FACTORS INFLUENCING INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE AMONG WOMEN IN CLERMONT: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

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ABSTRACT

Like many other countries in the world, South Africa still grapples with women's subordination in society, which leaves them vulnerable to various forms of abuse. Available literature suggests that while policy and legislative frameworks exist to eliminate intimate partner violence (IPV) in the private and public spheres, women continue to experience abuse in their private lives. Strategies and interventions adopted at a global and national level to address the problem have been too limited in addressing IPV in a systemic manner. Based on this premise, a study located in the critical paradigm was conducted to explore the socio-economic factors that make women encounter abuse in their intimate relationships in Clermont – a township situated within eThekwini metro in the province of KwaZulu-Natal.

The study employed a qualitative research design. Data collection method included in-depth individual interviews. A non-probability purposive sampling method was adopted to select seven individual interview participants. All participants attend counseling sessions at the shelter for abused women in Clermont. Data was analyzed using thematic analysis. The poststructuralist feminist approach, which identifies the intersectionality of race, gender, class and ethnicity was used as the theoretical framework to guide the study.

Guided by the poststructuralist feminist framework, emerging findings demonstrate that the intersectionality of gender, race, class and ethnicity leave women from poor socio-economic backgrounds more susceptible to IPV. Hence, IPV unfolds in a specific context whereby layers of disadvantage keep women in a deprivation trap, resulting in a vicious cycle of poverty. This observation reiterates that women's everyday realities are context specific. Against this backdrop, the findings suggest that women's lived experiences influence how they construct the factors that perpetuate IPV in intimate relationships. Furthermore, it was established that, in most instances, emotional and physical abuse of women is interlinked. Again, a patriarchal system perpetuated oppression of women. Ultimately, emerging findings demonstrate that structural inequalities and socialization of women in Clermont contribute to individual and societal tolerance of IPV, thus perpetuating the subordination of women. Shelters for abused women provide protection; however,

they fail to address the structural and systemic nature of IPV. Therefore, women who experience IPV lack long-term support that is offered in a transformative and sustainable manner.

To promote the emancipation of women, it is recommended that changes need to occur at three levels: 1) at a personal level - women need to take responsibility for their own liberation through decision-making and unlearning destructive social constructs on what it means to be a normal woman; 2) at a community level - different role players and different institutions (shelters for abused women, police stations, courts and health care centres) should collaborate with communities to address the systemic nature of IPV; 3) through policy reforms, the government should tackle structural inequalities that leave women susceptible to IPV. This would mean developing policies that promote the empowerment of women to understand their human rights and address financial dependence on men, thus eliminating the scourge of IPV.

DECLARATION

I, Mantsali Eunicia Hleoheng, declare that

1. The research reported in this dissertation, except where otherwise indicated, and is my original research.

2. This dissertation has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

3. This dissertation does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

4. This dissertation does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:

a. Their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced

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5. This dissertation does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the dissertation and in the References section.

Signature of student:

Date:

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Discrimination against Women and Children
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IMAGE	Intervention with Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
MGDs	Millennium Development Goals
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
SMME	Small Micro Medium Enterprise
SADC	South African Development Community
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SLA	Sustainable Livelihoods Approach
STIs	Sexually Transmitted Infections
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
WHO	World Health Organization

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND STUDY BACKGROUND

Contextualizing Intimate Partner Violence

Violence against women affects women throughout the world (Fedler & Tanzer 2000), and traverses social, economic, religious, cultural and class boundaries (Ashimi & Amole 2015). The term 'violence against women' encompasses many forms of abuse targeted at women, girls and elderly women (Watts & Zimmerman 2002). The United Nations General Assembly defines violence against women "as any act of gender-based violence that results in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty whether occurring in public or private life" (Russo & Pirlott 2006: p.178). Terry & Hoare (2007) further show that violence can also take geographically or culturally specific forms such dowry deaths or payment of *lobola*, female trafficking, and female genital mutilation, rape during wars and sexual attacks on women and girls while they are collecting firewood and water.

The payment of a dowry is a cultural practice among some ethnic groups in Middle East countries (Rocca, Rathod, Falle, Pande & Krishnan 2009). In these countries, a woman's family has to pay a dowry to her husband's family before they marry (Rocca et al. 2009). The amount often depends on the groom's qualifications, profession and income (Reddi 2007). Women whose families are able to meet all the dowry demands earn respect from their husband's family once married. However, if this is not the case the in-laws are unhappy and the woman could face abuse or even death (Deuba, Mainali, Alvesson & Karki 2016). The man and his family would say that the wife committed suicide or set herself on fire (Deuba et al. 2016). In some instances, wives do kill themselves to escape the harassment and embarrassment they face from their husbands and the husband's families (Rocca et al. 2009). Men are not charged by a court of law when an honor death occurs, but are encouraged to remarry (Martin, Moracco, Garo, Tsui, Kupper, Chase & Campbell 2002). Remarrying means, more dowry demands and men become richer (Martin et al. 2002).

In many African communities, the husband's family is expected to pay a bride price (*lobola)* as compensation to her parents for losing their daughter (Van Der Hoven 2001). In the past *lobola* was paid in cattle, but today it is often paid in cash and some women's families ask for large amounts of money and expensive gadgets (Reddi 2007). This can result in women being abused in their husbands' homes, because they are regarded as possessions that were purchased (Reddi 2007). Globally, 1, 5 million girls still marry at the age of 15 (Deuba et al. 2016).

Trafficking of women and girls has increased due to globalization, industrialization, displacement of people due to wars, and economic and social inequalities between and within countries (Watts & Zimmerman 2002). Mafia gangs and in some cases members of the police and army force women into prostitution (Watts & Zimmerman 2002). They reap the profits and the women earn starvation wages (Ellsberg 2006).

Female genital mutilation is another cultural practice that causes harm to women, practiced by some ethnic groups in Africa, the Middle East and Asia (Edouard, Olatunbosun & Edouard 2013). Its purpose is to reduce sexual pleasure, prolong virginity among unmarried girls and ensure that married women are faithful to their husbands (Edouard et al. 2013: p.151). This practice is regarded as a violation of human rights that promotes gender inequality because it is done without women's consent (Edouard et al. 2013).

Badal is a cultural practice in Afghanistan where women are offered to men's families so that their families can avoid paying a dowry (Van Mierlo 2012). In *badal* some women are exchanged as a means to solve conflicts between two families (Van Mierlo 2012).

Violence against women occurs in different settings such as in the workplace, in health care settings, school settings, in the community, within the family and in state structures (Abrahams & Jewkes 2005). The violence is often perpetrated by males who are in positions of trust and power such as husbands, boyfriends, fathers, fathers-in-law, stepfathers, brothers, uncles, sons, other male relatives, neighbors and authority figures such as teachers, employers, state employers and employees (Craparo, Gori, Petruccelli, Cannella & Simonnelli 2014, Khan, Kapoor & Cooraswamy 2000). It is against this backdrop that Moser (1993) argues for an understanding of gender as a social construct that is normally aligned with sex to determine the roles and

responsibilities of a man and a woman within the household and in the community. In a society where patriarchy is deemed natural, hegemonic masculinities regard men as strong and associate women with weakness (Deutsch 2007; Deslauriers 2004). In such contexts, men are perceived as breadwinners because they have opportunities to find work and earn salaries (Kabeer 2003, Woolard & Leibrandt 1999). Based on this premise, society continues to view the man as the head of the household and expects him to influence decisions within the family (Goldberg 2008). On the other hand, women work as unpaid caregivers within the household taking care of their husbands and children, doing household chores and sometimes working in the fields (Woolard & Leibrandt 1999). Women who abide by the assigned roles to maintain the status quo are praised (Morgan 2006). However, Dianna (2002) observes that the disciplined body represents internalized oppression. Although women are endowed with intrinsic ability and reasoning, they are denied the chance to demonstrate their abilities due to culturally driven norms that restrict them from what is considered a man's responsibility (Guiso & Rustichni 2011). In cases where a woman might have a strong personality, patriarchy keeps her entrapped and undermines her human rights (Iseni Siljanovska Ejupi & Hossain 2014). This context limits women's opportunities and full participation in development efforts (Feddler & Tanser 2000). Women in these situations are subverted to men their entire lives: in childhood to their fathers, in young adulthood to their husbands and in old age after their husbands have passed away to their sons (Martin, Vieraitis & Britto 2006). While on-going debates raise consciousness on gender and sexuality in lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender contexts, the current study focuses on traditional explanations of gender roles (Kollman & Waites 2009).

Apartheid laws also contributed to the subjugation of Black women in South Africa, by denying them political and economic rights (Mbuli 2009, Cooper, Morroni, Orner, Moodley, Harries, Cullingworth & Hoffman 2004). Customary laws also denied women thier rights such as land rights and having a right to terminate pregnancy while married (Akinboade 2005, Guttmacher, Kapadia, Naude & Pinho 1998). The colonial and apartheid systems imposed their own cultural views on African society that aligned womanhood with passiveness and manhood as active (Guttmacher et al. 2005). These views persist in the post-apartheid era.

This study investigated IPV, which is another form of violence against women within the household. In IPV, violence is normally perpetrated against women by their male partners who are their husbands, current partners or ex-partners (Jewkes 2002). Thus, violence within the household is experienced by women in dating or cohabiting relationships and those who are married, separated from their male partners and in the process of divorce (World Health Organization (WHO 2012, McHugh & Frenzie 2005). While research shows that women can also be violent towards their partners, they often do so for self-defense (; this is why they are injured more than men in violent situations Reed, Rajm Miller & Silverman 2010, Morrison, Luchok, Ritcher & Para-Medina 2006, Tjaden & Thoennes 2000). While different scholars use different definitions of IPV, the current study adopted Gass Stein, Williams & Seedat's (2010) definition, which views IPV as any behaviour within an intimate relationship that causes physical, psychological or sexual harm. This definition is consistent with the purpose of the study, which aimed to explore the social and economic factors that influence IPV in Clermont, Durban.

Problem statement and significance of the study

The available literature suggests that, although IPV affects all societies across racial and class boundaries, women from poor socio-economic backgrounds are disproportionally affected. According to Chambers (2014), the poor are those who are powerless to make decisions due to physical weakness, isolation and limited access to finances, skills and knowledge. In apartheid South Africa, government policies engineered poverty to affect more Black people than other racial groups. Black South Africans worked as laborers for low wages to support their families while generating wealth for the White minority (Coovadia, Jewkes, Barron, Sanders, & McIntyre 2009). South African society continues to grapple with the legacy of apartheid. In 2017, for example 46% of the Black African women were unemployed, compared to 39%% of the coloured population, with Indians/Asians at 34% and Whites at 22% (Times Live 2017). Moreover, a number of scholars observe that female-headed households are more affected by poverty than male-headed households (Armstrong, Lekezwa & Siebrits 2008). This assertion is consistent with the national statistics that reiterate that unemployment affects more women than men. Black African women are disproportionately affected with the highest rate of unemployment at 41.2%,

compared with White women at 6.9% (Stats SA 2011: 52). The unemployment rate is higher among rural women than that of women living in the urban areas (Aliber 2003).

This study was conducted in Clermont, a township that consists of both informal and formal settlements within eThekwini Municipality (Hoque 2011). The municipality experiences high rates of poverty, unemployment, and human immune virus (HIV) infection and a housing backlog (Roberts & O'Donoghue 2013). Moreover, communities in Clermont are poorly serviced and crime rates are high (Oelofse & Patel 2000). The high crime rate discourages foreign investment (Hoogeveen & Ozler 2005). It is noted that IPV is rife in under-resourced communities since families in such contexts are hard-hit by poverty, unemployment, powerlessness and physical weakness. According to Chambers (2014), these elements interact to keep poor people in a deprivation trap. Moreover, South Africa has one of the highest rates of violence in the world when compared with other countries (Kamineer, Grimsrud, Meyer, Stein & Williams 2008). One in four women in dating relationships has experienced violence at some time in their lives (Prestorius & Bester 2009). Hence, IPV is the second leading cause of death in South Africa with 8.8 per 1000 women (Prestorius & Bester 2009) after Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), cancer, traffic accidents, malaria and muggings combined (Devries, Watts, Yoshihama, Kiss, Schraiber, Deyessa, Durand, Mbwambo, Jansen & Berhane 201). In South Africa, a woman dies every eight hours on average at the hands of an intimate partner (Medical Research Council 2017). Furthermore, abuse impacts on women, the entire family and the community (Ruiz-Hernandez, García-Jiménez, Llor-Esteban & Godoy-Fernández 2015).

Most studies in the area of IPV focus on isolated factors such as abusive men's behavior, women's financial dependence on men, etc. without interrogating the structural inequalities that contribute to IPV. Therefore, most IPV interventions are protective in nature (Garcia-Moreno, Jansen, Ellesberg, Heise & Watts 2006) and fail to tackle the structural factors that perpetuate it (Akinboade 2005). As Fedler & Tanzer (2000: 27) state,

> The cluster of social, economic, political, cultural, psychological, and ideological forces operating within society interact and crosscut one another to create a climate in which women become the targets of male aggression and in which perpetrators go unpunished.

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Based on this premise, this study sought to illustrate that IPV is systemic, thus going beyond surface issues to engage with the structural factors that drive IPV in Clermont. Understanding the underlying factors that perpetuate IPV in poor socio-economic contexts contributes to the existing body of knowledge on IPV. The insight gained from this study will also assist policy makers in formulating relevant intervention programmes and policies to address this scourge.

Purpose of the study

This study aimed to critically explore the socio-economic factors that influence IPV among women in Clermont, Durban.

Objectives of the study

- To critically explore the social factors which expose women in Clermont to IPV.
- To critically investigate the economic factors that expose women in Clermont to IPV.

