

The discursive products of the marginalised have been suppressed and devalued by the colonial enterprise for centuries, made evident through epistemology, particularly what gets to count as knowledge, and whose knowledge is given precedence (Dangarembga, 2022, p.151; Gunzenhauser & Pepin, 2006, p.332). Highlighting how epistemic injustice (Fricker, 2007), a wrong done to someone in their capacity as a knower, manifests as the exclusion of marginalised and oppressed people from being heard and understood (p.1). A less detectable form of structural violence, a "slow violence" as defined by Perez (2019), epistemic violence is a forced delegitimating, sanctioning and repression of certain possibilities of knowing, going hand in hand with an attempted enforcement of other possibilities of knowing (Brunner, 2021; Garbe,2013). Bhargava (2013) extends on this notion to include cultural injustice – when the concepts and categories with which people understand themselves and their world are replaced or adversely affected by the concepts and categories of the coloniser. Recognising that power is exerted against or through knowledge and this is a key element in any process of domination (Gálvan-Álvarez, 2010).

Social justice is an essential part of disrupting these legacies and inequalities of epistemic violence, racism, and patriarchy that intersect to shape the experiences of women in African contexts (Kessi, 2017). Decolonisation not only points to self-determination but the need for these social structures to be transformed from the bottom up (Fanon, 1963, p.35). It has been argued that though freedom from apartheid was seen as synonymous with freedom from the burden of racist oppression and persecution its legacies continue to be felt by the vast majority of the black poor, whose growing impatience with untransformed institutions continues to become increasingly audible (Gqola, 2015, p.62).

3.2 Inside-Outsider Positionality

My background meant that I occupied a partial insider positionality in relation to the Diepsloot community; this is often defined as a shared single identity with a degree of distance or

detachment from the community (Chavez, 2008, p.475). There is a shared experience of blackness and Africanness specifically with shared nuances of the Southern African experience, however, in terms of nationality an outsider positionality is occupied – an outsider researcher is not a member of the group that they are researching (Gair, 2012). This added additional challenges to the trust building process (see Section 3) as some of the advantages for insider researchers can be immediate legitimacy in the field, equalised relationships and expediency building relationships and shared profound experiences with the community they are researching and research participants (Chavez, 2008, p.479). This was potentially further complicated by xenophobia towards those from other African countries, particularly Zimbabwe, by some South Africans (see Chapter 4). The disdain for Zimbabweans was vocalised via discourse and imagery shared in the FB groups (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1 FB Image about Zimbabweans

There is an inconsistency between the positionality due to background and identity and my physical location in relation to the research community – what I term here as physical positionality. The research and majority of the data collection was conducted from the UK due to the pandemic, which potentially emphasised the outsider elements of my positionality. There were assumptions around socioeconomic status and thus requests for financial

assistance (see Section 3) despite financial constraints and limitations as an international student in the UK. This potentially reflected the proximity to whiteness/western countries as assumed access to certain forms of power, resources, as well as social, economic, and cultural capital this was further evidenced during the field visit to Diepsloot as noted in my research journal.

> *I'm Zimbabwean originally and a lot of people [were] asking, where are you from, and when I said Zimbabwe there was a different reaction people were just angry off the bat and my mom was like, you should just say you're from the UK [laughter] and that's what I started saying and the perception was completely different maybe it's proximity to whiteness, people are willing to look at me more favourably* (Research Diary, 16.03.24).

Throughout the research my positionality was inconsistent, shifting depending on the personal information that was given to those around me during the field research, which influenced the treatment received during correspondence with Diepsloot residents in casual and interview settings and the Facebook groups. Arguably, perceptions around my positionality during the remote research were different to those during the field visit; therefore, a liminal space/ "space between" (Labaree 2002, p.102) was occupied. My partial positionality meant being both an insider and outsider; operating in a fluid space somewhere between the two (Zempi, 2016), existing on the hyphen between insider-outsider, a third space of dwelling characterised by paradox, ambiguity, ambivalence as well as conjunction and disjunction (Aoki, 1996). A factor that further contributed to ambiguity and disjunction was the dearth of an African perspective on writing on insider/outside positionality, it is an area that is heavily dominated by writing in the global north. The positionality of Black African researchers researching African issues is not widely written about or discussed with a few exceptions (Keikelame; 2017; Ratele, 2017; Shai, 2020).

3.3 Critical Reflection: Who is an expert?

At the beginning of the research a distinction was made between research participants as "experts" and Diepsloot residents; as data collection progressed the line between residents and experts blurred making it important to critically examine the initial purpose of the distinction. It revealed my own biases around formal education and/or work experience as prerequisites to expert status which neglected lived experience as a legitimate precursor to expertness; for example, Diepsloot residents as experts of their context. Critical reflexivity enabled the unintended hierarchy created by separating "experts" and Diepsloot residents perpetuating epistemic injustices via colonial assumptions around whose knowledge matters most. Being non-white did not exempt me from perpetuating privileged, western-centric Eurocentric colonial ideas on knowledge production that required unlearning and re-imagining the construction, production, and value of knowledge (Thambinathan & Kinsella, 2021).

Additionally, the distinction was inaccurate as a lot of research participants were working within the social justice space and residing in Diepsloot which made the binary categorisation obsolete. They existed within the in-between space which had not been accounted for at the beginning of the research – separate questions were formulated for experts and residents however a mixture of both sets of questions were asked throughout the interview process (see Appendix 6). This was part of practicing reflexivity, different from simple reflection as it moved beyond just thinking about to a continuing mode of self-analysis and political awareness (Finlay 2002): it involved recognising the exclusion of Black South Africans from expertise in the traditional sense of the word due to structural racism and socioeconomic inequalities that hinder access to education and skill development.

> *So, there are these multiple layers... other apartheid consequences are things like, [a] very unequal education system. So, the quality of education in, schools in Diepsloot is not going to be the same as the quality of education that someone will get in a suburb of Joburg so then even the kids that are going to school and getting an education are not getting the same quality education may not end up having opportunities after school, to be*

able to either study further or to get jobs or whatever (Interviewee 28,

Public Health Researcher and Academic, White, F).

Consequently, the definition of an expert was broadened during the course of data collection to include anyone who is knowledgeable or has expertise in a particular area (Oxford Dictionary, 2022). During the pandemic this meant including a question that asked participants who reside in Diepsloot to speak a little bit about their physical context. Mirroring other decolonial researchers such as Datta (2019) my positionality changed in the field from a discoverer of knowledge to a learner through reframing and/or adding interview questions rebalancing power and viewing community members as knowledge holders (Taha, 2018). Viewing all research participants as experts in their own right removed presupposed notions of who holds what knowledge and what knowledge is more valuable. Having an inclusive approach to expertness meant that I could also include myself in the definition which was particularly empowering to remember in circumstances where participants had more structural privilege than me and exercised that privilege. For example, two white academics said the n-word during interviews which was an exercise of power on their part.

You know, and this has always been the path of slavery studies that we you know, sort of you have to pardon the term house Negroes (Interviewee 6, Academic, Researcher, White, F).

To counteract the negative feelings following these experiences self-care was central to my wellbeing throughout data collection.

Section 4: Flexibility and Relationality, How the Research was Conducted?

As a result of the pandemic a lot of flexibility had to be exercised throughout the data collection process, this section outlines the process in detail along with the various modifications that were done along the way.

4.1 The Initial Approach to Facebook

When the PhD began in 2021 the methodological approach involved going to Diepsloot and interviewing residents, activists and people working for GBV organisations face to face. However, the restrictions on travel posed by COVID made this impossible and the research methods had to be adapted. Six Facebook groups consisting of Diepsloot residents were identified: Diepsloot Reloaded; Diepsloot Kasi Lam; and Diepsloot # My Kasi, Friends of Diepsloot, DIEPSLOOT and Dieplsoot kasi Lami (see Table 3.1 for more details).

Table 3.1: Information on the Facebook Groups

Name of the Group	Description
Diepsloot Reloaded	Consists of 41.5K members and is centred around facilitating connections as well as advertising and supporting local businesses.
Diepsloot Kasi Lami II	Has 10K members; this is the most active of the groups in terms of the amount of engagement with posts and consists of varied content from advertisements of new businesses to relationships, dating questions and advice.
Diepsloot #My Kasi	Has 123.5K members and is centred around people advertising their businesses, houses for rent, sharing news of what is going on in the local area and broader South Africa, as well as other miscellaneous activities,
DIEPSLOOT	26.1K Predominantly consists of people advertising and selling goods.
Friends of Diepsloot	Consists of 7.5K members sharing jokes, advertising businesses and events.

Diepsloot Kasi Lami	52.7K members people advertising their services such as braiding, washing clothes.

These groups were chosen because they were quite active with constant engagement from members, they also consisted of the largest numbers of Dieplsoot residents which increased the potential of gaining more varied and interesting answers to a series of research questions which were posted in the groups.

1. What is GBV?
2. What do you know about GBV in Diepsloot?
3. What do you think are the causes of GBV in Diepsloot?
4. Why do you think rates of GBV are really high in Diepsloot?
5. What are the different types of GBV that you have seen in Diepsloot?
6. Are different types of violence caused by different things?
7. Do you think South Africa's apartheid history has anything to do with the high rates of violence?
8. What do you think would reduce the rates of violence, specifically in Diepsloot?

4.1.1 Requesting Permission from Moderators and Engagement

Prior to commencing the research permission was sought from group moderators through a Facebook direct message in January 2022 the message (see Appendix 1) had slight variations dependant on the group name during this initial message permission to conduct observational research was also requested and granted from the moderators.

Following this there was an introductory post circulated in all six groups saying a little bit about the researcher and the research and communicating that research questions were going to be posted in the groups, and the responses were to be included in a PhD thesis. The fact that observation research would be conducted within the groups was also communicated during this initial introduction. Evidently the post included a picture of the information sheet however despite the likes on the post it was hard to determine how many people read the post so every time a research question was posted a sentence explaining what the data would be used for

was included at the bottom. Additionally, the information sheet was posted in the comments accompanying the research questions.

There was very low engagement with the research questions which may reflect the nature of the groups as places of escapism whereby group members looked for respite from their daily struggles. Some participants reached out about difficulties reading the information sheet attached to the introductory post which may have been additional hinderance to participation.

This led to including a link to the post in the comments which residents had a hard time downloading, as a last resort the document was copied and pasted into WhatsApp chats or FB messenger for better legibility. The limited engagement may also reflect resident's distrust of outsiders conducting research in Diepsloot as reflected in comments underneath posts (see Figure 3.2) which questioned the intention of the research and that of the researcher. Throughout the thesis all Facebook data will be presented on a template from Canva[11], an asterisk is included next to all the names showing that they are pseudonyms.

---

[11] Canva is an online graphic design platform

Figure 3.2 Facebook Scepticism
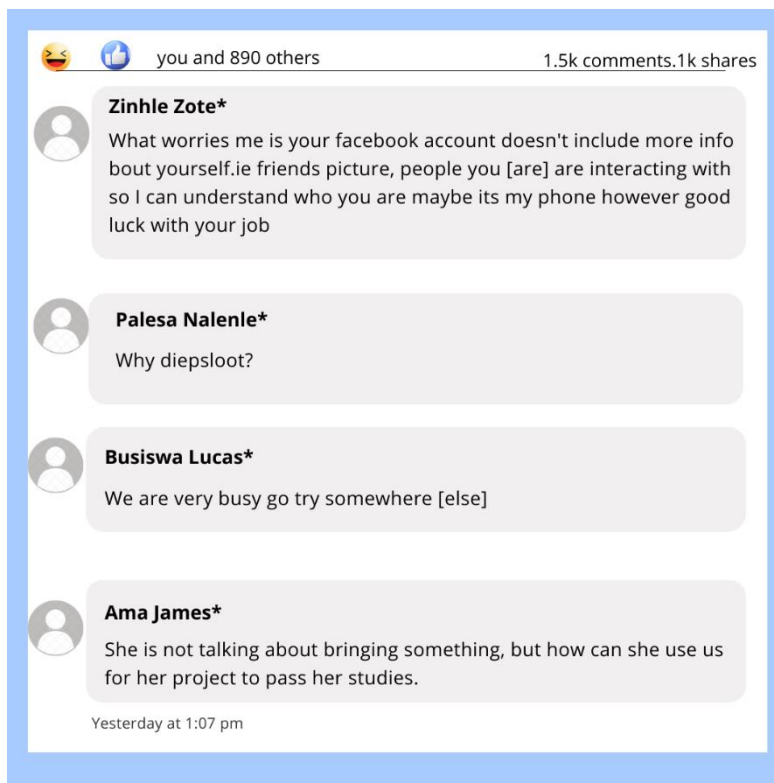
Ama James* (see Figure 3.2) raised issues around the extractive nature of research and the importance of decolonial strategies around reciprocity, interviewees expressed similar concerns about the potential benefit of the research and the implications of the positionality of the researcher on the final outcome.

> *Same applies to South Africa we have organisations which are being funded to tackle issues of gender-based violence but we hardly see their impact because they [are] not part of our community they are not around when we face problems at night, when we have sleepless nights, when we get the calls to say we need support in 123. I believe that maybe its people like you, I am not sure, I have not met you and I don't know how your PhD research is going to impact the [community] but we need people to start advocating for local organisations so that we provide solutions that we know [are] going to benefit the community because I am part of this community and I know that like whenever I get a call I have I will be around to provide that service* (Interviewee 12, Founder GBV Org/Diepsloot resident Black M)

A question around the benefit of the research was reiterated and previous experiences of researchers extracting information from the community and disappearing emphasised.

> *I just wanted to check, how is this study going to benefit the community of Diepsloot in terms of how is it going to make things better for us as people who are serving the Diepsloot community? because when you conduct a study in the community, the main purpose is to sort of to understand the dynamics in the community and at the end of the day, there should be some form of recommendations on how to approach a specific challenge that you identified and how is this going to benefit us because we have the best interest of Diepsloot at heart, and we honestly do not like people who would come to our community interview us compile their thesis and they are gone … and you get to see the study somewhere on the internet, and you never got to hear anything from the person about end product. The most important thing is, okay, we see you have this challenge, but this is what we recommend, so maybe those recommendations some way somehow, can assist us in dealing with the issue of GBV so I just want to know, how is this going to benefit us?* (Interviewee 30, Social Worker, Black, F)

Interviewees and Facebook members alike raised important concerns which may have potentially contributed to limited engagement with the research questions on Facebook. A contingency plan to utilise the groups as mechanisms for recruiting interviewees specifically those who were residents was put into effect (see section on recruitment). These challenges led me to reshape the methods for working with the Facebook groups from a generative approach where data is generated through questions, to an observational approach and where Facebook (FB) was used to recruit for interviews.

4.2 Observational Research in the FB Groups

For a year between January 2022 to December 2022 the number of posts pertaining to apartheid legacies, socioeconomic inequalities, racism and GBV that were made in the groups

were tracked. Some of these themes broadened as the research progressed, for example, socioeconomic inequalities came to include job seeking posts as it became evident that unemployment was reflective of this issue as well posts of people seeking financial assistance. There were also themes such as xenophobia, service delivery and infrastructural issues which continuously came up in interviews and discourse in the groups and were thus included as themes to be tracked. Ultimately seven themes were developed to categorise data from the observational research:

- GBV
- General violence and crime
- Socioeconomic issues
- Apartheid/historical legacies
- Misogyny/sexism
- Service delivery
- Xenophobia
- Miscellaneous

While all the categories are quite self-explanatory, a miscellaneous section was introduced for those comments that were relevant but did not clearly fit into any one of the main themes. Oftentimes the FB comments included within this category were those that came off as misogynistic or sexist in nature to me, however, were not (apparently) perceived as such by other people in the groups creating doubts as to whether the posts were in fact misogynistic in nature. What was evident throughout the categorisation process was the interconnected nature of various forms of structural and interpersonal violence and the need for a framework that conceptualised violence in Diepsloot as a whole rather than in silos, leading to the core concept of the violence regime (see Chapter 4 & Hearn et al., 2022).

The length of the threads and comments in response to relevant posts were also tracked particularly in relation to GBV. What was posted in the groups was initially monitored every day or at the end of the week however some of the content was emotionally taxing thus the frequency was decreased to monthly. The relevant posts were saved into a private folder on

Facebook; all in all, this approach yielded much more data that was rich and reflective of the authentic opinions of residents. The groups were monitored, and thematic categories were created and posts were organised and analysed as per the themes created from the observations. However, this was a flexible process as content analysis which revealed further themes and concepts that were not initially evident through observation research; for example, the issue of transactional relationships. The fact that these themes came up organically without the prompting of an outside researcher meant that residents were less distrustful and willing to speak in more depth.

Mirroring previous research, the platforms were a useful context to gather qualitative data as users shared information as well as beliefs and attitudes on a variety of topics (Townsend & Wallace, 2013). This was unencumbered by the structure and processes around qualitative interviews making it a good place to gain an understanding of the perspectives of Diepsloot residents. It also presented an opportunity to gain insight into a context which was inaccessible during the pandemic through observing perspectives and opinions in a virtual space that was part of the participants' daily lives (Moreno et al., 2013). Posts across all six groups were quantified and analysed to ascertain how various research themes were understood and explained discursively (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Number of Posts Included in Analysis

Themes	Number of Posts
Misogyny/sexism	57
GBV	52
General Violence and crime	48
Socioeconomic issues	31
Xenophobia	26
Miscellaneous	19
Service Delivery	17
Apartheid/historical legacies	7
Total	257

This was potentially an important way to see whether the research questions prompted any further discussion on the thematic areas. However, due to the transient nature of dialogue on the platform new posts quickly overshadowed previous topics; consequently, it was hard to ascertain any changes in the way GBV was discursively constructed in the groups after the research questions were posted. An additional challenge presented by the temporariness of social media content was users deleting posts or changing privacy settings making it impossible to come back to the posts during the analysis phase. Unavailable posts were replaced by a black background accompanied by "this item isn't available right now. Its privacy settings may have changed, or it has expired". Observation research presented an opportunity to reach people through social media which might not have been reached through traditional methods (Moreno et al ,2013).

4.3 Conducting Virtual Interviews

Twenty-five online interviews were conducted in tandem to the observational research in the Facebook groups: there proved to be lots of crossover between the two approaches. Fourteen interviews took place over Zoom, six over WhatsApp, one over email, one over Teams and two over Facebook messenger (see Table 3.3). Section 4 on recruitment speaks about the ever-evolving use of the groups to eventually act as spaces for recruiting interview participants.

Table 3.3 Who the Interviewees are and the mode of interview

Interviewee 1	Former Self Defense Course Facilitator/Diepsloot resident, Black, F	Virtual, WhatsApp
Interviewee 2	Community Engagement Officer (VAWG)/Diepsloot resident, Black F	Virtual, Zoom
Interviewee 3	Community Engagement Officer (VAWG)/Diepsloot resident, Black, F	Virtual, Zoom

Interviewee 4	Women's Shelter Founder/Diepsloot resident, Black, M	Virtual, WhatsApp
Interviewee 5	Researcher and GBV Specialist, White, F	Virtual, Zoom
Interviewee 6	Academic, Researcher, White, F	Virtual, Zoom
Interviewee 7	Diepsloot Resident, Black, M	Virtual,
Interviewee 8	GBV Activist and Researcher Black, M	Virtual, Zoom
Interviewee 9	Head of GBV Org, White, F	Virtual, Zoom
Interviewee 10	Diepsloot Resident, Black, F	Virtual, WhatsApp
Interviewee 11	Social Worker, Black F	Virtual, Zoom
Interviewee 12	Founder GBV Org/Diepsloot resident, Black, M	Virtual, WhatsApp
Interviewee 13	Diepsloot Resident, Black, M (over months interview)	Virtual, WhatsApp
Interviewee 14	Youth worker/Diepsloot resident, Black M	Virtual, Teams
Interviewee 15	GBV Officer/Diepsloot resident, Black, F	Virtual, WhatsApp
Interviewee 16	CPT Counsellors, Coloured, F	Virtual, Zoom
Interviewee 17	CPT Counsellors, Coloured, F	Virtual, Zoom
Interviewee 18	Masculinities Academic, Black, M	Virtual, Zoom
Interviewee 19	Diepsloot resident, Black, F	Virtual, Facebook Messenger
Interviewee 20	Diepsloot resident, Black, F	Virtual, WhatsApp/Facebook Messenger
Interviewee 21	GBV Practitioner Johannesburg	Virtual, Email

Interviewee 22	Projects and Events Coordinator/Diepsloot resident, Black, F	Virtual, Zoom
Interviewee 23	Community Development professional/Diepsloot resident Black F	Virtual, Zoom
Interviewee 24	Historian on South Africa, White, M	Virtual, Zoom
Interviewee 25	Social Worker, Black F	South Africa
Interviewee 26	Auxiliary Social Worker, Black, F	South Africa
Interviewee 27	Junior Legal Officer/Diepsloot Resident Black F	South Africa
Interviewee 27B	Legal Officer, Black, F	South Africa
Interviewee 28	Public Health Researcher and Academic White, F	South Africa
Interviewee 29	Mental Health Org Founder, Black, F	South Africa
Interviewee 29 B	Public Relations specialist (working at same mental health org as interviewee 29), Black, F	South Africa
Interviewee 30	Social Worker, Black, F	South Africa
Interviewee 30 B	Social Worker, Black, F	South Africa
Interviewee 31	Mental Health Practitioner Black F	South Africa
Interviewee 32	Youth Worker/Diepsloot resident, GBV Artivist, Black M	South Africa
Interviewee 33	Diepsloot Resident, Black, M	South Africa
Interviewee 33 B	Lawyer, Black F	South Africa

Interviewee 34	Political Economist, Black, F	Virtual, Zoom

The majority of the interviews took place over Zoom though participants were offered the option of other online platforms. Topics and themes included: potential connections between apartheid violence and present-day violence, and between different types of violence in South Africa, such as structural and interpersonal. Participants were asked around eight questions (see Appendix 6).

Flexibility was exercised and other questions asked if there was a topic of interest raised that required further probing. This created an interactive collaborative conversation style in interviews (Elvines, 2009). At the end of the interview participants were asked if they had any questions for me, which gave them an opportunity to ask their own questions or if they had anything to add as an opportunity to exercise some control over the information they shared and the knowledge produced (Westmarland & Bows, 2018, p.18).

There were disadvantages and advantages to conducting remote interviews, one advantage being the ability to overcome costs, distance and other practical considerations (James & Busher, 2009). As previously mentioned in terms of safety work an advantage was the sense of security that was afforded by the physical distance between the researcher and the participants. The disadvantages of remote research included technical issues which in some cases where exacerbated by loadshedding. Conducting research virtually was also inaccessible to some Diepsloot residents due to financial constraints that hindered access to Wi-Fi and phone data (Lobe et al, 2022).There were no distinct differences in building rapport with interview participants online and offline there was consistency in the way participants showed up and shared their perspectives virtually and IRL.

There was a diversity of approaches within the overarching method of virtual semi-structured interviews to accommodate participants. For example, an interview over WhatsApp occurred over a space of 3 months as the participant did not have the capacity to answer all the questions at once. This involved sending them a question monthly which they would respond to over a voice note. The use of voice notes was opted for as a cost-effective way for residents to participate and to save data from interviews for transcribing and later reference. WhatsApp

voice calls were not conducive to keeping the data long term as calls could not be recorded and they also took up more data and thus more money.

> *WhatsApp calls [are] costly as I am unemployed and run a government organisation without funding* (Interviewee 4, Women's Shelter Founder, M).

> *Oh, okay maam can I please ask this one last question Is my data going to be restored* (Interviewee 7, Diepsloot Resident, Black, M).

Subsequently, flexibility was required in terms of gaining consent from Diepsloot residents as some did not have the software on their phones to sign the electronic consent form, so it was important to get verbal consent instead. Both interviewee 7 and 4 highlight that while the internet may provide access to new populations, this is still limited and involves implicit assumptions of access and use of technology (see also, James & Busher, 2009).

During data collection it became apparent that the same inequalities that exist physically also exist digitally, despite there being widespread access to technology, digital divides still exist in terms of financial resources to buy data and internet connectivity [12]. This can be partly attributed to the infrastructural issues in Diepsloot and the consequent exclusion and epistemic implications (see Chapter 5). Considering the socioeconomic inequalities that are rife within Diepsloot, conducting research online meant that there were a lot of Diepsloot residents that were unintentionally left out or not given the opportunity to contribute or participate in this research. This meant that this research had to grapple with the reality of the legacies of socioeconomic inequalities and high rates of unemployment within Diepsloot, not just on a theoretical level but on a practical level in terms of the barriers this posed to participation.

---

[12] Statistics from a 2020 report by the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) on the state of the information communication technology (ICT) sector showed that South Africa's smartphone penetration had reached 91.2% in 2019 increasing from 81.7% in 2018. The ICASA report also showed that there were 53.4 million smartphone subscriptions as of 30 September 2019 which is a few million away from the country's population according to the 2019 mid-year population figure of 58.78 million from Statistics SA. There is wide reach and access to technology in South Africa.

Language barriers determine who is able to access and engage in certain online spaces taking into account that English is the dominant language used on social media platforms (Newsom & Lengel, 2004). This is further complicated by the fact that Diepsloot is a transitory migrant community comprising of people from various parts of South Africa and the African continent speaking a variety of languages. Load shedding[3] was also a problem where interviews had to be postponed due to lack of electricity. Though this is not a new problem in South Africa it has recently been exacerbated by the current power crisis with power cuts going for more than six hours (Mhkize, 2024). Email was also utilised as a contingency to Zoom and WhatsApp interviews, interviewee 21 requested for the research questions to be sent to them and responded with answers over email.

Section 5: Recruitment

There were a variety of approaches to recruitment which were dependant on the best way to reach a particular demographic of people: email was used to get in touch with GBV organisations and academics whilst Facebook was used to get in touch with residents via the groups.

5.1 Recruiting Academics and Researchers

In relation to activists, researchers and those working in the GBV space email was predominantly used as a route to access participants. This involved reaching out to organisations whose staff I wanted to interview or finding websites of those I wanted to engage with. As most researchers, activists and practitioners in this space utilise internet and computers on a daily basis for their work, there were minimal challenges present in getting these participants involved. Some participants declined to be interviewed due to a lack of time, this was not only a factor for those working in GBV, but Diepsloot residents as well.

5.2 Recruiting from Facebook

Initially research questions or a direct message would be sent to the people who made any comments underneath the post asking if they wanted to participate in a semi structured qualitative interview. After the initial method of sharing research questions came to an end,

specific posts to recruit participants for interviews on gender-based violence were posted in all the Facebook groups (see (Appendix 4 for recruitment post). The engagement with the posts varied between different groups and oftentimes likes and comments did not materialise into interviews. Further, reflecting issues around distrust and resistance some commentators thought the research was a scam or they made jokes underneath the post. However, there was also genuine engagement from people who were interested and followed through with participating in an interview or suggested ideas, for example, developing an app as a means of job creation.

The proportion of men to women who commented and reached out was skewed with a much larger number of men commenting under recruitment posts and directly messaging me to participate in interviews. To address this gender disproportionality there was an adjustment to posts to include a sentence stating that the research was not interested in delving into participants' own experiences of violence but rather trying to understand why it occurs. That said, this did not result in an increase in the number of women reaching out for interviews. Despite commenting and reaching out, men were less likely to follow through to the interview stage in comparison to women; this could be because some men had other motivations for reaching out – there were instances of unwanted advances or over familiarity which were characterised by requests for pictures and my address. Reponses were not necessarily pertaining to an interview but to the nationality of the researcher followed by a request for a picture. Similarly, what started off as a potentially fruitful conversation devolved into questions around my residence.

These conversations show that men potentially feigned interest about participating in interviews with the intent to engage with the researcher on a more personal level. Once their interests were not reciprocated their engagement waned. Additionally, the disproportionate number of male responders may point to similarities between how men occupy space in the real world and in digital spaces termed virtual manspreading (Sortz, 2016), the disproportionate number of male to female comments online is something that has been found in other studies (Martin, 2015; Pierson, 2015). Safety was also a concern during the recruitment process as some men emphasised meeting in person, which raised concerns about the intentions of these individuals. Vera-Gray (2017) reminds us that the fact that their

intentions will never be known is part of the hidden labour of safety work. Interviewee 8 who conducted research in Diepsloot voiced similar concerns around security which resulted in adjustments to research activities.

> *For instance, in terms of activities... some were not conducted as [they] were crafted... we had what we called digital stories [which were] short stories, [of] three to four or six minutes max, that would depict a scenario and spark a conversation but you needed the technical tools, like your TV screen or a tablet or something like that [and if you had to] go with that in the streets of Diepsloot that's like, inviting danger next to you* (Interviewee 8, GBV Activist and Researcher Black, M)

This further indicates the security concerns during recruitment and the research process in general, which is potentially reflective of the structural issues that Diepsloot is grappling with (see Chapter 4). Interviewee 8 questioned the efficacy of GBV methods when people are dealing with food deprivation, 'h*ow do I spend three hours talking about how to prevent GBV when people are hungry, all of them'.* Similarly, a potential interviewee requested financial support as a prerequisite to participation.

Whilst financial exchange with participants was impractical, the inability to contribute to the sometimes dire financial situation of Diepsloot residents had obstacles for the recruitment process; impeding the willingness and in some cases the capacity to participate. In some cases, people requested financial assistance for GBV related projects and disappeared when that support was not provided to them.

The context influenced people's approach and perspective to the recruitment process and their willingness to participate. This was gendered, as all the comments underneath the recruitment posts questioning the research were from men: it is uncertain whether this was a defensive strategy due to the nature of the topic or if they were raising genuine concerns. Black women's limited participation may potentially point to gendered legacies and the specific impact of socioeconomic inequalities on Black women in post-apartheid South Africa (Benjamin, 2007; Bentley, 2004; Kehler, 2013; Olufemi, 2000). This may further limit access to

the internet and result in more urgent priorities beyond taking part in GBV research their silence may have also been a form of safety work (see Chapter 6). Altogether six people were recruited using this approach, five of whom were women.

The process of interviewing participants during the pandemic allowed me to close the geographical gap as the words and descriptions of participants brought Diepsloot alive. There were nerves and uncertainty at the beginning of the process with worries around how questions would be received by interviewees. However, as interviews progressed, I became more confident. Challenges such as internet connectivity and audibility of participants became easier to address as I became more confident as an interviewer. Interactions with participants were generally positive with moments of laughter and levity which brought to the fore the resilience of those working in the GBV space and those living in Diepsloot.

In terms of transcription, the recordings were first input into Otter AI which produced an AI generated transcription of the audio which I then double checked whilst listening to the audio. Revisiting the interviews was challenging as it was insightful, reliving some of the difficult moments that had occurred was emotionally taxing particularly in cases where participants had said a slur or used discriminatory language. However, relistening to the audio brought up things that were missed initially and a different comprehension of the data.

5.3 Reciprocity

Feminist decolonial practices in research aim to establish more equitable and reciprocal relationships between researchers and participants, fostering environments where knowledge is co-created and mutually beneficial (Omodan, 2025, p.10). Though it was impractical for a self-funded PhD student to provide financial assistance to research participants there was an attempt to foster mutually beneficial relationships through signposting, circulating Go Fund Me's in my networks on behalf of activists and organisers in Diepsloot and assisting with research for potential funding and collaboration opportunities. This was dependant on the request of participants, one asked for support around finding opportunities for funding. The requested organisations were sent to interviewee 12 which

built further rapport resulting in them recommending and sharing contacts of other people to potentially interview.

This was part of a feminist decolonial praxis – attempting to dismantle hierarchical relationships through a method that minimised the risk of participants being merely 'used' within data collection (Westmarland & Bows, 2018). Additionally, dialogue was maintained with some participants beyond the interview process, who continued to share new research on GBV. Interviewee 4 maintained contact sharing campaigns and donation platforms for their organisation.

As requested, links to campaigns were shared and when I could afford to, a donation was made to interviewee 4's organisation. Once the thesis is finalised a short user-friendly report will be made and shared with members of the GBV Forum in Diepsloot, NGOs and local authorities in the district.

Section 6: Adaptability, Field Research in South Africa

The UK government lifting pandemic travel restrictions presented an opportunity to travel to South Africa and conduct further research – this is part of a combination of factors that led to the violence regime as a conceptual framework for this thesis. Firstly, the FB data did not specifically address GBV in detail which made it important to fill this gap with additional data collection. Secondly, the field visit made infrastructural issues and apartheid legacies visceral (see Chapter 5), thirdly interviewees raised the impossibility of just talking about one layer of violence. All this not only led to the violence regime concept but to making a different sense of the FB data.

> *You would really need to have knowledge of the environment, and your own observation notes to do a careful appraisal of the data* (Diepsloot Researcher, White, F).

To conduct data collection in Diepsloot researchers are required to first meet with the local councillor to get permission to engage with members of the GBV Forum as part of their policy.

This was introduced due to the large number of academics interested in conducting research in Diepsloot. Initially connection with the GBV Forum chairperson was required as they facilitated a meeting with the councillor, though the chairperson agreed to assist in setting up a meeting upon arrival in South Africa all messages to them were not going through they later informed me they were not well.

Their response was unfortunately too late as it came a day before my departure from South Africa. Luckily the phone number of the councillor was obtained from another PhD student and a meeting with them was scheduled. They gave verbal permission for data collection to be conducted and put me in touch with other stakeholders to speak to. Going to South Africa was linked to an epistemological approach that actively moved away from "looking on" – passively observing and analysing the community of Dieplsoot from afar without a deeper engagement with the community.

6.1 Data Collection in Diepsloot

The process of data collection in Diepsloot was characterised by conducting interviews, attending events, familiarising myself with the physical context and absorbing information via embodying the context. Interacting with research participants face to face provided a bodily element to the research context (Seymour, 2001). This included elements such as age, dress, use of language which were important elements to bringing the participants and the contextual elements of the research into "sight" (James & Busher, 2009). Embodying the physical space furthered an understanding of the spatiality of apartheid legacies for example, poor infrastructure, informal housing, poor lighting which had all been mentioned during virtual interviews.

> *First day in Diepsloot, really hot,some dilapidated buildings made out of roofing material, people working, people looking sad. Homeless people sleeping by the bus rank. Slums which can be seen overhead from extension two* (Field Research Diary 14.03.23).

Prior to arriving in South Africa contact was made with a GBV organisation to interview their staff and other stakeholders they closely worked with. Interviews were setup with staff who worked in different areas of the organisation such as legal and social work. Similar to virtual interviews these were semi-structured qualitative lasting from 30 minutes to an hour, however, they were approached in a more informal manner as sense checking exercises. This involved creating a naturalistic flexible conversational setting that gave interviewees the space to answer phone calls during the interview or take a break to go and address something else and come back. Allowing physical and discursive disruptions challenged the illusion of certainty and "tidiness" in the interview encounter (Thompson & Reynolds, 2019, p.156). This opened up a range of possibilities such as conducting an interview in a car with interviewee 33, a Diepsloot resident, whilst they drove us around the area and spoke about some of the challenges they faced living in the township. This potentially produced more authentic data with less performativity, which may have been nearer to the reality of individuals' experiences, values and perceptions (Swain & King, 2022), as this extract illustrates.

> *Hah here is not a place where you can teach your children. I was robbed here last July so when I got out to greet my sister...when I parked here there were some two boys, and they said...voetsek[13] give me [your] money and phone they all had guns and the one who specifically robbed me had a gun[4]. So, this end road is very dangerous at night and all the robbers walk around here at night* (Interviewee 33, Diepsloot Resident, Black, M).

The fluidity and adaptability of the interviews allowed other people who were not necessarily being interviewed to contribute to the process bringing their own invaluable expertise and experience. My mom (interviewee 33B), who is a lawyer, was in the car during the interview with interviewee 33, and amongst other input she asked an interesting question around guns, safety and the legal system.

> Interviewer: *So where do they find the guns?*
> Interviewee 33: *Here guns it's like they are being grown*

---

[13] Voetsek is an informal offensive term in South Africa meaning get lost or go away.

Interviewee 33B: *Are there no laws around gun possession?*

This produced interesting data as questions and information that was out of my scope of knowledge was put to the fore; interviews 29, 27 and 30 involved additional participants besides the main interviewees. This produced more complex data in which participants would add on to each other's answers, they would also have dialogue between them which added to the richness. Going to South Africa further along the PhD process meant that a rapport had already been developed with some participants via email. Thus, interviews were a progression of previous conversations therefore no prompting was needed to get the face-to-face interview going; for example, the conversation naturally flowed with interviewee 28 and they had to be paused to put the Dictaphone on and repeat what they had said.

Twelve semi-structured interviews took place during the field visit to South Africa in addition data was collected and sense checked through attending the GBV Men's Forum[14] and casual conversation. I met up with interviewee 5 a GBV specialist, interviewed online during the pandemic, at a cafe near the end of data collection in South Africa. It was a space to speak through the complexities encountered during the field visit and to gauge the lens through which the data was being interpreted. The field visit coincided with the Diepsloot Men's Forum[5] which presented an opportunity to attend and gather further information. This differed from qualitative interviews as it involved observation, note taking and absorbing sensory data something which was impossible during the pandemic. For instance, noting that many of the people in attendance were women and people stood up out of respect when the police walked in, were small nuances that added to the richness of the data.

Lastly, arrangements to interview some of the Diepsloot residents face to face met through Facebook were unsuccessful. This can be partly attributed to the transient nature of Diepsloot a challenge faced by other researchers: a cluster randomised trial of an intervention by Sonke CHANGE to reduce men's use of violence (Christofides et al, 2020, p.8) over 18 months in Diepsloot detailed issues reaching some of the men during the study.

---

[14] This a forum for men in Diepsloot which includes amongst its 13 aims educating and raising awareness about: Men's abuse, men's mentorship programs, men's support groups, men's referral services.

Nineteen men had died over the period of the study (none due to the study) while 17 had been arrested. The main reason for men not being traceable at the endpoint was that they had moved away and were no longer reachable through any of the contacts that they had provided at baseline (p8).

Data collection in Diepsloot also allowed for an embodied inquiry, a concept proposed by Leigh & Brown (2021, that privileges the lived, embodied experiences of the researcher and the researched. An embodied inquiry would mean an inquiry into something where at least one part of the research process foregrounds an embodied self-awareness, of either the person or people doing the research, or those who are being researched.

6.1.1 Embodied Inquiry: Thabo Bester, Total Shutdown, Loadshedding[15] and Socioeconomic Inequalities

There were various things happening socio-politically in South Africa during the time of the field visit which have been absorbed into this research as data both implicitly and explicitly. Thabo Bester "The Facebook Rapist" made headlines during this period, not only in the country but across the world, when he was sentenced to 50 years in prison for raping two women after luring them through Facebook and murdering his then girlfriend Nomfundo Tyhulu. On 3 May 2022, Bester was declared dead after a fire broke out in his prison cell and a body was found, burned beyond recognition.

The Department of Correctional Services announced his death to the public on the same day and said that he had committed suicide. In October 2023 it was revealed that the body found in Bester's cell was dead before the fire broke out and Bester had faked his death in the fire and escaped from prison (Steyn & Damons, 2023). On 17 March 2023 during the field visit, pictures of Bester began circulating and it was later confirmed that the burnt body was that of Katlego Bereng Mpholo who had gone missing in April 2022. It is one of many stories of GBV

---

[15] Load shedding is a planned power outage that reduces demand on the electrical grid. It's used to prevent the entire system from failing when demand is higher than the system can handle (Barney & Courtemanche, 2023).

and the continuum of injustices that follow thereafter ensuring that perpetrators evade accountability.

Loadshedding characterised the field visit, the electricity would go out on a regular schedule daily for an approximate period of 4-6hrs. This was in Sandton where we were staying which is an affluent area of South Africa. However, in places like Diepsloot the electricity would be gone for days at a time highlighting the contrast in experiences and quality of life rooted in gross inequalities in the country. This was further reflected in the physical environment - driving from Sandton to Diepsloot there were lavish malls and houses surrounded by high walls and electric fences however as you got closer to Diepsloot the environment completely changed. The housing was dilapidated and more precarious due to the materials they were constructed from, with the roads which were tarmac turning to dust roads as you entered the township. My positionality as a Black, African woman denied disengagement with the structural issues that are explored in this research, adding an additional layer to Leigh and Brown's (2021) concept of embodied inquiry. Economic challenges, sexual assault, racism, domestic violence and xenophobia were issues that I grappled with during the PhD. Therefore, the methodological approach to this research comprised elements of observation, participation and interview. Osmosis was a mechanism of collecting information, there was data absorbed through the embodiment of Diepsloot and South Africa at large. They use examples such as utilising drama and performance, sandboxing and photography, to explore the experiences of academics and people with chronic illness. Arguably, existing in a research context alongside participants produces sensory data that cannot be quantified, I have attempted to translate this data into words through my research diary, extracts are included throughout the thesis, contributing to analysis.

Section 7: Using Thematic Analysis and Grounded Theory to Centre the Voices of the Marginalised

Thematic analysis and the principles of grounded theory (Charmaz, 1996; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). were used to analyse and interpret the three datasets. These approaches were selected as they aligned with decolonial feminist epistemology and the core tenet of centring the voices of the marginalised: both approaches ensured that the development of themes, concepts and

theoretical frameworks was rooted in the knowledge and experience of the Diepsloot community. The integration of decolonial approaches and grounded theory has also been undertaken by Wilson et al (2022) who combined Kaupapa Māori research methodology with Charmaz's (2014) constructivist grounded theory to understand how Māori women kept themselves safe in what they termed unsafe relationships.

Thematic analysis involved identifying, analysing and interpreting patterns of meaning and themes using the inductive approach which is "bottom up" and driven by the data (Braun & Clarke, 2012; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Similarly, I searched for concepts that aligned with a decolonial framework – grounded in the experiences and perspectives of the participants (Charmaz, 1996; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Interview and FB data raised the impossibility of just talking about one layer of violence, GBV, and the field visit to South Africa made the geography and infrastructure issues more visceral. This led to re-working material through the concept of violence regime as the overarching conceptual framework of the thesis (see Chapter 4 and Hearn et al., 2022).

7.1 Analysing Facebook posts

The posts relevant to the research were placed into an Excel spreadsheet and common themes were identified by reading through the posts; subsequently a code was developed using the eight themes that were identified (see section 4.2) which were assigned a corresponding colour. From there the posts were colour coded depending on the theme(s) they aligned with. Further patterns were identified within the designated themes: the comment function was utilised to jot down these observations, additionally there was a designated notes and observations section on the Excel spreadsheet (see Appendix 7) for notation template.

7.2 Analysis of interviews

The raw audio from the interviews was uploaded to Otter Ai an electronic transcription app, from there the transcripts were converted into Word documents and the audio was listened to in order to double check the generated transcription. Throughout this process any information related to the themes identified in the Facebook data was highlighted in the corresponding colour, notes identifying links to other interviews were made throughout using

the comment function in Word. At the end of this process interviewee responses that aligned with the research questions were copied and pasted into an Excel spreadsheet – going beyond commonality to identify what was important and meaningful to the topic (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

The way in which these themes were identified was through an iterative process which began with outlining the main themes produced by the research question such as apartheid legacies and GBV. Other themes that aligned with the research questions emerged during the Facebook data collection and through interviews, which took place concurrently. Themes across the datasets were then compared and adjusted; recurring and/or revealing themes were identified as the overarching categories outlined in Table 3:4 with accompanying definitions.

Table 3.4 Overarching Themes from Facebook and Interviews

Themes	Definitions
Apartheid legacies	The long-lasting impacts of apartheid i.e. economic, social, and political inequality, as well as segregation and discrimination
Change	What needs to happen to lower cases of GBV in Diepsloot
Criminal justice system	How the justice system prosecuted cases of GBV and treated survivors
Dangerous liminality	The transient nature of Diepsloot and how this potentially shapes behaviour
Gender Based Violence	The disproportionate violence experienced by women and girls' including rape, femicide, sexual assault. Extending on usual definitions of GBV to include the gendered experiences of structural violence that characterise the experiences of Black women in Diepsloot

Harmful gender norms and institutionalised patriarchy	How gender norms and the patriarchal imbalance of power contribute to GBV
Infrastructural violence/social geography	Physical and organisational structures and facilities such as basic services
Intergenerational Trauma	The passing of psychological trauma from one generation to the next – specifically the legacies of structural violence
Masculinity	Encompassing discourse that ignores women as disproportionately impacted by GBV to equally include men in women's spaces
Miscellaneous	Excerpts that did not necessarily relate to the main themes but touched on related topics (i.e. decolonisation, substance abuse, gangsterism)
Physical violence	Intentional acts to cause injury or harm such as aggravated robbery
Race and GBV	The racial inequalities embedded within systems and institutions and the intersectional experiences of black women and GBV as a result. Residents felt tribalism was more relevant to Diepsloot as opposed to race due to the majority Black population in the area
Socioeconomic inequality	The unequal access to economic resources and the subsequent impact and problems as a result
The relationship between different forms of violence	The interconnected and symbiotic nature of interpersonal and structural violences
What is GBV	The varying definitions of violence against women

Women's resistance and patriarchal bargaining	The agency women exhibited to fight oppression and/or safeguard themselves
Xenophobia and GBV	The hatred of Black African migrants in South Africa and the implications for non-citizen survivors and their experiences of GBV

These themes were accompanied by corresponding data – consisting of multiple subthemes within the overarching theme. Additionally, it was rare that excerpts from transcripts covered only one theme, there were often layered interconnections made by participants either implicitly or explicitly. This is evident in the empirical chapters; writing through complexities and similarities found in the data was one of the processes of developing and finding concepts and frameworks that could effectively hold the data. The time prior to travelling to South Africa allowed for the identification of emergent concepts from the virtual data which were sense checked during data collection in Diepsloot (Butler et al., 2018). An example of this is "gendered legacies" (see chapter 2) a concept developed during virtual research which was further legitimised by data from the field visit.

In summary the process of analysing data was as follows: (1) collecting data and conducting first order analysis simultaneously (through analytic/observational notes); (2) iterative thematic/analytic categories developed from data; (3) sense checking to refine the emerging concepts and themes through the visit to Diepsloot (4) writing first drafts of empirical chapters through the data and seeking concepts that offered overarching analysis (Charmaz, 1996, 2001).

Section 8: Ethics

The ethical considerations for this research were multifaceted due to the mixed methods approach to data collection and analysis: additionally conducting the research both virtually and face to face required context informed adjustments around gaining consent from participants. Informed consent was approached as a dynamic, situated, reflexive and adaptive

process (Fontes, 2004; Downes et al, 2014). Consent was an ongoing process that required awareness, flexibility and adaptability to ensure that participants felt safe and respected. This was also informed by the feminist decolonial practice of critical reflexivity as evidenced in section 2 – facilitating a shift from hierarchical notions of expertise that constructed residents as victims and/or witnesses to seeing them as experts of their lived experiences (Thambinathan & Kinsella, 2021). Two separate ethics applications were completed for virtual and face to face data collection respectively which outlined the ethical nuances of both approaches.

There were some interviews where two people were present, consent was negotiated in the same way to any other interview, both participants were asked if they were comfortable to participate, sign a consent form, and everything on the information sheet was reiterated. There were requests for payment by some participants, however, no payment was made as it did not align with ethics and as a self-funded PhD student I had no resources to contribute to the financial needs of the participants. I was acutely aware of power inequalities and reinforcing preexisting hierarchies of power as a researcher. To guard against this participants, especially Diepsloot residents, were positioned as experts of their context through either stating this outright and/or creating space for collaborative theorisations through questions such as "why do you think rates of GBV are really high in Diepsloot?".

Navigating power hierarchies was complicated by the fact that there were participants who also had more societal power than me and exercised that power in harmful ways. My approach to this has been addressed in detail elsewhere (see section 8.4 and section 8.3 detailing the methodological approach). In terms of ethical internet research there is ongoing debate amongst scholars. Townsend & Wallace (2013) state that users have all agreed to certain terms and conditions on a platform and often included in these conditions is that data will be accessed by third parties. In response to this,others (Boyd & Crawford, 2012; Locatelli, 2017; Samuel, 2017; Zimmer, 2010) have argued that publicly available data does not make social media research ethical, whilst the data may be public it was not made available for research purposes.

Talking specifically on the issue of consent, Salmons (2014) has noted that the assumption that users have read the terms and conditions of a social media platform cannot be conflated as informed consent as most users often do not actually read the terms and conditions. This research aligns with scholars who argue that publicly available data does not make internet research ethical, thus similar ethics principles of informed consent were utilised throughout observational research. Prior to starting the year long observation research it was made clear in all the groups through a post that this would be taking place and that the data would be used for my PhD thesis. Facebook members were also informed that if they did not want any of their data included they could send me a direct message anytime during and after the research process. Frequent posts were also made to remind FB members of the ongoing research and the possibility to opt out.

8.1 Informed Consent

The interviews had a more traditional approach to consent, which included an information sheet that was sent to participants prior to the interview along with an electronic consent form which they would complete scan and send back (see Appendix 5). During the face-to-face interviews physical copies of consent forms where initially used however they ran out and verbal consent was utilised instead. Similarly, verbal consent was used in instances where participants were unable to complete the consent form as they did not have the data to download the form, the software to digitally sign the form or a printer and scanner to print consent forms.

For the social media research, the consent of moderators was requested to post questions in the groups and to conduct observational research. There are ongoing debates amongst scholars about confidentiality and consent in social media research. Townsend & Wallace (2013) state that users have all agreed to certain terms and conditions on a platform and often included in these conditions is that data will be accessed by third parties whilst others (Zimmer, 2010; Boyd & Crawford, 2012; Locatelli, 2017; Samuel et al, 2018) have argued that publicly available data does not make social media research ethical as the data may be public but not intended for research purposes. This ethical complexity was addressed by making FB members aware of the research before it began by posting information sheets and throughout

by reposting this information along with the questions. This also made it clear to FB group members that research was being conducted for a PhD thesis, it was completely optional to participate and by answering the questions one consented to be included in the research. Furthermore, research questions were made clearly distinguishable from other posts in the groups.

8.2 Confidentiality

Quotes are used throughout the thesis, they have been anonymised to remove any potentially identifying details by redacting personal information such as names, and organisations. Demographic information about the research participants has been included along with the excerpts however this does not identify them. The data collected from the Facebook groups was anonymised using pseudonyms that were produced by a name generator. To ensure further protection data was stored in a limited access, password protected hard drive and laptop.

8.3 Considerations: Potential Distress for Participants and Myself

Interviewees who worked within the social justice space often encountered issues around GBV on a daily basis thus they experienced less distress during interviews. They commented that the interviews were spaces for reflection which allowed them to reengage with the importance of the work they do.

> Interviewee 27B: *Thank you so much for interviewing this conversation.*
> Interviewer: *I really hope I haven't depressed you too much.*
> Interviewee 27: *No really, it just brings us back to why we do we what we do.*

Precautions to limit distress were however still taken; time was allocated at the end of interviews to debrief if the interviewee needed/wanted this. Consideration was given that some participants may have been survivors themselves, and that most were black people who had either lived through apartheid and/or continue to experience legacies on a personal and professional level. There were no direct questions seeking disclosure of specific experiences

of violence and/or other forms of oppression. As a precautionary measure a list of organisations in Diepsloot and surrounding areas that provided free therapeutic support were shared at the end of the interviews particularly with residents (see Appendix 3). There was also an understanding that to some extent Diepsloot residents contended with the themes addressed in the research within their everyday lives. Participants were reminded of their right to withdraw from the research or limit their participation if they became uncomfortable at the beginning of the interview.

8.4 My Own Self-Care and Safety Work

The extent and impact of emotionally unsettling fieldwork differs between individuals, depending on, amongst other things, gender, race, socioeconomic status and previous trauma (Cullen & Wheelan, 2021). This research encompassed multiple elements of structural violence (race, gender, nationality) which aligned with much of my own identity, this meant that it was impossible to separate my own personhood from the research. Equally, potential interviewees, specifically men, exercised their patriarchal power through encroaching and violating boundaries, one man sent a message stating that "you are looking good?" ignoring the stipulations of the recruitment posts to reach out only if interested in participating in a research interview. This also occurred in terms of race as is evident through the use by two white women of the n-word which was demeaning – an attempt to push the limits of what is acceptable discursively. Strategising and planning beforehand to emotionally avoid and/or cope with potential microaggressions, microinvalidations and men's violence, became a necessity during the data collection process (Kelly, 2012). Remote research presented largely mental and emotional challenges while field research in Diepsloot added corporeal risk.

> *I met someone doing research on the impact of Covid-19 in Diepsloot,
> outside the councillor's office, he had two young boys taking him around
> Diepsloot to the various extensions for research. I exclaimed to my mum
> maybe I should have done door to door research to which she said you are
> a woman, and he is a man you would have struggled with issues of safety*
> (Field Research Diary Entry 14.03.2023).

My experience in Diepsloot was gendered, characterised by similar concerns around safety that women in South Africa must consider, such as not walking around alone after a certain time at night. The university required a safety plan inclusive of all the precautions I would take on my trip to South Africa. I was just another Black woman and despite being in a majority Black country being Black was not a form of insulation in the way whiteness was for other researchers.

> It was always interesting to me as a white person going into Diepsloot I actually felt protected and safe because there weren't that many white people in Diepsloot so people were curious, you know, like, okay, what are you doing? I never ever felt threatened, or vulnerable or whatever...I could have been targeted because people are angry, but it actually worked kind of opposite. I do think that it's about privilege and it's about white privilege it's this deeply ingrained sense of what you project onto someone that you are not conscious of (Interviewee 28, Public Health Researcher and Academic White, F).

Remote research provided some elements of protection via the separation created by distance and a laptop screen which acted as an armour. Taha & Kelly (2023, p.137) have spoken about the experiences of Black women, specifically the relief in lockdown of not having to put on an armour at the beginning of each day to protect themselves against everyday racism in public spaces and their working environments. Similarly, during the field visit the separation provided by remote research was absent and an armour became imperative. The second time a white academic said the n-word, it was during a face-to-face conversation in which they proclaimed that conversations amongst Black South Africans often devolved into fighting about who was the house negro.

> Second time South African white academic has said house negro (Field Research Diary Entry 26.03.2023).

The discomfort of this incident was accentuated by the inability to retreat back into a physical comfort zone in a way that had been allowed by remote research. The emotional responses

of GBV researchers in the field have been highlighted by various scholars (Nikischer, 2019; Shulz et al, 2023; Williamson et al, 2020). However, further research that reflects intersectional experiences of GBV researchers during remote and field research is required. Taylor-Dunn et al (2023) evidenced specific challenges and opportunities that came with conducting GBV research remotely during a global pandemic. Such as the lack of solidarity with other GBV researchers which resulted in feelings of isolation, a sense of helplessness due to the inability to comfort research participants directly, and offer concrete assistance (Campbell & Wasco, 2015).

Section 9: Conclusion

Numerous barriers and challenges had to be to overcome during the data collection process which required constant flexibility and agility. One of the advantages of virtual research was its extraordinary ability to transcend spaces and places. The methodology for this research was characterised by multiple internal and external challenges and my own positionality as a Black African woman. This influenced the adoption of a feminist decolonial epistemology as an approach to data collection and analysis. Critical reflexivity was an important practice that unearthed my assumptions around whose knowledge and ways of knowing was important which resulted in rethinking the initial distinction between experts and residents.

Flexibility and adaptability were imperative to navigating a digital context that had particular challenges for potential research participants and that initially did not yield much result. Posting research questions in the FB groups was abandoned to focus on observational research and utilising the groups to recruit interviewees. Participants working for GBV organisations were interviewed via Zoom, however a cost-effective accessible method that would not incur a lot of internet data was required for Diepsloot residents: WhatsApp, Facebook messenger and email were great contingencies to address this limitation. The field visit to Diepsloot added further texture to the data including sensory elements such as sight and smell which was only made possible by embodying the context. Thematic analysis highlighted patterns in the data whilst principles of grounded theory were useful in developing and adopting concepts grounded in the voices of the research participants. Ethics were an

ongoing process that extended beyond submitting the ethics form, thus informed consent and confidentiality were embedded within the research process.

