

REFERENCE LIST

Adrian, S. (2009). Theme 2: Deconstructing the Hegemony of Men and Masculinities: Contradictions of Absence. Centre of Gender Excellence. Retrieved on 03 January 2012 from <http://www.genderexcel.org/?q=node/101>

Ani, M. (1994). Yurugu: An African Centred Critique of European Cultural thought and behaviour. New Jersey: Africa World Press.

Asante, M., K., (1988). Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change. New Jersey: Africa World Press

Bauer, N. (2012: February). We will die with our boots on, vows Malema. In Mail&Guardian [online] 26 February available at <http://mg.co.za/article/2012-02-26-we-must-die-with-our-boots-on-says-malema/>

Beasley, C. (2008). Rethinking Hegemonic Masculinity in a Globalizing World. *Men and Masculinities*. Vol. 11(1). Pp. 86- 103

Berg, B., L. (1995). Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Science. USA: Ally and Bacon

Biko, S. B. (1978). I write what I like. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Bhabha, H. (1994). The Location of Culture. New York: Routledge.

Boonzaier, F. (2005). Women abuse in South Africa: A contextual Analysis. *Feminism and Psychology*. Vol. 15(1). Pp. 99-103.

Braun, G. (2010). Morality and Abstract Thinking: How Africans differ from Westerners. Accessed on 01 November 2011 from http://open.salon.com/blog/rwnutjob/2010/08/11/how_Africans_may_differ_from_westerners

Brod, H. (1987). The Making of Masculinities: The New Man's Studies. London :Routledge.

Brod, H. and Kaufman, M. (1994). Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations and Gender. USA: Sage Publications.

Brewer, R. (2003). Black Radical Theory and Practice: Gender, Race and Class. *Socialism and Democracy*. Vol. 17(1). <http://sdonline.org/33/black-radical-theory-and-practice-gender-race-and-class/>

Butler, J. (1990). Gender Trouble. New York: Routledge

Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex."* New York: Routledge.

Buckley, G., J. and Casale, G. (2006). Social Dialogue and Poverty Reduction Strategies. International Labour Offices Publications: Switzerland.

Cabrera, P., M. (2010). *Intersecting Inequalities: A Review of Feminist Debates and Theoretical Approaches on Violence Against Women (VAW) and Poverty in Latin America*. London: Central American Women's Network (CAWN). Retrieved on November 2011 from <http://www.cawn.org/assets/Intersecting%20Violences.pdf>

Carby, H., V. (1998). Race Men. USA: Harvard University Press.

Carbado, D., W. (1999). *Black men on Race, Gender and Sexuality: A critical Reader*. New York: New York University Press

Carter, R. (1995). The Influence of Race and Racial identity is psychotherapy: towards a racially inclusive model. Canada: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Chipkin, I. (2002). 'The Sublime Object of Blackness.' *Cashiers d'Etudes africaines*. Vol. 167(3) pp. 569-583.

Connell, R. W. (1995a). Masculinities. Cambridge: Polity Press

Connell, R.W. (1995b). Globalization, Imperialism, and Masculinities. In M. Kimmel, J. Hearn, and R.W. Connell (eds) *Handbook on Studies of Men and Masculinities*. London: Sage Publications.

Connell, R.W. (2005). Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept. *Gender and Society*. Vol. 19(6). Pp. 829- 859.

Cornwall, A. & Lindisfarne, N. (1994). Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies. 1st edition. New York: Routledge.

Darby, P. (2004). Pursuing the Political: A Postcolonial Rethinking of Relations International. *Millennium- Journal of International Relations*. Vol. 33(1). Pp. 1-31

Demetriou, D. Z. (2001). Connell's Concept of Hegemonic Masculinity: A Critique. *Theory and Society*. Vol. 30(3). Pp. 337- 361.

Derek, S. (2007). "Postcolonial Masculinities." in International Encyclopaedia of Men and Masculinities. (eds.). Michael Flood, Judith Kegan Gardiner, Bob Pease, and Keith Pringle. London: Routledge

Dey, I. (1993). Qualitative Data Analysis: User Friendly Guide for Social Scientists. London: Routledge.

De Wet, P. (2010: March). It is now official: Julius Malema is hate-speaker and harraser of women. In the Daily Maverick [online] 15 March. Available at <http://dailymaverick.co.za/article/2010-03-15-it-is-now-official-julius-malema-is-hate-speaker-and-harasser-of-women>

De Wet, P. (2012: March). Malema derides Zuma's Leadership. In Mail&Guardian [online] 30 March available at <http://mg.co.za/article/2012-03-30-malema-derides-zumas-leadership>

Du Preez, M., and Rossouw, M. (2009). The World According to Malema. Cape Town: Kwela Books.