Research questions

- What social factors render women in Clermont vulnerable to IPV?
- What are the economic factors that expose women in Clermont to IPV?

Research design and methodology

This is a qualitative study located in the critical paradigm. The critical paradigm was deemed appropriate as it aims to interrogate structural inequalities in order to transform society (Creswell & Miller 2000). Studies located in the critical paradigm address issues of power and maintain that, "some relationships in the world are more powerful than others" (Henning, Van Rensburg & Smith 2004: p.23). This paradigm further acknowledges that unequal power relations are more pronounced in issues of race, class and gender. As a result, the work of critical theorists primarily aims to deconstruct society (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Elements of the critical perspective that are relevant in the context of this study are:

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- All thought is fundamentally mediated by power relations that are social and historically constituted

- Certain groups in any society and particular societies are privileged over others and, although the reasons for this privileging may vary widely, the oppression that characterises contemporary societies is most forcefully reproduced when subordinates accept their social status as natural, necessary, or inevitable

- Oppression has many faces, and focusing on one at the expense of others (e.g., class oppression versus racism) often elides the interconnections among them (Kincheloe, McLaren & Steinberg 2011: 164)

Qualitative studies are naturalistic, descriptive and interpretive in nature as they are mainly concerned with developing explanations of a social phenomenon (Denzin & Lincoln 2008). They shed some light on the social world in which people live and further explain why things are the way that they are (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls & Ormston 2013). These studies value people's lived experiences and the social and economic relations that structure these experiences (Henning et al. 2004). The data was collected from a purposive sample of seven women that attended sessions at a shelter for abused women in Clermont[1]. In-depth semi-structured interviews was used to gather data. Using the steps recommended by Attride-Strilling (2001), thematic analysis was used to analyze the data by coding, summarizing the thematic network and interpreting patterns.

Theoretical framework

To be consistent with the critical paradigm, a poststructuralist feminist theory was selected as a theoretical framework to critically explore the intersectionality of gender, race, class and ethnicity (hooks 1986) in order to guide the study. Poststructuralist feminist theory emerged from the second wave of feminism in the 1980s and the 1990s (Seely 2014). It arose from the need for a theory to analyze the manifestations of patriarchy and break the long traditions of western philosophy that construct the world in terms of masculine and feminine universals (Scott 1994). There was also a

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[1] The name of the women's shelter is not mentioned in order to maintain confidentiality and anonymity of the participants.

need for a theory that will enable alternative ways of thinking about gender without simply reversing old hierarchies or confirming them (Scott 1994).

Poststructuralist theory is resolutely anti-categorical since it regards race, sex and other identities as social constructs resulting from domination (Seeley 2014: p.30.). Therefore, it seeks to deconstruct the taken for granted historical structures of social organizations (Adams 1997). It also insists that construction of the truths that govern the world has to be grounded in the different contexts of people's lives, communities and cultures (Adams 1997). Furthermore, the theory recognises intersectionality – a term introduced by Kimberle Crenshaw in her analysis of black women's employment in the West during the preparatory session for the World Conference against Racism (Yuval-Davis 2006). Holvino (2010), Shields (2008), and Yuval-Davis (2006) agree that during this period, middle class, educated women claimed to be fighting for the rights of all women, whereas in reality, they fought for their own individual interests while poor women faced oppression, disadvantage, discrimination and exploitation. It is in such contexts that the intersectionality perspective becomes relevant as an analytical tool for the relationship between class, race and gender discrimination (Sokoloff & Pratt 2005, Collins 1998). It shows that gender and class construct each another to constitute multiple segregations (Davis 2008, Collins 1998). It also addresses the manner in which racism, patriarchy, class, oppression and other discriminatory systems create inequalities that structure the relative positions of women (Yuval-Davis 2006). This resonates with this study, which aimed to understand the socio-economic factors that perpetuate IPV in Clermont.

Poststructuralist feminist theory further argued that women in marginalized communities with no access to basic needs are more vulnerable to oppression in the household, community and society than those from other contexts. It is against this background that Oyewumi (2002) asserts that the feminist theory cannot be limited to gender oppression while overlooking racial and class oppression since women do not share common problems. Thus, the poststructuralist feminist theory maintains that women are not a homogenous group as they experience oppression differently. Based on this premise, hooks (2000) argues for the interrogation of the interlocking forms of domination to illustrate how gender intersects with class, race and ethnicity to leave some women more susceptible to oppression, which in the case of this study is manifested in abusive relationships. Furthermore, the poststructuralist feminist theory acknowledges that structural

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inequalities are entrenched in institutions of power, which subjugate women to oppression in the household, community and society (Tong 2009, Moser 1993). Essentially, poststructuralist feminist theory recognizes that women are not a homogenous group since some women are more oppressed than others (Oyewumi 2002). Hence, studies located in the intersectionality perspective aim to critically explore the intersection of gender, race, class and ethnicity that keeps some women oppressed (hooks[2] 2000). This understanding is relevant in the context of the current study, which specifically focused on two variables that were relevant to the study: gender and class.

In light of this reality, this study critically explored the factors that influence IPV in Clermont. As noted earlier, feminists recognize that women's experiences are inseparable from race, class and gender (Akinboade 2005). The intersectionality of gender as a theoretical framework is relevant in the context of the study as it contributes to our understanding of the underlying structural factors that drive IPV.

1.8. Limitations

The limitations of this study include:

- Some participants were not open to sharing sensitive information.
- Language barriers were noted in a few instances. The researcher is fluent in Sesotho and English while most participants speak isiZulu.
- The researcher recorded the interviews and this could have discouraged some participants from revealing certain information.

In addressing the limitations, the researcher solicited the assistance of an interpreter after having sought informed consent from the interview participants. Again, in cases where participants were not comfortable with being recorded, the researcher jotted down their responses with their permission.

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[2] The author writes her name in lower case as a stance of defiance.

1.9. Overview of chapters

The dissertation consists of six chapters:

Chapter 1: Introduction – This chapter started by contextualizing IPV. It also provided an overview of the problem statement, and the study's objectives and questions as well as the research design, methodology, the theoretical framework that guided the study, its limitations and an overview of the chapters.

Chapter 2 Literature Review – This chapter reviews the available literature in the context of IPV.

Chapter 3 The Legal and Policy Frameworks - This chapter reviews the international and national frameworks adopted to eliminate IPV.

Chapter 4 Research Design and Methodology – This chapter presents the qualitative research design that was used to collect data. It also discusses the research design, sampling and data collection methods, the methodology and the analytical framework used to generate data.

Chapter 5 Presentation and Discussion of the Findings – This chapter discusses the emerging findings. It also demonstrates the study's contribution to the existing body of knowledge.

Chapter 6 Conclusion and Recommendations –The final chapter summarizes the study's key findings and provides recommendations as well suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

The previous chapter contextualised IPV as violence that occurs between intimate partners. This chapter reviews the literature relevant to the study to offer a broad overview of the socio-economic dynamics that contribute to violence against women. It examines the conceptualization of IPV, its context and impact, socio-economic factors that cause women to encounter IPV and the local development environment.

2.2. Conceptualization of IPV

Violence in the home is not a new phenomenon and has always been part of human experience (Krug, Mercy, Dahlberg & Zwi 2002). It was documented as far back as the Roman Empire (Eddleson 1999). Many South African women experience violence within the household. According to Meth (2003), "the term home is associated with safety, with familiar and protective boundaries, with the exclusion of unwanted others, with privacy, a haven in a heartless world" (p.318). It is thus, ironic that it is within the home that many women experience humiliation and pain from their partners (Scheffer & Renck 2008). Many women experience more violence in the household than elsewhere (Moreno-Gracia, Jansen, Ellersberg, Heise & Watts 2009). Since a home is private, "it is difficult for the family, lawyers, police officers and judges to intervene when violence occurs" (Fox, Jackson, Hansen, Gasa, Crewe & Sikkemma 2007: p.597).

Previous studies considered violence within the household as domestic violence as most focused solely on married, heterosexual women (McHugh & Frezie 2005). Terms such as spouse abuse, marital rape, family violence, wife beating, marital abuse and domestic violence were used to define such abuse (Cadilhac, Sheppard, Cumming, Thayabaranathan, Pearce, Carter & Magnus 2015). In those days, domestic violence was not made public (Nicolson 2010) and was politically, culturally and legally accepted (Moreno-Gracia et al. 2009). Many governments and policy makers

viewed violence against women as a relatively minor social problem affecting a limited number of women (Moreno-Gracia et al. 2009). Since it did not exist in the public mind, it was easy to ignore or deny (Nicolson 2010). Men were thus, able to continue to abuse their wives (Bradley 2000). The rule of thumb law is an example of the law that allowed a husband to chastise wives with a stick of his choosing as long as it was no thicker than the diameter of their own thumbs (Bradley 2000). If there were no permanent injuries, women had no recourse to the law (Bradley 2000). The police could not make an arrest unless they witnessed the assault (Krieger 2001).

Furthermore, a man could not be convicted of raping his wife (Hanner, Itzin, Quaid & Wigglesworth 2000) as, once a man and a woman are married, they were regarded as one (Goldfarb 2007) Thus, a woman lost her separate legal existence once married (Goldfarb 2007). Thus, a case on domestic violence was considered a waste of the public's money and time (Mills 2008) since what happened in the household was regarded as private (Moser 1993). The couple was supposed to solve their own problems (Erez & Hartly 2002). A study in India found that, when married women reported abuse to the police; they were told that conflict was normal in marriage and they should go home and solve their issues with their husbands (Klomegah 2008). In some instances where married women reported their partners at a police station, the police would accompany them to their home and use informal mediation to cool the man off so that he could talk things over with his wife (Goldfarb 2007). Krieker (2001) maintains that IPV was a curtain of privacy to shield husbands who beat their wives due to public views so that the parties should resolve their differences in private (p. 240).

In California, the Supreme Court threw out a case of assault of a woman by her husband on the ground that this would destroy the peace and harmony of the home and that the prosecutor could not base his decision on the few stiches the woman needed for her wound (Bradley 2000). If permanent damage was suffered, the man would be advised to go for rehabilitation (Babcock, Green & Robie 2004), pay a fine or go to prison for six months (Bradley 2000). Thus, for "hundreds of years, prosecutors, legislators and judges have allowed women abuse" (Goldfarb 2007: p.1488) because anyone who tried to intervene or expose the abuse was regarded as intruding in normal family life (Silva Irabor, Olowookere & Adebusoye 2015).

As women began to break the silence of abuse, researchers recognized the exclusion of gays, lesbians, unmarried cohabiting couples, dating couples and women who were in the process of divorce or separation who also experienced violence in their relationships (McHugh & Frezie 2005). Terms such as dating violence, lesbian violence and IPV were adopted to include all people who experience violence (Andersson, Ho-Foster, Mitchell, Schepers & Goldstein 2007). Depending on which aspect of abuse they focus on, different scholars offer different definitions as IPV is called in different names (Bradley et al. 2002). If the focus is on emotional, physical and sexual abuse, these aspects will be included in the definition. Gass et al's (2010) definition as mentioned in chapter one is selected as this study focuses on physical, emotional and psychological abuse as types of abuse experienced by women in Clermont. Most studies in South Africa focus more on physical and sexual abuse than emotional abuse (Ellesberg, Jansen, Heise, Watts & Gracia-Moreno 2008) even though women who experience emotional abuse maintain that it is more difficult to endure than physical abuse due the degradation they experience (Heise, Ellesberg & Gottmoelle 2002). Physical abuse includes slapping, pulling hair, spitting on someone, twisting an arm, pushing, locking out, restraining, or shoving the person into an object like a door, a piece of furniture, down stairs, punching, and using a weapon like a knife, bat or frying pan (Mills 2008).

Emotional abuse employs words as weapons to degrade another person (Mills 2008). Since there are no marks as evidence, it is not easy to hold a person accountable for emotional abuse unless a third person was there to hear the words (Mills 2008). Emotional abuse includes cursing and calling names such as stupid, crazy (Johnson 2008), fat, bitch, ugly or failure, and arguments and screaming (Mills 2008). Women also face intimidation and threats (Weisz, Tolman & Saunders 2000). They internalize those words and create them as their own images that define them (Mills 2008). Economic coercion is another form of emotional abuse. It includes actions such as forcing the woman to become dependent on the man's resources, denying the partner access to money or a bank account or monitoring spending (Adams, Tolman, Bybee, Sullivan & Kennedy 2012a, Adams, Sullivan, Bybee & Greeson 2008b). Finally, sexual abuse includes forced oral sex (Dunkle, Jewkes, Nduna, Jama, Levin, Sikweya & Koss 2007), the use of weapons to force a woman to have sex and being coerced into watching others have sex (Stewart, Alvies, Guedes, Riazantseva & MacMillan 2015). It also involves systematically withholding sex from a partner, forcing a woman into reproductive decisions that are contrary to her wishes or forcing her to have sex without protection against disease or pregnancy (Dunkle et al. 2007). Patterns of sexual abuse

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differ from one country to another (More-Gracia et al. 2009). Research also suggests that in many cases, different types of abuse co-exist, with emotional abuse accompanied by physical or sexual abuse (WHO 2012). However, they do not always occur in a pattern (Joyner & Mash 2014).

2.3. Challenges in determining the impact of IPV

It is not easy to determine the impact of IPV for various reasons. In many cases, IPV is not reported due to a lack of understanding of its root causes and consequences, making it very difficult to gauge the extent of the abuse endured by women (Strebel, Crawford, Shefer, Cloete, Dwadwa-Henda, Kaufman, Simbayi, Magome & Kalichman 2006). 'Because IPV is hidden from the public's view (Ruiz-Hernandez, Garcia-Jimenez, Llor-Esterban & Godoy-Fernandez 2015: 41) both minor and severe injuries are unreported (Ellsberg et al. 2008). Due to the lack of reporting, official statistics underestimate the level of abuse. Mullick, Teffo-Menziwa, Williams & Jina (2010) state that, police statistics should be used with caution because most women do not report IPV. Therefore, the records of domestic violence are often sketchy (Kingston & Penhale 1995). That makes many policy makers to be reluctant to address IPV (Koenig, Ahmed, Hossain & Mozunder 2003).

