



**GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AND HUMAN
SECURITY IN CAPE TOWN:
A CASE STUDY OF THE SAARTJIE BAARTMAN
CENTRE FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN**

By

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the relationship between human security, gender, and the activities of the Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children, an NGO serving women who have experienced gender-based violence. Gender-based violence is studied within the specific context of South Africa, with special attention given to the history, culture and socio-economic conditions. The study uses the concepts of human security and gender to construct a framework for examining gender-based violence. This theoretical approach fosters interdisciplinary collaboration and includes marginalised populations.

This is a qualitative case study comprising of in-depth interviews with both clients and staff at the Saartjie Baartman Centre in Cape Town and it provides rich detail of personal experiences of both clients and employees of the centre. The themes of organisational challenges, socio-economic, and cultural issues are discussed and analysed. The intention of the study is to bring attention to the issue of gender violence in South Africa, investigate the occurrence of this violence in Manenberg, and put forth recommendations to further the fight against it. This will be done through an exploration of the activities of the Saartjie Baartman Centre and the implications of these activities.

The study concludes that given the existing statistics of gender-based violence continually rising, current efforts are either not working or not having a large enough impact. Therefore, something different needs to be done in order for sustainable change to take place.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	ii
Preface.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
List of Abbreviations.....	vii
CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION & RESEARCH PROBLEM.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.1.1 Gender-based Violence.....	1
1.1.2 Human Security.....	3
1.1.3 The Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children.....	6
1.2 Rationale.....	11
1.2.1 Culture of Violence.....	11
1.2.2 Cultural Beliefs and Attitudes.....	12
1.3 Research Questions and Objectives.....	13
1.4 Indicative Review of the Literature.....	15
1.5 Research Procedures.....	15
1.6 Ethical Issues.....	16
1.7 Conclusion.....	16
CHAPTER 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW.....	18
2.1 Introduction.....	18
2.2 Gender-based Violence.....	18
2.2.1 Context.....	19
2.2.2 Causes, Challenges, and Possible Solutions.....	21
2.2.3 Progress & Future of Campaigns Against Gender-based Violence.....	22
2.2.4 NGO Interventions.....	24
2.3 Theoretical Framework: Human Security and Gender.....	26
2.4 Conceptualizing Human Security.....	26
2.5 Policy Formulation and Implications.....	30
2.6 Human Insecurity and Threats to Health.....	31
2.7 A Gendered Approach.....	32
2.8 Conclusion.....	33
CHAPTER 3 – RESEARCH METHODOLOGY & DESIGN.....	36
3.1 Research methodology and design.....	36
3.2 Methodological assumptions.....	38
3.3 Data selection, collection, and analysis.....	39
3.4 Limitations.....	43
3.5 Manenberg.....	44
3.6 Establishing credibility.....	47
3.7 Ethical considerations.....	47
3.8 Conclusion.....	48

CHAPTER 4 – RESEARCH DISCUSSION & ANALYSIS.....	50
4.1 Themes for Discussion.....	50
4.1.1 Organisational challenges.....	50
4.1.2 Socio-economic issues.....	55
4.1.3 Cultural issues.....	57
4.2 Analysis.....	59
CHAPTER 5 – CONCLUSION.....	72
5.1 Implications for Practice.....	75
5.1.1 Culture.....	77
5.1.2 Socio-Economic Conditions.....	77
5.1.3 Organisational Improvements.....	78
5.2 Theoretical Significance.....	80
5.3 Further Research.....	81
5.4 Reflections on the learning experience.....	85
REFERENCES.....	86

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHSI	African Human Security Initiative
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
BoM	Board of Management
CBO	Community-based organisation
DEVW	Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women
GBV	Gender-based violence
HIV/AIDS	Human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
IMAGE	Intervention With Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
MAP	Men as Partners Programme
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
SADHS	South African Demographic and Health Survey
SAPS	South African Police Service
SBCWC	Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UNDP	United Nations Development Project
UNHDR	United Nations Human Development Report
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
URDR	Unit for Religion and Development Research

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH PROBLEM

According to crime statistics released by the South African Police Services (SAPS) in 2011, an average of seven women are murdered every day and half of these homicides are at the hands of an intimate partner.¹ The rates of violence against women in South Africa are disturbing, perpetually underreported, and increasing. There is much work to be done.

In the sections below, I further describe the alarming statistics on gender-based violence in South Africa, introduce and define the concept of human security, and present the Saartjie Baartman Centre for Woman and Children (SBCWC), where this case study took place. I conclude the chapter by discussing the rationale behind the study, the intentions for completing it, and methodological procedures followed.

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 Gender-based Violence

Gender-based violence, or violence against women takes on many forms including sexual assault and harassment, marital rape, incest, sex-trafficking, forced early marriage, sexual exploitation, female genital mutilation, domestic abuse, and the rape of women as a weapon of war, and exists the world over. Gender-based violence is particularly prevalent and brutal in South Africa. According to van der Merwe (2005: 106):

A woman is raped every 10 minutes, one is beaten every 6 minutes – and seven women are murdered, on average, every day... These statistics do not even

¹ Institute for Security Studies, Seminar on Domestic Violence and Rape, Pretoria, 27 October 2011. Available at <http://www.issafrica.org/events/iss-seminar-pretoria-so-why-do-the-numbers-keep-rising-a-reflection-on-efforts-to-prevent-and-respond-to-domestic-violence-and-rape> (accessed December 13, 2013).

reveal the full scope of the violence, as police explain that “two-thirds” of all rapes may not be reported because “victims often depend on the perpetrators for a livelihood”. The police figures show that rape increased nationally by 4% between April 2004 and March 2005. Countrywide, 55,114 cases were reported. Sixty percent of the victims were adult women, and 40% children. Other crimes reported reveal a violent onslaught against women and children. Indecent assault rose by 8%, and of the 10,123 cases opened nationally, 38.6% of the victims were women and 47.7% children. Adult women were also victims of 13.9% of all murders, 52.6% of all common assaults with the intention to do grievous bodily harm.

This study focuses on domestic violence, which is defined as “the physical and/or psychological abuse of an intimate partner” (Bowman, 2003: 473), and is also often referred to as intimate-partner violence (IPV). While this type of violence is most often perpetrated by an intimate partner, it can also be at the hand of another family or household member. Domestic violence is the most common form of gender-based violence (Kim et al., 2007), and is widespread in South Africa. According to Jewkes, in a study of employed men in Cape Town, 50% admitted to physically abusing their female partners and many of these same men did not consider grabbing and smacking to be abusive behaviour (Baleta, 1999: 580). The predominance of this behaviour leaves women in South Africa extremely vulnerable.

With gender-based violence rampant in South Africa, there are many valid reasons to continue the fight for equality and basic human rights for all women. There are also many different ways to achieve this and there are many currently doing just that; from government to non-governmental organizations, and communities to individuals in various fields such as law, development, education, health, and the social services. There are those doing advocacy, education, and prevention, and others offering a full spectrum of services to anyone involved in or affected by violence. This study is specifically interested in those organisations offering services to abused women, and any recommendations that can be made to further their work.

This study uses the human security framework to investigate the activities of the Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children (SBCWC) in Cape Town. The SBCWC is a non-governmental organisation (NGO) based in the Cape Flats area of Cape Town, within the township of Manenberg, working to combat gender-based violence. This research will capture the experiences of the organisation's employees and the individual clients they serve.

1.1.2 Human Security

Human security will be used here as a theoretical framework from which to view this study. The human security concept was coined by Mahbub al-Haq in the 1993 United Nations Human Development Report to mean freedom from fear and freedom from want (UNDP, 1994: 23-24). The coining of the term stemmed from the need to a move from national security focus to a global one, brought about by the new challenges of globalization. Prior to this, the concept of "security" in international affairs was seen mostly through the prism of the state and thus tended to focus on military concerns. The notion of human security sought to expand this narrow view of security.

As Gunhild Hoogensen and Svein Vigeland Rottem (2004: 156) point out, the emergence of "human security as a functional security concept referring to the individual instead of the state has given a measure of legitimacy to the individual-based (approach)." More specifically, human security meant freedom from violence experienced through physical security. Human security was further developed from its initial idea of physical security in the 1994 Human Development Report to include seven additional categories of threats to human security: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. Thus, human security is a unified and flexible concept that can be used to define many things including marital rape, incest, sex-trafficking, female genital mutilation, domestic abuse and the rape of women as a weapon of war, namely, the sheer magnitude of women throughout the world who have no sense of security.

Tragically, the place that many believe should offer safety and shelter more than any other, one's home, is often a place where many live in fear and powerlessness. The concept of human security aptly describes this phenomenon and incorporates all of these important types of gender-based violence. For our purposes, given our focus on combating gender-based violence through the service provision of an NGO, we are mostly concerned with freedom from fear and violence, along with physical, personal and economic security, and any activities that improve these conditions.

It is important to further discuss how this approach is relevant to South African society and this study in particular. For most people in South Africa and abroad, security symbolizes protection from threats (hunger, unemployment, crime, disease, repression, conflict, and hazards). For the majority of people worldwide, feelings of insecurity will come from worries about daily life, rather than some possible large, disastrous world event. For women in particular, the need for protection against these threats is pressing. As the UNDP observes, "In no society are women secure or treated equally to men. Personal insecurity shadows them from cradle to grave. In the household, they are the last to eat. At school, they are the last to be educated. At work, they are the last to be hired and the first to be fired. And from childhood to adulthood, they are abused because of their gender" (UNDP, 1994: 31). In everyday life for many women in South Africa this may equate to concerns such as 'will my husband hit me again tonight?', 'will we be able to pay our rent this month?', 'will I have enough work to feed my children this week?', 'when will I find a job?', 'will I get attacked on my way home?', 'how will I survive?'. According to the 1994 UNHDR, human security means safety from these chronic threats and "protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life" and is an approach that aims to address these insecurities (1994: 23). Human security is concerned with human life and dignity in a way that other approaches are not.

Human security is a universal, preventative, people-centred approach. It fuses concerns from well-known approaches including basic needs, human development and human rights. It bridges these previous discourses by

combining human development's broad focus and stress on reasoned freedoms, basic human need's stress on prioritization, and human right's unwillingness to sacrifice anyone (Gasper, 2005: 234). Therefore, human security offers a full package that serves as a promising framework required both to connect different worlds of discipline and organization and to entrench the priority of human concerns into policy and analytical agendas.

While human security as concept and framework is valuable and functional, adding the element of gender can make it even more so. This is done in order to make sure that gender, including the role of identities and relationships of power, is not left out of the equation. This is important because "gender analysis shows us that top-down articulations of security concepts – such as those from national governments or international organizations – often do not address the security needs of those "below" (Hoogensen and Stuvoy, 2006: 209). What gender analyses attempt to do is to rework the traditional definition of security so that it reflects the empirical world and becomes open to the voices of those that experience insecurity in all its variations and manifestations (Hoogensen and Stuvoy, 2006). Therefore, adding a gendered outlook to a human security approach will allow this study to adequately address the relevant issues surrounding domestic violence in Cape Town.

The research aim is to understand how gender influences human security through the experiences of one NGO and their service users. "Gender' refers to the rules, norms, customs and practices by which biological differences between males and females are translated into socially constructed differences between men and women and boys and girls, so that the two genders being valued differently and are given unequal opportunities and life chances" (Moussa, 2008: 83). Elements of both human security and gender discourse will be combined into a gender-informed human security framework for investigation and analysis. Combining a gendered approach with human security gives substance and credibility to the wider security concept, allows empowerment of the individual and a move away from the traditional top-down approach (Hoogensen and Stuvoy, 2006). This combined framework will be a most fitting

and useful tool. Human security and gender, gender-based violence, and key NGO interventions will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 2 – Literature Review.

1.1.3 The Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children

The Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children (SBCWC) was established in 1999 with the help of the Department of Health and Social Services and the Salvation Army. The main focus was the development of a one-stop centre including an on-site shelter and a comprehensive offering of services for survivors of abuse and their children. The one-stop centre model was chosen because it would provide ‘safe, cost-effective, and easily accessible services’ (Maharaj, 2005). There are at least three other centres in South Africa that run along similar lines as the SBCWC and are in partnership with the Department of Social Services. The SBCWC was, however, the first and has been used as a ‘best practice’ model, and is often consulted for their expertise when starting other centres (Maharaj, 2005). Although there have been some management changes over the years, especially in the beginning, the SBCWC is currently run by a ten person Board of Management (BoM) (SBCWC Annual Review, 2009).

The Saartjie Baartman Centre for Woman and Children was named after a significant figure in South African history. Saartjie Baartman was a Khoikhoi (one of the original ethnic groups) woman who lived from about 1790-1815. She was taken to England in her early twenties to be put on exhibition and displayed as a sexual freak due to her bodily composition. As argued by Harry Wels (2002: 59), “she toured the English provinces and Paris as a sensational curiosity and representative of and for Africa and African women” until her death. She became an object of scientific and medical research that formed the foundation of European ideas about black female sexuality and after her death her body and private parts were dissected and put on display in a museum until the 1980s. According to the Saartjie Baartman Centre, “by naming our centre after Saartjie Baartman, we are remembering and honouring a woman who has become an icon, not only to her own Khoikhoi people, but to all women who

know oppression and discrimination in their lives”.²

The Saartjie Baartman Centre is unique because of its holistic, integrative approach and the special partnerships it has forged over the years. One of the main goals of incorporating these partnerships is to facilitate better collaboration and cooperation. All the Centre partners share the same guiding principles: they place the needs of survivors of gender-based violence first; they maintain a gender-sensitive approach, and they work closely with local communities to assess the needs of the women and their children. This partnership approach, while uniting a range of organisations in one location, also allows each organisation to offer its own distinctive services and programmes. Advantages experienced by the partners include: access to a central location, saving on shared resources and administrative services, support and guidance from other partner organizations, ease of client referral, and strengthened funding opportunities (Maharaj, 2005).

These partnerships are forged in various levels. There are programme and project partners who operate autonomously but are part of SBCWC's programme development and contribute financially. These currently include partners such as Activists Networking against the Exploitation of Children (Anex CDW), Athlone After-hours Child Abuse Centre, Childline/Lifeline, Gender Dynamix, Khululeka, REACH (Rural Education, Awareness, and Community Health), the Trauma Centre for Survivors of Torture and Violence, Unani-Tibb and Wola Nani. Then there are managed partners who fall under direct management of the SBCWC and will until such time as they have the organizational and financial capacity to function independently. These include the Shelter, the Economic Empowerment Programme, and the Research and Legal Advice and Training Programmes.

Next, there are the shared management partnerships, where management is

² The Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children
http://www.saartjiebaartmancentre.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=52&Itemid=66 (accessed February 13, 2013).

shared and financial responsibility could be. These have included the Economic Kitchen Project, the Child Abuse Centre and the Primary Health Care Programme. Lastly, are the Off-site Partners who provide support in the form of supervision and facilitation. These include the African Gender Institute, the University of Cape Town Psychology Department, the University of the Western Cape (UWC), the International Organisation for Migration, the UWC Community Law Centre, the Bergen University Psychology Department, Marquette University, the University of Connecticut, and Chapel Hill University. The Centre has ongoing working relationships with some of the university departments to offer internships for students in return for help in the form of running support group meetings, conducting ongoing counselling, doing intake interviews, initial assessments, and referrals. These partnerships have grown and changed over the years, depending on the needs of the clients and offer every type of service necessary, from health care to legal to empowerment (Maharaj, 2005; SBCWC Annual Report, 2009).

The Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children (SBCWC) was specially selected as the focus of this study for a number of reasons: its uniqueness, range of services, size, funding sources, community focus, and employed staff. This organisation is unique because it is a one-stop shop offering a full range of services to women of abuse, free-of-charge. The services are comprehensive and include: short- and long-term shelter, counselling, legal services including divorce, interdicts, and child maintenance, and job and life skills development. SBCWC also has partner organisations on-site that offer other related services (as described above), and these are also free to their clients. All of these services are conveniently located in one central location so the women are secure and don't have to leave the safety of the gated Centre, where they would be at risk.