The methodology for this research was informed by a precarious global context which resulted in a mixture of virtual and face to face methods; this all contributed to a data collection journey that led to proposing the concept of violence regime as a framework through which to locate and understand the data. The chapters that follow draw on the analysis of Facebook posts, interviews and the experience of being in Diepsloot.

Chapter Four: The Diepsloot Violence Regime: "Everything that you associate with violence is going on in South Africa"

> *Everything that you associate with violence is going on in South Africa economic inequality, the histories of violence, the construction of people as violent. One day hopefully I can come up with a decent way of putting it, but it is for me the single greatest reason why you simply can't reduce it all to just patriarchy, there is obviously something else going on* (Interviewee 5, Researcher and GBV Specialist, White, F)

> *We can say South Africa as a whole is a very violent place, very violent looking at how people are acting out, it goes back to where we come from, it will always bring [us] back [to] apartheid* (Interviewee 31, Mental Health Practitioner, Black F)

Section 1: Introduction

The high rates of GBV in Diepsloot are not an anomaly, they exist alongside various forms of both structural and interpersonal violence including homicide, police violence, xenophobia and robbery to name a few. A contextually informed approach required extending the original focus to include other violences and the ways in which they co-exist and interact with gendered violence. Unpacking the implications of apartheid legacies on GBV, could not be done without delving into issues of structural racism, socioeconomic inequality and infrastructural violence in South Africa. Drawing on all the datasets this chapter presents the geography of violence in Diepsloot using the framework of a violence regime. Most research participants spoke about GBV never in isolation, but in relationship to other issues, thus the violence regime framework was adopted to engage this challenge posed by the data.

The challenge here is that it's not one challenge there is multiple, right? There is unemployment, there is poverty, there is violence, there is you know, the living conditions, there is just too much. When you have a conversation with a victim you find that they have basic needs that they want met and if those needs are not met, it becomes very difficult for them to even open up to you because they are like, my main problem is this one (Interviewee 25, Social Worker, Black F).

All these factors complicate women's lives in ways that relegate their experiences of GBV to the sidelines and decreases their "space to speak"[16] (see Wilson 2016) additionally their vulnerability to further violence is increased.

The Crimes Against Women in South Africa report showed that Black African women are the most vulnerable with an unemployment rate of over 30%. This means they are at greater risk of being abused than women of other races as they find it harder to leave abusive partners because they are not financially independent (Interviewee 21, GBV practitioner).

Diepsloot as a community has complex needs and issues that continue to go unaddressed, which puts victim-survivors in a position where they have no choice but to deprioritise their experiences of GBV, for the sake of addressing basic needs such as hunger, housing and unemployment. This chapter begins by introducing the concept of a violence regime and how this can address the challenge of holding both structural and interpersonal forms of violence simultaneously. Social geographies of violence and decolonial feminism are introduced as lenses through which to locate the patriarchal imperialist roots of the various forms of violence present in Diepsloot.

Section 3 explores the normalisation of violence as a legacy of apartheid that is deeply embedded within South African society. Section 4: explores continued socioeconomic

---

[16] This concept is returned to and defined in detail in chapter 6

inequalities, framing them as a legacy of apartheid, with a continued impact that is gendered in complex ways using the "girlfriend allowance" and the cultural practice of lobola to highlight how the unequal access to resources between men and women in Diepsloot is a contributory factor to GBV. Section 4: Structural Racism: The Black Tax" focuses on the continued impact of apartheid racial stratification and the symbiotic relationship between race and socioeconomic inequalities. It then goes on to argue that apartheid racial exclusion informs xenophobic violence in Diepsloot, looking at Operation Dudula, heroic masculinity and the experiences of migrant women. This section suggests the violence regime framework governs and produces multiple forms and aspects of (gendered) violence in Diepsloot: placing violence as the overarching regime, a form of inequality in and of itself, that comprises gendered sites of violence.

Section 2: Conceptual Framework

Violence regime is the central framework of this thesis; here the concept is outlined in detail and the ways in which it will be utilised to foreground data throughout this research study. It also sets out the Diepsloot violence regime and the various sites it comprises of.

2.1 Violence Regime

Broader understandings of what constitutes as violence have created bridges between violences, disrupting the fragmentation that often exists within this area of study. However, there still tends to be a focus on forms of violence, rather than aspects of knowledge production on violence (Hearn et al, 2022). The violence regime theoretical framework proposed by Jeff Hearn et al (2022) aims to address this issue through a holistic approach to violence at the macro, meso and micro levels of states and societies. It uses a definition of violence that while encompassing physical interpersonal and measurable violence also extends to include unmeasurable violence such as structural and state forms (Hearn et al., 2020; Walby et al.,2017).

The concept of a regime is often used to replace "social system" and "social order", terms that are often heavily loaded; it accommodates the macro systemic (Walby, 2009), meso-institutional (Connell, 1987) as well as everyday relations of ruling (Smith, 1993). It has been

influentially applied to welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen,1990; Godin et al., 1999) and feminists have gendered it to draw attention to the family and unpaid labour (Lewis, 1992; Sainsbury, 1999). However, critiques by Strid et al (2013) and Humbert et al (2021) have outlined that violence has been overlooked, thus neglecting the causes and consequences of gender inequality as well as questions of race, intersectionality and bodily integrity (Pringle, 2011).

Another example of the use of the concept is Connell's (1987) gender regime which refers to "several distinct but interrelated dimensions of gender relations in a given sociohistorical context". Hearn et al (2022) move away from an approach that looks at violence as an institution or domain (see, for example, Walby, 2009) to regarding violence as a regime in and of itself, hence the concept 'violence regime'.

> *A violence regime comprises the governance (in a broad sense) and production of violence, including perpetration, victimhood/survivor-hood, responses, policies and knowledge-making* (Hearn et al, 2022, p.12).

Within this research the regime encompasses five sites of violence: structural racism, violence against women, the online space, socioeconomic violence and infrastructural violence (see figure 4.1). These sites produce outcomes which are detailed on the right of the figure.

Figure 4.1 Diepsloot Violence Regime
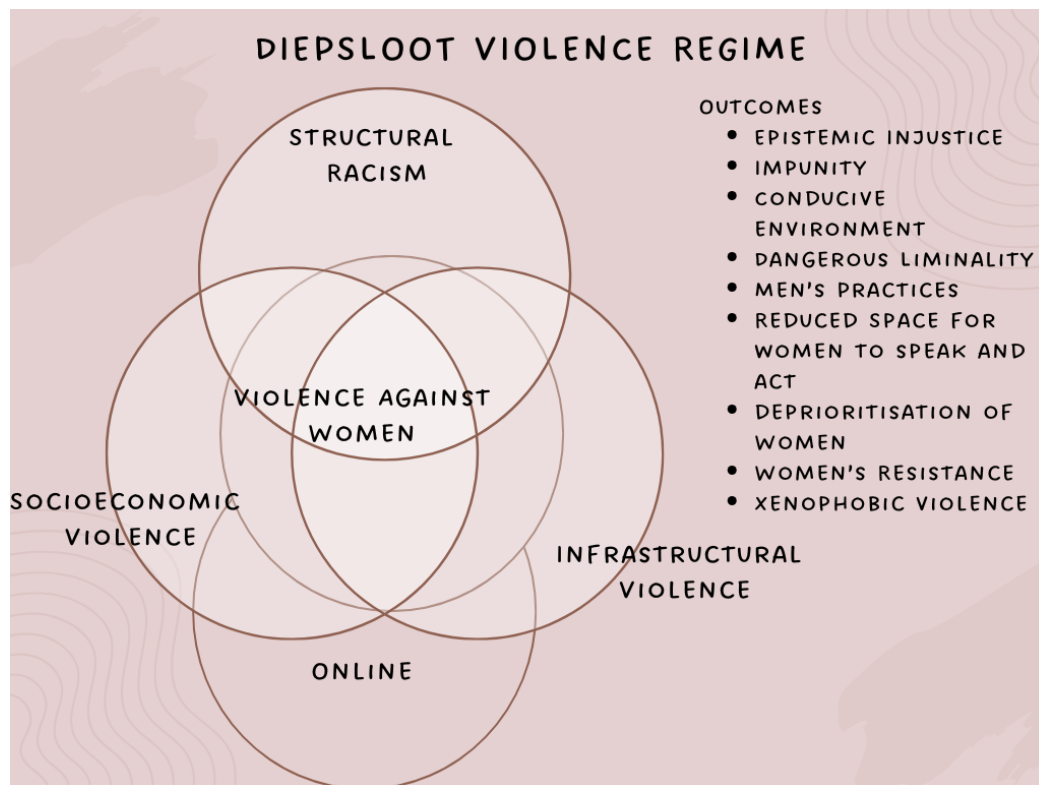
Using Hearn et al's (2020) articulations of diffuse and dispersed domains, sites are defined as underpinnings to manifestations of violence, usually less direct, and directed towards a group, usually with an identifiable 'victim' or 'object'. Additionally, they are not necessarily understood as violence, usually indirect, sometimes towards a group but with a less easily identifiable perpetrator(s) (Hearn et al., 2020). This chapter tackles the structural racism and socioeconomic sites of the regime, Chapter Five looks at infrastructural violence and Chapter Six focuses on VAW which takes different forms in other contexts but in South Africa it must be located within the wider violence regime.

Drawing on my data I use the concept of a violence regime to make visible the interaction between structural and interpersonal forms of violence in Diepsloot; to unpack the issue of GBV. Within a complex context informed by historic violence the notion of "gendered legacies" rests comfortably within the framework of a violence regime which is comprehensive enough to hold space for apartheid legacies, and their complex relationship to interpersonal forms of violence in South Africa. Firstly, violence regimes address and inform politics and policy, around various forms of violence, such as gender-based violence, and more widely in terms of

social and related policies and practices on violence and anti-violence. Secondly, violence regimes assist social analysis of the interconnections of different forms and aspects of violence, and relative autonomy from welfare and gender regimes. The violence regime concept engages a wider range of issues in social theory, including the exclusion of the knowledges of the violated and the voices and experiences of those killed or unheard (Hearn et al, 2022, p.682). Utilising the framework of a violence regime this chapter and the thesis overall challenges the "in a vacuum" approach to GBV in Diepsloot, by underlining the ways in which gendered legacies such as socioeconomic issues, xenophobia, structural racism, epistemic and spatial injustice are present, and important in addressing the high rates of GBV in Diepsloot.

> *What people seem to be losing sight of is the gendered nature of violence, gender not just meaning women femicide rates are five times for South Africa, but so is men's homicide rate, and so is the murder of [the] elderly over the age of 60, that's also five times the global average. So, across the board, homicide rates for different groups of people, tell you that homicide, generally, in South Africa is high. Our older persons are less likely to be murdered but nonetheless, even when they are murdered their rates are five times higher. So, there is something about violence it is a phenomenon, but it's gendered in particular ways. So, you know the amount of violence that men inflict on each other is also astounding, it's also five times the amount of the violence they inflict on women* (Interviewee 5, Researcher and GBV Specialist, White, F).

The regime framework focuses primarily on violence as the central question with an understanding that it is gendered in specific ways. Recognising that violence in and of itself is a phenomenon in South Africa with its own legacies.

> *If we have not gotten to a point where we are addressing the legacy of apartheid and colonialism, we are never actually going to get to a point where we now start unpacking violence, and not only men's violence towards women, but just violence itself, because I think there's levels to this. After addressing the violence from colonialism and apartheid, then we can*

get to a point where we start understanding and unpacking violence against women by men, because I think these programmes that we are doing, are really just [addressing] the surface of what is happening, there is a lot that is brewing underneath, it's like the tip of the iceberg (Interviewee 25, Social Worker, Black F).

The wider framing of violence through the regime can highlight the hidden historical and structural forms and impacts of violence (Hearn et al., 2022). Extending beyond the visible tip of the iceberg to consider what is hidden beyond the surface; it also facilitates a consideration of historical change and continuities in how violence is manifested, governed and understood.

We are currently living in a variant of apartheid, one that morphs and becomes even more indescribable less detectable but the implications of which are just as deadly... So, when we speak about the concept of neo apartheid, for me again, it is this element of transition that individuals were promised democracy, meaning freedom and liberation, but that never translated into anything tangible outside of policy imperatives (Interviewee 34, Political Economist, Black F).

I think when we say oh it's the past we need to do better and say well what is it about the past? How does the past persist into the present? What is new, not everything is past? (Interviewee 5, Researcher and GBV Specialist, White, F).

The notion of "sites" of the regime allows for specificity to identify and visibilise particular aspects and continuities of apartheid violence, extending beyond a generalised implication of the past on the present. Lastly, the violence regime framework was chosen because it is spacious enough to hold the various iterations of systemic power and the subsequent practices of violence and control. Accounting for the multifaceted nature of apartheid oppression and its stringent control and dominance over multiple aspects of Black people's lives.

Apartheid was a multi-dimensional set of practices. It was an economic system that turned people into closely controlled labour units; it was an expression of Afrikaner nationalism; it was an elaborate form of racial and ethnic division; it was social engineering on the grand scale; it was a method of governance combining outright repression with internalized habits of deference and paternalism born of centuries of master – servant relations. As a system, it went through several different phases (Dubow, 2014, p. 293).

Section 3: The Normalisation of Violence as a Legacy

Violence was conceptualised by several interviewees as a legacy of apartheid that is deeply embedded within South African society; this section theorises this as an inheritance of violence that reflects a broader structural issue.

3.1 A Culture of Violence: "It is in our DNA"

Apartheid created a complex relationship with violence, normalising it and producing porous boundaries between resistance and political violence in post-apartheid South Africa. The language of the apartheid regime was violent and in response violence was an effective tool for Black people to fight for freedom and equality. "Violence is one of the legacies of apartheid and it would be very ignorant of us to deny that it is one of the legacies" (Interviewee 27, Legal Officer, Black, F).

Apartheid has contributed to violence a lot because all we know to fix things is through violence we have to do strikes we have to bend the rules we have to burn the roads we have to burn the municipality areas we have to block the roads and that is violence. We as Black people we knew, we taught ourselves, that for us to be heard by the government we need to be violent we need to destroy the infrastructure that we have so that we can be heard… that was the only language that they can hear. It is unfortunate that even in these democratic years we still continue with that because it is in our DNA, but it is not in our DNA, it is how we were trying to fight for our freedom, fight for equality and so many things in our country so this

> *violence that we use everywhere today to solve the problems that we have*
>
> *it comes [from] as far as apartheid was implemented in South Africa*
> (Interviewee 4, Women's Shelter Founder, M).

This infers an embodied heritage of violence – showing that apartheid racial violence produced various forms and aspects of violence post-apartheid that are deeply embedded within the collective DNA of South Africa. Demonstrating the tools used to fight oppression have extended beyond the confines of liberation struggle characterising approaches to everyday grievances. Arguably this can be partly understood through a legacies lens – un-transformed institutions and failures to adequately address economic hardship and provide effective service delivery results in Black people resorting to strategies of violence as resistance in post-apartheid South Africa as they have yielded results in the past. Interviewee 4 framing violence as language infers that it carries particular meanings which have been hard to disrupt (Gqola,2021). "We basically inherited violence" notes interviewee 25, implicating violence as both cause and consequence of a culture of violence. Similarly, several interviewees indicated that violence can be a form of conflict resolution and problem solving.

> *Our violent history, where people were taught to deal with issues in a violent*
> *way, has caused violence to become normalised. The apartheid regime from*
> *1948 to 1994 used violence as a means to gain and maintain social and*
> *political domination and control. A culture has developed in the country*
> *where violence is seen as the most effective way to respond to conflict*
> (Interviewee 21, GBV practitioner).

Historical patterns and practices of violence remain hard to undo, socio-political domination and control under apartheid has transformed into other forms creating a culture of violence that manifests in both public and private spaces.

> *I also think, with violence it's something that is used to solve problems*
> *because we see it even when there's a protest, it's almost never peaceful it's*
> *always violent so I think there's just this idea that violence solves everything*

> *so even in the homes, it just continues* (Interviewee 27B, Legal Officer, Black,
>
> F)

The suggestion here is that there are continuities in the way violence is utilised publicly and privately; in both instances violence is seen as a means to solve problems – violence has specific meaning and function informed by historical legacies. This is gendered in particular ways as GBV does not exist outside the culture of violence in South Africa.

> *You can't look at the high levels of gender based violence in South Africa, in*
> *isolation, without also considering just high levels of violence generally that*
> *happen in South Africa every day the murder rate, violence against men,*
> *intimate or interpersonal violence, you know, high rates of assault and those*
> *sorts of things and it's a violent culture, and gender based violence is a form*
> *of the manifestation of that violent culture, and that violent culture has links*
> *to the apartheid era as well* (Interviewee 9, Head of GBV Org, White, F).

Making violence the central question through the violence regime frames GBV as part of a broader issue of violence linked to legacies of slavery, colonialism and apartheid. Allowing a comprehensive analysis of women's experiences that considers the heritage of violence and its specific implications for GBV. The normalisation of violence accompanied by racist stereotypical perspectives of Black people may also influence. Additionally, the consequences of exploiting cheap Black labour for the economic sustenance of apartheid persists through inequalities which are gendered in particular ways.

Section 4: Socioeconomic Inequality: Economic Violence as a Gendered Legacy of Apartheid

This section outlines the socioeconomic legacies of the apartheid era as gendered in particular ways that influence post-apartheid gender relations and presents complications for GBV prevention work. It sets out socioeconomic inequalities for further engagement with their relationship to structural racism in the next section.

4.1 Economic Hardship Complicates GBV Prevention Work

FB data highlighted the prevalence of unemployment and financial hardship amongst Diepsloot residents through several posts and comments by people desperately looking for jobs and assistance with basic needs. The severity of the situation was made apparent through several comments under job seeking posts of other people struggling to find employment. In some cases, residents looked for assistance with basic needs such as healthcare and food items (see figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2 Facebook Data
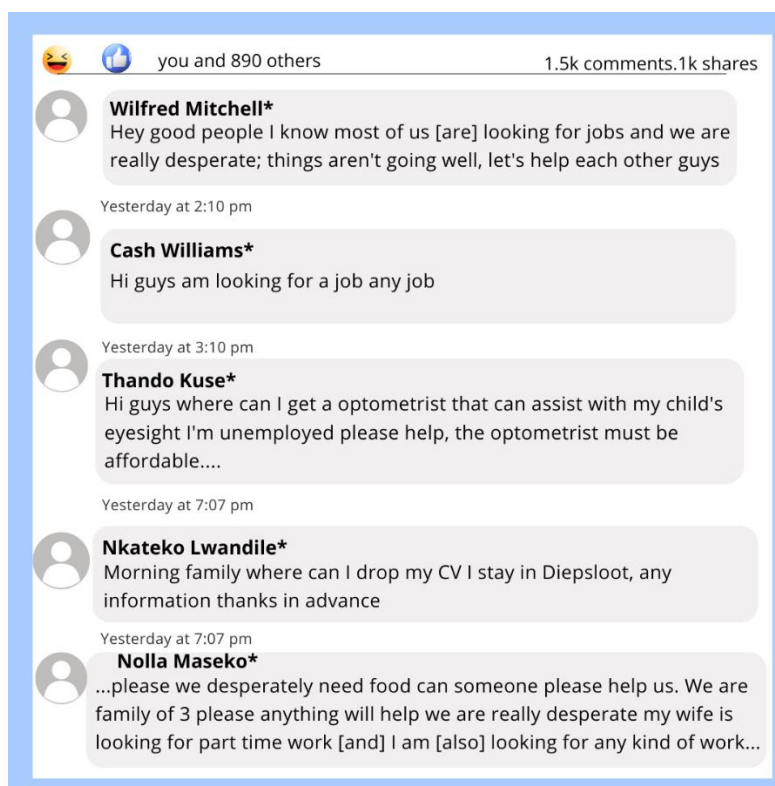
The desperation conveyed through the posts indicates that FB may be one of the few places' residents can turn to for economic assistance. Showing that there is a huge unmet gap in the access to resources that leaves Diepsloot residents reliant on the kindness of others for survival. This minimises the capacity to engage with other issues; one of my posts looking to initiate discussion on GBV was met by comments concerning access to employment opportunities (see figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3 Facebook Data
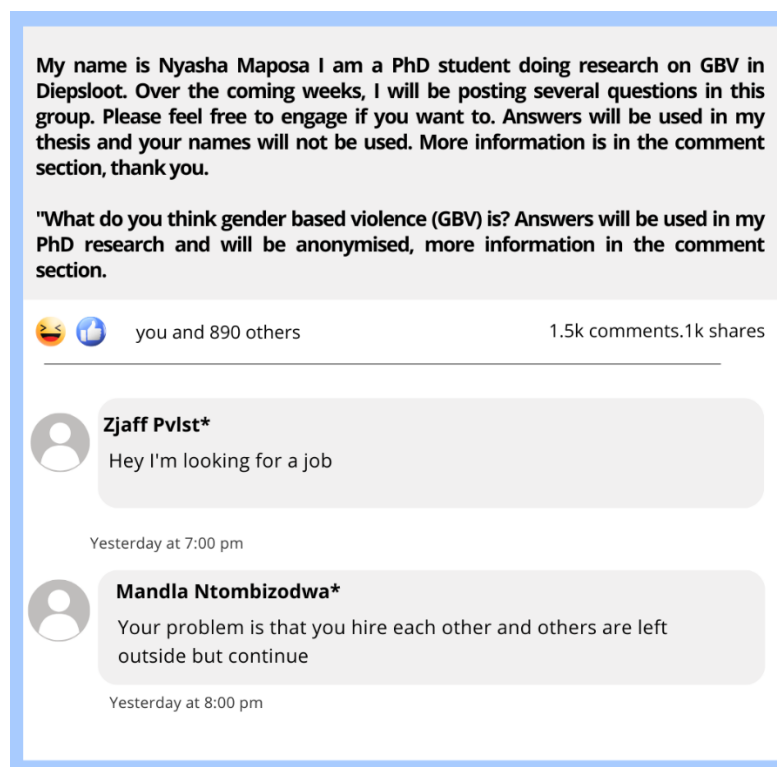
The urgency around economic challenges often takes precedence over GBV which raises questions about the plausibility of reducing rates of GBV without simultaneously addressing socioeconomic challenges. Interviewee 8 framed Diepsloot residents as being in survival mode to foreground the centrality of socioeconomic issues to GBV.

> *I don't think it can work, I don't think you can tell me to look after the environment, I don't think you can tell me to see how bad my behaviour is, that's not something that bothers me, I am in survival mode, and I'm not excusing the violence of men, but I am just saying that until we address these other socio-economic issues, we won't go that far ... how do I spend three hours talking about how to prevent GBV when people are hungry, all of them (Interviewee 8, GBV Activist and Researcher Black, M).*

Demonstrating that the effectiveness of GBV prevention and awareness interventions for residents is linked to provisions for food insecurity, employment, and access to resources. Singular non- intersectional interventions neglect that other needs may precede experiences of violence.

> *The thing is that in people's lives, the violence that they experience, on their hierarchy of need might actually not be at the top it might be that I am willing to put up with this particular situation, because at the end of the day, I'm more worried about being able to feed my kids or whatever* (Interviewee 28 Public Health Researcher and Academic White, F).

Perpetrators are also acutely aware of the patriarchal and socioeconomic power they hold which they exploit to commit violence without fear of impunity.

> *Most people are unemployed and most of these people are women which contributes to gender based violence as it says men can do whatever [they] want to do, [because he can] leave you and you will be in poverty so some [women] will say let me just give him what he wants as long as I have bread and a roof on top of my head* (GBV Resident Activist/Interviewee 4).

Unmet socioeconomic needs determine the levels of constraint survivors are required to navigate and thus their capacity to escape violence.

> *I think gender based violence continues happening because you might find a husband and [a] wife they stay together, the wife is unemployed so no matter how much the husband abuses her she [does not] have the guts to leave, because she [does not] have anywhere to go she [depends] on the guy and she has kids with [him] so she [does not] have anywhere to go, like she knows that when she leave, she will have to learn to survive on her own* (Interviewee 10, Diepsloot Resident).

Compounded by the limited options that are available to survivors for refuge and support mechanisms.

> *What mechanisms have we put in place to support victims because if the only roof over your head is the roof of a person who gives you Black and blue eyes and breaks your ribs would you rather that individual go and be underneath a bridge? There is nothing that we put into place to be like here, we are going to give you a haven we're going to give you a place of safety and recreation of protection* (Interviewee 34, Political Economist, Black F)

This reflects the interconnection between infrastructural violence [17] and socioeconomic inequalities; creating a difficult landscape for survivors to navigate thus reducing their "space for action[18]" (Kelly, 2003). Reducing their space to also vocalise their experiences[19]:"most of the victims that approach our offices are fully dependent on the perpetrator, so they are unable to raise their voices when it comes to GBV" (Interviewee 30, Social Worker, Black, F).

Furthermore, the sheer volume of posts on unemployment made it incontrovertible that this was part of a much larger issue of socioeconomic inequality in South Africa. Reflecting a country battling with one of the worlds' highest levels of income and wealth disparities (World Inequality Database, 2024). This is a legacy of concerted apartheid policy to create racial differences in socio-economic position resulting in low intergenerational mobility, a barrier to poverty reduction (Treiman, 2007; World Bank Group, 2018).

> *Secondly, is that if you look at the structure of South Africa's economy, it hasn't really altered too much. Yes, there has been a breaking down of white economic dominance, but it's still there, and still very much there and in turn, that means that there hasn't been that broader redistribution that is required. So I know Black economic empowerment was designed, at least theoretically, to change this but in a little bit like gender, it inserted people*

---

[17] Revisited in chapter 5
[18] Revisited in chapter 6
[19] This is "space to speak" by Wilson 2016 revisited in chapter 6

> *into the system, rather than actually changing the system and that is a big*
>
> *part of this* (Interviewee 24, SA Historian, White,M)

Therefore, GBV needs to be looked at in conjunction with poverty for a more holistic approach towards the experiences of survivors. Job seeking posts also provided a keen insight into the psychological impact of poverty and unemployment on self-esteem, depression and feelings of loneliness (see figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4 Facebook Data
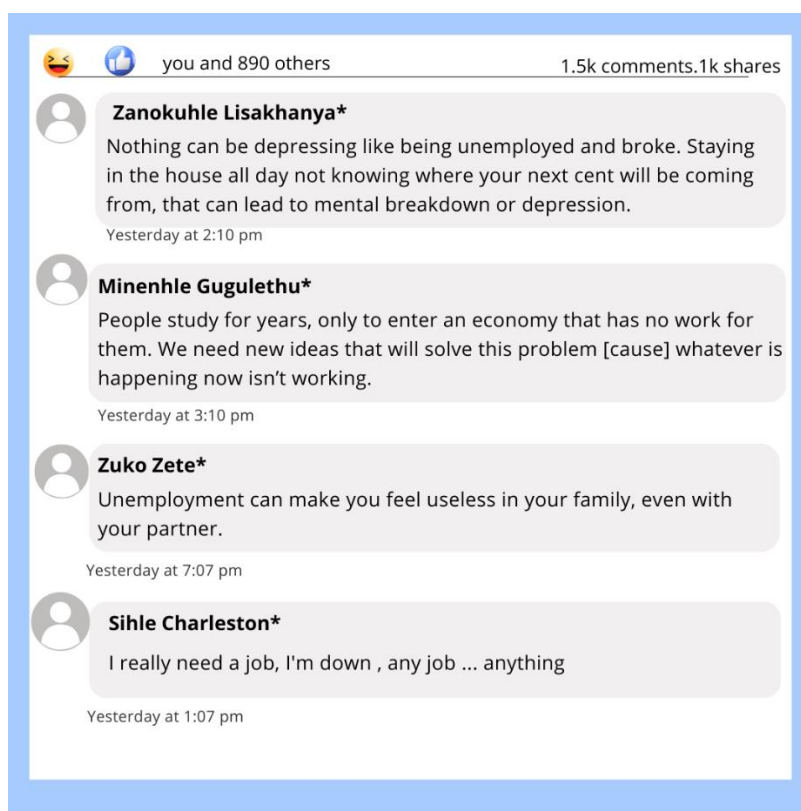
Zuko Zete* (see figure 4.4) whose display picture and name appeared to be that of a Black man expresses the gendered impact of socioeconomic legacies, which minimise Black men's ability to meet the patriarchal expectations of "breadwinner". This produces feelings of inadequacy which suggest that Diepsloot men's constructions of masculinity are informed by economic access. The inability to engage in this version of masculinity was linked to GBV.

> *Unemployment is high and you have got gender roles stress; so, if I believe*
>
> *that as a man, I should be the provider, I can't do that because I'm*

> *unemployed. So then I feel like I'm failing as a man and so if I buy into certain kinds of masculinities, then I might act out that frustration in my relationship or with others, because I think gender-based violence operates not only in intimate relationships but in all spheres of society* (Interviewee 28, Public Health Researcher and Academic White, F).

Interviewees foregrounded the complex tension between structural and interpersonal violence; in this case holding men accountable for GBV whilst holding space for their continued grappling with economic inequalities. However, an overemphasis on men neglects that women are most impacted by socioeconomic inequalities. Noted by Interviewee 34 who emphasised that" so for women, I think it's definitely more aggravated, like the type of pain, abuse, poverty and discrimination"

On youth day[20] 2022 Ashura Eshe* a FB member stated that "there is nothing to celebrate [this] 16th [of] June our youth [are] unemployed, suffering and dying". Suggesting that no fundamental socio-economic advances had occurred since apartheid; years after independence the challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment continue amongst the Black majority (see Commey, 2008). This section shows that these inequalities are gendered, with multi-dimensional implications for GBV. To reflect this a move from socioeconomic legacies to gendered socioeconomic legacies is proposed – naming oppressive systems to accurately reflect their impact on gender.

4.2 Gendered Legacies: Money as an Organising Feature in Gender Relations

The socioeconomic legacies of apartheid remain hard to undo, complicating the way resources are distributed. Who is advantaged and disadvantaged and who has access to what, is gendered and racialised in ways that can be connected to apartheid policies and legislature.

---

[20] Youth day is a public holiday in South Africa commemorating the Soweto Uprising on June 16, 1975, in which 20,000 pupils from Soweto began a protest march against a directive from the then Bantu Education Department that Afrikaans had to be used on an equal basis with English as a language of instruction in secondary schools.

They (women) could not finish school because one, they were women, but also these issues of how men [still] had privileges within a terrible system, so apartheid made women who depended on the land now depend on men, because you were not allowed to work, I remember when I got married at a very young age, in the 80s, my wife [could not] go for contraceptives at the clinic without my approval (Interviewee 8, GBV Activist and Researcher Black, M)

This analysis can extend to the dispossession of land through the 1913 Natives Land Act[21] and the infantilisation of women which has left Black women in an even more precarious financial position in comparison to Black men. There is a continuum in Black women's experiences of socioeconomic inequalities reflected through money as an organising feature in post-apartheid gender relations (Kanyeredzi ,2014). This is evident through discourse pertaining to gendered financial obligations, which suggests that socioeconomic inequalities, and the subsequent scarcity of resources within Black communities, produce transactional relationships that are stratified according to both economics and gender. Food insecurity was also cited as an exacerbating factor for GBV.

So and then, of course, we do know that food insecurity, does contribute it's not, it's not that violence doesn't happen in places where there's food security, it's just that it sort of exacerbates, and that's for a number of reasons, partly because people may engage more in, certain kinds of like transactional sex kind of relationships because if I'm struggling to, feed my kids, or to, you know, give them a school uniform or something, and, you know, here's some somebody who's saying, like, if you have sex with me, I'll

---

[21] The 1913 Native Lands Act provided legislative form to a process of dispossession that had been under way since colonial times. The 1913 Natives Land Act saw thousands of black families forcibly removed from their land by the apartheid government. The Act became law on 19 June 1913 limiting African land ownership to 7 percent and later 13 percent through the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act of South Africa. The Act restricted black people from buying or occupying land. The apartheid government began the mass relocation of black people to poor homelands and to poorly planned and serviced townships. No longer able to provide for themselves and their families, people were forced to look for work far away from their homes. This marked the beginning of socio-economic challenges the country is facing today such as landlessness, poverty and inequality. The Land Act was finally repealed when the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, 1991 (Act No. 108 of 1991) came into force on 30 June 1991 (SA Government, 2024).

provide food for your family or give your kids you know, it's like, it makes
sense that, that that would happen. So, I think and then those relationships,
often because of the transactional nature of those relationships have a very
unequal power in those relationships, and therefore can also be more
violent (Interviewee 28, Public Health Researcher and Academic White, F)

Money constitutes these dynamics in multifaceted ways – from formal to informal, public to private encounters - in such a way that debates on the monetary value of arbitrary things such as visiting a partner are common features in the FB groups.

Figure 4.5 Facebook Data
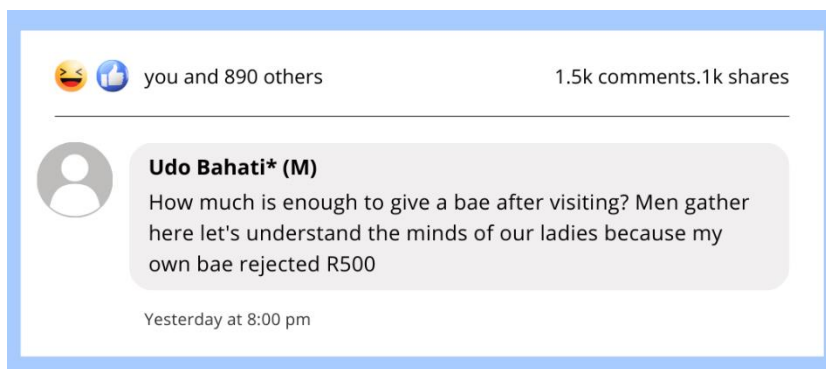
Heterosexual relationships/interactions are represented as sites of monetary exchange, however, what is expected of women in this transaction is always implied and never made explicit. This allows men to construct themselves as victims, reinforcing misogyny and patriarchal power dynamics (see figure 4.6).

Figure 4.6 Facebook Data

Men stop beating women

😆 👍 you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares

Banele Okuhle* (M)
Woman allowance [is] R5000 is also men's abuse

Lwandle Lubanzi* (M)
The post say [giving] allowance is a choice and don't give you the rights to hit her

Banele Okuhle* (M)
Just kidding [bruh] how can you give your girl so much moola at least [its] better to buy her the things she needs

Ayanda Lethokuhle* (M)
This woman must get jobs and work bro gone are those days woman [depend] 100% on [a] man life is tough hey

Lwandle Lubanzi* (M)
Yeah, [bruh] that's true but we can just help them when they need help sometimes getting a job of your qualifications is more difficult.

This is an example of defensive Menspeak (see Garner, 2016,p.159-160) used to minimise the violence men inflict on women and reposition themselves as victims. 'MenSpeak' frames the different ways relations of hegemony between men are organised, articulated and maintained through styles of speak. This includes 'predatory menspeak' which are aggressive articulations of 'urgent 'heterosexuality which function to position men within hegemonic projects. 'Regulatory menspeak' which is topics of talk between men, which function to police and regulate. Lastly, 'Defensive MenSpeak' which captures the way some men construct ways of being a man as aberrant and 'other', in order to self-position as different - 'I'm not 'that' guy'.

Part of this is the perception that violence is justified within economically stratified gender relations - GBV is the punishment meted out on women who do not comply with men's objectification and commodification.

> Interviewee 29B, Public Relations Specialist, Black, F: *That's the thing the minute these men are providing so much money, then they think they have the right to do anything that they want.*

> Interviewee 29 Mental Health Org Founder, Black, F: *They can tell you, you are property, you are an object I control who you talk to, where you go, what you wear everything I have invested my money.*
>
> Interviewee 29B, Public Relations Specialist, Black, F: *Yes*
>
> Interviewee 29 Mental Health Org Founder, Black, F: *When I read it, I just said I don't even want an allowance because I don't want to be owned, because I fear that much being owned...* so *you tell me the day you are seen cheating on that man with his R500,000 will he leave you alive you are kidding R500,000 I own you.*

Contrary to assertions around victimhood, men were understood to use money to dominate women showing that socioeconomic inequalities reinforce the patriarchal imbalance of power.

> *They [men] think giving someone money, at the end of the month is to own their body, is to own what they must drink, what they must eat how they must behave* (Interviewee 32 Youth Worker/Diepsloot resident, GBV Artivist, Black M).

Violent masculinities maintain this hierarchy reminding girlfriends, wives and women within broader society to stay in line and remember their place. Other men such as Quintin Okuhle* (see figure 4.7) celebrating brutal cases of violence against women show that these acts may be regarded as necessary measures to maintain the "natural order" in a patriarchal society where Black men's position is precarious due to apartheid legacies of inequality.

Figure 4.7 Facebook Data

> **A guy shot his girlfriend 12 times because she cheated. The guy [paid] for her university fees for a law degree and he also paid lobola. The girl told the guy that he is not her class anymore.**
>
> 😆 👍 you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares
>
> **Quintin Okuhle* (M)**
> Give that man a beer
>
> Yesterday at 8:00 pm
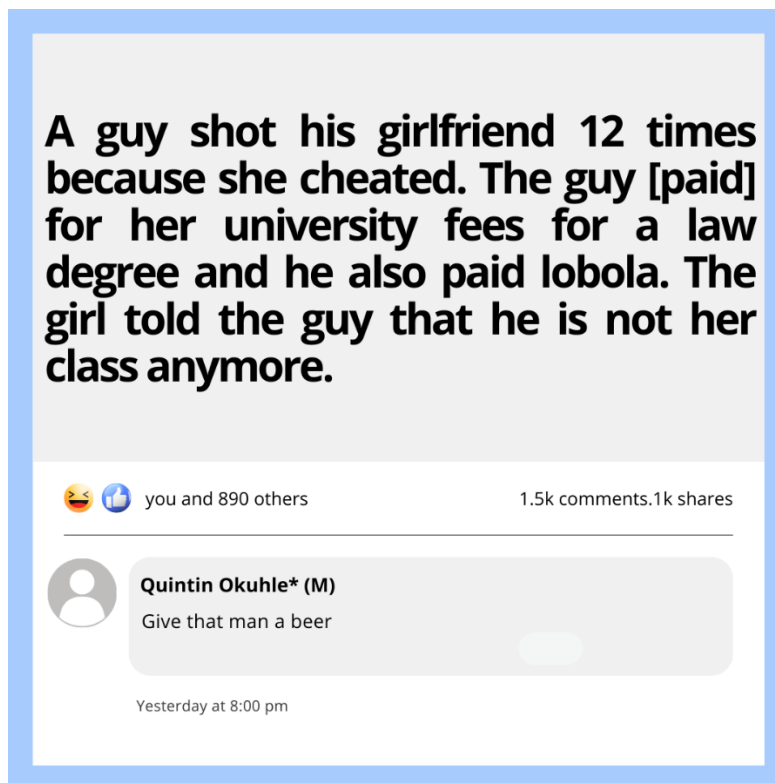
Several FB posts showed men commiserating about women taking money and/or bonding over the necessity of perpetrating violence as a form of punishment for women's supposed "transgressions" which were oftentimes in relation to money (see figure 4.8).

Figure 4.8 Facebook Data

Welcome to Diepsloot where [you] fall in love with a lady then she [asks] [you] [for] money to go home [to] Limpopo for holidays [but] she is going to visit another guy around Diepsloot then when [you] call her she pretends as if she's in Limpopo

😆 👍 you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares

Sipho Lethokuhle* (M)
That's why GBV is still going up, [cause] this gender on top of cheating on you, they also eat your money

Lungile Melokuhle* (M)
So you are trying to justify GBV? If a lady does something like that to you, why not just leave her and move on with your life

Sipho Lethokuhle* (M)
Can't move on while someone just used me as a bank account, I think [you] don't know the pain of being used like [a] fool

Ayanda Lethokuhle* (M)
He does not

The notion of GBV as retribution extends beyond money to other factors men perceive as "crimes" such as not aligning with heteronormative standards, such as to failure to cook dinner and clean the house.

> *It is very rare to get interviews with actual rapists but when they do, you would be staggered at how many of them say they were punishing the woman and that she needed to be punished, because she committed somewhat a crime. She was a lesbian, or she didn't cook dinner, or she spent all day at the hairdresser's gossiping with her friends instead of cleaning the house, or whatever ... the history of apartheid, on top of a history of slavery on top of a history of colonialism is devastating and we have never ever debunked, the notion that violence in the intimate sphere in the domestic sphere, doesn't really count as violence that it's a socially necessary project. It's kind of like spare the rod and spoil the child but that's bled over from apartheid as in you want to stabilise the society, you punish people, you regulate them, you punish them, and you mete up violence, even if it's not*

seen as violence, because you are basically just doling out a few slaps or jumping a woman behind the public toilets (Interviewee 6 Academic, Researcher, White, F).

This interviewee is clear that harmful gender norms reinforce the use of violence as a form of punishment for women who "step out of line". GBV as a form of maintaining social structures may be further complicated in a place like Diepsloot which lacks robust formal policing infrastructure (see Chapter 6). Men may regard GBV as an informal policing mechanism, a justifiable form of retribution for women who take their money. This also reinforces violence as language with meanings including control, punishment and stability which persists undisrupted in various aspects of contemporary South Africa. Framing GBV as punishment addressing "somewhat a crime" conducted by women; one of which may be troubling notions of masculinity rooted in economic pride and the patriarchal control of women. This is also reflected by discussions on the cultural practice of *lobola*[22] (see figure 4.9).

---

[22] Lobola is a marriage tradition that has been practiced for centuries by cultures in southern Africa. Lobola is a kind of payment called a bride wealth and/or bride price. In this tradition, the family of the groom pays the family of the bride before a marriage takes place. In earlier times cattle were often used as payment (Britannica, 2025).

Figure 4.9 Facebook Data

Pay lobola and settle down gents there's nothing in the streets

😆 👍 you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares

Melokuhle Zanokuhle* (M)
You pay lobola [seven] different guys chow her more [than] wena (you) who you paid lobola next thing she'll be telling you that her ancestors are telling her to have [two] boyfriends.

Buhle Mahlati* (M)
Opposite is true, the bridesmaid still [want to] go to the street and experiment

Diamond Kuhle* (M)
There is plenty [of] freedom, pay lobola they cheat [on you] next thing [you] rot behind bars...GBV

Sabelo Khumalo* (M)
Pay lobola for something that has slept with the number of guys that can fill full load for [three] quantums and [five] abortions. What am I marrying[?]

Men regard the payment of lobola as a legitimisation of patriarchal practices and subsequently violent masculinities if expectations around chastity and fidelity are not met – similarly, violence is regarded as punishment. Women's subversion of patriarchal expectations may be regarded as a threat to men's already precarious position within a grossly unequal society. Other factors such as the dual burden of paid and unpaid labour further aggravate economic disparities and vulnerabilities to violence for women.

> *The same poverty that existed back then still exists now, as well as the same amenities but with a duplicated population size ... you find women are at the brunt of it because we're expected to do paid labour and unpaid work so not only are you going to assist in the household, by going and working as a domestic worker or a cleaner or a cook... but you must still come back and do unpaid work of looking after your own children, cooking, cleaning in the household, possibly fetching water, because, remember, there's no running taps there is no sanitation and so I just feel like the challenges of*

women have just been made worse (Interviewee 34, Political Economist, Black F)

The burden of economic inequalities and infrastructural violence (see Chapter 5) has not changed in post-apartheid South Africa: it has compounded in ways that further reinforce gender oppression. Harmful gender norms, cultural practices and the double burden of labour also contribute to aggravating socioeconomic challenges and vulnerability to GBV for women. The gendered economic disparities further emphasise the power dynamics between men and women in Diepsloot constraining women to abusive situations. Looking at post-apartheid gender relations through the violence regime accommodates the mutually reinforcing nature of violence which complicates the lived experiences of survivors. This includes the hybridity that characterises systematic oppression which encompasses multiple elements, for example socioeconomic inequalities exist alongside the economics of attention (see Simon, 1971) which are grossly unequal and often render the violence experienced by poor Black women invisible.

4.2.1 Gendered Legacies: Media Bias and Space for Action

Media bias speaks to the differential media attention awarded to individuals' dependant on gender, race and class, whilst not limited to these factors, they are the main focus of this section as they are particularly relevant to poor Black women in Diepsloot.The bias is not just in the amount of coverage, but also in the content and quality – which stories make the front page, how many words per article and what language is used (Greene, 2021). There is a link between socioeconomic inequalities and media bias (which interviewee 5 refers to as the attention economy) which is evident in the way that violence experienced by poor women is responded to.

> *People don't campaign about poor women if you look at who becomes the focus of attention, who is the national subject with whom we identify on Twitter it is not poor women by and large. I was collecting them, these horrible, gruesome murders of women in informal settlements, which make some little line in a newspaper, but nobody gets outraged. So, you know for me, that's part of the attention economy, which then goes to questions of*

justice and recognition, and valuing of life. So that's one way in which socio-economic inequality gets you I think it also influences the quality of the justice that you get, and how well you will be treated (Interviewee 5, Researcher and GBV Specialist, White, F).

This use of 'attention economy' is located in critical race theory as a term that is also used explicitly to describe racist practices (see Bartel, 2022). Legacies of unrapeability (see chapter 2) and the normalisation of violence experienced by poor women who are often Black adds to the lack of outrage and attention; perpetuating discourse around whose life matters rooted in slavery, colonialism and apartheid. Socioeconomic inequalities, infrastructural violence and structural racism prop up media bias creating obstacles for poor Black women to receive justice and equal treatment within institutional structures. This complicates poor black women's aspirations towards economic mobility.

It's about a society that is becoming more middle class, and I think there are all sorts of, particular complexities for Black women in that aspirational becoming middle class scenario that need to be thought about as well (Interviewee 5, Researcher and GBV Specialist, White, F)

Aspirations towards becoming middle class and upward mobility may be a means to increase women's space for action (see figure 4.10).

Figure 4.10 Facebook Data

Women who are independent are single why is that?

😆 👍 you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares

Lethokuhle Lwandle* (F)
Because we have options that dependent women don't have.

Yesterday at 6:00 pm

Enzokuhle Lungile* (F)
Because we don't depend on a man. Honest [when] [you are] not working, men   will dance over [your] head [because] [you] depend on them

Yesterday at 7:00 pm
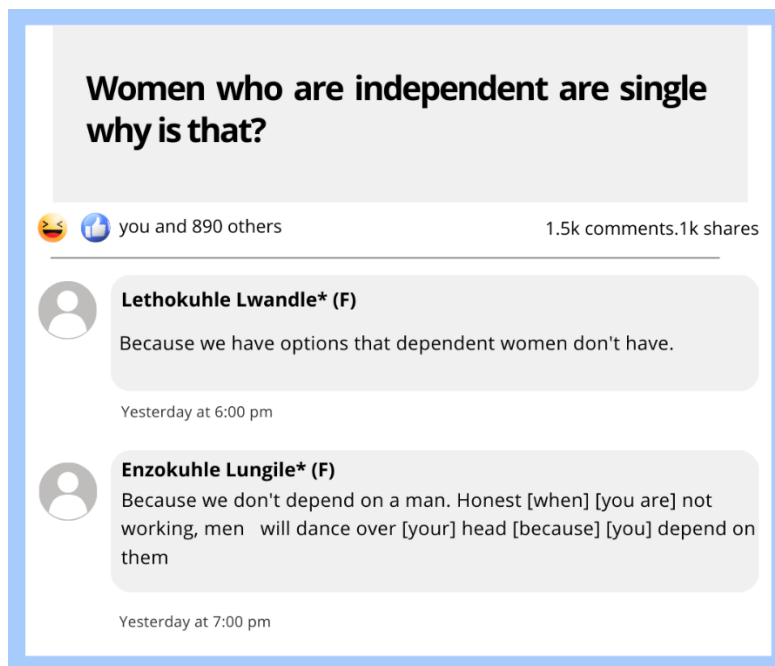
Several comments suggest that women in Diepsloot pursue financial autonomy to avoid the power dynamic that comes with financial dependence on men. Showing that women are aware of the mutually reinforcing nature of economic violence, patriarchy and the implications for GBV. Thus, men and women's financial upward mobility constitute different meanings. Several interviewees cited financial dependence on men as a risk factor for GBV potentially reflecting how broader discourse and legacies of socioeconomic inequalities inform women's strategies of safety work see Kelly (2012); as well as the ways in which they aspire to increase their space for action (Kelly, 2003) Race also informs socioeconomic inequalities and the capacity for upward mobility.

Section 5: Racial Inequality: The Black Tax

Racial inequality intersects with socioeconomic inequalities in ways that further marginalise women in Diepsloot, this section details this impact and the consequences of the intersection between socioeconomic inequalities and structural racism. Using the notion of "Black tax" to foreground how this is influenced by legacies of inequality. Xenophobia is also looked at as a product and/ or outcome of the violence regime informed by the structural racism site.

5.1 Structural Racism as an Inheritance of Oppression

Race was used by the apartheid regime to justify discrimination, systemic segregation and social inequalities, shaping the material conditions of Black people in ways that persist today. The "Black Tax" is a term originating in South Africa that refers to the financial support that a professional or entrepreneur of colour is obliged to provide to their family on a continuous basis outside of their own living expenses. This is a means to address the continued economic imbalance that can be traced back to apartheid and slavery which is reflective of historical injustices, structural inequality and educational disparities (Dyomfana, 2022). Diepsloot residents are aware that there are specific obstacles in the way of flourishing as Black people (see figure 4.11).

Figure 4.11 Facebook Data
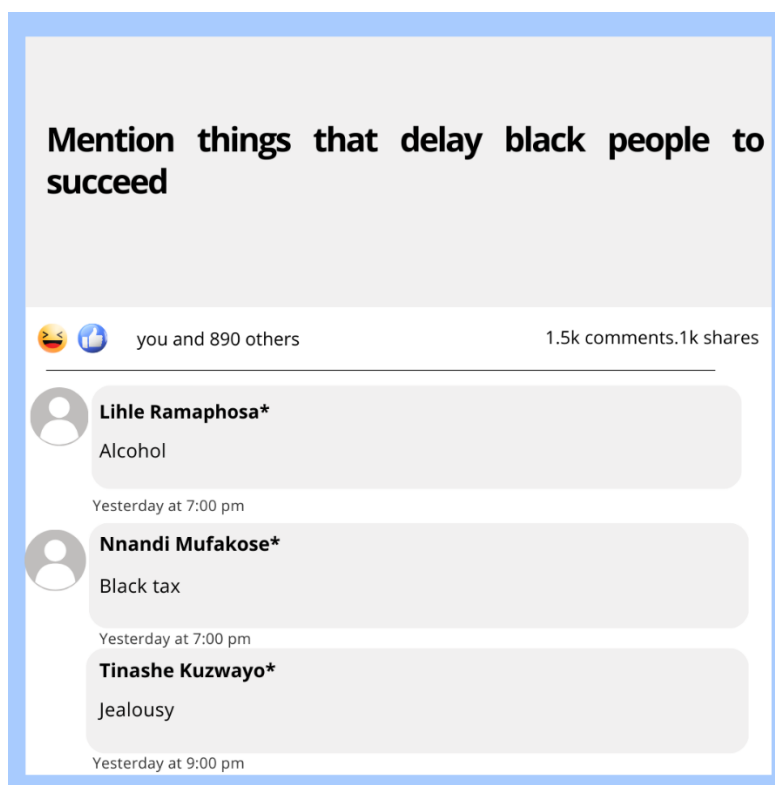
Structural racism and its legacies are multifaceted – the Dop system involved paying Black and Coloured farm workers with alcohol in lieu of wages (London, 1999) which left a legacy of alcohol dependency in these communities (May et al, 2019). The Black tax is a necessary informal strategy for Black South Africans due to the legacies of generational privilege that white people have.

Because of apartheid [we] are angry at the fact that a lot of people have homes and us Black people we are still fighting for land. White people own farms and a lot of land where they can plant food and have a lot of livestock and make businesses or just have food available always because they have their own livestock, [and] they have the means they have their own gardens...White people they just inherited their parents' wealth so our parents did not even get a chance to acquire that wealth only a few of them did (Interviewee 1, Former Self Defence Course Facilitator/Diepsloot resident, Black, F).

The systemic dispossession of land under apartheid took away Black people's access to means of food production and sustainability with intergenerational consequences for economic mobility.

So, from a spatial perspective, forced removals took people away from the land that they owned, the land that they harvested, the land that they had a means of income, a means of sustainability and livelihood from putting them in the most arable land that they can't produce from, therefore they were forced to work for someone else(Interviewee 34, Political Economist, Black F).

Thus, there is ongoing impact that extends beyond those who lived under the apartheid regime.

You know, apartheid in South Africa has always been an issue and we are all victims of it my mother, my father, my grandparents all victims of apartheid and it's not an issue that is going away anytime soon because it's generational from one generation to another, you face that abuse of apartheid from one generation to another, you face the abuse of being black

(Interview 23, Community Development professional/Diepsloot resident Black F)

Legacies of oppression are an inheritance passed down from generation-to-generation with no end in sight – there is continued victimisation that comes with being Black in South Africa. Therefore interviewee 4's assertion that violence is in our DNA may also refer to the composition of South Africa as a country: histories of slavery, colonialism and apartheid have interwoven racial discrimination into the fabric of the nation in ways that are difficult to undo. The inheritance of violence also means the passing down of a particular context of oppression (see chapter 5) and a specific economic material condition – different outcomes between Black and white people make closing the inequality gap almost impossible.

> *Blacks and whites we are not the same and we are not equal, and we can strive, by all means to be at the same level but unfortunately, we are not, so the legacy lives on* (Interviewee 23, Community Development professional/Diepsloot resident Black F).

The consequences of decades of racial oppression continue to be extremely pronounced in ways that make it difficult to draw a distinct separation between apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa.

> *So legacies of apartheid is a very fairy tale perspective, dare I say, even very European, because when you're looking from the outside in, that's what you think; apartheid came and ended because you can give it a date and a time frame which is not the case for most of us even though we might not have seen apartheid with our living eyes, we still live the consequences of it, which doesn't make it a legacy for me, it makes it a today lived experience and which is why I'm saying I would rather term it apartheid 2.0 because now it means we've gone into the second phase of it* (Interviewee 34, Political Economist, Black F).

Legacies may be an inaccurate descriptor of the lived experiences of the marginalised as it fails to accurately reflect the distinct realities that Black and white South Africans exist in, thus perspectives confining apartheid to a particular time frame are afforded to the privileged who do not live the daily reality of marginalisation. Raising questions around decoloniality and whose reality gets to be centred in post-apartheid South Africa, further complicated by gender. There is limited research on decolonising the field of GBV in South Africa with the exception of Lokot et al (2024) who argue that there is a need for GBV research and programming to acknowledge how colonial practices entrenched within wider societal power structures impact the field. Recognising the gendered nature of colonial practices in the first instance may reveal the ramifications for GBV. Several interviewees point to the gendered legacies of racial injustice and oppression and their implications for GBV.

> *South Africa's history of racism is a big contributory factor [towards] gender-based violence, because there were laws in South Africa which favoured men, over women, especially [in] Black communities. Mostly men were allowed to work, and women were made to either stay at home or even if they worked the system ensured that women did not earn the same as men. So, for me, race has played a huge role; for me gender and race are one and the same thing* (Interviewee 2, Community Engagement Officer VAWG, Black F).