Moreover, women often choose not to open up about abuse for personal reasons. They do not report their partners because they still love them (Fugate, Landis, Riordan, Naureckas & Engel 2005) and hope that they will change their ways (Hegarty & Taft 2001). To their mind, reporting their partners means ending the relationship (Hegarty & Taft 2001). They feel that if their partners were to receive counselling, everything would be fine (Ames & Dunham 2002). Other women do not report abuse because they lack information on the services available to them (Crandall, Senturia, Sullivan, & Shui-Thorton 2005). Some women do not trust the justice system because they feel that the perpetrator will receive a light sentence (Wolf, Ly, Horbart & Kernic 2003). In South Africa's rural areas, people have to travel long distances to access a police station and women might choose not to report because travelling to the police station might be riskier than the situation at home (Jewkes & Abrahams 2002). Ventura & Davis (2005) also note that some women do not want to lay a charge because they would have to take time off work to give evidence. Women are less likely to report a crime to the police when they know the offender (Jordan 2004).

Moreover, many do not report violence because their families and friends discourage them from doing so (Moreno-Gracia et al. 2009). Some women are reluctant to prosecute because their children could be taken away from them after a divorce (Mokwena & Adeoti 2014). Others feel that court proceedings are embarrassing, upsetting and time consuming while some do not have the financial resources to attend multiple hearings (Baker, Cook & Norris 2003, Goldfarb 2007).

When women decide to report their abusers, they face various challenges. The abuser might threaten to kill them if the case goes to court and they are convicted (McDermott & Garofalo 2004). In some situations, the man threatens to send others to rape or kill the woman (Hanner, Itzin, Quaid, & Wigglesworth 2009) or to abduct the children if she does not withdraw the case (Radford & Hestler 2009).

Others threaten to kill themselves if convicted (Hanner et al. 2009). Should a woman not withdraw her statement, the abuser could assault her again before the trial to show that he is serious about his threat (Jordan 2004). Apart from that, many women that apply for protection orders also suffer more severe abuse once the order is granted (Abrahams, Jewkes, Hoffman & Laubscher 2009). A study in Massachusetts on offenders confirmed that they reabused their partners after they were issued protection orders (Goldfarb 2007). Apart from that, women who participated in the study that was conducted in Colorado also confirmed that the abuse worsened after they were issued protection orders (Goldfarb 2007). In most cases, this took the form of emotional abuse (Goldfarb 2007). In some instances, men have killed women that applied for protection orders (Hall, 2014). Thus, Golddarf (2007) concluded that protection orders do not necessarily protect a woman's safety; instead, they could expose her to great danger. This could result in women refusing to make a statement, retracting it or changing her story in court (Caetano & Cunradi 2003, Hoyle & Sanders 2000).

The manner in which records are kept also makes it difficult to determine the extent of IPV (Krug et al. 2002, p). For example, a patient's medical records might contain information about the injury and treatment, but not the circumstances surrounding it (Joyner & Mash 2012). Doctors in emergency departments do not always record a case as abuse even when the patient tells them that they were abused (Kingston & Penhale 1995). Prior to the promulgation of the Domestic Violence Act in South Africa, the judicial system did not record domestic violence cases separately from

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other assaults because there was no crime called domestic violence (Hall 2014). Some institutions keep birth and death registers and could provide basic counts of homicides and suicides but in rural areas such statistics are not always available (Krug et al. 2002).

Due to different definitions of IPV and the different methodologies employed to conduct research, it is difficult to quantify IPV globally and to make comparisons on its prevalence and consequences for women (Pallitto et al. 2013). Some studies focus on women's exposure to violence over the course of their lifetime or in previous years, with only a few examining violence in the past year (Garcia-Moreno, Pallitto, Stockl, Watts & Abrahams 2013). Furthermore, empirical evidence is often based on small, population-based studies such as community crime, victim surveys, women staying in shelters and clinical samples (Jewkes 2002) and few studies focus on rural areas (Wong & Mellor 2014, Logan, Walker, Cole, Ratliff & Leukefeld 2003, Koenig et al. 2003). While such surveys represent a unique and highly visible sub-population, they do not represent the entire population and their findings thus cannot be generalized (Holt, Buckly & Whelan 2008, Hanner et al. 2000). Furthermore, surveys use tactic scales to measure partner mistreatment but McHugh & Frenzie (2006) maintain that this is inadequate in measuring behaviour because it does not show the difference between partner mistreatment and self-defence. Thus, surveys have their own hidden figure of non-response (Hanner et al. 2000). It is also believed that due to the non-standardization of research methods, IPV is underestimated (Karamagi, Tumwine, Tylleskar & Heggenhougen 2006).

Furthermore, some institutions do not release patient information to researchers (Krug et al. 2002). Khan et al. (2000) add that, when researchers conduct interviews with those affected by a scourge such as IPV, due to the nature of the information disclosed, they could suffer burnout and ask questions in a manner that prevents them from being exposed to disturbing narratives even when they are trained (Jewkes, Levin & Penn-Kekana 2002). During the interviews, the participants do not open up to the interviwee because they do not want their partners to look bad, they block the memory of the abuse because it is too painful to remember (McHugh & Frenzie 2006), or their partners may be near the interview room (Garcia-Moreno et al. 2013). While some women might confide in immediate family members, interviewers are considered as strangers (Hanner et al. 2000). If the participants in a study on women abuse are not willing to open up to the researcher, the magnitude of such violence will not be reported (Nicholson 2010). The fact that IPV is regarded
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a women's problem also makes the magnitude of its occurrence limited (Hattery 2009). Finkel (2011) adds that socio-cultural models lack empirical support and are not adequate to address female IPV.

Mullender (2002) called on women to make IPV public by talking about it and seeking the necessary help. If all women were to report such abuse, it would be easier to determine its impact and to design appropriate and effective strategies to eliminate IPV (Abrahams, Jewkes & Hoffman 2004).

2.4. Factors influencing IPV

The social issues that influence IPV include witnessing and experiencing abuse, suspecting women of sexual infidelity, alcohol abuse, and communal abuse. Economic factors include women's dependence on men for economic resources, a decline in job opportunities for men and women's economic empowerment.

2.4.1. Witnessing and experiencing violence during childhood

Women who have children do not leave their partners because they want their children to grow up with both parents in the same household (Kelly 2009). They choose to keep quiet and endure the abuse because they do not want their children to experience shame when people know that their mothers are being abused (Gharabie & Owesis 2009). Women think that by keeping quiet they are protecting their children; yet they are not aware that they are doing more physical and emotional harm to their children than good (Kelly 2009). Conflict between parents is one of several risk factors for men to perpetrate intimate violence later in life (Lichter & McCloskey 2004). Boys that witness or experience violence during childhood are likely to become perpetrators in their adult relationships, while girls that grow up in the same situation are likely to be victims of partner abuse with a ratio range of 7-70 (Craparo et al. 2014, Renner & Slack 2006). Thus, children learn how to behave from how others treat them and by observing how their parents treat each other (Stith, Rosen, Middleton, Busch, Lunderberg & Carlton 2000).

When children witness violence they might not themselves be physically abused but they see and/or hear it even when they are in separate rooms (Feroz, Jami & Masood 2015). Koenig, Stephenson, Ahmed, Jejeebhoy & Campbel (2006) found that men that saw their fathers beat their mothers as children were more likely to physically beat their own wives than those who never witnessed abuse and were also three times more likely to sexually coerce their wives. A study among a sample of men in northern India revealed that, approximately a third of those that were violent to their partners witnessed violence in their childhood with their father being the perpetrator in most cases (Martin et al. 2002). Only a few reported that they had tried to intervene to help their mothers (Edleson Mbilinyi, Beeman, & Hagemeister 2003). Such intervention took the form of screaming at their fathers to stop the abuse (Radford & Hester 2006). On the other hand, women that grew up in families where they witnessed abuse tend to tolerate it in their own relationships as their mothers did (Hattery 2009). Forcing a child to witness violence is a form of child abuse (Mokwena & Adeoti 2014).

Boys that experience frequent episodes of parental conflict in early childhood are at greater risk of being violent in adolescence or adulthood (Koenig et al. 2003). They feel that it is normal to use violence in certain situations because they have never learned to manage conflict appropriately (Gage 2005). However, not all men who witnessed and experienced abuse during childhood are abusive in their adult relationships (Abrahams & Jewkes 2005). Adams (2009) also notes that some men who grew up in non-violent homes abuse their partners in adulthood. In terms of personal experiences of violence in childhood, boys are at risk of physical violence while girls are more likely to suffer sexual abuse. Abuse is more often than not perpetrated by the mother or the caregiver and takes the form of harsh discipline, lack of emotional support, poor parental support, an absent or rejecting father, lack of empathy, and corporal punishment (Fonseka, Minnis, & Gomez 2015; Lichter & Mcloskey 2004). Renner & Slack (2006) also note that mothers sometimes over-discipline their children in order to avoid conflict with their partners. A study conducted in New Zealand on anti-social boys who were experiencing harsh parenting found that they engaged in hostile talk about women and were aggressive in their intimate relationships (Lichter & McCloskey 2004). In some instances, children are physically abused alongside their mothers and sometimes incur abuse that is meant for their mothers (Hartley 2004, Plichta 2004). In such situations, women try to shield their children although this is not easy (Radford & Hester 2006). Children in such families experience trauma (Levendosky, Huth-Bocks, Semel & Shapiro 2002).

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As noted earlier, girls are more at risk of sexual abuse by stepfathers, fathers, uncles, and their mother's boyfriends and of being prostituted (Hattery 2009). Some run away from home when their mothers do not believe them, or marry or stay with any available man in order to survive (Hattery 2009). Since they do not have time to establish what kind of person the man is, they could end up with men with a history of abusing women or with a criminal record (Gass et al. 2011). Hattery (2009) observes that women who were sexually abused as children seek out a protector to defend them from other men's physical violence. Research also shows that men who witnessed violence during their childhood are more likely to be abusive parents (Renner & Slack 2006).

Martin et al (2002) thus, posit that growing up in a non-violent home protects a person from abuse in the future. When women who grew up in non-abusive families first experience violence in adulthood, they tend to leave the relationship immediately (Mills 2008).

Men that experienced violence during childhood are more likely to engage in violence at work and in the community (Karakoc, Gulseren, Cam, Gulsren, Tenekeci & Mete 2015). Women who witnessed or experienced abuse in childhood suffer flashbacks and sleep disorders (Scott-Tilley, Tilton & Sandel 2010, Kaminer et al. 2008). The resultant stress can lead to eating disorders, stomach ulcers and frequent indigestion among women (Gass et al. 2011).

2.4.2. Suspecting women of sexual infidelity

Vandello & Cohen (2008) note that jealousy could be interpreted as a sign of affection, concern, caring and expression of love. However, evidence from many countries has indicated that spousal assault is caused by sexual jealousy and suspicions of infidelity (D'alessio & Stolzenberg 2010). Ironically, men that suspect their partners of sexual infidelity are often unfaithful, but seek to control their female partners by being possessive (Rocca et al. 2009, Gage & Hutchinson 2006). A study in New Zealand on young women whose partners were jealous showed that their boyfriends monitored them by checking on them through text messages, phone calls or other means (Towns & Scott 2013). Furthermore, the respondents stated that they had to dress in the manner prescribed by their boyfriends. While at first, the criticisms leveled by partners appeared to be minor, it escalated and became stressful (Towns & Scott 2013). The respondents felt that such criticism caused them to lose their identity and pleasure in their lives (Towns & Scott 2013).
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In some instances, jealous men prevent women from leaving the house, contacting other people, or talking to anyone (Fenton & Rathus 2010, Wilkinson & Hamersclag 2005). If women leave the house and arrive later than their usual time, their partners could examine their cars for signs that they have been with other men (Goetz, Shackleford, Staratt & McKibbin 2008). Some men feel the need to carefully monitor a woman who is of childbearing age (Goetz et al. 2008). If she falls pregnant, he would doubt that the child is his (D'alessio & Stolzenberg 2010) and offer no support during the pregnancy. Once the baby is born, he would demand a paternity test (D'alessio & Stolzenberg 2010).

When women try to leave their jealous boyfriends, they face stalking (Wilkinson & Hamersclag 2005). Men stalk women because they feel hurt when women leave them and want them to pay (Hegarty, O'Doherty, Taft, Chondros, Brown, Valpeid, Astbury, Taket, Gold, Feder & Gunn 2013). A study on women living in shelters found out that they had experienced stalking after ending their relationships with their partners (Mechanic, Weaver & Resick 2000). The man may make repeated phone calls, send threatening letters and emails, conduct surveillance at work, home and other places, vandalize her car or other possessions, and terrorize or harass the woman (Bradley 2000). Jealous men do not necessarily use all these tactics but the ones that work for them (Kelly & Jonson 2008). Men who stalk their partners sometimes extend their tactics to the woman's family, colleagues, pets, children and property (Kelly & Johnson 2008).