This study chose to take a comprehensive look at one organisation rather than looking at a number of smaller organizations combating gender-based violence. The advantages of single case qualitative studies are familiar to social scientists and I outline them in the methodology chapter. Briefly, an in-depth study of this sort helps minimize redundancy in findings and to keep within scope for the

appropriate size of a short master's thesis. It also allows the researcher to engage in a detailed, holistic investigation of a single case over a period of time. The qualitative data mined from this approach help the researcher understand processes, structures, and the role of agents and individuals in a specific setting and context. This is particularly useful when one studies the functions of a single organisation.

Historically, in the field of development, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have had mixed results and have been the subject of much criticism. According to the research, there are a number of possible negative characteristics of NGOs that impede rather than facilitate development and empowerment. These will be discussed more at length in the NGO section of the Literature Review, but for our purposes here it is necessary to touch on a few most important to this study, those of funding, focus, and management. Funding, or where the funding for an organisation comes from and what, if any requirements or stipulations come with it is important because donors may want to dictate certain conditions for giving funds which can jeopardize the mission and autonomy of the NGO. This is often thought to be the case for international donors who have their own agenda they want to advance.

Next, an NGO can have an international focus, a country or regional focus, or a smaller grassroots, community focus, or some combination of these. SBCWC focuses on the surrounding community, and works to make that community educated about and aware of the plight of domestic violence, and the services available to any woman experiencing violence at the hand of an intimate partner or family member.

Finally, employees or volunteers can manage an NGO and each brings its own challenges. Generally, a staff-run organisation is thought to face fewer challenges because the staff is paid and that equates to them being fully invested in and responsible for the success of the organisation.

These three characteristics were considered seriously prior to choosing the NGO, so that they would not negatively affect the research findings. Therefore, a conscious distinction was made against selecting a large, internationally funded, or primarily volunteer run NGO. Due to these factors of funding, focus, staff-run, and those of its uniqueness and full range of services mentioned prior, SBCWC was chosen. The organisation has been in operation for over 10 years and the work that the SBCWC does combating gender-based violence is greatly needed, as evidenced by the 114% increase in the number of clients seeking their services over the last couple of years (SBCWC Annual Report, 2009).

It is important to note that a developing country such as South Africa, with its legacy of apartheid and limited resources, has consequently had acute service provision failures, “millions of South Africans face severe problems in accessing even the most basic services: water, sanitation, electricity, and refuse removal” (Brutus in McDonald and Pape, 2002: viii). If basic needs are this hard to provide, imagine the difficulty in meeting the needs of victims of gender-based violence. Although the state criminal justice system holds the responsibility of meeting the needs of victims of domestic violence, it has been historically unable to meet those needs, prompting women to find help elsewhere (Moult, 2005). One of places that these women have turned to are the many non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs) that have been created during and after apartheid to fill these gaps in essential service provision. Service provision, such as that provided by the Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children and all of their partners to meet the needs of victims of domestic violence. Other notable organisations in the fight against gender-based violence include (but are not limited to) the Sonke Gender Justice Network, Mosaic, Gender Links, The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR), EngenderHealth, People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA), Childline, Rape Crisis, the Western Cape Network on Violence Against Women, and all of the partner organisations of the SBCWC, past and present. Like the South African government efforts against gender-based violence, these organisations are too few, underfunded, and under-resourced.

1.2 Rationale

1.2.1 Culture of Violence

South Africa suffers some of the highest levels of violent crime in the world with instances steadily rising. According to analysts, the 2012/2013 statistics are the worst in ten years, showing increases in the violent crimes that South Africans fear the most; murder; attempted murder; violent armed robbery; and carjacking.³ To put this into perspective, the murder rate is “about four and a half times higher than the global average”.⁴ The contributing factors and causes to these particular types of crime and violence are many including: extreme poverty and deprivation, social inequality, high unemployment, an ineffective criminal justice system and a lack of support services. However, the two factors this study considers most critical will be described here: a history of violence seen as a legitimate way to achieve goals, and a patriarchal society where men and women justify beating women and women are vulnerable and devalued.

The South African history of colonialism and apartheid is a significant contributor to the prevalence of gender-based violence and the subsequent lack of human security currently experienced by the South African people. This ‘culture of violence’ began in 1652 and later included the state committing violent acts against the people during apartheid. During the 1980s-90s political parties and other social forces committed violence against each other, amplified by the state’s ‘Third Force’ provocations. Historically, in South African society there is a learned behaviour of violence that has been reinforced over time because it has been successful in meeting the needs of some people, whether for political or personal reasons.

³ Robyn Dixon, “Violent crime on the rise again in South Africa,” *Los Angeles Times*, 19 September 2013. Available at:

<http://www.latimes.com/world/worldnow/la-fg-wn-south-africa-crime-20130919,0,510579.story#axzz2mp7CXV5K> (accessed December 13, 2013).

⁴ Institute for Security Studies

<http://www.africacheck.org/reports/factsheet-south-africas-official-crime-statistics-for-201213/> (accessed December 13, 2013).

1.2.2 Cultural Beliefs and Attitudes

The attitudes and beliefs held by members of a deeply patriarchal society are a major contributor to gender-based violence. Some people have strong beliefs about violence, power, and the roles that men and women are expected to play within society. During a study conducted among nursing students in the Northern Province investigating nurses' attitudes and experiences of gender-based violence, men often referred to physical abuse in terms of "discipline" or "punishment" and gave reasons or circumstances they felt were justifiable to beat a woman, such as "when they stand for their rights", "don't listen" or fall short in meeting household or child care duties. These men also believed that "women enjoy punishment", are sometimes responsible for provoking physical or sexual assault, and beating a woman is a way to express your love or forgiveness (Kim, 2002). Women in the same study conveyed similar views: "Some women don't feel loved if they are not beaten at home. Maybe it's cultural... 'if he beats me, then it shows that he loves me.'" These women also demonstrated that violence has largely become socially normalized behaviour when they agreed that it is widely believed that a man who "knows how to discipline" is generally regarded with approval (Kim, 2002: 1245-46). This study illustrates just how pervasive and entrenched these attitudes and beliefs are. However, while useful, cultural explanations are not sufficient. Too often, dominant males use culture as an excuse for violence. Culture, while certainly a contributing factor, is not the cause of violence. Curiously, Western theories of domestic violence causes do not include 'cultural' explanations at all; they instead fault individual psychology and/or family dysfunction. These 'Western' explanations imply that the individual carrying out the violent acts is capable of rational behaviour, whereas the African 'cultural' explanations suggest the individual carrying out the acts has a lack of choice, or will. Interestingly, "the psychology versus culture dichotomy recapitulates the traditional, and racist, stereotypes that associates the West with reason and depicts non-Western people as driven by irrational forces" (Bowman, 2003: 12).

In addition, men's personal struggles with identity, power, and how they express their masculinity also contribute to this equation. Throughout South African history masculinity has often been tied to violence. According to Bhana, de Lange, and Mitchell, "dominant cultural norms create an environment where the engagements in violent and coercive sexual relations is encouraged for 'real men'" (2009: 49). Men have learned to be violent within their families and have used this violence to reassert their masculinity and power when faced with crises. Tragically, as witnessed by the increasingly violent crime statistics, the prevailing cultural beliefs and attitudes, and the socially normalized behaviours of men, the omnipresent nature of violence has seeped into all aspects of South African life, weakening its moral, interpersonal, and social fabric.

Given the history of violence, and the current prevalence of domestic violence in South Africa, it is undeniable that men are using violence to express themselves and deal with their problems. This learned behaviour of violence coupled with the accepted cultural beliefs and attitudes, leaves men without the appropriate tools necessary to cope with anger, and they are therefore resorting to violence. Unfortunately, counselling for men and talking about feelings is often discouraged, which ties back into learned cultural beliefs and men's ideas of 'masculinity'. Dominant cultural values and beliefs regarding both gender and gender-based violence are complex and deeply internalized and must be addressed if any type of intervention is to be successful.

1.3 Research Questions and Objectives

This study assesses the impact of a single NGO on reducing gender-based violence. Furthermore, it explores this single NGO's potential to have a more profound impact on resolving the problem. This research focuses on the activities of key players in the organisation in the fight against violence in Manenberg, South Africa and the successes and constraints these players experience when attempting to carry out these activities.

The broad guiding questions that help build the foundation include:

- Why is gender-based violence so prevalent in South Africa?
- Why is gender-based violence particularly brutal in South Africa?

More specific research questions pertaining to the work of the SBCWC and its surrounding area to be explored include:

- How prevalent is the occurrence of gender violence in Manenberg, South Africa?
- Does the Saartjie Baartman Centre contribute towards reducing gender violence in Manenberg?
- What activities do they undertake with this goal in mind?
- What is the perception of the impact of the work of the Saartjie Baartman Centre to their clients?
- What about the cultural and socio-economic conditions of Manenberg would need to be transformed to allow a larger impact on gender violence?

And ultimately, based on what has been learned from SBCWC, the study aims to answer:

- What implications does the work of the Saartjie Baartman Centre have on gender violence?
- What would it take to have a more profound impact on the problem?
- Where are opportunities for furthering efforts and increasing impact in the fight against GBV?
- Given the limited resources of a country like South Africa for social services, how can the efforts of SBCWC and others like them be maximized?

The main objective of this study is to investigate the relationship between gender-based violence and the activities that an NGO and their individual clients employ to combat further instances of violence, in Manenberg Township, Cape Town, South Africa with the ultimate aim of bringing more attention to the issue of gender-based violence. This investigation will take place within one

organisation that combats gender-based violence by providing support services to victims of GBV. The main purpose is to establish existing gender-based violence combating activities, to define service/support users and the barriers to service/support access (challenges faced by users and providers), and lastly, to improve gender-based violence combating activities. Ultimately, the intention of this study is to look at the implications of the work of one NGO and explores what those implications could mean for other NGOs, CBOs, state agencies, or private organisations working within the gender-based violence sector.

1.4 Indicative Review of the Literature

To accomplish the above objectives, this study will employ theoretical tools and concepts from the human security and gender literature. First, human security will be discussed as a theoretical concept and framework. Then I will integrate a gender framework to improve the human security framework. Lastly a couple of key NGO interventions and implications for the future will be reviewed. This literature will be the guiding needle of the research procedures.

1.5 Research procedures

Qualitative research techniques have been used to interrogate the relationship between gender-based violence and action at the organizational and individual levels. This qualitative research was done by way of respondent interviews with questions focused on the meaning of particular phenomena to the participants.

Semi-structured face-to-face interviews with employees (service/support providers) and clients (service/support users) to gain in-depth understanding of who, how, why, and when people access and use violence combating/supporting services and how services contributes to the security, agency and empowerment of women. A range of individuals, both employees and clients, including two managerial staff members, three department heads, eight support staff members, and eleven individual clients, five in short-term housing, and six in

second stage housing, were purposefully selected for their possible experience of different levels of access and barriers to receiving services. Interviews lasted anywhere from about 25 minutes to an hour and a half and were all conducted in privacy either at the Centre or in the on-site homes of the clients. The questions asked were in-depth, open ended, and were all posed in English. Interviewees were given the option not to answer any question or to withdraw at any time. Answers to research questions were captured via tape recorder, and later transcribed. Written consent was obtained from each interviewee at the time of the interview.

1.6 Ethical issues

The only ethical issues for my study had to do with the possible content of interviewee responses due to the personal nature of the subject of abuse. Confidentiality and privacy were ensured. During client interviews individuals were asked to speak briefly about the services they have received or were currently receiving in support of their very personal, oftentimes traumatic experiences of abuse. In order to try to avoid further trauma, the questions were framed in relation to the NGO services they were receiving rather than their actual experiences of abuse. Ethical issues will be discussed in more detail in chapter three.

1.7 Conclusion

The next chapter is a critical review of select gender-based violence and human security literature within the South African context. The lack of human security as witnessed by the prevalence of gender-based violence and the efforts of NGOs to combat this violence will be addressed. The gender-based violence literature will lay the groundwork and the human security and gender literature will lend itself as a framework.

In Chapter 3 (Research Methodology & Design), I will cover the research methodology, the methodological approach, and the research methods used in data collection and analysis. Also discussed here are the reasoning and considerations for site and participant selection, instrumentation, data collection and analysis, methodological assumptions, limitations, establishing credibility, and ethical considerations.

The penultimate chapter (Research Discussion & Analysis) includes thematic discussion and analysis of the study's findings. Covered in the 'discussion' are the recurring themes of organisational challenges, and sociological and cultural issues. Pertinent issues faced by those engaged in the fight against gender-based violence will be established and linked to the human security and gender framework presented in chapter two. The 'analysis' looks at how well the study answered the research questions.

Finally, the concluding chapter will present the main findings, explore specific implications for practice, delve into the theoretical significance of the human security and gender theory, discuss areas for further research, and offer reflections on the learning experience as a whole.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In presenting a critical review of select gender-based violence and human security literature within the South African context, this chapter will address the lack of human security as witnessed by the prevalence of gender-based violence and the efforts of NGOs to combat this violence. The chapter is organized into two categories: gender-based violence and human security/gender, highlighting the importance of each and the linkages between them. First, the gender-based violence literature will set the stage and explore the nuances and depth of the challenge, and then the human security and gender literature will lend itself as a framework. While looking through the lens of human security and gender, specific attention will be given to the work of a few select NGOs, to learn what has been done in the past and present, and what degree of success has been attained. While it is not remotely possible to cover every piece of literature written in each category, the particular literature chosen has been reviewed because it is a good representation of what has been published that is most relevant to this study.

2.2 Gender-based Violence

Gender-based violence is a widely used term most often referring to violence against women, since women are the most obvious victims of violence and survivors of abuse. Article 1 of the 1993 United Nations' Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVW) defines the term 'violence against women' to mean "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”.⁵ This declaration is understood to encompass a wide range of acts including battering, marital rape, and sexual abuse occurring in the family, the general community, or that perpetrated or condoned by the State. This definition is important because; it acknowledges that violence against women happens in both public and private, challenges that violence occurring in private is solely the problem of the individual; and gives the responsibility of addressing this violence to the state as a human rights violation (Levy, 2008). This is important to this study and because it brings attention to the plight of female victims of abuse, sets the tone for a human security and gender discussion, and calls the government to action.

However, in order to successfully determine the roles NGOs and government should play in the fight against gender-based violence, their contributions in the context of South Africa must first be defined. We will be looking at the literature through this lens.

2.2.1 Context

While instances of gender-based violence in South Africa have steadily increased, gender-based violence combating activities have also significantly increased, through efforts of various departments within the government, the police, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the academic world (Memela and Ayogu, 2005). In the first decade of the new democracy there were many legislative changes and more government involvement in awareness-raising activities, which resulted in higher reporting of violence to the police. Service offerings have improved allowing more women to choose if they want to stay in abusive relationships, more family support and many saved lives. (Memela and Ayogu, 2005: 99). In spite of these small steps forward, statistics remain the same or worse over time (Memela and Ayogu, 2005) and we still have a long way to go to fight this uphill battle.

⁵ The United Nations General Assembly Resolution 48/104 of 20 December, 1993. <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/48/a48r104.htm> (accessed February 13, 2013).

Bennet (2007) offers a feminist perspective on engagement with gender-based violence in the past twenty years. The historical context she offers through her discovery of the ways the current discussions on gender-based violence have changed in terms of engagement and complexity of activism is invaluable, although possibly unrecognizable to the original authors and activists of the publication. It is comforting to know that even though the context and terms in gender-based violence discussions may have changed since the 1980s, the sense of hope, passion and resilience found in those that continue the fight is still fully intact.