Elias, J. (2008). Introduction: Hegemonic Masculinities in International Politics. *Men and Masculinities*. Vol. 10(4). pp. 383-388.

Ellapen, J., A. (2006). Locating Blackness: The 'Township Aesthetic' and representations of black identity in contemporary South African Cinema. MA Thesis. South Africa: Wits University.

Erlank, N., (2003). Gender and Masculinity in South African Nationalist Discourse, 1912-1950. *Feminist Studies, Inc.* Vol. 29(3). Pp. 653-671.

Feagin, J. R. (2006). Systematic Racism: A theory of oppression. London: Routledge

Ferber, A. (2007) 'The Construction of Black Masculinity: White Supremacy Now and Then.' *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*. Vol. 31(1), pp. 11–24.

Forde, F. (2011). An Inconvenient Youth. Johannesburg : Picador Africa.

- Franklin, C. W. (1984). The changing Definition of Masculinity. New York: Plenum Press
- Gellner, Ernest (1980) *Society and Western Anthropology*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Giddens, A. (1989). Sociology. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Gilliespie, K. (2010). Reclaiming nonracialism: reading the threat of race from South Africa. *Taylor and Francis*. Vol. 44(1). Pp. 61-75.
- Good, G., E., Borst, T., S. and Wallace, D., L. (1994). Masculinity research: A review and Critique. *Applied and Preventative Psychology*. Vol. 3. pp. 3-14.
- Gqola, P. (2001). Defining People: Analysing power, language and representation in metaphors of the new South Africa. *Transformation*. Vol. 47. Retrieved on 04 February 2008 from <http://www.transformation.ukzn.ac.za/archive/trans047/trans047007.pdf>
- Gqola, P. (2010). What is Slavery to me? Postcolonial/slave memory in post-apartheid South Africa. South Africa: Wits University Press.
- Granqvist, R. J. (2006). Peter Pan in Nairobi: Masculinity's Postcolonial City. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*. Vol. 15(3). Pp. 380-392
- Grootes, S. (2011: June). Malema's term: How did he do it?. In Daily Maverick [online] 15 June. Available at <http://dailymaverick.co.za/article/2011-06-15-malemas-first-term-how-did-he-do-it>
- Guillaumin, C. (1995). Racism, Sexism, Power and Ideology. London: Routledge.
- The Guardian (2010: December). Malema gets Wikileaks mention. In Sowetan Live [online] 9 December. Available at <http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2010/12/09/malema-gets-wikileaks-mention>
- Happ, M.B., Swigart, V., Tate, J., & Crighton, M.H. (2004). Event Analysis Techniques. *Advances in Nursing Science*. Vol. (27) pp. 239–248
- Hassim, S. (2009). Democracy's shadows: Sexual Rights and Gender Politics in the rape Trial of Jacob Zuma. *African Studies*. Vol. 68(1). Pp. 56-77.

- Hearn, J. (1997). 'The Implications of Critical Studies on Men'. *NORA: Nordic Journal of Women's Studies*. Vol. 5(1): 48–60.
- Hearn, J. (2004). From Hegemonic to the hegemony of men. *Feminist Theory*. Vol. 5(49). Pp. 49-72.
- Hiddleton, J. (2009). Understanding Postcolonialism. Acumen: Stocksfield
- Hooper, C. (2001). Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations and Gender Politics. New York: Columbia University Press
- Horne, G., (2003). The Crisis of White Supremacy. *Socialism and Democracy*. Vol. 17 (1). Retrieved January 03, 2012 from <http://sdonline.org/33/the-crisis-of-white-supremacy/>
- IOL (2012: March). Malema will 'die in defence of whites'. In IOL [online] 12 March. Available at <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/malema-will-die-in-defence-of-whites-1.1263332>
- Johnson, M. (1995). Patriarchal Terrorism and Common Couple Violence: Two Forms of violence against women. *Journal of Marriage and Family*. Vol. 57: No. 2. pp. 283-294.
- Knudsen, S. V. (2010). Intersectionality: A Theoretical inspiration in the analysis of Minority Cultures and Identities in Textbooks. Extracted from http://www.caen.iufm.fr/colloque_iartem/pdf/knudsen.pdf on 10 May 2011.
- Kordvani, A., H. (2002). Hegemonic Masculinity, Domination and Violence against Women. "Expanding Our Horizons" Conference. Sydney.
- Laing, A. (2012: January). ANC at 100: 'This isn't a celebration for us. What have we got to celebrate?'. In the Telegraph [online] 7 January available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/southafrica/8999921/ANC-at-100-This-isnt-a-celebration-for-us.-What-have-we-got-to-celebrate.html>
- Levant, R. F. & Pollack, W. S. (1995). A New Psychology of Men. New York: Basic Books
- Lewis, E., and Makinana, A. (2009: January). Accuser 'enjoyed sex with Zuma'. In IOL [online] 23 January. Available at <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/accuser-enjoyed-sex-with-zuma-1.432215>

Lindsay, L., A. and Miescher, S., F. (2003). Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa. Portsmouth NH: Heinemann.