Women can also experience attempted murder and sometimes death where the man hires someone to kill the woman or does it himself when she decides to leave (Rokach 2007). A study conducted in 2000 in South Africa found that the overall ratio of women who were killed by their partners after leaving them was higher than the average on the African continent and nearly twice the global average (Seedat, Van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla & Ratele 2009). Half were killed with firearms or sharp instruments (Joyner & Mash 2014). Studies also show that they were likely to have been battered prior to their death and were likely to have been sexually abused (Plichta 2004, WHO 2012). More than half had also sought health care treatment before their death (Sharps, Laughon & Giangrade 2007). After killing the mother, the husband would kill the children and then himself (Pagelow 1992). Sudden death due to violence affects the woman's family because they cannot cope with the shock and in some instances where they were unable to help the woman, family members blame themselves (Brysiewicz 2008).

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2.4.3. Alcohol abuse

Communities and neighborhoods with many bars and liquor stores have higher levels of violence (O'Leary & Schumer 2003). In South Africa, people drink in informal establishments and shebeens and per capita consumption stands at 0.95 liters of pure alcohol per year (Peltzer & Pengpid 2013). Research has shown that households with high levels of alcohol consumption and the use of other drugs have low education and income levels (Khan et al. 2002). South Africa is among the countries in the world with the highest rate of fetal alcohol syndrome, with an average of 43.8-89.2 per 1 000 persons (Eaton, Kalichman, Sikkema, Skinner, Watt, Pieterse & Piptan 2012). Violence is more prevalent among couples that drink alcohol (Fals-Stewart & Golden, Schummer 2003).

Cunradi, Caetano & Schuffer (2002) note that it is generally agreed that men who abuse their partners are heavy drinkers and that heavy drinking leads to violence. Women, whose partners consume a lot of alcohol, are more likely to be abused than those whose partners do not drink (Klostermann & Fals-Stewart 2006). Alcohol use may affect IPV indirectly by causing marital conflict and dissatisfaction as partners argue about the man's drinking and spending money on alcohol (Gage 2005). O'Leary & Schumer (2003) note that men who drink alcohol spend more money on this habit than on anything else.

The severity of abuse is determined by how much alcohol one has consumed because alcohol inhibits judgement (O'Leary & Schumer 2003). Some men could consume six or more drinks prior to becoming violent while with others, violence can occur immediately they drink and they are likely to injure their partners (Idoko, Ogobe, Jallow & Ocheke 2015, Fals-Stewart et al. 2003). In some instances, they continue to drink while they abuse their partners (Foran & O'Leary 2008). Some men might wait to abuse their partners until they are drinking so that they can blame alcohol for their actions (Koenig. et al 2006). Leonard & Gobler (2006) show that, alcohol usage simply serves as an excuse for antisocial, aggressive behavior.

A study in Uganda found that women who reported recent domestic violence stated that their partners consumed alcohol or had frequently abused alcohol before abusing them (Tumwesigye, Kymuhendo, Greenfield & Wanyenze 2012). Half of the prison inmates convicted of committing

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a violent crime against an intimate partner said that they were drinking alcohol at the time of the assault (Thompson & Kingeree 2006). Men admitted for drug addiction also confirmed that they had a history of abusing their partners when they drank alcohol prior to their treatment (Arteaga, Lopez-Gori & Fernandez-Montalvo 2015). Pitpitan, Kalichman, Eaton, Cain, Sikkema, Skinner, Watt & Pietese (2013) observed that women use alcohol as a coping mechanism to deal with the hurtful situation caused by their male partner. Some women use other drugs to cope (Cunradi et al. 2002). Illicit drugs could put a woman's life in danger because she could be exposed to street violence from drug dealers (Raghaval, Mennerich, Sexton & James 2006). There is a paucity of research on alcohol and drug abuse in South Africa.

2.4.4. Communal Abuse

Every society has institutions that legitimize and deny abuse (Pulerwitz, Hughes, Mehta, Kidanu, Verani & Tewolde 2015). While IPV often goes unchallenged, actions directed at an employer, neighbor, or acquaintance would be punished (Heise et al. 2002). In a patriarchal society, men who believe that abuse is acceptable are likely to perpetuate IPV and women are likely to accept and justify the abuse (Shakya, Hughes, Stafford, Christakis, Fowler & Silverman 2016). Research also shows that women in those communities are often blamed for abuse (Anderson & Saunders 2003). Community members would say that the woman must have done something to provoke her partner (Heise et al. 2002) and that the partner was correcting her mistakes (Palermo, Bleck & Pterman 2014).

Women do not talk about abuse for fear of not being believed and of being attacked again (Hegarty & Taft 2001). Furthermore, they are afraid that they will be judged instead of the abuser (Lutenbacher, Chen & Mitzel 2003). Some women never disclose their abuse because they are aware of the consequences as a moral and ethical codes of loyalty guide them (White & Satyen 2015, Koenig et al. 2003). When women keep quiet, they show that they honor their families and husbands (Tang & Lai 2008). Furthermore, families put pressure on women not to hang their dirty linen in public (Owoaje & OlaOlorun 2012). Women thus blame themselves for the violence they suffer (Wu, Huff & Bhandarai 2010). Since the community has accepted the abuse, women tend

to normalize it and take it as discipline (Hegarty & Taft 2001). They will then view abuse as a sign of love (Abrahams & Jewkes 2005).

Research also shows that within the household violence is condoned as a way of putting a woman in her rightful place (Erez & Hartly 2002) in countries such as Nigeria (Owoaje & OlaOlorun 2012), Ethiopia (Semahegn & Mengistie 2015) and Bangladesh (Tang & Lai 2008). It is for this reason that Klomegah (2008) states that most abused women do not talk about their abuse, as they feel no one will listen to them.

While women from wealthy families and older women are less likely to believe that wife beating is justified (Schuler & Islam 2008), many younger women feel that it is justified if they refuse to have sex with their partners; waste their husband's money; neglect their children; burn food; or are perceived of as sexually unfaithful (Klomegah 2008). A woman that challenges her husband's manhood and insults him in front of his friends is also considered as worthy of punishment (Schuler & Islam 2008). Chambers (2005) maintains that condoning abuse leads women to comply with violence. Pierotti (2013) explains that while abuse is regarded as normal in many countries, it reinforces gender inequality.

IPV disrupts peace and harmony in communities (Raghaval et al. 2006). Women that are not able to talk about the abuse are likely to suffer from stress and depression (Goodkind, Bybee & Suvillian 2003). They are also likely to develop post-traumatic stress disorder (Caetano & Cunradi 2003). Some women commit suicide because they are not able to change societal norms (Reviere, Farber, Twomey, Okun, Jackson, Zanville & Kaslow 2007). Women can also develop a lack of trust in people because they do not get support from the family (Battagalia, Finley & Liebschutz 2003).

2.4.5 Women's Financial Dependence on Men

The partner with economic resources often dominates a relationship (Dunkle, Jewkes, Brown, Yoshihama, Gray, McIntyre & Harlow 2004). This causes a power imbalance (Adams et al. 2012). It is difficult for a woman in such a situation to leave an abusive relationship (Kim & Gray 2008). The partners of some women that work take their pay cheques (Mills 2008) and some cause their

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partners to lose their jobs by harassing them at work or abusing them so that they have to stay away from work (Adams et al. 2008). The aim is to make women fully dependent on them. Hoffman, Sullivan, Harrison, Dolezal & Monroe-Wise (2006) add that, the abusive partners of unemployed women refuse to allow them to attend job interviews, turn off alarm clocks on the day of the interview, refuse to give them transport money or a lift, prevent them from furthering their education and confiscate their car keys. A woman with a job is more likely to leave an abusive relationship (Hattery 2009). Men can also prevent women from acquiring assets and put women in huge debt and then refuse to pay, destroying their credit worthiness (Adams et al. 2008, Mills 2008).

In such situations, women stay in the relationship because they have no means of surviving on their own (Kim & Gray 2008). Griffing, Ragin, Sage, Mandry & Bingham (2002) show that many women that do leave return because they have run out of money. Others exchange sex for housing and money (Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna & Shai 2010). Condom use is less likely in such relationships as the man holds superior power (Townsend, Jewkes, Matthews, Johnston, Flisher, Zembe & Chopra 2011). Dunkle, Jewkes, Nduna, Nduna, Levin, Jama, Khuzwayo, Koss & Duvvury (2006) note that a lack of resources reduces women's ability to practice safe sex, and to decide when to have sex and with whom (Jewkes et al. 2010). They are afraid to ask their partners to use condoms because they are associated with promiscuity and disease (Do & Fu 2011). Women do not want their partners to think that they are promiscuous and they do not want them to know that they do not trust them (Purdie, Abbey & Jackues-Tiura 2010). Women are also afraid that if they do not agree to the man's terms, the relationship will end; they comply with his wishes to show their commitment to the relationship (Stockman, Lucea & Campbell 2013, Epperson, Platis,Valera, Barberi, Gilbrt & El-Bassel 2009). In such relationships, there is no communication around sex (Robertson & Mrachever 2006).

2.4.6 Decline in economic resources for men

Traditionally men are expected to be the sole providers economically while women contribute to the family through domestic work (Hindin & Adair 2002). In such contexts, men develop a hegemonic notion of masculinity as having a paid job and taking care of their families (Peralta,

Tuttle & Steele 2010). Hatcher, Colvin, Ndlovu & Dworkin (2014) note, that, hegemonic masculinity is the most dominant form of masculinity in a given era. However, in most countries the economic resources men need to maintain hegemonic masculinity are not readily available due to the decline in job opportunities, low levels of economic resources and high unemployment rates (Hattery 2009, Fox et al. 2007).

When men lack economic opportunities (Bui & Morash 2008), they experience stress (Jewkes 2002). Their self-esteem is eroded and they become angry and frustrated (Vyas, Jansen, Heise & Mbwambo 2015). They abuse their partners because they are not able to cater for their needs as they used to (Bui & Morash 2008). When women ask for money to buy groceries, they feel that they are nagging them (Bradley 2000). By abusing their partners, they exercise their masculinity which they regard as their birthright (Townsend et al. 2011, Moore et al. 2010). Outwater et al. (2005) also maintain that men that lack resources engage in violence as a means to cope with their situation. However, Nicholson (2010) argues that a man who can only keep his position as the head of the family through violence is not exercising or gaining power but demonstrating his failure.

Unemployment could result in men engaging in criminal activities (Lin 2008) as a means to provide for their families (Edmark 2005) since many communities expect the man to be the breadwinner (Krishnan, Rocca, Hbbard, Subbiah, Edmeades & Padian 2010).

2.4.7 Economic Empowerment for women

In countries such as South Africa that subscribe to a strong ideology of masculinity, women's autonomy is a cause of IPV (Rocca et al. 2009). Men feel that women are usurping their role in the household and resort to abuse as a means to maintain their dominant position (Owoaje & OlaOlorun 2012, Gage 2005). Women also suffer abuse because their partners feel that they are denying the roles defined by culture (Ahmed 2005).

Their partners on their return home abuse some women that attend empowerment events and programs (Koenig et al. 2003). They also encounter abuse if they ask their partner for money to

repay a loan from a microcredit scheme or when they are unable to secure further loans (Kim et al. 2007, Pronyk, Hargreavas, Kim, Morrisson, Phetla, Watts, Buzza & Porter 2006). Ahmed (2005) shows that women empowerment could generate tension and anxiety that affect a woman's emotional wellbeing.

Violence could undermine women's autonomy as it limits their ability to work, earn an income, and make decisions about their children's schooling and their health and the use of health care services (Vyas & Watts 2002). Violence is also a barrier to economic development because women stay off work due to abuse (Max, Rice, Finkelstein, Bardwell & Leadbetter 2004). It is estimated that absenteeism caused productivity losses of US$1.8 billion in the US , US$63.9 million in Vietnam, US$62 million in Bangladesh and US$87.7 million in Uganda (Semahegn & Mengistie 2015, Caleyachetty, Echouffo-Tcheugui, Stephen & Muennig 2014). Violence also affects countries' economic development due to the cost of treating the health effects of IPV (Krug et al 2002). IPV can also make women incur permanent disability (Plichta 2004) and not be able to work.

2.5.   The local development environment

This study investigated IPV in the context of community development. A community comprises of a group of people that share similar interests within a specific geographical location (Swanepoel & de Beer 2012). In community development, local people work together and use what they have within and outside the community to achieve common goals (Phillips & Pittman 2009). It is noted that community development efforts are about the means and process of development to benefit the entire community (Ife & Tesoriero 2006). According to Swanepoel & de Beer (2012), each community has a local development environment, which consists of the social, political, economic, cultural and psychological factors that impact on people's lives. All these factors are interconnected and together they constitute the whole community and act on one another to form the environment in which poverty alleviation and development should be addressed (Swanepoel & de Beer 1995).

2.5.1. The political environment

The political environment consists of the political leadership responsible for taking decisions in the community and political activities such as meetings and marches (Swanepoel and de Beer 2012). In rural areas, traditional leaders still play an important role in the community (Swanepoel & de Beer 1995) while in urban and peri-urban areas, democratic structures are used by sometimes opposing groups to promote development (Swanepoel & de Beer 2012). Such structures also promote community participation in policy-making (Kates, Quirk, Jerit & Rich 2001). Where they conflict with the state's interests, they are abandoned (Reddi 2007). Segalo et al. (2015) argues that while new policies are in place, the struggles against poverty, violence, unemployment and dislocation that many women wage continue. Thus, they do not have avoice and fail to influence any decisions.

2.5.2. The social environment

At community level, the social environment is made up of primary, secondary and informal institutions. The family is the primary institution and takes the form of a nuclear or extended family (Swanepoel & de Beer 1995). Smaller groupings such as friendships (e.g. with neighbors) (Mcneill, Kreuter & Subramanian 2006) form part of informal institutions (Swanepoel & de Beer 2012). Secondary institutions include schools, churches and clubs (Swanepoel & de Beer 1995). The ways in which organizations are structured and how they relate to one another form the social environment (Swanepoel & de Beer 1995) that influences behavior by shaping norms and enforcing patterns of social control (Mcneill et al. 2006: p. 1011). Families are represented in many secondary institutions where people interact, communicate, exchange ideas and learn mutual respect (Ryan & Patrick 2001). Thus, interpersonal relationships are an important aspect of the social environment that promotes individual wellbeing and confers status on community members (Mcneill et al 2006). In the current study, cultural norms make an individual to incur violence within an individual space and at secondary institutions. The primary and secondary environments intersect to exacerbate the abuse of women. The discussion below expands on secondary institutions.