Instrumental to the discussion about gender-based violence are the patriarchal cultural attitudes and perceptions deeply embedded within South African society. Sathiparsad (2005) looks at the high incidence of male perpetrated violence against females among youth in Southern KwaZulu-Natal and argues for the inclusion of males in addressing gender inequalities. Her study of youth attitudes in regards to sexual activity, love, the use of violence in relationships, and power and control shows that male/female attitudes, beliefs and perceptions of roles are to blame. Through insight achieved by studying the relational, subjective and gendered dynamics of abusive relationships, Boonzaier (2008) attributes responsibility to how both men and women give meaning to the man's perpetration of violence against his partner in her article entitled, 'If the Man Says you Must Sit, Then you Must Sit' The Relational Construction of Women Abuse: Gender Subjectivity and Violence. The final study included here focuses on the meaning of violence given by African male teachers through their understanding of gender-based violence (Bhana, de Lange, and Mitchell, 2009). It is argued that without addressing specific realities of the teacher's perceptions of violence we are doing a disservice both to the students they are serving and to the teachers themselves. Interestingly, these primarily Zulu male teachers explain violence as emerging from a lack of respect men feel from women. These men feel that women's rights in the new Constitution and the disease of HIV/AIDS are challenging their superiority as dictated by their culture and that violence against the women who disrespect

them is a way to reinstate their superiority and assert their power. These readings speak to the complex nature of violence, the role that culture, identity, attitudes and perceptions play, and the challenges to changing deep-seated beliefs held within cultures, South African or otherwise. They also point to the importance of engaging men if any efforts in the fight against violence are to be sustainable.

2.2.2 Causes, Challenges, and Possible Solutions

Davis (2007) offers first-hand knowledge of gender-based violence through the experience of two professionals working in the field. In an interview with these two prominent activists, she states the primary cause of violence to be unequal power relations, with some of its challenges being limited resources, lack of implementation, lack of subsidized shelter, and legislation and policies that do not help in changing society's mindset. This study recognizes these challenges as valid and encourages any efforts to further funding, implementation, shelter, policy and legislation and argues that the most important challenge to focus on is changing society's mindset. Until people perceive violence as unacceptable, it will continue. Davis points to the possible solutions of networking and sharing of information, demanding accountability and innovative thinking, all of which must be used by key players in the sector to further the fight against violence. These possible solutions echo the mobilization and collaboration that this study argues for.

Perhaps most relevant to this study is the article reviewed entitled: 'Women's Bodies: Violence, Security, Capabilities'. Nussbaum (2005) argues that both violence and the threat of violence interfere with every major capability in a women's life. Using credible empirical evidence, Nussbaum reminds us that any data on violence against women is inaccurate because the most common effects of such violence is a reluctance of women to report it, or even to perceive it as a crime. She then cites the 2000 Human Development Report, wherein between 10% and 47% of women (in nine countries) reported being physically assaulted by an intimate partner. Nussbaum then goes through a list of capabilities and

the impact that violence and the threat of violence have on them. She proves that there is no major area relevant to a woman's freedom to realize her potential not affected by violence or its threat.

Nussbaum also offers practical strategies for women's empowerment at the end of her article, which are particularly useful to this study and missing from the majority of the other articles reviewed. In addition to obvious strategies of better law enforcement and legal reform, she points to material empowerment through property law reform, access to credit and employment outside the home all helping to increase a women's bargaining power and the option to leave. She encourages political participation and affiliation through women's organizations, which can lead to exponential levels of empowerment for all involved. Nussbaum's article points to the scope of the problem of gender-based violence throughout the world, and the debilitating effect violence has on women's capabilities, giving those involved in the fight compelling arguments and ultimately more reasons to continue. Even more valuable are her practical strategies for the material empowerment of women, including access to credit and employment, and property law reform, which equate to women having the option to leave abusive partners. This material empowerment of women, along with changing society's mindsets about violence is where key players (governments, NGOs, activists) should focus their energies.

2.2.3 Progress and Future of Campaigns against Gender-based Violence

Memela and Ayogu (2005) offer a critique of the progress and challenges facing the state of the gender-based violence campaigns in South Africa. They highlight legislative changes and increased government involvement in awareness-raising activities, which have brought about some positive change. However, in spite of the strides in many important areas, including improving service provisions, legal reform, and awareness-raising, statistics have not changed. Memela and Ayogu (2005) believe this is due to underlying factors of violence such as patriarchy, socialization and culture, insufficient support and involvement from

traditional leaders and faith-based organizations, and shortage of leadership, technology and funding for organizations. They believe that mobilization in the sector is both the greatest challenge and the key to the future. Most valuable in this article is the call to action for people within their communities to demand services and take responsibility for what happens within them. This work shows that although some positive changes have been made within the gender-based violence sector, statistics have not decreased; therefore something different needs to be done to affect dramatic and lasting transformation. This study agrees that mobilization is the answer and the key to the future, mobilization not only of people within their communities to demand services, but of government and NGOs to offer those services and to focus on efforts that changes people's acceptance of violence.

The idea of mobilization mentioned in this study is one of social mobilization, which according to UNICEF “seeks to facilitate change through a range of players engaged in interrelated and complementary efforts”.⁶ There are a number of players already working within the gender-based violence sector, engaged in various activities aimed at combating violence and bringing about change; Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs), Community-based Organizations (CBOs), government departments, and impassioned individuals. By combining these efforts with those in communities working on a grassroots level, efforts will be more streamlined and the empowerment of marginalized people will be a by-product, because according to the UNDP, social mobilization can enhance capabilities (both group and individual), broaden people's choices, and expand the range of things they can be and do. The UNDP defines social mobilization as “a dynamic participatory process of empowering weak and alienated groups at the individual, community, and institutional levels for their sustained socio-cultural, economic, and political advancement” (Nepal Human Development Report, 2004: 69-70).

⁶ The United Nations Children's Fund, http://www.unicef.org/cbsc/index_42347.html (accessed December 31, 2010).

2.2.4 NGO Interventions

Next, let us take a look at an interesting study called the Intervention With Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity (IMAGE). It is important to note that while some critics of microfinance argue that microfinance fosters violence against women, others suggest that adding a gender-focused training component to a microfinance programme can encourage greater benefits of empowerment and lessen the threat of gender-related violence (Kim et al., 2007). The IMAGE study was done in the rural Limpopo Province and tested whether combining a microfinance based poverty alleviation programme with participatory training could improve economic wellbeing, empower women, and lead to reductions in intimate partner violence (IPV) (Kim et al., 2007). The microfinance part of the intervention provided small loans, usually in support of small retail businesses. The participatory part of the intervention was done in two phases and included ten 1-hour training sessions, followed by wider community mobilization (Kim et al., 2007). The content of the training sessions was particularly important and the topics covered included “gender roles, cultural beliefs, relationships, communication, domestic violence, and HIV infection and aimed to strengthen communication skills, critical thinking, and leadership” (Kim et al., 2007: 3). The findings indicated that the social and economic empowerment of women *can* help to reduce IPV, with the risk of physical or sexual violence to the women in the study being reduced by more than half (Kim et al., 2007). This is important because it shows that the right initiative, carried out the right way, can drastically reduce instances of violence against women. The authors point out that in a rural setting, gender-based violence is widely accepted and the subordinated status of women is perpetuated through cultural norms (Kim et al., 2007). Therefore, if this locality could find success, there is much room for more initiatives of this nature across the country.

The other import aspect of the IMAGE intervention worth singling out is that of economic empowerment. According to Kim et al. (2007), “studies suggest that women who live in poverty are more likely to experience such violence”. So not

only does violence against women happen more often to those trapped in poverty, but abused women with limited education or job skills, have little hope of finding employment, so often have nowhere to go and are left with little choice but to return to the perpetrator. According to Pavao et al., “approximately half of all women who leave an abusive relationship return. Among shelter residents, 53.3% of women cited economic needs as the reason” (2007: 145). Meth (2001) also emphasizes the contribution of insecure accommodation to a woman’s inability to leave in the first place. While economic empowerment is very important, this study would argue and the authors would probably agree, that it was the combination of both the economic and social empowerment that made the IMAGE intervention such a success.

Another innovative intervention carried out in South Africa is the Men as Partners (MAP) Programme, which was created to engage men in reducing gender-based violence. The programme was executed in partnership between a number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in collaboration with both government and academic institutions “to transform the behaviours of men and the norms of masculinity” (Peacock and Levack, 2004: 173). The programme was carried out in 8 out of 9 provinces and included rural, semi-urban, and urban communities and used a number of strategies to effect change including: carrying out workshops “aimed at changing knowledge, attitudes, and behaviour; mobilizing men to take action in their own communities; working with media to promote changes in social norms, collaborating closely with other NGOs and grassroots community-based organizations to strengthen their ability to implement MAP programmes, and advocating for increased governmental commitment to promoting positive male involvement” (Peacock and Levack, 2004: 176). The programme was evaluated and the findings showed that overall knowledge increased and attitudes and behaviour changed positively for the issues covered in the training. The authors put forward a number of valuable recommendations and concluded,

Despite high levels of male violence against women, it is important to recognize that many men care deeply about the women in their lives, including their partners, family members, co-workers, neighbours, and community members.

Given the opportunity and the know-how, many men are eager to challenge customs and practices that endanger women's health and support the well-being of women (Peacock and Levack, 2004: 184).

This programme shows how innovative methods and collaboration between civil society, government, and academia can really make a difference. It also highlights the importance of engaging men, of changing their attitudes and behaviours, and the fact that many men care deeply about the women in their lives, they just lack the appropriate knowledge to challenge accepted societal and cultural norms.

2.3 Theoretical Framework: Human Security and Gender

The prevalence of marital rape, incest, sex-trafficking, female genital mutilation, domestic abuse and the rape of women as a weapon of war, points to the sheer magnitude of women throughout the world who have no sense of security. The concept of 'human security' is apt for this study as it incorporates all of these important types of gender-based violence. The first sentence of Martha Nussbaum's article entitled *Women's Bodies: Violence, Security, Capabilities*, "No woman in the world is secure against violence" (2005: 167), points to the crux of the issue.

2.4 Conceptualizing Human Security

The literature on human security illustrates a relatively new concept. It was first introduced in the 1993 United Nations Human Development Report to mean securing aspects central to all humanity by shifting existing focus on security from the state to the individual. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) argued that development should be focused on the wellbeing of people instead of the national security of their boundaries, by expanding their individual freedoms (1993). According to the 1994 United Nations Human Development Report, human security included two major components; freedom from fear and freedom from want, with the first needing to be fought on the security front and the second needing to be fought on both the economic and

social fronts. Initially, human security was understood to mean security only from physical violence or personal security, however the definition was further expanded to add the categories of economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, community security, and political security. Although subsequent United Nations Human Development Reports have focused on different issues, whenever the issue of human security has had relevance, it has continued to show up; in the 1999 report, *Globalization with a human face*, it is argued that globalization is creating new threats to human security (UNDP, 1999); and again in the 2006 report, *Beyond scarcity: power, poverty and the global water crisis* when the UNDP added another category, water security, to the list (UNDP, 2006).

The human security approach has continued to gain popularity and is especially useful in this changing era of globalization. However, the debate on the usefulness of the concept and approach has continued. The main debates concern the definition of human security and fall into three broad categories: those having to do with theory; those having to do with practical application; and those having to do with the concept itself (Owen, 2004). The theoretical debates on human security focus on a broad versus narrow conceptualization. Proponents of a narrow concept want to include only violent threats to security, which would encompass gender-based violence, therefore already adding value to this study. However, advocates of a broader concept want to include “a wider range of issues (such as poverty, disease, and environmental disasters)” and use the concept as more of an umbrella (Owen, 2004: 375).

Conceptualizing human security as an umbrella for all threats against humanity points to the complex and interdisciplinary nature of human security and the need for collaboration among many key players, which goes even further to advance this study. Owen views the proponents of both narrow and broad conceptualizations as having considerable convergence, and this study would agree. They “are not debating the merits of various threats, but of attributing the appropriate policy responses” (2004: 376).

The practical application or policy utility of human security is of particular importance to this study due to its ultimate aim of offering recommendations to key players in the fight against gender-based violence, including those affecting policy. According to Owen (2004), policymakers see human security as useful only insofar as it can address policy problems, which incidentally, it has been quite successful in doing thus far.

There are also debates over the concept itself, either in the form of theoretically based or policy oriented critiques. The theoretical critique basically states that the more harms added that are labelled as 'security threats', the more difficult it will be to study the relationships between them (Owen, 2004). This study purports, just because something is difficult, does not mean it lacks value and should not be undertaken. The policy-oriented critique states that policy surrounding human security is potentially unmanageable because "labelling all potential harms to the individual 'security threats' makes prioritizing political action impossible" (Owen, 2004: 378). As an advocate of both the analytic and policy utility of human security, Owen argues that "by bringing the wide range of issues, data sets and knowledge of threats together, we facilitate the very type of interdisciplinary analysis needed to decipher the complex relations that make up our human insecurity" (2004: 380). This interdisciplinary analysis and collaboration among key players in the field of gender-based violence is the exact aim of this study. As Uvin very eloquently argues, the "lack of interdisciplinarity not only leads to redundancy, but is actually counterproductive to finding integrated solutions to real-world problems" (Uvin in Owen, 2004: 377). This study argues that finding integrated solutions to the real-world problem of gender-based violence through interdisciplinary collaboration is the answer to making real progress in the fight against gender-based violence, because as stated in the chapter introduction, mobilization and collaboration in the sector is the greatest challenge and key to the future.

In order to bridge this conceptual divide, address the critiques, and provide a clear policy agenda, Owen proposes a threshold-based conceptualization that

limits threats by severity instead of cause, allows all harms to be considered, and yet limits those given the 'security' label (Owen, 2004). This conceptualization goes back its UNDP roots, offers a hybrid definition, and brings different factions of the debates together around the common goal of bringing the resources and forethought of the security infrastructure to a new set of issues. To be clear, this study is not nearly as concerned with the debates; broad versus narrow conceptualization, theoretically based, or policy-oriented, especially since any variation focuses much needed attention on violence against women.

However, if Owens' attempt to bridge these gaps is a valuable way forward because it has potential to help in the fight against violence to define, measure and change policy or affect change. Since "the very purpose of the human security" according to Owen, "is to re-evaluate current security theory and policy – to rally the world's thinkers, leaders and resources to the issues actually affecting people, rather than to those military establishment deems important" (2004: 385), this study asserts, it will prove a most useful concept, theory and policy tool. In much of the literature to date, the concept of human security has been mostly dominant in the theories of International Relations and central to debates about contemporary global governance. This study's unique contribution is to bring this concept into the domestic violence arena, and show how it can best be used.

'Securing Humanity: Situating "Human Security" as Concept and Discourse' follows the human security discourse from its inception to the present and proposes that we take on the 'unified yet flexible definition and agenda' as it is described in the Ogata-Sen Commission Report *Human Security Now* (Gasper, 2005).

The Commission on Human Security's definition of human security: to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms—freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using

processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity (Ogata and Sen, 2003).

Gasper (2005) argues that this definition offers a promising concept intersecting a concern with freedoms, a focus on basic needs, a concern for stability, and necessary levels in dimensions of development. In other words, it offers a full package that serves as a promising framework required both to connect different worlds of discipline and organization and to entrench the priority of human concerns into policy and analytical agendas. Gasper echoes and reinforces the arguments for human security found in Owen's work using the concept of human security to build a theoretical framework connecting disciplines. Gasper finds added value with the element of embedding human concerns as a priority into the important agendas of study and policy, to which we now turn.

2.5 Policy Formulation and Implications

Members of the United Nations have also been instrumental in creating the independent Commission on Human Security, which published a report titled *Human Security Now*, that makes recommendations for policies aimed at empowerment and protection by focusing on what can be done in both the short- and long-term to enhance opportunities for eliminating insecurities across the world (Ogata and Sen, 2003). This report, along with those put together by the United Nations, has been highly influential in policy formation. Focusing attention on the empowerment and protection of people around the world, specifically those that are marginalized, in order to eliminate insecurities, this study believes is vitally important and certainly worth advocating for.