This interviewee frames race and gender as enmeshed and inseparable using an intersectional lens to explain the oppression of Black women, emphasising the importance of gendering legacies in understanding the historical nuances of men and women's experiences and their continuities. Structural racism is also implicated in GBV

> *Yes [in] South Africa we are still trying to get rid of racism, but it is still here, it is still with us, and it contributes to gender based violence whereby when you go and look for a job as a Black person you will be treated [badly] especially women, you will be undermined by the colour of [your] skin and because you are a woman* (Interviewee 4, Women's Shelter Founder, M)

Legacies of apartheid patriarchal laws, coupled with socioeconomic inequalities, continue to oppress Black women in ways that impede progress towards eradicating GBV showing the gendered impact of apartheid oppression. Racial historical injustices, and their legacies are part of a violence regime that perpetuates gender inequality – excluding this produces decontextualised approaches to GBV that fail to recognise the nuanced experiences of the most marginalised.

> *In the same way that when we speak about Black people not having access to education and economic opportunities it is even worse if you are a Black woman. So again, I don't want to utilise women as a homogenous group there is still very distinct segregation amidst us if I am a blonde woman from South Africa, the amount of choices and protection that I'll receive compared to being a Black woman who is maybe young are far different. So, I think it's quite important for us to also draw that distinction in terms of not being a homogenous group, not having homogenous feelings, because some people might feel like I don't understand what elements of empowerment you need beyond having rights and that's not enough unfortunately* (Interviewee 34, Political Economist, Black F)

Intersectionality (see Crenshaw, 1991) reminds us that different social categories converge creating unique experiences of marginalisation, discrimination and privilege. Juxtaposed realities of privilege and oppression create "distinct segregation" in terms of economic access and protection between Black and white women. White women are not the focus of this study due to the racial composition of Diepsloot. However, it is important for future research to unpack how privilege influences white South African women's perception of the violence they experience.

> *What is also interesting, having interviewed a couple of women who are middle class, they sometimes feel they are not entitled to complain about their circumstances, because they are relatively privileged which is quite an interesting complication. I think sometimes for middle class women it can be difficult, especially white women you know if they have racialized ideas*

and classed ideas around who gets beaten. They don't necessarily recognise
what's going on in their relationship initially, because as one woman put it
to me, she always thought that GBV happened to toothless woman in the
cape flats (Interviewee 5, Researcher and GBV Specialist, White, F).

White women's racialised and classed attitudes create a distinction between themselves and Black and coloured victims of GBV, showing that there are different spaces into which women cannot speak. The "distinct segregation" interviewee 34 refers to may underline the self-imposed separation between white women survivors and those of other races, evidently this is a double-edged sword the implications of which require further research and analysis. "There is a lot of GBV in Diepsloot just that we turn a blind eye from it ... like mostly in Black communities...we just believe that people fight all the time so it's natural" (Interviewee 19, Diepsloot resident, Black, F). Racist perceptions of who is violent and who experiences violence hinder effective approaches to GBV within marginalised communities, revealing that the hypervisibility of violence may in turn result in the dismissal of violence within this area. On this basis it is important to judge the efficacy of the notion of "GBV hotspots" in addressing the lived experiences of survivors.

The intersectional nature of race, gender and socioeconomic status increase poor black women's risk of experiencing violence and constrains them within situations of abuse. It is impossible to talk about socioeconomic inequalities, without talking about race; gendered legacies of apartheid which have ramifications for GBV: indicating interconnections between different forms and aspects of violence within the regime in complex ways that require attention to effectively address GBV. The lack of wealth redistribution and the continued impact of colonial/apartheid structural and institutionalised racism have produced inheritances of violence, oppression and privilege that are passed down from one generation to the next (Kanyeredzi, 2014)[23].For example, recycling aspects of violence such as racist

---

[23] Continuum of oppression was developed by Kanyeredzi (2014, p.84) to make sense of black women's stories of abuse and the violence of relatives and friends, as recounting an ongoing phenomenon not limited to their own particular lived experiences but extending to generational and historical experiences.

discriminatory language to undermine migrants – a post by a non-South African national was met with derogatory comments (see figure 4.12).

Figure 4.12 Facebook Data

Diepsloot people hate us for nothing

😂👍 you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares

Mbalenhle Thulani*
Am scared for those animals they must go back to Munangagwa

Yesterday at 7:00 pm

Hlengiwe Mandlenkosi*
You chased away white people for nothing

Yesterday at 7:00 pm

Iminathi Mbali*
Go home monkey

Yesterday at 9:00 pm

Migrants are degraded by Black South Africans using similar language that was used towards them during apartheid: appropriating colonial-apartheid strategies to reproduce societal hegemonies. Language is a tool of xenophobic oppression, exclusion and dehumanisation several comments and posts also used *makwerekwere* a derogatory slur targeted at Black African migrants. Xenophobic violence in post-apartheid South Africa further indicates the inheritance of violence, which can be mobilised as a tool to solve structural problems, specifically the impact of socioeconomic inequalities, structural racism and as a means of ensuring societal stabilisation. Further, reflecting the widespread infiltration and impact of racist discourse.

> *However, I do believe that everybody is infected by racist discourses that*
> *implies that some people are worthless [inaudible] that their rights do not*
> *matter as much as yours and it doesn't matter what race or religious group*

or ethnicity or linguistic group you belong to that taints everybody it teaches everybody contempt and that is the danger of the cross section between the two...I mean, you know, nobody in a patriarchal society is going to be free of the power to abuse and the sensation and the deep bone social teaching, that some people are not worth protecting, that they are there to be abused, that they are there to be exploited (Interviewee 6, Academic Researcher, White, F).

This demonstrates the reproduction of racist patriarchal ideas within the regime to undermine and perpetuate the subjugation of other Black people. This is further underlined by the attribution of negative characteristics to migrants, for example, heartless, rubbishes, evil, selfish, abusive which strips them of their humanity and dignity in ways that sanction any violence that is directed towards them. Race is implicated in who is targeted by xenophobic violence.

Figure 4.13 Facebook Data
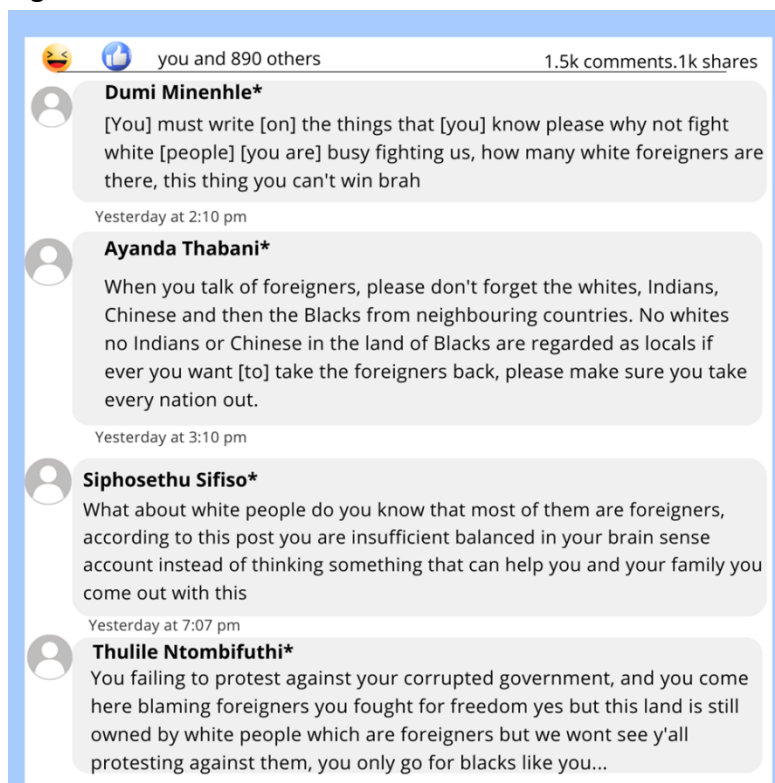
Those seen as safe to brutalise in a similar fashion to Black South Africans during apartheid are other Black people from third world countries integrated into marginal Black South African communities. Therefore, xenophobia cannot be considered without taking histories of racial oppression and socioeconomic inequalities into account, as class, race and country of origin work as buffers against the construction of "foreigner" and consequently xenophobic violence. Those who are often safe from xenophobic attacks are usually holders of North American and European passports living in middle class and affluent areas, and oftentimes white (Gqola, 2021, p.167). Comments in figure 4.13 and several discussions in FB allude to the settler colonial history of South Africa reflecting that xenophobia is underlayed with an awareness and critique of the legacies of apartheid i.e. "the land is still owned by white people". Xenophobia reflects that the violence regime recycles and manufactures forms and aspects of violence, in this case appropriating colonial-apartheid strategies to reproduce societal hegemonies. Who is constructed as a rapist and/or criminal is related to nationality.

> *In Diepsloot most of the times it is Zimbabwean men that abuse that maybe do the mugging at night or the killings at night or they do the housebreak ins, and they have no mercy they will kill you without blinking twice. I think last year they killed a police captain in Diepsloot and apparently, they said it was by a Zimbabwean guy* (Interviewee 1, Former Self Defence Course Facilitator/Diepsloot resident, Black, F).

> *Most violent crimes not gender based violence related, even those ones, most of them are committed by people from outside South Africa people from Zimbabwe most of them people from Malawi people from Mozambique so they commit these kinds of crimes and then they move to another area* (Interviewee 10, Diepsloot Resident, Black, F).

Section 6: The Function of Violence and Xenophobia: "We fight fire with fire"

Xenophobia comes from the Greek words xenos, meaning both "the stranger" and "the guest", and phobos, meaning "fear". Strictly speaking xenophobia, then, means "fear of the stranger",

but it usually implies "hatred of strangers" (Wicker, 2001). Diepsloot has been at the centre of many xenophobic attacks such as: Elvis Nyathi a Zimbabwean national, who was beaten and burnt to death in April 2022. He had been chased out of his family home by 30 Operation Dudula[24] vigilantes, demanding to see proof that they were legally residing in South Africa (Kaneunyenye, 2022). Xenophobic attacks are fuelled by discontent with ineffective policing and socioeconomic inequalities (Khumalo, 2022).

> *There is a connection between xenophobia and violence in Diepsloot, because South African Black citizens that are residing in Diepsloot actually think that these migrants from Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Ghana come to South Africa to take their jobs so that causes conflict between the nations so there is a connection between xenophobia and violence* (Interviewee 7, Diepsloot Resident, Black, M).

Notions surrounding foreigners taking opportunities are often unfounded and inconsistent with a history of goodwill between South Africa and neighbouring African countries.

> *So, one of the ironies of xenophobia is that the ANC and to a lesser extent, the PAC relied almost entirely on the goodwill of other Southern African peoples, Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Angola, and to some extent, Zimbabwe, as well and without the support that those nations gave to the ANC, without the material sheltering of them as well the ANC would not be anywhere near power ... They work they pay taxes, they generally don't rely on services, that people perceive that they take but if you yourself are from a poor marginalised community, and you haven't been given the services, you cannot find a job, or whatever, then you look to blame somebody and economic superstructure is a very nebulous thing, you can't really go it's that problem there but if you can see someone from Zimbabwe and Mozambique, and then and say you are the problem that creates a sense of,*

---

[24] Operation Dudula, a movement turned political party running on anti-immigration and xenophobic rhetoric in South Africa.

of injustice and anger and what have you (Interviewee 24, SA Historian, White, M)

Proximity to foreign nationals produces a concrete place to direct grievances with broader structural issues in post-apartheid South Africa; persistent spatial legacies of segregation (see chapter 5) mean limited access to the privileged benefiting from these systemic issues. Violence is the first option (see Figure 4.14) to problem solve even in instances where other strategies might be more effective, reinforcing notions around an inheritance of violence in South Africa.

Figure 4.14 Facebook Data
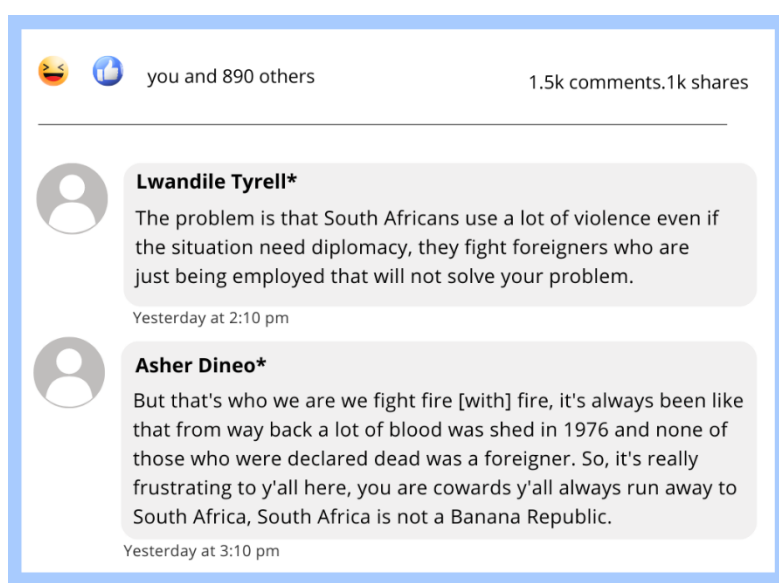
Asher Dineo* shows that there is an awareness amongst Diepsloot residents about the use of violence as informed by histories of struggle – violence was a response to violence. Therefore, South African nationals in Diepsloot may perceive xenophobia as fighting oppression a "liberation struggle" in which violence is a justifiable response shown by "we fight fire with fire" and a call back to the Soweto Uprising of 1976[25]. Section 4 highlighted the high rates of

---

[25] Soweto Uprising, student-led protest that began on June 16, 1976, in Soweto, South Africa, against the government's plans to impose the Afrikaans language as a medium of instruction in schools for Black students. After a deadly interaction with the police that day, the initial protest escalated into a much larger and often violent challenge to the authority of the South African government—a challenge that was marked over the next days and weeks by protests and rioting in Soweto and other areas of South Africa. The uprising and the ensuing protests created a crisis of legitimacy for South Africa's apartheid government that contributed to its eventual downfall, in 1994 (Kulik,2025).

unemployment and persistence of apartheid economic violence – showing a connection exists between the scarcity of resources and xenophobic violence in Diepsloot; an intersectional lens further relates GBV to xenophobic violence.

> *As an intersectional feminist I do believe that certain things are related, for example, the high levels of xenophobia which are fanned like bloody flames in informal settlements obviously that is going to lead to higher levels of domestic violence and gender-based violence, and sexual violence* (Interviewee 6 Academic, Researcher, White, F).

Further research is required to explore the potential links between GBV and xenophobic violence. In this study several interviewees indicated that GBV manifests in particular ways for migrant women.

> *Immigration has also come up as one of the reasons we have GBV because I am not just referring to cross border only, I'm also referring to interprovincial, where you find that their man is the one who came to Diepsloot first and the partner, who is female follows them here and then when they get here, they are at the mercy of their male partner. So they feel that they can do whatever they want with them and in cases of cross border it's also that issue of threats if you do this, I will report you, and you'll get deported and you will return home and we understand the socio economic issues that we have in Africa so people are always afraid to go back home to nothing* (Interviewee 27B, Legal Officer, Black, F).

Similar language used to reflect the way socioeconomic inequalities facilitate the broadening of men's space for action through violence see Kelly (2003) whilst narrowing women's space is reiterated here i.e. "they can do whatever they want with them". Outlining similarities in how men exploit structural issues; socioeconomic issues, immigration status to control women. Illuminating how different forms of violence and abuse merge and shade into one another with an underlying common denominator which is men utilising power and control (Kelly, 1984,1987).

Men will keep reminding migrant women that don't forget, I can deport you at any time, so I am doing you a favour so you can survive, and some will tell you that getting beaten is better than sleeping with an empty stomach (Interviewee 3, Community Engagement Officer VAWG Black F).

I don't know if you've seen a recent case, where women were raped while they were doing a TV production. So, I can say it's racism but it is not Black and white kind of racism its Black on Black racism. You know, that when you are woman from a certain country, you can't feel safe in the country that you're in if you're a refugee or migrant, you don't feel safe and the people who are the residents, and the citizens of that country, they abuse foreigners because you don't have your papers you get abused at home affairs, you get abused when you go to the clinics because you don't have the right documents so all in all, you can't even get proper citizens services, because you don't have proper papers (Interviewee 23, Community Development professional/Diepsloot resident Black F).

The intersection of gender, race, socioeconomic inequalities and immigration status adds an additional layer of vulnerability that entraps migrant women in abusive situations and constrains their agency. Xenophobia is a systemic issue producing particular limitations for migrant women's access to basic services – abuse from institutions reflect a broader context of oppression and insecurity. Perpetrators weaponise this multilayered context of oppression to exert dominance and control over survivors.

The majority of people there (referring to Diepsloot) are foreign [nationals] without documentation. So, they are very vulnerable to the systems. So, when clients walk in, you can tell what they are going through in their lives. If it was a South African citizen, they would have quickly ran to the police station because now they won't have to worry about documents (Interviewee 11, Social Worker, Black, F).

Framing xenophobia as a structural violence embedded in South African institutions, Dahlberg & Thapar-Björkert (2023) have noted how this shapes the lives of refugee women through unequal access to resources, constrained agency and dehumanisation. Therefore, migrant women may also be constrained structurally in ways that increase their vulnerability to GBV, additionally the brutality of xenophobic violence echoes GBV.

6.1 The Brutality of GBV and Xenophobic Violence

Several posts within the FB groups indicate the brutality with which foreign nationals are beaten, murdered and in some cases burnt alive by mobs (see Figure 4.15) – a practice known as "necklacing" [26] which was a common during apartheid.

Figure 4.15 Facebook Data

> **To those who don't know what happened last night [in] Diepsloot.** One person from Zimbabwe was killed by [a] mob last night, he was burnt alive with no mercy, before they killed him, the mob asked R300 from the wife, the wife didn't give them because she is not working she was only left with R50 in her pocket she gave them hoping that they will have mercy [on] her husband but they didn't, they took him by force and [went] to [an] open place and burnt him alive, the guy [was] wrongly suspected [of] killing people [in] Diepsloot.
>
> 😂 👍 you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares

The victim being suspected of murder shows that this violence was a form of punishment and informal policing, a public routine violence not only intended for the recipient but as a warning to other foreign nationals and/or "criminals". GBV manifests in equally brutal ways that hold a similar function.

---

[26] A method of extrajudicial summary execution and torture carried out by forcing a rubber tire drenched with petrol around a victim's chest and arms and setting it on fire this practice was widespread during apartheid and a means of punishing black people who were perceived, as traitors, colluding with the apartheid government (Mark, 2018).

We never ever debunked some of the central myths of apartheid and one of them was that violence is a socially necessary tool that contributes to the stability and the order of a society. I think that is why South African society is particularly and especially brutal in ways that many other post-colonial African countries with scads of problems, nevertheless, don't see these levels of extreme brutality – this business of pouring paraffin on a woman and setting them alight. This business of going out and shooting your girlfriend and her mother and your daughter and your sister-in-law because she dared to leave you (Interviewee 6 Academic, Researcher, White, F).

Persisting notions around violence as a tool to maintain social order and stability positions xenophobic violence and GBV as socially necessary tools (see section 4.2), therefore perpetrators may see what they are doing as not "criminal especially if it is to maintain structures within their own communities, but as a necessary and unpleasant form of social policing" (Interviewee 6, Academic, Researcher, White, F). Thus, the brutality of both GBV and xenophobia reflect that violence constitutes specific functions and meanings that differ from other contexts. Expressions of gendered and xenophobic violence fit into broader interpretations of violence as a necessary tool for a functioning stable society. References to instances of widespread historical violence in South African history in relation to discussions on xenophobia further highlight the complex position that violence continues to hold within South African society. This is potentially further complicated in a space like Diepsloot characterised by ineffective policing (see figure 4.15).

Figure 4.16 Facebook Data

In my opinion, from what is happening in Diepsloot. I think the action from protestors/ residents and as citizens, shouldn't be stopped, [from] [raising] complaints as our people get killed often on daily basis. We need to take control and power in our communities just to be sure life are protected. Our saps don't quickly response to the scene as, it came to my sense that they are fear for their life. We don't want / need undocumented immigrants in our country anymore. We are fed up with imitation lifestyle whereby we pretend to be [okay] while [we are] not.

😆 👍 you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares

This post (Figure 4.16) was in relation to Operation *Dudula* (push-out in Zulu)[27] which is a vigilante anti-immigration movement in South Africa: residents are implored to exert power and control, to ensure the safety of the community and fill the gaps in justice and policing insinuating that they are performing a necessary act of struggle and reclamation.

Figure 4.17 Facebook Data

The Dudula movement is here, those who always cry it is time to act. All illegal foreigners employed in our malls are going down today, so take your CV walk with the movement and to all the shops they will remove an employee there will be a vacant space so demand to be employed.... just my advice. Just we Mzansi youth we are lazy we can't even come out in numbers to support, the movement fighting for us, it was a day to take those corners where a lot of money is being made, owned by illegal foreigners.

😆 👍 you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares

---

[27] Operation Dudula, a movement turned political party running on anti-immigration and xenophobic rhetoric in South Africa.

Language of struggle and protest, such as "fighting" "power "control" and "demand", engage heroic masculinity narratives specifically the courage, activism and normalisation of masculinist violence by liberation movements (Unterhalter, 2000; Gqola, 2021, p.168-169). In 2008 and 2015 young Black men went through townships toy-toying[28] and singing anti-apartheid struggle songs as they attacked and killed foreign nationals (Gqola, 2021), suggesting a relationship between heroic masculinities and xenophobic violence that extends beyond Diepsloot. The brutal manifestations of xenophobic violence may be interlinked with GBV (see Figure 4.17).

Figure 4.18 Facebook Data

Then, when our sons start murdering pregnant women, cutting out sisters into pieces then we begin making noise about GBV but here we are as a community burning someone alive Infront of our kids. Slaughtering a fellow human being simply [because] he [is] a foreigner?

you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares
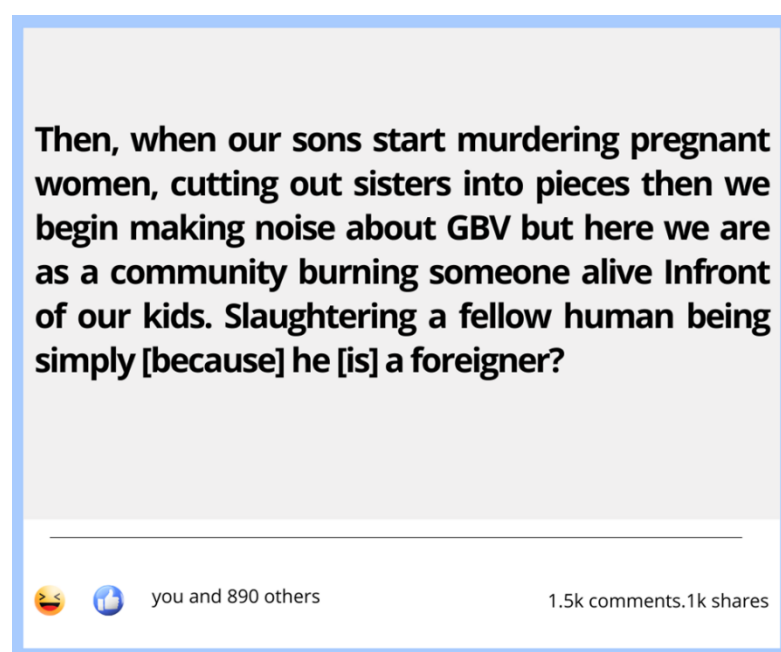
Suggesting that witnessing incidences of xenophobia may have implications for women's experiences of violence, and indicating that structural violences do not operate in isolation. The violence regime framework enables an analysis that looks at both the institutionalisation and production of xenophobia in Diepsloot in relation to other systemic forms of othering such as structural racism and patriarchal oppression. Utilising FB data and interviews this section frames xenophobia as a legacy of apartheid, with gendered implications for immigrant

---

[28] "Toyi-toyi" refers to a Southern African dance used in political protests, characterized by stomping, chanting, and high-kneed movements, often seen during anti-apartheid struggles and other demonstrations in South Africa and Zimbabwe.

women's (poor Black South African women in some instances) experiences of violence. In addition, this section looks at the embodied legacy of violence and its gendered manifestations – a heroic masculinity (Unterhalter, 2000; Gqola,2021). The normalisation of violence and its links to the past can be seen in the exchange about the treatment of migrants.

Section 7: Conclusion

The Diepsloot violence regime has been documented in this chapter consisting of interconnected sites conceptualised as drawing on legacies of colonialism and apartheid. Socioeconomic inequalities, structural racism and elements of the online and VAW site have been addressed in this chapter. Violence is framed as both a cause and a consequence of the regime – apartheid ingrained specific meanings and functionality to violence in ways that persist in post-apartheid South Africa and remain hard to undo.

Violence is embedded within the socio-political DNA of the country in so far as it is an inheritance passed down from generation to generation. Oppression and privilege are also inheritances that characterise the lives of Black and white South Africans in different ways, economics being an area in which this is particularly pronounced. Therefore, money is an organising feature in post-apartheid gender relations; race also shapes these experiences in particular ways, that make Black women vulnerable to GBV. Violence also constitutes of particular meanings such as a tool for stability, policing, liberation and equality that continue to inform how and why its employed in post-apartheid South Africa.

Apartheid racial stratification informs South African society in ways that cannot be separated from other sites of the regime; race informs the inheritance of oppression that continues to constrain the lives of Black South Africans in specific ways. Black women are further marginalised by the intersecting structures of gender, race and socioeconomic inequalities. This has implications for their experiences of violence in ways that are informed by colonial-apartheid notions of unrapeability. The experiences of migrant women are further characterised by the limitations posed by xenophobia and immigration status this is also systemic as shown by Dahlberg & Thapar-Björkert (2023).

The violence regime is not static it reproduces aspects and forms of violence – similar language used to degrade Black people during apartheid is used to disparage migrants. There are continuities in the function and meaning of violence, GBV in the context of gendered socioeconomic inequalities and a context characterised by precarity (see Chapter 5) is regarded as a tool of social stabilisation. Similarly, violence towards migrants is seen as a tool

to address structural issues such as poverty and crime. The violence regime also manifests in material conditions, the next chapter delves into infrastructural violence and the role of space in reproducing inequalities.

Chapter Five: Space and Power, A Conducive Environment

I think, especially in a context like South Africa, where apartheid was spatialised when you start looking at space, and where violence is concentrated, you have to consider the way in which spaces were designed to be deprived and what that means for violence (Interviewee 5, Researcher and GBV Specialist, White, F).

So, you know, in a way Diepsloot this product of apartheid absolutely a product of apartheid, where it's located, how it reflects the fact that there was no planned or structured integration, it just started grew and then eventually became formalised (Interviewee 28, Public Health Researcher and Academic, White, F).

Section 1: Introduction

In this chapter I argue that space is another site of the Diepsloot violence regime, that ensures the continued oppression and subjugation of the marginalised in geographic terms. Rather than viewing space as a neutral background to GBV, this chapter suggests that it is an integral factor that enables complicated gendered, classed and racialised relations of oppression, power and discrimination. For example, geographically secluded communities with limited resources may be excluded from access to important areas for political and economic engagement.

So, if you've got people living on the edge of cities and townships, it's very difficult then to get to places of employment. Which then means that economic marginalisation maintains (Interviewee 24, Historian on South Africa, White, M).

> *Oh yes so the first thing that I think is actually really important in terms of your question is just the geography … Diepsloot being where it is, which is actually on the outskirts and quite far away from job opportunities … that has to do with a lot* (Interviewee 28, Public Health Researcher and Academic, White, F).

Fincher & Iveson, (2008) refer to this as socio-spatial exclusion; equally, an analysis of social geographies of race has been used to explain the persistence of racial inequality in its varied and subtle forms (Neely & Samura, 2011). The focus on space aligns with a contextual lens that examines the historical and social environment in which GBV occurs.

Using interview data, the field visit to South Africa, and some Facebook data this chapter, interrogates power structures embedded within the architecture of Diepsloot. The term infrastructure is used in reference to physical structures and facilities (buildings, roads, power supplies, housing) as well as organisational structures and systems needed for the effective operation of a society (criminal justice, governance, social and economic systems, healthcare). The ineffectiveness and/or absence of infrastructure can be defined as a violence constituting its own site within the Diepsloot violence regime. The 'infrastructural violence site ensures the continued production of apartheid spatial legacies, ensuring exclusion continues to be firmly inscribed in the spatiality of Diepsloot, in ways that are reminiscent of the apartheid ideology of separate development.

> *Indeed, this model of society, or apartheid, is so inherently spatial requiring a stringent pattern of segregation and differentiation between (apparent) categories of people that without the township, and ultimately the regional compartmentalisation of society into discrete "national states" or Bantustans, the system will not work* (Mills, 1989; p.65).

The efficacy of apartheid was dependant on the construction of space to reflect the ideology of separate development and racial othering. Violence does not occur in a vacuum it has a geography, places where it concentrates and intensifies over time therefore it is imperative to excavate historical and contemporary patriarchal violence from a lens that is spatially

informed – looking at the stringent pattern of segregation as a construct and design of apartheid, and the subsequent infrastructural deprivation in post-apartheid South Africa.

Section one of this chapter outlines the concepts underpinning this chapter such as thirdspace theory, third place, infrastructural violence and gendered spatial legacies. Infrastructural violence is defined as a site within the violence regime framework; existing in symbiosis with gendered violence, including how poor service delivery is implicated in GBV. Using the concept of dangerous liminality to make sense of the ways in which black masculinities are informed by time, space and movement in ways that affect women's experiences of GBV. Section 4 looks at the ways in which infrastructural violence impacts the subjectivity of Diepsloot residents, using the notion of "place identity" to unpack these complexities. This section goes on to look at how infrastructural violence is implicated in the epistemic injustice of Diepsloot residents. Highlighting Diepsloot's geographic seclusion, lack of third spaces, schools and universities as an obstacle to knowledge production and innovation.

Section 2: Conceptual Framework

A few concepts are utilised to unpack the way in which context is implicated in women's experiences of violence in Diepsloot, this section outlines the core concepts in detail and the way in which they will be utilised throughout this chapter.

2.1 Infrastructural Violence

The concept of infrastructural violence was developed by Rogers & Oniel (2012, p.403) to highlight how "broader processes of marginalisation, oppression and exclusion become operational and sustained through infrastructure, either passively or intentionally" (2012: 401). It was derived from "infrastructural power" (Mann, 1984) and Graham's (2005, 2006, 2011) notion of "infrastructural warfare" which spoke to infrastructure as a channel for social regulation. Datta and Ahmed (2020, p.68) expand on this to include a gendered lens looking at how violence against women can be enabled by infrastructure, arguing that the absence and/or disconnectedness of infrastructure produces violence – coining the term intimate infrastructures.

Urban infrastructures can enable and embody multiple forms of violence against women; from the spectacular and immediate, to the slow, every day and intimate. Disconnections and absences of infrastructure – such as water and sanitation, to public transport and toilets – fracture peripheries and low-income neighbourhoods from resources, rights and mobility within the city, and in everyday life, enacting some of the largest tolls on women (Datta and Ahmed, 2020; p.68).

The term intimate infrastructures reflects how buildings and other physical structures are woven into the material and social relationships of urban life, creating intimate relationships with infrastructure which can materialise in forms of violence (Datta, 2019). Expanding on infrastructural violence to include structural racism scholars such as Fredericks (2018), McFarlane and Silver (2017) and Truelove (2011) speak to the breakdown of infrastructural systems such as water, sanitation and health, waste management, sewage and toilet access in the global south as a form of structural violence, and a manifestation of colonial legacies (Anand, 2018; Larkin, 2013). Additionally, Mbembé (2004) demonstrates how histories of racial prejudice materialise in urban infrastructures and city planning only to reinforce racially driven distinctions and hierarchy.

The same neighbourhoods, the same residential areas that were definitively pinpointed and created by apartheid mechanisms still exist. We've never gone and redressed our spatial planning so it means where the impoverished were 60 years ago is still were the impoverished are today … if you even just take the map of the city of Johannesburg, look at the segregation of residential areas, and you'll see that all township areas where Black people are supposed to reside in had one commuter belt, which used to be rail so you would be shipped into the CBD and then out that still is the same, we have never upgraded that infrastructure we have never decided to create corridors whereby we can have mixed residential areas, and instead of just being racially excluded from areas, you're also now economically excluded, which adds another paradigm (Interviewee 34, Political Economist, Black, F).

The racial compartmentalisation of apartheid extends into the present day in ways that ensure continued marginalisation and echo the past.

> *The history of Diepsloot is that people coming from here, were removed from Alexander and people in Alexander were moved from Johannesburg. So when white people came in, when they wanted to take over the town, they made sure to separate people by race and unfortunately, Black people were made to stay in overcrowded areas, and then what they made sure again was to ensure that Black people… the areas where the Black people stayed were far away to their places of work .So, what would normally happen would be the Black people would be paid weekly. However, the wages that they were receiving were only enough for their transportation for that week, so you go to work for transport, and money… and food, and that was it* (Interviewee 2, Community Engagement Officer (VAWG)/Diepsloot resident, Black F)

Using infrastructural violence and intimate infrastructures this chapter expands on gendered legacies to include spacialisation; indicating that racial prejudice materialised in urban infrastructure within Diepsloot continues to be experienced in extremely gendered, racialised and classed ways. The configuration of space is perhaps the most enduring legacy of colonialism and apartheid (see Low, 2018) this has implications for GBV.

2.2 Thirdspaces

Thirdspace theory was developed by Edward Soja (1996) to move beyond conventional techniques of understanding space, such as physical and sociological viewpoints, which he felt were inadequate. Soja (1996) suggested the notion of "Third space" as an alternative paradigm, an ever-changing and dynamic conceptual space that covers physical and mental worlds, merging people and community perceived reality, imagination, and lived experiences. Soja's theory of Third Space is derived from Henri Lefebvre's (1991) Lived Spaces, Foucault's (1986) Heterotopias, bell hooks' (1989) radical openness, and other notions, ideologies, and

standpoints. Soja emphasises the necessity of understanding metropolitan landscapes by addressing the interaction between physical space, social ties, and people's subjective experiences. He advocated for a more inclusive and black commun view of space that considered many perspectives, histories, and narratives. In summary thirdspace is a combination of physical lived space and conceptual space that is socially constructed. The concept illuminates that space is not a neutral backdrop, but rather a social product actively produced and shaped by social relations and practices (Lefebvre,1991).

A multidimensional approach to space is particularly important when looking at the multiple perspectives and histories that have informed the physicality of Diepsloot and consequently its residents. Additionally, thirdspace allows us to unpack the gendered infrastructural legacies that come with residing in Diepsloot by recognising that the space has been actively shaped and produced by white supremacist patriarchal social relations and practices. Therefore, similar to the notion of sociopolitical heritage as a gendered legacy proposed in the previous chapter in relation to violence, 'thirdspace' underscores a heritage of space and infrastructural violence in Diepsloot. This includes the gendered implications on women and girls' conceptual space that covers physical and mental worlds, and the complex interaction between identity, history, experience and space.

There has been other research using the notion of thirdspace, for example, Tatham-Fashanu (2021), Moje et al (2004) and Pahl and Rosewell (2005) who have spoken about thirdspaces in an educational context in which children existing in multicultural contexts construct a 'thirdspace', to bridge their home and school discourses. Diepsloot is a melting pot of people from different countries on the African continent and various tribes in South Africa. "We are a multi racial community some people even call it our mini rainbow nation, because you'd find people from Nigeria from Lesotho…"(Interviewee 22, Projects and Events Coordinator/Diepsloot resident, Black, F). In a lot of ways, it is a middle ground that requires bridging understanding between cultures and ethnicities. However, it has been a site for some of the worst xenophobic incidents ever witnessed in South Africa, as shown in the previous chapter.

Soja's (1996) Thirdspace theory differs from Oldenburg's (1989) concept of a third place which will also be used in this chapter; referring to a physical space distinct from the home (first space) or work (second space). Third spaces have been defined as museums, public libraries and parks, spaces in which individuals can experience a transformative sense of self, identity and relation to others. Third places are important for civil society, democracy, civic engagement and establishing feelings of a sense of place (Oldenburg, 1989). This chapter will speak to the lack of third spaces in Diepsloot in the form of parks, football fields, community spaces etc and the impact this has on social cohesion and identity. The lack of third spaces was noted by some interviewees as a contributory factor to violence in Diepsloot a "spatial injustice" (Soja, 1996). This informs the lens through which spatial legacies are viewed; calling attention to the geographical aspects of justice and injustice, emphasising the fair and equitable distribution of resources, services, and access as a basic human right (Soja, 1996).

Section 3: Infrastructural Violence, a Gendered Legacy

This section frames poor service delivery, defined as the distribution of basic resources that citizens depend on, such as water, electricity, sanitation, access to education and housing in South Africa (Campbell, 2014), as a form of infrastructural violence that imposes a significant burden on women and girls hindering mobility and creating opportunities for violence. The quality of life and historical factors have produced a temporal space which people move in and out of with no intention of permanent residence. A reverberation of discriminatory apartheid laws, that maximised access to Black labour whilst simultaneously sequestering Black people in deprived areas.

> *The land dispossession act of 1913, [and] the fact that people have not gotten land reform, anywhere near where it should be... is where you end up with an Alexandria, Diepsloot, or Khayelitsha precisely because of the legacy of cities ... attracting massive bodies of Black labour, but on the explicit understanding that they enter those working spaces/economic spaces as second class citizens, whether it's on the basis of poverty or access to decent facilities and services, or whether under apartheid you genuinely*

had to carry passes[29] and have the degradation and humiliation of showing that you have permission to be in your own country (Interviewee 6, Academic, Researcher, White, F).

Diepsloot is a legacy of apartheid era legislation which stole land owned by Black South Africans and relegated them to under resourced areas called Bantustans. Spaces that were constructed to facilitate oppression, these areas continue to function in similar ways to pass laws by restricting the access of its inhabitants to certain areas (see section 4.2). "You have this area which is halfway between Pretoria and Joburg, that is set up without an easy access to urban centres" (Interviewee 28, Public Health Researcher and Academic, White, F). The continuities of these discriminatory practices is also evident through townships/informal settlements which continue to be under resourced, underdeveloped and have limited access to basic services and facilities; this has gendered implications for women and girls.

The vast majority of these hotspots [referring to GBV hotspots] are in townships, townships have inferior infrastructure, and relatively poor socio-economic outcomes so if you have poor street lighting, or no street lighting, if you have an area which allows for layers of fear and marginalisation, especially townships which have not had the service delivery and the changes that people were promised, means that they're unsafe places for men and women but the crucial thing is, if you're in a patriarchal and violent society, then it is women who are more likely to be targeted in those circumstances (Interviewee 24, Historian on South Africa, White, M).

The absence of infrastructure that is crucial for public safety, a sense of security and community wellbeing has gendered outcomes in a patriarchal violent society.

---

[29] The Pass Laws was a system used to control the movement of Black, Indian and Coloured people in South Africa. The pass said which areas a person was allowed to move through or be in and if a person was found outside of these areas they would be arrested. A number of protest actions were held against these laws with the Apartheid State often responding with violence against the protestors (SAHO,2018).

I can also attest to saying the environment also contributes, we have so many informal settlements the population of people is too high, the rate of crime is too high. So, you can imagine the environment that we are living in; so it also contributes to GBV (Interviewee 22, Projects and Events Coordinator/Diepsloot resident, Black, F)

Infrastructural violence produces unsafe spaces that create a social geography of fear[30] for women, who are forced into a perpetual state of fear and vigilance.

I came back to South Africa, and it was like stepping back into a jail cell. I could not walk to the corner shop for milk after dark I had to take my car, even though it was 200 metres. So I realised that I had gone back to living in a state of normative vigilance and fear and I realised that there was an enormous amount of gendered labour involved, in which a woman put an enormous amount of effort into keeping themselves safe, and because of class poor women have got to travel or use public transport after dark, or they've got to get off the bus stop and walk home they pay a cost in permanent terror. They are always frightened I mean, that's basically the difference between middle class woman and working-class woman is the latter there is just never ever a break. So, I started writing about how South Africa operated as an enormous gendered carceral structure (Interviewee 6, Academic, Researcher, White, F).

Women's experiences of fear are nuanced; there is an additional burden to safety work for poor women who do not have access to the strategies available to middle class women to navigate infrastructural violences. The intersection of infrastructural violence and patriarchy imprisons women restricting their movement and occupation of public space which is limited to certain times and inaccessible after dark. Costing them their mental wellbeing, freedom

---

[30] Pain's (1997) framework social geographies of fear, showed how women's experiences of class, age amongst other things determine their levels of fear and reactions to violent crime. The framework comprises of four areas of geographical analysis including 1) the imposition of constraints on the use of urban space 2) the distinction between public and private space in perceptions of danger 3) the social construction of space into 'safe' and 'dangerous' places, 4) the social control of women in spaces.

and access; producing a state of permanent terror. Therefore, structural inadequacies and the subsequent social geographies of fear they create constrain women in specific ways that are further reflected through poor service delivery.

3.1 Poor Service Delivery a Black Women's Burden

Poor service delivery is a widespread issue in South Africa, the lack of robust infrastructure, resources and maintenance restricts the capacity of municipalities to provide services effectively. This is gendered, racialised and classed in particular ways, that increases poor Black women's vulnerability to GBV.

> *There is less resource in Diepsloot than in rich areas, you see things like inadequate roads, lighting and sanitation we know that these are all not causal factors necessarily, but they're highly correlated with high levels of violence and increased vulnerability ... of women and girls* (Interviewee 9, Head of GBV Org, White, F).

Legacies of socioeconomic inequalities (see chapter 3) are spatialised in ways that impact poor communities; however, women and girls are further constrained in particular ways that make them vulnerable to violence. Facebook data (see Figure 5.1) highlighted the gravity of loadshedding[31] in Diepsloot, with blackouts lasting several hours or even days. Whilst wealthy neighbouring suburbs such as Sandton, Dainfern and Fourways may experience similar blackouts, the length and lack of access to contingency provisions such as generators exacerbates the issue in Diepsloot. These areas are often occupied by white and middle/upper class Black people and other people of colour.

---

[31] Loadshedding refers to the deliberate shutdown of electric power in a part or parts of a power-distribution system, to prevent the failure of the entire system when the demand strains the capacity of the system (Dictionary.com,2024). This is reflective of South Africa's energy crisis (IISD,2024)

Figure 5.1 Facebook Data
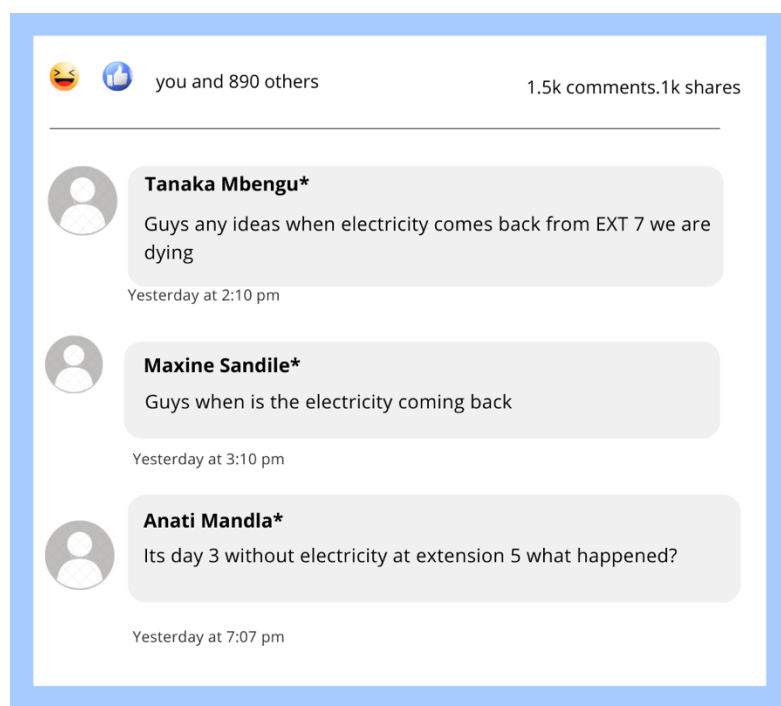
Healthcare facilities reflect the same deficiencies in their ability to provide services, curtailed by the electricity crisis amongst other issues –" Oliver Tambo (OR) is another hell clinic thanks to the almighty I am safe now with my baby" wrote Lungisa* in one of the Facebook groups. Showing the impact of inadequate facilities on women's experiences of neonatal care, additionally clinics and hospitals are overwhelmed and under resourced leaving room for back door health care services targeting women and girls.

> First day in Diepsloot, waiting outside the councillor's office next to OR Tambo Clinic where there is a long queue of people sitting in the sun waiting for healthcare assistance... safe abortion signs stuck everywhere with a number at the bottom; it doesn't appear to be a healthcare facility (Field Visit Diary Entry, 14.03.2023).

Infections and diseases are easily transmitted particularly within the squatter camps[32] due to the pressure on the limited health care services that are available.

---

[32] An urban area where people live in shacks (small buildings made of cardboard, wood or iron sheets that residents have built themselves) (Oxford Learners Dictionary,2024)

[In] hospitals, people are sick, HIV is spreading in the squatter camps because if you leave me here, I am going to the next [person]. I don't even need to go to the clinic to check my status because at the clinics, it's full anyway (Interviewee 26, Auxiliary Social Worker, Black, F).

Significant challenges within the healthcare infrastructure have gendered implications such as reduced access to sexual and reproductive health care and the increased risk of survivors contracting HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases (STD's). Furthermore, survivors have limited access to care after experiencing violence; "if I am a woman who has been raped, and we don't have proper health systems you don't have a clinic where you can go and they can test and check you" (Interviewee 23, Community Development professional/Diepsloot resident Black F). Apartheid legacies are implicated not only in the lack of access to healthcare facilities but in the type of services that are available to survivors.

The same thing you see with the health system which has also got some historical basis in apartheid – so where hospitals were built has a lot to do with where they were pre-existing communities. For example, one of the things with rape is that if you want to have a medical legal examination so you have evidence to support a case you have to travel from Diepsloot to Tembisa hospital[33] and that's a big barrier. So, unless the police transport the person and they might not even want to report the case to the police, they [may] just want to get health care, it's difficult. So even though they are primary health care clinics [in Diepsloot] it's still hard to actually get the appropriate level of health care for certain kinds of things. The clinics seem to function very well... but primary health care providers are not trained to deal with domestic abuse or with sexual violence (Interviewee 28, Public Health Researcher and Academic White, F).

---

[33] According to Google maps the distance from Diepsloot to Tembisa hospital by car is 30 mins, 2hrs 11 min by bus and approximately 6hrs 7min by foot.

The lack of appropriate care compounds survivors' experiences of violence; who have to navigate the constrains imposed by a violence regime on both a structural and interpersonal level. The interconnection of violences within the regime results in a domino effect in the lives of survivors whose inability to access relevant care may impede their access to justice. Race, patriarchy and economic disadvantage are also implicated in experiences of poor service delivery.

Figure 5.2 Facebook Data

Noxolo Gabatuse*

You have been complaining about electricity. It's so sad that your energy is always directed on the wrong people. People who are in charge of electricity or companies to do with electricity are mostly whites. Why is it loadshedding can only happen in poor communities and not in Sandton or rich suburbs? When poor people from poor communities suffer from not having service deliveries, everyone including foreigners suffer too. Why is it those from Sandton do not suffer with you and they don't blame foreigners?

Yesterday at 8:00 pm

Structural racism influences not only who has access to basic service delivery but the quality of service that is received – therefore despite political transformation in post-apartheid South Africa inequalities continue to be embedded within infrastructure in ways that ensure continued marginalisation.

> *The history of Diepsloot is that people from here, were removed from Alexander and people in Alexander were moved from Johannesburg. So, when white people wanted to take over the town, they made sure to separate people by race and unfortunately, black people were made to stay in overcrowded areas, and they [ensured] that the areas where black people stayed were far away [from] their places of work. So, what would normally happen [is] black people would be paid weekly however, the wages that they were receiving were [only] enough for their transportation for that*

week...and food, and that was it (Interviewee 2, Community Engagement, Officer, Black F).

This is especially pronounced for poor Black women and girls who exist at the bottom of a society that is stratified according to race, gender and class.

You have systems that have allowed violence to happen [but] then we only concentrate on the individual and not the system... so at the very, bottom of the ladder, unfortunately, whether we [are] talking of HIV, food insecurity, environmental issues, you [will] find the face of a Black girl or Black woman (Interviewee 8, GBV Activist and Researcher Black, M).

Deficient poor service delivery creates particular risks for Black women who are already grappling with a multiplicity of issues. For example, substandard health care facilities which drive illegitimate abortion services to address teenage pregnancies, as well as women experiencing challenges trying to access paediatric or antenatal care. The spread of HIV may have specific ramifications for women and girls who are disproportionately victims of GBV. Barriers to accessing adequate care after experiences of violence may hinder judicial processes, treatment for STI's and therapeutic intervention. Further, loadshedding may exacerbate fears around women's safety creating increased opportunities for violence to occur. Infrastructural violence has disproportionate impacts on Black women and girls, demonstrating how the marginalisation of Black women in Diepsloot increases their vulnerability to other forms of oppression; evidencing the complex interaction of sites within the violence regime.

3.1.1 Sanitation, Overcrowding and GBV
Several interviewees stressed the connection between environmental factors (i.e. sewage blasting, poor housing and pest infestations) and the lived experiences of women and girls including opportunities for upward mobility, human dignity and GBV. Figures 5.3 and 5.4 are photos that were taken during the field visit to Diepsloot which visually depict the issues around sanitation, refuse removal and waste management.

Figure 5.3 Diepsloot Lack of Waste Removal

Figure 5.4 depicts water in the street and poor housing consisting of makeshift walls made out of scrap metal and fabric.

Figure 5.4 Water Streaming on the Road in Diepsloot

Environmental factors contribute to a thirdspace whereby the dignity, aspirations and the ability to dream for women and girls is restricted.

Even the way that they [women and girls] are living needs to improve the environment needs to physically change they need better housing they need better sanitary things, their houses need to be taken care of they need to live like people and not like they are below par people, because even if you have a lot of aspirations in life the fact that you are going home to sleep on the floor and they are rats and cockroaches it makes [it] a lot harder for you to think of the bigger picture and dream so they need better housing, better water the sewage is always blasting there is always a lot going on and it is not a healthy environment (Interviewee 1, Self Defence Course Facilitator and Diepsloot resident, Black, F).

Racial inequalities are implicated in the construction and outcome of thirdspaces; influencing thoughts by posing epistemic and conceptual limitations.

The unfortunate thing is that people don't realise that I end up being in a shack because of my skin's colour and yet there are enough resources for all of us; and because I am not Black I am in this elite suburb, [so] I don't get to see that [referring to the disparities] on a day to day basis, therefore, I don't think it's connected but it's so connected [race and other inequalities]...this will also affect how I think, not what I think, how I think because of my surroundings, so there [are] a lot of limitations (Interviewee 8, GBV Activist and Researcher Black, M).

Within this context women's space for action may also reflect the ways in which infrastructural violence converges with other systemic inequalities to decrease women and girls' conceptual space to imagine and create other realities. Therefore, infrastructural violence extends to mental worlds, merging people's perceived reality, imagination, and lived experiences, highlighting the importance of a thirdspace analysis. Several interviewees called attention to the substandard living conditions of Diepsloot residents.

I think generally, because of the living conditions here most people stay in shacks, where the yard is shared by many people. It's like, it's either you own

> *a shack, and you are renting [from] the owner of the land, or you are renting*
> *a shack and there [are] many other people that stay in there, with you and*
> *your family* (Interviewee 25, Social Worker, Black F).

Shared living spaces that consist of various people creates opportunities for violence against children.

> *People are renting in one yard so, when they are renting in one-yard others*
> *know that [insert random name] works from 6am to 10am, and she left the*
> *kids alone so, they groom the children and end up raping them* (Interviewee
> 3, Community Engagement Officer, Black F).

Indicating that overcrowding is not a causal factor but may produce vulnerabilities that put children at further risk of violence. Remnants of apartheid-era planning and the density of Diepsloot also means that the streets are a maze, lacking a formal layout. Unreliable electricity grids and loadshedding mean that street lighting is unpredictable limiting women's access to communal facilities.

> *Structural issues, for instance, the roads in some places you found they were*
> *six communal toilets, lined up next to a stream how do we expect girls and*
> *women to go access those late at night, when you don't even have lights.*
> *Issues of water there could be communal water taps at a particular spot and*
> *so I think the advocacy helped us to look into things like that to say hang on*
> *we need to address these things, there was a bridge where people have to*
> *cross late at night, a lot of violence happened [there] more women were*
> *raped from that... I mean people [are] living in shacks, sometimes there is*
> *not even a road, to go to these shacks, people have to use little pathways to*
> *walk [and] no streetlights* (Interviewee 8, GBV Activist and Researcher,
> Black, M).

This geography is conducive to a lack of perpetrator accountability as it makes it easier to dodge police and evade justice it also reduces the capacity of survivors to escape and report

cases of GBV; the roads are too narrow for a police van, and officers are often too afraid to patrol on foot (Malan, 2015a)

> *It could be extension 13 or extension 1, 7 and 2 but, all these extensions [are] where the squatter camps are. So, in extension two, it has how many squatter camps, it has four... so it has four squatter camps, where people are clustered in one place, it's not a proper place [they] share the same toilet and [water] taps... extension 1 is clustered, as well. So, I'm thinking, that contributes to GBV, [and] many people stay there because you don't have to pay rent, you don't have to pay for electricity, you don't have to pay for anything* (Interviewee 25, Auxiliary Social Worker, Black, F)

Specific areas in Diepsloot are deeply characterised by infrastructural violence such that are framed as "non-places"[34] – poor housing results in residents contending with congested spaces that facilitate GBV. Addressing violence requires that the gendered legacies of infrastructural violence that are deeply embedded within the built environment are considered in GBV interventions.

> *To build cities, environments, neighbourhoods, towns and communities that are safe we need to build them to be more accommodating for women and that transcends from residential to our transportation and road through to things like sanitation* (Interviewee 34, Political Economist, Black, F).

Infrastructure can restrict women's movement, access and ownership of public space, contributing to a conducive environment for violence. Conducive environment is inspired by Kelly (2005)'s "conducive context" formulated through research in Central Asia on trafficking. Speaking to legacies of Soviet centralised control; under-used land, unemployed adults, Kelly

---

[34] Marc Augé's (1992) term for generic places such as bus depots, train stations, and airports which, however elaborate and grandiose, do not confer a feeling of place. As Gertrude Stein famously said of Oakland, there is no 'there' in a non-place. In direct contrast to places, which we tend to think of as being relational, historical, and concerned with identity, non-places are designed and intended for the frictionless passage of a nameless and faceless multitude. The paradox of non-places, according to Augé, is that anyone can feel 'at home' in them regardless of their actual background because they are equally alienating to everyone.

(2005) argued that these constituted a conducive context for trafficking and exploitation. Therefore, it was necessary to analyse and understand the interconnecting social, political and economic conditions within which exploitative operators profit from the misfortunes of others. Though the environment is part of the context it is spotlighted here to draw attention to the role of physical space as a conduit for GBV. The shift from context to environment stresses that infrastructure is not a neutral background to GBV in Diepsloot, the lived environment was constructed with the intention to disadvantage Black communities.

> *Apartheid was very intentional... for example a household that a Black family would live in had particular specifications I'm not even speaking about the exterior I'm talking about the dimensions inside. For me, it was as if it was an experiment to the extent that it wasn't just about what type of habitat you would reside in. The environment that you reside in was also quite clearly planned out, so even in townships today you find roads that are a particular dimension because Black people were never meant to have mass transportation, Black people were never meant to have suburban infrastructure whereby they could commute in and out everything had to be controlled* (Interviewee 34, Political Economist, Black, F).