2.5.2.1. Secondary Institutions

Scholars argue that secondary institutions such as police stations, the courts and hospitals are not fulfilling their duty when it comes to protecting women against IPV:

Police Stations

Police officers should be a source of help to women who experience IPV (Wolf, Ly, Habarg & Kernic 2003). Their attitude could determine whether or not a woman reports abuse. A woman that does not receive appropriate assistance the first time she reports abuse is likely to be discouraged from returning (Gracia, Garcia & Lila 2010). Some police officers have been known to accept bribes from abusers to make the docket disappear (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). It has also been reported that when women go to the police station to report sexual assault, officers have demanded sexual intercourse before opening a case in order to confirm their story of rape or to review the evidence (Jewkes & Abrahams 2002). Jewkes et al (2002) also note that some police officers ask for money to make cases go to court faster and ensure that the perpetrators go to jail. Wolf et al (2003) observe that some officers do not listen to women, but make conversation with their abuser.

When the police find partners fighting, they normally arrest both the man and the woman (Guvenen & Rendall 2015). Perhaps due to a lack of skills, they are unable to identify the primary aggressor (Hirschel, Buzawa, Pattayina & Faggiani 2007). In some cases, the police do not investigate whether the woman had previously laid charges of assault against the man (Wolf et al. 2003) and whether or not he has previous arrests (Miller 2001). In others, police officers that visit the family home where the abuse is taking place play the role of social workers instead of making an arrest (Pagelow 1992).

Research has also found that the police are reluctant to become involved in cases of violence when the victim is uncooperative (Gracia et al. 2010). In some instances, they are afraid of putting their lives in danger (Pagelow 1992). Cerulli, Conner & Weiseman (2004) note that dispatchers at police stations should screen calls for abused women to ensure that they receive immediate assistance. However, this does not seem to be the case (Cerulli et al. 2004). Indeed, some police officers regard

such calls as nuisance calls (Pagelow 1995). They regard themselves as peacekeepers and are therefore reluctant to confront IPV (Kingston & Penhale 1995). Moe (2007) also notes that research has found that the race of the perpetrator and the victim affects how officers interpret the abuse.

Consequently, some police officers do not arrest men that have violated protection orders even though the law demands that they do so (Goldfarb 2007). In some instances, police officers consider abused women's protection orders to be valid only once women's information is recorded in the registry at the police station (Baker et al. 2003). If a woman can incur abuse before submitting her protection order to the the police station, their order is not considered valid. This is why even when they can go to the police station with a copy of the order; they cannot get any form of assistance (Baker et al. 2003). While the law provides for mandatory arrests, the police do not always comply with the legislation (Cerulli et al. 2004), thus failing to protect the victim (Barnett 2001).

The courts

The court system is by nature adversarial. Criminal and civil rules of procedure offer little control to a victim and expose her directly to the offender (Jordan 2004: p. 1413). Thus, the courts do not always meet the needs of IPV victims (Cerulli et al. 2004). Women experience secondary victimization at the hands of the criminal justice system (Outwater et al. 2005). Jewkes & Abrahams (2002) note, that, "court officials have accepted bribes from the accused" (p.1232). There have also been cases where they organize a private meeting between the accused and the victim and suggest that the woman accept money from the accused and drop the case (Jewkes & Abrahams 2002).

Jordan (2004) also notes that, the courts do not protect women when they are unduly harassed by the defendant's counsel. In some situations, defence counsel might call expert witnesses that testify that the man has personality disorders (Pegalow 1995). The criminal justice system does not focus on protecting women from IPV; instead, the focus is protection orders, divorce, counselling, shelters or advising them to leave the abusive relationship even where the woman is not ready to do so (Onyejekwe 2013, McDermott & Garofalo 2004). Such remedies only protect the women's
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safety if she is willing to leave her partner (Goldfarb 2008). While protection orders require women to separate from their partners, this may be difficult for those that lack economic and social resources (Moe 2007). Many police officers hold the traditional view that IPV is not a crime (Pegalow 1995). As noted previously, victims that feel their voices are not heard by court personnel are significantly less likely to report a new case (Calton & Cattaneo 2014).

Co-parenting also makes it difficult to enforce a court order because the woman and the abuser meet during visitation, putting the woman and the children's lives at risk (Hardesty & Chang 2011). Furthermore, many women cannot afford attorneys (Hardesty & Chung 2006). Some attorneys warn women not to express the real problems they face in their relationship as they could lose custody of their children (Hardesty & Chung 2006). While some officers are able to secure high conviction rates, in other cases, due to a lack of skills in dealing with IPV, conviction rates are much lower (Arcidiacono & Crocitti 2015). Furthermore, some women use the courts to scare their partners but do not want to participate in court proceedings (Cala et al. 2016).

Hospitals

Primary care within a hospital setting is normally offered by nurses and midwives with the support of doctors (Joyner & Mash 2014). Health care workers are mandated to routinely screen patients for IPV (Walton, Maria, Burkhart & Terry 2015: P.8) but research shows that only a few centers do so and most do not screen women at all (Elliot, Nerney, Jones & Fiedmann 2002). Bent-Goodley (2007), Waalen, Goodwin, Spitz, Petersen & Saltzman (2000) add that health professionals have limited training in IPV and they chose not to screen, as they are afraid of endangering abused women's lives. This results in weak referral networks (Rees, Zweingenthal & Joyner 2014). Some doctors ignore signs of abuse (Pegalow 1995) and fail to comply with the requirement of mandatory reporting (Barnett 2001). Others feel that they cannot report abuse as this would violate the confidentiality of the doctor-patient relationship (Barnett 2001).

The negative attitudes of health professionals also deter women from revealing IPV (Flinck, Paavilainen &Astedt-Kurki 2005). A health worker who has herself been abused will be reminded of her situation that she has suppressed and will shy away from assisting a victim of IPV

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(Cavanaugh & Gelles 2005). Joyner & Mash (2011) add that, when abuse is not considered as a health problem, women will not receive assistance.

Health workers blame abused women when they do not comply with their suggestion to leave their partners yet do not consider why this is the case (Meyer 2016). This leads to the conclusion that women enjoy punishment (Weldon 2006). Christofides & Jewkes (2010), Joyner & Mash (2011) note that overburdened health workers will not screen women that access services at the hospital and women do not spontaneously reveal abuse. Furthermore, in rural areas that lack of shelters, counseling services and a well-functioning criminal justice system, women rely on nurses for assistance (Kim & Motsei 2000). Hegarty et al. (2013) add that clinics offer little privacy, limiting the chances of women opening up about the abuse. Addressing IPV thus remains a huge challenge for health care workers because it has complex clinical, social and legal implications (Zungu, Salawu & Ogubanjo 2010). The failure of social institutions such as the criminal justice system, and health and social services to respond to women's situation contributes to their entrapment (Moe 2007).

2.5.3. The economic environment

It is noted that all communities have their own local economy or system of trade and monetary supply. People's economic status determines whether they can pay for services and basic needs like food and education (Swanepoel & de Beer 2012). When people are economically stable, their quality of life improves. IPV is prevalent among women from poor socio-economic backgrounds. Such women are powerless when it comes to making decisions about their own lives due to physical weakness, isolation and limited access to finances, skills and knowledge (Chambers 2014). They are thus entrapped in poverty and their economic situation forces them to stay in abusive relationships.

According to Mbuli (2009), "poverty can be viewed as an absolute or relative lack of income or failure to attain capabilities" (p.14). Poverty is relative because it can either describe the situation of an individual or family, or a whole community or society (Swanepoel & de Beer 2012). It is estimated that most of the world's population lives in extreme poverty respectively (Sharps et al.

2007). The extent and causes of poverty differ from one country to another (Swanepoel & de Beer 2012).

Women in poor communities face isolation as their households are far from the main roads, markets, schools and health services (Hill, Smith, Wiesemann, Frankeberger, Quabili & Yohannes 2007). They also lack information, as they do not have access to media such as radios (Mosley & Verschoor 2005). Due to their location, they also do not have access to technology such as phones, computers and the internet and this limits their opportunities to improve their skills (Dlodlo 2009). A study conducted in the Mootse community in Limpopo Province confirmed that women in rural areas do not have access to technology. The community is served by a single internet centre with three computers. Furthermore, financial constraints prevent community members from accessing the internet at this centre (Dlodlo 2009). Such places also lack infrastructure such as tarred roads and transport is scarce (Mbuli 2009). Roads are also badly maintained (Swanepoel & de Beer 2012). This means that community members have to travel long distances on foot to access services (Armstrong et al. 2008). Financial constraints also prevent women from travelling to areas where there are job opportunities (Armstrong et al. 2008).

Again, women face great difficulty in obtaining credit, as many are unemployed and do not have the kind of collateral required (Mosley & Verschoor 2005). Furthermore, women married under customary law are considered minors under the guardianship of their husbands that require their husband's permission to apply for a loan (Akinboade 2005, Mclintock 1991). Due to lack of credit, women who have access to land are not able to buy seed, fertilizer, tools and other farming inputs (ANC) 2014) Since there is no subsistence farming to fall back on, unemployment is associated with poverty, poverty prevents people from changing their lives and results in low self-esteem (Chambers 2014, Mosley & Vershchoor 2005).

Those that are able to find a job earn low wages due to a lack of skills; as some of them do not have education at all, while others completed primary education and some completed secondary education (Hill, Smith, Wiesemann, Frankeberger, Quabili & Yohannes 2007). A study conducted in Ghana found that literacy rates among women and men stood at 63.5% and 78.3%, respectively (Doku & Asante 2015), suggesting that much remains to be done to ensure equal education. As a result, many women are self-employed; work in the informal sector, or are employed as casual or

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temporary labor (Aliber 2003). They cannot afford to attend training to improve their skills (Aliber 2003). Women also work long hours and still have to attend to household chores when they return home (Chambers 2014). Some women also rely on social grants that do not cover basic needs (Shackleton et al. 2007).

While South Africa is considered as an upper middle country (Hoogeveneen & Ozler 2003), many households remain in poverty. The Eastern Cape is the most severely affected, with a poverty level, followed by KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo (Woolard 2002). The human development index of Limpopo is lower than that of Zimbabwe. While poverty is not confined to any race group, it is concentrated among Black people (May & Govender 1998) and is highest in rural areas (Bhorat, van der Westhuzen & Jacobbs 2009).

This situation is a legacy of apartheid that forced the majority of Black South Africans to live in Bantustans (Hunter et al. 2003) that lacked basic infrastructure (Carter & Mary 2001) and services (Aliber 2003). While Black children received inferior Bantu education (Aliber 2003), White children received quality instruction (Woolard 2002). Resistance was ruthlessly put down by the police (Usdin, Christofields, Malepe & Maker 2000) and communities responded with violence (Usdin et al. 2005). This promoted a culture where physical violence became the first strategy to resolve disputes (Jewkes et al. 2002).

The deprivation trap, which leads to a vicious cycle of poverty, is depicted below:
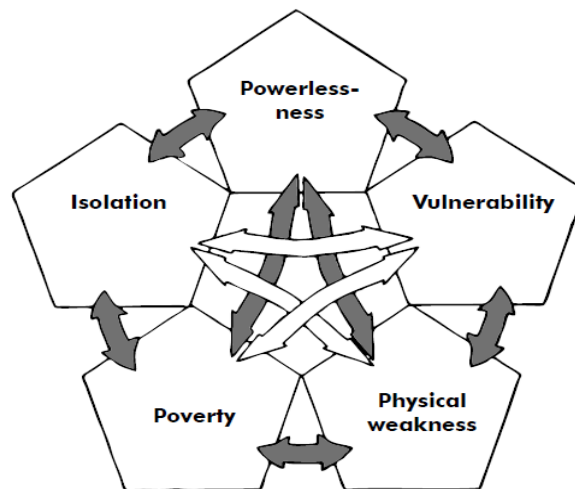
Figure 1: The deprivation trap (Swanepoel & de Beer 2011: p. 6)

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Fig. 1 illustrates how the different aspects of the deprivation trap (poverty, physical weakness, vulnerability, isolation and powerlessness) come together to form a trap. Each arrow points in two directions, showing how each part affects the other.

2.5.4. The psychological environment

How people think and regard themselves, constitute the psychological environment. When people's lives are difficult and stressful this affects how they feel and think about themselves. Swanepoel & de Beer (2012) observe that development planning often overlooks the psychological environment; however, it is critical to engage with how people think and feel about themselves since this affects their participation in community development. It is further observed that past experiences, whether good or bad, influence the psychological environment. Bad experiences may result in low self-esteem, thus contributing to social exclusion.

When women experience violence, communication breaks down between the partners (Durant 2003). The man becomes angry (Spradling 2011), moody and depressed and starts to use alcohol (Spradling 2011), leading to abuse. The abuser misinterprets his victim's every move and will withdraw his affection from her, intimidate her, provoke petty arguments (Nicolson 2010) and isolate her (Kreiger 2001). Since the women do not know why their partners are angry, they become insecure and uneasy (Krieger 2001) and feel that they are walking on shells (Spradling 2011). The batterer enjoys picking on the woman (Nicolson 2010). Verbal abuse could lead to minor physical abuse (Kaur & Herbert 2005). This stage is the tension building stage.