It is important to note that in South Africa human security already informs policy decisions, with the help of various NGOs and government cooperation. The South African Government is one of 19 member countries of NEPAD, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (Cilliers, 2004).

NEPAD demands that participating governments commit to a set of targeted initiatives, intended to strengthen their political and administrative frameworks in line with the principles of transparency, accountability, integrity, respect for human rights and the promotion of the rule of law (Cilliers, 2004).

NEPAD member countries also accede to the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) whose process helps countries “to improve their policy-making capacity, adopt best practices and comply with established standards, principles, codes and other agreed commitments” (Cilliers, 2004: 2). One of the ways that these efforts are tracked and measured is through the African Human Security Initiative (AHSI). AHSI is a network of seven non-governmental research organizations (Cilliers, 2004). These seven NGOs basically unite to measure the performance of the South African government (and other members) in promoting human security. One of these organizations, the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) has the mission “to conceptualize, inform, and enhance the debate on human security in Africa in order to support policy formulation, implementation, and decision making at all levels”.⁷ This mission and the work of this non-governmental organization and others like it, along with the membership of the South African government in NEPAD, exemplifies that human security informs South African policy and debates.

2.6 Human Insecurity and Threats to Health

Chen and Narasimhan (2003) look at the implications of human security for human development and health, and state, like the UNDP, that broad security thinking away from national security and towards a ‘people-centred’ approach is key to anticipating the multiple health threats faced in our increasingly globalized world. Their exploration of the linkages between security and premature and unnecessary loss of lives through violence and conflict, poverty and inequity, and global infectious diseases is particularly pertinent to this topic. Most striking are the insecurities experienced in the daily life of ordinary people, those in South Africa who experience abuse and unfair treatment that is

⁷ Institute for Security Studies, <http://www.iss.co.za/pgcontent.php?UID=2> (accessed December 22, 2010).

often exacerbated by poverty and HIV/AIDS. One way to ensure that these marginalized and often forgotten groups are included in our efforts to combat violence is to incorporate a gendered approach to human security, because despite the sophisticated and novel theoretical and methodological contributions of human security approaches, there has been scant concern about how various interpretations of human security and subsequent policies are connected to power relations.

2.7 A Gendered Approach

This study has established that the human security framework is a valuable tool. However, by adding gender we could improve its scope and usefulness by recognizing the context within which security is played out, the identities of the players, and power relationships at play between them. Looking at security through a gendered approach offers the benefits of looking at the human practices of security rather than political action, and recognizing dominant and non-dominant relationships and the context in which we find them. This allows articulation from the relational and power positions of various identities (Hoogensen and Stuvoy, 2006). This is important to this study because it brings attention to the security practices of individuals both inside and outside of the states sphere of influence, and recognizes that security is both contextually dependent and based on people's identities and power relationships.

Traditionally, governments or international organizations have viewed security concepts in a top-down manner and used 'existing mechanisms' of security, which means both gender-based violence and violence against marginalized groups are often overlooked and the needs of those 'below' are ignored. This is what Yoichi Mine (2009) calls "downward risks" – hazards associated with economic depravity and societal attitudes. Hoogensen and Stuvoy, (2006) argue that a gendered approach provides more substance and credibility to the wider security concept and allows the theory to be conceptualized in a more 'bottom up' fashion. This conceptualization is key to the mobilization of both individuals lacking human security and those in the sector fighting against violence.

According to Hoogensen and Stuvoy, “Gender theory claims that security must be linked to empowerment of the individual, as well as to the capabilities to create positive environments of security” (2006: 207). Focusing on the capabilities or agency of marginalized women recognizes that security is not only about recognizing threats, but also about building individual and organizational capacities to create secure spaces. Hoogensen and Stuvoy (2006) argue that this gendered approach to security aims to link both empowerment of the individual and theory to practice.

Therefore, this study argues that combining human security and gender offers a valuable and comprehensive theoretical framework. Firstly, employing a human security approach would include violence against women in security efforts, encourage interdisciplinary collaboration among key players in the fight against violence, offer a useful tool for analytic and policy efforts with human concerns entrenched as a priority, promote the re-evaluation of the currently lacking security theory and policy, and rally key players around important issues affecting real people. Adding gender brings attention to human practices of individuals and groups; their identities, power relationships and the context within which they happen, includes marginalized groups or those from ‘below’ in security efforts, encourages mobilization by linking empowerment to the individual and their capabilities, which ultimately equates theory to practice.

Where human security moves the focus from the state to the individual, a gendered approach links actual empowerment to that individual and allows them to create their own secure environment. Therefore, without the addition of gender to the human security approach, we run the risk of omitting marginalized groups, especially the disadvantaged women of South Africa that this study aims to empower.

2.8 Conclusion

We have given context to relevant issues surrounding gender-based violence and reviewed two innovative and valuable NGO interventions brought forward

by Kim et al. (2007) and Peacock and Levack (2004). Successful, innovative, and collaborative interventions like the IMAGE study and the MAP programme aptly illustrate the strengths of incorporating a human security and gender framework, as advocated for in this study. These interventions unknowingly include human security and gender concepts and because they are successful, they demonstrate how well these concepts work together in practice. IMAGE shows us one way that the ideals of human security, i.e. freedom from fear (personal security) and freedom from want (economic security) can be increased by combining participatory training and microfinance loans for the social and economic empowerment of poor women. The targeting of poor women allows gender theory to come into play and ensures that the voices of those 'from below' are heard. The MAP Programme, however, by targeting men, also recognizes the context within which security is played out, the identities and roles of men and women, and the power relationships at play between them. By including men in the solution, working to change their behaviour and attitudes, and collaborating with key stakeholders in the fight against violence, MAP shows the strengths of combining a gendered approach with human security. Whereas the IMAGE study better exemplifies theories of human security, the MAP programme better exemplifies theories of gender, however both of these successful interventions are prime examples of the intrinsic potential in combining the human security and gender approaches advocated for in this study.

We have also defined and conceptualized human security and ultimately shown how combining it with gender theory offers a valuable framework to be used in the fight against gender-based violence. This approach does what many before have failed at, it includes violence against women in security efforts, encourages interdisciplinary collaboration among key players in the fight against violence, offers a useful tool for analytic and policy efforts with human concerns entrenched as a priority, promotes the re-evaluation of the currently lacking security theory and policy, and rallies key players around important issues affecting real people. It brings attention to human practices of individuals and groups; their identities, power relationships and the context within which they

happen, includes marginalized groups or those from 'below' in security efforts, encourages mobilization by linking empowerment to the individual and their capabilities, and ultimately equates theory to practice.

The study of human security and gender-based violence is extremely important, especially given the current international context of globalization, and the increased instances of insecurity among marginalized populations around the world. Within South Africa it is even more significant given the history of Apartheid, the paternalistic attitudes ingrained in the cultures and the extremely high rates of gender-based violence prevalent and steadily rising. By looking at these themes through the experience of a South African NGO, attention will be given to the subject in a way that has not been seen in the literature.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY & DESIGN

This chapter will cover the research methodology employed for this study including the methodological approach and research methods utilized in collecting and analyzing the data. Other areas discussed herein include the reasoning and considerations for site and participant selection, instrumentation, data collection and analysis, methodological assumptions, limitations, establishing credibility, and finally, any ethical considerations.

3.1 Research methodology and design

The methodological approach applied to this study has been qualitative research. Qualitative research techniques have been used to interrogate the relationship between gender-based violence and action at the organizational and individual levels. Qualitative methods were chosen because “qualitative research can help to probe and explain these relationships, and to explain contextual differences in their quality” (Holland and Campbell, 2005: 5).

Qualitative methods were also chosen to gain an in-depth understanding of the behaviour of those involved in acts of domestic violence, those fighting against it, and to understand the reasons behind these behaviours. “Qualitative research is noted, above all, for its explanatory power and for the richness and depth of information it generates” (Holland and Campbell, 2005: 5). This richness and depth allow a glimpse into the personal lives of women who have recently experienced violence at the hands of an intimate partner and the services being rendered to minimize the effects of this violence.

The methods employed for data collection of this research were a case study of the Saartjie Baartman Centre using employee and client interviews. Using a case study allowed the researcher an in-depth look at one organization and how it

functions, through the eyes of its subjects. “A case study examines a phenomenon in its natural setting, employing multiple methods of data collection to gather information from one or a few entities (people, groups, or organizations)” (Benbasat, Goldstein, and Mead, 1987: 370). Information was collected via personal, face-to-face, semi-structured interviews. The semi-structured format of the interviews included a number of set questions used as a guide. Interviews were used because of their personal nature, flexibility in regards to line of questioning, and possible non-verbal cues for further understanding responses.

The interviews were semi-structured because they allowed the researcher to have predetermined questions, yet change the order, the wording or explanation of questions, based on what was appropriate (Robson, 2002), which seemed most suitable for gaining information of such a personal nature. These semi-structured, face-to-face interviews with employees (service/support providers) and clients (service/support users) were employed to gain in-depth understanding of who, how and why people access and use violence combating/supporting services and how these services contribute to the security, agency and empowerment of women.

The techniques employed to analyze the research data collected via interviews were both descriptive and interpretive. Descriptive/interpretive approaches “are oriented to providing thorough descriptions and interpretations of social phenomena, including its meaning to those who experience it” (Dey, 1993: 3). These approaches rely on the observer’s impression to systematically describe and interpret meaning.

The main purpose for employing these approaches is to establish existing gender-based violence combating activities (what people do), to define service/support users (who uses services) and the barriers to service/support access (challenges faced by users and providers). Lastly, the study aimed to identify future improved violence combating activities (what people can do better).

3.2 Methodological assumptions

This study follows the epistemological assumptions of an interpretive/social constructivism approach. The ontology, or nature of being, is that there are multiple realities and individuals socially construct these multiple realities. According to Blaikie, “social reality is regarded as the product of processes by which social actors together negotiate the meanings for actions and situations” (1993: 96). The role of values follows that the researcher’s subjective values, biases and intuition are important to the research.

The methodological epistemology or learning theory for this research operates under the premise that all knowledge is constructed and that construction is reliant on people’s perception and experience. According to Ertmer and Newby, “constructivists contend that what we know of the world stems from our own interpretations of our experiences. Humans *create* meaning as opposed to *acquiring* it” (1993: 62). How humans create this meaning through ‘constructing’ is an active rather than a passive process and also depends on the context in which it is constructed (Weber and Morris, 2010). The context within which knowledge is attained through this active process of constructing meaning is particularly relevant to this study; the field of gender-based violence offers a rich context within which to construct meaning and allow understanding to develop.

Constructivists also take into account the culture of the researcher and any prior knowledge attained. “The focus of constructivism is on creating cognitive tools which reflect the wisdom of the culture in which they are used as well as the insights and experiences of individuals” (Ertmer and Newby, 1993: 64). This points to the opportunity for collaboration amongst learners, individuals and organizations, working together and learning from each other, argued for in the next chapter. According to Tam, this type of research “encourages the construction of a social context in which collaboration creates a sense of community” (2000: 51). This collaboration and resulting sense of community could be instrumental in furthering the fight against gender-based violence.

At the heart of the constructivist approach is problem solving. According to Merriam-Webster, the definition of a problem is “an intricate unsettled question” and problem solving is “the process of finding a solution to a problem”, therefore, if gender-based violence is the problem in this equation; then constructivism is the tool for solving it. Only through proper reflection and collaboration can solutions to violence against women be found. The constructivist approach is most fitting because it can be applied to *all* of the subjects of this study (the victims and perpetrators of abuse, the NGO and its stakeholders, and the researcher) and at *every level* of intervention (government, CBOs, NGOs, individuals) for the future.

3.3 Data selection, collection and analysis

Research was conducted at the Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women & Children (SBCWC), a non-governmental organization (NGO), working within the gender-based violence sector. This NGO was selected because of its unique approach, smaller size, regional focus, non-dictating funding sources, and the fact that it is staff vs. volunteer run. Therefore, a conscious distinction was made against selecting a large, internationally funded, or primarily volunteer run NGO, the type of African NGO often focused on in development literature. The reason for this choice is because these larger, international aid and development project oriented NGOs have a tumultuous history and context, problems with donor dependence, and power struggles brought about by dependence (Fowler, 1996; Commins, 2000). Many argue this NGO dependence on donors through neo-liberal policies looks hauntingly like imperialism and colonialism all over again (Shivgi, 2006; Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001; Manji and O’Coill, 2005). Although this contextual and theoretical literature is important, this study aims to focus on the more practical side of NGOs, those smaller ‘local’ organizations working in the gender-based violence sector committed to making a difference in the lives of South African people in a way that does not compromise their mission and vision.

This study chose to take a comprehensive look at one organization rather than looking at a number of similar organizations combating gender-based violence. This was done to minimize redundancy in findings and to keep within scope for the appropriate size of a short master's thesis. Rather than touch the surface of a few organizations, the SBCWC was chosen to examine the work of a single organisation in more depth so as to draw lessons for campaigns against gender-based violence.

The organization's Researcher, Irma Maharaj, granted access to the Centre, its employees and clients, after discussing the proposed research. Twenty-four total interviews were conducted. Interviewees consisted of thirteen employees (two managerial staff members, three department heads, eight support staff members), and eleven individual clients (five from the shelter and six from second stage housing). Interviews were conducted simultaneously with employees and clients, over a one-month period, at the convenience of the interviewees. Employees were contacted directly via email and interviews were arranged, with the exception of the four Intake Counsellors who were granted interview access via Fatima Ismail, the Counselling & Awareness Counsellor. Interviews were conducted with all employees available for interviews at the time of study.

Access to the clients of the SBCWC was coordinated with the help of Rachel Peterson, House Organizer, and Charmaine Dijkshoorn, part-time Social Worker. The researcher requested that both types of clients (short-term clients living in the shelter and longer-term clients over four months, living in second stage housing), both employed and unemployed be included. Therefore, individuals were purposefully included who may have experienced different levels of access and barriers to receiving services. Choosing different types of interviewees was done with the intention of limiting selection bias on the part of the staff choosing client interviewees. However, bias may still be present in the form of positive responders being sought out or negative responders being screened and excluded from participating. Clients were chosen and asked if they would like to participate by Rachel or Charmaine and could accept or deny

being interviewed. All clients who were asked agreed to be interviewed and once agreed, were given a list of possible interview times to choose from. It is important to note, the researcher also utilized data in the form of organisational reports, and research documents related to the SBCWC's work.

Semi-structured interviews were used because they allowed the researcher to ask open-ended questions to gain specific information about the services of the SBCWC and the experiences of the clients who use those services. The intention for the interview results is that they are used to understand the beliefs, attitudes, and knowledge of the SBCWC employees and clients. Semi-structured face-to-face interviews were chosen for their flexibility and potential to provide rich and illuminating data. The benefits of having some predetermined questions, yet having the flexibility to change the wording or the order of those questions, or to omit or adding any further questions was particularly fitting and valuable for such a personal and often emotional subject as gender-based violence. Guarding against re-traumatisation and being mindful of the emotional state of the interviewees is important because according to Fontes, "research [into violence against women] itself may be traumatic, as it reawakens memories of prior traumas" (2004), therefore, it was extremely important for the researcher to prioritize guarding against re-traumatisation, to see to the emotional needs of the women being interviewed, and adjust any questioning as necessary.

Being face-to-face allowed this flexibility of questioning, while also allowing the researcher to follow up on interesting answers, and examine underlying motives in a way that other questionnaires (administered without the researcher) would not (Robson, 2002). Yet another benefit of being face-to-face during interviews is the opportunity to observe non-verbal cues, which often help the researcher to understand the responses being received.