"Conducive environment" emphasises that infrastructural violence has produced social geographies of race (see Neely & Samura, 2011) which are gendered in ways that reinforce the patriarchal hierarchy. Infrastructure has not been updated to serve the majority in post-apartheid South Africa perpetuating a conducive environment.

> *If you want a very tangible example, this is also partly the ANC's fault as well ... look at the problems that Eskom is having right now and you'll hear some people going, oh, you know, under apartheid, these things worked, etc, etc but they forget that infrastructure was designed for 15 to 20% of the population. It wasn't designed to maintain 100% of the population now that hasn't been updated and therefore there is now serious problems. Eskom's problems are partly of its own making but equally, the ANC inherited an infrastructural base, which was designed for the minority, not*

the majority. So how would you then change that, and then you take that point and extrapolate outwards, and you have to then think about health, and education. Obviously, employment as well is that everything was designed on racial exclusion and on serving the minority therefore, when you bring those barriers, down under formal apartheid, but then you're then trying to create a new equal society, it's very difficult because these things actually inhibit genuine change (Interviewee 24, Historian on South Africa, White, M).

Legacies of infrastructural violence are reproduced through a lack of fundamental change; undermining efforts towards equality in ways that make women vulnerable to violence. During the field visit, on a drive around Diepsloot, interviewee 33 a resident spoke about issues around sanitation and waste management stating, "this bridge [pointing to a dilapidated bridge] we used to walk by foot there... its dirty the river is flowing sewage every day, all the way from extension one" (Interviewee 33, Diepsloot resident, Black, M). This extends to community facilities such as educational institutions which are grappling with the same shortcomings in service delivery.

Figure 5.5 Facebook Data

This is the toilet of Diepsloot West Secondary School. Its been like this since we closed, and even when we reopened there is no water we are forced to use dirty toilets. When we speak, they keep saying that water wont be gone for long. The question is what if any learner fall sick here.

😆 👍 you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares
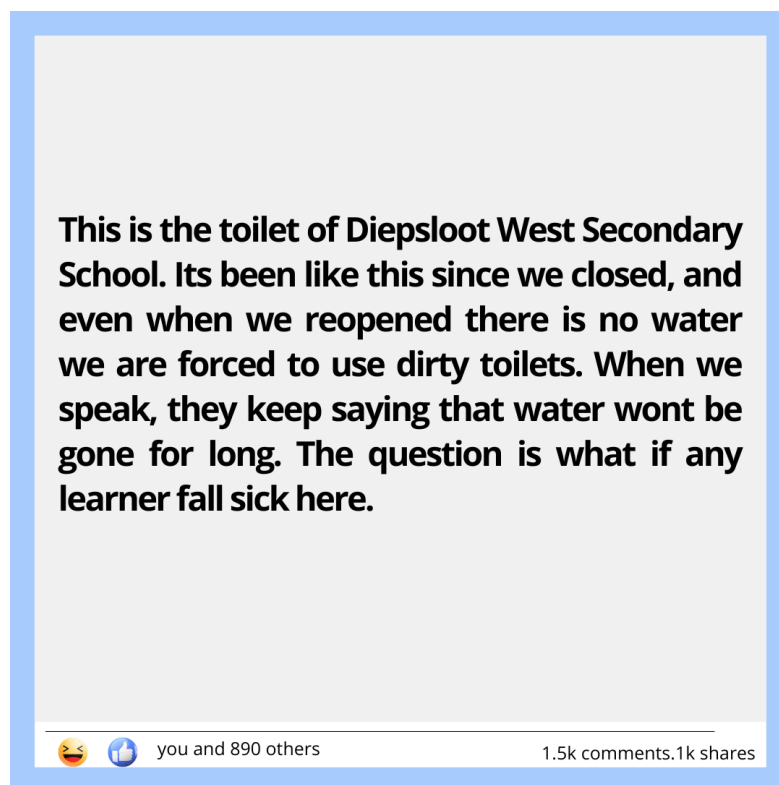
The breakdown in visible infrastructure reflects systemic and institutional issues within governmental services such law enforcement, education and healthcare – a conducive environment for violence.

> *Apartheid has created a geography that is very hard to undo which therefore creates these opportunities for violence...I think there [are] all those material inequalities whether they are expressed spatially, [through] housing all those kinds of things. I think those infrastructural points of view I was making might accentuate or create the conditions that make violence more likely. I mean, if we use Diepsloot for example; Diepsloot is a township created in 1994 and it never had a police station, I think it's got its police station in 2010, you've got these stats, they are fascinating for seeing how reports of rape, massively increase after 2010. A part of how one can explain some of those increases is the fact that there was now a place for women to go and report that didn't cost them money to travel to. Women no longer*

> *had to spend money to catch a taxi to go to Douglasdale [to report GBV]*
> (Interviewee 5, Researcher and GBV Specialist, White, F).

The absence of important infrastructure creates conditions that further enable women's unsafety; depriving them of spaces to speak[35] (see Wilson, 2016) report and seek justice, therefore the lack of a police station for 16 years is a violence in and of itself. It is important to note the agency women exercise despite the repressive circumstances they contend with; travelling the distance to report GBV in Douglasdale. Within a historical context whereby sexual violence was central to the colonial-apartheid project (see Gqola, 2015) the absence of spaces for Black women to speak about GBV and seek justice reinforces racist and sexist narratives around "unrapeability". Perpetrators can act with impunity, normalising and perpetuating GBV – despite the presence of a police station challenges for survivors persist.

> *I did workshops around the community asking them why they are not*
> *reporting their cases [referring to women], why are they not reporting rape*
> *why are they not reporting domestic violence, [and] they said the police*
> *station is far away from them and even when they want to report they have*
> *to walk 5km to [the] police station, along the way they get raped and killed*
> *by thugs...so they do not make it to the police station* (Interviewee 4,
> Women's Shelter Founder/Diepsloot resident, Black, M)

The Diepsloot violence regime produces nuanced gendered limitations that require more than a police station to address; the normative state of fear and vigilance that characterises women's experiences presents additional challenges in accessing the police station. Feminists have long noted that certain contexts facilitate GBV, for example family and institutions (see Pain, 1997) however history cannot be forgotten in shaping contexts and the infrastructure that exists within these environments.

This section shows that gendered legacies are inherent in the spatiality of Diepsloot in both the absence and the presence of infrastructure; marginalisation based on race, gender and

---

[35] Space to Speak is addressed in more detail in the next chapter.

class is sustained through urban infrastructures. The exclusion from services such as water, sanitation and electrical services results in both corporeal (Pierce et al, 2006) and mental and emotional suffering. Interviews with community professionals reflect that this suffering has specific implications for women and girls; making them vulnerable to GBV. Infrastructural violence narrows the possibility for women to engage in safety work while increasing men's space and permissibility to perpetrate violence with impunity (Kelly, 2003). The next section looks at the temporality of Diepsloot and the gendered implications.

3.2: Diepsloot a Transitory Community and the Gendered Implications: "Contexts talk to how people are shaped"[36]

Impermanence characterises Diepsloot most residents both international and national, having migrated from elsewhere to Diepsloot with no intention of residing there permanently. Most people arrive in Diepsloot not with the intention to stay but to use it as an in-between space until something better comes along.

> *When you talk to people in the area [Diepsloot], one of the things that always struck me when we were doing our research is that people talk about it in a transient way so they say, oh, you know, I'm only staying here until I find a good job opportunity, and then I'm going to move into town. So even though people have been living there for more than 10 years, they will still not describe it as being their home. Home is still where I came from, where I migrated from and then also where I see myself, where I want to go, like not necessarily where I am* (Interviewee 28, Public Health Researcher and Academic White, F)

Landau (2014) describes the political and legal condition of nonbelonging as the permanent temporariness of informal settlements, or the liminality of non-citizenship. Tonkiss and Bloom (2015) argue that nonbelonging – like being stateless or having noncitizen status – is not simply the absence of belonging but is a condition. This is influenced by the forms of

---

[36] Interviewee 8, GBV Activist and Researcher Black, M

infrastructural violence outlined in the previous sections which impede the development of a sense of belonging amongst residents.

> *We live in an area where people don't wish to live, and some people are surprised that how do you survive to living in an area like this [with bad] health facilities [and] sewage on the road* (Interviewee 4, Women's Shelter Founder/Diepsloot resident, Black, M).

> *[Diepsloot and another township in Capetown] they both are very destabilised communities they are not marked by settled-ness and established-ness people come there because they are moving in to find somewhere else to go* (Interviewee 5, Researcher and GBV Specialist, White, F)

The transitory nature of Diepsloot influences the way in which space is occupied and embodied by residents, due to limited financial and emotional investment – Diepsloot is not their "home" their attachments lie elsewhere.

> *Structural challenges may affect how people behave, for instance these men don't think Diepsloot [is] their home because they come from other provinces in South Africa and this is a transitional place for them; but you end up spending three years, five years, seven years living here. So, they never regarded Diepsloot as their community and therefore, perhaps, the reluctance to look after the community, so to speak* (Interviewee 8 GBV Activist and Researcher Black, M).

A juxtaposition exists between the transience of Diepsloot and the unintended permanence the place ends up having for its residents, this is indicative of informal settlements elsewhere. Which are defined not in terms of structural formality, but as unregulated meeting places of people moving into, out of, and through in search of profit, protection and passage elsewhere (Lau et al, 2021). Legacies of apartheid spatial planning are evident in the way Black people move to spaces on the periphery of big cities in search of economic opportunities. Political

Economist Interviewee 34 notes "we have a country that was built on the foundations of segregation, that was on racial lines, where we now see the segregation also travailing on spatial lines, which are also economic lines". Producing a context like Diepsloot with a substandard quality of living and not conducive to long-term occupation. There is a marked difference in the way residents navigate life in Diepsloot versus their home provinces.

> We came into Dieplsoot most of us looking for a job in Gauteng the city of gold... most people say that they are not from here they are not from Diepsloot they belong to other provinces that they came from so when they are here they misbehave they lose all the morals they lose all their values but when you check [on] them visiting [a] funeral [in] their home villages it is a different person, it is not the same one who is using vulgar [language] almost every single day; who is using violence but when they are in their home they are respected they have values they have morals, I think one of the things that influence the behavioural change in Diepsloot is how people react when they are here in Diepsloot they say that we are not here for making friends we are just here to make money and go back to our home state (Interviewee 4, Women's Shelter Founder, M).

The permanent temporariness of Diepsloot creates detachment and (dis)embodied narratives of passing through that influence the ways residents act – contrary to the ways in which they navigate places deemed as 'home' characterised by stability. The pursuit of economic opportunities and a better life that determines migration to Diepsloot comes with a particular mindset.

> You come from a different country, you don't have any documentation you don't know anyone in this country already your mindset is, I need to hustle (Interviewee 22, Projects and Events Coordinator, Black, F)

> So, for me, I think the kind of precarious life that people lead in Diepsloot which is you know, I mean, people are hustling all the time. It's a really a word that you'll come across if you haven't already, you know, this idea of

the hustle you know, people will do whatever they can to be able to feed their kids and it becomes the most important thing and so in that context I think there's the sort of the deeper root of gender based violence being having this political edge (Interviewee 28, Public Health Researcher and Academic White, F).

Diepsloot as a place of economic gain means people will go to great lengths to provide for their families, this permits a hustle mentality – forgoing the ethics or legality of certain acts and approaches which may contribute to understanding what underpins GBV in Diepsloot. Additionally, the absence of governance and accountability structures may also perpetuate the distinct moral and value systems portrayed by residents in Diepsloot versus their home provinces.

Then you have the additional complexity of people who've migrated from rural areas, into cities and are holding values of the rural communities, but without the social sanctions of community structures. So, if you live in a rural village, and there is a traditional leader in your village and [that] doesn't mean to say violence doesn't happen, violence does happen there but if gender-based violence happens there might be some sort of repercussions for the individual or the family if it's reported whereas those structures don't really exist in Diepsloot (Interviewee 28, Public Health Researcher and Academic White, F).

Non-existent social sanctions are reflective of the infrastructural violence that perpetuates GBV with impunity contributing to the abject and dystopian quality of informal settlements (Lau et al, 2021). Legacies of forced removals took people from the land that they owned and used for their sustainability and livelihood; which encompassed specific community structures. This raises questions about the construction and inferences of spaces.

There is fairly conservative stuff that looks at the broken windows theories of criminology, and safer cities, which often tend to focus on moving signs of disorder out … that is a conservative interpretation, but I think they have

an idea that could lend itself to something more interpretive, when they start asking, what is it that tells people that certain spaces give you permission to behave in particular ways? And that's often on a very unconscious level. I got interested in these questions, for instance, in Hillbrow, how do people decide which street would be appropriate for sex work and which not? How do people work out how they are going to have heterosexual sex workers here and trans sex workers there? I am very interested in how people organise space, and how they look at the space and think, okay, we can do this here, but we can't do that here. So that kind of spacialisation, what people do in spaces, how space forms identity, how spaces link up? How you move through different spaces throughout the day, and you might be a kind of person in one space, but another in a different space, because you think you can behave differently. So, it is understanding how spacialisation works. What is it that says to people about their behaviour and what kind of person they can be in that space? (Interviewee 5, Researcher and GBV Specialist, White, F)

The ambiguity and anonymity allowed by a temporal space permits particular behaviour; contributing to a conducive environment for violence. Impermanence and infrastructural violences create a context of "dangerous liminality" a concept formulated in an attempt to answer some of the questions presented by interviewee 5.

3.3: Dangerous Liminality and Gender Constructions

Liminal comes from the Latin limins or limen meaning a threshold between two places (Carson, 2016; McConnell, 2016; McConnell & Dittmer, 2018; Madge & O'Connor, 2005; Szakolczai, 2015). The concept of liminality as a stage of transition was created by Van Gennep (1960) and further developed by anthropologist Turner (1967; 1982) speaking to rites of passage and the state in which individuals and groups transition from one category in society to another through separation from their previous social identity. This results in experiencing a limina; a period when the individual is neither the identity that they formerly held nor the new identity that they will transition to (Turner ,1967, 1982). "Liminality" denotes experiences of transition

and ambiguity (Downey et al., 2016; Mälksoo, 2012). Capturing arguments made in the previous section showing that the identities and subsequent behaviours of Diepsloot residents are in a state of constant transit dependant on where they find themselves contextually. Geographical conceptualisations of liminality emphasise the spatial looking at margins, thresholds, betweenness, places of confinement and exile, journeying, and pilgrimage (McConnell & Dittmer, 2018). Several interviewee's description of Diepsloot encapsulates elements of geographical liminality.

> *[Diepsloot] is a transit community we have a lot of people, and the space is small, so many people are staying in one place, so I think that is another thing that is causing more cases [of GBV]* (Interviewee 2, Community Engagement Officer, Black, F).

> *This is a transit community, so as a transit community... let me give you an example people are coming in foreigners from Zimbabwe, they stay in one shack [of] 10 to 15 people in one place...so violence is happening in front of [the] children* (Interviewee 3, Community Engagement Officer, Black, F).

The idea of "dangerous liminality" conceptualises a physical context characterised by infrastructural violence, transition, ambiguity and existing on the margins; how people navigate these spaces and the gendered implications. For example, perpetrators taking advantage of the chaos, lack of social cohesion and the anonymity of a temporal space to escape accountability (Malan, 2017). Dangerous liminality considers the threat to women's safety as a byproduct of precarious infrastructure that creates a conducive environment for violence.

> *Public health starts to look at things like urbanisation and infrastructure, but they have also picked up [the] fact that where you have a high degree of instability, and people coming and going; those kinds of spaces and places may also seem to create the openings for increased levels of violence* (Interviewee 5 Researcher and GBV Specialist, White, F).

These "openings" are made possible through legacies of apartheid which continue to shape contemporary South Africa specifically Diepsloot here, creating what I term Dangerous Liminality. Which incorporates how movement and transition has been critical to the construction of Black masculinities – forced migration between spaces has symbolised a shift from freedom and status to "boys".

> *Understanding masculinities as kind of like mobile, as not fixed, drawing from Rosie Broady's work of speaking of nomadic subjectivity; how do we think of gender but specifically man as nomadic and therefore not fixed, and therefore always in motion, and therefore always dynamic, and always in pursuit of new knowledges new ways of being new ways of understanding what constitutes our identity... Looking at specifically the ways in which the labour migration system of colonialism and apartheid [resulted in] black men going from rural areas into new urban centres really impacted their psychology, because they went from positions of chieftaincy in some cases, positions of home rule where they had such importance to be boys to white families... The move from rural to urban areas I think that's where the kind of crux is right, where the notions of masculinities really shift quite dramatically. When now, a man who was supposed to be the father of the house, goes to the urban areas becomes the boy even the nonhuman in some instances* (Interviewee 18, Masculinities Academic, Black, M).

Men's physical repositioning from spaces of perceived stability and permanence – "home", to liminal spaces of impermanence shapes constructions of masculinity in ways that echo historical legacies. The colonial-apartheid labour migration system reconfigured men's positions and access to power, which continues in contemporary SA highlighting the connections across time space in ways of being a man. Black men's physical repositioning stripped them of access to invest in and draw capital from dominant ideas of what it means to be a man; the same material conditions continue to be a lived reality.

> *The culture of violence in South Africa, which is a result of apartheid resulted in a lot of damage separating families, men having to go and live far away*

from their families, the implications in the long term, for families and relationships. It's almost as if our men have not been able to somehow separate from that era, they are still living life as if that is still the reality and people have failed to come back and just be present (Interviewee 29 Mental Health Org Founder, Black, F).

The production of infrastructural issues under a regime of violence makes it hard to draw a separation between the past and present contributing to a dangerous liminality – the fragility of masculine identity is further emphasised within a context of fragmentation and dislocation.

I think what apartheid did is to instigate violence because then you would be restricted in where you go, what you wear, what you eat the type of education you'll get, association where you could be and issues of land because we were dispossessed of that. The family structure was broken, albeit how we defined it, you know males were forced to go and work in the cities and the mines leaving their families behind and I think all of that together just disjointed nation or nations (Interviewee 8, GBV Activist and Researcher Black, M).

Space and place are reflective of a racially and economically stratified society – influencing the resources/capital from which men can draw on to be men; shaping how men express themselves as men.

I see my compatriots when I go to visit my mother in Thembisa, which is a location in South Africa, and the ways in which the men there are engaging [in] a particular script of masculinity without really thinking about it, it really breaks my heart... I can carry my son as a black man in Soweto or in Thembisa because I'm a middle-class man, educated and I have money and all of those things that I can then use as a shield, but your regular man who works [a] working class job, who has to deal with other working-class men who don't prescribe to that, will have a much more difficult psychological and emotional time, trying to balance all those things. So those class

disparities, those race disparities, religious disparities, ability disparities, all of those things come to come to play and kind of enforce ways people perform masculinity as a kind of a single way that just says, okay, it's just easier to be a man this way because nobody will question my identity (Interviewee 18, Masculinities Academic, Black, M).

Dangerous liminality emphasises the role that context plays in how men engage in masculine construction influenced by other factors such as class and race. Further research is required to assess how women's identities are influenced by a dangerous liminality beyond their experiences of GBV. However, they engage in collective safety work (see chapter 5) to protect their communities and themselves.

So, you would find that the person here does not have [a] family around them most of them I realised have created families. I actually love it for them that you know, they have decided to have chosen families to say, if we stay in the same yard, you take care of my children, and I also take care of your children, if I'm not here, you make the things happen and I also make the things happen for you, so even when we do safety plans [and] you ask them, who knows about what happened, who can [we] talk to...it's never a family member (Interviewee 25, Social Worker, Black F).

Women create close knit communities and co-develop strategies to ensure collective safety within a dangerous liminality; including shared responsibility for childcare and safety planning. Constrictions and restrictions of masculinity jostle based on location and positionality. This section drew on notion of dangerous liminality as underscoring masculinity and GBV as spatially informed. There may also be an inheritance that comes with existing in a particular place – a heritage of place. One interviewee stated, "[the] intergenerational trauma that men, Black men have inherited, as part of, what our forefathers had to go through grandfathers, fathers, uncles that we grew up with". Spatiality informs this heritage and its continuity, partially due to the spacialisation of apartheid oppression.

Legacies of restricted/forced movement imposed on black people during apartheid; such as the fragmentation of relationships, identities and communities, as a splintering of a nation or nations. This was accompanied by land dispossession which continues to have gendered implications for women's financial independence. Challenging the common rhetoric, the spacialisation of apartheid power dynamics and the subsequent restriction around mobility were applauded by interviewee 32.

> *You know, if there is something that I salute in the whole world its apartheid because it's not everything that is bad about apartheid. Apartheid was making this country functional, this country [was] working with morals...I'm not saying apartheid was good, but I respect the structure of apartheid because even the movement of people you will not move just around the township anytime you want, for security reasons (Interviewee 32, Youth Worker, GBV Artivist, Black M)*

This may reflect what Dlamini (2010, p.1) conceptualised as "native nostalgia" challenging the notion that Black people who lived under South African apartheid have no happy memories of the past. Dlamini argues that "despite the poverty and crime, there was still art, literature, music, and morals that, when combined, determined the shape of black life during that era of repression"(Dlamini, 2010, p.1). The idea of morals mentioned by interviewee 32 is reiterated in Dlamini (2010)'s thesis, potentially pointing to what underpins apartheid nostalgia in Diepsloot. The restriction of movement – the structure and security this represented according to interviewee 32 – accents potential anxieties around crime and violence in post-apartheid South Africa. Dangerous liminality attempts to hold these complexities; acting as a synthesis of past and present to understand gendered violence in Diepsloot.

Section 4: Spatiality and Subjectivity

Living in a space grappling with infrastructural violences can affect human dignity and influences the subjectivity and/or place identity and attachment of residents reflected by the transitory nature of Diepsloot. Place identity refers to a conception of the self that has been

constructed based on the place to which individuals belong and incorporates elements related to the public image of that place (Hay, 1998; Uzzell et al., 2002). Place attachment implies affective bonds between people and their surroundings (Altman & Low, 1992; Devine-Wright & Grubb,2007;Werner et al., 1993) and the desire to maintain the relationship with the place over time and at different stages in their lives (Giuliani, 2003, Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001).

4.1 Place Identity Characterised by Discursive Legacies

Several interviewees commented on the subjective implications of living in a dangerous liminality conducive to violence.

> *How does living in an environment where there is no dignity and where people think of you automatically as [a] criminal what kind of subjectivity does that give you?* (Interviewee 5, Researcher and GBV Specialist, White, F).

Place identity is informed by context and the connotations that come with living in a particular space, the media reinforces these negative narratives; Table 5.1 shows headlines from different publications between 2015 and 2024 that represent some of the common reporting around Diepsloot.

Table 5.1 Discursive Legacies Newspaper articles

Article Title	Year of Publication	Publication/newspaper
Diepsloot: Where men think it's their right to rape	2015	The Mail and Guardian
Diepsloot: A place of hell for women	2016	Bhekisisa
Diepsloot mob killing: 'Cops lured me by promising me a job' - murder accused claims	2023	News 24

Diepsloot 5: 'Innocent' residents left with consequences of inadequate policing	2023	Eyewitness News
Police identify and arrest members of gang 'terrorising' Diepsloot	2024	TimesLIVE
Diepsloot residents hope Gauteng SOPA will address crime	2024	The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) News

A disparaging image of Diepsloot is painted by publications reflecting what I term discursive legacies this is not balanced by some of the positive things happening in the township.

> *Diepsloot is just one of those townships, I think in the news you read all the wrong things or maybe all the negative things about Diepsloot... but there is so much more to it you know there is quite a lot of people that are talented in Diepsloot; quite a lot of people like myself that are leading you know transforming the lives of others* (Interviewee 14, Youth worker and Diepsloot resident, Black, M).

Discursive legacies of apartheid continue to perpetuate narratives that render certain areas and the people (usually Black and coloured) who inhabit them as dangerous, decontextualising these spaces from the draconian social and economic policies of the apartheid era and their ramifications (Gilson & Mcintyre, 2001). However, Diepsloot resident interviewee 13 reiterated that "bad goes hand in hand with the good it's a small town with multiple talents and maintains a good *Kasi* culture"[37].Emphasis on negative narratives reinforces racialised and classed ideas of place identity and subjectivity.

> *The way in which media presents, particular demographic groups in South*
> *Africa is still very much along racialised, classed lines that then foreground*
> *a specifically black narrative not in the pursuit of actually engaging openly*
> *with blackness, but then to kind of point to the fact that look at those black*
> *people* (Interviewee 18, Masculinities Academic, Black, M).

Dangerous liminality and spatial legacies of segregation facilitate othering; allowing narratives that problematise poor Black people in South Africa living in places like Diepsloot. The absence of a critical engagement with negative narratives reinforces colonial-apartheid discourse around poor Black people; the notion of GBV hotspots (see figure 5.6) emphasises these discursive legacies.

---

[37] *Kasi* from the Afrikaans *lokasie* referring to a neighbourhood in a city or an area around a city occupied predominantly by black South Africans. A term that can be traced back to segregation under apartheid but now utilised as a means to denote affinity to a particular place.

Figure 5.6 GBV hotspots

Top 30 GBV hotspots

1. Delft	16. Dobsonville
2. Mamelodi East	17. Bloemspruit
3. Tembisa	18. Diepsloot
4. Umlazi	19. Mitchells Plain
5. Empangeni	20. Ikageng
6. Nyanga	21. Osizweni
7. Inanda	22. KwaMashu
8. Temba	23. Ntuzuma
9. Khayelitsha	24. Kopanong
10. Kwazakhele	25. Honeydew
11. Alexandra	26. Kraaifontein
12. Moroka	27. Gugulethu
13. Mthatha	28. Orange Farm
14. Mfuleni	29. Butterworth
15. Plessislaer	30. Bellville

(Source, News 24 Mphanga, 2020)

The 30 GBV hotspots identified by the South African Police Services in 2020 show where violence is concentrated which is predominantly in townships inhabited by Black and coloured people, with Diepsloot at no.18. The 30 GBV hotspots inadvertently serve to problematise poor Black people; while the focus is on these hotspots other spaces are out of view for example, GBV in affluent white communities. The lack of engagement with why violence is concentrated in these places reproducing discursive legacies specifically colonial-apartheid rhetoric around race and GBV. A FB member shared figure 5.6, producing engagement amongst other members see figure 5.7.

Figure 5.7 Facebook Data
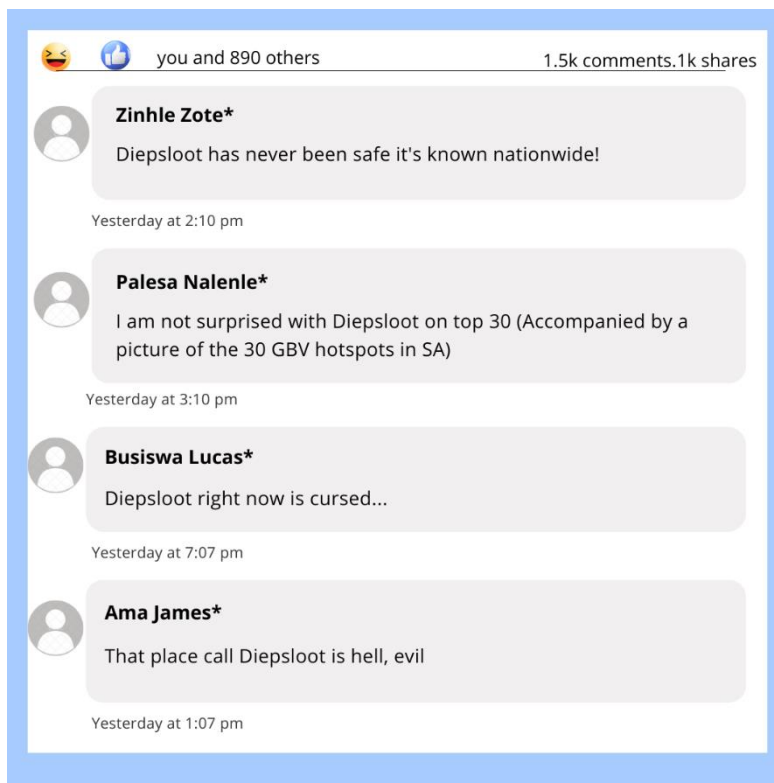
30 GBV hotspots reinforced residents negative place identity which raises questions about the function of naming contexts characterised by dangerous liminality hotspots. Is it a useful framing that allows us to delve into the construction of spaces; why some lend themselves to GBV and why some do not? Posed here is the argument that negative narratives on Diepsloot are not balanced with positive narratives; which results in a place identity rooted in colonial-apartheid narratives around spaces predominantly occupied by poor Black people. This has gendered implications, the previous chapter demonstrated how the attention economy influences the media coverage given to poor Black women's experiences of violence, this is spatially informed as these women often reside in areas characterised by infrastructural violence. These contexts hinder equal participation in knowledge production – epistemic injustice.

4.2 Epistemic Injustice and GBV Prevention: "We are experts of our own context"

Epistemic injustice affects who gets to participate in the production of knowledge and solutions addressing social issues such as GBV and poverty in Diepsloot; oftentimes resulting

in the exclusion of residents despite expert knowledge of their context. Epistemic injustice (see Fricker, 2007) in the Global South is fundamentally about imperial/colonial legacies; highlighting how practices of knowledge-making can unfairly silence, undervalue, and exclude the capacity of systematically marginalized communities to produce knowledge claims and speak for themselves as rightful knowers (Bhargava, 2013). Inequalities embedded within the physical environment are a conduit for epistemic injustice in Diepsloot; there is an absence of infrastructure conducive to knowledge production and innovation.

> *There [could be] schools-built universities [and] playgrounds that will lessen people resorting to liquor because they have nothing to do, if we have [a] sports ground, swimming [pools] [and other] activities that will keep [us] busy* (Interviewee 4, Women's Shelter Founder/Diepsloot resident, Black, M).

Several interviewees highlighted an absence of third spaces in Diepsloot which limits the opportunities available to residents for recuperation.

> *I think [that's] a big one... the issue of young people not having places to go to, like sport parks and you just stay in a shack and [its] overcrowded* (Interviewee 8, GBV Activist and Researcher Black, M).

Infrastructural violence and the subsequent epistemic injustices are characterised by both the absence of schools and universities and a substandard education system.

> *So, they are there are multiple layers, so you know, other apartheid consequences are things like, very unequal education system. So, the quality of education in schools in Diepsloot is not going to be the same as the quality of education that someone will get in a suburb of Joburg for sure not. So then, you know, sort of even the kids that are going to school and getting an education are not getting the same quality education may not end up with opportunities after school, to be able to either study further or to get jobs or and there are always exceptions of people who do manage, despite*

really harsh situations, but, I mean, that's another consequence of apartheid is our education system, which is incredibly uneven (Interviewee 28, Public Health Researcher and Academic White, F).

I am thinking, in terms of service delivery, our government, how much they are lacking in terms of improving the life of [our] people and making sure that at least certain things are in place, for example, accessible education.... they have changed the system, it's now way too difficult for kids to go to school, some of these children, maybe their parents are not from here, but they were born here (Interviewee 26 Auxiliary Social Worker, Black, F)

Racist apartheid policies created asymmetrical education systems that produce disparate outcomes, reducing the skills and tools at the disposal of the marginalised to progress in life and to equally participate in the production, dissemination and circulation of knowledge.

A lot of programs are needed to distract them [referring to young people] so that after school they come together and maybe play sport or play chess a lot of things like that they don't have such facilities their sports grounds are not that great and they are only a few of them I think two or three and it is a big township (Interviewee 1, Former Self Defense Course Facilitator/Diepsloot resident, Black, F).

Several interviewees implied that a lack of third spaces had gendered implications suggesting that a lack of distraction for young men and boys resulted in violence.

We are already raising a generation of perpetrators... at the age of 5, 6, 7, [because] children are learning survival modes, how to survive, not in a way that is correct, not in the right manner because there [is no] school (Interviewee 26 Auxiliary Social Worker, Black, F).

A lack of third spaces is compounded by the location of Diepsloot which is on the margins of Johannesburg, distance is a barrier to access.

So, when the laws [and] the rules were made, there were not catering for people in the lower-class. Sandton they can access everything it's so easy, it's so easy when you go to home affairs it easy, basically, they will attend to you easily. How much is it to go to Randburg R22[38] I need the R22 for food so if I'm going to go back again tomorrow, I would rather remain without an ID so you know, I think that the government is also playing a huge role in making sure that people are staying down you know, so that's what I could say (Interviewee 26 Auxiliary Social Worker, Black, F).

Distance and economic access pose barriers to acquiring the documentation needed to access education. Contrasting this with the experiences of those residing in more economically advantaged neighbourhoods like Sandton. Figures 5.8 and 5.9 show what it looks like entering Diepsloot, there is nothing else in the immediate surrounding areas except greenery highlighting the seclusion of the area.

Figure 5.8 Entering Diepsloot

---

[38] Randburg is a residential area in Johannesburg the driving distance between Randburg and Diepsloot is 30.7km around taking around 23 minutes.

Figure 5.9 Entering Diepsloot Surrounding Areas

This falls into Galtung (1969)'s definition of structural violence; inadequate infrastructure and architecture increases the literal and figurative distance between the potential of Diepsloot residents and their lived reality. A 'slow violence' that highlights the erosive and pervasive impacts of continued exclusion from basic social and physical infrastructures (Appel, 2018; Nixon, 2011). Further problematising the geographical configuration of Diepsloot and other townships, Interviewee 5 references the Sanitation Syndrome by Swanson (1977), speaking to legacies of racism in public health and the development of townships in South Africa.

> It's very interesting if you're thinking about spacialisation, because he [Swanson] looks at how epidemics were the basis for the creation of segregation and townships in South Africa... here in Gauteng an outbreak of [the] bubonic plague led to the establishment of Kliptown. So, what has happened is that places have been created to hide people off into [places that have been] deprived of all sorts of things, [places] that have been set up as containers of epidemic. So then, for me, it's quite astounding 100 years later to see that unconscious use being translated into the way people think about HIV and where it's spatialised, you know, you've created a situation

where you can concentrate problems in one place (Interviewee 5, Researcher and GBV Specialist, White, F).

The deprivation of Diepsloot is directly linked to the spatial construction of the area, the factors such as distance, seclusion, deprivation and oppression which create conditions for epistemic injustice are deeply embedded in its architecture. The use of statistics, pointing to the way in which they can result in problematising poor Black people.

> *This can sometimes be the danger of statistics, and you can see it in work around HIV, which was also looking at trying to spatialise the 28 places in the country where HIV is the highest, you can end up problematising poor Black people* (Interviewee 5, Researcher and GBV Specialist, White, F).

Organisations and forums in Diepsloot are excluded and undermined during externally driven research projects.

> *Thats the worst part because they happened to have Sonke Gender Justice representing Diepsloot and they are not housed here in Diepsloot, they just have programmes in Diepsloot. They were accommodated in one of the offices to say you can run the service, you know, Sonke Gender Justice we love their services in Diepsloot, we respect their services, you understand? So, it [was like] if they are going to use Sonke Gender as a representative of Diepsloot when we have [the] Diepsloot forum it's undermining. It's like getting a baby in your house, or your sister's baby in your house and then someone comes, and the baby represents the house* (Interviewee 32, Youth Worker GBV Artivist, Black M)

This reflects concerns around decontextualised knowledge that does not adequately reflect resident's lived experience. Interviewee 12 who founded and runs a GBV organisation in Diepsloot also shared these reflections.

I stay in [an] informal settlement [in] South Africa, right? It will be a challenge for me to go to America and start implementing solutions that are targeted based [on the] challenges that are [in] Diepsloot... I need to be someone who stays in America who understands the dynamics and challenges [faced] by American people. [The] same applies [for] South Africa we have organisations which are funded to tackle gender-based violence but we hardly see their impact, we hardly see the difference they make because they [are] not part of [this] community. They are not around when we face problems at night, when we have sleepless nights, when we get the calls to say we need support in 123. We need people to start advocating for local organisations so that we provide solutions that we know [are] going to benefit the community because I am living in this community (Interviewee 12, Founder GBV Org/Diepsloot resident Black M).

These concerns reflect tensions in international development and the power dynamics between the global north and global south, which determine who receives funding and how impact is measured, judging impact via quantitative metrics seldom captures the bigger picture nor the effectiveness of a project: "so [right] now we have organisations who are being funded for [the] sake of numbers [and] statistics [so they can] say we did this and that in South Africa" (Interviewee 12). Epistemic injustice – who is perceived as the "knower" or the "expert" and the "subject" – is informed by context (global north and south divide), and colonial-apartheid constructions of space and who inhabits it. Furthermore interviewee 12 points to the unequal distribution of resources and the importance of decolonising funding so its accessible to community-based organisations in Diepsloot.

We need to start being genuine and ethical to say how about a certain percentage of the funding goes to people on the ground, to solution-based programs to be implemented by people who are actually staying in those communities... that's when [we will] be able to make an impact (Interviewee 12, Founder GBV Org/Diepsloot resident Black M).

This section has explored how epistemic injustice is informed by space, inequalities are embedded within the infrastructure and the construction of Diepsloot. Located on the outskirts of Johannesburg access to mechanisms for knowledge production is limited including third spaces, universities and schools. Power imbalances that exist within global and national funding structures often hinder access for Diepsloot community organisations. This also highlights the reinforcing nature of violence regime sites – infrastructural violence, physical violence, and socioeconomic inequalities (see previous chapter) are implicated in the systemic exclusion and silencing of residents. Ultimately, the poor quality of life because of infrastructural violence is gendered reducing the epistemic space for women and girls to dream and envision a society free from sexism and oppression.

Section 5: Conclusion

This chapter looked at physical space as a conduit for gendered violence in Diepsloot, drawing attention to how infrastructural violence enables GBV. The inception of the township just after independence means that it is reflective of apartheid spatial planning thus can be regarded as a gendered legacy. This creates a conducive environment for women and girls to be victimised by violence whilst increasing men's capacity to perpetrate violence and evade accountability.

Section three highlighted that infrastructural violence is deeply embedded in the architecture of Diepsloot – isolated and existing on the outskirts of a major city, reminiscent of the circumstances Black labourers contended with during apartheid. Additionally, Diepsloot deals with poor service delivery characterised by ineffective physical infrastructure for example poor housing in the form of shacks built out of scraps of metal and a lack of third spaces. Along with inadequate organisational structures and systems needed for the operation of a society for example healthcare and education. These conditions facilitate GBV: the lack of electricity and streets that are not well lit, communal toilets and taps, dilapidated structures such as the bridge mentioned by interviewee 8 and 33 decreasing women's safety. The notion of a conducive environment was developed to articulate the way in which infrastructural violence creates physical conditions that make it easier for men to perpetrate violence with impunity and for women and girls to be victimised.

This section further expanded on "dangerous liminality", spotlighting the impermanence that exemplifies Diepsloot; a liminal space where residents arrive with no intention of staying long-term. Emphasising that this influences how residents navigate and embody Diepsloot, with specific ramifications for women. Interviewees exclaimed that liminality produced behaviours contrary to those perceived in places they call home.

The fourth section on infrastructural violence and subjectivity spoke to how the production of knowledge is curtailed by the physical makeup of Diepsloot; the lack of schools, universities and third spaces impedes innovation and knowledge production. Using Galtung's definition of structural violence it is argued that the lack of access to third spaces and educational facilities creates a massive gap between the potential and the lived reality of residents moreover, gendered–safety concerns further curtail women's mobility thus accessibility. The economic legacies section within the violence regime chapter showed that interviewees connected economic dependence to an increased vulnerability to GBV. This section finished by underscoring the epistemic injustice suffered by GBV organisations who are excluded from funding and research undermining their capacity as "knowers".

Following on from "Unpacking the Violence Regime in Diepsloot" this chapter introduced space as an important site detailing how infrastructural violence creates physical conditions that enable the occurrence of gendered forms of violence. Concluding that the way women in Diepsloot may experience violence is intrinsically informed and shaped by spatiality and all that which came before – the gendered spatial legacies of apartheid. Space is an important site of the violence regime that does not simply serve as a background to GBV; the next chapter delves into the specificities of women's experiences of violence.

Chapter Six: Where are the Women? Experiences of VAW and Resistance

We grew up in this violent country, so when will this GBV end? (Interviewee 31, Mental Health Practitioner)

GBV is the same way as apartheid, it has its legacies (Interviewee 23, Community Development professional, Black F)

Section 1: Introduction

Diepsloot is characterised by collective unfreedom within the violence regime and the multiple sites it encompasses previous chapters touched on the gendered legacies; differential impact of past and present violences on women and men. This chapter is titled Where are the Women (WATW) to emphasise the importance of an analysis through the lens of gender notwithstanding the collective oppression experienced in Diepsloot. Introducing the gendered violence site of the violence regime, extending to online, this chapter addresses the reach of GBV in Diepsloot, including the ways it traverses the physical to curtail women's freedoms.

Misogynistic discourse and unequal power relations foreground the virtual, showing that it is a public space that is equally characterised by a gendered contention of power. I argue that despite these multidimensional constraints on women's space for action, women formulate new and unexpected forms of resistance and safety work both online and offline. Some of these strategies are informed by the agency exercised by women in the past to protect themselves and their communities against racist patriarchal oppression. This chapter extends gendered legacies to include the continuities of women's strategies of resistance and safety work, including silence, speech, and violence.

Motsemme (2004) articulates the silence embodied and narrated by women during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearings as processes of fragmentation and agency, this chapter interprets women's silence as a form of communication which illuminates the privatised experiences of existing within a violence regime. Gendered legacies is used in this chapter to highlight that women's resistance in contemporary South Africa is linked to histories of apartheid resistance during the TRC . Additionally, to dispel notions of a crisis in masculinity in post-apartheid South Africa men's misogyny cannot be understood outside the context of men's violent practices (*ukuthwala*, *iintsara* and jackrolling) detailed in chapter two. The notion of gendered legacies in the context of a violence regime specifically in relation to men's violence in South Africa recognises that the violence they perpetrate does not exist in a vacuum but in relationship to legacies of past structural and interpersonal violence.

All three data sets are used, showing that the Diepsloot violence regime also produces particular forms of defiance, and whilst everything cannot be reduced to history these must be understood against the backdrop of the gross inequalities and the forms of resistance apartheid produced.

> *I can't remember whether it was Oliver Tambo, or Albie Sachs, but one of the two basically said that one of the worst issues that South Africa faces is patriarchy. I mean, that was in I think, the early 1990s, if I remember rightly. But the key point being is that many of the ANC's leaders or the people that advised it, were very aware of the problems of gender-based violence, gender inequality, gender exclusion and this can be charted through the liberation struggle there is remarkably little written or covered about women's contributions, but women across South Africa were extremely active in every aspect of resistance, you know, maybe not as well represented in Umkonto we Sizwe but they were, you know, on the streets with the UDF, the mass democratic movement, etc, etc. But I mean, but that's not really often commented on and I think a major problem has been that the discourse has been about National Liberation first and then gender equality second, the problem is that, if you look at many nations that have transitioned from one system to another across the world we can take some*

examples from the African continent as well, once political power is taken
women's experiences are often subsumed under that national project
(Interviewee 24, SA Historian, White, M)

Part of this is reckoning with systemic patriarchal and racial legacies embedded within the criminal justice system as well as GBV discourse that sidelines a feminist analysis of power, decreasing women's space for action and increasing their burden of safety work.

This chapter begins with the concepts that are foregrounded in analysis: patriarchal bargaining and space for action. This is followed by framing online space as another site of violence, here women engage in strategic silence, which can constitute a multiplicity of meanings such as agency, resistance, safety work, self-care and in some cases patriarchal bargaining. The shortcomings of the criminal justice system are outlined and the gendered implications this has for women, including safety work on both a personal and community level. The final section examines discourse around GBV to highlight how men's practices deprioritise women, suggesting that without a feminist theoretical understanding of power we run the risk of subsuming Black women's experiences within a violence regime, further decreasing their access to resources and increasing the burden of safety work.

Section 2: Conceptual Framework

This section outlines the core concepts that are utilised throughout this chapter this includes space for action, space to speak and patriarchal bargaining, how these concepts will be utilised to understand women's experiences will also be detailed.

2.1 Space for Action

The lives of women in Diepsloot are influenced by a violence regime in which structural violence, interpersonal violence and gendered legacies converge to narrow their space for action. Kelly (2003) introduces this concept to theorise the way that violence increases men's space for action whilst simultaneously narrowing that of women. The constraints are, however, limited to the actions of a perpetrator but include the failure of the wider community and organisations to effectively intervene. Positive interventions are, therefore,

ones which expand women's space for actions. Wilson (2016) built on this introducing 'space to speak' to describe the lack of opportunities that African-Caribbean British victim-survivors have both within and outside of African-Caribbean British communities to speak about child sexual abuse. One reason for this being racism and the need to prioritise the struggle for race equality (Wilson,2016, p.238).

In Diepsloot the violence regime further constrains women: Chapter 4 outlined the impact socioeconomic inequalities, structural and institutional racism and xenophobia have on women's agency; Chapter 5 showed that physical and structural infrastructure curtailed women's movement including their capacity to report violence. Space for action is used in this chapter to articulate the gendered limitations posed by the reproduction and mutation of historical violences and encounters with VAW.

2.2 Patriarchal Bargaining

These limitations put women in a position where they are forced to bargain with structural power, Kandiyoti (1998) argued that women develop coping mechanisms and strategies to maximise security, increase well-being and gain power within the constraints of patriarchal systems. This is not without considering intersectionality and the ways in which patriarchy can function with other systems of power to create additional constraints: *"dissolving some of the artificial divisions apparent in theoretical discussions of the relationships among class, race, and gender, thus strategies are shaped by several levels of constraints"* (Kandiyoti, 1998, p.285). In addition, culture may influence the constraints that are imposed on women and their perception of these restrictions – women's coping mechanisms may, in some instances, align with men's dominance, or help shore it up.

> *Our backgrounds also influence how we address issues if I'm a Black person*
> *who believes that the head of the house who is a man has the final say, and*
> *if I do things that seems to be out of the ordinary, I should be reprimanded*
> *as the woman and what is reprimand, it could be violence, it could be a*
> *conversation and the other perception is that if you are in a relationship*

with someone, and they don't hit you, then they don't love you (Interviewee 27 Junior Legal Officer/Diepsloot Resident Black F).

This echoes Kandiyoti's (2005) assertion that women maximise their own power by showcasing their ability to conform to patriarchal demands. If violence is considered a marker of love, persevering through it may suggest to some women that they are worthy partners reinforcing their internalised misogyny. This may also influence the likelihood of reporting violence.

We have women who do not report cases of domestic violence... because they believe it is normal their grandmothers have been living like that and their mothers so even themselves it is not a surprise that they this is how men behave (Interviewee 4, Women's Shelter Founder/Diepsloot resident, Black, M)

One thing that we have also been realising recently about women who tend not to leave abusive situations is if you stay with a man, chances of you being violated or house robbery or anything, are lessened it's not that they are not [inaudible] but because there's a man in the house, you are a little bit safer, but now if you move out and you are going to stay with your children, you are putting yourself at risk, because at some point, like it's a small community, but we will know that this woman who stays there alone, so it puts you at another risk. So women constantly find themselves having to weigh their options. What's going to happen if I choose this, what's going to happen if I choose that, and it's not really options, but it's like choosing which danger is more safer, which is really, really sad because you're like, okay, I know you did this to my child but you know if I leave you I lose food, I lose shelter, I lose safety. So you might want the child to understand that it is not that I don't hear you it's not that I don't believe you it's not that I think you are lying but it's a matter of what is it that I stand to lose and also what you stand to lose if we actually leave this person (Interviewee 25, Auxiliary Social Worker, Black, F)

The extension of similar reporting approaches from one generation to the next may indicate not only the normalisation of GBV and violent masculinities but the intergenerational legacies of women's patriarchal bargaining.

Section 3: Does Silence not Speak[39]? Black Women are Tired

This section outlines how women in Diepsloot utilise silence for various purposes including resistance, self-care and safety work. Chapter 3 drew on FB data to show that a gendered contention of power characterised virtual space, and how violent masculinities reverberated into the digital.

3.1 Paradoxical Online Space: Misogyny, Resistance and Safety Work

The title of the section emphasises the multiple ways women employ strategic silence when their space for action is constrained through men's construction of them as "absent referents" [40] (see Adams, 2015) engaging the different ways women create spaces of resistance and safety within a violence regime. This is done in ways that are informed by histories of women's resistance therefore women's contemporary use of silence and its meaning is a gendered legacy. Motsemme's (2004, p.910) work argues that women's silence speaks, and it is important to reinterpret silence as language, highlighting particular meanings of silence : silence as resistance; silence as illusion of stability; and silence as a site for coping and the reconstitution of self.

> *If there is hesitation in which I speak, it is because I am surrounded by spaces that are filled with silence. If you want to hear me, listen to my silences as well as my words* (Kadi, 2002, p.541).

---

[39] The title of this section Kunyarara hakusi kutaura? which in English translates to "Does Silence Not Speak" comes from Zimbabwean novelist Mungoshi, (1983)

[40] "The function of the absent referent is to keep our "meat" separated from any idea that she or he was once an animal, to keep the "moo" or "cluck" or "baa" away from the meat, to keep something from being seen as having been someone. Once the existence of meat is disconnected from the existence of an animal who was killed to become that "meat," meat becomes unanchored by its original referent (the animal), becoming instead a free-floating image, used often to reflect women's status as well as animals'. Animals are the absent referent in the act of meat eating; they also become the absent referent in images of women butchered, fragmented, or consumable" (Adams,1990, p.26).

The FB groups are saturated with men's perspectives which are shared through sexist jokes, stories, sexual innuendos and memes, I initially interpreted the lack of responses by women as patriarchal complicity. However, further analysis, informed by legacies of South African women's resistance, revealed silence as a strategic act, constitutive of power relations with multiple and situated meanings. Diepsloot women's use of silence is a gendered legacy reflective of a continuation of the forms and aspects of resistance adopted by women in post-apartheid South Africa. Siphiwe* (see Figure 6.1) posted a meme that relayed patriarchal expectations around women's bodies exemplified by a preference for skinny women with a "thigh gap".

Figure 6.1 We are pushing time

Similarly, expectations around women's size and physical characteristics were reiterated by Thabo* (see Figure 6.2) sharing a meme that utilised a pig to underline the contrast in perceptions of women's bodies when you see them at night and versus the morning.

Figure 6.2 Pig meme

Using a pig as a representation of women's bodies underscores men's objectification and consequent reduction of women to nonhuman sexual objects. Furthermore, though pigs are the topic women are the absent referent in Figure 6.2, allowing men to objectify women without having to acknowledge that this is what is going on. Chapter 2 highlighted similarities in cultural practices and apartheid regimes to ensure the control and subordination of women as setting the scene for Black women in contemporary South Africa. Men's practices online can therefore not be seen outside the scope of gendered legacies as they draw from the same archive of patriarchal violence as cultural practices such as *ukuthwala*, *iintsara* and jackrolling and the misogyny of the apartheid regime.

Women did not respond to this which strongly suggests strategic silence as a form of safety work: a means to protect oneself from the consequences of being an outspoken woman as this interviewee illustrates.

> *I remember talking to my boss ... that you realise what South Africans do if*
> *you are a very vocal woman, they will put you in a very high position but you*

will spend most of the time outside of the country, you will travel here, you
will travel there, you will be a peacemaker in Iran [laughter] you know
because she basically was talking about Phumzile[41]. Phumzile was always
[vocal] and see what they did, she became the UN what and what and then
now she is back in South Africa, does anyone ever even talk about Phumzile?
Not really but if you go to Uganda when you say Phumzile everyone will
know Phumzile (Interviewee 25, Social Worker, Black F).

Speaking up has multilayered implications for women: it can put their mental health, wellbeing, career at risk and increases the risk of being ostracised.

The use of voice as a form of resistance for many women, arising out of
feminist prompting, could and has indeed frequently caused a 'turning up of
the heat' including the intensification of oppression and abuse as well as
numerous other forms of patriarchal backlashes... (Gatwiri & Mumbi, 2016,
p.13).

Research by Kramarae & Spender (2004) and Campbell (1999) has also outlined the patriarchal responses when women do speak up. Vocality increases visibility; thus, silence may be employed as a protective measure against 'the hostile patriarchal gaze' (Waithera, 2011; p. 24). Figure 6.3, another meme shared in the FB groups, further reinforced the misogyny in the groups using the cultural practice of lobola (see Chapter 3).

---

[41] Dr Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka is a South African politician and former United Nations official, who served as the Executive Director of UN Women from 2013–2021 (UN Women, 2024)

Figure 6.3 Lobola

This frames women as products whose financial value is dependent on their bodies. Sharing these misogynistic memes can be read as a male bonding exercise that ensures the groups remain male dominated spaces. This fits into broader trends online – the use of memes to disparage women has been linked to the manosphere by Dafaure (2022) and Incel communities by Haworth (2023). Lobola as a cultural practice has existed for a long time as shown in chapter two however its presence within the virtual space as a means to denigrate women notes the mutation of patriarchal violence and the persistence of gendered legacies as the online sphere becomes more integrated into our lives.

Misogynistic content within the FB groups is interchangeable with content on manosphere social media pages (see Appendix 8) suggesting that patriarchal violence has a vernacular that is widespread and far reaching. However, women have adopted and developed new forms of resistance to protect themselves, part of this is utilising the groups as promotional spaces for GBV awareness events, strategically harnessing the far reach of virtual spaces to garner attention and participation (see Figures 6.4 and 6.5).

Figure 6.4 Facebook Data

WHAT IS GENDER - BASED VIOLENCE?

GENDER - BASED VIOLENCE is violence against another person because of their gender, gender identity and or sexual identity. South Africa has some of the highest rates of GBV of any country in the world. A woman is killed by her intimate partner every 8 hours according to the Medical Research Council. Between 25% and 40% of South African women have experienced sexual and /or physical intimate partner violence (IPV) in their families. Just under 50% of women report having ever experienced emotional or economic abuse at the hands of their intimate partners in their lifetime. If you are or you see your family or any other person being abused please report the matter to the police or relevant stake holders.

There are National Helplines that you can call for help:

National GBV Helpline : 0800150150
Lifeline South Africa : 0861322322
AIDS HELPLINE :0800012322
National Councilling Line : 0861322322
Childline South Africa : 0800055555
South African Police Services : 0800010111
Legal Aid : 0800110110
Human Trafficking Helpline : 0800222777

you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares

Women's 'counter-hegemonic silence' (see Levitt, 2013) subverts the dominant conversations in the groups subtly creating space for alternative voices[42].

---

[42] "Counter-hegemonic silences" refers to the strategic use of silence as a form of resistance or challenge to dominant power structures, often employed by marginalized groups (Levitt, 2013).

Figure 6.5 Facebook Data

Good day guys, we are doing [a] stepping stone program in Diepsloot, stepping stone is [a] program dealing with GBV, HIV and Aids prevention we are looking for young woman between the age of 20 to 24 we attend sessions only 2 hours a day for 5 days. After 5 days you get your certificate and slings bags, we apply for busaries for you, jobs and we create CVs for you. We provide KFC lunch every day if you are willing to join please contact me.

😆 👍 you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares

This points to the FB groups as dichotomous spaces in which men's patriarchal practices and VAW advocacy and awareness exist side by side and sometimes happen simultaneously. Thus, silence in response to misogyny may be understood as part of a strategy in which rather than engaging with men exercising patriarchal power online, women remap this site of the regime to enable forms of power and resistance for themselves. Using the virtual space to organise and resist structural issues, prioritising the collective over the individual, this is a gendered legacy reflecting women's collective resistance as shaped in histories of oppression. See Meer (2005) who has written about the history of women organising in South Africa.