Women blame themselves for the abuse (Krieger 2001). Some are afraid of their partners and others develop coping strategies. They try to calm and nurture the abuser and withdraw from family and friends (Krieger 2001). The victim uses appeasement and patience as coping strategies (Durant 2003). Many confront their partners and try to accommodate them by changing their ways and avoiding situations that trigger abuse (Johnson 2008). They ask his family, and their family and friends to persuade him to change (Yoshioka, Gilbert, El-Bassel & Biang-Amin 2003). Zakar, Zakar & Kraemer (2013) note that, some women attend prayers and religious activities and visit

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holy places to cope with the abuse and justify it. Some project and blame other people for the abuse rather than their partner or external factors (Shapiro 2008, Durant 2003). Furthermore, Radford, Hester & Jessica (2006) showed that some women take their frustration out on their children. However, the abuser senses the woman's retreat and becomes more possessive and controlling (Durant 2003).

As time goes on, the tension becomes uncontrollable and the coping strategies less successful (Durant 2003). Durant (2003) shows that once abuse escalates, it is not easy to stop it. The abuser is the only one who has control over his behavior and he is the only one that can stop it.

The second stage is acute battering where the tension reaches breaking point (Nicolson 2010) and the violence becomes severe, ranging from extreme verbal abuse to severe assault and even rape (Kieger 2001), rendering it life threatening. Such violence can result in death (Hall 2014). The batterer claims he wants to teach the victim a lesson and becomes irrational. He continues the abuse until the tension is relieved, the batterer is exhausted or the police intervene (Nicholson 2010). At this stage, the woman may attempt to protect herself (Durant 2003) but stays out of fear. The abuser isolates the victim and makes her believe that the abuse is her fault (Kieger 2001). Children become caretakers to survive or keep the peace (Durant 2003). The first two cycles center on undermining the victim and her ultimately denying her abuser's problem (Kieger 2001).

The last stage is the honeymoon stage. The abuser seeks forgiveness from his partner in a remorseful, regretful manner (Kieger 2001), promises that there will be no more abuse and undertakes to seek help for his anger issues (Coleman 1997). The abuser may even cry. However, Durant (2003) maintains that this is a ploy to persuade his partner to forgive him. The abuser acts as though he is courting his partner and declares his love (Krieger 2001), so showering them with gifts and compliments. If the couple is not married, he might propose (Durant 2003). In some instances, they ask women to stay with them so that the children's wellbeing is not be affected (Durant 2003). They also ask that they stop any legal proceedings (Krieger 2001). Abusers may also try to convince partners that have already left to return (Durant 2003). The victim believes her abuser's promises because she feels she is obliged to make the relationship work (Durant 2003, Kieger 2001). She is also relieved that the crisis has passed; she believes that no one else will love her and she cannot survive on her own. The woman has no control of her life and feels that she

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cannot make decisions on her own (Durant 2003). She feels that her dreams have been fulfilled because her loving, ideal man is back (Bradley 2000). However, after some days the cycle starts again, making it very difficult for women to break free (Silva et al. 2015). As time progresses, the phases become shorter and the abuse becomes more frequent in the absence of any intervention (Coleman 1997; Durant 2003).

Women only decide to leave their partners when the abuse becomes severe and begins to affect their children. At this point, they become aware that their partners are not going to change (Potter 2007). It is recognised that women leave to ensure their safety and that of their children (Hassouneh-Phillips 2001). The price they pay is loss of financial support for their children (Burman & Chantler 2005). In some cases, women are not allowed to stay with their children or even visit them as they are blamed for leaving them (Jaffe, Johnson, Crooks & Bala 2008). Women in these situations feel they have a responsibility towards their children and eventually return to their partners (Radford & Hester 2009).

Women who leave often seek help from formal institutions such as the police and hospitals, shelters, professional counselors and the clergy (Dutton, Orloff & Hass 2000). However, West & Wandrei (2002) maintain that abused women are more comfortable with informal support systems such as friends and family. Kaukinen (2004) shows that families offer emotional and material support to women that have been abused. The former includes advice, encouragement or affirmation and the latter involves financial help, baby-sitting or a place to stay (Morison et al. 2006). Once a woman leaves her abusive partner, she is unlikely to return (Koepsell 2006). Pretorious & Bester (2009) also note that in some instances women kill their partners to end the abuse.

2.6 Conclusion

Violence within the household is not a new phenomenon. However, in the past studies focused on married couples and excluded gays, lesbians, unmarried cohabiting couples, dating couples, women separated from their partners and those in the process of divorce. More inclusive terms such as date violence, lesbian violence, and IPV have emerged. Most women do not report violence

to the police and do not talk about it because of the stigma and sensitivity associated with abuse. Finally, the study is located within community development, and the local development environment such as the political, social, economic and psychological environments as factors that cause women to incur IPV.

CHAPTER THREE

POLICY AND THE LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed the literature on IPV. This chapter discusses the International and South African policy and legal frameworks. Different policy and legal frameworks have been adopted to eliminate IPV since it was brought to the public's attention by feminist advocates in the 1970s (Liang, Goodma, Tummala-Nara & Weintraub 2008). International and local activists, policy makers, advocates, and legislators have raised awareness of this issue (Pallitto et al. 2013). Global summits have concluded that IPV could hinder the future well-being of the world's population (Reddi 2007). Strategies to address this scourge include resource development, the pursuit of peace, improvement in basic human rights, and improving women's health as well as their education (Reddi 2007). Different countries have launched awareness campaigns (Pallitto et al. 2013) and researchers have shed light on IPV prevalence, its causes and consequences, and possible solutions (Liang et al. 2008).

As a result of participation in different international conferences on the elimination of IPV, South Africa recognized this phenomenon as a health problem that infringes on women's human rights (Gera Wubs, Edvard Aarø, Mathews, Onya, & Mbwambo, 2013). Since the advent of democracy in 1994, the government has developed legal and policy frameworks that promote gender equality (Albertyn 2003). This was not policy during the apartheid era (Matthews & Abrahams 2001).

3.2 International Frameworks

The international frameworks that protect women against IPV include, but are not limited to, human rights instruments, the Convention on the Elimination of all Discrimination Against Women and Children (CEDAW), Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women, Sustainable Development Goals, the Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS, African Women's Charter and the Southern African Development Community Declaration on Gender and Development.

3.2.1. Human Rights Instruments

Human rights are also women's rights. In 1948, the UN Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights declaration that states that all human beings are born free with equal dignity and rights (UN 1996). Therefore, everyone is entitled to be treated well regardless of color, sex, language, religion, political affiliation, opinion, nationality, origin or any other status (UN 1996). Countries that are party to this Declaration are bound to adopt laws that protect human rights and provide that anyone who infringes such rights is held accountable and sanctioned (UN 2008). They should also create awareness of such rights and educate citizens on how to respect one another's rights (UN 2008).

The UN conference in Vienna in 1993 added a declaration on violence against women (Khann et al. 2000). It notes that gender discrimination intersects with racial and class discrimination and that women incur violence where their human rights are violated (Sullivan 1994). The declaration thus called on governments to protect women from all forms of violence and practices that affect their rights and freedoms (Sullivian 1994). It stated that women should be protected from sexual harassment, sexual exploitation, cultural prejudice, trafficking, rape and forced pregnancy during wars (Sullivan 1994). In South Africa, the Bill of Rights is enshrined in the 1996 constitution. The country's courts have been active in protecting these rights (Crush 2001).

However, countries agree to international treaties to appease their fellow member states but often fail to implement them (Suffla 2004) or apply them selectively. This is true when it comes to human rights (Neumayer 2005).

3.2.2 CEDAW

The CEDAW is an international tool to eliminate IPV (Wyndow et al. 2013) that was adopted in 1979 (UN 1992). The General Recommendation 19 in the CEDAW notes that gender based violence is a form of discrimination that inhibits a woman's ability to enjoy rights on an equal basis with men (UN 1992:2). The general recommendation calls on countries to abolish all laws that promote violence against women or to change them in such a way that they accommodate

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women. It also states that all practices that harm women and children should be addressed regardless of whether or not they are embedded in culture (Khan et al. 2000). The convention also requires member states to investigate such violations and bring perpetrators before the law regardless of whether they are individuals or state institutions (Khan et al. 2000). Furthermore, the CEDAW calls on member states to address discrimination against women in rural areas (UN 1992). Should women from a particular country report continued violence against women, the CEDAW Committee is empowered to investigate and recommend a plan of action to address the issue (UN 1992).

3.2.3. Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women

The Fourth World Conference on Women was held in Beijing in 1995. It condemned violence against women and endorsed the strategies identified by the CEDAW to eliminate it (Hoque 2011, Tang & Lai 2008). Governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were encouraged to do research on the prevalence, nature, causes and consequences of IPV and to promote health interventions to address violence against women (Hoque, Hoque & Kader 2009, Ntaganira, Muula, Masaisa, Dusabeyezu, Siziy & Rudatsikira 2008). Countries were also mandated to develop and adopt measures to modify cultural practices relating to gender (Harvey, Garcia-Moreno & Butchart 2007) and to commit to eliminating violence against women.

The conference further called for equal opportunities for men and women and equal rights and access to resources. It called for household responsibilities to be shared (UN 1995). Furthermore, women should contribute to society by participating in women's groups and networks (UN 1995). Finally, it was noted that the on-going review was required to assess the effectiveness of such strategies (Harvey et al. 2007).

3.2.4. Sustainable Development Goals

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were adopted by 180 countries in the year 2000 (Travis, Bennett, Haines, Pang, Butta, Hyder, Pielemier, Mills & Evans 2004). The UN task forces visited countries that were party to the MDGs to monitor progress (Sachs & McAuthor 2005). The

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UN also offered financial assistance to enable governments to achieve the MDGs and the UN Secretary-General launched a global strategy to improve women and children's health (Lozano et al, 2011). The MDGs were **Goal 1:** To eradicate hunger and poverty; **Goal 2:** To achieve universal education; **Goal 3:** To promote gender equality and empower women; **Goal 4:** To reduce child mortality; **Goal 5**: To improve maternal health **Goal 6**: To combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis; **Goal 7**: To ensure sustainability. **Goal 8**: To develop global partnerships to launch programs targeting grassroots communities (Manning 2009). According to Sachs (2012), it was difficult for developing countries to implement the MDGs due to the fact that promises of development assistance from developed countries were not fulfilled. Furthermore, the fact that they were time bound and measurable hampered their implementation as some are not measurable or their measurement is inadequate (Attaran 2005). Bond (2006) also maintained that the MDGs failed because they were generated in a non-transparent manner by the UN to embrace the Washington Consensus and whitewash privatization strategies and reject elementary democratic reform (p.1).

The 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were adopted at the Sustainable Development Summit by the 193 UN member states in September 2015 (UNDP 2017). They recognize that the intersection of gender, poverty and inequality places women in a deprivation trap (Sachs 2012). The SDGs adopt the triple bottom line approach to human wellbeing that calls for a combination of economic development, environmental sustainability and social inclusion (UNDP 2017). This also calls for good governance (Sachs 2012). For the purpose of this study, the following eight SDGs are pertinent: SD**G 1** End poverty in all its forms everywhere; **SDG 2**: End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture**; SDG 3**: Ensure healthy lives and promote wellbeing for all at all ages; **SDG 5:** Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls**; SDG 8:** Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all; **SDG 10:** Reduce inequality within and among countries; **SDG 16:** Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels, **SDG 17**: Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development.

3.2.5   Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS

HIV and AIDS affects 33.3 million people worldwide (Bonacquisti & Geller (2013). Women continue to be affected and infected in larger numbers than men (Stockman, Lucea & Campbell 2013). A study conducted in secondary schools among men aged 18-24 in Kwazulu-Natal found that HIV infection was high among women than in men (Harrison, O'Suvullivan, Hoffman, Dolezlal & Morrell 2006). Another study of two communities in the Western Cape also found that women were more infected than men (Strebel et al. 2006). In the US, one in four women diagnosed with new HIV infections were from lower socio-economic groups (Bonacquisti & Geller 2013).

The 2000-2001 the Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS World Campaign aimed to make men aware that their risky sexual behaviour put their female partners at risk (Peacock, Khumalo & McNab 2006). Stepping-stone is a participatory HIV Prevention Program in South Africa that aims to improve sexual health through building stronger and more gender equitable relationships among men and women (Weldon 2006). A follow-up in 64 rural areas in the Eastern Cape two years after the launch of the program found that IPV had decreased (Jewkes, Nduna, Levin, Jama, Dunkle, Puren & Duvvury 2008). Thirty-eight per cent of men reported that they had not abused their partners (Strebel et al. 2006). Although the HIV infection rate did not decrease, men reported fewer partners (Jewkes et al. 2008).

Condom use, HIV testing, treatment of STIs (Cooper et al. 2004), and more recently male circumcision and the scale up of Antiretroviral Therapy all aim to prevent HIV infection (Tanser, Barninghausen, Grapsa, Zaidi & Newell 2013). Antiretroviral therapy is accompanied by education that disseminates information on how the treatment works, promotes adherence to treatment and discusses the social implications of the disease (Karim, Churchyard, Karim & Lawn 2009). However, behavioural interventions focus more on men than women because men often control women (Langen 2005). A man that refuses to use a condom puts his partner at risk of infection (Ilika, Okonkwo & Adoku 2002). Akinboade (2005) maintains that while the female condom and new products such as microbicides have the potential to strengthen HIV prevention among women, some women have no knowledge of them.