Questions were asked using two different versions of a question guide, one for employees (service providers) and another for clients (service users), and answers were recorded verbatim. The questions included were simple, yet in-

depth and posed in the English language. The questions were developed with the aim of bringing out the actual ideas of the respondents, along with whatever meaning they attributed to those ideas, rather than what were assumed to be the "right" answers. The participants were encouraged to answer as openly as possible. The semi-structured format of the interviews included a number of set questions used as a guide. The questions were comprehensive and somewhat flexible to allow for discretion. This allowed some questions to be added by the researcher, either when it was learned that the interviewee was particularly knowledgeable about a subject area or when the interviewee drifted into a relevant topic that added richer detail to the interview. The employee question guide covered the following topics: personal employment history and duties, organization details about the Centre, its objectives, business processes, marketing activities, training opportunities, funding, challenges, and areas for expansion or improvement.

These questions posed to the employees of the SBCWC sought to capture the wisdom and expertise operating within the gender-based violence sector through NGO employees. The client question guide covered the following topics: general demographics, use of services and level of satisfaction, benefits and barriers to services, levels of security and empowerment, and additional needs for service. Given the many different forms of gender-based violence, the questions sought to capture the degree of agency among the women. The question guides were valuable to the larger project because they allowed the interviewer to develop further questions during the interviews. (See both question guides included in full in the Appendix.)

Data collection spanned one month, from 26 March 2010 to 26 April 2010. The researcher began the interviews with a short introduction, a description of what participants could expect for the types of questions, possible length of interview, and personal reasons for research topic. Participants were told that the study was anonymous, participation was voluntary and that they could choose not to answer any questions or withdraw from study at any time. Participants were then asked to sign a written consent form. Lastly, participants were asked if they

had any questions before proceeding with interview. Interviews lasted between 20 minutes to one hour and thirty minutes. Answers to research questions were all captured in person via tape recorder, and then later transcribed.

The technique of content analysis was used to analyze the data. The words and phrases captured within the interviews were examined. First, the text was coded or broken down into categories by theme and then it was examined using conceptual analysis. Thick description has been used in this study to describe both the participant's personal experiences and the themes of the study in rich detail. The purpose for including these vivid descriptions in a study, according to Creswell and Miller, is because they allow the reader to feel as if they have, or could have experienced what is being described first-hand, therefore establishing credibility (2000).

The findings of this study, although compiled from a small sample (a select group of NGO service users and providers), could be extended to interpret the results of similar interventions in the struggle against gender-based violence. Yet, a case study of as complex a subject as GBV has its own inherent shortcomings.

3.4 Limitations

While qualitative interviews offer advantages of flexible questioning and non-verbal cues, they also have limitations; “not all people are equally articulate and perceptive” and “the researcher's presence may bias responses” (Creswell, 1994: 150). However, the researcher made every effort to guard against bias, to ensure diversity in interviewees, and to encourage variety in responses. It is important to note that no males (perpetrators or otherwise) were interviewed; this means that the phenomena studied here are one-sided and reflect only the views of women. That does not mean to say that the experiences of men in this equation have not been thoroughly considered and reflected upon.

Due to the scope of a short master's thesis, only 24 people were interviewed.

While this number could be construed as too small for a quantitative study, it is sufficient for a qualitative study of this size. The interviews were filled with rich detail and depth of information, which you will see, offers valuable insight into NGO service provision for victims of gender-based violence and what can be done to further the fight. All this was useful because the study area (Manenberg) has a rich history that informs the views and practices of its inhabitants.

3.5 Manenberg

The research for this study took place at the Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children, which is located in the Western Cape of South Africa, in Manenberg Township, just outside of Cape Town. All of the clients interviewed came from the surrounding communities, with one exception; one woman was from Durban. The communities surrounding the SBCWC are poverty stricken. In Manenberg “the average household income per year (R49,472) is well below the provincial average (R76,000), unemployment has grown 5% between 1996 and 2001, and 46.3% of people older than 20 years do not finish high school” (URDR, University of Stellenbosch, 2004: 33). The reasons for this state of poverty are numerous and began with forced settlement of people to the area under apartheid.

Manenberg Township, with over 80,000 residents, is situated within an area known as the ‘Cape Flats’. This flat, sandy area, outside of Cape Town was largely uninhabited until the white South African government of the apartheid era began to relocate non-whites here (Legget, 2005). What happened in the Cape Flats and other non-white designated areas located outside cities and in rural areas throughout South Africa has had repercussions that are still felt deeply today. Millions were uprooted from their homes, torn apart among racially segregated lines, relocated to the worst possible land far away from employment opportunities, forced to follow strict pass rules, and made to live in horrible conditions in overcrowded housing with access only to substandard government services in the way of education, sanitation, water, transportation, and social services. According to Moser, “this social engineering feat induced a

scale of suffering, trauma and alienation, 'the labyrinth of broken communities, broken families and broken lives' whose effects will be felt for generations" (1999: 7). These pervasive and widespread effects have left millions undereducated, destitute, and with little opportunity to improve their plight. Terreblanche sums up the racial inequalities experienced by millions very succinctly, "one of the most tragic features of South African history is the variety of ways in which whites used the political and economic power at their disposal to deprive indigenous groups of reasonable opportunities for social, economic, and entrepreneurial development" (2002: 396).

One of these effects, particularly important to this study and an ongoing struggle in these areas, has been the inevitable exposure to violence. Primarily due to overcrowding and its resultant invasion of privacy and property, noise, and prevalence of drunkenness and infidelity; but also because the township's physical conditions which are conducive to assault and robbery; gangs of unemployed youth stealing and raping; alcohol linked to increasing levels of knifing and domestic violence, and finally; using violence as a socially accepted way to resolve personal disputes (Jones in Moser, 1999: 11). According to Terreblanche, "this systemic violence has caused irreparable harm to the social and cultural structures of indigenous people over a period of 350 years and has been responsible for nurturing not only a subculture of poverty, but also a subculture of criminality" (2002: 399). Throughout South African history this violence was also initiated and perpetuated through the actions of the government. "During the periods of colonialism and white political supremacy, violent methods were used to dominate indigenous people politically, exploit them economically, and oppress them socially" (Terreblanche, 2002: 398). This exposure to violence has left an indelible mark on the psyche of South Africans and continues to be carried out in a myriad of ways throughout areas like the Cape Flats and more specifically in townships like Manenberg.

Manenberg is a predominantly Coloured township. According to the 2001 census, "the Manenberg area mainly consists of Coloured (94.4%) and Black (4.3%) people speaking Afrikaans (69.45%) and English (27.9%) as their first

language” (URDR, University of Stellenbosch, 2004: 10). The township was established between 1966 and 1970 and is one of the most well known coloured areas in Cape Town with extremely high rates of violence, unemployment, and poverty. “Manenberg is notorious for its gangs, its drugs, and its generally very low class ambience characterised by ramshackle public housing among which gang members engage in frequent shoot-outs” (van der Spuy and Lever, 2010: 6). Legget, of the Institute for Security Studies gives us some interesting statistics, “the coloured population suffers the highest rates of homicide in the country, at 106 per 100,000 in 2003 and more than half of all deaths among coloured males in the 16-30 year old age group are caused by murder. Also, the Western Cape, where Cape Town and Manenberg are located, has the highest rates of crime and homicide in the country” (2005: 1). According to the first South African Demographic and Health Survey (SADHS), which was conducted in 1998 and included questions on violence against women, the Western Cape has the second highest rate of women who have been abused by an intimate partner at least once (16.9%) and the highest rate of women who were abused by their partners within the last year (8%) (Abrahams, Martin, and Vetten, 2004).

Whether this deeply ingrained culture of violence manifests in gang activity or domestic violence, it is phenomenon worth examining more closely, and worth fighting to change. It makes one wonder, why is violence felt more acutely in townships like Manenberg? Why are the statistics so high? Certainly, with the higher incidence of violence and crime found in poverty-stricken townships like Manenberg, one cannot help but give some credit to the legacy of apartheid and its uneven distribution of resources.

Therefore, the researcher chose Manenberg and the Saartjie Baartman Centre for these reasons: the rich and tumultuous history of the area, the mistreatment of its people by the South African government and each other, and the deeply ingrained system of violence, which is largely accepted and perpetuated by its people. And while the views, perceptions, and experiences of the interviewees are taken from a small demographic area (in both scope and quantity), they can possibly provide insight into similar problems and interventions around the

country, given the prevalence of poverty, unemployment, and gender-based violence.

3.6 Establishing credibility

Various employees of the SBCWC helped provide access to clients and readily availed themselves for interviews. The data found in the interview transcripts was systematically sorted through to find common categories and themes. During interviews participants were observed to inform researcher questioning, and generally, to support and strengthen findings.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Due to the fact that this study potentially involved women who had a) experienced traumatic or stressful life circumstances, b) were in dependent or unequal relationships, and/or c) were living in particularly vulnerable life circumstances, per the UKZN Research Ethics Policy, measures were taken to protect the autonomy of respondents, and to prevent them from secondary victimization and social stigmatization.

Due to the personal nature of the subject of abuse, confidentiality, privacy, and anonymity were strictly ensured. During client interviews individuals were asked to speak briefly about the services they have received or were currently receiving in support of their very personal, oftentimes traumatic experiences of abuse. The questions posed were framed in relation to the NGO services they were receiving, rather than their actual experiences of abuse, in order to avoid further trauma. Interviewees were given the option not to answer any question or to withdraw from the study at any time. Interview data was kept anonymous and was tracked only by number to protect the autonomy of the respondents and prevent them from any future possible social stigmatization.

Informed consent was obtained in writing from each interviewee at the time of the interview. The form signed stated the nature and purpose of the research,

the identity and institutional association of the researcher and supervisor and their contact details, the fact that participation is voluntary, responses are confidential, that anonymity will be ensured, and that participants could withdraw from research at any time.

3.8 Conclusion

The purpose of this study is to further the fight against gender-based violence because women in Cape Town and throughout South Africa, lack human security and more can and must be done to combat gender-based violence. This will be done by establishing existing gender-based violence combating activities (what people do), defining service/support users (who uses services) and the barriers to service/support access (challenges faced by users and providers). Lastly, human security will be improved by identifying future improved violence combating activities (what people can do better) and offering recommendations for other NGOs, community-based organizations (CBOs), state agencies, or private organizations working within the gender-based violence sector.

Ultimately, this study aims to answer the questions: “What implications do the work of the SBCWC have on gender violence”? “What would it take to have a more profound impact on the problem?”, “Where are opportunities for furthering efforts and increasing impact in the fight against GBV?” And “Given the limited resources of a country like South Africa for social services, how can the efforts of SBCWC and others like them be maximized?” The best way to answer these questions is by following the constructivism methodological approach outlined here. Only through the problem solving of various NGOs within the gender-based violence sector, and specifically through the activities of the SBCWC and their service provision will we see what can be done to further the fight against gender-based violence in South Africa. The active process of learning through the experiences of the employees of the SBCWC and the clients they serve will allow the proper reflection, discussion of the implications of their work, and opportunities for improvement to others in the field wanting to advance this cause.

By using the qualitative methods described in this chapter, a case study of the Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children comprised of interviews, the researcher was able to gain an in-depth understanding of who, how and why people access and use violence combating/supporting services and how these services contributes to the security, agency, and empowerment of South African women. The next chapter will detail the findings of this research.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DISCUSSION & ANALYSIS

The research methodology and design of Chapter 3 will now lead us into a thematic discussion and analysis of the findings for this study. By discussing the recurring themes falling under the categories of organisational challenges, and socio-economic and cultural issues, we will establish the pertinent issues faced by those engaged in the fight against gender-based violence and link them to the human security and gender framework presented in Chapter 2. Doing so will allow us to lay the groundwork for the final conclusions and recommendations of Chapter 5.

4.1 Themes for Discussion

A number of important recurrent themes came up during the interviews; the organisational challenges faced by the SBCWC, and other NGOs or community-based organisations like them, along with the larger socio-economic and cultural issues that must be tackled for any real progress in the fight against gender-based violence to be sustained. These themes will be illustrated with examples of rich data given during the interviews. This rich detail and depth of information offers valuable insight into NGO service provision for victims of gender-based violence and what can be done to further the fight. Exploring these themes will give us some keys to moving forward.

4.1.1 Organisational Challenges

The employees of the Saartjie Baartman Centre put forth a number of recommendations to further their own fight against gender-based violence, along with that of the South African government and other NGOs. The most common were related to housing (especially after leaving the shelter), child and

youth services, and perpetrator services. Collaborating with government and other NGOs fighting against violence also came up quite often. All of these issues and challenges are complex and interwoven and were also echoed by the clients interviewed.

One 'aftercare' suggestion put forward by an SBCWC employee, "Let's build a village, a women's village, where we can send all the ladies that come from the shelter, that is the area where they would go and live after being at the shelter and they still get some support groups or educational workshops" (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.). This suggestion points to the lack of aftercare facilities, the shorter nature of a typical shelter stay, and the need for ongoing support because four months is most often not enough time to deal with the effects of years of abuse to the women and their children.

Research confirms that although the number of shelters in South Africa has increased, it is still insufficient or inappropriate to provide emergency or long-term shelter. Many survivors are disillusioned with exiting shelters because they have been given false hope that they will have somewhere to go afterwards, which is most often not the case. And finally, while shelter is a much needed service for women of abuse, there are other clearly needed services such as healthcare and counselling and shelters oftentimes do not provide the holistic type of service that is truly required (Amnesty International 2008, Petersen 2009, Meth 2001). According to one woman, "Everyone wants to move to second stage housing because I think the four months is not enough time for a woman to make up her mind and to sort out her children" (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.). This statement reinforces the shortage of housing for the women, the lack of aftercare for them, the need for more time to work on their issues, and to receive ongoing counselling for both them and their children.

Giving women and their children more time for ongoing counselling and working on their issues could only work towards minimising the effects of abuse. There are many reasons to want to minimise these effects, especially on the children. The long-term effects of abuse on children are well documented.

According to Malinosky-Rummell and Hansen (1993), children who have grown up in an abusive setting are more likely to exhibit aggressive and violent behaviour, nonviolent criminal behaviour, substance abuse, self-injurious and suicidal behaviour, emotional problems including anxiety and depression, interpersonal problems, and academic and vocational difficulties. Many of the women interviewed mentioned growing up with abuse at the hands of their parents or stepparents and continuing the abuse with their partners. As one put it, "I've been growing up with this abuse since I was a child, with my mother...and then with my marriage" (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.). Wanting to avert this cycle is perhaps the reason many SBCWC employees and clients recommended more services aimed at children and youth, "creating more projects as the need arises, look at more especially with children and youth, look at empowering them or giving them certain skills, similar to the women's needs" (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.). One woman very eloquently touched on many of the interwoven issues often surrounding children of abuse,

This is a violent country. Crime is on the increase because of all the other socio-economic problems, the unemployment and the drug abuse, so this is a culture of violence. People are modelling behaviour, so you find that the children grow up into, they accept it as normal. There's more sexual abuse...more physical and definitely more domestic violence because of all those socio-economic problems contributing to it...where cultural beliefs also come in...men are socialized to be the strong ones...in charge and you don't answer back. There's not that equality relationship...crime is so second nature to them. They live in the townships, most of these people that are being abused and gun fighting, shooting, stabbing, is a daily occurrence. So, yes, there is a definite culture of violence and a climate that these children grow up in and that's the only way, they don't learn other coping skills, this is the only way they cope, by doing exactly the same, so it's transgenerational (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.).

So, without intervening, today's children of abuse will most often turn into both the future victims and perpetrators of abuse. This brings up another service area that is not currently covered by the SBCWC, perpetrator services. Quite a few interviewees recommended that something be done to change this. According to one woman, "the men that are abusers, surely it does come from somewhere, there is a problem there. This is how they express their emotions, in abuse...what do we do to change their attitudes? If you say there is a service

lacking, it's perpetrator services" (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.). Another woman suggested a way to begin to do that,

work with other organizations that are dealing with perpetrators...to have more contact with those organisations that open ourselves to new avenues...for us to work together and to look at the problem of gender-based violence, we really need to look at both males and females (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.).