Mabona, W. (2011). Malema leaves Diepsloot with glimmer of hope. In the Mail&Guardian [online] 22 October. Available at <http://mg.co.za/article/2011-10-22-malema-address-leaves-dieploot-residents-with-glimmer-of-hope>

MacDonald, M. (2006). Why Race Matters in South Africa. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu Natal press

Mandela, R. (1990). Nelson Mandela: The Struggle is my Life. London: IDAF Publications.

Mare, G. (2001). Race counts in contemporary South Africa: 'an illusion of ordinariness'. *Transformation*. Vol. 47 pp. 75-93.

Mail&Guardian Staff Reporter (2008: July). Youth League 'won't tolerate' Zuma's prosecution. In The Mail&Guardian [online] 28 July. Available at <http://www.mg.co.za/article/2008-07-24-youth-league-wont-tolerate-prosecution-of-zuma/>

Mail&Guardian Staff Reporter (2008: September). Malema in a froth over Zuma. In the Mail&Guardian [online] 10 September. Available at <http://mg.co.za/article/2008-09-10-malema-in-a-froth-over-zuma>

Mail&Guardian Staff Reporter (2009: February). Malema to meet Pandor following 'fake accent' spat. In the Mail and Guardian [online] 17 February available at <http://mg.co.za/article/2009-02-17-malema-to-meet-pandor-following-fake-accent-spat>

Maughan, K. (2009). Mantashe fails to save Malema from court. In IOL [online] 2 June available at <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/mantashe-fails-to-save-malema-from-court-1.445024>

McClintock, A. (1992). Angels of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term Post-colonial. *Social Text. Third World and Post-Colonial Issues*. No. 31 /32. Pp. 84-98.

McClintock, A. (1997). "No longer in a Future Heaven. Gender, Race and Nationalism" in Dangerous Liaisons Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives. Eds. McClintock, A. and Amir, M. et al. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Mngxitama, A. (2011: July). Malema you are just another ruthless politician. In SowetanLive [online] 26 July available at <http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/columnists/2011/07/26/comrade-malema-you-are-just-another-ruthless-politician>

Mngxitama, A. (2011: November). The problem is, our leaders want to live like kings, whites. In SowetanLive [online] 01 November. Available at <http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/columnists/2011/11/01/problem-is-our-leaders-want-to-live-like-kings-whites>

Moffett, H. (2006, September). *The Political economy of sexual violence in post-apartheid South Africa*. Paper presented at the Harold Wolpe Memorial Trust's Tenth Anniversary Colloquium, "Engaging silences and unresolved issues in the political economy of South Africa. Cape Town, South Africa.

Morrell, R. and Swart, S. (2005). "Men in the Third World: Postcolonial Perspectives on Masculinity" in *Handbook on Studies of Men and Masculinities* by (eds.) M. Kimmel, J. Hearn, and R.W. Connell (eds). London: Sage Publications

Mtebule, N. (2001). Masculinity at the Margins: Researching Young Black Masculinities in the Post Apartheid Era. *History Workshop University of Witwatersrand*. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.

Muller, M (Sternographer- 2010). In the equality court for the district of Johannesburg. File no. 02/2009 In the matter between: Sonke Gender Justice Network and Julius Malema. Court Case Transcript [online]. Available at <http://www.saflii.org/za/cases/ZAEQC/2010/2.pdf>

Ndlangisa, S., and Rampedi, P. (2011: September). Malema mobilises an army of the poor. In News24 [online] 11 September. Available at <http://m.news24.com/citypress/Politics/News/Malema-mobilises-an-army-of-the-poor-20110910>

Newman, J. and Clarke, J. (2009). *Publics, Politics and Power: Remaking the public in Public Services*. London: SAGE publications Ltd.

Noh, S. (2007). Intersecting Gender, race in Globalization: Beyond the Evolution from Cultural Imperialism to Cultural Hybridity. *Global Media Journal*. Vol. 6(10).