3.2.6. The African Women's Charter

The African Women's Charter was adopted in Maputo, Mozambique in 2013 by African Heads of State (Gawaya & Mukasa 2005). It enshrines women's sexual and reproductive right to medical abortion when a pregnancy results from rape or incest, or endangers the health of the mother. The Charter also outlaws female genital mutilation (Gawaya & Mukasa 2005). In order to comply with its obligations under the Charter, South Africa implemented the Choice on the Termination of Pregnancy Act 92 of 1996. As noted earlier, women are not always able to negotiate the use of condoms or other contraceptive methods with their partners, putting them at risk of unwanted pregnancy. In terms of the Act, women of 12 years and older can decide to terminate a pregnancy without their partner's permission (Botes 2000). During the first 12 weeks, the pregnancy can be terminated by a midwife (Pickles, 2013).

From the 13th to the 20th week of gestation the pregnancy can only be terminated if a medical practitioner is of the opinion that it poses a risk to the woman's physical and mental health; there is a substantial risk that the fetus would suffer from severe physical or mental abnormality or if the pregnancy resulted from rape or incest (Engelbrecht, Pelser, Nwenya & Van Rensburg 2000). A pregnancy can be terminated after the 20th week if a medical practitioner, in consultation with another medical practitioner or a registered midwife decides that if it continues, it would endanger the woman's life, result in severe malformation of the fetus or pose a risk to the fetus (Pickles 2013). At this stage, the pregnancy can only be terminated by a medical practitioner (Cooper et al 2004). While medical personnel have the right to refuse to terminate a pregnancy due to their conscience, religion or beliefs (Botes 2000); they should not discriminate against women. In 1997, three months after the implementation of the Choice on the Termination of Pregnancy Act 73 000 terminations were performed in Gauteng provincial hospitals (Ratlabala 2007). However, some women still opt for risky abortions outside hospitals (Jewkes & Rees 2008).

The Department of Health also aims to ensure equitable access to sexual and reproductive health services and to prevent sexual coercion, discrimination and violence (Sen & Governer 2015). Furthermore, it aims to provide access to safe, effective, affordable and acceptable contraception and health services that enable women have safe pregnancies and childbirth (Glassier, Gulmezoglu, Shmid, Moreno & Van Look 2006). Health facilities promote good health and family

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planning by teaching and counseling individuals and groups of people (Muller, Rohrs, Hoffman-Wanderer 2016).

The government of South Africa has put an effort to reduce child mortality, the South African government offers free neonatal care and baby formula (Chopra, Daviaud, Pattinson, Fonn & Lawn 2009). Child support grants of those eligible (Chopra et al. 2009). The school-feeding scheme was also introduced in qualifying primary and secondary schools (Unterhalter & North 2011).

After the introduction of democracy, the Department of Health built 1 300 clinics, amalgamated health services into a single system with an equitable distribution of resources and expanded service delivery by introducing free primary health care (Cooper et al. 2004). Tuberculosis and mother-to-child transmission of HIV were focus areas (Cooper et al. 2004).

3.2.7. Southern African Development Community Declaration on Gender and Development

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) Heads of States signed a Declaration on Gender and Development in 2008 that aimed to mainstream gender equality and equity (Munalula 2011). It provided for equal representation in decision-making at all levels with female as political representatives (Sadie 2005). Member states are required to promote women's full access to, and control over productive resources such as land, markets, credit, modern technology, and formal employment and education as a way to improve women's quality of life and reduce poverty (Banda 2002).

Democracy

The SADC Declaration also states that women should participate in democracy in order to influence policy. In South Africa, the ANC adopted the policy that women should constitute half the candidates for both national and local government elections (Hall 2014). Five years into democracy, far more women were participating in politics with many holding high office (Beall 2005). At the time of writing, 44% of political positions were occupied by women and 42% of cabinet members were female (Hills 2015). South Africa and Lesotho appointed women to head

up their electoral commissions (Akinboade 2005). Swaziland and South Africa elected women as deputy speakers and women's representation in the judiciary has improved (Akinboade 2005).

While women have long been involved in politics in South Africa and play an important part in deepening democracy (Britton 2006), they remain in the minority, diluting their influence (Wyndow et al 2013). In countries such as Egypt, women's names are placed at the end of the lists of candidates, limiting their chances of being elected (Taher 2012). Only few Kenyan parliamentarians are women (Akinboade 2005). Furthermore, the voices of abused women are not heard in national forums (Fox et al. 2007).

Control of and access to credit

South Africa's National Credit Act 34 of 2005 states that there should be a fair and non-discriminatory marketplace for consumer credit (Renke, Roesloff & Haupt 2007). It also sets requirements for improved consumer information and promotes Black economic empowerment and ownership in the consumer credit industry (Goodwin-Groen & Kelly-Louw 2006).

Many women use microfinance to access credit. In South Africa, Intervention with Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity (IMAGE) was established in Limpopo to provide loans to women to establish income-generating projects (Pronyk et al. 2006). Previously, men and women relied on money lenders that charged high interest rates and resorted to illegal means when borrowers were unable to meet their commitments (Uddin, 2015). Beneficiaries are offered one-hour gender and HIV sessions when they visit the offices to make loan repayments. A review two years after the project began operating found that IPV among the women beneficiaries' families had decreased (Kim et al. 2007).

The limitations of this scheme include the fact that it is limited to Limpopo and that beneficiaries are required to offer their land as collateral, putting them at risk of losing this asset should they be unable to keep up with repayments (Kato & Kratzer 2013). Furthermore, those that live in extreme poverty are not eligible for loans, as they have no collateral (Cheston & Kuhn 2002). Segalo et al (2015) are of the view that IMAGE does not give women beneficiaries a voice to express the real issues that affect them. Uddin (2015) concluded that even though women recognized that they
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were being exploited, but they continued to participate in credit schemes as the money they received made a difference in their homes. Uddin (2015) added that while microfinance schemes promote women's wellbeing, they do not give them control over economic assets within the household.

Men in abusive relationships often force women to borrow large amounts of money and never repay the money, leaving women with a negative credit status.

Education

Education and training are important tools to empower women. Education also addresses IPV as it improves women's socio-economic status (Wyndow et al 2013). In Uganda, women are offered opportunities for distance learning (Ojo & Island 2012). The South African Minister of Education introduced a nine-point education mobilization plan in 2009, which is part of the culture of learning, teaching and service campaign (Steyn 2002). It aimed to eliminate illiteracy among adults and youth within five years, transform schools into centres of community life, address the physical degradation of schools, develop a professional teaching workforce and promote active learning through outcomes-based education (Steyn 2002). The Department of Education and NGOs offer adult and basic training for women who were not able to attend school (Aichison & Harley 2006). This has led to a decrease in the number of women without education (Aitchison & Harley 2006). Quality education should be provided to both women and men and gender stereotyping should be removed from the curriculum, career choices, and professions.

The Dakar Framework for Action was adopted in April 2000 at the World Education Forum in Senegal (Tamatea 2005). It aims to assist children affected by violence and HIV who are excluded from education (King 2007). It also aimed to address gender disparity in primary and secondary education (King 2007).

The South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 states that all learners should have access to education without discrimination (Government 2003) and makes school compulsory for children aged 7-15 or from Grades one to nine (Unterhalter, North, 2011). Free education is offered at schools in certain quintiles (Government 2003). The Department of Education also runs awareness

campaigns on violence in school settings (Mlamleli 2001) and abolished corporal punishment (Zulu, Urbani, Van Der Merwe & Van Der Watt 2004). Girls cannot be expelled from school due to pregnancy and are encouraged to return to school after giving birth (Mkhwanazi 2014).

Primary schools in the country now enroll large numbers of girls (Lopi 2004) that study the same courses as boys (Prinsloo, 2006). At University level, more women than men graduate (Guvenen & Rendall (2015).

However, in sub-Saharan Africa, 34% of girls complete primary school compared to 50% of boys, while only 10% of girls complete compared to 36% of boys (Feraro 2015). Furthermore, Spreen & Vally (2006) show that rural schools are under-resourced. The quality of education has also deteriorated due to school violence in South Africa (Spreen & Vally, 2006). Van Der Berg (2008) notes that many South African schools perform very poorly. Some girls do not attend school or drop out because they cannot afford fees, uniforms, stationery and transport (Spreen & Vally 2006). Sexual harassment by male teachers or male students also makes them drop out (Zulu et al. 2004). Ojo & Island (2012) note that, while opportunities for distance learning exist, many husbands do not allow their wives to participate in these courses. In some instances, women are not able to continue learning because of childcare responsibilities (Ojo & Island 2012).

Technology

Technology can empower women as it enables information sharing, knowledge, and application and improves their potential to participate in the global economy (Huyer & Sikoska 2003). The South African government adopted the National System of Innovation in 1996 to promote job creation, improve the quality of life, develop human resources, promote increased knowledge of services and provide information to society (Huyer & Sikoska 2003).

Moser's gender planning framework for developing countries confirmed that women experience gender inequality within the family (Moser 1993). Gender equality can only be achieved if all people are empowered to manage their own lives, and provide for themselves and their families (Szekeres 2012: 203). Moser (1993) set out three stages in women's emancipation. In the first stage, roles, needs and policy approaches are linked together by a coherent internal logic. The
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second step is built on Maxin Molyneux's seminal feminist research on gender interests (Moser, 2014). According to Moser (2014), "the third gender planning tool was the five-fold typology of ideal type policy approaches to women in development/ gender and development along a continuum from welfare equity and anti-poverty to efficiency and empowerment" (p.10).

3.3 South African Policies and legal frameworks

The policies and legal frameworks discussed include the Employment Equity Act, the small, medium and micro enterprises (SMME) strategy, the Promotion of Access to Information Act, the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act, the crime prevention strategy, the Domestic Violence Act, campaigns run by Non-Governmental Organizations, social grants and 16 Days of Activism for no Violence against Women and Children.

3.3.1. Employment Equity Act

The South African government has adopted strategies to tackle the high unemployment rate among women (Kingdon & Knight 2007). The Expanded Public Works Program aims to empower people economically by providing them with work (Kingdon & Knight 2007). RDP and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy aimed to make labor markets more flexible, improve productivity and increase training and employment (Hoogeveen & Ozler 2005). The Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998 promotes equality in the workplace and introduced Black advancement programs (Wocke & Sutherland 2008, Leonard & Gobler 2007). While change has occurred, few Black people are in managerial positions and of those, very few are women (Selby & Sutherland, 2006). When women have formal employment, they are able to overcome poverty and leave abusive relationships.

The National Skills Act 97 of 1998 created Sector Education Training Authorities that charge a skills levy and offer training programs in different sectors (Kingdon & Knight 2007). However, women in formal work enter the working world on male terms (Ellis & Peel 2010). Furthermore, jobs such as secretaries, nurses, teachers and working in the personnel department that are deemed suitable for women offer less prospects of advancing to managerial positions (Ramos & Martin-Palomino 2015). While they work hard and often do dangerous work, women earn less than men

(Pearson 2004). In OECD countries, women are paid less than men for doing a similar job with similar qualifications (Fodor 2004). De Klerk (2005) adds that when companies are not performing well, women are the first to be retrenched.

3.3.2. The SMME Strategy

The South African Ministry of Trade and Industry adopted an SMME strategy that also aims to empower women (Mazanai & Fatuki 2011). Most SMMEs are run by women (Mazanai & Fatuki 2011). The department has established business development services for women in business and a women's entrepreneur network (Mazanai & Fatuki 2011).

However, most SMMEs' applications for bank credit are rejected (Mazanai & Fatuki 2011). Many women work in small businesses that not only lack access to credit, but to markets. Furthermore, many sell the same product (Akinboade 2005). They lack resources to compete with big companies that are able to sell their products at lower prices (Abor & Quartey 2010, Akinboade 2005). Women are therefore forced to participate in informal trading. They cannot benefit from export opportunities as they lack licenses or passports and do not pay tax (Akinboade 2005).

3.3.3. The Promotion of Access to Information Act

The Promotion of Access to Information Act 2 of 2001 states that everyone has the constitutional right to access to any information held by the state and any other person that is required for the exercise or protection of any rights (Nutbeam 2000). Coordinated by the Department of Social Development, government departments and the criminal justice system run community programs to disseminate information on women's rights, the Domestic Violence Act, applying for protection orders and reference to shelters (ANC 2014). The more information women have access to, the more likely they are to be able to deal effectively with IPV.

3.3.4. The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act

The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act 4 of 2000 aims to ensure equal access to justice and prevent unfair discrimination on the grounds of gender, disability, hate speech, harassment and publication of unfair discriminatory information (Bernard & Hepple 2000). Equality Courts were established to deal exclusively with cases relating to unfair discrimination, harassment and hate speech (Kaersvang 2008).

3.3.5. Social Grants

To achieve improved nutrition, countries are called on to ensure proper functioning of food commodity markets and their derivatives and facilitate timely access to market information, including that on food reserves in order to limit extreme food price volatility (UN 2016).

The government of South Africa introduced the social grants system to address hunger (Meth & Dias 2004). These include pensions, disability grants, child support grants and foster grants (Mbuli 2009). Unemployment insurance is available to people that lose their jobs are unable to work due to illness or childbearing (Mbuli 2009). The government has also adopted an integrated food strategy to enable access to nutritious food and agricultural productive resources (Drime & Rysenaar 2010). Short-term relief is available when an individual is unable to access sufficient food due to disability. The strategy calls for on-going monitoring and evaluation of food security and vulnerability (Drime & Rysenaar 2010).

The Land Rights Act of 1999 provides that people whose land tenure is insecure due to past racially discriminatory laws are entitled to secure tenure or comparable redress (Saruchera 2004: p.145). However, the Minister of Agriculture reviewed the Land Act and Land Affairs in 1999 as it was complex and did not enable women to access land. The Communal Land Rights Act of 2004 replaced it that aimed to enable gender equality in access of land (Hall 2004). It provides that a woman is entitled to the same legal tenure, and rights to land as is a man, and no law, or community or other practice usage may discriminate on the grounds of genders (Government 2004). The

government also launched land reform projects aimed at assisting previously disadvantaged farmers to achieve commercial viability (Kirsten & Machete 2005).