Adding to the paradoxical nature of this space jokes and banter are also utilised by men to communicate expectations around masculinity (see Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6 Facebook Data

This demonstrates the "regulatory MenSpeak"[43](see Garner, 2016, p.159-160) which men also engage in to police each other within the FB groups. This illustrates the competing priorities that often exist in the groups; it is within this context that women employ silence which speaks volumes as it exists in juxtaposition to the hyperactive nature of the groups. Bonginkosi*, Siphelele* and Fowabo* (see Figure 6.7) used the groups to perpetuate patriarchal expectations around women's sexuality reinforcing polarised perceptions of women as either good and chaste or as bad and promiscuous (see also Figures 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3).

---

[43] MenSpeak' is a concept developed by Garner (2016, p.159-160) which frames the different ways relations of hegemony between men are organised, articulated and maintained through styles of speak. This includes 'predatory menspeak' which are aggressive articulations of 'urgent 'heterosexuality which function to position men within hegemonic projects. 'Regulatory menspeak' which is topics of talk between men, which function to police and regulate. Lastly, 'Defensive MenSpeak' which captures the way some men construct ways of being a man as aberrant and 'other', in order to self-position as different - 'I'm not 'that' guy'.

Figure 6.7 Facebook Data
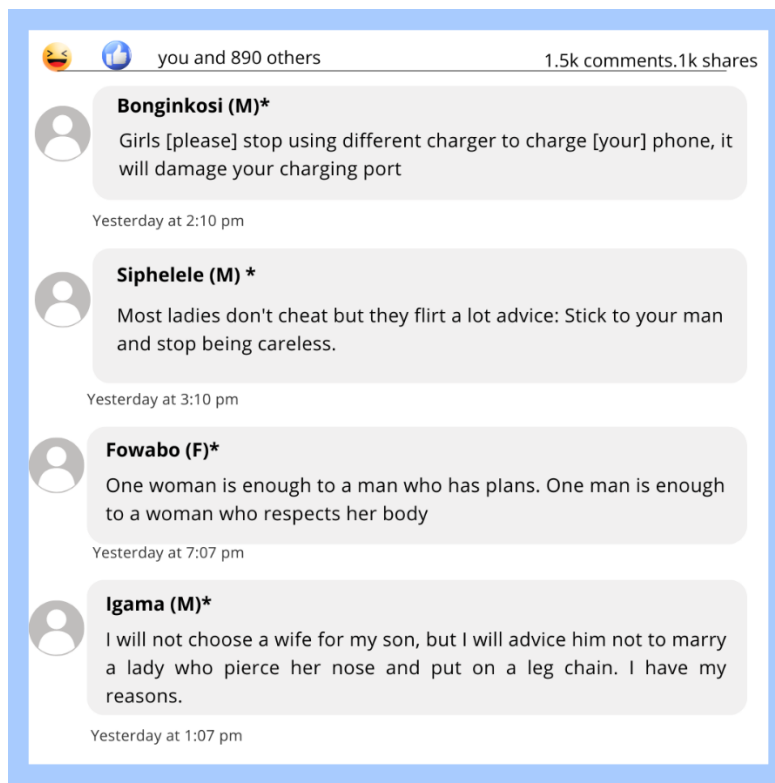
Fowabo's* involvement indicates that women's silence is not universal, and neither is their speech always in patriarchal defiance. Kolawale (1997) reminds us that:

> *African women are visible and have always had voice, albeit of a different form from contemporary understandings. Silence therefore cannot be universally comprehended or used; rather, its use is a function of the peculiar forms of oppression and of the social, cultural, economic, and political as well as physical environments of its users (p.6).*

Fowabo* can be regarded as upholding patriarchy and/or bargaining with structural power to be considered an equal participant and/or "good woman" within a male dominated space. Ebila (2015) observes that 'good women' are discursively constructed as those who do not challenge masculine authority.

This section shows that the experiences of Diepsloot residents are gendered online presenting radical differences between how men and women navigate digital space. Men utilise

strategies of dispossession such as demeaning women via memes and discourse to establish control within the groups, however, simultaneously women employ unexpected strategies of resistance through silence and speech. The FB groups are therefore paradoxical spaces that illuminate how the regime not only produces violence but forms of resistance. In their conceptualisation of violence regimes Hearn et al (2022) include organised resistance as a production of the regime, extending on this, unorganised forms of defiance such as strategic silence and speech may also be a component of a regime.

This section seeks to contribute to an understanding of the virtual as a site of gendered violence and resistance in an area that remains largely understudied in the African context despite the prevalence of digitally mediated forms of GBV (Shaw, 2014; Iyer et al, 2020; Fleming et al, 2014).

3.2 Silence as Self Care

Women working to address VAW in various capacities articulated their strategic silence as having multiple meanings and purposes that were dependant on context and emotional capacity. Silence was used as a means to avoid engaging with men's misogyny or as a mechanism to cope and/or practice self-preservation and self-care when confronted with situations that were triggering and/or demoralising.

> Interviewee 31: *Oh, they have invited me to that [Facebook] group several times, but I refuse, I refused.*
> Interviewer: [laughter] *why?*
> Interviewee 31: *Ah I can't, we are trying so hard to fight patriarchy, you know, gender norms. So, if I go to the group, I will be torn into pieces I'm not a very strong person* [laughter].

This refusal by Interviewee 31, a mental health expert who works with survivors, to participate in the Diepsloot FB groups shows how silence can be a powerful choice to not engage as an act of self-care and resistance. Recognising the groups as a space that may deter her fight against harmful gender norms and patriarchy, silence was a purposeful decision – not to be

equated with disempowerment. She went on to detail a particular instance that was a catalyst to withdrawing from a group indicating the implications that harmful GBV discourse may potentially have for other women within the space.

> *I remember there was this woman who wanted to dump [her] boyfriend, the woman was unemployed, but going to school studying and when she finished, she found a better job and wanted to dump the boyfriend [he] beat her up and people were saying yes beat [her] up [that] was your money taking [her] to school and I was like oh, wow I cannot be in this group* (Interviewee 31, Mental Health Practitioner Black F)*.

Silent disengagement from misogynistic discourse can be an intentional decision for women to have a moment of respite from engaging with violence in their personal and/or work lives. Social worker interviewee 25 commented that in behaviour change programmes for men and boys, it is women who still carry the brunt of educating, leaving them vulnerable to secondary trauma: silence is here employed to suppress difficult emotions, compartmentalise and maintain professionalism.

> *I remember when I was still a facilitator and then this boy was talking about sex as something that you do to a woman, not something that you do with a woman I could literally feel my insides boiling, but I was like you are a facilitator so you can't [say anything], and when I got home I was crying, how can you talk about women like that, I was mad, not only mad but triggered, but you have to show up tomorrow and you can't treat them differently, because, you are also understanding that they are in their learning process* (Interviewee 25, Social Worker, Black F).

Similarly, for interviewee 31 this silence did not represent passivity but agency: for them silence was the product of an internal negotiation to maintain professionalism within a complicated teaching environment, possibly showing how feminists may utilise silence as a tool to navigate spaces in which they have to educate men. However, the silence is context specific, postponed speech that is reserved for a safe space – suggesting that silence is also a

choice of when and where to speak. Following a research post by me in one of the FB groups (see Chapter 3) Diepsloot resident and survivor interviewee 19 privately messaged me in response saying, *"hi sorry [I] don't want anyone to see my comments"*. This is a further indication of women's strategic choices – not only when to speak but where to speak and to whom. This also points to silence as a form of safety work something which women choose in certain instances to protect themselves from further harm or scrutiny. Interviewee 19 proceeded to talk about her experience of VAW, something which she felt uncomfortable disclosing within the broader context of the FB group (see also Section 5). Recounting an incident in which a police officer detailed exploitative approaches towards victims, community officer interviewee 2's silence envelopes the emotional impact of what she was hearing.

> *So, some [victims] are just being used for sex by police officers; if there is a GBV report and they are interested in the victim, they make sure that their husband gets a longer sentence in jail how they do it, I don't know, but this police officer was sharing this and I could not communicate or say anything in the moment but it really touched me. I decided that I would just leave the conversation and talk about it to my husband later* (Interviewee 2 Community Engagement Officer (VAWG)/Diepsloot resident, Black, F).

This further illustrates silence as an intentional choice, to process the emotions that arise when confronted by the reach of men's violence. This absence of speech represents a protective silence; a deliberate delay in emotional expression until one is in a safe space. Interviewee 2's inability to communicate in this moment may also demonstrate the limitations of verbal language in articulating the emotional impact of gendered violence. A reminder that in our pursuit to understand violence there are both emotional and systemic violations that still remain unspeakable and language is not always an accessible mode of communication and negotiation.

> *Years ago, I was attacked in my own home by a man who is part of a gang, and he was dirt poor, he was a grit he couldn't even speak English. He came from the Eastern Cape, he had about 40 words of broken Afrikaans in which the two of us were trying to negotiate and at one point, he dragged me into*

the bedroom, and I thought he was going to rape me. So I immediately told him that I was pregnant, and that I was spotting and that I was at risk of miscarrying, trying to convey this to an uneducated man, with whom you don't have a language in common was interesting and I remember the rage and the indignation within which he said to me, 'I don't need to treat you like a doll' and that Afrikaans, direct translation is "maak met jou soos a pop", which is literally sort of basically saying, I don't need to rape you, because I have many girlfriends, and I make them all very happy (Interview 6, Academic, Researcher, White, F).

Silence and speech are not binaries they exist as part of a wide range of tools women engage in to navigate and negotiate their safety and wellbeing within a patriarchal society. Racial colonial undertones are evident in assumptions around education status and the inability to speak English or Afrikaans; there is a politics to language highlighted by Thiong'o (1986). Women's silence in the VAW reflects a politics around silence as self-care and self-preservation; both of which have been represented as acts of political warfare for Black women (Lorde, 2017). Silence is accompanied by other forms of resistance and safety work that are adopted by residents as a means to prevent victimisation.

Section 4: Informal Policing, a Gendered Burden

To address the ineffectiveness of formal policing systems in Diepsloot informal policing methods are opted for, this section details how women utilise these methods in response to VAW in the area.

4.1 Policing in Diepsloot

Informal ad hoc strategies, that can also be violent, have developed as forms of informal policing to safeguard from both structural and interpersonal forms of violence in Diepsloot. This is exacerbated by the lack of adequate and reliable policing structures and a general mistrust of the police.

So, people do not trust the police, in Diepsloot they always talk about, you call the police, they don't come, you know, you report a case to the police, it's never investigated (Interviewee 28, Public Health Researcher and Academic White, F).

The gap between progressive policies, effective implementation and adequate resourcing may further compound the mistrust of residents, specifically survivors.

So, you know South Africa has really great laws and policies around gender-based violence, if you compare them to other countries they are very progressive, very victim centric, very comprehensive, but those laws aren't implemented on the ground, and even if they are implemented, the system itself is not adequately resourced. So there is not enough police officers, there is not enough vehicles, there is not enough prosecutors resulting in these cases taking so long to be prosecuted and as a result then victims lose faith in the process along the way, and then withdraw and then perpetrators, get released back into the community, and there's no accountability, and then you are going to do it again (Interviewee 9, Head of GBV Org, White, F).

The justice system in South Africa is highly inefficient and there is often lack of proper investigations and delay on arrest or no arrest at all for perpetrators of gender-based violence (GBV). This contributes to high rates of violence as people believe they can get away with it. South Africa has some of the most sophisticated laws against discrimination and violence in the world – and yet GBV continues at such a high rate. This is largely because of a lack of enforcement and lack of resources (Interview 21, GBV Practitioner, Black, F)

Demonstrating the fundamental structural issues that impede justice and accountability – an infrastructural violence that contributes to a conducive environment for VAW. During a discussion on FB, news that Bheki Cele the former minister of police had arrived at the

Diepsloot police station was met with scepticism: "*let's hear other lies [and] endless promises*" wrote one group member. Indicating that the cynicism of residents towards the police is possibly rooted in the ongoing failures of the ANC to bring about fundamental structural change in post-apartheid South Africa. Further discussion pointed to cultural and procedural failures as a consequence of corruption within the police ranks (see Appendix 7). A gendered lens shows that the breakdown in the policing and judicial systems is an infrastructural violence that has specific implications for women.

> *We have state actor challenges where you find that an investigating officer, doesn't really want to engage with you because maybe they don't have time, maybe they don't see it as important. We also have the issue of misconduct where an investigating officer would not do what they're supposed to do and now, it becomes an issue of we have to report that investigating officer and at the same time, we need to work with that investigating officer so those are our challenges... We also have the issue of insensitivity so with certain state actors you find that they don't really understand what the client is going through or they are just not empathetic in that situation, so you'll find that some clients end up just giving up and not trusting the system* (Interviewee 27, Junior Legal Officer/Diepsloot Resident Black F).
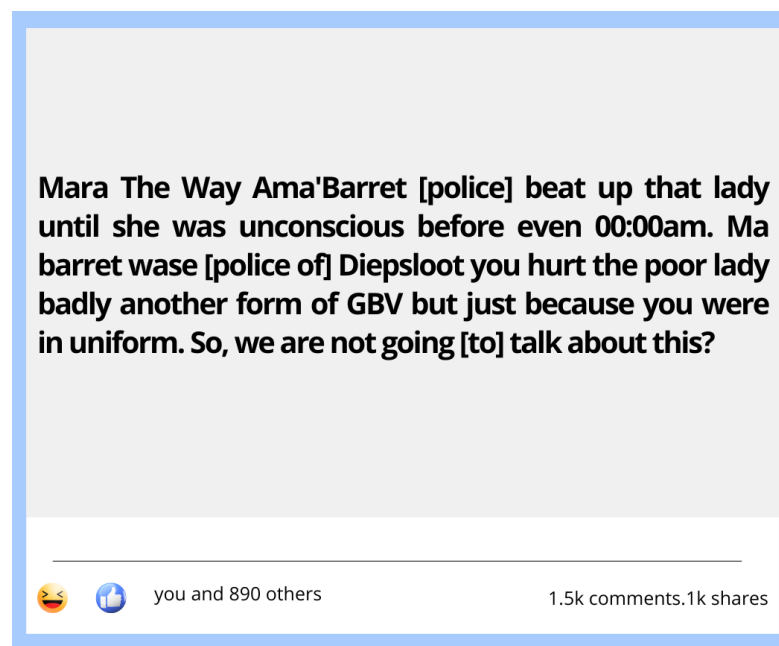
Police misconduct, insensitivity towards survivors and the subsequent potential for secondary traumatisation, may also reflect the misogyny that is deeply embedded within the police and legal systems which compounds women's experiences of violence.

> *We face challenges with state actors who are not doing what they are supposed to be doing like not taking the first statement from the complainant or they don't take enough evidence, and then you have to keep on going back to the complainant, which in a way creates secondary victimisation because now they have to keep reliving this ordeal that they encountered. Another issue with the legal system is about criminal cases ... going for a trial hearing you require several role players sometimes you get*

to court and the assigned magistrate is not there so the case will not go

through, if the assigned prosecutor is not there, the case will not go through

so those are some of the challenges that we together with the clients face
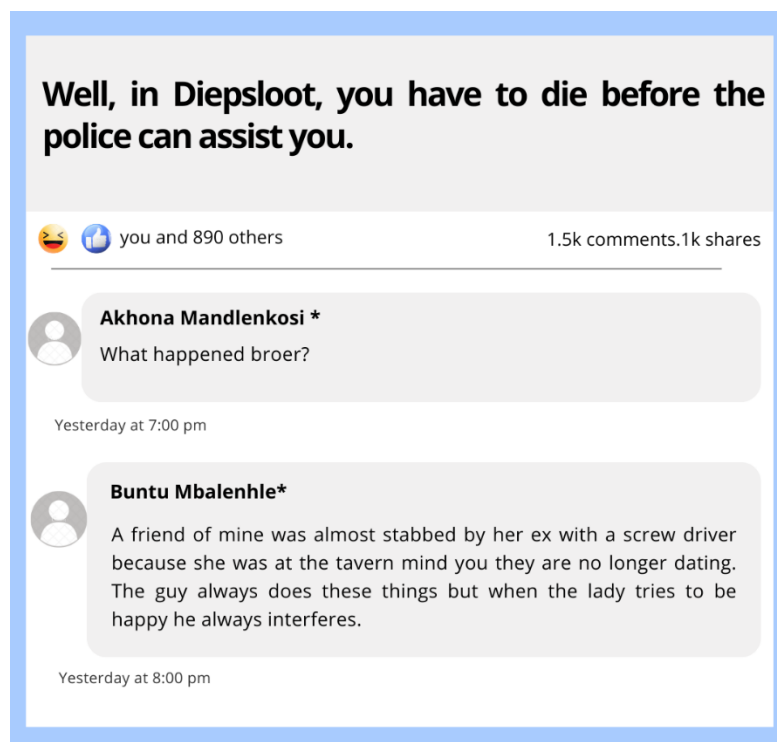(Interviewee 27B, Legal Officer, Black, F).

Systemic shortcomings characterise the judicial process for victims too as evidenced by legal officers' interviewees 27 and 27B which deters further engagement. In addition, violence is entrenched in policing styles (see Appendix 7), historically police in South Africa were used as agents of violence quelling any insurgency by the oppressed black majority. Remnants of these brutal policing strategies are still present as evidenced by Bokang Mateba* (see Figure 6.8).

Figure 6.8 Facebook Data

Mara The Way Ama'Barret [police] beat up that lady until she was unconscious before even 00:00am. Ma barret wase [police of] Diepsloot you hurt the poor lady badly another form of GBV but just because you were in uniform. So, we are not going [to] talk about this?

you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares

Mateba*grapples with police violence not being regarded as another form of GBV despite its gendered implications; indicating that police brutality may also constitute a gendered legacy. There are multiple ways that women's space for action is diminished by the institutional failures of the criminal justice system in ways that are also informed by history. Ineffective police response in Diepsloot may also reflect historical continuities around the normalisation of violence against Black women.

Figure 6.9 Facebook Data

> **Well, in Diepsloot, you have to die before the police can assist you.**
>
> 😆 👍 you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares
>
> **Akhona Mandlenkosi ***
> What happened broer?
>
> Yesterday at 7:00 pm
>
> **Buntu Mbalenhle***
> A friend of mine was almost stabbed by her ex with a screw driver because she was at the tavern mind you they are no longer dating. The guy always does these things but when the lady tries to be happy he always interferes.
>
> Yesterday at 8:00 pm

The assertion that a women's death must precede police involvement by Mbalenhle* (see Figure 6.9) in relation to the stabbing of their friend indicates that beyond systemic issues there are deeply embedded dismissive attitudes around VAW. This may further echo historical approaches towards violence experienced by Black women and the impunity with which it was often met with.

> *I think the criminal justice it's not doing enough to protect these people you know you will find that a person abuses their girlfriend or the husband and whenever they get arrested, they will stay for a few days and then after a few days they are back because they just got released* (Interviewee 10, Diepsloot Resident, Black, F).

Chapter 4 highlighted the financial barriers facing Diepsloot residents which limit the resources at their disposal to bridge the gap created by systemic failures in the police and judicial system. Economic access affords different forms of security such as high walls, electric fences, hired security guards and gated communities.

That is just the inequality in South Africa it's so in your face... if you go past Cosmos city, which is sort of like an area where people are buying houses and they are living there it's almost like a prison it's the walls and the security around there to kind of keep the people out who are a threat (Interviewee 28, Public Health Researcher and Academic, White, F).

This emphasises the contextual factors that create a conducive environment within which approaches such as collective safety work are utilised as a mechanism for physical, economic, emotional and existential survival. Collective safety work refers to the informal ways women strategise to cope with and avoid men's violence not only for themselves but often with their communities in mind.

4.2 Strategic Speech: Bridging the Gaps in Policing

The contradictions within the FB groups are further displayed by misogynistic posts existing alongside people seeking justice for family members who have been killed or disappeared; both the victims and those who post are disproportionately women. To bridge the chasm created by an ineffective criminal justice system women strategically use the FB groups to pursue justice for themselves and/or other women. This may also reflect growing impatience with untransformed institutions in post-apartheid South Africa. The groups act as informal policing and advisory forums in which conversational information is shared to help women defend themselves (see figure 6.10).

Figure 6.10 Facebook Data
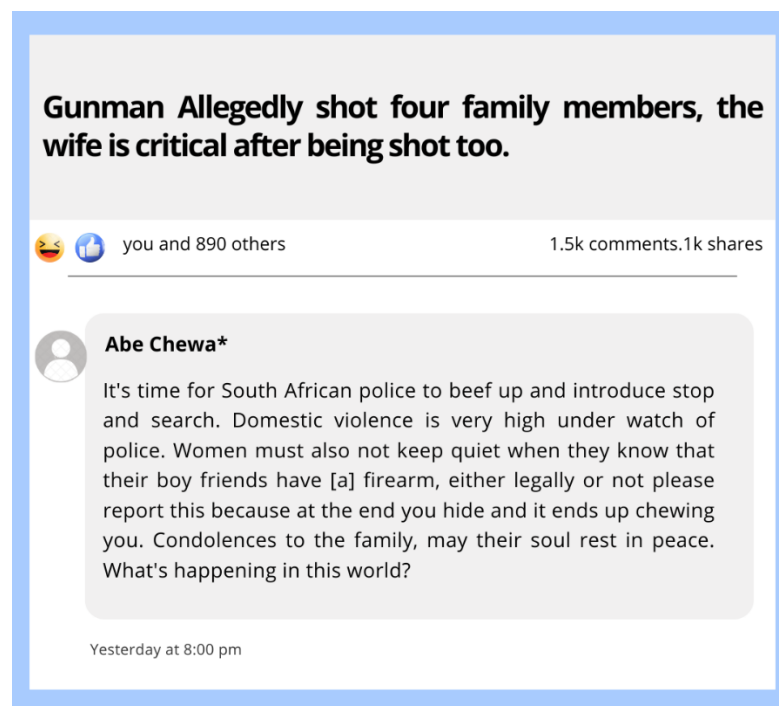
Ineffective police responses increase men's space for action to perpetrate violence and decrease women's capacity to receive help, increasing reliance on unofficial channels. However, informal prevention advice may also unintentionally reify inequalities by making women feel responsible for their own experiences with violence, ignoring the constant vigilance that already characterises South African women's experiences (see Moeti, 2020). Chapter 4 demonstrated the ways in which historical violences such as necklacing are

reproduced as informal policing mechanisms, an approach that is sometimes advocated for in response to perpetrators of rape (see Figure 6.11).

Figure 6.11 Facebook Data

A rotten soul pastor raped an innocent, disabled young girl here in ext4, worst part yesterday we were striking and burnt an innocent soul , what about this one residents.

😆 👍 you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares

A 2018 BBC documentary titled, *My Neighbour the Rapist*, interviewed the women spearheading the vigilante action against perpetrators.

> Interviewer: *What happens when you come across someone who has raped in the area?*
>
> Vigilantes: *We burn the people, yes, we burn the people. The thing is we are trying to show other people that rape. So that when you rape somebody, you'll see what we did to that guy. Next time when you think of raping, you'll never do it. You know that the mob case will kill you or burn you* (BBC: My Neighbour the Rapist, 2018)

Necklacing was perceived as a deterrent by these women – who use a violence that has existed within the collective consciousness of Black South Africans since apartheid to achieve some

semblance of protection. It is a call back to a public routine performance of violence that has created regimes of meaning that are hard to undo (Gqola, 2021, p.138). It is interesting to note women's support of this specific violence and what that means for gendered legacies and the reproduction of violence within the regime. Further research is important to determine how the meaning and use of past violence shifts and in what ways this is gendered. Whilst women's use of violence is not the focus of this thesis it is important to note Diepsloot women resorting to lethal violence in a context where there is a reliance on informal mechanisms: whilst women may commit acts of violence, the gendered context in which their violence occurs is highly relevant (Nixon, 2007, p.9), as, for example, within domestic violence (see Jones, 2009).Additionally, this may reflect the lack of appropriate community interventions that recognise the distinctive gendered needs of young women and the differing pathways to offending behaviour (see Burman & Batchelor, 2009).

Police rhetoric reveals attitudes which may discourage survivors from statutory reporting avenues, increasing propensity towards informal mechanisms. During the Diepsloot GBV Men's Forum a representative from the Diepsloot police made a statement recorded in field notes.

> *Some of the problems we need to make sure to solve them at home, we need to encourage each other to reach amicable solutions because 99% of reports are from one's partner and the next day, they often want to get the case thrown out. We need to make sure that the communication we have at home is professional. Women don't shout at men in front of the kids... We need to encourage men to speak up on GBV* (Field research diary entry, 18.03.23)
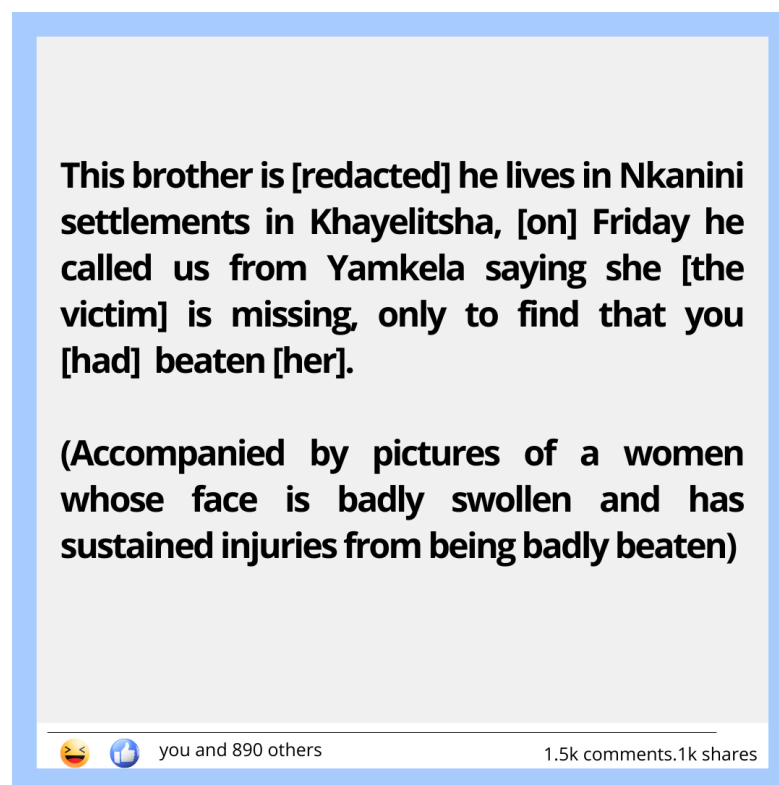
This was reinforced by Diepsloot resident interviewee 1 who highlights police attitudes that perpetuate the narrative that VAW is a domestic issue.

> *Our police the justice system does not take these cases seriously because if someone comes and says I am being abused by my boyfriend they just turn them away and say go discuss it with your boyfriend or go talk it out. You*

don't have to bring him to jail that could ruin his chances of being employed
if he has a criminal record, so they say and do things like this and turn the
victim away. Telling them to think about reporting carefully and by the time
that you have thought about it you are like there is no point because they
will turn you away or the perpetrator is going to be out in a few hours or
even a few days so there is no point (Interviewee 1, Former Self Defence
Course Facilitator/Diepsloot resident, Black, F).

This depoliticises women's experiences of VAW, relegating them to private isolated cases, rather than rooted in a structural imbalance of power (Wilson, 2016). Some women counteract these approaches with a collective approach to safety work and justice. Online women often do not post their own experiences unless directly asked, it is often other women posting about the gendered violence experienced by others to spread awareness or pursue justice. Figure 6.12 was accompanied by a picture of the perpetrator as well as pictures of the survivor's injuries.

Figure 6.12 Facebook Data

This brother is [redacted] he lives in Nkanini settlements in Khayelitsha, [on] Friday he called us from Yamkela saying she [the victim] is missing, only to find that you [had] beaten [her].

(Accompanied by pictures of a women whose face is badly swollen and has sustained injuries from being badly beaten)

you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares

The methods adopted to find perpetrators mirror how the police would circulate images to locate suspects. Correspondingly, Figure 6.13 shows a specific request for any information the community may have to help locate an aunt's murderer, who had stabbed her eight times.

Figure 6.13 Facebook Data
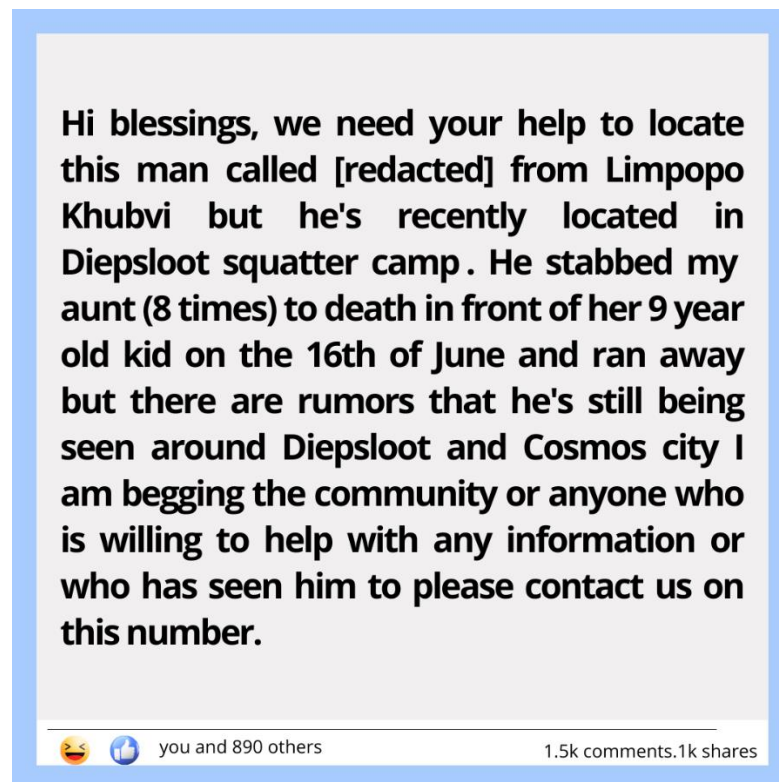
The experiences that are shared within the groups tend to be particularly brutal cases of rape, femicide and/or domestic violence. A request for help locating a relative (see Figure 6.14) was followed by an update that she had been found murdered and dumped by a bush.

Figure 6.14 Facebook Data

> **Our beloved sister, friend, daughter and mother was found. Thank you all for your prayers and sharing to help us find her. Unfortunately, she is no longer with us. She was found brutally murdered and dumped in the water inside a bush in Crown Mines not far from were she was abducted 2 days later.The perpetrators are undocumented foreign nationals.**
>
> 😆 👍 you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares

Near the end of her post the full length of which has not been included Pumla* (Figure 6.14) wrote "If our sin is being born a woman, *sicela uxolo* [please forgive us], emphasising the patriarchal inequality at the epicentre of VAW that problematises being a woman within a patriarchal society.

Women simultaneously utilise strategic silence and speech to overcome the various constraints posed by living within the Diepsloot violence regime, online space acts as a useful resource to bridge the gap that exists in the criminal and judicial system. To raise their status and protect themselves some women conduct patriarchal bargaining as a form of safety work however this may also have ramifications for their experiences of VAW.

> *I think the other point that I can raise is the gangsterism in Diepsloot where girls feel that they need to be in love with the bosses because the moment you are in love with the bosses, you become a queen or a king, [but you] also bear the abuse that comes with that, which means you need to agree with anything that this boss will say* (Interviewee 2, Community Engagement Officer, VAWG Black F).

Limiting access to quality justice mechanisms and effective policing, "had the SAPS not been mediocre and done what they swore to do, and that is protect and serve this country, our beloved sister would've been found alive" extended Pumla* (figure 6.14). Other women come to the groups for assistance locating murderers further indicating women's efforts to bridge the gap left by a lack of robust institutions (see figure 6.15).

Figure 6.15 Facebook Data
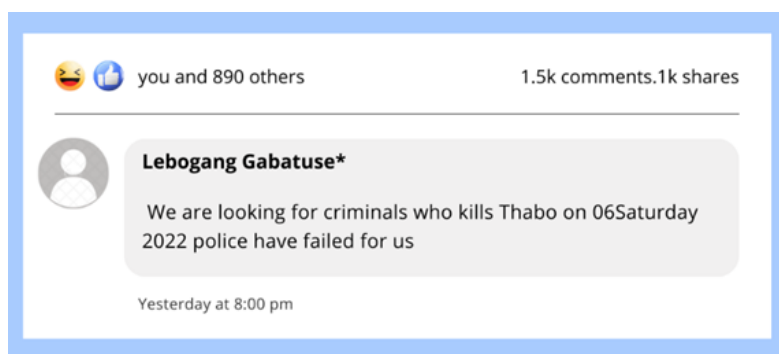
There are also instances of women police officers giving advice to survivors about the best way to receive justice.

ADVISE FROM A FEMALE COP

I am a detective working for the SAPS in GBV-F -femicide and GBV-M I just want to give advice to all the ladies who are in physically abusive relationships/marriages. Justice is not always served in most of my cases because of loopholes and mistakes that most victims make. I know some of this may sound impossible and the first advice we always give you is to LEAVE that relationship/marriage - But in most cases victims never want to leave. So basically if you decide to stay, here are some tips that will protect you if it happens he abuses you (respecting FB, Policies) because he might. Also if it happens you decide to get him arrested and you want him to serve punishment for his actions, or if it happens you assault him in self-defence.

1. OPEN AS MANY CASES AS YOU CAN: even if you still want to go back to him, and withdraw the cases, open as many of them as you can ,every incident, open a case, even if you will withdraw them later but do it , open and withdraw ,its fine ,it's your right. Those withdrawn cases are filed in the police stations archives, they'll speak for you one day.

2. HAVE A HIDDEN DIARY: a book, not in your phone but a hard copy where we will be able to compare your hand writing, sign at the end of every entry, write down every incident.

3. SPEAK tell your friends, family, people who will testify on your behalf.

4.MAKE SURE YOU TAKE PICTURES/VIDEOS: If you feel you are in trouble/danger, set up a video in secret or a hidden camera, you'll never know the day of your death or danger.

5. OPEN A PROTECTION ORDER: Although it won't stop the abuse but it will definitely work for you as prove that you were physically abused.

6. GO SEE A DOCTOR: Always see a doctor, TELL YOUR DOCTOR THE TRUTH OF WHAT HAPPENED...Not I fell from the stairs... tell him the truth so that he can testify for you and by referring on his clinical notes from your file of what you told him.

7. KEEP EVIDENCE: Such as your bloody clothes, the objects he used to assault you and right on your diary with a reference....

DO ANYTHING THAT WILL HELP YOU TOMORROW!

WITH THE STORY OF NAMHLA, the suspect is still out there because there's no enough evidence to prosecute the docket, yes social media is making noise with all they think is enough evidence to arrest him but whatever is there is not aligned with the law, yes there are pictures of her injuries, but how do we prove that those injuries are as a result of his assault. Other than that she has never opened a case against him before, and the day of the shooting it was the two of them, no witnesses, no links...it will be difficult for the detective to hold him countable. Please ladies, take good care of yourself (Police Officer/FB Member)

This adds an additional dimension to strategic speech and collective safety work as not only preventative measures women engage in to avoid and protect themselves from violence but as strategies also used in pursuit for justice within a precarious policing and legal structure. Strategic speech is encouraged through conversing with friends, family, doctors and opening multiple cases reflecting how survivors are forced to take on the role of formal legal structures, also shown through the adoption of informal policing mechanism. These conditions of infrastructural violence may also work to shape heroic masculinity and a dangerous liminality highlighted in the previous chapter. This section evidences that a conducive environment exacerbates the amount of safety work for women in Diepsloot, to include work that should be conducted by the police. Collective approaches may thus be a means to share this burden.

4.3 "Women Only": Spaces of Safety and Vulnerability

Women create strategies of resistance and survival not only with themselves in mind but their communities and children as well, consistently considering the implications their actions and emotions may have on those around them.

> *They [Diepsloot women] are women with courage, and they live their lives in courageous ways and that is what African women do, you know we wake up, we smile, and we look like everything is okay, but we have pain, but we don't show it off it doesn't have to be obvious, because we don't want our children to see our pain, we don't want to attract pity* (Interviewee 29, Mental Health Org Founder, Black, F).

Safety work extends beyond the work done to protect oneself to encompass the invisible work done to protect those around as well. Women strategise to avoid and/or cope with men's violence and to mitigate the emotional impact their experiences of violence will have on those around them. Amongst other factors this may be informed by the philosophy of *Ubuntu* that is rooted within South African society (Eaton & Louw, 2000; Laher & Dockhart, 2019; Chakabwata & Mukazi, 2022)[44] .

---

[44] Ubuntu is an African social philosophy that promotes an obligation of humans towards the welfare of one another, while taking responsibility for the environment. It is recognition of the significance of each and every

Recounting their story survivor and Diepsloot resident interviewee 19 expressed that, "I cry every day, I've even lost purpose in life I am living for the sake of my kids", indicating that the collective approach to safety work is also informed by the often-gendered responsibility of child rearing and care. Which puts women in a position where they are forced to juggle both collective and personal priorities.

> *So it's like when you're a woman, you constantly find yourself in this position where you have to choose what is going to work for you and what is actually going to work for the rest of the collective and most of the time it's not really an easy one to choose what is going to work for me over the collective; exactly [its] this burden that you are always carrying, and you have to think about the collective you can't think for yourself, and someone was saying that black women are tired* (Interviewee 25, Social Worker, Black F).

This mutuality extends to the ways in which women speak about their personal experiences of violence. Digital pockets of safety were collectively created by women for women through the phrase "women only" before specific questions (see figure 6.17). This invited the participation of a much larger number of women creating a temporary pocket of safety in which women could be vulnerable about their experiences with GBV – reinforcing the importance of women only spaces. Furthermore, the questions and statements asked and responded to were very gendered in that they reflected the daily lived experiences of women (see Figures 6.16 to 6.19). This chimes with other studies which have shown that women tend to place their narratives about their traumatic experiences under violent regimes within everyday lived experience, rather than structural concerns (Passerini, 1992; Motsemme, 2003).

---

human life and the need for humans to take care of one another as social beings and to take care of the environment that surrounds them. Often phrased as a belief that motho ke motho ka batho ("a person is a person through others"), it emphasises that humanity is not simply biological, but largely a product of socialisation and active promotion of good social values. It enshrines communal responsibility for human rights and human welfare (Department of Arts and Culture South Africa, 2009).

Figure 6.16 Facebook Data
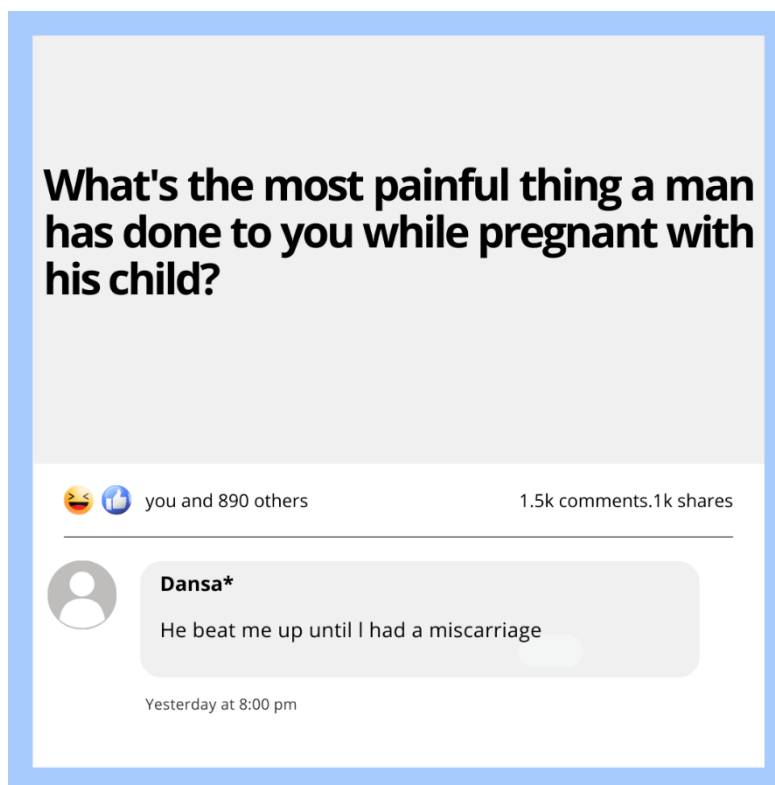
Comments under the question in figure 6.16 consisted of multiple women expressing similar experiences one stated that "I told him I was feeling sick he just walked out then [I] called at 3 to say I'm not feeling to well and I got pains in my womb he said it's because its hot in his car, then later on I had a miscarriage – 23rd September". One woman spoke about their partner's infidelity during her pregnancy whilst another stated that 'he dumped me'. There is a sense of solidarity in the semblance of the stories shared, which depict women's ability to create small pockets of community within a misogynistic space. Other people shared about their resistance – "he told me I can find another man I should just forget about him, but I told him we will meet in court and went my separate way too". Similarly, when someone asked what men lie about the most (see figure 6.17) and facts about men who do not drink alcohol or smoke (see figure 6.18) several women took to the comments to share their opinions.
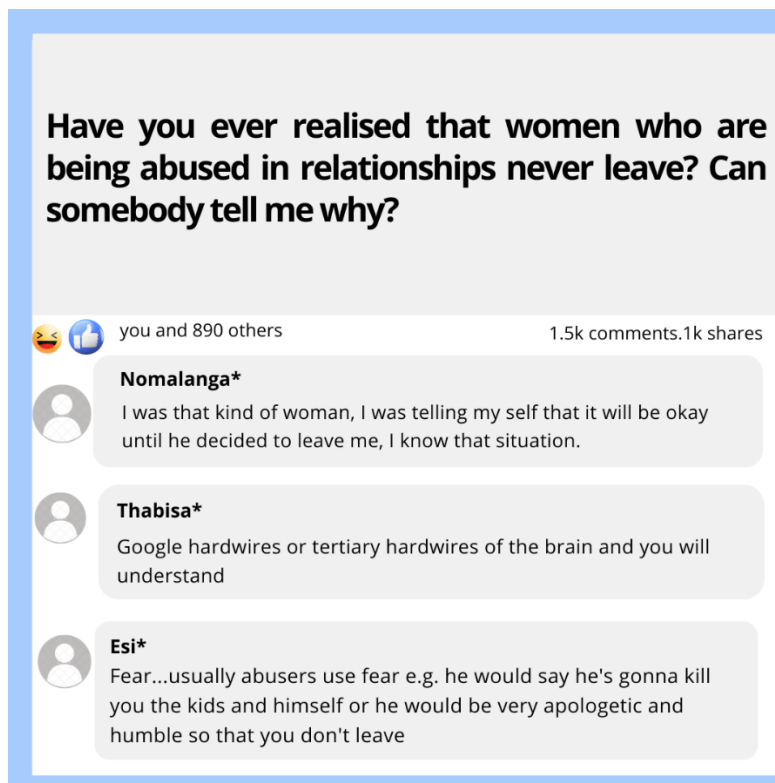
Figure 6.17 Facebook Data
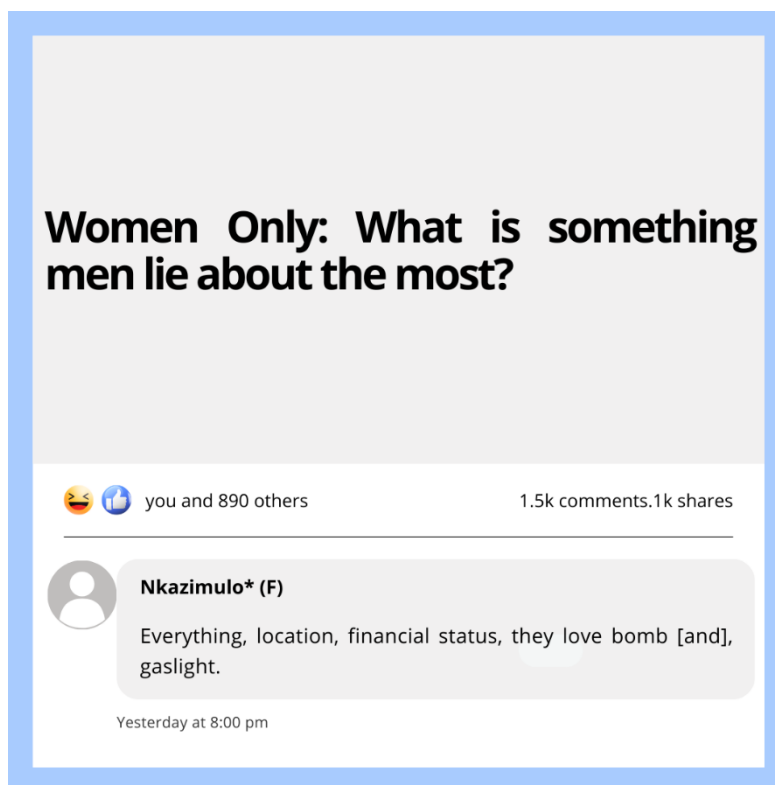
This may suggest that posing questions specifically directed at women gives them permission to take up space within a largely male dominated group. These prompts though not asking directly about violence nonetheless result in women conversing about it. For example, Lerato Melokuhle* (see figure 6.18) brings up domestic violence in response to facts about sober men, equally Nkosazana Mahlati* brings up abusers as well as other abusive behaviours men may exercise within relationships along with Malaika*. These spaces may potentially be informative for other women, in terms of naming, defining and recognising men's abusive behaviour creating collective discursive knowledge.

Figure 6.18 Facebook Data

Fact About Men Who Doesn't Drink Alcohol Nor Smoke

you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares

Lerato Melokuhle*
They beat up women

Nkosazana Mahlati*
Abusers, cheaters ,liars, controlling

Kuhle Swartbooi*
Control freaks

Malaika Khumalo*
They'll ask out a girl that drinks and/or smokes then later demand they stop too much ambition those ones

Correspondingly, the answers given in figure 6.19 encompass differing answers inclusive of lived experiences that bring to the fore multiple reasons as to why women may stay in abusive relationships.

Figure 6.19 Facebook Data

Have you ever realised that women who are being abused in relationships never leave? Can somebody tell me why?

you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares

Nomalanga*
I was that kind of woman, I was telling my self that it will be okay until he decided to leave me, I know that situation.

Thabisa*
Google hardwires or tertiary hardwires of the brain and you will understand

Esi*
Fear...usually abusers use fear e.g. he would say he's gonna kill you the kids and himself or he would be very apologetic and humble so that you don't leave

Nkazimulo* (see Figure 6.17) speaks of love bombing and gaslighting, naming tactics often employed by perpetrators; the use of this language may extend what is regarded as domestic abuse, further contributing to collective discursive knowledge. This suggests that women have access to a rich terminology through which to make sense of their indirect or direct experiences of gendered violence in nuanced ways.

However, cross gender discourse emphasises gaps in understandings particularly the unequal imbalance of power that underpins VAW, which may further reduce women's space for action, and the strategies of resistance, safety work and resources at their disposal.

Section 5: VAW Discourse is Loud in Important Ways but also Dangerous

This section outlines the way VAW is discussed and framed in Diepsloot the title is a paraphrased sentence from Gqola (2015, p.99) to refer to the inconsistencies within the discourse espoused by men and women who oppose GBV publicly but have a different stance in private. This foregrounds the dissonance that often exist within GBV discourse in South Africa.

5.1 De-gendering the Problem, Gendering the Blame

De-gendering the problem and gendering the blame draws attention to the ways in which men attempt to flatten the gender hierarchy by asserting their experiences of violence are identical to that of women, whilst victim-blaming women for the violence that they experience (Berns, 2001). Zoliswa* (see figure 6.20) implored men to stop physically assaulting women via a post which was met by multiple comments exclaiming that men were equally victims of domestic violence.

Figure 6.20 Facebook Data
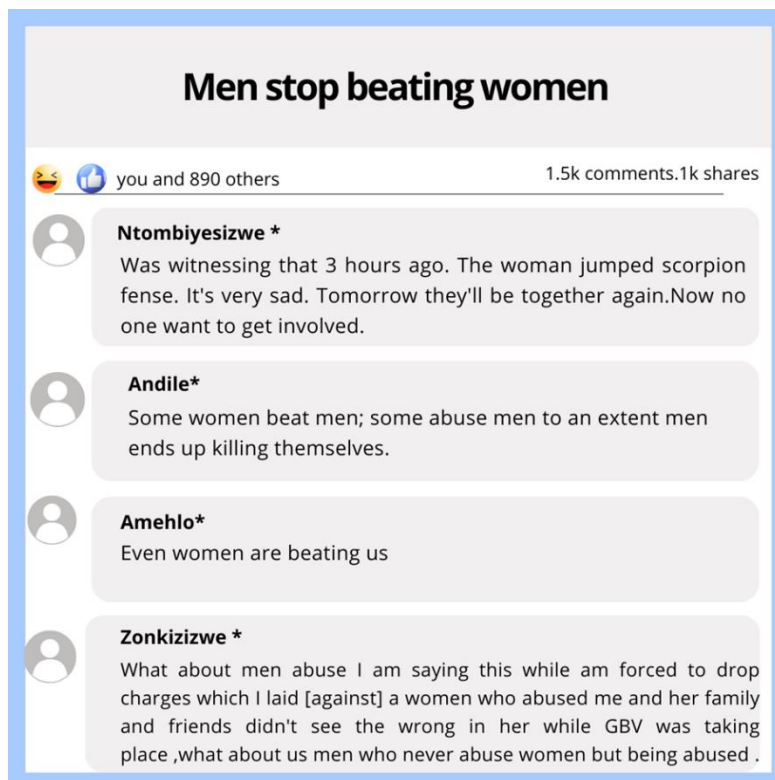
This can be read as a strategy of "defensive MenSpeak" to counter comments about men's violence particularly around discussions of violence against women (see Garner, 2016). For example, Zonkizizwe* articulating his experience in response to the post obscures men's role as perpetrators of violence and shifts the responsibility to women; further shown by "what about us men who never abuse women but [are] being abused". Additionally, this may underline how men co-opt the language and knowledge of feminist liberatory frameworks to construct themselves as victims of a system from which they benefit. Indicative of broader trends which have seen an emergence of anti-feminist movements promoting "men's rights" whilst positing men as victims (Banet-Weiser, 2018).

Andile* stated that "some women abuse men to an extent where they end up killing themselves" despite overwhelming evidence that links poor mental health outcomes to women and girls who have experienced GBV (St John & Walmsely, 2021; Opanasenko et al, 2021). Contrastingly, Ntombiyesizwe* (see Figure 6.20) communicated an indirect lived experience of an incident of DV they witnessed where a woman was being physically assaulted. Whilst another FB member commented *"yes I won't beat a woman"* further indicating the discordance that exists within online discourse. Interviewees 2 and 3 spoke about the disgruntlement with which a community event to engage men about GBV was met.

> *So, we decided to have an event at the taxi rank to say to men, we are busy [addressing] GBV, but we also need you on board to assist [us]... so we planned such a program however, most [men] didn't respond well, they felt so offended saying when you say GBV, [it] means you are saying we are abusing women, and we are not* (Interviewee 2, Community Engagement Officer [VAWG], Black F).

This defensive menspeak (see Garner, 2016) deters any productive engagement with the issue, silencing any robust engagement with institutional and structural patriarchy. Social worker, interviewee 25 observed that: "... men in South Africa feel that women have more rights now, [they feel] there is a hierarchy in South Africa its children, the queer community, women then men". This may partly explain men's angry responses as a resistance to broader

societal progress towards equality. This was further accented by interviewee 29 who made connections between men's anger and the perceived loss of respect towards them.

> *That is probably the most important thing that men talk about, that they feel they have lost respect, women do not respect them anymore, and this is a big thing for them to feel respected... and when there's a sense that you are no longer respected, and that your position as a man is threatened/diminished, rage comes in, anger comes in and at the end of the day, it leads to this violence* (Interviewee 29, Mental Health Org Founder, Black, F).

Men's calls for greater visibility as victims, and their anger towards VAW awareness, is rooted in male entitlement (disguised as a loss of respect) and an effort to regain the power and control they believe to be losing. This results in men taking up increasingly more room, ensuring that prerequisites such as "not all men" become passwords that are repeatedly demanded before feminist organisations are listened to. This reduces the space for action of survivors and organisations to freely express and discuss experiences as victims of violent masculinity and patriarchy (Mushomba, 2020; Gqola, 2015). DARVO (Deny, Attack, Reverse Victim and Offender Roles, see Freyd 1997) may also be at play here, further research on this within the South African context is required. Despite shared experiences of racial oppression chapter two highlighted that men's violent patriarchal practices were also pervasive during apartheid. 'Gendered legacies' recognises continuities of the harm inflicted on Black men and women by apartheid and the legacies of the harm Black men inflicted on Black women. The use of DARVO within this context may then be an attempt to recognise the gendered legacies of structural harm whilst forgoing the accountability that is also required.

 Interviewee 29 detailed her organisation's non-judgmental/non-blaming community approach to engage men, framing them as involuntary recruits of a patriarchal system.

> *You know what, a lot of the times we have very demonising approaches, if I can use that word, where men are terrible, they are the worst thing that's ever happened, all of them are you know abusers. So, OUTRAGE is about*

taking a non-blaming, and a non-judgmental approach and looking at men and boys as people who have been recruited into a system of patriarchy, and male dominance, that they still don't know where it's coming from, and how things got the way they were (Interviewee 29, Mental Health Org Founder, Black, F).

This suggests the employment of watered-down approaches to avoid Diepsloot men's potential offence and anger when confronted with their complicity within a patriarchal system. Subsequently any meaningful engagement with power is problematised to avoid painting all men as "terrible" "abusers" with adverse consequences for women – shifting blame on to them. Interviewee 29 went on to state that:

The irony of it is that who brings these men up? It's the women ... it's so funny because I think we are the ones raising sons, I'm raising sons I am raising boys. What are we saying, can we separate ourselves from the problem, and my answer is no, because as much as we are affected by it, we are also perpetrators.

This narrative is dangerous as it individualises a systemic issue; distracting from the core issue which is men's engagement with power – placing the responsibility for men's behaviour on women, exempting men from any critical self-reflexive engagement with patriarchal power. Additionally, this provides a reductive analysis that does not consider why women, victimised by patriarchy, may also in another instance uphold patriarchy and what the potential benefits of bargaining with systemic power may be (Kandiyoti, 1998). This may also portray the far reach of counter-feminist narratives, which have managed to infiltrate seemingly feminist spaces subverting blame and power in VAW response work. Zamani* (see figure 6.21) similarly states that abusers abuse as they were raised improperly, thus engaging in "women blame".

Figure 6.21 Facebook Data
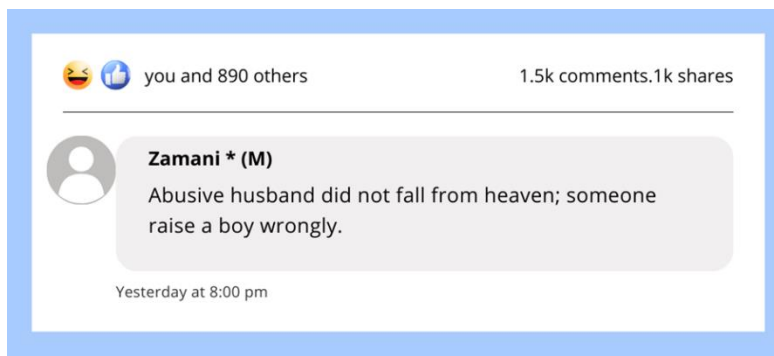
In South Africa child rearing continues to be extremely gendered due to the patriarchal imbalance of power (Hatch & Posel, 2018), as well as the gendered legacy of disjointed family structures, highlighted by activist interviewee 8 stating that during apartheid "the family structure was broken, albeit how we defined it; men were forced to go and work in the cities and the mines leaving their families behind". Thus, the underlying implication of figure 6.21 is that women are responsible for men's abusive behaviour, furthermore Thandeka* (see figure 6.22) victim blames, expressing that VAW is an indication that women have multiple partners; justifying men's violence towards them.