This suggestion illustrates the full understanding of the complexity of the problem possessed by most of the SBCWC staff, along with their sincere desire to collaborate with others. However, because their top priority is and must be the safety of the women staying at the Centre, and because they lack the funds or capacity to serve more people in other ways, they are usually limited to taking care of the most immediate needs of the women.

Collaborating with government and other organisations was also a common theme among the SBCWC employees and most felt that the government should be doing more.

We and other NGOs are doing a lot with the government. However, government should provide basic necessities for women or at least step up their funding for organisations that are covering these critical areas. They should provide more and more services, ultimately, there shouldn't be such a great need for NGOs (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.).

This study strongly asserts that changing attitudes about abuse by addressing both males and females, and working together with both government and other organisations is one of the key ways to really further the fight against violence.

Another challenge facing the SBCWC is related to some of the critical services they offer, which help to guide the women towards economic security. SBCWC provides their clients with both life and job skills training and income generating opportunities. These projects and opportunities are facilitated through the Job Skills Manager and the Catering Manager. The shelter residents are offered various opportunities for training including: Life Skills, Abuse and Assertiveness, Home Based Care, HIV/AIDS, Parenting Skills, Basic Computer Skills, First Aid, and Cashier/Sales training. The women are also provided

opportunities to earn an income by working as cleaners, car washers, child-care workers, domestic workers, card makers, canteen/kitchen assistants, and catering staff. These projects and opportunities, while essential, face their own challenges. For instance, training sessions are often under-attended because residents do not attend sessions regularly due to the need to appear in court, to tend to a sick child, or they decide to leave the shelter early. (SBCWC Annual Report, 2009: SBCWC Annual Report 2010). According to the Job Skills Manager, the training sessions are not compulsory, and are therefore often under-attended because the women have other things they need to do such as go to court, or take their children to the hospital (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.).

This points to the clients' difficulty in seeing the long-term benefits of training, when the immediate needs of being able to protect and support their families are unmet. Another challenge has to do with finding the women opportunities to earn an income. While the women share the desperate need for financial independence, and welcome on any opportunity for paid work, there is very little work available, especially work for unskilled, inexperienced, and under-educated workers. The Job Skills Manager believes that job placement "is the most challenging part [of her job], because most of the women have never worked before". She pointed out that even factories looking for workers to do ironing want people who have matriculated, are computer literate, and have some work experience (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.).

Perhaps a less daunting challenge that came up in many of the interviews is the misconceptions many women hold about what it would be like to stay in a shelter, a common reason the women had for not leaving the abuse sooner:

- "I think that most of the women that are here, we were all really scared because if you hear the name shelter you just think bad things" (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.).
- "If you hear the word shelter, you just think prison" (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.).
- "When I heard of a shelter I thought it's a lot of people, they sleep on the

floor” (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.).

- “When I think of a shelter...I used to think of just one big hall with a lot of mattresses on the floor and everybody would have grey blankets...sitting with a packet of punch or something...people with sicknesses and bad men that is what I pictured” (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.).

All of the women were pleasantly surprised with the conditions at the SBCWC, the fact that they felt safe and secure inside, had their own privacy and could do as they wished with their time, and the facilities were comfortable and clean. So, while working to clear up this misconception would most likely help bring more clients to the SBCWC sooner, it would also exacerbate the problem of limited shelter capacity, which will be discussed further in the next section.

4.1.2 Socio-economic Issues

Some of the greatest issues faced by the women were issues of financial independence and lack of aftercare shelter options. Research tells us that half of women that leave an abusive relationship will return because of economic needs (Pavao et al., 2007). We also know from the IMAGE intervention, that the economic and social empowerment of women can contribute to reductions in intimate partner violence. For this study, the women’s education level ranged from Grade 7 to some higher education, with the majority of the women having completed grade 11 or 12 and only three quarters currently engaged in some type of employment. The employment that the women are engaged in is most often unskilled with low wages, and/or temporary in nature.

When asked about financial security, feeling more powerful, and improving their current situation, the responses were heavily weighted towards finding a job that is better paid or more permanent, and finding a place to stay after the shelter. “What most people need here is work and most don’t know where they’re going from here” (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.). Unfortunately, if the women are unable to find work and a place to stay that they can afford, many end up going back to the perpetrator, because as one employee stated, “if they’ve never worked they don’t have anything to fall back on” (Kaminsky, 2010,

pers. comm.). Oftentimes, this is the same reason why women do not leave the abuse in the first place; “the main reason I stayed ...was because I needed a stable job...to live in a stable home on my own so that I can keep my child with me” (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.).

According to one SBCWC employee, “a lot of women are financially dependent and it’s a cultural, religious myth that when you get married someone will look after you. That is not the case” (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.). What these women need most of all is their own financial security and independence. With it they can support themselves and their children, without having to rely on the fathers who have abused them. What we are talking about here is the economic security necessary for the survival and dignity of these women and an important part of the gendered human security framework advocated for in Chapter 2.

We have already touched on the challenges the SBCWC has with helping the women find and be appropriately qualified for employment. And the frequently mentioned frustration the women shared at not having work, not having enough work, or not having long-term work they could count on or that paid them enough to afford housing. One woman summed it up very succinctly, “that is the thing that most people need here is work, because most of them don’t know where they are going to from here. What happens after you’ve got the help here” (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.)? Given the historically high unemployment rates of South Africa, and the poverty and subsequent lack of opportunities in Manenberg and the surrounding areas; finding suitable and reasonably paid employment for the clients of the SBCWC is exceptionally challenging.

We have discussed the lack of aftercare facilities, employment opportunities, and services for women and their children, along with the need for ongoing support to minimize effects of abuse, and ultimately break the cycle of abuse. However, these issues are compounded by the subject of the next section; namely, the deeply ingrained cultural issues that both contribute to and exacerbate the violence against woman so prevalent in South Africa.

4.1.3 Cultural Issues

The themes of male and female roles, perceptions, and attitudes also came up often during the SBCWC interviews with both staff and clients. Changing both men and women's mindsets about violence, helps them to understand that it is not acceptable and can be changed. As one interviewee put it:

We've got to do something about violence in society in general, ...we are such a violent society...It's going to be changing people's mindsets, respecting one another, it's going to be changing mindsets about patriarchy which is very entrenched in South Africa and gives rise to terrible, terrible abuse and violence. It's going to be about changing men's attitudes about women in general, changing women's attitudes about themselves and their worth, our worth (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.).

Also, teaching men how to deal with their anger and express their emotions without resorting to violence.

The men expressing their emotions...they really need to be more OK, the idea of men allowing themselves to feel vulnerable because definitely the men doesn't know how to express their emotion. When they feel angry, they lash out. They haven't been taught how to express their emotions in an appropriate way, to teach them the necessary skills. I want to know also where is there facilities available for these men, enough facilities? To remove that stigma that it's ok to go for counselling...There's definitely a need for that, to remove that stigma for men, they must feel comfortable, they need psychological help because a lot of them when they get angry they get blind with anger then they cannot think straight, some of them snap, then they blank out and they hit and do whatever else. They don't realize what they do. To learn to control their anger, anger management. There is a real need for male intervention (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.).

This sentiment echoes the recommendation put forth for more perpetrator services, and touches on the deep-seated ideas of patriarchy so prevalent within South African society. As pointed out in Chapter 1, the South African history and culture of violence has been much studied and written about in many different fields and contexts.

This subject also came up during many of the interviews. "There's many people now, today their role is violence. Their understanding of how they should deal with anger is violence, you know. Expressing their emotions through violence" (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.). Yet another interviewee expressed the same

thing when she said, “We’ve got violence as a culture...our society is going to have to change as a society...that’s going to have to start with us as parents in the home. Children are not born violent, it’s what they learn, it’s what we allow, it’s what we teach” (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.).

Another woman touched on the fact that safety is even more of a concern for certain populations, especially those living in poor areas. “By virtue of being a woman, a black woman, born in South Africa that automatically makes you, ... being subject to, subjected to many forms of abuse over one’s life just by being and living in South Africa and surrounded by violence and you know the whole apartheid system and that’s why I said black women because you’re even more vulnerable and subjected” (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.). The prevalence of violence, especially when directed towards women and those living in poorer socio-economic areas/populations is an indication of the lack of true equity among South Africans. While outside the scope for this research, race and gender-based violence is an important area for further study.

These are all very complex issues that will require efforts from many different parties including individuals (both parents and those working in the gender-violence sector), various organisations, academia, and government departments and officials. The human security/gender framework laid out in Chapter 2 offers up a valuable tool for encouraging this interdisciplinary collaboration among these key players in the fight against gender-based violence. The discussion of organisational challenges points to efforts towards issues of financial and social empowerment. By not only focusing on security threats, but the capabilities and agency of marginalized women in South Africa, women of abuse, players recognize the importance of building individual and organisational capacities to create secure spaces. The discussions of the socio-economic and cultural issues beg for a decidedly gendered approach to human security. The socio-economic issues of lack of financial independence and shelter options point to the true and continued gender inequity at play in South Africa and are proof that gender-based violence and the needs of those ‘below’ are most-often overlooked or ignored. The cultural issues of male and female roles, perceptions and

attitudes, along with the deeply ingrained culture of violence, point to the need for inclusion, collaboration, and mobilization in order for any successful long-term sustainable solution.

4.2 Analysis

The findings emerging from interviews of the SBCWC employees paint a similar picture to that found in most non-governmental organisations. The SBCWC and similar organisations have an important mission with passionate employees working hard to carry out that mission, yet they are faced with the challenges of lack of funding, capacity, and sustainability and a sincere wish to be able to serve more people and make a larger impact. Let us now look at how well the study answered the research questions. This study endeavoured to explore the following questions specifically related to the work of the SBCWC, Manenberg Township, and its surrounding communities: “How prevalent is the occurrence of gender violence in Manenberg, South Africa?”, “Does the Saartjie Baartman Centre contribute towards reducing gender violence in Manenberg?”, “What activities do they undertake with this goal in mind?”, “What is the perception of the impact of the work of SBCWC to their clients?”, And “What about the cultural and socio-economic conditions of Manenberg would need to be transformed to allow a larger impact on gender-based violence?”

Based on that exploration of the SBCWC and their surroundings, this study ultimately aims to answer: “What implications does the work of the Saartjie Baartman Centre have on gender violence?”, “What would it take to have a more profound impact on the problem?”, “Where are opportunities for furthering efforts and increasing impact in the fight against GBV?”, And, “Given the limited resources of a country like South Africa for social services, how can the efforts of SBCWC and others like them be maximized?”

First, we must keep in mind the scope for this study. Since we are only looking at one NGO, it is dangerous to extend the results to other NGOs without further study. It is also dangerous to extend the singular results of a study based in

Manenberg to the rest of South Africa. Nonetheless, before we look at gender violence in Manenberg, we must consider the broad guiding questions that allowed us to lay the groundwork for this study, beginning with “why is gender-based violence so prevalent in South Africa”? As with all of these questions and answers, this is a complex issue with very complex answers, but an effort has been made to simplify them as much as possible. This study suggests that the prevalence of gender-based violence in South Africa has to do with the history of violence, the deeply embedded and heavily accepted ideals of patriarchy, and the lack of true equality and respect for women.

As for, “why is gender-based violence particularly brutal in South Africa”? This study reveals that the brutality and prevalence of gender-violence stems from the history and culture of violence in South Africa. Violence against women is used as a way to deal with men’s anger, especially for those who don’t possess any other tools to do so, and have lived a life filled with examples of violence and rage surrounding them. Also to blame is the lack of appropriate police response and the poor criminal justice system.

An effective police response is critical. Under the Domestic Violence Act, members of the police service must assist everyone who reports domestic violence, telling them about their right to lodge a criminal charge or obtain a protection order and helping them find shelter and medical care. However, some police officers are still not doing this – either they do not understand their legal responsibilities or they are not under sufficient pressure to uphold them (Amnesty International, 2008: 1).

The lack of consistency in police and court services, because of corruption and poor training has also equalled a lack of consequences faced by many perpetrators in the past. According to Petersen, “nothing realistic exists to hold perpetrators fully accountable for their abusive behaviour and to secure the safety of domestic violence victims” (2009: 1). Basically, people model what they see and have little reason to fear the consequences. This lack of consequences for perpetrators is one area that the South African criminal justice system could really improve upon. It is the position of this study that more stringent sentences combined with both mandatory counselling, and monitoring of the perpetrator during and after sentencing would significantly curb instances of

gender-based violence.

Now we can look at Manenberg, its surrounding community and discuss the more specific research questions. Firstly, “How prevalent is the occurrence of gender-based violence in Manenberg, South Africa?” Chapter 3 details the history of Manenberg Township as an apartheid relocation area predominantly for Coloured people possessing some of the highest rates of crime, homicide, and violence against women in the country.

Two other questions, “Does the Saartjie Baartman Centre contribute towards reducing gender violence in Manenberg?” and “What activities do they take with this goal in mind?”, are perhaps the most central to the study. In order to answer these questions let us look at the effects the work of SBCWC has had on their clients and the surrounding community. According to the SBCWC’s own definition and measurements of success, based on this study’s findings, they meet their objectives of educating, empowering and supporting women of abuse with the ultimate aim of ending violence well. By virtue of the sheer number of women who come through their door for services, the number of people they educate in the community in the form of workshops (given on request at schools, businesses, organizations, etc.), the referrals they receive from organisations and individuals, and the fact that they have been in operation since 1999. This success is also demonstrated in the client satisfaction of services received at the Centre, the personal transformation of the individual women who receive their services, and the number who never return. The impact on the community is definitely a positive one, based on clients served and increased intake and awareness. In 2009 the SBCWC served over 2,100 clients (which accounted for a 114% increase from 2008 to 2009). And more than 3,500 community members were trained in community awareness workshops with requests for these training workshops increasing as more people within the community learn about the outreach work that the Saartjie Baartman Centre is doing to educate the public on issues of abuse (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.).

SBCWC carries out many activities in their everyday work with the goal of reducing gender-based violence. They offer shelter, counselling, legal services, workshops aimed at empowerment or awareness, and skills training paired with connections to job opportunities. They also offer referrals to any number of partners and outside services in an effort to take care of any needs their clients might have. Let us hear from some of the participants of this study about the value of these services to them:

Regarding shelter, one of the interviewees put it this way:

It's totally different from what I thought you know. You meet people outside and you hear you must get up in the morning and you must go out, even if it's raining you must go out, you must be in at this time, but here it's so much different. You do have your freedom but they also care about where you go, how long you're going to be away, what time you've got to get back, everything. So it comes to your empowerment and makes sure you're stable also in life.

On the same subject of shelter, another had this to say:

I feel very safe. You know what when I go out for the day, I go out and whenever I come back when I close that gate I feel so safe. Even when I'm somewhere and I'm in a hurry and I must come home to this nice comfortable house, I miss my bed, I'm missing the house. In winter oh it's so cold outside and the rain, I'm so safe. I put my heater on and it's cosy, it's nice and warm.

Another interviewee confirmed this by saying: "The most important benefit is feeling safe, secure, and just at peace. That peace of mind that you have something, somewhere safe to go."

Some participants also expressed appreciation for the counselling sessions. As one put it:

They teach you how to be a stronger person and you can talk about your feelings and what you are gonna do when you go out...Also, the help they're (children) getting, group counselling, they're getting one-on-one counselling. They can talk about how they feel and also feel safe, so I think that is a very good thing." Similarly, another said, "I do feel more empowered because I can say what I want to say, I can, when I feel like I'm upset like yesterday I can go to somebody, I can

talk you see.

This support provided another client physical and mental support: “Mentally I feel more at peace and physically inside I can feel, you know, there’s a sense of that healing and there’s also some pain I have to deal with myself.”