O'Conner, P., E. (1995). Discourse of Violence. *Discourse and Society*. Vol. 6(3). Pp. 309-318.

Oliver, W. (1989). Black Males and Social problems: Prevention Through Afrocentric Socialization. *Journal of Black Studies*. Vol. (20)15. pp. 14-39.

Owino, K. (2010). Masculinities, HIV and AIDS in South Africa-Evaluating the present, mapping the future: Towards a transformative Missiological Paradigm (A Theology of Hope). Paper presented at PhD seminar at the University of Oslo

Oxlund, B. (2008). Masculinities in Student Politics: Gendered Discourses of Struggle and liberation At the University of Limpopo. *PINS*. Vol. 26. pp. 60-76.

Pleck, J. (2008). *Understanding Patriarchy and Men's Power*. NOMAS: National Organization for Men Against Sexism. Retrieved on 08 September 2011 from <http://www.nomas.org/node/176>

Poulantzas, N. (1978). *State, Power, Socialism*: London: Verso.

Punch, K., F. (2005). *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. London: Sage publications Ltd

Ratele, K. (2003). We Black Men. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. Vol. 27 pp. 237–249.

Riemer, N., and Simon, D., W. (1997). *The New World of Politics: An introduction to Political Science*. 4th Edition. Collegiate Press: Carlifonia.

Roberts, J. (2010: February). Malema trashes ANC nationalization study. In Business Live [online] 10 February available at <http://www.businesslive.co.za/southafrica/2012/02/10/malema-trashes-anc-nationalisation-study?mode=all>

Rogers, D. and Bowman, M. (2008). *A History: The Construction of Race and Racism*. Dismantling Racism Project. Western States Centre. Retrieved on 07 July 2011 from <http://pebbleinshoe.files.wordpress.com/2008/02/a-history-the-construction-of-race-and-racism.pdf>

Rukundwa, L., S. (2007). Justice and Righteousness in the Matthean theology and its relevance to Banyamulenge community; A Post Colonial Reading. Phd thesis submitted to the University of Pretoria

Rupert, T. (2012). Deepening Non-Racialism in South Africa. *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*. Vol. 39(1). Pp.41-51

SAPA (2008: September). Burying the dead snake. In IOL [online] 19 September. Available at <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/burying-the-dead-snake-1.417044>

SAPA (2009a: July). Malema case dredges up Zuma rape trial. In IOL [online] 9 July. Available at <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/malema-case-dredges-up-zuma-rape-trial-1.449165>

SAPA (2009b: July). We'll never apologise to Mickey Mouses. In The Politics Web [online] 10 July. Available at <http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71627?oid=135895&sn=Detail>

SAPA (2009c: August). Malema back in Equality Court over rape remarks. In the Mail& Guardian [online] 27 August. Available at <http://mg.co.za/printformat/single/2009-08-27-malema-back-in-equality-court-over-rape-remark>.

SAPA (2009d: September). Malema Explains Himself. In News24 [online] 21 September. Available at <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Malema-explains-himself-20090921>

SAPA (2009e: September). I've just got a matric- Julius Malema. In the Politicsweb [online] 21 September. Available at <http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71627?oid=144310&sn=Detail>

SAPA (2010a: February). Mandela 'supported nationalization'. In News24 [online] 11 February available at <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Madiba20/Mandela-supported-nationalisation-20100211>

SAPA (2010b: March). Malema to appeal hate speech judgment. In City Press [online] 17 March. Available <http://www.citypress.co.za/printarticle.aspx?iframe&aid=5b44a835-657e-470a-8dd7>

SAPA (2010c: October). Sonke Gender Justice Network to oppose Malema's appeal. In CityPress [online] 9 June. Available at <http://www.citypress.co.za/Politics/News/Sonke-Gender-Justice-Network-to-oppose-Malemas-appeal-20101028>

SAPA (2010d: October). Malema fails to pay R50000 fine. In Sowetan Live [online] 15 October. Available at <http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2010/10/15/malema-fails-to-pay-r50000-fine>

SAPA (2010e: October). Malema calls Zille a cockroach. In News24 [online] 30 October. Available at <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Malema-calls-Zille-a-cockroach-20101030>

SAPA (2011a: June). Malema says sorry for sexist remarks. In Sowetan Live [online] 23 June. Available at <http://www.sowetan.co.za/news/article1253841.cee?service=print...>

SAPA (2011b: October). Malema lambasts Cabinet. In News24 [online] 22 October available at <http://m.news24.com/news24/SouthAfrica/News/Malema-lambasts-cabinet-ministers-20111022>