Discourse that de-genders VAW, whilst gendering the blame, can be regarded as part of a continuum of conversations and practices that preclude a feminist analysis of power to make space for men. This includes misogynistic rhetoric that not only justifies violence against women but blames women for it. Similarly, discourse which overemphasises violence from women towards men can neglect the importance of context – universalise this violence and equate its origin and prevalence to that of VAW at the expense of women victims who are disproportionately impacted.

Figure 6.22 Facebook Data

GBV [lets] [you] know that where there [is] GBV [its] where there [are] a lot woman [with] multiple partners, that [causes] GBV, not that men are abusive towards women for nothing.

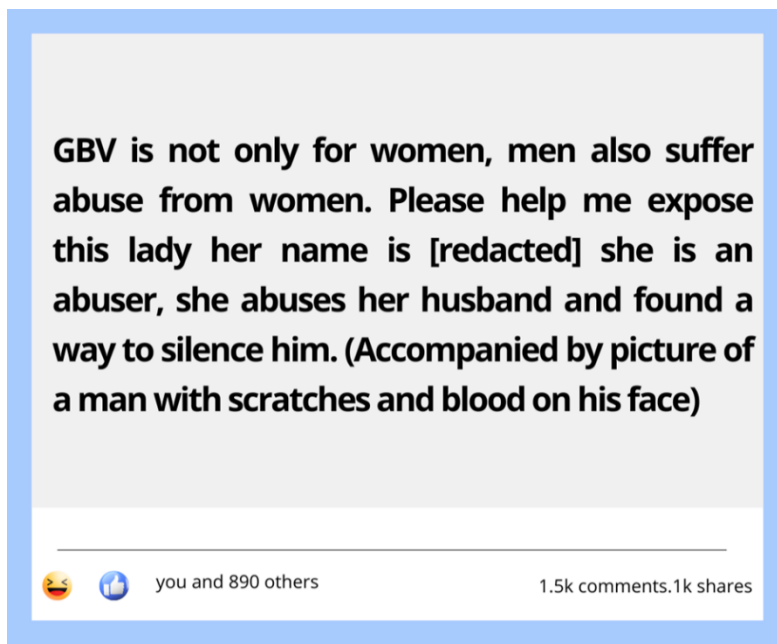you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares
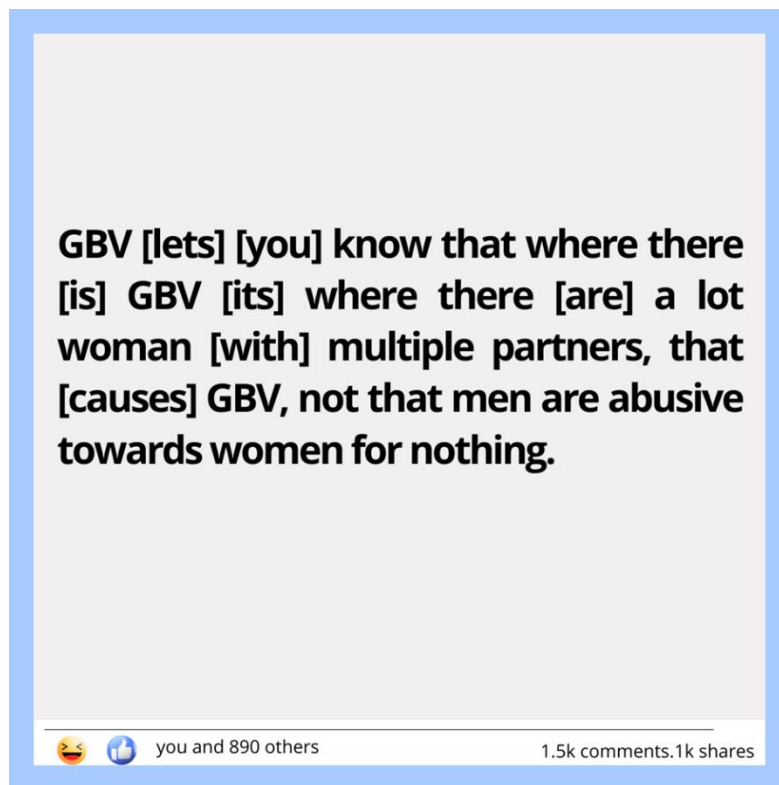
Figure 6.23 was accompanied by pictures of a man with scratches and blood on his face along with a plea stating: "Tumelo needs our help let's help him. This woman must be exposed. Tumelo's family is helpless. I'm their neighbour witnessing the abuse from this woman almost every week".

Figure 6.23 Facebook Data

Within prevention work this focus on "violence towards men" potentially has the effect of decreasing women's space within previously women only spaces to accommodate men and boys, thus neutralising the issue.

> *I was sitting in a conference, in Pretoria in December 2019 and there was a Deputy Minister of Social Development, who stood up and she was saying, you know, one of the things that we are still very poor or bad at in this country, is not including men and boys in our interventions, and she was like, are you aware that women perpetrate violence? For example, I was talking to a boy, or to a group of boys and they were telling me stories that were devastating around how they've experienced gender-based violence, and so she was going on about this issue of men and boys, and how we are not doing enough* (Interviewee 29, Mental Health Org Founder, Black, F)

In the pursuit, encouraged by UNWomen (1995), to engage men, women only spaces and the necessity of a feminist analysis of power in a male dominated society has been sidelined. There is a complex growing tension that risks inaccurately over-emphasising men's experiences (Read-Hamilton, 2014).

Unfortunately, we always focus on girls we say girl child this, girl child that and we neglect the boys they also need that love and attention. So, I think also, in conversations like this also mentioning boys because that's why we have a lot of men that are committing suicide because no one, wants to hear anything about men, when you go to police station, you report that my wife attacked me, what do they do laugh at you so I think we also need to include men and boys in this kind of conversation. Even with the initiatives we have, we have things like take a girl child to school or taking a girl child to work we run campaigns, were we give girl child sanitary pads, we are having girls talk, but we hardly have boys talk you know. So, I think also, because boys and men also are part of the gender-based violence (Interviewee 22, Projects and Events Coordinator, Black, F).

A gender-neutral analysis risks depoliticising violence against women within the non-governmental spaces that dictate the agenda for women's rights in South Africa. In Chapter 4 GBV specialist interviewee 5, expressed that femicide rates are five times higher in South Africa, but so are men's homicide rate, the murder of [the] elderly over the age of 60. An overemphasise on men's inclusion in such spaces neglects not only the high rates of violence men perpetrate towards women, but towards each other; missing an opportunity for a robust analysis of men's use of violence underpinned by gendered legacies of apartheid. The employment of gender-neutral analyses in GBV prevention may also point to the insidious nature of patriarchal power, which seeks to constantly encroach and occupy any spaces meant for women – recruiting the very people supposedly fighting for women. Additionally, the use of "perpetrators" by interviewee 29 to describe women, may ignore complexities around primary perpetrators and the distinction between violence that seeks to control the other person versus strategies of resistance.

This discourse is also characterised by disjointed responses to different forms of GBV which reveals that violence against women is not understood as interconnected leaving some survivors open to scrutiny and harassment. Responses also betray the normalisation of the violence experienced by Black women as more extreme cases garner sympathy.

5.2 Inconsistent responses to VAW

There are inconsistent responses to the various forms of violence experienced by women, Sihle* (see figure 6.24) detailed the harassment and bullying she had been experiencing at work which was met with scrutiny by some members of the group.

Figure 6.24 Facebook Data

> **Guys I am coming to this group with tears in my eyes and a broken heart please don't judge me this guy has been harassing me to the point where I am actually thinking of quiting my job he bullys me in every way possible what should I do?**
>
> you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares
>
> **Siyanda***
> There has to be something perhaps which we don't know or your not telling us why he does behave so.
>
> **Sonto***
> Did you sleep with him

The responses victim blames Sihle* enquiring about any sexual activity, whilst implying that she may be hiding something and thus the behaviour of the perpetrator may be warranted. In contrast, one comment outlined that this was GBV and should be reported stating, "don't quit your job over him. Go open a case of abuse or harassment. If there is any GBV organisation report to them as well." This indicates differing responses to forms of violence against women cases of femicide are often met with empathy or no responses at all, whilst sexual harassment is met with scrutiny. This reflects understandings of VAW as perceived through hierarchies of harm. Chapter 3 demonstrated that immigration status, nationality, shaped responses to rape victims. Contrastingly, Ganya*, Ziphozonke* and Lwazi's* responses (see figures 6.25 and 6.26) show that men detailing emotional abuse is not met with any further examination, a stark difference between how women are met with scepticism and scrutiny.

Figure 6.25 Facebook Data

Morning please keep me anonymous; I love my wife & kids but my wife is abusing me emotionally. I am tired how do you unlove a person you have been with four years. Please help I want to let her go I am tired.

you and 890 others | 1.5k comments.1k shares

Ganya*

Pray for her so that she must be delivered

Ziphozonke*

Abusive relationships are difficult to end. It's easy to tell someone that move on and leave that toxic relationship but it's difficult to end it. The abusive partner will be threatening you in a way that you lose your voice and become a little scared mouse. The only thing I can advice the writer is keep calm and have a deeper thought and get people you trust and talk to them ask me I know how you feel.

Other men expressed their respect for married men who had to contend with 'nonsense' and emotional abuse to make their marriages work.

Figure 6.26 Facebook Data

> **With what I saw yesterday eh! I respect all the married men, most of you take nonsense just to make the Marriage work.**
>
> 😆 👍 you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares
>
> **Lwazi***
> This is painful bro most gents are going through a lot [of] emotional abuse
>
> Yesterday at 8:00 pm

This suggests that there is a double standard with which violence is approached; men's stories of emotional abuse illicit sympathy and support, reactions that are only afforded women in cases of femicide and/or rape. This is something that potentially decreases women's space to speak (Wilson, 2016) undermining the ubiquitous nature of violence against women., exemplified by GBV officer, interviewee 15 who states that women are abused by boyfriends, husbands, fiancées or by just any men.

> *Here in Diepsloot there is a high rate of gender-based violence, in fact there is a high rate of violence, so I know that there are a lot of women who are abused by their husbands, by their boyfriends, by their fiancée or by just any men they come across. So recently there was an issue of a woman who was murdered by her boyfriend in extension 2 so a lot of violence has been happening and nothing seems to change* (Interviewee 15, GBV Officer/Diepsloot resident, Black, F).

By stating the various positions men occupy in relation to women interviewee 15 demonstrates that violence is something women must contend with across their lives. However, this is often misconstrued by men which may impede work towards addressing violence against women in Diepsloot. Similarly, the disparity in response to the different forms of violence women experience in their lives, suggest that VAW is understood through a hierarchy of harm. Liz Kelly's concept of a continuum of violence (1987, 2012) could be a valuable way to expand and deepen how VAW is understood in Diepsloot.

Section 6: Conclusion

Women in Diepsloot have developed various strategies of resistance and safety work to safeguard themselves from the aspects of the violence regime. This includes strategic silence, and strategic speech. Women's silence is a language that can be translated to reflect the oftentimes invisible ways in which women navigate violence regimes. Informed by Motsemme's (2004) argument that the silent always speak, and thus women's silence does not represent the absence of meaning – silence and speech exist interdependently.

> *When we reject dominant western oppositional hierarchies of silence and speech, and instead adopt frameworks where words, silence, dreams, gestures, tears all exist interdependently and within the same interpretive field, we find that the mute always speak* (Motsemme, 2004, p.999).

Online women's silence is strategic, adopted to disengage with the misogyny that is rampant within the groups; instead, they harness the reach of the groups to circulate GBV awareness events and information. For feminists working in the violence against women sector strategic silence envelopes the complex emotions that arise when confronting men's violent practices. Silence is an in-between space in which any emotional expression is postponed to maintain professionalism. To navigate the failures of the criminal justice system the online space acts as an informal policing mechanism to achieve some form of justice for survivors. There is a collective approach to safety work and justice evidenced through utilising the groups to advocate for other women. Additionally, pockets of safe space are created for women by

women through the strategic use of the phrase "women only" allowing space for vulnerability and solidarity.

Lastly the section on GBV discourse shows the various strategies that men engage in to deprioritise women and decreasing their space for action. Some of this discourse was found to have infiltrated into violence against women intervention and prevention spaces which may increase women's burden of safety work. This chapter outlines the violence against women site of the violence regime and its connection to the online site showing that sites of the regime intersect in complex ways.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

I do think it's about thinking of these broader structures they are so deeply entwined with exclusion geographies; you have to bring those into some sort of consideration (Interviewee 24 Historian on South Africa, White, M).

If we want to talk about intergenerational trauma and intergenerational knowledge, we have to know that even us as women, it might not necessarily be myself going through a traumatic event; but if it was there for my grandmother, then it will also like, in a way, come to me, and I will feel it (Interviewee 25, Social Worker, Black F).

The continuities of apartheid are integral to making sense of gender-based violence in Diepsloot; throughout the project there was an emphasis on the multilayered nature of violence and the impossibility of just addressing a single component. This research set out to explore the implications of apartheid legacies on violence against women in Diepsloot. FB and interview data highlighted that VAW cannot be analysed in a vacuum, it exists alongside structural violences such as racism and socioeconomic inequalities rooted in legacies of apartheid. Chapter five showed that inequalities were embedded in infrastructure creating a conducive environment for violence against women. The wider framing of violence used in this study constitutes not only all sites of violence, but legacies of violence as well, including spatial, gendered and discursive legacies of apartheid. To interrogate assumptions and dismantle this intricate and complex landscape of violence requires an inclusive struggle feminism anchored in the continuity of past struggles (Vergès, 2019, p.5) to disrupt legacies of racial, gender and geopolitical inequalities and domination (Tamale, 2020).

Violence in Diepsloot is framed as a regime: producing and governing various sites, consisting of forms and aspects of violence that were interrelated and existing in symbiosis. This violence regime is predicated on historical legacies extending from the sanctioning of violence under the apartheid regime, colonialism and slavery: thus, present-day violence is rooted and grounded in historical enactments of violence. Gabeba (2014) notes that we will remain

unable to break the stronghold of rape in contemporary South Africa if we continue to pretend that it is a recent phenomenon. In other words, if we are at all serious about making sense of GBV's hold on our society we need to interrogate the histories of GBV in South Africa (Gqola, 2015, p.42). Other continuities exist alongside histories of gendered violence as the transition to democracy did not result in a marked overhaul of apartheid structures and systems.

> *Okay, so, apartheid was a system of social engineering, violence and oppression and that filtered down to all segments of South African society and those, so a couple of things to this. One is the pass system and forced migration in South Africa split up family units. So they actually broke down social structures across many South African places. Often, in societies or communities where people are marginalised violence becomes either a tool for survival or a tool to release frustrations or anger at their own oppression within a system that they have very little control over and unfortunately, in a patriarchal society, if you have those kind of layers, women are the people who are targeted because of that, marginalisation and oppression. So violence in South Africa more broadly today, is not directly linked to apartheid, but definitely impacted upon it, spatial management, spatial and geographical exclusion and marginalisation, especially in many of the townships, the lack of economic opportunity, and also the fact that violence was embedded through security structures, so the police, but also through community action, as well and I think all of those things can be traced back to your pathway, but there's also things that have maintained themselves in the post-apartheid era and so it's very difficult to break those links, especially if the broader socio economic conditions haven't really changed for many people* (Interviewee 24, (Interviewee 24 Historian on South Africa, White, M).

Gendered legacies show that persisting structures of inequality constrain Black women residing in Diepsloot in different ways to black men. Foregrounding the enduring effects of apartheid from a perspective that considers the material gendered consequences of these legacies and the implications for violence against women. Money is an organising feature in

post-apartheid gender relations as evidenced in Chapter 4 – socioeconomic inequalities limit opportunities for black men in Diepsloot to construct a sense of self that is uninhibited by the oppression that is deeply embedded into the built environment. The context of dangerous liminality which includes exclusion from resources in a structural and physical sense creates a conducive environment for specific men's practices that are rooted in survival. This is further exacerbated by the perception of Diepsloot as a liminal space not a point of destination, but a place in-between home and the place one aspires to get to. A place where violence can be enacted with impunity and a lack of accountability unrestricted by the systems present in places regarded as home. The infrastructural violence evident through a lack of robust policing mechanisms, lack of streetlighting, dilapidated structures, create a conducive environment for violence against women. This cannot be disentangled from a history whereby oppression was spatialised in ways that constrained freedom of movement, freedom of access to economic means and opportunities for Black people.

There are gendered implications to these legacies that make women in Diepsloot vulnerable to violence; chapter six showed that whilst women are subjected to violence online and in person, they have developed strategies of survival, resistance and safety work. Women use strategic silence in FB groups subverting dominant discourse to make space for awareness and information sharing around VAW. Women also use collective safety to protect not only themselves but their community from violence evidenced through women posting and seeking justice on behalf of other survivors. As well as the use of "women only" to engage other women in the groups and create pockets of women only spaces within a broader context that is male dominated.

The violence regime framework enables a discourse on GBV that contextualises it as not only a product of patriarchal power but a complex collision of past and present systemic exclusion and institutionalised racism. This troubles the notion of a transition from apartheid to post-apartheid particularly for Black women whose histories of oppression still need to be excavated. To outline how gendered legacies as a lens could recognise the continued production and reproduction of sites of violences. Consequently, women in Diepsloot have adopted specific ways of resisting and conducting safety work informed by these histories: strategic silence and reenactments of a public performance of violence, necklacing, that is part

of a collective shared history to punish perpetrators. This exists as part of other call backs to the past for example Diepsloot men employing heroic masculinity and xenophobia as a righteous struggle to better the issues within the community. Decolonial feminism is drawn on throughout this research because while patriarchies everywhere stem from male power, and there are some overlaps in the way women experience oppression globally, the preoccupations and priorities of African feminists cannot be reduced to those of western feminists. The enduring legacies of slavery, colonialism, imperialism and apartheid continue to slip through, intersect with patriarchal domination and come out on the other end as subjugation with different strands from those found in western paradigms (Tamale, 2020; p.41).

7.1 The Violence Regime Framework: Tensions Between the Structural and Interpersonal

To create transformative interventions addressing violence against women it may be necessary to change the ways we think about and frame GBV in South Africa. This study is an invitation to complexity – holistic approaches that start with a comprehensive analysis of contextual factors that considers the infrastructure, the people that live in a particular space and the systemic issues that they must navigate daily. This leads towards strategies that are informed by a decolonial approach to GBV which produce home grown interventions rather than imported models from elsewhere. Beginning from a violence regime framework can create opportunities for multilayered interventions which recognise that VAW exists alongside other violences that propel and compound it. This requires multi-level, multi layered interventions, that recognise this multidimensional nature of violence – producing coordinated efforts to try and redress the past and the present whilst increasing women's space to speak and act.

> For me, it doesn't matter, how much [GBV interventions there are] if people's lives actually fundamentally don't change. So I think there's got to be livelihoods kind of interventions and I think that's one of the things that we've learned with men, is that actually, especially in settings like Diepsloot,

where there is high levels of unemployment, a lot of poverty, and so on is actually having something which builds men's ability to be able to create a livelihood. It's very interesting, for women I think it works a little bit differently. I think they need a different kind of, yes, they also need livelihoods but again, that's not going to solve violence, because it's not dealing with their partners who are perpetrating violence and so I think there's got to be some structural change, a deep structural change, that's hard and slow and it requires deep political commitment and social commitment... Diepsloot will always have this thing of sitting far away on the outskirts and I don't know like maybe it's that there's I don't know how you deal with that you know, that just the inaccessibility of the place. I don't know but I think these things have to happen simultaneously so there's got to be structural change, at the same time as maybe interventions that are changing the hearts and minds of people (Interviewee 28, Public Health Researcher and Academic White, F).

This is complex and raises questions around the likelihood of addressing systemic issues and women's lived experiences all at the same time. There is also a complex tension in holding equal space for both structural and interpersonal violences, that this research presents and acknowledges. Diepsloot is characterised by the multiple sites of the violence regime which also oppresses men though it oppresses women in specific ways; this framing whilst more accurate may unintentionally subsume the specificity of women's lived experiences of violence within broader structural issues. This research presents these tensions and contradictions and invites further engagement on how to empower and enable women when men's lives are so constrained, and violence is the key resource for survival. Several interviewees presented suggestions around interventions that address both women and men in different ways, or embedding VAW in wider programmes with an ambition to involve women in ways that might increase their space to speak and act. Other participants spoke about a collaborative approach between multiple stakeholders and recipients to create bespoke services. There is also an emphasis on robust infrastructure that provides support and facilitates change.

We cannot pinpoint one thing and say this is a cause for GBV there are multiple factors because yes, I may share education and information with you about GBV but then you still get to return to your unemployed status when you get home you still return to a hungry family. You still return home to alcohol, drugs so, I don't know, I believe that if more people with different services came together, maybe because we need to change the informal settlement. I believe in rehabilitation, I honestly do, and I believe that people can change if they are given proper support or the support that they want, because I might be thinking that this person needs this but that could be something that they do not need (Interviewee 27B, Legal Officer, Black, F).

Decolonial approaches rooted in the needs of the community – and grassroots change as a starting point towards fundamental structural change are also recommended.

To enable there to be greater gender equality and to break down marginalisation of South African women you have to target the different layers – education, economic opportunity, economic change, I mean, those are the things that need to be done. But they are massive, they are huge things and that's where I think you have to start possibly low and build your way up: revolutions are easy to talk about, but they are very hard to actually create, and obviously very disruptive as well. So into equity revolution, but it's more about if you can provide empowerment opportunities, at a local level, if you can provide examples of behavior about how people conduct themselves at a local level, then that can build up, but often harder to impose top down, you need to have community organisations and people working with one another to create a situation where what has been deemed acceptable up until now is no longer acceptable. That's what has to happen, so I think that's very grassroots change within the community (Interview 24, Historian on South Africa, White, M).

Tensions, contradictions and legacies of rhetoric were also brought up in critique of a decolonial approach to address issues in South Africa

Where is it that this concept of decolonisation has worked? I'm actually a bit tired of rhetoric I think we've had enough rhetoric and I think as South Africans, we've had the best rhetorist being Nelson Mandela, everything was great; rainbow nation sugar coated what did it translate to and hence you see laymen people being frustrated with empty promises. So, I don't think the concept of decolonisation is going to assist because decolonisation, for me, is piggybacked with neo liberalisation. It's piggybacked with capitalism, and that is the world order so what is there to really kind of decolonise when the systems and the apparatus in place are colonial still? (Interviewee 34, Political Economist, Black, F).

Rasing the importance of distinguishing between systems of oppression and liberation which can sometimes become enmeshed and extending beyond rhetoric. The focus on large structures may also serve to narrow visibility for the day to day lived experiences of women in Diepsloot. Intersectional advocacy (see Kelly & Dhaliwal, 2020) may be a good starting point in ensuring that the specificity of VAW is not subsumed by work to address structural legacies of historical injustice. Intersectional advocacy extends on intersectionality (see Crenshaw, 1991) to recognise the complex and multi-dimensional range of the needs of women of colour; which means women's organisations catering to this demographic are often required to recognise the overlapping issues of oppression, discrimination and social identity in each woman's life. Intersectional advocacy is a practice which addresses the multiple ways that gender, race and class play out in everyday lives (Kelly & Dhaliwal, 2020, p.8). This approach may facilitate an understanding of the overlapping systems of oppression in women's lives.

7.2 More Questions and Opportunities for Further Research

Using the violence regime this study has set out the complexities of addressing VAW in Diepsloot, through this process specific issues for further investigation came to the forefront. The challenges around dismantling a violence regime that is rooted in historical legacies but also sustained through material structures and practices that continue to reproduce violence. This raises questions about disrupting the machinations of the regime in sustainable ways that

produce fundamental change. Recognising the agency and forms of resistance women exercise within a regime of violence as well as making space for the ways in which they are victimised by VAW and structural violence.

This research began asking what connections there were between the high rates of GBV in Diepsloot and apartheid legacies? From there other questions for further inquiry without the scope of this study came to the fore: it is hoped that the conceptual framework developed through this research – violence regime, gendered legacies of apartheid, dangerous liminality and conducive environment – are applicable to other contexts within South Africa. Are there similarities and differences between the ways women resist and conduct safety work within other contexts? What are the implications of spaces of dangerous liminality for the safety and freedom of women and girls? A closer examination of how dangerous liminality can enable men's violences? What else can be understood through a lens of gendered legacies beyond VAW? Whether other women in South Africa utilise the strategies of resistance that have been detailed in this thesis such as collective safety work, strategic speech and silence.

Bibliography

Abahlali baseMjondolo (2016). The Struggle for Human Dignity Continues in the Shadow of Death. Available at: https://abahlali.org/node/15155/ (Accessed: 2 December 2022).

Abrahams, N., Jewkes, R. and Laubsher, R. (1999). "I do not believe in democracy in the home": Mens's relationship with and abuse of women. [online] Tygerberg: Medical Research Council. Available at: https://196.21.144.194/gender/nodemocracy.pdf (Accessed 29 April 2021).

Abrahams, N., Shibe Mhlongo, Esnat Chirwa, Dekel, B., Asiphe Ketelo, Lombard, C., Shai, N., Leane Ramsoomar, Mathews, S., Gérard Labuschagne, Matzopoulos, R., Prinsloo, M., Martin, L.J. and Jewkes, R. (2024)'Femicide, intimate partner femicide, and non-intimate partner femicide in South Africa: An analysis of 3 national surveys, 1999–2017.'PLOS Medicine, 21(1), pp. 1-21. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1004330 (Accessed: 4 April 2024)

Adams, C.J. (2015). Sexual Politics of Meat. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Adams, C.J. (2016) 'The Sexual Politics of Meat.' openDemocracy. Available at: https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/transformation/sexual-politics-of-meat/ (Accessed 4 Apr. 2024)

Aguera Reneses, P. and Bosch, T. (2022) 'Networked masculinities in South Africa: the #MensConference as a case study', NORMA, 18(2), pp. 106–121. doi: 10.1080/18902138.2022.2051396.

Akibu, T. (2018). Formative Research for Enhancing Interventions to Prevent Violence against women: men's Perceptions in Diepsloot, South Africa. [Dissertation] Available at: https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/188770168.pdf [Accessed 8 Jun. 2022].

Akinola, A.O. (2017). South Africa and the Xenophobia Dilemma: A Gendered Perspective. Sabinet, 15(3), pp.9739–9751.

Altman, I. and Low, S.M. (1992). Place attachment. New York: Springer.

ANC (1994). Policy Documents 1994: A basic guide to the Reconstruction and Development Programme–ANC.[online]African National Congress. Available at: https://www.anc1912.org.za/policy-documents-1994-a-basic-guide-to-the-reconstruction-and-development-programme/ [Accessed 1 Feb. 2025].

Anderson, E. (2015). Feminist Epistemology and Philosophy of Science (Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy). [online] Stanford.edu. Available at: https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/feminism-epistemology/.

Anand, N .(2018). Promise of Infrastructure. Duke University Press.

Aoki T. (1996). Imaginaries of "East and West": Slippery curricular signifiers in education. *Paper presented at the International Adult and Continuing Education Conference. (ERIC Reproduction Service No. ED 401 406)*.

Apartheid Museum (2006) Our Triumphs and Our Tears: Women's Struggles in 20th Century South Africa, An Exhibition Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the Women's March

Armstrong, S. (1994). Rape in South Africa: an invisible part of apartheid's legacy. Gender & Development, 2(2), pp.35–39

Artz, L. (2008). An examination of the attrition of domestic violence cases within the criminal justice system in post-apartheid South Africa (Unpublished doctoral thesis). Queen's University Belfast, UK.

Augé, M. (1992) Non-Lieux, Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité , translated as Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity (1995).I. Buchanan 'Non-Places: Space in the Age of Supermodernity' in R. Barcan and I. Buchanan (eds.) Imagining Australian Space (1999).

BBC (2018). My Neighbour The Rapist - BBC Africa Eye documentary. [online] www.youtube.com. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rpjNz8VrXFk.

Baderoon G (2014) Regarding Muslims: From Slavery to Post-Apartheid. Johannesburg, South Africa: Wits University Press.

Bhabha, H.K. (1994). The Location of Culture. London: Routledge.

Bahari, S. F. (2010) "Qualitative Versus Quantitative Research Strategies: Contrasting Epistemological And Ontological Assumptions", Sains Humanika, 52(1). Doi: 10.11113/Sh.V52n1.256.

Bhargava, R. (2013). Overcoming the Epistemic Injustice of Colonialism. Global Policy, 4(4), pp.413–417. doi:https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.12093.

Bailey, M. (2021). Misogynoir transformed: Black women's digital resistance. S.L.: New York University Press.

Bartel, L. (2022). White Attention Economy inTo Kill a Mockingbird. *Interdisciplinary E-journal for Narrative Research* , Vol. 11 No. 2, pp.1–19. doi:https://www.diegesis.uni-wuppertal.de/index.php/diegesis/article/view/443/634.

Bassadien, S. R. and Hochfeld, T. (2005) 'Across the public/private boundary: contextualising domestic violence in South Africa', *Agenda*, 19(66), pp. 4–15. doi: 10.1080/10130950.2005.9674640.

Benjamin, S. (2007). "The Feminization of Poverty in Post-Apartheid South Africa," Journal of Developing Societies, , vol. 23(1-2), pages 175-206.

Bennett, J. (1997). Credibility, plausibility and autobiographical oral narrative: some suggestions from the analysis of a rape survivor's testimony". In Ann Levett, Amanda Kottler, Erica Burman and Ian Parker. Eds. Culture Power and difference: discourse analysis in South Africa, pp 96-108

Bendall, C. (2010). The Domestic Violence Epidemic in South Africa: Legal and Practical Remedies. Women's Studies, 39(2), pp.100–118. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/00497870903459275.

Bénit, C. (2002). The rise or fall of the 'community'? Post-apartheid housing policy in Diepsloot, Johannesburg. Urban Forum, 13(2), pp.47–66. doi:https://doi.org/10.1007/s12132-002-0013-2.

Banet-Weiser, S. (2018). Empowered: Popular Feminism and Popular Misogyny. Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv11316rx

Barney, N. and Courtemanche, M. (2016). What is Load Shedding? [online] SearchDataCenter. Available at: https://www.techtarget.com/searchdatacenter/definition/load-shedding [Accessed 9 Jan. 2025].

Barlo, S. et al. (2021). Yarning as Protected Space: Relational Accountability in Research. AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 17(1), 40–48. https://doi.org/10.1177/1177180120986151

Basera, T., Takuva, S., Muloongo, K., Tshuma, N. and Nyasulu, P.S. (2016). Prevalence and Risk Factors for Self-reported Sexually Transmitted Infections among Adults in the Diepsloot Informal Settlement, Johannesburg, South Africa. Journal of AIDS & Clinical Research, 07(01). doi:https://doi.org/10.4172/2155-6113.1000539.

Bentley, K. (2004). "Women's human rights & the feminisation of poverty in South Africa," Review of African Political Economy, Taylor & Francis Journals, vol. 31(100), pages 247-261.

Berns, N. (2001). Degendering the problem and gendering the blame: Political discourse on women and violence. Gender & Society, 15(2), 262–281. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124301015002006

Biko, S. (1978). I Write What I like : a Selection of His Writings. Northlands, Johannesburg: Picador Africa.

Bollen, S., Artz, L., Vetten, L. and Louw, A. (1999). Violence Against Women in Metropolitan South Africa: A Study on Impact and Service Delivery. *U.S Department of Justice Programmes*, p.102.

Bograd, M. (1990). Feminist perspectives on wife abuse: An introduction.In K.Yllö & M.Bograd (Eds.), Feminist perspectives on wife abuse (pp. 11-26). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Bonnin, D. (2004), 'Understanding the Legacies of Political Violence: An examination of Political Conflict in Mpumalanga Township, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa', Working Paper 44, Crisis States Programme, Development Research Centre, DESTIN, London.

Boonzaier, F.A. (2022). Spectacularising narratives on femicide in South Africa: A decolonial feminist analysis. Current Sociology, p.001139212210971. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/00113921221097157.

Boonzaier, F. (2017) The Life and death of Anene Booysen: Colonial discourse, gender-based violence and media representations. South African Journal of Psychology 47(4): 470–481.

Boonzaier, F. A., & van Schalkwyk, S. (2011). Narrative possibilities: poor women of color and the complexities of intimate partner violence. *Violence against women*, *17*(2), 267–286. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801210397796

Boswell, B. (2020). And Wrote My Story Anyway: Black South African Women's Novels as Feminism. Witwatersrand University Press.

Bows, H., and Fileborn, B. (2020). Space, place and GBV. Journal of Gender-Based Violence 4, 3, 299-307, DOI:https://doi.org/10.1332/239868020X15983760944114

Bowman, B. (2010). Children, Pathology and Politics: A Genealogy of the Paedophile in South Africa between 1944 and 2004. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 40(4), pp.443–464. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/008124631004000407.

Boyd, D., & Crawford, K. (2012). Critical questions for big data: Provocations for a cultural, technological, and scholarly phenomenon. Information, Communication & Society, 15(5), 662–679. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2012.678878

Boyle, K. (2019). #Metoo, Wenstein And Feminism. S.L.: Springer Nature.

Boyle, K. (2018). What's in a name? Theorising the Inter-relationships of gender and violence. Feminist Theory, [online] 20(1), pp.19–36. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/1464700118754957.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2022). Thematic analysis: A practical guide. London: SAGE.

Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2012) Thematic analysis. In H. Cooper, P. M. Camic, D. L. Long, A. T. Panter, D. Rindskopf, & K. J. Sher (Eds), APA handbook of research methods in psychology, Vol. 2: Research designs: Quantitative, qualitative, neuropsychological, and biological (pp. 57-71). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association

Bridger, E. (2018). Soweto's Female Comrades: Gender, Youth and Violence in South Africa's Township Uprisings, 1984–1990. Journal of Southern African Studies, 44(4), pp.559–574.

Bridger, E. (2024). Apartheid's 'rape crisis': understanding and addressing sexual violence in South Africa, 1970s–1990s. Women's History Review, 33:2, 265-284.

Bridger, E. (2025). (Un)Remembering Sexual Violence in South African History. Past & Present Society. doi:https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtaf004.

Bridger, E. and Hazan, E. (2022). Surfeit and Silence: Sexual Violence in the Apartheid Archive, African Studies, 81:3-4, pp.286-305.

Brittan, A. 2005 'Masculinities and Masculinism' in Whitehead, S. & Barrett, F. eds, The Masculinities Reader, Cambridge: Polity.

Broch-Due, V. and Enge Bertelsen, B. (2016). Violent Reverberations Global Modalities of Trauma. Cham Springer International Publishing: Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brodie, N., Mathews, S. and Abrahams, N. (2023). Femicide in South Africa. In: The Routledge International Handbook of Femicide and Feminicide. London: Routledge, pp.236–245. doi:https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003202332-26.

Brodie, N. (2020). Femicide in South Africa. Cape Town, South Africa: Kwela Books.

Brown, N. (2021). Embodied Inquiry as a Research Method. [online] Sage Research Methods Community. Available at: https://researchmethodscommunity.sagepub.com/blog/embodied-inquiry-as-a-research-method.

Brown, J.M. and Walklate, S.L. (2011). Handbook on Sexual Violence. Routledge.

Brown, R. (2012) "Corrective Rape in South Africa: A Continuing Plight Despite an International Human Rights Response," Annual Survey of International & Comparative Law: Vol. 18: Iss. 1, Article 5. Available at: http://digitalcommons.law.ggu.edu/annlsurvey/vol18/iss1/5

Brunner, C. (2021). Conceptualizing epistemic violence: an interdisciplinary assemblage for IR. International Politics Reviews, 9(1), pp.193–212. doi:https://doi.org/10.1057/s41312-021-00086-1.

Bundy, C. (2014). Short-changed? : South Africa since apartheid. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

Burman, M. (2004) 'A view from the girls': Challenging conceptions of violence. Sociology Review, 13(4), pp. 2-5.

Burman, M. and Batchelor, S.A. (2009) Between two stools? Responding to young women who offend. Youth Justice, 9(3), pp. 270-285. (doi: 10.1177/1473225409345104)

Butler, A.E., Copnell, B. and Hall, H. (2018). The development of theoretical sampling in practice. Collegian, 25(5), pp.561–566. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.colegn.2018.01.002.

Callister, G. (2011). Patriotic Duty or Resented Imposition? Public Reactions to Military Conscription in White South Africa, 1952-1972. Scientia Militaria - South African Journal of Military Studies, 35(1). doi:https://doi.org/10.5787/35-1-29.

Campbell, C. (1992). Learning to kill? Masculinity, the family and violence in Natal. Journal of Southern African Studies, 18(3), pp.614–628.

Campbell, A. (1999). 'Staying alive: evolution, culture, and women's intrasexual aggression', Behavioral and Brain Sciences, 22, 2: 203-214.

Campbell, J. (2014). South Africa: What Does 'Service Delivery' Really Mean? [online] Council on Foreign Relations. Available at: https://www.cfr.org/blog/south-africa-what-does-service-delivery-really-mean.

Campbell R and Wasco SM (2015) Understanding rape and sexual assault. 20 years of progress and future directions. Journal of Interpersonal Violence 20(1): 127–131.

Carson, T. (2016). Liminal Reality and Transformational Power. ISD LLC.

Carlisle, A. (2019). Kingswood kids speak out against racism at school. [online] Daily Dispatch. Available at: https://www.dailydispatch.co.za/news/2019-11-12-kingswood-kids-speak-out-against-racism-at-school/ [Accessed 15 Apr. 2025].

Cathy, B. (2017). How health-care professionals can best assist victims of gender-based violence through medical care and beyond. Sabinet African Journals, Vol. 4(No. 3).

Causevic, A. and Sengupta, A. (2021). Whose Knowledge Is Online? Practices of Epistemic Justice for a Digital New Deal – A Digital New Deal. [online] projectitforchange. Available at: https://projects.itforchange.net/digital-new-deal/2020/10/30/whose-knowledge-is-online-practices-of-epistemic-justice-for-a-digital-new-deal/ [Accessed 14 Oct. 2024].

Cavanagh E (2017) Settler colonialism in South Africa: Land, labour and transformation, 1880–2015. In: Cavanagh E, Veracini L (eds) The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism. London: Routledge, pp. 291–309.

Cele, B. (2020). Speaker Note for Police Minister General Bheki Cele on the Occasion of the Announcement of Alert Level One. [online] Available at: https://www.saps.gov.za/newsroom/msspeechdetail.php?nid=28452 [Accessed 15 Mar. 2020].

Centre for Analytics and Behavioural Change (2023). Misogyny incentivised: How X accounts spreading harmful gender stereotypes are cashing in. [online] News24. Available at: https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/misogyny-incentivised-how-x-accounts-spreading-harmful-gender-stereotypes-are-cashing-in-20231104 [Accessed 11 Feb. 2024].

Césaire, A. (2000). *Discourse on Colonialism*. Translated by J. Pinkham. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Chakabwata, W. and Mukazi, F.M. (2022) "Ubuntu Philosophy and Online Assessment in Higher Education Institutions." *Handbook of Research on Transformative and Innovative Pedagogies in Education,* edited by Jared Keengwe, IGI Global, 2022, pp. 257-275. https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-7998-9561-9.ch014

Chapman, T.K. and Nikola Hobbel (2022). Social justice pedagogy across the curriculum : the practice of freedom. New York: Routledge.

Charmaz, K. (1996). The search for Meanings- Grounded Theory. In. J.A. Smith, R. Harre,& L. Van Lagenhove (Eds.), Rethinking Methods in Psychology (pp.27-49. London: Sage Publications.

Charmaz, K. (2001). Grounded Theory: Methodology and Theory Construction. In: International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences. Oxford: Pergamon.

Charmaz, K. (2014). Constructing grounded theory (2nd ed.). Sage.

Chavez, C. (2008). Conceptualizing from the Inside: Advantages, Complications, and Demands on Insider Positionality. The Qualitative Report, [online] 13(3). doi:https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2008.1589.

Chikwira, R. (2016) Constructions of sexual violence against women in the apartheid printed news media. Unpublished honours paper. South Africa: University of Cape Town.

Christofides, N. and Rebombo, D. (2016). *Men's Use of Violence against Women: Urgent change is needed in Diepsloot*. [online] *Sonke Gender Justice*, pp.1–4. Available at: https://genderjustice.org.za/publication/findings-from-the-sonke-change-trial/ [Accessed 3 Jun. 2021].

Christofides, N.J., Hatcher, A.M., Rebombo, D. et al. (2020) Effectiveness of a multi-level intervention to reduce men's perpetration of intimate partner violence: a cluster randomised controlled trial. Trials 21, 359. https://doi.org/10.1186/s13063-020-4185-7

Christofides, N.J., Hatcher, A.M., Pino, A., Rebombo, D., McBride, R.S., Anderson, A. and Peacock, D. (2018). A cluster randomised controlled trial to determine the effect of community mobilisation and advocacy on men's use of violence in peri urban South Africa: study protocol. BMJ Open, 8(3), p.e017579. doi:https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjopen-2017-017579.

Clark, N.L. (2018). South Africa: Apartheid and Post-Apartheid. In: Shanguhyia, M., Falola, T. (eds) The Palgrave Handbook of African Colonial and Postcolonial History. Palgrave Macmillan, New York. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-59426-6_40

Coalition of Feminists for Social Change (COFEM), (2018) Why does GBV programming focus on women and girls? ,Feminist Pocketbook Tip Sheet 2.

Coalition of Feminists for Social Change COFEM (2017) "Reframing language of 'gender-based violence' away from feminist underpinnings", Feminist Perspectives on Addressing Violence Against Women and Girls Series, Paper No. 2, Coalition of Feminists for Social Change.

Cock, J. (1989). Keeping the fires burning: militarisation and the politics of gender in South Africa. Review of African Political Economy, 16(45-46), pp.50–64. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/03056248908703825.

Cock, J. (2004). Rethinking Militarism in Post- Apartheid South Africa. University of the Witwatersrand, Working Paper no.43.

Coetzee, A. and Du Toit, L. (2017). Facing the sexual demon of colonial power: Decolonising sexual violence in South Africa. European Journal of Women's Studies, 25(2), pp.214–227

Coetzee, S., Beukes, E., and Mokhosi, M.(1994) A Paradigm shift to make justice and social cohesion embrace: the case of South Africa' paper presented at UNDP Stockholm Roundtable on 'Change: Social Conflict or Harmony?" 22-24' July, 1994

Commey P. (2008) 'A National Disgrace', New African, 10–16 July.

Commins ,L. (2024). Police crime statistics: Spike in murders of women and children. [online] The Mail & Guardian. Available at: https://mg.co.za/crime/2024-08-30-police-crime-statistics-spike-in-murders-of-women-and-children/ [Accessed 14 Nov. 2024].

Connell, R. (1987). Gender and power: society, the person and sexual politics. Cambridge: Polity.

Connell, R. (2005). Masculinities. 2nd ed. Cambridge Polity.

Connell, R.W. (2009) Gender in World Perspective. Polity Press, Cambridge.

Conlin, L. and Davie, W.R. (2015). Missing White Woman Syndrome. Electronic News, 9(1), pp.36–50. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/1931243115572822.

Conlon, C., Timonen, V., Elliott-O'Dare, C., O'Keeffe, S. and Foley, G. (2020). Confused About Theoretical Sampling? Engaging Theoretical Sampling in Diverse Grounded Theory Studies. Qualitative Health Research, 30(6), pp.947–959. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732319899139.

Cornish-Jenkins, H. (2013). Despite the 1994 political victory against apartheid, its economic legacy persists, South African History Online. [online] Sahistory.org.za. Available at: https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/despite-1994-political-victory-against-apartheid-its-economic-legacy-persists-haydn-cornish.

Crankshaw, O. (2022). Urban Inequality. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. Stanford Law Review, 43(6), pp.1241–1299. doi:https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039.

Cullen, F. and Whelan, M. (2021). Pedagogies of Discomfort and Care: Balancing Critical Tensions in Delivering Gender-Related Violence Training to Youth Practitioners. *Education Sciences*, 11(9), p.562. doi:https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci11090562.

Curran, E. and Bonthuys, E. (2005). Customary Law and Domestic Violence in Rural South African Communities. South African Journal on Human Rights, 21(4), pp.607–635. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/19962126.2005.11865150.

Cusicanqui, S.R. (2012). Ch'ixinakax utxiwa: A Reflection on the Practices and Discourses of Decolonization. South Atlantic Quarterly 111 (1), 111 (1), pp.95–109. doi:https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-1472612.

Dafaure, M. (2022). Memes, trolls and the manosphere: mapping the manifold expressions of antifeminism and misogyny online. European Journal of English Studies, 26(2), pp.236–254. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/13825577.2022.2091299.

Dahlberg, M. and Thapar-Björkert, S. (2023) 'Conceptualizing xenophobia as structural violence in the lives of refugee women in Gauteng, South Africa', Ethnic and Racial Studies, 46(12), pp. 2768–2790. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2023.2179890.

Daluxolo Ngidi, N., Moletsane, R. and Essack, Z. (2021). 'They abduct us and rape us': Adolescents' participatory visual reflections of their vulnerability to sexual violence in South African townships. Social Science & Medicine, 287, p.114401. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2021.114401.

Dana, S. (2013). Lobola and the Objectification of Women. [online] Simphiwe Dana. Available at: https://simphiwedana.wordpress.com/2013/03/15/lobola-and-the-objectification-of-women/ [Accessed 17 Mar. 2024].

Dangarembga, T. (2022). Black and Female. Faber & Faber.

Darwin Holmes, A. G. (2020). Researcher Positionality - A Consideration of Its Influence and Place in Qualitative Research - A New Researcher Guide. Shanlax International Journal of Education, 8(4), 1-10. https://doi.org/10.34293/education.v8i4.3232

Datta, A. and Ahmed, N. (2020). Intimate infrastructures: The rubrics of gendered safety and urban violence in Kerala, India. Geoforum, 110, pp.67–76. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2020.01.016.

Datta, R. (2019). Indigenous Reconciliation: Why, What, and How. International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies, 12(2), pp.47–63. doi:https://doi.org/10.5204/ijcis.v12i2.1276.

Datta (2019). Intimate Infrastructures Storymap. [online] Ayona Datta. Available at: https://www.ayonadatta.com/the-city-inside-out/2019/03/16/intimate-infrastructures-storymap [Accessed 19 Dec. 2023].

Davenport, T.H. and Beck, J.C. (2002). The attention economy: understanding the new currency of business. Boston, Mass.: Harvard Business School ; London.

Davenport, T.R. and Saunders, C. (2002). South Africa : a modern history. London: Macmillan.

Davis, A. (2000). The Colour of Violence Against Women. [online] www.colorlines.com. Available at: https://www.colorlines.com/articles/color-violence-against-women [Accessed 3 May 2021].

Davidge, S. (2022). Come Together to End Domestic Abuse: a survey of UK attitudes to domestic abuse 2022. [online] Women's Aid, Bristol: Women's Aid , pp.1–31. Available at: https://www.womensaid.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Come-Together-to-End-Domestic-Abuse-a-survey-of-UK-attitudes-to-domestic-abuse-2022.pdf [Accessed 31 Mar. 2025].

Dayimani, M. (2022). *Namhla Mtwa murder: EFF not convinced lead investigator fled due to death threats*. [online] News24. Available at: https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/namhla-mtwa-murder-eff-not-convinced-lead-investigator-fled-due-to-death-threats-20220916#:~:text=The%2035%2Dyear%2Dold%20OR [Accessed 27 Mar. 2024].

Dawes, A., Kropiwnicki, Z. de S., Kufaar, Z. and Richter, L. (2007). Partner Violence. In: South African Social Attitudes: Changing Times, Diverse Voices. [online] Capetown: HSRC Press. Available at: file:///Users/nyashamaposa/Downloads/SA%20Social%20Attitudes%20Survey%20Report1%202006.pdf [Accessed 13 Apr. 2025].

Debes, R. (2023). Dignity. Spring 2023 ed. [online] Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Available at: https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/dignity/.

Densmore, A. and Scholemann, H. (2021). Energy for All? a Private Sector Strategy to Deliver Renewable Energy to Informal Settlements in Urban South Africa.

De Sousa Santos, B. (2017). The Resilience of Abyssal Exclusions in Our Societies: Toward a Post-Abyssal Law. Tilburg Law Review, 22(1-2), pp.237–258. doi: https://doi.org/10.1163/22112596-02201011.

Devine-Wright, P, Grubb, J (ed.) & Pollitt, U (ed.) 2007, Reconsidering Public Acceptance of Renewable Energy Technologies: a Critical Review. in Taking Climate Change Seriously: a Low Carbon Future for the Electricity Sector. Cambridge University Press.

Dictionary.com (2024). BAE. Available at: https://www.dictionary.com/browse/bae

Diepsloot CPF (2024). Diepsloot CPF Safety Strategy Community Safety Plan: Enhancing Safety. https://apcof.org/wp-content/uploads/diepsloot-safety-strategy-community-safety-plan.pdf.

Diepsloot Youth Programme (2025). *Diepsloot Youth Programme – NPO Diepsloot South Africa donations program*. [online] Diepsloot Youth Programme. Available at: https://www.dyp.co.za/.

Dissel, A. and Kollapen, J. (2002). Racism and Discrimination in the South African Penal System. [online] Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation Penal Reform International. Available at: https://cdn.penalreform.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/rep-2002-south-african-racism-en_0.pdf [Accessed 10 Feb. 2025].

Dlamini, J. (2010). *Native nostalgia*. Auckland Park: Jacana.

Dlulane, B. (2022). Minister Dlodlo concerned about lack of service delivery to Diepsloot. [online] ewn.co.za. Available at: https://ewn.co.za/2018/09/10/minister-dlodlo-concerned-about-lack-of-service-delivery-to-diepsloot [Accessed 7 Mar. 2022].

Donaldson, R. (2014). South African Township Transformation. In: Michalos, A.C. (eds) Encyclopedia of Quality of Life and Well-Being Research. Springer, Dordrecht. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-0753-5_4186

Dotson, K. (2011). Tracking Epistemic Violence, Tracking Practices of Silencing. Hypatia, 26(2), pp.236–257. doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.2011.01177.x.

Downey, A. and Ganesh, M. (2023). Neo-colonial Visions: Artificial Intelligence and Epistemic Violence. [online] Paul Mellon Centre. Available at: https://www.paul-mellon-centre.ac.uk/whats-on/forthcoming/artificial-intelligence [Accessed 12 Sep. 2023].

Downey, D., Kinane, I. & Parker, E. (2016) Introduction: Locating liminality: Space, place and the in-between. In: D. Downey, I. Kinane & E. Parker (Eds.) Landscapes of liminality: Between space and place. London, UK; New York, NY: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 1–26.

Downes, J., Kelly, L., & Westmarland, N. (2014). Ethics in Violence and Abuse Research - a Positive Empowerment Approach. Sociological Research Online, 19(1), 29-41. https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.3140.

Drummond, S.A. (2023). High-Value Cyber Identities: Radical Traditionalism of Black Gender Performance in Digital Spaces. [online] Escholarship.org. Available at: https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9q106828 [Accessed 11 Oct. 2024].

Dube, T. (2016). Politics of Belonging: Ethnicity and Identity of the Kalanga People of Bulilimamangwe District in Colonial Zimbabwe. In: Handbook of Research on Social, Cultural, and Educational Considerations of Indigenous Knowledge in Developing Countries. United States of America: IGI Global, pp.383–398.

Du Bois, W.E.B. (1903). The Souls of Black Folk. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co.

Dubow, S., (2014) Apartheid, 1948-1994. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Duhaney, P. (2021). Criminalized black women's experiences of intimate partner violence in Canada. Violence Against Women, 28(11), p.107780122110357. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/10778012211035791.

Duncan, N., Stevens, G. and Canham, H. (2014). Living through the legacy: the Apartheid Archive Project and the possibilities for psychosocial transformation. South African Journal of Psychology, 44(3), pp.282–291. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/0081246314533636.

Duncan, N. (2008). Understanding collect violence in apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. African Safety Promotion: A Journal of Injury and Violence Prevention, 3(1). doi:https://doi.org/10.4314/asp.v3i1.31620.

Du Pisani, A. (2001). New Sites of Governance: Regimes and the Future of Southern Africa. In: Vale, P., Swatuk, L.A., Oden, B. (eds) Theory, Change and Southern Africa's Future. International Political Economy Series. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781403901019_9

Durrheim, K. and Dixon, J. (2001) 'The role of place and metaphor in racial exclusion: South Africa's beaches as sites of shifting racialization', Ethnic and Racial Studies, 24(3), pp. 433–450. doi: 10.1080/01419870020036738.

Du Toit, L. (2019). Towards a Slow Decolonisation of Sexual Violence. Philosophical Journal of Conflict and Violence, 3(1). doi:https://doi.org/10.22618/tp.pjcv.20193.1.192004.

Dyomfana, Z. (2022). Black tax – burden or investment? [online] Investec. Available at: https://www.investec.com/en_za/focus/investing/black-tax.html.

Dyson, M.E. (2008). I May Not Get There With You The True Martin Luther King, Jr. Paw Prints.

Eaton, L. and Louw, J. (2000). Culture and self in South Africa: individualism-collectivism predictions. The Journal of social psychology, [online] 140(2), pp.210–7. doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/00224540009600461.

Ebila, F. (2015). "A proper woman, in the African tradition" : the construction of gender and nationalism in Wangari Maathai's autobiography unbowed', Tydskrif vir Letterkunde, 52, 1: 144-154.

Elbourne, E. (2002). Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions, And The Contest For Christianity In The Caoe Colony And Britain, 1799-1853. Mcgill-Queen's University Press. Http://Www.Jstor.Org/Stable/J.Ctt80jqq

Elvines, F. (2009). The Whole Place Self, MA Dissertation, London: Metropolitan University.

Emdon, L. and Naidoo, P. (2016). The TRC and the Women's Cause: The march to gender justice remains. [online] Daily Maverick. Available at:

https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2016-08-09-the-trc-and-the-womens-cause-the-march-to-gender-justice-remains/ [Accessed 27 Sep. 2021].

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Polity.

European Commission (2023). *What is gender-based violence?* [online] commission.europa.eu. Available at: https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/gender-equality/gender-based-violence/what-gender-based-violence_en [Accessed 30 Jul. 2025].

Eyewitness News (2020). Cele releases crime stats, reported rapes on the rise. [online] www.youtube.com. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h7W_CHzz4Zs&t=83s [Accessed 11 May 2021].

Fabricius, P. (2024). A quarter of South Africans think rape may be justified in war, survey finds. [online] Daily Maverick. Available at: https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2024-03-08-a-quarter-of-south-africans-surveyed-think-rape-can-sometimes-be-justified-in-war/ [Accessed 10 Mar. 2024].

Fanon, F. (1963). The Wretched of the Earth. New York: Grove Press.

Fanon, F. (1967). Black Skin, White Masks. London: Penguin Books.

Faull, A., van der Heyde, J. and Sycholt, M. (2023). South Africa's police must prioritise trust. [online] Institute for Security Studies Africa. Available at: https://issafrica.org/iss-today/south-africas-police-must-prioritise-trust [Accessed 7 Jul. 2023].

Feinstein, R.A. (2018). When rape was legal: the untold history of sexual violence during slavery. Editorial: New York: Routledge.