Some participants found solace in knowing that they were not alone. Comparing their stories to other clients made them feel better. One interview related her experience in this manner:

When I came here and I didn’t want to share my feelings, I was so, you see alone, lonely but when I was at the support groups and so on everyone, every woman tells a story, then I felt better and I felt stronger. Ok, my story is like that but let another woman tell her story worse than mine. So, I felt a lot stronger and I’m a lot more independent now because I see, I can go out without my husband.

Physical security and emotional support were complemented by legal resources. Some of the women found strength in the legal knowledge they had acquired at the SBCWC:

When I came here I used to be scared of my husband because I didn’t know really what my rights were. But now, when I got my interdict (protection order) I was very, now I’m armoured, I’m ready to face him.” Another said: [The most important benefit has been] “me being empowered by um, legally, where I can stand up for myself and say that I can stand because I got this protection order and, you know actually defend myself.

Empowerment/awareness workshops were also critical for many of the clients. One participant stressed that the self-esteem workshops, parenting workshops and workshops on dealing with domestic violence helped her substantially. Another participant said wished women in abusive relations knew about the workshops offered by the SBCWC where..

...they teach you about the abuse cycle and assertiveness and yeah just teaching you how to understand him being like that and to realize that there’s almost no chance for him to come right...I mean they should realize that you shouldn’t have to suffer through this, I mean he’s not going to stop unless he gets help.

In addition to all this, the women appreciated the skills training and job opportunities they got after undergoing training. One of them said: “I learned a lot here. I benefitted a lot and my daughter also because I attended skills, everything and everywhere they went for the shelter when they took the women out.” Another expressed similar feelings when she said: “I told her you know I’m starting to work tomorrow, so I worked for a week but you know it made a huge difference. I know there will be more opportunities.”

(Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.)

Next, the question of the client’s perception of the impact of SBCWC’s work will be discussed. The client interview responses provide a direct indicator of the positive impact the SBCWC has on their clients. All but one have already or would recommend others to come to the SBCWC, have already or would tell others about the SBCWC, and all would come back for further services in the future if they were offered.

The women also stated the most important benefits to receiving the services of SBCWC as improved feelings of safety and security, strength and empowerment, agency and choice, and perhaps most important; a sense of hope for the future or in their own words:

I came here with nothing. I didn’t come with extra shoes, extra clothes, nothing. I left it all behind...the peace here is my joy, my everything, once I got that help I don’t even think about that stuff I left behind because once I had the peace everything just fell into place.

Or, in the words of another:

I do feel much safer because of the help you get here, they give you that dignity that you maybe have lost over the years, it gives it back to you and the one thing that you understand while you’re inside this gate you’re safe. So that actually gives you lots of security, you know to build up myself while I’m here.

For some the difference was so stark that one of them felt she was on holiday: It

feels like I'm on holiday because I don't need to cook. I can go take a bath now when I'm done here, I can take time out if I want to, I can have my own space and just think about my life and what happened in my life, I can, I just feel free. I feel it's not so hard anymore, my shoulders is more relaxed. This was coupled with feelings of empowerment and amazement at the changes they were seeing in their personal lives. One of the participants put this powerfully when she said:

These people have empowered me a lot...I was never so outspoken. I just used to keep stuff to myself, but because of them they used to take me for motivational talks...I always say by this place I found my true identity because my husband made me the person that I was not and here I wear the clothes I feel comfortable with, I talk with people I feel comfortable with. Now I really think I'm more me.

The feelings of personal improvement are captured succinctly by one of the interviewees when she said:

I can hear myself when I talk about my problem I feel more powerful, I feel strong. Then I give them also like ideas, and say hey, you must not stay in an abusive relationship, talk to them, you know and say come out of it. Then I feel, is it really me saying that and talking to women about that?

Feelings of empowerment and improved self-esteem were at the core of some of the participants' assessment of their situation:

When I came here I was a very problemmed person and the things that I've achieved in these months, and the things that I could do and you know my self-esteem was very low and when I came here within 2 months it's like I just got back, every day I got back...I just got everything back and the person that I always wanted to be and everything just changed. I can't explain it to you much but this is a wonderful place. (Kaminsky, 2010, pers. comm.)

Perhaps the most powerful expression was hope in the future. A number of participants expressed this in numerous ways, none more powerful than one interviewee who put it thus:

There's a part of me inside, I feel that I'm going to make it, and I feel like I've got goals or dreams, and at least one of my dreams I would like it to come true...I just want to have a simple house...Even if I could just sleep in a room like this, that's mine and I will be safe with my girls and it will be peace of mind.

Another measure of the success and impact of the Saartjie Baartman Centre on their clients comes from a University of Cape Town, Department of Psychology study. This study looked at the SBCWC, its intake interview effectiveness, and the general meeting of the women's needs. It found that "more than 70% of the participants gave the Centre full marks, a 10 for excellent rating of services" (Moolla, 2009: 25). This is not to say that the SBCWC is without its challenges, but they are doing solid work in an area of service provision currently lacking in South Africa, and they are clearly making a positive impact in the lives of the women they are serving.

Many things about the cultural and socio-economic conditions of Manenberg would need to be transformed in order to allow a larger impact on gender-based violence. Culturally, men's and women's mindsets would need to change so that there would be less acceptance of violence against women by all. In other words, the culture of violence and acceptance of said violence would need to be transformed. There would also need to be more awareness of the legal rights and services available to women. Socio-economically, more jobs opportunities and housing options would need to be available to women. Also, government would need to focus more energy on access to basic services, informing people of their legal rights, and assisting people in successfully navigating the legal justice system. Therefore unemployment, social services, and poverty, would need to be transformed in Manenberg, through more programs and resources from government and others because as we have discussed, having economic security gives a women choice which equals a way out of abuse.

The question "What implications does the work of the Saartjie Baartman Centre have on gender violence?" is an important one central to this study. The work of SBCWC shines a light on the many faceted issues of gender-based violence, it hints to the challenges faced by those engaged in the fight against such violence, and ultimately, shows the way forward, toward lasting and sustainable change.

As for "what would it take for SBCWC and others like them to have a more profound impact?", first, the barriers to service would need to be alleviated.

Earlier in this chapter we touched on the misconception many of the women shared about shelters. We also heard from 70% of respondents that they would have come to the SBCWC earlier if they had known about it. In one woman's words, "my bags was packed for months already and I actually lived and was dressing from my bags. I knew the day was going to come but because I couldn't think of where to go to it just prolonged the process." This means that not enough women are aware of the services offered by SBCWC and others like them. Once these barriers to service are taken away, the issue is almost always a lack of funds and capacity to serve more people. The researcher heard this response from the employees of the SBCWC repeatedly.

All had a sincere desire to do more and to help more people, whether by adding more second stage housing, improving or expanding current programmes, or adding more partners to collaborate with. Certainly, the fact that SBCWC works in partnership with the Department of Social Development and that the Department uses the SBCWC as a best practices model for establishing other shelters are steps in the right direction, but certainly more collaboration amongst government and NGOs that are ultimately working towards the same goals and want the same outcome is direly needed. Also, one way in which funders (government, organisations, or individual donors) could improve the long-term sustainability of organisations and projects they believe in, is to look at how and when they give resources. Giving funds/resources in a more continuous way would be much more helpful to NGOs like the SBCWC, and allow them to plan into the future. In summation, people's misconceptions about shelters would first need to be cleared up, then more people would need to be made aware that SBCWC and others like them exist, and finally, SBCWC and others like them would need to have a larger capacity to serve more clients.

Ultimately, the greatest impact throughout the sector would come through combining programmes that educate and work towards changing people's mindsets about abuse, with more perpetrator services, more victim counselling, and more community awareness programmes, especially those geared towards children and youth so that the cycle can be broken. More specifically,

opportunities for furthering efforts and increasing impact in the fight against gender violence include justice system reform, mobilisation, and collaboration. First, if the penalties for perpetrators of abuse were more strictly and consistently enforced by law enforcement and the justice system. Also, if an annual summit were to take place between relevant government departments and NGOs working against gender-based violence, to share successes, information, resources, and develop greater partnerships between them. When talking about crime and violence, in order to make any serious progress, ultimately, all levels of government must be in agreement about what needs to be done, willing to invest in the long-term, and work towards real economic redistribution and undeniable human rights.

This is perhaps obvious, but the government and the Department of Social Development should also continue to tackle the larger issues that affect women of abuse, those of education, housing, and unemployment. If these women were made a priority and had more access to free services and resources such as skills/business training and education, subsidized/public housing, child and youth services, counselling, eviction, and legal services they could more quickly become financially independent, contributing members of society.

Another important way to maximize efforts is to look at missed opportunities. A good way to approach this is to look at the successful programmes already carried out within South Africa. To see which of these could be expanded. More interventions like the IMAGE and MAP programmes could be carried out, programmes that combine the social and economic empowerment of women or engage men to reduce gender violence. The IMAGE study shows us how focusing on both the economic and social empowerment of women by combining microfinance and participatory training leads to reductions in violence against women, whereas the MAP Programme engages men in reducing gender violence by positively changing their attitudes and behaviour through collaboration with NGOs, government, and academic institutions. What makes these programmes unique is their focus on attacking the underlying root causes of the problem of gender-based violence, i.e. the deep-seated cultural

beliefs, attitudes, and ultimately behaviour of South Africans by looking closely at gender roles and giving participants important tools to strengthen their communication, critical thinking, and leadership skills. These valuable tools can be used long-term, do more than simply treating symptoms by offering participants a 'band-aid' fix for the short-term, and offer real-life solutions that are proven to work in reducing gender-based violence. Also, more collaboration between organisations, would certainly lead to furthering efforts against violence, since anytime efforts are duplicated, time and energy is wasted.

Another question this study sought to answer is that given the divergence between limited resources and the great need for social services in South Africa, how could efforts be maximized? This area is something that needs to be researched further. Perhaps social entrepreneurs could help to change the landscape of gender-based violence. Social entrepreneurs are mission driven 'change-agents' that solve social problems using business innovations. They are persistent problem-solvers that seek to create larger, long-term and sustainable, systemic changes (Dees, 1998). By putting together some great 'out of the box' thinkers, solutions that may not have been considered could be put forth. This could be part of an annual summit, to pair social entrepreneurs with NGOs and government to brainstorm ways to maximize current and future efforts against gender-based violence.

There are some important lessons learned through the work on GBV. We know that children model the behaviour they grow up with or in other words, those that grow up being abused are more likely to abuse others (Malinosky-Rummell and Hansen, 1993). We know that people that do not have the appropriate tools to deal with anger often resort to violence or as Rachel Jewkes eloquently puts it, "violence is often deployed as a tactic in relationship conflict as well as being an expression of frustration or anger" (2002: 1425).

We also know that in spite of the great efforts in service provision, legal reform, and awareness raising, violence against women continues in South Africa (Memela and Ayogu, 2005). Basically, what has been done so far is not working,

or is not working at a large enough scale and if we continue with the same efforts, we will continue to get the same results. This study strongly asserts that until we address the root of the problem, that of changing people's mindsets about patriarchy and the acceptance of abuse, it will continue to grow.

How then can current efforts be streamlined? This points to the need for more collaboration and partnerships between government and NGOs. Perhaps there could be some type of database created to help manage and streamline efforts. While there are a handful of networks that work together to fight gender-based violence in South Africa, to my knowledge there are not any existing databases connecting all of their work. There could also be a government-facilitated incentive programmes for NGOs working together and sharing information/resources offering tax breaks, funding bonuses, points that they could use for purchasing materials, discounts on office equipment, or discounted construction services (public works). Some of these may already exist on a small scale, but there is always room for more work in these areas. People already involved in the fight against gender-violence need to be brought together further and their efforts united for maximum collective results.

The current approaches to fighting gender-based violence include: NGO services (shelter, counselling, legal, life and job skills development), government social services, counselling for victims, perpetrators, and children, education & awareness, and community and individual advocacy and interventions. In spite of the successes and continuing hard work and dedication of many advocates, organisations, and campaigns like '16 Days of Activism', statistics continue to rise, and there is always more to be done.

The majority of these aforementioned existing approaches to combating gender-based violence do not focus on changing the accepted cultural beliefs, attitudes and roles for men and women. Most are focused on the immediate need of the victims for healthcare, shelter, counselling, or legal assistance, whether because the need is dire or resources are few. That is not to discount the important work done by organisations like the Sonke Gender Justice Network, whose work

supports men and boys in taking action to promote gender equality, prevent domestic and sexual violence, and reduce HIV/AIDS⁸, or programmes and interventions like the Men as Partners (MAP) programme and the Intervention With Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity (IMAGE), discussed in Chapter 2; there just needs to be many more efforts like these.

There are a number of factors requiring action in the current equation. Men are not equipped with the tools to communicate or deal with their anger. Government has limited resources for the necessary social programmes that would proffer these tools, foster the necessary changes, or allow them to further support the NGOs doing this work. Women and men alike are not adequately empowered with access to education, or other life/job skills development opportunities that would give them financial independence. In spite of good legislation, the justice system is plagued by corruption, inefficiency, and inconsistency.

An alternative approach, one with a comprehensive vision encompassing all of the areas represented, that is collaborative between all stakeholders (Government, NGOs, Health, Education, Social Services, and CBOs) which both expands and unites current efforts is strongly advocated for. It is the position of this study that the key to combating violence is to change the accepted cultural beliefs, attitudes and roles for men and women in South African society using a comprehensive and collaborative approach amongst all of the key players.

Examples of successful collaborations in fighting gender-based violence will be given in the final chapter along with the implications the work of SBCWC offers for both themselves and others working in the gender-violence sector moving forward.

⁸ The Sonke Gender Justice Network, <http://www.genderjustice.org.za/vision-mission/about-us/vision-mission> (accessed February 19, 2013).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

As stated in Chapter 1, the ultimate intention of this study is to bring attention to the issue of gender violence in South Africa through the exploration of the implications of the work of one NGO deeply involved in the fight against gender-based violence. The study meets the objective of investigating the relationship between gender-based violence and the activities that the Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children and their clients undertook to combat further instances of violence against them. This is done by identifying existing gender-based violence combating activities, defining service/support users, and highlighting barriers to service/support access in order to improve strategies to combat gender-based violence.

The study used qualitative research techniques to interrogate the relationship between gender-based violence and the actions taken by victims of abuse and the employees serving these victims, at the individual and organisational levels. A case study of the Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children, a non-profit organisation offering services to abused women, comprised of interviews of both clients and employees provided the researcher with an in-depth look at the organisation and how it functions through the eyes of its subjects. The interviews allowed a look into the personal lives of women who have experienced violence at the hands of an intimate partner and the services being rendered to minimize the effects of this violence. This research methodology and design was used exactly as described, no changes were necessary to the original design. However, in retrospect, if this research was to be done again, one of the initial research questions asked to the SBCWC employees would be omitted due to the repetitive nature of the responses. The question that would be removed asked the employees to describe the services they (SBCWC) offer to clients. The researcher would also work harder to try to interview all of the clients, rather than those that were more readily available for interviews during the day. Only 3 out of 11 clients were interviewed in the evening, since they were

employed during the day. Most importantly, I would attempt to track down past SBCWC clients to interview and see where they are now to ascertain the long-term effects of these services.

This study advocates using a human security and gender framework for this research and other work in the field of gender-based violence because of its ability to connect disciplines, encourage collaboration, and ultimately offer integrated solutions to the challenge of violence against women. Solutions that specifically target the marginalized women of South Africa (and around the world), consider the power relationships at play, and rally key players around these important issues. This theory of human security and gender is extremely relevant to other cases within the field and provides explanatory power to other NGOs and communities dealing with and working against gender-based violence at a number of levels.

At the most basic level, professionals and organisations can look at any efforts or programmes and ask themselves, does it move toward ensuring women have both freedom from fear (personal security), and freedom from want (economic security)? Does it include those 'from below'? At the organisational and government levels, do the efforts involve collaboration and interdisciplinary action? Are the solutions integrated (do they draw from other efforts, research, or resources)? Do they encourage mobilization by linking empowerment to the individual and their capabilities? Do they include men in the solution and work to change their behaviours and attitudes? At the policy and security levels, are policies aimed at empowerment and protection? Do they recognize that security is contextually dependent and based on people's identities and power relationships?