SAPA (2011c: December). Malema's use of shower head 'ironic': Zapiro. In City Press [online] 19 December. Available at <http://www.citypress.co.za/SouthAfrica/News/Malemas-use-of-shower-head-ironic-Zapiro-20111219-2>

SAPA (2012a: February). Ill discipline has gone too far. In News24 [online] 24 February available at <http://m.news24.com/news24/SouthAfrica/Politics/Ill-discipline-has-gone-too-far-ANCWL-20120224>

SAPA (2012b: May). The ANC used me like a condom. In News24 [online] 03 May available at <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/The-ANC-used-me-like-a-condom-Malema-20120503>

Sarup, M. (1993) An Introductory Guide to Post-Structuralism and Postmodernism. Atlanta: University of Georgia Press.

Scheurich, J., J. (1997). Research method in the postmodern; Qualitative Studies Series 3. London; The Falmer Press.

Seekings, J. (2008). The continuing Salience of Race: Discrimination and Diversity in South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. Vol. 26(1). Pp. 1-25

Sesanti, S. (2008). The media and the Zuma/Zulu culture: An Afrocentric perspective. In A. Hodland, E. Louw, S. Sesanti and H. Wasserman (Eds.) *Power, Politics and identity in South African Media*. South Africa: HRSC Press.

Seraro, A. (2011: August). Ex-cop deposited Malema's fine in cash. In IOL [online] 11 August. Available at <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/ex-cop-deposited-malema-s-fine-in-cash-1.1115597?pageNumber=2>

Shohat, E (1992). Notes on the "Post-colonial." *Third World and Post-Colonial Issues*. No. 31/32. pp. 99-113.

Staples, R. (1979). The Myth of Black Macho: A Response to Angry Black Feminists. *The Black Scholar*. Vol.10(6-7). pp. 24-33

Strebel, A., Shabalala, N., and Buikema, R. (2007). From Boys To Men: Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society. (Ed). South Africa: UCT Press.

Suttner, R. (2007). Masculinities in the African National Congress-led liberation movement: The underground period. In Shefer, R., Ratele, R., Strebel, A., Shabalala, N., and Buikema, R. (Eds), *From Boys To Men: Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society*. South Africa: UCT Press.

Suttner, R. (2009b). The Jacob Zuma rape trial: power and ANC masculinities. *Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*. Vol. 17(3), pp. 222-235.

Suttner, R (2010a). Interview on: 'the Evolution of the ANC.' Polity Press online. 10 August. Available at <http://www.polity.org.za/article/the-evolution-of-the-anc-2010-08-10>

Suttner, R. (2010b). Interview on: 'The Glorification of Violence.' Polity Press online. 27 August. Available at <http://www.polity.org.za/article/the-glorification-of-violence-2010-08-27>

The Post (2010: February). Firebrand Julius Malema. In The Post [online] 28 February. Available at http://www.postzambia.com/post-read_article.php?articleId=6417

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*. Vol. 12(2). Pp. 157-178.

Vetten, L. (2009). *The Context of Rape in South Africa*. An expert document compiled by an experienced counsellor on gendered violence/rape for the equality Court case against Julius Malema by Sonke Gender Justice Network. Accessed from <http://www.tlac.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/Malema-expert-report.pdf> on 28 June 2012

Vincent, L. (2011). Seducing the people: Populism and the challenge to democracy in South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. Vol. 29(1). Pp. 1-14.

Weedon, C. (2004). *Identity and Culture: Narratives of difference and Belonging*. New York: Open University Press.

Werlhof, C. (2007). "Capitalist Patriarchy and the Struggle for a 'Deep' Alternative." *Women's Studies*. Accessed from <http://emanzipationhumanum.de/downloads/LasVegas.pdf> on 17 September 2011

Whitehead, S., and Barret, F. (2001). *The Masculinities Reader*. USA: Polity Reader.

Xaba, T. (2001). 'Masculinity and Its Malcontents: The Confrontation between "Struggle Masculinity" and "Post-Struggle" Masculinity (1990–1997)'. In R. Morrell (Ed.), *Changing Men in Southern Africa*. South Africa: University of Natal Press.

Young, R (2001). *Postcolonialism. An Historical Introduction*. India. Blackwell Publishers.

Youtube (2011). 'Malemaphobia Julius Malema Day 9 in high court for Hate speech: [Video Recording]'. Retrieval from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WNlhHS8lPv0>

Zhang Y. and Wildemuth, B., M. (2008). Qualitative Analysis of Content. Available at URL: http://www.ils.unc.edu/~yanz/Content_analysis.pdf

.