Felson, R. B., Liska, A. E., South, S. J., & McNulty, T. L. (1994). The Subculture of Violence and Delinquency: Individual vs. School Context Effects. Social Forces, 73(1), 155–173. https://doi.org/10.2307/2579921

Fengu, M. (2019). Racial tension in Makhanda school: We cannot pretend all is well, say pupils. [online] City Press. Available at: https://www.news24.com/citypress/news/racial-tension-in-makhanda-school-we-cannot-pretend-all-is-well-say-pupils-20191111 [Accessed 15 Apr. 2025].

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. https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690600500107 (Original work published 2006)

Fihlani, P. (2022). Dudula: How South African anger has focused on foreigners. BBC News. [online] 13 Mar. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-60698374 [Accessed 7 Apr. 2022].

Fincher, R. and Iveson, K. (2017). Planning and Diversity in the City. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Finlay, L. (2002). Negotiating the swamp: The opportunity and challenge of reflexivity in research practice. *Qualitative Research, 2*(2), 209–230. https://doi.org/10.1177/146879410200200205

Fleming, P., J. Lee, and S. Dworkin. (2014). "Real Men Don't: Constructions of Masculinity and Inadvertent Harm in Public Health Interventions." American Journal of Public Health 104, no. 6, 1029–1035. https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2013.301820

Flores, L.A. (1996). Creating discursive space through a rhetoric of difference: Chicana feminists craft a homeland. Quarterly Journal of Speech, 82(2), pp.142–156. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/00335639609384147.

Fontes, L. A. (2004). Ethics in Violence Against Women Research: The Sensitive, the Dangerous, and the Overlooked. *Ethics & Behavior, 14*(2), 141174. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327019eb1402_4

Forde, S., Kappler, S. and Björkdahl, A. (2021) 'Peacebuilding, Structural Violence and Spatial Reparations in Post-Colonial South Africa', Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding, 15(3), pp. 327–346. doi: 10.1080/17502977.2021.1909297.

Fosu, S.B., (2020). My Body, Your Money: Women surviving the gender economic gap with their bodies as currency. [online] Medium. Available at: https://awdf.medium.com/my-body-your-money-women-surviving-the-gender-economic-gap-with-their-bodies-as-currency-a25275c6ee5f [Accessed 5 May 2024].

Foote, M. Q., & Bartell, T. G. (2011). Pathways to Equity in Mathematics Education: How Life Experiences Impact Researcher Positionality. Educational Studies in Mathematics, 78, 45-68. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10649-011-9309-2

Foucault, M. (1986). Of Other Spaces. Diacritics, 16(1), pp.22–27.

France Presse, A. (2023). South Africa Police: 7 Burned to Death in Township 'Mob' Attack. [online] Voice of America. Available at: https://www.voanews.com/a/south-africa-police-7-burned-to-death-in-township-mob-attack/7382253.html.

Fraser, N (1990), Rethinking the public sphere: a contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy, social text, vol.25-26, pp.56-80

Fraser, A. (2023). Diepsloot 5: 'Innocent' residents left with consequences of inadequate policing. [online] CapeTalk. Available at: https://www.capetalk.co.za/articles/491901/diepsloot-5-innocent-residents-left-with-consequences-of-inadequate-policing [Accessed 19 Dec. 2023].

Fredericks, R. (2018). Garbage citizenship: vital infrastructures of labor in Dakar, Senegal. Durham And London Duke University Press.

Freyd, J. J. (1997). Violations of power, adaptive blindness, and betrayal trauma theory. Feminism & Psychology, 7(1), 22–32. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353

Fricker, M. (2007). Epistemic injustice: Power and the Ethics of Knowing. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fuentes, M.J. (2020). "Attending to Black Death:" Black Women's Bodies in the Archive and the Afterlife of Captivity'. Diacritics 48 (3): 116–129. doi: https://doi.org/10.1353/dia.2020.0022.

Fuller, R. (2023). Double Jeopardy: Being Foreign and Female Increased Their Vulnerability During Xenophobic Violence. [online] The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. Available at: https://www.csvr.org.za/double-jeopardy-being-foreign-and-female-increased-their-vulnerabililty-during-xenophobic-violence/ [Accessed 26 Feb. 2025].

Fulu, E., & Miedema, S. (2015). Violence Against Women: Globalizing the Integrated Ecological Model. Violence against women, *21*(12), 1431–1455. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801215596244

Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3), pp.167–191.

Galván-Álvarez, E. (2010). Epistemic Violence and Retaliation: The Issue of Knowledges in "Mother India" / Violencia y venganza epistemológica: La cuestión de las formas de conocimiento en Mother India. *Atlantis*, *32*(2), 11–26. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41055396

Garner, M. (2016). Conflicts, Contradictions And Commitments: Men Speak About Sexualisation Of Culture. [PDF] pp.1–403. Available at: https://eprints.londonmet.ac.uk/view/creators/Garner=3AMaria=3A=3A.html [Accessed 3 Feb. 2023].

Gair S. (2012). Feeling their stories: contemplating empathy, insider/outsider positionings, and enriching qualitative research. Qualitative health research, 22(1), 134–143. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732311420580

Garbe, S. (2023). An Autoethnography of and in Solidarity: Post- and Decolonial Critique and Autoethnographic Positioning Analysis. Qualitative Inquiry, 30(8-9), 695-704. https://doi.org/10.1177/10778004231196918

Gear, S. (2005), 'Now That the War Is Over: Ex-combatant's Transition and the Question of Violence –A Literature Review', Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Johannesburg.

George, L. (2020) "Gender-Based Violence Against Women in South Africa," Ballard Brief: Vol. 2020: Iss. 2, Article 7. Available at: https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/ballardbrief/vol2020/iss2/7

Gibson, J.L. (2003). The Legacy of Apartheid. Comparative Political Studies, 36(7), pp.772–800. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414003255104.

Gilili, B.C. (2022a). 100 people, two ruined toilets, and 'no-one cares'. [online] GroundUp News. Available at: https://www.groundup.org.za/article/100-people-two-filthy-toilets-and-no-one-cares/ [Accessed 7 Feb. 2022].

Gilili , B.C. (2022b). Diepsloot business owners challenge Gauteng Premier over feasibility of Township Economic Development Bill. [online] Daily Maverick. Available at: https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2022-04-13-diepsloot-business-owners-challenge-gauteng-premier-over-feasibility-of-township-economic-development-bill/fbclid=IwAR1ENVrGxUSLMgY6IcExWJe_MMJnh4ia4GVuWCh9nRKpTh6lKQOJetQscJM [Accessed 4 Jul. 2023].

Gilson, L. and Mcintyre D, (2001) South Africa: Addressing the Legacy of Apartheid', in Timothy Evans, and others (eds), Challenging Inequities in Health: From Ethics to Action https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195137408.003.0014

Giuliani, M.V. (2003). Theory of Attachment and Place Attachment. In: Psychological Theories for Environmental Issues. London: Routledge.

Glaser, C. (2000). Bo-tsotsi: The Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1935-1976. Oxford: James Currey Publishers.

Glaser, C. (1990) 'Anti-social bandits, juvenile delinquency and the tsotsi youth gang subculture on the Witwatersrand 1935 - 1960' (MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand).

Gobodo-Madikizela, P. (2012). Remembering the past: Nostalgia, traumatic memory, and the legacy of apartheid. Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology, 18(3), 252–267. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0029078

Goodin, R. E., Headey, B., Muffels, R., & Dirven, H.-J. (1999). The real worlds of welfare capitalism. Cambridge University Press.

Goldblatt, B. and Meintjes, S. (1998) 'Dealing with the aftermath: sexual violence and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission', Agenda, 13(36), pp. 7–18. doi: 10.1080/10130950.1997.9675659.

Goodman, P.S. (2017). End of Apartheid in South Africa? Not in Economic Terms. The New York Times. [online] 24 Oct. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/24/business/south-africa-economy-apartheid.html.

Gouws, A. (2022). Violence against Women Is Staggeringly High in South Africa – a Different Way of Thinking about It Is Needed. [online] The Conversation. Available at: https://theconversation.com/violence-against-women-is-staggeringly-high-in-south-africa-a-different-way-of-thinking-about-it-is-needed-195053 [Accessed 16 Feb. 2015].

Govender I. (2023). Gender-based violence - An increasing epidemic in South Africa. South African family practice : official journal of the South African Academy of Family Practice/Primary Care, 65(1), e1–e2. https://doi.org/10.4102/safp.v65i1.5729

Gqola, P.D. (2016). Intimate foreigners or violent neighbours? Thinking masculinity and post-apartheid xenophobic violence through film. Agenda, 30(2), pp.64–74. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2016.1215625.

Gqola, P.D (2015). Rape a South African nightmare. Auckland Park Johannesburg, South Africa Fergurson Books.

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), pp.111–124. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/14725840701253894.

Gqola, P.D (2021). Female Fear Factory. Cape Town, South Africa: Melinda Ferguson Books.

Graham, S. (2005) 'Switching cities off', City, 9(2), pp. 169–194. doi: 10.1080/13604810500196956.

Graham, S. (2011). Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism. London ; New York: Verso.

Graham, S. (2006). Cities and the 'War on Terror'. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 30(2), pp.255–276. doi:https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2006.00665.x.

Greene, K.S. (2021). Missing white women: Why racial bias dominates coverage of missing person cases. [online] University of Portsmouth . Available at: https://www.port.ac.uk/news-events-and-blogs/blogs/democratic-citizenship/why-racial-bias-dominates-coverage-of-missing-person-cases.

Grix, J. (2019). The Foundations of Research. Bloomsbury Publishing PLC.

Grosfoguel, R. (2019). Epistemic Extractivism. In: *Knowledges Born in the Struggle Constructing the Epistemologies of the Global South*. New York: Routledge.

Gunne, S. and Thompson, Z.B. (2010). Feminism, Literature and Rape Narratives. Routledge.

Gurminder K Bhambra (2014) Postcolonial and decolonial dialogues, Postcolonial Studies, 17:2, 115-121, DOI: 10.1080/13688790.2014.966414

Gunzenhauser, M. G., & Gerstl-Pepin, C. I. (2006). Engaging Graduate Education: A Pedagogy for Epistemological and Theoretical Diversity. Review of Higher Education: Journal of the Association for the Study of Higher Education, 29(3), 319–346. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2006.0008

Habermas, J 1962, The structural transformation of the public sphere: an inquiry into a category of burgoiues society, T Burger, F Lawrence (ed), MIT Press, Cambridge

Hamber, B. (2010). Masculinity and Transition: Crisis or Confusion in South Africa? Journal of Peacebuilding & Development, 5(3), pp.75–88. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/15423166.2010.121687238771.

Harber, A. (2011). *Diepsloot*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.

Harvey, E. (2019). South Africans are violent people. [online] www.iol.co.za. Available at: https://www.iol.co.za/news/opinion/south-africans-are-violent-people-31722646 [Accessed 2 Sep. 2022].

Hasel, T. (2014). A Glimpse inside Johannesburg's Diepsloot Slum . [online] Deutsche Welle. Available at: https://www.dw.com/en/a-glimpse-inside-johannesburgs-diepsloot-slum/a-17720678.

Hassim, S. (2008), 'Social Justice, Care and Developmental Welfare in South Africa: A Capabilities Perspective' in Social Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies 34:104-118; 2009, 'Democracy's Shadows: Sexual Rights and Gender Politics in the Rape Trial of Jacob Zuma' in African Studies 68:57-77.

Hassim, S. (2009) 'Democracy's Shadows: Sexual Rights and Gender Politics in the Rape Trial of Jacob Zuma', *African Studies*, 68(1), pp. 57–77. doi: 10.1080/00020180902827431.

Hatcher, A.M., Stöckl, H., McBride, R.-S., Khumalo, M. and Christofides, N. (2019). Pathways From Food Insecurity to Intimate Partner Violence Perpetration Among Peri-Urban Men in South Africa. American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 56(5), pp.765–772. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amepre.2018.12.013.

Hatch, M. and Posel, D. (2018). Who cares for children? A quantitative study of childcare in South Africa. Development Southern Africa, 35(2), pp.267–282. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/0376835x.2018.1452716.

Haworth, J. (2023). Men, Masculinities and Memes: The Case of Incels. [online] GNET. Available at: https://gnet-research.org/2023/11/27/men-masculinities-and-memes-the-case-of-incels/.

Hay, R. (1998). Sense of Place in Developmental Context. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 18(1), pp.5–29. doi: https://doi.org/10.1006/jevp.1997.0060.

Hearn, J., Strid, S., Humbert, A.L. and Balkmar, D. (2022). Violence Regimes: A Useful Concept for Social Politics, Social Analysis, and Social Theory. Theory and Society, 51. doi: https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-022-09474-4.

Hearn, J., Strid, S., Humbert, A.L., Balkmar, D., & Delaunay, M. (2020). From gender regimes to violence regimes: Re-thinking the position of violence. Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society. Doi: 10.1093/sp/jxaa022

Heeren, G.A., Jemmott, J.B., Tyler, J.C., Tshabe, S. and Ngwane, Z. (2011). Cattle for Wives and Extramarital Trysts for Husbands? Lobola, Men, and HIV/STD Risk Behaviour in Southern Africa. Journal of Human Behaviour in the Social Environment, 21(1), pp.73–81. doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2011.534903.

Heinecken, L. (2020). What's behind violence in South Africa: a sociologist's perspective. [online] The Conversation. Available at: https://theconversation.com/whats-behind-violence-in-south-africa-a-sociologists-perspective-128130.

Heikkila, E. J. (2001) 'Identity and Inequality: Race and Space in Planning', *Planning Theory & Practice*, 2(3), pp. 261–275. doi: 10.1080/14649350120096811.

Helman, R. (2023). Affected writing: A decolonial, intersectional feminist engagement with narratives of sexual violence. In N. Lykke , R. Koobak , P. Bakos, S. Arora, & K. Mohamed (Eds.), Pluriversal Conversations on Transnational Feminisms: And Words Collide from a Place (1st ed., pp. 46-59). (Routledge Advances in Feminist Studies and Intersectionality). Taylor & Francis. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003378761-6

Henson, L. (2020). The Diepsloot Community Action Team - Silencing the war on womxn's bodies! By Rethabile Mosese. [online] LVA. Available at: https://www.lva.org.za/2020/06/03/the-diepsloot-community-action-team-silencing-the-war-on-womxns-bodies-by-rethabile-mosese/ [Accessed 10 Feb. 2022].

Hidalgo, M.Carmen. and Hernandez, B. (2001). Place attachment: Conceptual and empirical questions. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 21(3), pp.273–281. doi: https://doi.org/10.1006/jevp.2001.0221.

Hlangu, L. (2022). If Operation Dudula isn't stopped, we could see repetition of July unrest: DA. [online] TimesLIVE. Available at: https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2022-03-29-if-operation-dudula-isnt-stopped-we-could-see-repetition-of-july-unrest-da/ [Accessed 23 Apr. 2024].

Hoffmeester, D. (2018). Gender-based violence: a continuum through womxn's lives. [online] News24. Available at:https://www.news24.com/news24/columnists/guestcolumn/gender-based-violence-a-continuum-through-womxns-lives-20180831 [Accessed 4 May 2021].

Holladay, J. (2009). Sexism in the Civil Rights Movement: A Discussion Guide. [online] Learning for Justice. Available at: https://www.learningforjustice.org/magazine/sexism-in-the-civil-rights-movement-a-discussion-guide.

Holtzhausen,E.(2004) Hey... Buddy are you hurting women? SAPS Journal, Domestic Violence Part 1,2

Honorine, S. (2013). *Lack of Civility Hampers Sanitation*. [online] Voice of America. Available at: https://www.voanews.com/a/lack-of-civility-hampers-s-africas-sanitation-efforts/1579650.html [Accessed 13 Apr. 2025].

Hook, D. (2013). The racist bodily imaginary: The image of the body-in-pieces in (post)apartheid culture. Subjectivity, 6(3), pp.254–271. doi: https://doi.org/10.1057/sub.2013.7.

hooks, b. (1981). Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism. New York: Routledge.

hooks, b. (2000). Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center. New York: London Routledge.

hooks, b. (1989). Choosing The Margin As A Space Of Radical Openness. Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media, 36, 15–23. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44111660

Horvath, M. A. H., & Kelly, L. (2009). Multiple perpetrator rape: Naming an offence and initial research findings. Journal of Sexual Aggression, 15(1), 83–96. https://doi.org/10.1080/13552600802653818

Hunter, S. and Van, C. (2022). Routledge Handbook of Critical Studies in Whiteness. New York: Routledge.

Humbert, A. L., Strid, S., Hearn, J., & Balkmar, D. (2021). Undoing the 'Nordic Paradox': Factors affecting rates of disclosed violence against women across the EU. *PLOS One, 14*(5), e0217015. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0249693

Independent Complaints Directorate (2009). Femicide A Case Study On Members Of The South African Police Service Proactive Research Unit Independent Complaints Directorate Independent Complaints Directorate Department: Independent Complaints Directorate Republic Of South Africa. [online] Available at: https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201409/icdfemicide-report08102009.pdf.

Ismail, A. (2021). Inside SA's rape stats: Gauteng records most reported rape cases. [online] News24. Available at: https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/inside-sas-rape-stats-gauteng-records-most-reported-rape-cases-20210515 [Accessed 14 Oct. 2022].

Iyer, N., B. Nyamwire, and S. Nabulega. 2020. "Alternate Realities, Alternate Internets." Accessed October 16, 2021. http://link.springer.com/10.1007/s10964-013-9922-8

Jacobs, J., Njobe, T. and Smit, E. (2022). The Experiences of Lesbian, Bisexual and Queer persons in South Africa: Submission to the UN Universal Periodic Review – State Under Review: South Africa (4th periodic cycle).

Jackson, G. (2024). Authoritarian Leftists: Kill the Cop in Your Head. [online] The Anarchist Library. Available at: https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/greg-jackson-authoritarian-leftists-kill-the-cop-in-your-head [Accessed 4 Sep. 2024].

James, N. and Busher, H. (2009). Online Interviewing. [online] Google Books. SAGE. Available at: https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Online_Interviewing/KDwKLO9bkSQC?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover [Accessed 16 Apr. 2022].

Jewkes, R. (2002). Intimate partner violence: causes and prevention. The Lancet, 359(9315), pp.1423–1429.

Jewkes, R. and Abrahams, N. (2002). The epidemiology of rape and sexual coercion in South Africa: an overview. Social Science & Medicine, [online] 55(7), pp.1231–1244. Available at:https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0277953601002428 [Accessed 20 Sep. 2019].

Jewkes, R.K., Dunkle, K., Nduna, M. and Shai, N. (2010). Intimate partner violence, relationship power inequity, and incidence of HIV infection in young women in South Africa: a cohort study. The Lancet, [online] 376(9734), pp.41–48. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(10)60548-X.

Jewkes, R., Y. Sikweyiya, R. Morrell, and D. Kristin. (2010). Why, When and How Men Rape:Understanding Rape Perpetration in South Africa. SA Crime Quarterly 2010 (34): 23–31. https://hdl.handle.net/10520/EJC47689.

Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrell, R. and Dunkle, K. (2011). The Relationship between Intimate Partner Violence, Rape and HIV amongst South African Men: A Cross-Sectional Study. PLoS ONE, 6(9), p.e24256. doi:https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0024256.

Jewkes, R., Abrahams, N., Laubsher,. R (1999). "I do not believe in democracy in the home" Mens Relationships with and Abuse of Women.

Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrell, R. and Dunkle, K (2015). Relationship between single and multiple perpetrator rape perpetration in South Africa: A comparison of risk factors in a population-based sample. BMC Public Health, 15(1). doi:https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-015-1889-9.

Johnson, MP. (2008), A Typology of Domestic Violence: Intimate Terrorism, Violent Resistance, and Situational Couple Violence, Northeastern University Press, Hanover. Available from: ProQuest Ebook Central. [5 November 2024].

Jones, A. (2009). Women who kill. New York: Feminist Press.

Jordan, J. (2008). Perfect victims, perfect policing? Improving rape complainants' experiences of police investigations. Public Administration, 86(3), pp.699–719. doi:https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9299.2008.00749.x.

Kabachnik, P., Grabowska, M., Regulska, J., Mitchneck, B. and Mayorova, O.V. (2013). Traumatic masculinities: the gendered geographies of Georgian IDPs from Abkhazia. Gender, Place & Culture, 20(6), pp.773–793. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369x.2012.716402.

Kadi, J. (2002) 'Speaking (about) silence', in M.J. Alexander, L. Albrecht, S. Day and M. Segrest (eds) Sing, Whisper, Shout, Pray! Feminist visions for a just world, Edgework Books, Berkeley.

Kagumire, R. (2020). Women Navigating Digital Spaces and the Push for Accountability in the Face of Violence. [online] African Feminism (AF). Available at: https://africanfeminism.com/women-navigating-digital-spaces-and-the-push-for-accountability-in-the-face-of-violence/ [Accessed 2 Sep. 2023].

Kandiyoti, D. (1988). Bargaining with Patriarchy. Gender and Society, 2(3), pp.274–290.

Kandiyoti, D. (2005) Gender, Power and Contestation: Rethinking Bargaining with Patriarchy, in C. Jackson and R. Pearson (eds) Feminist Visions of Development: Gender, analysis and policy, Routledge, London.

Kang'ethe, S. M., & Duma, V. (2013). Exploring Dimensions of Post-apartheid Xenophobic Sentiments towards African Immigrants in South Africa. Insight on Africa, 5(2), 157-168. https://doi.org/10.1177/0975087813512062

Kanyeredzi, A., (2014) Knowing what I know now : black women talk about violence inside and outside the home. Doctoral thesis, London Metropolitan University.

Kaneunyenye, S. (2023). Far from home, safe from home?? An exploration into fear of crime within African refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable migrant groups living in Cape Town, South Africa. . ,Faculty of Law ,Department of Public Law. http://hdl.handle.net/11427/39564

Kaneunyenye, S. (2021). *Elvis Nyathi.* [online] Daily Maverick. Available at: https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/author/simbarashe-kaneunyenye/ [Accessed 14 Apr. 2025].

Karim, F. (2018b). The Routledge Companion to Architecture and Social Engagement. New York: Routledge.

Kaur, A. (1994). White Prosperity with Cheap Black Labour. World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues, 3(2), 43–50.

Keane, F. (2023). South Africa: The region where political violence is on the rise ahead of elections. BBC News. [online] 3 Dec. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-67576270 [Accessed 4 Dec. 2023].

Kehler, J. (2013) "Women and Poverty: The South African Experience," Journal of International Women's Studies: Vol. 3: Iss. 1, Article 3.DOI: https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol3/iss1/3

Keikelame, M. J. (2017) ''The Tortoise under the couch': an African woman's reflections on negotiating insider- outsider positionalities and issues of serendipity on conducting a qualitative research project in Cape Town, South Africa§', International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 21(2), pp. 219–230. doi: 10.1080/13645579.2017.1357910.

Kelly, L. (1988). Surviving sexual violence. Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press.

Kelly, L. (1987). The Continuum of Sexual Violence. In: Hanmer, J., Maynard, M. (eds) Women, Violence and Social Control. Explorations in Sociology. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Kelly, L. and Dhaliwal, S. (2020). Safer Pair of Hands: Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) specialist violence against women work. [online] Tavistock Institute of Human Relations. Available at: https://www.tavinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Safer-Pair-of-Hands-Report_Final-Published.pdf [Accessed 26 Mar. 2025].

Kelly, L. (2012). Standing the test of time? Reflections on the concept of the continuum of sexual violence. In J. Brown & S. Walklate (Eds.), Handbook on sexual violence (pp. xvii– xxvi). London: Routledge.

Kelly L., Sharp N., Klein R. (2014). Finding the costs of freedom: How women and children rebuild their lives after domestic violence. London, England: Solace Women's Aid.

Kelly L. (2003). The wrong debate: Reflections on why force is not the key issue with respect to trafficking in women for sexual exploitation. Feminist Review, 73, 139-144.

Kelly, L. (2005). Fertile Fields: Trafficking in Persons in Central Asia. International Organisation for Migration, pp.1–120.

Kessi, S. (2017). Community social psychologies for decoloniality: An African perspective on epistemic justice in higher education. South African Journal of Psychology, 47(4), 506–516. https://doi.org/10.1177/0081246317737917

Khan, A. (2023). Lessons on backlash from Women Deliver: tackling the enemy in the room. [online] ODI: Think change. Available at: https://odi.org/en/insights/lessons-on-backlash-from-women-deliver-tackling-the-enemy-in-the-room/ [Accessed 28 Oct. 2024].

Khant, D. (2023). Third Spaces in Architecture: Edward Soja. [online] Rethinking The Future. Available at: https://www.re-thinkingthefuture.com/architectural-community/a10494-third-spaces-in-architecture-edward-soja/ [Accessed 8 Apr. 2022].

Khomari, D.M., Tebele, C. and Nel, K. (2012). The Social Value of Lobola: Perceptions of South African College Students. Journal of Psychology in Africa, 22(1), pp.143–145. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/14330237.2012.10874533.

Khumalo, S. (2022). Press Statement: Centre for Human Rights Calls for Widespread Condemnation and Meaningful Action to Xenophobic Attacks against non-citizens of South Africa and the Killing of Elvis Nyathi - Centre for Human Rights. [online] University of Pretoria. Available at: https://www.chr.up.ac.za/press-statements/3022-press-statement-centre-for-human-rights-calls-for-widespread-condemnation-and-meaningful-action-to-xenophobic-attacks-against-non-citizens-of-south-africa-and-the-killing-of-elvis-nyathi [Accessed 14 Mar. 2025].

Kirkegaard, D. (2020). What is gender-based violence (GBV)? [online] USA for UNFPA. Available at: https://www.usaforunfpa.org/what-is-gender-based-violence-gbv/.

Kimmel, M.S. (2006). Manhood in America: A Cultural History. New York: Oxford University Press.

Knowles, C. (2003) Race and Social Analysis, London: Sage

Kolawole, M. (1997). Womanism and African Consciousness. Africa World Press.

Koraan, R, & Geduld, A. (2015). "Corrective rape" of lesbians in the era of transformative constitutionalism in South Africa. Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal (PELJ), 18(5), 1931-1952. https://dx.doi.org/10.4314/pelj.v18i5.23

Kramarae, C. and Spender, D. (2004) Routledge International Encyclopedia of Women: Global women's issues and knowledge, Taylor and Francis, London.

Kusafuka, A. (2010). Truth commissions and gender: A South African case study. African Journal on Conflict Resolution, 9(2). doi:https://doi.org/10.4314/ajcr.v9i2.52172.

Kulik, R. (2023). Soweto uprising | South African history. [online] Encyclopedia Britannica. Available at: https://www.britannica.com/event/Soweto-uprising.

Kwan, S.C. (2018). Embodied methods in qualitative research.

Labaree, R.V. (2002). The risk of 'going observationalist': negotiating the hidden dilemmas of being an insider participant observer. Qualitative Research, 2(1), pp.97–122. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794102002001641.

Lafraniere, S. (2004). After Apartheid: Heated Words About Rape and Race. The New York Times. [online] 24 Nov. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2004/11/24/world/africa/after-apartheid-heated-words-about-rape-and-race.html [Accessed 4 Aug. 2021].

Laher, S. and Dockrat, S. (2019). The five-factor model and individualism and collectivism in South Africa: Implications for personality assessment. African Journal of Psychological Assessment, [online] 1(0), p.9. Available at: https://ajopa.org/index.php/ajopa/article/view/4/15.

Landau, L.B. (2014). Conviviality, Rights, and Conflict in Africa's Urban Estuaries. Politics & Society, [online] 42(3), pp.359–380. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329214543258.

Larkin, B. (2013). The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure. Annual Review of Anthropology, 42(1), pp.327–343.

Lau, U., Durrheim, K. and Young, L.S. (2021) 'Place Detachment and the Psychology of Nonbelonging: Lessons from Diepsloot Township', in C.M. Raymond et al. (eds.) Changing Senses of Place: Navigating Global Challenges. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 103–115.

Lauderdale, M. and Burman, M. (2009) 'Contemporary Patterns of Female Gangs in Correctional Settings', Journal of Human Behaviour in the Social Environment, 19(3), pp. 258–280. doi: 10.1080/10911350802694766.

Lee, M. (2012). Human Trafficking. New York: Routledge.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). The Production of Space. [online] Translated by D. Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell. Available at:

https://monoskop.org/images/7/75/Lefebvre_Henri_The_Production_of_Space.pdf

Leigh, J. and Brown, N. (2021). Embodied inquiry : research methods. London, UK: Bloomsbury Academic.

Levinson, D (1989) Family Violence in a Crosscultural Perspective, London: Sag

Levitt, R. (2013). Silence Speaks Volumes: Counter-Hegemonic Silences, Deafness, and Alliance Work. In: Malhotra, S., Rowe, A.C. (eds) Silence, Feminism, Power. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137002372_5

Lewis, J. (1992). Gender and the development of welfare regimes. Journal of European Social Policy, 2(3), 159–173. https://doi.org/10.1177/095892879200200301

Lobe, B., Morgan, D. L., & Hoffman, K. (2022). A Systematic Comparison of In-Person and Video-Based Online Interviewing. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *21*. https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069221127068

Lock-Swarr, A. (2012). Paradoxes of Butchness: Lesbian Masculinities and Sexual Violence in Contemporary South Africa. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 37(4), pp.961–986. doi:https://doi.org/10.1086/664476.

Locatelli E (2017) Images of breastfeeding on Instagram: self-representation, publicness, and privacy management. Social Media + Society 3(2):205630511770719. https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305117707190

Lokot, M., Pichon, M., Kalichman, B., Nardella, S., Falconer, J., Nambusi Kyegombe and Ana Maria Buller (2024). Decolonising the field of violence against women and girls: A scoping review

and recommendations for research and programming. Social Science & Medicine, 357(117168), pp.117168–117168. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2024.117168.

London, L. (1999). The `dop' system, Alcohol Abuse and Social Control Amongst Farm Workers in South Africa: a Public Health Challenge. Social Science & Medicine, 48(10), pp.1407–1414. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/s0277-9536(98)00445-6.

Long, L.J. (2021). The Ideal victim: a Critical Race Theory (CRT) Approach. International Review of Victimology, [online] 27(3), pp.344–362. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/0269758021993339.

Loomba, A. (2005). Colonialism/postcolonialism. Kiribati: Routledge.

Lorde, A. (2017). A Burst of Light: and Other Essays. Mineola, New York: Ixia Press.

Loseke, D. R., & Kurz, D. (2005). Men's violence toward women is theserious social problem. In D.R. Loseke, R.J. Gelles, & M.M. Cavanaugh (Eds.), Current controversies on family violence (2nd ed., pp. 79-95). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Low, I. (2018). Transforming the Spatial Legacies of Colonialism and Apartheid. In: The Routledge Companion to Architecture and Social Engagement. [online] New York: Routledge. Available at: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/edit/10.4324/9781315712697/routledge-companion-architecture-social-engagement-farhan-karim [Accessed 20 Mar. 2025].

Lugones, M. (2010). Toward a Decolonial Feminism. Hypatia, 25(4), pp.742–759.

Lugones M (2007) Heterosexualism and the colonial/modern gender system. Hypatia 22(1):186–209.

M&G Bhekisisa Team (2016). *Vimba! Data - free app offers a lifeline to survivors of abuse in Diepsloot*. [online] SaferSpaces. Available at: https://www.saferspaces.org.za/blog/entry/vimba-data-free-app-offers-a-lifeline-to-survivors-of-abuse-in-diepsloot [Accessed 13 Apr. 2025].

Madlingozi, T. (2017). Social justice in a time of neo-apartheid constitutionalism: critiquing the anti-black economy of recognition, incorporation and distribution. Sabinet Journal, Vol. 28, No. 1.

Madlala, N. ed., (2022). Service delivery | Diepsloot Tackles Its Water Woes. [online] YouTube. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KBfJ-2zcDiU [Accessed 01 Apr. 2025].

Madge, C. and O'Connor, H. (2005). Mothers in the making? Exploring liminality in cyber/space. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 30(1), pp.83–97. doi:https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2005.00153.x.

Makofane M. D. M., Du Preez M. S. E. (2000). Reporting of wife physical abuse to the police in the Northern Province. *Acta Criminologica*, 13, 57-65.

Magaisa, T. (2021). The Legacy of Racism in South Africa. [online] Human Rights Watch. Available at: https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/03/09/legacy-racism-south-africa.

Magubane, Z. (2014). Spectacles and Scholarship: Caster Semenya, Intersex Studies, and the Problem of Race in Feminist Theory. Signs, 39(3), 761–785. https://doi.org/10.1086/674301

Maharaj, B. (2020). The Apartheid City. In: Massey, R., Gunter, A. (eds) Urban Geography in South Africa

Makgabutlane, K. (2020). Diepsloot police and community work hard to raise awareness. [online] Fourways Review. Available at: https://fourwaysreview.co.za/363922/diepsloot-police-and-community-work-hard-to-raise-awareness/ [Accessed 8 Feb. 2022].

Malan, M. (2015). Diepsloot: Where men think it's their right to rape. [online] The Mail & Guardian. Available at: https://mg.co.za/article/2015-10-01-diepsloot-where-men-think-its-their-right-to-rape/ [Accessed 5 May 2021].

Malan, M. (2016a). Diepsloot: A place of hell for women. [online] Sonke Gender Justice. Available at: https://genderjustice.org.za/news-item/diepsloot-place-hell-women/ [Accessed 5 May 2021].

Malan, M. (2016b). STUDY: 56% of surveyed Diepsloot men have raped or beaten a woman in the past year. [online] Bhekisisa. Available at: https://bhekisisa.org/article/2016-11-29-00-study-more-than-half-of-diepsloot-men-have-raped-or-beaten-a-woman-in-the-past-year/ [Accessed 11 May 2021].

Malan, M. (2017). 'I will rape them personally, those drunkard women in the short dresses. [online] Bhekisesa Centre for Health Journalism . Available at: https://bhekisisa.org/article/2017-07-19-diepsloot-i-will-rape-them-personally-those-drunkard-women-in-the-short-dresses/ [Accessed 19 Dec. 2023].

Malan, M. (2017). Support flows in for rape centre. [online] Bhekisesa Centre for Health Journalism . Available at: https://bhekisisa.org/article/2015-10-09-support-flows-in-for-rape-centre/ [Accessed 19 Dec. 2023].

Malan, M. and Mosamo, S. (2015). Understanding the prevalence of rape in Diepsloot. [online] Bhekisesa Centre for Health Journalism . Available at: https://bhekisisa.org/multimedia/2015-10-01-understanding-the-prevalence-of-rape-in-diepsloot/ [Accessed 19 Dec. 2023].

Mälksoo, M. (2012) The challenge of liminality for international relations theory. Review of International Studies, 38, 481–494. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210511000829

Malatjie, T. and Mamokhere, J. (2024). The Intricacies and Prevalence of Gender-Based Violence in South Africa: Forms, Causes and Mitigation Measures, *E-Journal of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences* 5, no.7 1059-1070. https://doi.org/10.38159/ehass.2024571

Manamere, K. (2020). Remembering Tom the boss boy: the place of black immigrants in the establishment of the southeastern lowveld sugar estates, Zimbabwe, 1906–1972. Settler Colonial Studies, 10(3), 403–421.

Mann, M. (1984) 'The autonomous power of the state: its origins, mechanisms and results', European Journal of Sociology, 25(2), pp. 185–213. doi:10.1017/S0003975600004239

Mangena, I. (2007). Umshini Wami echoes through SA. [online] The Mail & Guardian. Available at: https://mg.co.za/article/2007-12-23-umshini-wami-echoes-through-sa/ [Accessed 12 Feb. 2025].

Maphanga, C. (2020). Cele reveals SA's top 30 GBV hotspots. [online] News24. Available at: https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/cele-reveals-sas-top-30-gbv-hotspots-20200922 [Accessed 11 May 2021].

Maran, A. and Michael Raj J (2023). Integrating Oldenburg's concept of place and Soja's concept of space: a spatial enquiry of denial, repression, and closure in Ishiguro's 'The Remains of the Day'. Humanities and Social Sciences Communications, 10(1). doi:https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-023-01676-0.

Martin, A. (2019). "Long-Run Effects of Forced Resettlement: Evidence from Apartheid South Africa". *Journal of Economic History* 79(4): 915-953

Martin, L J. (1999). Violence against women: an analysis of the epidemiology and pathology of injury in rape in Johannesburg and rape homicide in Cape Town. M Med Thesis, University of Cape Town.

Martin, F. (2015). Getting my two cents worth in: Access, interaction, participation and social inclusion in online news commenting. #ISOJ Journal (5), 1.

Masemola, K. (2022). Youth from Diepsloot get educated on Gender-based violence. [online] Seskhona Newspaper. Available at: https://seskhonanews.co.za/youth-from-diepsloot-get-educated-on-gender-based-violence/ [Accessed 11 May 2021].

Masondo, I. (2016) in an interview with Pumla DineoGqola, filmed as part of Lindiwe Nkutha's documentary segment of the mixed media exhibition, Umzansi through the eyes of amadodakazi awo, Women's Jail, Constitution Hill, August 2006.

Mathebula, N.E. and Sebola, M.P. (2020). Clientelism and vote buying in low-cost housing provision: A case study of the Greater Giyani Local Municipality, Limpopo province of South Africa. Africa's Public Service Delivery and Performance Review, 8(1). doi:https://doi.org/10.4102/apsdpr.v8i1.364.

Mathews, S., Abrahams, N., Jewkes, R., Martin, L., Lombard, C. & Vetten, L. (2008) 'Intimate Femicide-Suicide in South Africa: A Cross-Sectional Study,' Bulletin of the World Health Organisation 86(7): 552–558

May, P. A., Marais, A. S., De Vries, M., Hasken, J. M., Stegall, J. M., Hedrick, D. M., Snell, C. L., Seedat, S., & Parry, C. D. H. (2019). "The Dop System of Alcohol Distribution is Dead, but It's Legacy Lives On….". International journal of environmental research and public health, 16(19), 3701. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph16193701

Maxwell, M.L., Abrams, J., Zungu, T. and Mosavel, M. (2015). Conducting community-engaged qualitative research in South Africa: memoirs of intersectional identities abroad. Qualitative Research, 16(1), pp.95–110. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794114567495.

Mazzocchi, F. (2006). Western science and traditional knowledge: Despite their variations, different forms of knowledge can learn from each other. EMBO reports, [online] 7(5), pp.463–466. doi:https://doi.org/10.1038/sj.embor.7400693.

Mbembé A (2004) Aesthetics of superfluity. Public Culture 16(3): 373–405.

Mbogoni, L.E.Y. (2013). Aspects of colonial Tanzania history. Dar-Es-Salaam: Mkuki Na Nyota.

McFarlane, C. and Silver, J. (2017). Navigating the city: dialectics of everyday urbanism. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 42(3), pp.458–471. doi:https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12175.

McConnell, F. (2016). Liminal geopolitics: the subjectivity and spatiality of diplomacy at the margins. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 42(1), pp.139–152. doi:https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12156.

McConnell, F., & Dittmer, J. (2017). Liminality and the diplomacy of the British Overseas Territories: An assemblage approach. Environment and Planning D, 36(1), 139-158. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775817733479

McKaiser, E. (2020). In South Africa, Police Violence Isn't Black and White. [online] Foreign Policy. Available at: https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/10/21/in-south-africa-police-violence-isnt-black-and-white/ [Accessed 12 November 2024].

McKenzie, D. and Princewill, N. (2021). South Africa enters strict lockdown to combat 'extremely serious impact of Delta variant. [online] CNN. Available at: https://edition.cnn.com/2021/06/28/africa/south-africa-lockdown-covid-intl/index.html.

McKeever, M. (2023). Social Stratification and Inequality in South Africa. *Sociology Compass*, 18(2). doi:https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.13173.

Meintjes, S. (1998). Political violence and gender: a neglected relation in South Africa's struggle for democracy. Politikon, 25(2), pp.95–109. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/02589349808705066.

Meer, S. (2005). Freedom for women: Mainstreaming gender in the South African liberation struggle and beyond. *Gender & Development*, 13(2), pp.36–45. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/13552070512331332285.

Merry, S.E. (2008), Gender Violence: A Cultural Perspective, John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, Newark. Available from: ProQuest Ebook Central. [Accessed 12 November 2024].

Merry, S.E. (2006). Transnational Human Rights and Local Activism: Mapping the Middle. American Anthropologist, 108(1), pp.38–51. doi:https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.2006.108.1.38.

Mignolo, W. (2011). The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options. Durham: Duke University Press.

Mignolo, W. (2002). The Geopolitics of Knowledge and the Colonial Difference', South Atlantic Quarterly 101(1), 2000, pp 57–96.

Miller, T. E., TerHorst, C. P., & Burns, J. H. (2009). The ghost of competition present. *The American Naturalist*, 173(3), 347–353.

Mkhize, G. and Njawala, L. (2016). Rethinking Hegemonic Masculinity and Patriarchal Privilege Within Heterosexual Interpersonal Relationships. The Oriental Anthropologist: A Bi-annual International Journal of the Science of Man, 16(2), pp.379–397. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/0976343020160211.

Mkhize, Z.V. (2024) Teaching While Black: Black Women Millennials' Experiences of Teaching in South African Universities, Journal of Women and Gender in Higher Education, 17:2, 100-117, DOI: 10.1080/26379112.2023.2286990

Mkwananzi, S.M. and Nathane-Taulela, M. (2024). Gender-based violence and femicide interventions-perspectives from community members and activists in South Africa. Frontiers in Global Women s Health, 5. doi:https://doi.org/10.3389/fgwh.2024.1199743.

Mills, G. (1989). Space and power in South Africa: The township as a mechanism of control. Space Syntax: Social implications of urban layouts , p. 65-74.

Moenne, M.E.A. (2005). Embodying Memory: Women and the Legacy of the Military Government in Chile. Feminist Review, 79(1), pp.150–161. doi:https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.fr.9400203.

Moeti, K. (2020). South African women live with the burden of 'constant vigilance'. [online] The Mail & Guardian. Available at: https://mg.co.za/article/2020-05-06-south-african-women-live-with-the-burden-of-constant-vigilance/ [Accessed 15 Nov. 2024].

Moffett, H. (2006). "These Women, They Force Us to Rape Them": Rape as Narrative of Social Control in Post-Apartheid South Africa. Journal of Southern African Studies, 32(1), pp.129–144.

Mogstad, H., Dryding, D. and Fiorotto, O. (2016). Policing the Private: Social Barriers to the Effective Policing of Domestic Violence. South African Crime Quarterly, 56(56). doi: https://doi.org/10.17159/2413-3108/2016/v0n56a414.

Moje, E.B., Ciechanowski, K.M., Kramer, K., Ellis, L., Carrillo, R. And Collazo, T. (2004). Working toward third space in content area literacy: An examination of everyday funds of knowledge and Discourse. Reading Research Quarterly, 39(1), pp.38–70. doi:https://doi.org/10.1598/rrq.39.1.4.

Morgan, K.M. ed., (2018). Minister Ayanda Dlodlo concerned about service delivery in Diepsloot. [online] YouTube. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3CWFfUhjtsY [Accessed 15 Apr. 2025].

Moult, K. (2005). Informal mechanisms for dealing with domestic violence : providing a sense of justice. *South African Crime Quarterly*, 2005(12), pp.19–24.

Mngxitama , A. and Joja, A. (2018). #MngxitamaOnSunday: President Andile Mngxitama in conversation with Athi Joja. [online] YouTube. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watchv=RDv7zQTQN6k&list=PL350CZ6SISejmNAdEF3IpvZNnzixAWqPD&index=2 [Accessed 12 Feb. 2025].

Mokwena, S. (1991). The Era of the Jackrollers: Contextualising the rise of the youth gangs in Soweto. Paper presented at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Seminar No. 7, 30 October.

Monnakgotla, M. (2019). Gathering Around The Kraal. [online] Forbesafrica.com. Available at: https://www.forbesafrica.com/big-shots/2019/03/09/gathering-around-the-kraal/ [Accessed 22 Feb. 2025].

Monson, T .(2015), 'Citizenship, 'xenophobia' and collective mobilization in a South African settlement: the politics of exclusion at the threshold of the state', Doctor of Philosophy, London School of Economics and Political Science. <http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/3404/>

Montle, M.E. (2020). Conceptualising Lobola As A Perpetuator Of Gender-Based Violence In South Africa Through Intsika. *E-Bangi*, 17(7).

Moodie, N (2021). 'Gender, Epistemic Violence, and Indigenous Resistance,' in Walter, Kukutai, M., Gonzales, T., and Henry, A. (ed.), Oxford Handbook of Indigenous Sociology, 1 edn, Oxford University Press.ndoi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780197528778.013.20

Moore, E. and Himonga, C., (2015). Protection of Women's Marital Property Rights upon the Dissolution of a Customary Marriage in South Africa: A View from Inside and Outside the Courts.

Morgan, A. (2019). The commodification of women and girls in South Sudan: increased risks and continued violence. [online] Conflict and Civicness Research Blog. Available at: https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/crp/2019/04/04/the-commodification-of-women-and-girls-in-south-sudan-increased-risks-and-continued-violence/ [Accessed 5 May 2024].

Morales, J. and Drujon d'Astros, C. (2023). The silent resistance: An ethnographic study of the use of silence to resist accounting and managerialisation. Critical Perspectives on Accounting, 99(102648), pp.102648–102648. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpa.2023.102648.

Moreno, M.A., Goniu, N., Moreno, P.S. and Diekema, D. (2013). Ethics of Social Media Research: Common Concerns and Practical Considerations. Cyberpsychology, Behaviour, and Social Networking, [online] 16(9), pp.708–713. doi: https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2012.0334.

Morrell, R. (1998). Of boys and men: masculinity and gender in Southern African studies. Journal of Southern African Studies, 24(4), pp.605–630.

Morrell, R., Jewkes, R. and Lindegger, G. (2012). Hegemonic Masculinity/Masculinities in South Africa. Men and Masculinities, 15(1), pp.11–30.

Morrell, R., 1994. ''Masculinity and the White Boys' Boarding Schools of Natal,1880-1930.'' Perspectives in Education 15:27–52.

Morrell, R., ed. (2001). Changing Men in Southern Africa. Pietermaritzburg/London:mUniversity of Natal Press/Zed Books.

Morrell, R., (2005). ''Men, Movements and Gender Transformation in South Africa.'' In African Masculinities: Men in Africa from the Late 19th Century to the Present, edited by L. Ouzgane and R. Morrell, 271–88. New York/Pietermaritzburg: Palgrave/University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Morrell, R., & Richter, L. (2004). The Fatherhood Project: Confronting Issues of Masculinity and Sexuality. Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity, 62, 36–44. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4066676

Motsemme, N. (2004)." The Mute always Speak: on women's silences at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission". Current Sociology 52.5, pp 909-932

Motsei, M. (1990). The Best Kept Secret: Violence against domesticworkers. Paper presented at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation,Seminar No. 5, 25 July.

Mosavel, M., Ahmed, R. and Simon, C. (2011). Perceptions of gender-based violence among South African youth: implications for health promotion interventions. Health Promotion International, 27(3), pp.323–330. doi: https://doi.org/10.1093/heapro/dar041.

Moult, K. (2005). Poviding a Sense of Justice: Informal mechanisms for dealing with domestic violence. South African Crime Quarterly, (12). doi: https://doi.org/10.17159/2413-3108/2005/v0i12a1016.

Mshweshwe, L. (2020). Understanding Domestic Violence: Masculinity, Culture, Traditions. Heliyon, [online] 6(10). doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2020.e05334.

Msindisi, F. (2019). Racial tension in Makhanda school: We cannot pretend all is well, say pupils. [online] City Press. Available at: https://www.news24.com/citypress/news/racial-tension-in-makhanda-school-we-cannot-pretend-all-is-well-say-pupils-20191111 [Accessed 9 Jan. 2025].

Mtutuzeli, N. (2004) .I speak to the Silent. Scottsville:Kwazulu Natal University Press.

Mushomba M. (2020). "#MenAreTrash vs. #NotAllMen." Available at: https://www.csagup.org/2020/04/22/menaretrash-vs-notallmen/

Mutero, V. (2025). Beyond the surface: understanding the cultural roots of corrective rape in South African townships. Culture Health & Sexuality, pp.1–13. doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2025.2476555.

Mwambene, L. and Sloth-Nielsen, J. (2011). Benign accommodation? Ukuthwala, 'forced marriage' and the South African Children's Act. African Human Rights Law Journal, Volume 11 No 1 2011, pp.1–22.

Nadar, S. (2013). Palatable Patriarchy And Violence Against Women In South Africa – Angus Buchan's Mighty Men's Conference As A Case Study Of Masculinism. *Scriptura*, 102(0), p.551. doi:https://doi.org/10.7833/102-0-614.

Naidoo, S. (2024). Diepsloot residents hope Gauteng SOPA will address crime - online] SABC News. Available at: https://www.sabcnews.com/sabcnews/diepsloot-residents-hope-gauteng-sopa-will-address-crime/ [Accessed 21 Feb. 2024].

Namdiero-Walsh, A. (2021). Gender Based Violence in South Africa. Gewalt – Praktiken, Funktionen, kommunikative Werte, Motivationen, 44(4), pp.22–29. doi: https://doi.org/10.30820/0171-3434-2021-2-22.

Ndebele, N.S. (2010). Arriving home? South Africa beyond transition And reconciliation. In: In the Balance: South Africans debate reconciliation. Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

Nduna, M., & Tshona, S. O. (2021). Domesticated poly-violence against women during the 2020 COVID-19 lockdown in South Africa. Psychological Studies, 66(3), 347–353. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12646-021-00616-9

Neely,B. and Samura, M. (2011) Social geographies of race: connecting race and space, Ethnic and Racial Studies, 34:11, 1933-1952, DOI:10.1080/01419870.2011.559262

Ngongoma, S., Maweni, V. The Criminological Analysis of Communal Motives on Corrective Rape in African Communities: A Case Study of Pietermaritzburg, Kwa-Zulu Natal. Crit Crim 31, 989–1005 (2023).doi: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10612-024-09749-5

Nikischer, A. (2019) Vicarious trauma inside the academe: understanding the impact of teaching, researching and writing violence, High Education, 77: 905–16. doi: 10.1007/s10734-018-0308-4

Nixon, K. (2007). The Power to Name: Conceptualizing Domestic Violence as Violence Against Women. University of Calgray, 6(1).doi: https://journalhosting.ucalgary.ca/index.php/currents/article/view/15915/12607

Noble, M. and Wright, G. (2012). Using Indicators of Multiple Deprivation to Demonstrate the Spatial Legacy of Apartheid in South Africa. Social Indicators Research, 112(1), pp.187–201. doi: https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-012-0047-3.

Nortje, W. and Hull, S. (2024). Uprooting a Culture Of Gender-Based Violence In South Africa: Critical Approaches To Bail Policing And Awareness. Sabinet African Journals, [online] 45(2). doi: https://doi.org/10.17159/obiter.v45i2.16254.

Nyoka, M. (2004). I Speak to the Silent. Sotsville: Kwazulu Natal University Press.

Oboe, A. (2007). The TRC Women's Hearings as Performance and Protest in the New South Africa. Research in African Literatures 38(3), 60-76. https://dx.doi.org/10.2979/ral.2007.38.3.60.

Oldenburg, R. (1989). The Great Good Place: Cafés, Coffee shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons, and Other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community. Philadelphia: Da Capo Press.

Oliver, M. (2018). How Necklacing Became The Guillotine Of The Anti-Apartheid Movement. [online] All That's Interesting. Available at: https://allthatsinteresting.com/necklacing.

Olufemi, O. (2000). Feminisation of poverty among the street homeless women in South Africa. Development Southern Africa, 17(2), pp.221–234. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/713661399.

Omodan, B.I. (2025). Building reciprocal relationships through decolonial practices in academic research. Cogent Social Sciences, 11(1). doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2024.2443558.

Opanasenko, A., Lugova, H., Mon, A. A. ., & Ivanko, O. (2021). Mental Health Impact of Gender-Based Violence Amid COVID-19 Pandemic: A Review. Bangladesh Journal of Medical Science, 20(5), 17–25. https://doi.org/10.3329/bjms.v20i5.55396

Oyedemi, T.D. (2021). Postcolonial casualties: 'Born-frees' and decolonisation in South Africa. Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 39(2), pp.214–229. doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2020.1864305.

Oyěwùmí O (1997) The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Ozoemena, R. (2015). Crimes Against Women In South Africa Is The Justice System Fair? In: Sexualized Violence In The National Debate Cross-Border Observations On India And South Africa. [Online] Capetown: Heinrich Böll Foundation Southern Africa. Available At: Https://Za.Boell.Org/Sites/Default/Files/Sexual_Violence_Sa_India_Epdf_1.Pdf#Page=55 [Accessed 15 Apr. 2025].

Pain, R. H. (1997). Social Geographies of Women's Fear of Crime. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 22(2), 231–244. http://www.jstor.org/stable/622311

Pahl K, and Roswell J (2005) Literacy and Education: Understanding the New Literacy Studies in the Classroom, London: Paul Chapman Publishing.

Park, A.S.J. (2021). Settler Colonialism and the South African TRC: Ambivalent Denial and Democratisation without Decolonisation. Social & Legal Studies, 31(2), p.096466392110227. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/09646639211022786.

Parker, G. (2015). The Practice of Lobola in Contemporary South African Society. Journal of Third World Studies, [online] 32(2), pp.175–190. Available at: https://muse.jhu.edu/article/646560/pdf [Accessed 18 Nov. 2021].

Parker, L. and Lynn, M. (2002). What's Race Got to Do With It? Critical Race Theory's Conflicts With and Connections to Qualitative Research Methodology and Epistemology. Qualitative Inquiry, 8(1), pp.7–22. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/107780040200800102.

Parenzee, P., Artz, L., & Moult, K. 2001. Monitoring the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act: First Research Report, 2000-2001.Institute of Criminology, University of Cape Town.

Passerini, L. (1992). A Memory for Women's History: Problems of Method and Interpretation. *Social Science History*, *16*(4), 669–692.doi: https://doi.org/10.2307/1171316

Pelowich, K.A., Tosin Akibu, Pellowski, J., Hatcher, A., Dumisani Rebombo, Christofides, N. and Hampanda, K. (2024). Male perspectives on intimate partner violence: A qualitative analysis from South Africa. PloS one, 19(4), pp.e0298198–e0298198. doi: https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0298198.

Peter, K.B. (2010). Transnational Family Ties, Remittance Motives, and Social Death among Congolese Migrants: A Socio-Anthropological Analysis. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 41(2), pp.225–243. doi: https://doi.org/10.3138/jcfs.41.2.225.

Pérez, M. (2019). Epistemic violence: reflections between the invisible and the ignorable. El lugar sin límites, 1 (1), 81-98.

Pfigu, T. (2014). We Have A Story To Tell Diepsloot Youth : A Quest For Safe Spaces And Opportunities To Earn A Living. *ROSA LUXEMBURG STIFTUNG SOUTHERN AFRICA*, pp.1–10.

Pierce, S., Anupama Rao, Ward, K. and Shannon Lee Dawdy (2006). Discipline and the Other Body Correction, Corporeality, Colonialism. Duke University Press.

Pierson, E. (2015). Outnumbered but Well-Spoken: Female Commenters in the New York Times. In Proceedings of the 18th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing (CSCW).

Pisanello, L. (2020). Diepsloot Locals Protest Service Delivery at soil-turning Event with Mayor Makhubo. [online] Fourways Review. Available at: https://fourwaysreview.co.za/356397/diepsloot-locals-protest-service-delivery-at-soil-turning-event-with-mayor-makhubo/ [Accessed 7 Mar. 2022].

Pitcher, G.J. and Bowley, D.M. (2002). Infant rape in South Africa. The Lancet, 359(9303), pp.274–275. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/s0140-6736(02)07532-3.