These questions spell out the various ways the results of this research can be applied to other cases and the high degree of relevance for the theory of human security and gender advocated for within. Furthermore, if we look at the theoretical proposition of human security and gender, we can see that it directs attention to gender-based violence, it limits the scope of work to the personal

and economic security of women, and it suggests important links such as those between people's identities and power relationships, and those between human freedom and human fulfilment, which is exactly what theory is meant to do.

This study has taken a thorough look at the Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children with the intention to draw conclusions that may be useful for other efforts in the fight against gender-based violence, because ultimately, that is what a case study does. According to Gerring, a case study is best defined as an intensive study of a single unit with an aim to generalise across a larger set of units (2004: 341). Using a qualitative case study as methodology was the best way to investigate a single phenomenon (violence against women), using the study of a smaller 'unit' (one organisation), within its real life context (Saartjie Baartman Centre).

Although the case study methodology is often criticised, it is solidly entrenched in scholarly research, and even thriving (Gerring, 2004). Using a case study allowed the researcher to collect the data, condense the data, and inductively develop causal links to explain particular results. Namely, the causal links of women lacking human and economic security, South African society allowing it, men not having the appropriate tools to deal with their emotions, perpetrators not facing strict enough consequences, and children modelling what they see/live all leading to the existence and continuance of gender-based violence.

The prevalence of gender-based violence, as evidenced by the statistics in Chapter 1, means that violence against women by intimate partners does not only happen to the women who participated in this study, or to women living in Cape Town, it happens all over the country, in every community. This claim points to the external validity of the findings of this study. "External validity typically refers to the generalisability of the results of a study to other (usually real world) settings or populations" (Anderson and Bushman, 1997: 21). Therefore, the following generalisation could be stated: gender-based violence does not discriminate based on race, religion or socio-economic background; it affects people the world over, so any recommendations for fighting it could be

shared throughout the country of South Africa and beyond. This research adds to this observation by delving into both the organisational challenges faced by non-governmental organisations working in the field of gender-based violence, and the socio-economic and cultural issues that must be faced worldwide, which are amplified in South Africa due to the extreme poverty, patriarchal attitudes, lack of opportunities and social services, and high unemployment rates. This research shows how these complex and interwoven issues can be understood, addressed and further studied.

This study concludes that given the continually rising statistics of violence against women, the current approaches are either not working, or not making a large enough impact. Therefore, something different needs to be done in order for sustainable change to take place. More can and should be done by all key players in the fight against violence, using approaches that address both the cultural and socio-economic issues and tackling the organisational challenges, as discussed in Chapter 4.

By applying the research methodology described in Chapter 3, and using the framework of gender and human security advocated for in Chapter 2, this study has accomplished what it set out to. The study met its objectives because it put a spotlight on the issue of gender-based violence and put forth recommendations for advancing the future fight against that violence.

5.1 Implications for Practice

A number of valuable implications for practice have been learned through the exploration of the work of the SBCWC.. These implications allow for an implicit understanding of the issue of gender-based violence in Manenberg Township and offer indirect suggestions for moving forward with the fight against such violence. Following are summaries of these implications mentioned throughout the prior chapters, using the themes from Chapter 4 and moving from broad to specific, or cultural to organisational.

5.1.1 Culture

In order for any lasting change to occur against gender-based violence, the 'culture of violence' first needs to be transformed in both Manenberg and beyond. This entwined with improving the South African criminal justice system with more stringent sentences, and perpetrator services that include teaching men to deal with their anger, which will be discussed more under the organisational recommendations.

Furthermore, this requires changing the attitudes of both males and females, the deeply embedded and accepted ideas of patriarchy, and working towards true gender equality. People of all races and cultures within the country need to agree that violence towards women is unacceptable and can and must be changed.

What these cultural implications would mean for Manenberg is that it would be a very different place than the one we have seen through this study. It would be a place where parents teach their children that violence is not an acceptable way to deal with ones emotions or express oneself; a place where parents lead by example and make a conscious effort to break the cycle of violence. Manenberg would be a place where violence is no longer seen as an acceptable way to achieve ones goals because the price is too high; the criminal justice system works, people know of the services available, and the strict penalties enforced by and for all. It would also be known as a place where people stand up against violence, particularly violence against women; where women are valued and treated with respect. Manenberg would be a place where women feel no threats to their safety while in their community; a place where women ultimately experience freedom from fear.

5.1.2 Socio-economic Conditions

Focusing on the economic, material, and social empowerment of disadvantaged women throughout Manenberg would bring economic security and independence, increasing women's bargaining power and option to leave situations of gender-violence. There are numerous ways this could be done including offering more housing and shelter/aftercare options, more skills training and employment opportunities; offering access to credit, more youth and child services, encouraging property law reform, and political participation and affiliation in women's organisations.

If these changes were to be carried out in Manenberg, women would have opportunities for further education, skills training, and employment. These opportunities would allow women more freedom to make their own choices, and to care for themselves and their children. Manenberg would be a place where women have and are aware of their legal rights, and the services and resources that are available to them through the government and others; a place where women feel a sense of choice and empowerment in their lives; and ultimately, freedom from want.

5.1.3 Organisational Improvements

Collaboration and social mobilization within the gender-based violence sector including the appropriate government departments (including the Department of Social Development, the judicial system, and SAPS), NGOs, CBOs, social entrepreneurs, academia, and any individual advocates invested in the fight against gender-based violence. For integrated solutions in practice and policy, the human security concept should be used to bring organisational disciplines together for this collaboration and mobilization. It is also recommended that practitioners in the field use a gendered approach to encourage the inclusivity of the women most in need.

Government should provide basic necessities for women, or at least step up funding for organisations covering critical areas. Also, if government and others interested in forwarding the fight against gender-based violence would offer more long-term funding to the organisations covering these critical areas, they would be better able to plan, to reach more people, and their work would be more sustainable.

While there have been definite strides in legal reform surrounding violence against women, much improvement is still needed within the criminal justice system. During this study the researcher heard numerous complaints about the police response, the justice system, the lack of consequences for perpetrators, and the need for perpetrator counselling. Therefore, this study advocates for better law enforcement including consistent and strictly enforced laws against perpetrators, combined with more stringent sentences, mandatory counselling, and mandatory monitoring during and after sentences. The mandatory counselling should be part of a larger perpetrator services effort that teaches men how to deal with their anger. This study strongly believes that if men are better able to deal with their anger, are monitored, and knowingly face stricter sentences for reoffending, there would be less instances of gender-based violence.

Finally, if there were more NGOs and government programmes throughout South Africa that combined microfinance and participation for women or engaged men to reduce gender violence by changing their attitudes and behaviour through collaboration like the IMAGE and MAP programmes discussed in Chapter 4, there would be less instances of gender-based violence.

NGOs and government alike should continue to pursue skills training and avenues of employment for women of abuse or women at-risk of abuse. As discussed herein, the SBCWC attempts to do this with their Job & Life Skills Development and Catering Manager positions. Based on this research, and the feedback from the clients, this is one area that the SBCWC could greatly improve upon. The most common concerns heard were lack of employment,

lack of long-term employment, lack of sufficient wages, or lack of housing options (due to lack of sufficient employment). Clearly, this issue is of the utmost importance because what these women and others like them need most is their own financial security and independence, so that they can support themselves and their children, without having to rely on the fathers or anyone else who has abused them.

These are all very substantial issues that will require efforts from many different parties including individuals (both parents and those working in the gender-violence sector), various organisations, and government departments and officials.

5.2 Theoretical Significance

The research undertaken for this thesis draws from and has implications for the literature on the subject of gender-based violence. It does this by defining the key issues surrounding gender-based violence, specifically within the context of South Africa, and offering a framework for further work in the way of gender and human security. The study shows how human security and gender can be used as a framework for both theoretical and practical applications and as a way to connect disciplines.

This framework will be very useful for future research on the subject of gender-based violence because of the interdisciplinary collaboration it encourages. To share information and efforts between the education, health, and legal sectors would save an enormous amount of time, energy, and precious resources. If these sectors could collaborate and create partnerships between government and NGOs, while at the same time working to address and change the deep-seated cultural attitudes and beliefs about gender-based violence, the incidences of gender violence in South Africa would finally begin to decrease.

This research gives both a human face and a voice to much of the literature, with specific detailed examples of personal experiences, the experiences of those

using the services of the Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children. The research shows how hopeful these women are, in spite of the horrible experiences they have endured. This may give hope to others and show them that there are resources available to help them, and people out there that care.

This research shows the importance of economic empowerment, financial security, and independence for at-risk women in South Africa. Without these, women do not have security from gender-based forms of violence. This means either not having the choice to leave an abuser in the first place, or once leaving, being forced to go back to their abuser when unable to provide for themselves (and their children).

The research shows the need for a holistic, collaborative approach that considers the cultural, socio-economic and organisational challenges described herein. This research also demonstrates a need for improvements especially in the following areas; the criminal justice system, perpetrator and youth services, and accepted cultural beliefs and male/female behaviours.

5.3 Further Research

As alluded to in previous chapters, a short master's thesis, while large enough to allow the researcher to delve deeply into the subject matter at hand, leaves many unanswered questions and areas for further research. There is, however, an abundance of quality research on the subject of gender-based violence, much of which this study affirms or echoes. One example is the afore-mentioned IMAGE study, which shows that the economic and social empowerment of women can contribute to reducing violence against women (Kim et al., 2007). Other examples include the Men as Partners (MAP) Programme, which engages men in reducing violence by changing their attitudes and behaviours (Peacock and Levack, 2004), and the Sathiparsad article, which looks at male youth attitudes regarding violence in KwaZulu-Natal and also argues for the inclusion of males in addressing gender equalities (2005).

Yet another article advocates for a multi-faceted approach that combines a variety of remedies including public education, legal reforms, and individual psychological change (Bowman, 2003). This study also echoes, *Preventing and responding to gender-based violence in middle- and low-income countries: a global review and analysis*. This work advocates for a multi-sectored approach including collaboration between the justice, education, and health sectors, working at different levels, creating partnerships between government and NGOs, and addressing beliefs and attitudes at all levels of society (Bott, Morrison, and Ellsberg, 2005).

Lastly, and especially important to the context of South Africa are Lisa Vetten's 'reflections on strategy and practice', because they look at what has been carried out thus far to combat gender-based violence and shines a spotlight on some of the particular challenges faced within the country; such as limited networking; scarce resources; poor implementation of laws; secondary victimization by police; and the lack of obligation by Departments of Health or Social Development to make services such as counselling, healthcare or shelter available (2005). While this study echoes the sentiments of the work listed above, there is other research that this study would challenge. Namely, studies that offer mono-causal explanations of gender based violence and those that propose a band-aid or surface fix (such as only needing more shelter or jobs). Also, this study challenges studies that not address the roots of the problem (i.e. attitudes and beliefs, lack of tools for dealing with emotions, and the culture and structures of violence). How this particular study differs from those mentioned above is that it proposes a combination of all of them which would offer the multi-dimensional collaboration that is required to make a real and lasting difference in the fight against gender-based violence.

Now, let us look at the many questions that still need answers. How can the misconception of shelters for victims of abuse be changed, so more women seek out services? If women know there are safe shelters to go to, more might be willing to leave their abuser. However, with shelters already at or above capacity most of the time, if more were to seek out services, the capacity to serve more

victims of abuse would need to be increased.

This leads to the question, how do NGO's find more permanent, ongoing funding sources? Sources that could allow them to plan long-term, to have a greater capacity to serve and ensure the sustainability of many direly needed programmes and services.

With resources already stretched so far, one way maximize effort would be to collaborate. How do NGO's better collaborate with the South African Government and others in the field with the same objectives of combating gender-based violence? In doing so, much time and energy could be saved, valuable resources could be shared and more progress could be made in the fight against gender-based violence and the many, multi-faceted challenges that surround it.

Similarly, how can the South African Government further empower NGO's offering much needed services to victims and perpetrators of gender-based violence? If the government were able to give these NGO's some kind of incentive or further support, especially in the areas the government should be doing more in, such as housing, employment of women, and perpetrator counselling, the programmes and services could be more comprehensive and sustainable.

We can also turn that around and ask how NGOs like the SBCWC can encourage and assist the Department of Social Development and other government bodies to offer more much needed services such as aftercare housing and education opportunities for women to help them reach financial independence? Perhaps sharing information gained in their everyday work could help the government see the urgent need experienced by these women and make them a top priority. Also referring individuals who most need resources and linking them up with the appropriate government body that could help them to obtain those resources would be a good place to start.

Another area in dire need of services is that of youth and perpetrator services. What happens to the children in these scenarios? What can be done to keep them from continuing the 'cycle of violence'? Also, what happens to the men in these scenarios (the perpetrators)? Without counselling and education they will continue to abuse women. Therefore, how can NGOs like the SBCWC encourage and assist the Department of Social Development and other government bodies to offer more of these much needed services to help repair the damage already done? Ideally, children hear the message that violence against women is unacceptable early in their lives and are able to challenge experiences they might have because of this important message. However, in reality, so many South African children witness violence everyday that they learn the behaviour and perpetuate the cycle of violence. Something must be done to help break the cycle and give these children and adults the appropriate tools to change and to heal.

The SBCWC offers short-term (four month) shelter stays and limited longer-term housing. Where are the women supposed to go after that? The employees of the SBCWC hear time and time again how the women are unable to support themselves and their children financially, and end up forced to go back to the perpetrator. This could be changed if there were more long-term, affordable housing options available to them where they could stay while they pursued some kind of job skills, job training, and education programmes. Of course this training must also be more readily available.

Research already exists on male and female roles, perceptions and attitudes, and the culture of violence so prevalent in South Africa (Sathiparsad, 2005) (Kim and Motsei, 2002) (Campbell, 1992) (Bhana, de Lange, and Mitchell, 2009) (Hamber, 1999). However, as long as there is little statistical change in violence against women, more questions will need to be answered. Why does the South African society at large continue to allow this violence against women? And more importantly, what can be done to encourage outrage against gender violence, and the advocacy needed for sustainable change?

As mentioned in chapter 4, another area for further study is that of race and gender-based violence, because as this study suggests, the lack of racial and gender equity in South Africa is blatant, and wreaks havoc in every aspect of people's daily lives.

5.4 Reflections on the Learning Experience

Prior to carrying out this study, it was assumed that the researcher's subjective values, biases, and intuition were important to the research. Therefore, the researcher used descriptive/interpretive and constructivist approaches to analyse the data and create the meaning obtained from the study. Creating knowledge in this manner allowed the researcher to rely on the women's perceptions and experiences, and to take advantage of the wisdom of the culture they have taken place in. Also, doing this within the rich context of the field of gender-based violence allowed the researcher to tap into a deep, already existing knowledge base, and hopefully encourage further collaboration and sense of community around important issues and among the key players already involved in solving those issues.

This research offered a great opportunity for learning a large amount about the subject matter and valuable insights about the researcher. Many important skills proved necessary for completion. One key skill required was persistence in communicating with the SBCWC employees to coordinate interviews. Understanding that the SBCWC employees were very busy professionals, not always be able to respond immediately, and sometimes needing to be contacted more than once was important. Also, there was also an exorbitant amount of perseverance needed in order to complete the writing of the project, given the major life events, and real life challenges of the researcher, especially once removed from the academic setting.

One final point worth mentioning, the researcher underestimated the women's openness, vulnerability, and need to talk. Many shared details of abuse that weren't asked about, demonstrating a clear need to talk about their experiences

of abuse. This required a great deal of compassion, care with line of questioning, lack of judgment, and listening so they felt heard. This along with the hope the women possessed, in spite of their horrific experiences, were two of the most surprising, yet rewarding aspects of carrying out the research.

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