Pongweni, T. (2023). Operation Dudula threat to remove migrant children from schools. [online] Daily Maverick. Available at: https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2023-02-10-operation-dudula-threat-to-remove-migrant-children-from-schools/ [Accessed 7 Mar. 2022].

Posel, D. (2005). The scandal of manhood: "Baby rape" and the politicization of sexual violence in post-apartheid South Africa. Culture, Health & Sexuality, 7(3), pp.239–252.

Powers, R.A. and Bleeker, K. (2022). Self-Defense and Police Reporting of Intimate Partner Violent Victimization: A Comparison of White, Black, and Hispanic Women Victims. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 38(3-4), p.088626052211143. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/08862605221114304.

Pringle, K. (2011). Comparative studies of well-being in terms of gender, ethnicity and the concept of "bodily citizenship". In E. Oleksy, J. Hearn, & D. Golánska (Eds.), *The limits of gendered citizenship: Context and contradictions* (pp. 137–156). Routledge.

Quijano, A. (2007) 'Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality', Cultural Studies 21(2), pp 168–178.

Quirk, V. (2013). What Will Be Mandela's Spatial Legacy? [online] ArchDaily. Available at: https://www.archdaily.com/455599/what-will-be-mandela-s-spatial-legacy [Accessed 22 Feb. 2025].

Radford, J. and Russell, D.E.H. (1992). Femicide : the politics of woman killing. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Rajah, V. and Osborn, M. (2020). Understanding Women's Resistance to Intimate Partner Violence: A Scoping Review. Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 23(5), p.152483801989734. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838019897345.

Ramphele ,M. (1993). A bed called home : life in the migrant labour hostels of Cape Town. Cape Town: D. Philip.

Ramphele, M. (1989). The Dynamics of Gender Politics in the Hostels of Cape Town: Another Legacy of the South African Migrant Labour System. Journal of Southern African Studies, 15(3), 393–414. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2636404

Ratele, K. (2017). Frequently asked questions about African psychology. South African Journal of Psychology, 47(3), pp.273–279. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/0081246317703249.

Ratele, K., Shefer, T. (2013). Desire, Fear and Entitlement: Sexualising Race and Racialising Sexuality in (Re)membering Apartheid. In: Stevens, G., Duncan, N., Hook, D. (eds) Race, Memory and the Apartheid Archive. Studies in the Psychosocial. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137263902_10

Raymond, C.M., Manzo, L.C., Williams, D.R., Andrés Di Masso and Timo von Wirth (2021). Changing Senses of Place. Cambridge University Press.

Razack, S. (2002). Race, space, and the law : unmapping a white settler society. Toronto: Between The Lines.

Read-Hamilton, S. (2014). Gender-based violence: a confused and contested term. [online] Humanitarian Practice Network. Available at: https://odihpn.org/publication/gender-based-violence-a-confused-and-contested-term/.

Reuters (2022). Anti-migrant vigilante group Dudula stokes tensions in South Africa. Reuters. [online] 31 Mar. Available at: https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/anti-migrant-vigilante-group-dudula-stokes-tensions-south-africa-2022-03-31/ [Accessed 7 Apr. 2022].

Reverter, S. (2022) Epistemologies of violence against women. A proposal from the South, Cogent Social Sciences, 8:1, 2038356, DOI: 10.1080/23311886.2022.2038356

Rich, B. and Bujalka, E. (2023). The draw of the 'manosphere': understanding Andrew Tate's appeal to lost men. [online] The Conversation. Available at: https://theconversation.com/the-draw-of-the-manosphere-understanding-andrew-tates-appeal-to-lost-men-199179 [[Accessed 22 Feb. 2025].

Rice, K. (2014). Ukuthwala in Rural South Africa: Abduction Marriage as a Site of Negotiation about Gender, Rights and Generational Authority Among the Xhosa. Journal of Southern African Studies, 40(2), pp.381–399. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2014.896720.

Richter, L.M. and Morrell, R. (2006). Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa. HSRC Publishers.

Richter, L., Chikovore, J. and Makusha, T. (2010). The Status of Fatherhood and Fathering in South Africa. Childhood Education, 86(6), pp.360–365. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/00094056.2010.10523170.

Rizos, D. (2010). Lad Magazines, Raunch Culture and the Increasing Pornification of South African Media.MA Diss. University of Witwatersrand.

Roberts, B. and Gordon, S. (2022). South Africans have low trust in their police. Here's why. [online] The Conversation. Available at: https://theconversation.com/south-africans-have-low-trust-in-their-police-heres-why-178821.

Rodgers, D. and O'Neill, B. (2012). Infrastructural violence: Introduction to the special issue. Ethnography, 13(4), pp.401–412. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/1466138111435738.

Rodney, W. (2018). How Europe Underdeveloped Africa. London: Verso.

Ross, L.E. (2017). An account from the inside: Examining the emotional impact of qualitative research through the lens of 'insider' research.Qualitative Psychology, [online] 4(3), pp.326–337. doi:https://doi.org/10.1037/qup0000064.

Rowe, W. E. (2014). Positionality. In D. Coghlan, & M. Brydon-Miller (Eds.), The Sage Encyclopaedia of Action Research (pp. 628-628). Sage.

Sainsbury, D. (Ed.) (1999). Gender and welfare state regimes. Oxford University Press.

Samuel G, Ahmed W, Kara H, Jessop C, Quinton S, Sanger S. (2018). Is It Time to Re-Evaluate the Ethics Governance of Social Media Research? Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics. 2018;13(4):452-454. doi:10.1177/1556264618793773

Sathiparsad, R., Taylor, M., & Dlamini, S. (2008). Patriarchy and Family Life: Alternative Views of Male Youth in Rural South Africa. Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity, 76, 4–16. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27739392

Sathiparsad.R., (2005). "It Is Better to Beat Her": Male Youth in Rural KwaZulu-Natal Speak on Violence in Relationships. Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity, 66, 79–88. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4066544

Savin-Baden, M., & Howell Major, C. (2013). Qualitative Research: The Essential Guide to Theory and Practice (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003377986

Shai, P. N. (2020). A Local Researcher's Experiences of the Insider–Outsider Position: An Exercise of Self-Reflexivity During Ethnographic GBV and HIV Prevention Research in South Africa. International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 19. https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406920938563

Shaw, A. 2014. "The Internet Is Full of Jerks, Because the World Is Full of Jerks: What Feminist Theory Teaches Us About the Internet." Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies 11, no. 3, 273–277. https://doi.org/10.1080/14791420.2014.926245

Shefer, T. (2010). Narrating Gender and Sex in and through Apartheid Divides. South African Journal of Psychology, 40(4), pp.382–395. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/008124631004000403.

Shefer, T. and Ratele, K., (2011). Racist sexualisation and sexualised racism in narratives on apartheid. Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society, 16(1), pp. 27–48.

Scheppele, K. L., & Bart, P. B. (1983). Through women's eyes: Defining danger in the wake of sexual assault. Journal of Social Issues, 39(2), 63–80. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1983.tb00141.x

Schensul, D. and Heller, P. (2010). Legacies, Change and Transformation in the Post-Apartheid City: Towards an Urban Sociological Cartography. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 35(1), pp.78–109. doi:https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2010.00980.x.

Scheper-Hughes, N. and Philippe Bourgois (2010). Violence in war and peace : an anthology. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Schulz, P., Kreft, A.-K., Touquet, H., & Martin, S. (2023). Self-care for gender-based violence researchers – Beyond bubble baths and chocolate pralines. Qualitative Research, 23(5), 1461-1480. https://doi.org/10.1177/14687941221087868

Scotland, J. (2012). Exploring the Philosophical Underpinnings of Research: Relating Ontology and Epistemology to the Methodology and Methods of the Scientific, Interpretive, and Critical Research Paradigms. English Language Teaching, 5, 9-16. https://doi.org/10.5539/elt.v5n9p9

Seekings, J., & Nattrass, N. (2005). Class, Race, and Inequality in South Africa. Yale University Press. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1np886

Seekings, J. (2023). Poverty, Inequality and Policy in Southern Africa. [online] ISPI. Available at: https://www.ispionline.it/en/publication/poverty-inequality-and-policy-in-southern-africa-137869 [Accessed 18 Mar. 2024].

Segal, E.S. (2003). Cultural Constructions of Gender. In: Ember, C.R., Ember, M. (eds) Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender. Springer, Boston, MA. https://doi.org/10.1007/0-387-29907-6_1

Seleka, N. (2023). Diepsloot mob killing: 'Cops lured me by promising me a job' - murder accused claims. [online] News24. Available at: https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/diepsloot-mob-killing-cops-lured-me-by-promising-me-a-job-murder-accused-claims-20231218 [Accessed 19 Dec. 2023].

Seleka, N. (2023). Diepsloot mob killing: Residents want Amaberethe to smoke out criminals after losing hope in cops. [online] News24. Available at: https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/diepsloot-mob-killing-residents-want-amaberethe-to-smoke-out-criminals-after-losing-hope-in-cops-20231213 [Accessed 30 Dec. 2024].

Sewalem, J., Molla, A. Mental distress and associated factors among women who experienced gender based violence and attending court in South Ethiopia: a cross-sectional study. BMC Women's Health 22, 187 (2022). https://doi.org/10.1186/s12905-022-01770-6

Seymour, W. S. (2001). In the flesh or online? Exploring qualitative research methodologies. Qualitative Research, 1(2), 147–168. https://doi.org/10.1177/146879410100100203

Sigsworth, R., Valji, N. (2012). Continuities of Violence against Women and the Limitations of Transitional Justice: The Case of South Africa. In: Buckley-Zistel, S., Stanley, R. (eds) Gender in Transitional Justice. Governance and Limited Statehood Series. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230348615_5

Sikes, P. (2004). Methodology, Procedures and Ethical Concerns. In C. Opie (Ed.), Doing Educational Research: A Guide for First Time Researchers (pp. 15-33). Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446280485.n2

Simon, H. A. (1971) Designing organizations for an information-rich world. In Greenberger, M. (ed.), Computers, Communications, and the Public Interest, (Ch. 2), pp. 37–72. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press.

Simpson, G., (1992). Jack-asses and jackrollers: Rediscovering gender in understanding violence. Research report written for the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 1992.

Smith, L.T. (2012). Decolonizing Methodologies: research and indigenous peoples. London: Zed Books.

Snodgrass, L. (2015). South Africa: a dangerous place to be poor, black and a woman. [online] The Conversation. Available at: https://theconversation.com/south-africa-a-dangerous-place-to-be-poor-black-and-a-woman-47287.

Sobantu, M. and Nel, H. (2019). Voluntary Housing Delivery: The Contribution Of Partnerships To The Success Of A Community Based Organisation (Wassup) In Diepsloot Low-income Community, Johannesburg, South Africa. Social Work, 55(3). doi:https://doi.org/10.15270/55-3-740.

Soci, G. (2024). Protecting victims of GBVF | South African Government. [online] www.gov.za. Available at: https://www.gov.za/blog/protecting-victims-gbvf.

Soja, E.W. (1996). Thirdspace : Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places. Malden, Mass. U.A.: Blackwell Publishers.

Stortz, M. (2016). Virtual Manspreading: When Men Take Up Extra Space Online. [online] VICE. Available at: https://www.vice.com/en/article/virtual-manspreading-when-men-take-up-extra-space-online/ [Accessed 14 Apr. 2025].

St John, L., & Walmsley, R. (2021). The Latest Treatment Interventions Improving Mental Health Outcomes for Women, Following Gender-Based Violence in Low-and-Middle-Income Countries: A Mini Review. Frontiers in global women's health, 2, 792399. https://doi.org/10.3389/fgwh.2021.792399

South African Police Service (2025). Domestic violence: Find Your Voice in the Days of Activism for No Violence against Women and Children. [online] www.saps.gov.za. Availableat:https://www.saps.gov.za/resource_centre/women_children/domestic_violence _find_your_voice.php [Accessed 11 Feb. 2025].

South African Government (2021). Minister Bheki Cele: 2020/21 quarter three crime statistics | South African Government. [online] www.gov.za. Available at: https://www.gov.za/speeches/minister-bheki-cele-202021-quarter-three-crime-statistics-19-feb-2021-0000.

South African Police Service (2020). Crime Statistics Republic Of South Africa. [online] pp.1–140. Available at: https://www.saps.gov.za/services/fourth_quarter_2020_21_crimestats.pdf.

South African History Online SAHO (2018). Pass Laws in South Africa | South African History Online. [online] www.sahistory.org.za. Available at: https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/pass-laws-south-africa [Accessed 20 Mar. 2025].

South African History Online SAHO (2011). A Land Dispossession History 1600s-1990s | South African History Online. [online] www.sahistory.org.za. Available at: https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/land-dispossession-history-1600s-1990s [Accessed 20 Mar. 2025].

South African History Online SAHO (2025). Diepsloot, Johannesburg | South African History Online. [online] www.sahistory.org.za. Available at: https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/diepsloot-johannesburg.

Statistics South Africa. (2023). MEDIA RELEASE: Census 2022 Population Count Results 10 October 2023. [online] Statssa.gov.za. Available at: https://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=16716.

Statistics South Africa (2011). *Statistics South Africa | The South Africa I Know, The Home I Understand*. [online] Statssa.gov.za. Available at: https://www.statssa.gov.za/.

Steinhauser, G. (2021). The New Covid-19 Strain in South Africa: What We Know. [online] Krisp.org.za. Available at: https://www.krisp.org.za/news.php?id=474 [Accessed 12 Feb. 2025].

Steele, S.J., Abrahams, N., Duncan, K., Woollett, N., Hwang, B., O'Connell, L., van Cutsem, G. and Shroufi, A. (2019). The epidemiology of rape and sexual violence in the platinum mining

district of Rustenburg, South Africa: Prevalence, and factors associated with sexual violence. doi:https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0216449.

Steyn, D. and Damons, M. (2023). The Thabo Bester Story:The Facebook Rapist, the Celebrity Doctor and the Escape from Cell 35. Capetown: Tafelberg.

Strid, S., Humbert, A. L., Hearn, J., & Balkmar, D. (2021). States of violence: From welfare regimes to violence regimes. Journal of European Social Policy., 31(3), 321–336

Strid, S., Walby, S., & Armstrong, J. (2013). Intersectionality and multiple inequalities: Visibility in British policy on violence against women. *Social Politics, 20*(4), 558–581. https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxt019

Stoetzler, M. and Yuval-Davis, N. (2002). Standpoint theory situated knowledge and the situated imagination. Feminist Theory, 3(3), pp.315–333. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/146470002762492024.

Suttner, R. (2009). The Jacob Zuma Rape Trial: Power and African National Congress (ANC) Masculinities. NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research, 17(3), pp.222–236. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/08038740903117174.

Swain, J. and King, B. (2022). Using Informal Conversations in Qualitative Research. International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 21(1), p.160940692210850. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069221085056.

Swanson, M.W. (1977). The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900–1909. *The Journal of African History*, 18(3), pp.387–410. doi:https://doi.org/10.1017/s0021853700027328.

Szakolczai, A. (2015). The Theatricalisation of the Social: Problematising the Public Sphere. Cultural Sociology, 9(2), 220-239. https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975514566661 (Original work published 2015)

Taha, D,. (2018). Methodology, reflexivity and decolonizing refugee research: Reflections from the field. Canadian Association for Refugee and Forced Migration Studies.

Taha, S. and Kelly, L. (2023). At whose cost? Racialised differences in how domestic violence and sexual violence advocates adapted to COVID-19. *Journal of Gender-Based Violence*, [online] -1(aop), pp.1–14. doi:https://doi.org/10.1332/23986808Y2023D000000011.

Tatham-Fashanu, C. (2021). A third space pedagogy: embracing complexity in a super-diverse, early childhood education setting. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, 31(4), pp.1–20. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/14681366.2021.1952295.

Tamale, S. (2020). Decolonization and afro-feminism. Ottawa: Daraja Press.

Taylor-Dunn, H., Bates, L., Reed, D., Hopkins, A. and Morrison, S. (2024). Researching gender-based violence remotely during a pandemic: challenges, opportunities and methodological implications. Journal of Gender-Based Violence, 8(3), pp.285–301. doi:https://doi.org/10.1332/23986808y2023d000000009.

Timbs, L. (2023) 'The Politics of the Penis: Post-Apartheid Zulu Nationalism and Martial Masculinity, ca 1999 to 2018', African Studies, 82(2), pp. 99–121. doi: 10.1080/00020184.2023.2260761.

Thambinathan, V. and Kinsella, E.A. (2021). Decolonizing Methodologies in Qualitative Research: Creating Spaces for Transformative Praxis. International Journal of Qualitative Methods, [online] 20(2). doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069211014766.

The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) (2016). Gender-Based Violence (GBV) in South Africa: A Brief Review. Pretoria: Embassy of Finland Pretoria and Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, pp.1–24.

The Office of the Public Protector South Africa (2024). Systemic Investigation into Administrative Deficiencies Relating to the Processing of gender-based Violence (GBV) Related Matters within the South African Criminal Justice system.

The Presidency of the Republic of South Africa (2022). State of the Nation 2025: Gender-based violence. [online] SONA 2023. Available at: https://www.stateofthenation.gov.za/priorities/making-communities-safer/gender-based-violence.

The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation CSVR (2016). *Gender-Based Violence (GBV) in South Africa: A Brief Review*. https://www.csvr.org.za/pdf/Gender%20Based%20Violence%20in%20South%20Africa%20-%20A%20Brief%20Review.pdf.

The World Bank (2018). *South Africa Economic Update*. [Online] Available At: Https://Documents1.Worldbank.Org/Curated/En/368961522944196494/Pdf/125011-Replacement-Public-Saeu-April-2018-Edition-11.Pdf [Accessed 12 Jun. 2024].

Thiong'o, N.W. (1986). Decolonising the Mind: the Politics of Language in African Literature. London: J. Currey ; Portsmouth, N.H.

Thondhlana, T.P., Mataga, J., & Munjeri, D. (Eds.). (2022). Independent Museums and Culture Centres in Colonial and Post-colonial Zimbabwe: Non-State Players, Local Communities, and Self-Representation (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003108238

Tshililo, F. P., Mutanga, S., Sikhwivhilu, K., Siame, J., Hongoro, C., Managa, L. R., Mbohwa, C., & Madyira, D. M. (2022). Analysis of the determinants of household's water access and

payments among the urban poor. A case study of Diepsloot Township. *Physics and Chemistry of the Earth*, *127*, Article 103183. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pce.2022.103183

Thondhlana, T.P., Mataga, J., & Munjeri, D. (2022). Independent Museums and Culture Centres in Colonial and Post-colonial Zimbabwe: Non-State Players, Local Communities, and Self-Representation (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003108238

Thornberry, E. (2019). Colonising Consent. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thompson, C. and Reynolds, J. (2019). Reflections on the go-along: How 'disruptions' can illuminate the relationships of health, place and practice. The Geographical Journal, 185(2), pp.156–167. doi:https://doi.org/10.1111/geoj.12285.

Tonkiss, K. and Bloom, T. (2015) 'Theorising noncitizenship: concepts, debates and challenges', *Citizenship Studies*, 19(8), pp. 837–852. doi: 10.1080/13621025.2015.1110278.

Townsend, L. and Wallace, C. (2013). Social Media Research:A Guide to Ethics. doi:https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/Media_487729_smxx.pdf.

Trainor, A. and Bouchard, K.A. (2013). Exploring and developing reciprocity in research design. International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 26(8), pp.986–1003. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2012.724467.

Treiman, D. (2007). The Legacy of Apartheid: Racial Inequalities in the New South Africa. UCLA: California Center for Population Research. Retrieved from https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0w09j05z

Truelove, Y. (2011). (Re-)Conceptualizing water inequality in Delhi, India through a feminist political ecology framework. Geoforum, 42(2), pp.143–152. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2011.01.004.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1999). Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa report. Choice Reviews Online, 37(03), pp.37–180337–1803. doi:https://doi.org/10.5860/choice.37-1803.

Tshililo,FP, Shingirirai Mutanga, Keneiloe Sikhwivhilu, John Siame, Charles Hongoro, Lavhelesani R. Managa, Charles Mbohwa, Daniel M. Madyira, (2022) Analysis of the determinants of household's water access and payments among the urban poor. A case study of Diepsloot Township, doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pce.2022.103183.

Turok, I. (2013) 'Transforming South Africa's Divided Cities: Can Devolution Help?', International Planning Studies, 18(2), pp. 168–187. doi: 10.1080/13563475.2013.774146.

Turshen , M. and Twagiramariya, C. (2001). What Women do in Wartime : Gender and Conflict in Africa. London: Zed Books.

Turner, V. (1967) The forest of symbols: Aspects of Ndembu ritual. Ithaca, NY; London, UK: Cornell University Press, pp. 93–111.

Turner, V. (1982) Liminal to liminoid in play flow and ritual: An essay in comparative symbology. In: V. Turner (Ed.) From ritual to theatre: The human seriousness of play. New York, NY: Performing Arts Journal Publications, pp. 20–60.

Tutty, L. M. (1999). Husband abuse: An overview of research and perspectives. Ottawa, ON: The National Clearinghouse on Family Violence.

Tynan, L. (2024). Data Collection Versus Knowledge Theft: Relational Accountability and the Research Ethics of Indigenous Knowledges. In: Melber, H., Kothari, U., Camfield, L., Biekart, K. (eds) Challenging Global Development. EADI Global Development Series. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-30308-1_8

Udah, H. (2024). Decolonising Research for Justice: Ethical Imperatives and Practical Applications. International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 23. https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069241294040

United Nations, Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, (1993) United Nations, New York, 20 December. Available at: https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/documents/atrocity-crimes/Doc.21_declaration%20elimination%20vaw.pdf

United Nations, (1995) Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women. Beijing: United Nations; . Available: https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/Beijing%20full%20report%20E.pdf. Accessed: 9 January 2024.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2002). *SOUTH AFRICA Country Profile on Drugs and Crime 2002 Regional Office for Southern Africa United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime*. [online] Available at: https://www.unodc.org/pdf/southafrica/country_profile_southafrica_1.pdf [Accessed 21 Mar. 2025]..

United Nations General Assembly (2013) Declaration of commitment to end sexual violence in conflict. 24 September.

Unterhalter, E. (2000). The Work of the Nation: Heroic Masculinity in South African Autobiographical Writing of the Anti-Apartheid Struggle. The European Journal of Development Research, 12(2), pp.157–178. doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/09578810008426770.

Urban, D. J. (2002). The Women Of SNCC: Struggle, Sexism, And The Emergence Of Feminist Consciousness, 1960-66. *International Social Science Review*, *77*(3/4), 185–190. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41887103

Uzzell, D., Pol, E. and Badenas, D. (2002). Place Identification, Social Cohesion, and Enviornmental Sustainability. Environment and Behavior, 34(1), pp.26–53. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/0013916502034001003.

Van der Berg, S. (2000). Apartheid's Enduring Legacy: Inequalities in Education, Journal of African Economies, Volume 16, Issue 5, November 2007, Pages 849–880, https://doi.org/10.1093/jae/ejm017

Van der Schyff, M. (2023). Technical frames used for the online reporting of lesbian killings in South Africa. Communicare: Journal for Communication Studies in Africa, 42(2), pp.43–54. doi:https://doi.org/10.36615/jcsa.v42i2.1424.

Van Gennep, A. (1960). The Rites of Passage. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Vergès, F. (2021). A decolonial feminism. Translated by A.J. Bohrer. London: Pluto Press.

Vera-Gray, F. and Kelly, L. (2020). Contested gendered space: public sexual harassment and women's safety work. International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice, 44(4), pp.265–275. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/01924036.2020.1732435.

Vera Gray, F. (2016). The hidden work of being a woman in public. [online] The f-word:Contemporary UK Feminism. Available at: https://thefword.org.uk/2016/04/dolls-eye-theatre-blog/ [Accessed 12 Nov. 2024].

Vera-Gray, F. (2017). 'talk about a cunt with too much idle time': trolling feminist research. Feminist Review, 115(1), pp.61–78. doi:https://doi.org/10.1057/s41305-017-0038-y.

Vetten, L. 1995. 'Intimate Femicide'. Agenda 11(27): 78–80.

Vetten, L. (1996). 'Man Shoots Wife': Intimate Femicide in Gauteng, South Africa. Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. Available at: https://www.csvr.org.za/man-shoots-wifeq-intimate-femicide-in-gauteng-south-africa/ [Accessed 10 Feb. 2025].

Vetten, L. (2014a). The ghost of families past: Domestic violence legislation and policy in post-apartheid South Africa. Agenda, 28(2), pp.48–57. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2014.927261.

Vetten, L. (2014b). Rape and other forms of sexual violence in South Africa. [online] Institute for Security Studies, pp.1–8. Available at: https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/185885/PolBrief72.pdf [Accessed 7 Jul. 2024].

Vetten, L. (2020). Madness in the method: Why government's GBV "hot spots" are really "not spots." [online] Bhekisisa. Available at: https://bhekisisa.org/article/2020-11-26-madness-in-the-method-why-governments-gbv-hot-spots-are-really-not-spots/ [Accessed 11 May 2021].

Vetten, L. (2021). Rape, time and place: How to understand South Africa's geography of violence. [online] Daily Maverick. Available at: https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2021-05-02-
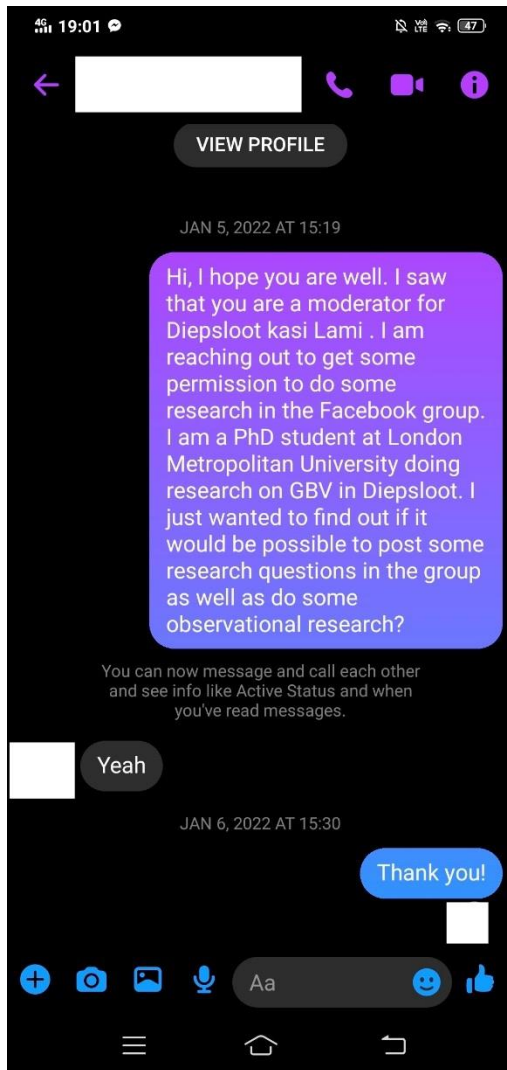
rape-time-and-place-how-to-understand-south-africas-geography-of-violence/ [Accessed 10 May 2021].

Vetten, L. (2021). Race in South Africa: 'We haven't learnt we are human beings first'. Daily Maverick. [online] 21 Jan. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-55333625.

Vetten, L. (2000). Invisible Girls and Violent Boys: Gender and gangs in South Africa. Development Update, Vol. 3, No. 2.

Vosloo, C. (2020). Extreme apartheid: the South African system of migrant labour and its hostels. University of Pretoria: Faculty of Humanities, 34(34). doi:https://doi.org/10.17159/2617-3255/2020/n34a1.

Wagner, R. (2012). Silence as Resistance before the Subject, or Could the Subaltern Remain Silent? Theory, Culture & Society, 29(6), 99-124. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276412438593

Wakefield, L. and Tait, S. (2015). Crime and Violence in Formal and Informal Urban Spaces in South Africa Citizen Security Dialogues Dispatches from South Africa: International Journal of Security & Development, 4(1). doi:https://doi.org/10.5334/sta.fp.

Walby, S. (2009). Globalization and inequalities. Complexity and contested modernities. Sage.

Walby, S. (2017). The concept and measurement of violence against women and men. Bristol ; Chicago, Il: Policy Press.

Walklate S, Fitz-Gibbon K, McCulloch J, et al. (2020) Towards a global femicide index: Counting the costs. London: Routledge.

Waithera, D. (2011). Don't Sleep African Women: Powerlessness and HIV/AIDS vulnerability among Kenyan women, Dorrance Publishing, Pittsburgh.

Watson J, Lalu V (2015) Rupturing the Norms: The Social and Political Response to the Rape of Anene Booysen. Cape Town, South Africa: Heinrich Boell Stiftung Southern Africa.

Werner, C. W., Altman, I., Brown, B. B., & Ginat, J. (1993). Celebrations in personal relationships: a transactional/dialectic perspective. In S. Duck (Ed.), Social context and relationships: Understanding relationship processes series, Vol. 3 (pp. 109–138). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Westmarland, N., & Bows, H. (2018). Researching Gender, Violence and Abuse: Theory, Methods, Action (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315630618

Whitehead, S. & Barrett, F. 2005, 'The Sociology of Masculinity' in Whitehead, S. & Barrett, F. eds,The Masculinities Reader, Cambridge: Polity.

Wicker, H. R. (2001)., "Xenophobia." In International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences, edited by N. Smelser, and P. Baltes, Vol. 24, 16649–16652. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Wilderson, F.B. (2020). Afropessimism. New York,: Liveright Publishing Corporation.

Williams, N., Quincey, D. and Stillwell, J. (2016). Automatic Classification of Roof Objects From Aerial Imagery of Informal Settlements in Johannesburg. Applied Spatial Analysis and Policy, 9(2), pp.269–281. doi:https://doi.org/10.1007/s12061-015-9158-y.

Williamson, E., Gregory, A., Abrahams, H., Aghtaie, N., Walker, S.-J., & Hester, M. (2020). Secondary Trauma: Emotional Safety in Sensitive Research. Journal of Academic Ethics. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10805-019-09348-y

Wilson, J., (2016) 'Spaces to speak' of sour milk : exploring African-Caribbean-British women's activism and agency on childhood sexual abuse from the 1980s to the present day. Doctoral thesis, London Metropolitan University.

Wilson, A., (2015). The infrastructure of intimacy. Signs: J. Women Cult. Soc. 41 (2),247–280.

Wilson, D., Mikahere-Hall, A. and Sherwood, J. (2021). Using indigenous kaupapa Māori research methodology with constructivist grounded theory: generating a theoretical explanation of indigenous womens realities. International Journal of Social Research Methodology, [online] 25(3), pp.1–16. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2021.1897756.

Wittenberg, J. (2013). What is a Historical Legacy. Social Science Research Network.

Wohl, E. (2019). Forgotten legacies: Understanding and mitigating historical human alterations of river corridors. *Water Resources Research*, 55(7), 5181–5201.

Wolfgang, M.E. and Ferracuti, F. (1967) The Subculture of Violence: Towards an Integrated Theory in Criminology. Tavistock Publications, London.

World Health Organisation WHO., (2013). Global and regional estimates of violence against women: prevalence and health effects of intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence. [online] Available at: https://iris.who.int/bitstream/handle/10665/85239/9789241564625_eng.pdf?sequence=1 [Accessed 1 Feb. 2025].

Wood, KM; Jewkes, RK; (2001) 'Dangerous' love: reflections on violence among Xhosa township youth. In: Morrell, R, (ed.) Changing men in South Africa. University of Natal Press / Zed Books, Pietermaritzburg / London, pp. 317-336. ISBN 0869809903 https://researchonline.lshtm.ac.uk/id/eprint/18477

Wood, K. (2005). Contextualizing group rape in post-apartheid South Africa. Culture, Health & Sexuality, 7(4), pp.303–317.

Wood, K. and Jewkes, R. (1997). Violence, rape, and sexual coercion: Everyday love in a South African township. Gender & Development, 5(2), pp.41–46.

Woods, C.A. (1998). Development arrested: the cotton and blues empire of the Mississippi Delta. New York: Verso.

World Bank (2008) South Africa Economic Update, [online] 21 Jan. Available at: https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/368961522944196494/pdf/125011-REPLACEMENT-PUBLIC-SAEU-APRIL-2018-Edition-11.pdf

World Inequality Database (2017). Data – WID – World Inequality Database. [online] WID - World Inequality Database. Available at: https://wid.world/data/[Accessed 14 Apr. 2025]..

World Inequality Database (2024). *WID - World Inequality Database*. [online] WID - World Inequality Database. Available at: https://wid.world/ [Accessed 14 Apr. 2025].

Worcester, N. (2002). Women's use of force: Complexities and challenges of taking the issue seriously. Violence Against Women, 8, 1390-1415.

Xaba, T. (2001). Masculinity and its malcontents: The Confrontation between "struggle masculinity" and "Post struggle masculinity" (1990-1997) in Morrell, R.ed.,Changing Men in Southern Africa, London: Zed Books.

Yarbrough, M.W. (2018). Very Long Engagements: The Persistent Authority of Bridewealth in a Post-Apartheid South African Community. Law & Social Inquiry, [online] 43(3), pp.647–677. doi:https://doi.org/10.1111/lsi.12275.

Zempi, I. (2016). Negotiating Constructions of Insider and Outsider Status in Research with Veiled Muslim Women Victims of Islamophobic Hate Crime. Sociological Research Online, 21(4), pp.1–12. doi:https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.4080.

Zinni, M.C. (2014). Mignolo, Walter The darker side of Western Modernity: global futures, decolonial options. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2011. 408 pp. Rilce. Revista de Filología Hispánica, 31(1), pp.275–79. doi:https://doi.org/10.15581/008.31.289.

Zinyemba, K.G., Hlongwana, K. (2022). Men's conceptualization of gender-based violence directed to women in Alexandra Township, Johannesburg, South Africa. BMC Public Health 22, 2235 https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-022-14616-5

Zimmer, M. (2010). 'But the data is already public': on the ethics of research in Facebook. Ethics and Information Technology, 12(4), pp.313–325. doi:https://doi.org/10.1007/s10676-010-9227-5.

Zungu NP., Petersen Z., Parker W., Dukhi N., Sewpaul, R., Abdelatif N.,Naidoo I., Moolman B., Isaacs D., Makusha T., Mabaso M., Reddy T., Zuma, K. and The SANSHEFTeam (2024). The First South African National Gender-Based Violence Study, 2022: A Baseline Survey on Victimisation and Perpetration. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council
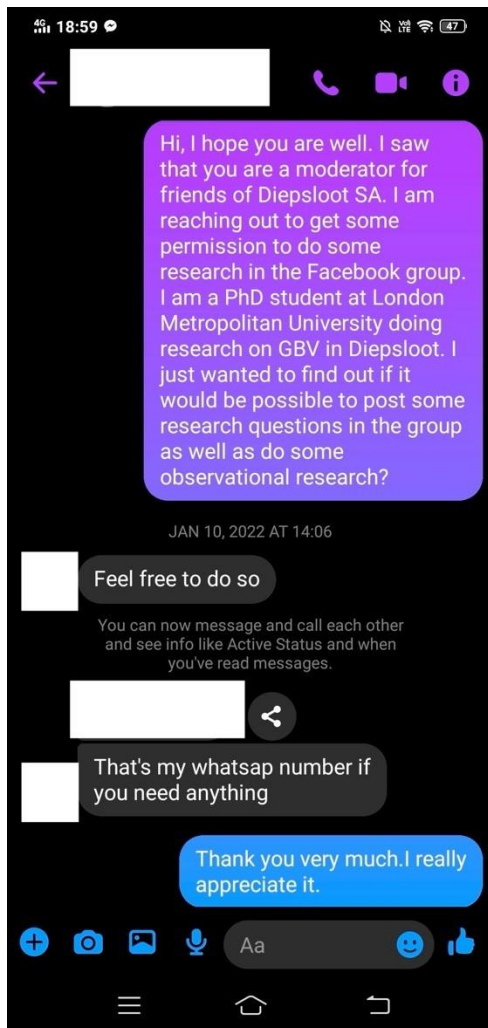
Appendices

Appendix 1: Permission from Facebook Moderators

VIEW PROFILE

NOV 16, 2021 AT 15:54

Hello, hope you are well. My name is Nyasha Maposa I am a PhD student doing some research on GBV in Diepsloot. I would like to post some research questions in the "Diepsloot Reloaded" Facebook group to gain an understanding of what Diepsloot residents think for my research. As the admin of the group I am sending this message to find out whether that would be possible?

You can post

You can now message and call each other and see info like Active Status and when you've read messages.

Aa

Okay thank you, really appreciate that.I plan to begin my research in early January.So I will begin by introducing myself to the group at the beginning of next year and start posting questions thereafter.If you are fine with that? I will be in touch again late December.

👍

Hi, I messaged you last year about doing some research in the Diepsloot reloaded group. Just finding out if it is still okay?

↩ Raps replied to you

Hi, I messaged you last year about doing some research in the Diepsloot reloaded group. …

Yes

Aa

Appendix 2: Information Sheet for Interviews and Facebook Research

Information sheet for face-to-face interviews: Understanding the high rates of GBV in South Africa

Who am I?

My name is Nyasha Maposa I am a PhD student with the Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit at London Metropolitan University in the UK.

What is the research about?

My research is about trying to understand what underpins the high rates of GBV in South Africa.

Do I have to take part?

No, you do not have to take part. If you do decide to take part in the interview you will be

asked to fill out a consent form.

What will I have to do?

If you do decide to take part, you will be asked to participate in an interview with myself over phone, email or Skype, zoom or google hangout whichever is most comfortable for you. The interviews may take 45-90 minutes, it all depends on how much you want to say.

Will you ask me about my experiences of violence?

No, the interview is not about your experiences, it is more about violence in general and why you think it happens.

Will my answers be confidential?

Everything you say is confidential unless you say something that indicates that you or someone else is at risk of serious harm. To ensure accuracy, and with your permission, I would like to record the conversation. The recording will be transcribed for analysis, and only I and possibly my supervisors, will have access to the recording and the transcript. You will be anonymised throughout, (i.e. without personal details identifying you).

Your data will be stored securely and in accordance with General Data Protection Requirement (GDPR) standards. If you decide to withdraw from the research before data analysis begins which will be between December 2021 to October 2022, I will securely delete all of the data collected from your (interview audio file, notes, transcript etc.).

The information you give will be analysed and incorporated into my final thesis. I may use anonymised quotes from the conversation in this.

How will the results be used?

The results will be analysed and used as part of my PhD thesis, I may also publish papers in journals and present at conferences from the findings. But again, you will not be identified across any of this work.

Will I get paid?

No, you will not get paid, but you will be helping to further along how GBV in Diepsloot is understood.

If you have any questions about the interviews or want to know more about the research, please do get in touch with me:

Contact details

Nyasha Maposa

London Metropolitan University

160-220 Holloway Road

London N7 8DB

nym0055@my.londonmet.ac.uk

If you need to verify whether I am PhD student at London Metropolitan University you contact my supervisors:

Dr Maria Garner

London Metropolitan University

Tower Building

166-220 Holloway Road

London N7 8DB

United Kingdom

Tel:

0207 133 5014

Email: m.garner@londonmet.ac.uk

Prof Liz Kelly

Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit

London Metropolitan University

Tower Building

160-220 Holloway Road

London

N7 8DB

Tel: 0207 133 5014

Email: l.kelly@londonmet.ac.uk

Information sheet for Virtual interviews: Understanding the high rates of GBV in South Africa

Who am I?

My name is Nyasha Maposa I am a PhD student with the Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit at London Metropolitan University in the UK.

What is the research about?

My research is about trying to understand what underpins the high rates of GBV in South Africa.

Do I have to take part?

No, you do not have to take part. If you do decide to take part in the interview you will be asked to fill out a consent form.

What will I have to do?

If you do decide to take part, you will be asked to participate in an interview with myself over phone, email or Skype, Zoom or Google hangout whichever is most comfortable for you. The interviews may take 45-90 minutes, it all depends on how much you want to say.

Will you ask me about my experiences of violence?

No, the interview is not about your experiences, it is more about violence in general and why you think it happens.

Will my answers be confidential?

Everything you say is confidential unless you say something that indicates that you or someone else is at risk of serious harm. To ensure accuracy, and with your permission, I would like to record the conversation. The recording will be transcribed for analysis, and only I and possibly my supervisors, will have access to the recording and the transcript. You will be anonymised throughout, (i.e. without personal details identifying you).

Your data will be stored securely and in accordance with General Data Protection Requirement (GDPR) standards. If you decide to withdraw from the research before data analysis begins which will be between December 2021 to October 2022, I would securely delete all of the data collected from your (interview audio file, notes, transcript etc).

The information you give will be analysed and incorporated into my final thesis. I may use anonymised quotes from the conversation in this.

How will the results be used?

The results will be analysed and used as part of my PhD thesis, I may also publish papers in journals and present at conferences from the findings. But again, you will not be identified across any of this work.

Will I get paid?

No, you will not get paid, but you will be helping to further along how GBV in Diepsloot is understood.

If you have any questions about the interviews or want to know more about the research please do get in touch with me:

Contact details

Nyasha Maposa

London Metropolitan University

160-220 Holloway Road

London N7 8DB

nym0055@my.londonmet.ac.uk

If you need to verify whether I am PhD student at London Metropolitan University you contact my supervisors:

Dr Maria Garner

London Metropolitan University

Tower Building

166-220 Holloway Road

London N7 8DB

United Kingdom

Tel:

0207 133 5014

Email: m.garner@londonmet.ac.uk

Prof Liz Kelly

Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit

London Metropolitan University

Tower Building

160-220 Holloway Road

London

N7 8DB

Tel: 0207 133 5014

Email: l.kelly@londonmet.ac.uk

Appendix 3: Mental Health Orgs

Interview Aftercare

Jansen counselling container
To book free face-to-face counselling please call
0800 41 42 43. The container is open Monday to
Friday 8:00 to 15:00

Cipla 24hr Mental Health Helpline

0800 456 789

Adcock Ingram Depression and Anxiety Helpline

0800 70 80 90

Cipla Whatsapp Chat Line
(9am-4pm, 7 days a week)
076 882 2775

24 hour Healthcare Workers Care Network Helpline
0800 21 21 21
SMS 43001

NPOWERSA Helpline
0800 515 515
SMS 43010

Appendix 4: Recruitment Post

Nyasha Maposa
February 17 · 🌐

Hi my name is Nyasha, I am doing a PhD looking at the causes of the high levels of gender-based violence (GBV) in the Diepsloot area. I am looking to interview people who live in Diepsloot to get their opinions on the causes of this issue. Please direct message me if you would like to share your opinion.

👍 5   6 Comments

👍 Like   💬 Comment   ➤ Share

All comments ▾

Hi
Like Reply Share 4w

Nyasha Maposa
Hello
Like Reply Share 4w

You can come interview me only if the interview is going to air on tv.
Like Reply Share 4w

Nyasha Maposa
Its not going to air on TV but it wull help further knowledge on gender based violence in Diepsloot
Like Reply Share 4w

Scam
Like Reply Share 4w

February 17 · 🌐

Hi my name is Nyasha, I am doing a PhD looking at the causes of the high levels of gender-based violence (GBV) in the Diepsloot area. I am looking to interview people who live in Diepsloot to get their opinions on the causes of this issue. Please direct message me if you would like to share your opinion.

👍❤️ 7   5 Comments

👍 Like   💬 Comment   ↪ Share

Top comments ▾

Write a public comment...

Hello Nyasha I'm

I reside in Diepsloot and im willing to help you with your research on the causes of Gender Based Violence in the area of Diepsloot im open to a question and answer type of conversation

👍 2

Like   Reply   Share   29w

Just open up an app bro for those people interested in sloot jahbless

👍

Like   Reply   Share   29w

Hey Nyasa, I can participate too. Inbox me

Like   Reply   Share   29w

Appendix 5: Consent Form for Interviewees

Consent form Please tick all that apply

☐ I have read the information sheet, and I understand the content.

☐ I am aged 18 years or over.

☐ I agree to take part in an interview about the project.

☐ I understand that my participation in this interview is voluntary, that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.

☐ I understand that anything I say in this interview will be treated confidentially, in accordance with the Data Protection Act. My answers will only be used for research purposes, unless I disclose information about a risk of serious harm to myself or others.

☐ I understand that the researcher may use direct quotations in their final reports, but that my name will not be linked with any such materials, and that I can request not to be quoted.

Name of Participant	**Date**	**Signature**

Appendix 6: Interview Guides

1. Can we start by talking a little bit more about the work you do on GBV?

1. What interested you about this research?

2. Are there specific contextual factors that you believe contribute to the high rates of violence in South Africa?

3. What are the connections between socioeconomic inequalities and GBV?

4. What are the connections between racism and GBV? How far do you think gender and race shape GBV?

5. What links if any would you make between apartheid and GBV now?

6. How do you approach explaining the high levels of GBV in South Africa?

7. How useful is the "crisis in masculinity" argument as an explanation for the high rates of sexual violence in South Africa today?

Social Media Questions

1. What is GBV?

2. What do you know about GBV in Diepsloot?

3. What do you think are the causes of GBV in Diepsloot?

4. Why do you think rates of GBV are really high in Diepsloot?

5. What are the different types of GBV that you have seen in Diepsloot?

6. Are different types of violence caused by different things?

7. Do you think South Africa's apartheid history has anything to do with the high rates of violence?

8. What do you think would reduce the rates of violence, specifically in Diepsloot?

Appendix 7: Notation Template for Interviews and Facebook Data

So I wanted to see if there was similarities or differences in terms of their actions and policies and what have you but out of that research, the thing that I found most

A	B	C	D	E	Unemployme
Infrastructural violence/social geography (over crowded, bad infrastructure) Education as linked to spatial inequalities	Intergenerational Trauma	Gendered Violence	The relationship between different forms of violence	Physical violence	Unemployme inequality/hu relationships
I did the workshops around the community um asking them why they are not reporting their cases why are they not reporting rape why are they not reporting domestic violence they say the police station is far away from them and even when they want to report domestic violence in Diepsloot umm the police station of far awar from them they have to walk like something like 5km to police station and along the way they got raped and being killed by thugs in the road that is one of teh reasosn that they gave and anotehr reason why they would not mak eit to the police station is because ethey would get raped and be killed annd	I say enough is enough we dont have women who dont report cases of domestic violence because it is not only affecting them but it is also affecting teh children they are raising because they believe i is normal their grandmothers have been living like that and their mothers so even themselves it is not a surprise that they this is hoe men behaves (Interviewe 4)	We are sensitising them about sexual assault around the community and where and how to report those cases because people will the don't have knowledge some of them, or even if they have some of them don't know where o or how to start or how to do it or how somebody who is a victim they don't know how to help him or her to overcome the challenges that they might be facing (Interview 4)	The type of violence that we see most in Diepsloot is rape and physical violence and emotional violence, emotional abuse and we cannot say that they fall under the same category because some casue teh rape most of the rapes with whereby people are being robbed umm an dtheives will come into their yards and broke the doors come in and before they take the belongings if there is a women there um probably they know because they know their victims they will rape the women and take the belongings and go out and if women go out in the streets umm they will randomly rape them	I said people will come into the house broke into the house and rape the women and take whatever TV and cellphones and the money if it is there. The physical violence is between men and women and men against men umm uh whereby they will uh not that they only do it when their drunk but most in most cases it is when their drunk where couples you will find that um um the lady or the other couple is being physically violated	Yes it is we a disadvantage an area whe and some pe do you surviv the health fa road umm m unemployed unemployed based violen whatever he he wans to d you will be in me just give i have a brea head umm it to be um for economy tha Diepsloot un based violen
I think one of teh things that contribute to gender based violence is lawlessness in Diepsloot and overcrowded we are overcrowded and live in a small space as small as we are	child neglect, child abuse had a serious contribution to how, you know, people behave later on all these men self reported, reporting that they were more	This person started acting like this after they lost their brother like through death, this person started acting like this, after I found out that he was cheating. So I'd say its those things that maybe men don't know	Yes it is we are economically disadvantaged in Diepsloot and we live in an area where people dont wish to live in and some people are surprised that how do you survive to		Oh yes and a even being p watching TV by them wate the soft life p

Top sheet

E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Kasi Lam II		Notes and Observations		Code	GBV	General Violence/and crime	Socioeconomic issues	Ap... leg...
APPENDIX 1. TWO FUNERAL PARLOURS ...N DAVEYTON ARE ACCUSED OF STEALING ...PART.		There a lot of xenophobic tweets included in the Dieplsoot Kasi Lami II page in particular, it would be interesting to see how this interrelates with other forms of violence that are high in South Africa as well as GBV in particular and whether this divisive mindset between South Africans and foreigners has links to the apartheid era. Franz Fanon the wretched of the earth.						
APPENDIX 1.1 One woman is enough to a man ...plans ...is enough to a woman who respects her body		Wording around GBV is interesting in the groups, it seems as though there is a more clear sense of what is being reffered to when domestic violence or violence against women is used, instead of GBV. Gender based violence tends to be the term utilised by NGO's and international organisations.						
APPENDIX 1.2 "When someone says they ...ed by Zimbabweans I often hear other ...eans be defensive and ask, "How do you know ...Zimbabweans?". Guys, come on. We're not ...babweans speak differently, they have a ...mbabwean accent. No matter how hard a ...ay try to sound South African/Zulu , we can still ...that they are not from here. Stop with the silly ...questions. I once heard one person saying,, ...e robbers were SAn trying to sound		There are lot of people in groups consistenly looking for places to rent and this could point to the transient nature of Diepsloot that has been mentioned in interviews.						

Bottom sheet

A	B	C	D
Diepsloot #my kasi	Diepsloot Reloaded	Diepsloot GBV Talk and Solutions	DIEPSLOOT KASI LAMI/ Diepsloot kasi Lami
07.03.22 APPENDIX 2.29 Hey Good People i Know Most of Us we're Looking For Jobs and We are Really Desperate , Things aren't Going Well ...Let's Help Each Other Guys Mina i really Need a Job , I'm Really Down Down ❤ , Any Job , even wase Garage o Xap , Anything njee **Comments: 1.** Am looking for garden job 2. I'm looking for cleaners job I have experience ***	**27.12.22 APPENDIX 2.8 Post:** Stop killing urself to look more expensive, we men don't even know the difference btw brazilian hair and human hair. 😂😂😂😂 **Comments by people who appear to be men by their profiles:** 1."Exactly and even us men we don't look at the make up they put what we notice most is the big nyash"2."For me I need a super natural girl, I don't care for that company" 3. "Just want punani nothing more"	...up killing their partners and not just killing them, they brutally kill them. Is it necessary to take someone's life just for saying I want out of a relationship? No every person's life matter, feminism is a rife and we men are the cause of this. Let's change and move on from the ancient times where ladies had no say or choices about themselves, let's move with the years and see things in different angles. A real man never abuse or kill women. A man was created to love, care, and support his children and wife or partner, not to abuse and kill them. Say no to feminism, no to women and children abuse. Stand up and say not in my name	**02.03.22 APPENDIX 2.27** Can someone from the lea... councillors from diepsloot explain to us what is happenin... those rdp flats built at riverside there are beneficiarie... have been approved to get those houses from last y... still today are still waiting in vain to get their houses
28.05.22 Iam not surprised with Diepsloot on top 30, 😭😭😭😭😭 (Accompanied by a picture of the 30 GBV hotspots in SA) **Comments 1.** Gbv....let u know that where there us GBV is where there is a lot woman of do mixed multiple partners...that cauea Gbv....not that men are abusive towards women for nothing..... 2. education is important ***	**03.09.22 APPENDIX 2.8** Baby I don't need your money, all I need is your love and attention... Do we still have such ladies 🙂😋😭😭	**16.05.2020** Gender Based Violence is a threat to families during this lockdown. Women and children are the most affected in this case, so as men what are we doing to support them? We can support them by reporting the cases to the police, you can do it anonymously if you fear that you might be compromising your safety. Call 10111 or Nation GBV helpline 0800150150	**18.08.22 APPENDIX 2.28** Guys am looking for a job.
01.04.22 Good day guys STEPPING STONE MASSAGE we are doing stepping stone program in Diepsloot. stepping stone is program dealing with GBV HIV and aids prevention we are looking for young woman between the age of 20 to24 we attend sessions only 2 hours a day for 5 days. After 5days you get your certificate and slings bags,we apply for you busaries,jobs and we creat CVs for you	**16.11.22 APPENDIX 2.9** A woman was hit by Mercedes at fourways near Engene garage unfortunately she didn't make it.. 😭 ***	**12.04.20** WHAT IS GENDER - BASED VIOLENCE? GENDER - BASED VIOLENCE is violence against another person because of their gender, gender identity and or sexual identity. South Africa has some of the highest rates of GBV of any country in the world. A woman is killed by her intimate partner every 8 hours according to the Medical Research Council. Between 25% and 40% of South African women have experienced sexual and /or physical intimate partner violence (IPV) in their families .Just under 50% of	**26.12.21 APPENDIX 2.29** Welcome to Diepsloot wh... love with a lady then she ask u money to go home in... for holidays Kante she's going to visit another guy a... Diepsloot then when u call her she pretends as if she... Limpopo 😊 **Comments:** 1.That's why GBV is still go... cos this gender 🙃 on top of cheating on you, they al... your money **Responses to this comment:** 1. so you... to justify GBV? If a lady does something like that to y... not just leave her and move on with your life 2. can't... while someone just used me as a bank account. i th...

Appendix 8: Policing in Diepsloot FB posts

Any illegal activities done around Diepsloot should be dealt with even drug smugglers should be dealt with then it can be easy for [people] to deal with anything

😆 👍 you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares

Sinikhaya Steely*
But now the same group of people who are supposed to be fighting crime are the one who are doing crime, what I saw yesterday was pure crime cause how can you say you are fighting crime while taking other chicken, tomatoes and potatoes while they are selling on the street. Those people have never committed any crime they just making money honestly let's stop this and fight crime.

Gauteng-Tavern, shooting where two people died, the shooter is an Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality Police Department (EMPD) Officer, and his friends were there with him when he shot those people over a girlfriend. Katlehong tavern shooting suspect confirmed as metro police officer. The officer is expected to appear in court today in connection with the 8 July shooting, which left two dead and four injured. He was arrested on Friday.

😆 👍 you and 890 others   1.5k comments.1k shares

Appendix 9: Manosphere Content on Facebook

Man's NOT Barry Roux ✓
@AdvoBarryRoux
Subscribe

If she's a good woman, you wouldn't have met her single at 30, they would have picked her from 18-28. The experience she got all these years is what makes her a good woman today.

3:09 PM · Jun 30, 2023

· 152.4K Views

💬 43   ⟲ 105   ♡ 833   🔖 22   ⬆

Man's NOT Barry Roux ✓
@AdvoBarryRoux
Subscribe

Society lied to women. You can't spend your 20s getting drunk, and having one night stands, then demand a 6 pack, 6 figures, 6 inches husband in your 30s. No man with OPTIONS would pick you, over a feminine woman who is keeping her value.

8:48 PM · Jun 20, 2023

· 121K Views

💬 58   ⟲ 250   ♡ 1,228   🔖 29   ⬆

Man's NOT Barry Roux ✓
@AdvoBarryRoux
Subscribe

Women get real salty on Father's day like they didn't open their legs & choose their baby father. Whether you could foresee his delinquency or not. You chose that man. You spread those legs & let him nut in you. Respectfully shut up & take the L & seat at the back. #FatherDay

9:34 AM · Jun 18, 2023

· 102.4K Views

💬 39   ⟲ 79   ♡ 402   🔖 9   ⬆

Man's NOT Barry Roux ✓
@AdvoBarryRoux
Subscribe

Most STEP dads are men that women wouldn't date if they had no kids.

4:36 PM · Sep 18, 2023

· 229.2K Views

💬 162   ⟲ 461   ♡ 2,554   🔖 43   ⬆