However, the Communal Land Act of 2004 only mentions married women and is silent on ownership of land by single women such as widows and unmarried women (Saruchera 2004, Claassens 2008). Claassens (2008) notes that the drafters of the law's failure to engage with family based systems has hampered women's land rights. Most women still do not have access to arable land because their husbands own it and their sons inherit it (Akinboade 2005). Where women gain access to land this is through her husband or other male relatives (Cousins 2007). Indeed, women constitute less than 10% of landowners (Akinboade 2005). Furthermore, those that own land are not able to cultivate sufficient produce to feed their children (Chambers 2014).

3.3.6. Crime Prevention Strategy

The Crime Prevention Strategy implemented in 1996 considers violence against women and children as a national priority (Vetten 2005). More courts and prisons were built, existing prisons have been extended and more police officers have been recruited (Newham 2005). The government also improved service delivery by the police, installed closed circuit television surveillance in major cities and devised training manuals on sexual and domestic violence for prosecutors (Plessis & Louw 2005). Community policing was introduced to address violence, with the police and the community working together, moving away from the previously authoritarian system (Robinson, Stroshine & Chandek 2000).

3.3.7. Criminal Law Amendment Act 105 of 1997

The Criminal Law Act 105 was amended in 1997 to impose mandatory minimum sentences for certain crimes and tighten the bail conditions of those charged with rape (Vetten 2005). Jewkes & Abrahams (2002) note that the common law offence of rape was repealed by the Sexual Offence Act that states that any person who unlawfully or intentionally commits an act of sexual penetration without consent is guilty of rape; this includes force, threats of power or authority and the use of drugs. The Act goes beyond penile penetration of the vagina to include a range of actions such as

fingers, and objects in the mouth or in the anus (Stewart et al. 2015). Juta (2014) notes that a person found guilty of rape will be sentenced to a minimum of five years that could extend to life imprisonment.

The government also recognized that women are ashamed to talk about rape in the ordinary courts and introduced Rape Courts or Thuthuzela Centres (Onyejekwe 2013). Counselors are posted at these courts that minimize contact between the perpetrator and the victim (Onyejekwe 2013). While such cases are difficult to pursue, higher conviction rates have been achieved (Onyejekwe 2013). Ramkissoon, Searle, Burns & Beksinka (2010) found that successful convictions increased between 2004 and 2006/7 as opposed to ordinary courts where women wait long periods of time to secure a conviction.

In order to equip health providers with skills to facilitate treatment and examination of sexual assault patients and collection of forensic evidence for sexual survivors, the South African government introduced the sexual assault policy (Coovadia et al. 2009). The government has now introduced post exposure prophalyxis provision as part of post care rape and as a means of collecting forensic evidence (Kim, Martin & Denny 2003). Health care providers have been trained to provide post rape health care and forensic medical examination and there have been efforts to improve facilities, including the establishment of dedicated rape care rooms (Jewkes, Christofields, Vetten, Jina, Sigsworth & Loots 2009).

In the beginning, district surgeons were used to collect forensic evidence. However, this is no longer the case due to allegations that sexual assault survivors did not receive appropriate care (Martin 2002).

3.3.8. Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998

The 1993 Prevention of Family Violence Act was replaced by the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 (Usdin et al. 2000). While the former criminalized rape within marriage, it focused on married women (Mullick et al. 2010, Reddi 2007). The Domestic Violence Act is applicable to those in both heterosexual and homosexual relationships and the abuse could be physical,

emotional, intimidation, harassment, stalking, damage to property, entering the complainant's residence without their consent where the parties do not share a home, and other controlling behavior where such conduct harms or causes harm to the safety, health or wellbeing of the individual (Artz 2001).

The Act requires a police officer to make an arrest with or without a warrant when abuse occurs, confiscate any weapons used during the abuse and explain women's rights and how to apply for a protection order. They should also be informed how to obtain medical treatment and lay a charge in the language that they understand and the police officer should assist them in gaining access to a shelter (Usdin et al. 2000). If the victim feels that a police officer has not fulfilled their duties in this regard, they should report them to the Commissioner of Police (Pretorious & Bester 2009).

The Act further provides that the role of the courts is to provide the abused woman with a protection order, evict the man from the shared property even though he would still be expected to pay rent and deny the abuser the right to child custody (Artz 2001). Usdin et al (2000) note that, since the promulgation of this Act, the police mentality has changed and they are now more swift to respond to cases of domestic violence. For example, in the Western Cape, applications for protection orders increased by 37.6% (Matthews & Abrahams 2001). However, women still feel reluctant to report their partners.

3.3.9. Non-Governmental Organizations

NGOs have created awareness of IPV by running media campaigns, including Soul City on television, and programs on different radio stations as well as print media (Seedat et al. 2009). NGOs such as One Man Can (Van Der Berg Hendricks, Hatcher, Peacock & Dworkin 2013) and Men as Partners have organized community workshops for men on gender based violence, masculinity and how to improve their relationships with their children and wives and reduce the spread of HIV (Peacock & Levack 2004). Follow up on men who participated in the workshops showed that their parenting skills had improved and that they had become more responsible fathers (Van Der Berg et al. 2013). Peacock et al (2006) also found that some men visited shebeens to raise awareness of women abuse and promoted gender equality by joining women's marches.

NGOs also created more shelters for women in all provinces to provide abused women and their children with temporary accommodation during crises (Rokach 2008, Ramkissoon et al. 2010). Shelters offer workshops on the nature of abuse and communication as well as social support and legal assistance (Rokach 2008, Moe 2007).

However, many women return to their partners upon leaving a shelter due to a lack of financial resources (Griffing et al. 2002). (Meyer, 2016). Moreover, most shelters are located in the major cities (Outwater et al. 2005). Jewkes et al. (2010) also note that the shelters rely on funds from donors as they do not receive government support. When funders withdraw, abused women's needs cannot be met (Van Der Hoven, 2001). Staff can only admit those in greatest need of assistance (Moe 2007). Many women are discouraged from seeking help at shelters because their families have negative attitudes towards such institutions (Mcdermont & Garofalo, 2004). Furthermore, in their attempts to become more self-sufficient, some shelters have adopted bureaucratic modes of operation that undermine women's self-confidence and self-esteem (Moe 2007).

3.3.10. 16 Days of Activism for no Violence against Women and Children

Sixteen Days of Activism for No Violence against Women and Children is observed worldwide from 25 November to 10 December each year (Harries & Bird 2005). It emphasizes that violence against women is a violation of human rights (Buthelezi 2009). In South Africa, female victims are encouraged to talk about abuse and to ensure that they get the help they need by calling toll-free numbers or getting help from friends and family (Government of South Africa, 2015). The community is also encouraged to report child abuse, children are also urged to report school bullying and men are discouraged from abusing their partners. Women are also encouraged to report abuse by their female partners (Government of South Africa 2015). Buthelezi (2009) states, that, the campaign attracts widespread media coverage (Koenig et al. 2003). Mudavanhu & Radloff (2013) also note the use of audio material and tweets to support various campaigns and policy change.

However, media can also promote IPV by broadcasting reports on wealthy individuals that have been prosecuted for such crimes but not convicted (Mills 2008). This creates the impression that those with money are free to perpetrate such crimes (Mills 2008). Moser (1993) also notes, that, media programs associated with feminism or women's liberation are often shunned by both men and women.

Saito (2007) observes that television portrays women as homemakers that do the household chores and those that work outside the home as nurses, secretaries, waiters and teachers. Media traditionalises women's roles by privileging men (Saito 2007), and disempowering women. Russo & Pirlott (2006) note, that, the media socializes and normalises cultural and rape myths through fiction films and rap music. Rape is all too often portrayed as the woman's fault; for example, she was promiscuous (Maxwell & Scott 2014).

Despite the existence of legal and policy frameworks to address IPV, women continue to experience abuse in large numbers. This suggests that these frameworks are inadequate and ineffective in solving women's problems (Ambrosetti, Amara & Condon 2013). While improved income and education might not protect women from abuse, they do make it relatively easier to escape (Campbell 2002). They could also enable married women to escape bad marriages (Ahmed 2005). They could even have a choice of whether or not to marry (Ahmed 2005). Economic empowerment can help a woman to pay for temporary accommodation until she finds something permanent (Hattery 2009). Dalal (2010) also shows that working women are more likely to seek help than those that are not employed.

3.4 The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

In 1998, the Department for International Development adopted the sustainable livelihoods (SL) approach at a conference (Ashley & Carney 1999). It acknowledges that the poor are vulnerable due to shocks, trends over time and seasonal change (Solesbury 2003). The SL approach recognizes that people possess a stock of capital that includes social capital (social networks and relationships), natural capital (stocks), financial capital (savings, income and credit), physical capital (transport, shelter, water, energy and communication) and human capital (skills and knowledge) (Serrat 2008). Initiatives that seek to empower women should build on their potential

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while at the same time acknowledging the effects of policies and institutions, external shocks and trends (Carney 1999).

In order to eradicate poverty, the SL approach advocates for development that is:

- People-centered: Sustainable poverty elimination requires respect for people's freedom and choice and resources should be directed towards assisting the poor (Ashley & Carney 1999).
- Empowering: The poor should be empowered to make a change in their own lives (Carney 2003).
- Responsive and participatory: The poor should identify the livelihoods that will help them to deal with their situation (Krantz 2001).
- Sustainability: Economic, institutional, social and environmental sustainability need to be balanced in order to help poor people effectively (Ashley & Carney 1999).
- Multilevel and holistic: Macro level activities and outcomes should inform the development of policy and effective governance. Macro level structures and processes should support people to build on their strengths (Carney 2003; p.15).
- Conducted in partnership: partnerships should be formed between poor people and organizations, and the public and private sectors to eliminate poverty (Ashley & Carney 1999). They should be transparent agreements and be based on shared goals (Ashley & Carney 1999).
- Disaggregated: It is vital to understand how assets, vulnerabilities, voice and livelihood strategies differ between disadvantaged groups as well as between men and women in these groups (Krantz 2001).
- Long term and flexible: A long term and flexible approach is required to provide support in eliminating poverty (Carney 2003).

South Africa's Reconstruction and Development Programme"is an integrated coherent socio-economic policy framework for mobilizing people and resources towards the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a democratic non-racial and non-sexist future" (Blumenfeld (1997,

p.71) by fulfilling basic needs such as housing, land, electrification, water supply, sanitation, refuse collection, transport, telecommunication services and nutrition.

From 1995-1996 the government of South Africa funded poverty alleviation projects, rural food production groups and women's production cooperatives and encouraged Black people to become full-time farmers (Mbuli 2009). It also introduced free basic electricity as a means to alleviate poverty (Madubans & Shackleton 2006).

3.3. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the international and national legal and policy frameworks that aim to protect women against abuse. It was noted that although such frameworks have been adopted in most countries, including South Africa, their implementation for the protection of women against IPV remains a challenge.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed the policy and the legal frameworks that aim to eliminate IPV. It begins with the study objectives and questions to justify the relevance of the qualitative research design. It then discusses the location of the study, the sample and sampling method, and data collection methods and thematic analysis. Ethical considerations and the limitations of the study are also highlighted. The chapter concludes with a summary.

3.2   Study aim, objectives and questions

The study aimed to critically explore the socio-economic factors that influence IPV among women in Clermont, Durban.

Objectives of the study

- To critically explore the social factors which expose women in Clermont to IPV.
- To critically investigate the economic factors that expose women in Clermont to IPV.

Research questions

- What social factors render women in Clermont vulnerable to IPV?
- What are the economic factors that expose women in Clermont to IPV?

3.3 Research Design and Methodology

This is a qualitative study located in the critical paradigm. Critical studies are interested in the underlying factors that reproduce oppression in society. As a result, studies located in the critical paradigm question unequal power relations in society in order to uncover systems of domination

that benefit some groups more than others (Henning, van Rensburg & Smit 2004). Specifically, this paradigm questions the system that reproduces racial, gender and class oppression. This view is consistent with the aim of the study, which seeks to critically explore social and economic factors that influence IPV in Clermont. Therefore, a qualitative research located in the critical paradigm was deemed appropriate for this study. According to Lewis & Ritchie (2013), "Qualitative studies are naturalistic, intepritive and descriptive in nature as they are mainly concerned with developing explanations of a social phenomenon" (p.2). They contribute to our understanding of the social world and provide explanations as to why things are the way they are (Ritchie et al. 2013). This understanding resonates with the objectives of the study as it aims to understand the socio-economic factors that cause women in Clermont to encounter abuse.

According to Denzin & Lincoln (2008), a qualitative research design aims to understand a social phenomenon from the perspective of the participants. As a result, qualitative studies are interested in rich descriptions based on people's experiences, perceptions and opinions. A qualitative research design was relevant in the context of this study, which sought to understand the social and economic factors that drive IPV from the participants' perspectives.

3.3.1 Location of the study

The study location is Clermont, a township in the inner west council of the Durban metropolitan area some 16 km northwest of the city (Oelofse & Patel 2000). Clermont is situated to the north of Pinetown, northwest of Reservoir Hills, in the northern part of KwaDabeka, bounded by Westville and New Germany (Shaik & Allopi 2004). During the apartheid era, Clermont was the only township in Durban where residents owned property and homes. It is a formally laid out township with proper subdivided plots, initially constructed years ago (Shaik & Allopi 2004). It was part of the apartheid plan to exclude Africans from the economic and urban opportunities of the core cities (Schensul 2008). Africans were not permitted to be in New Germany and Newlands unless they worked for residents in these areas (Schensul 2008). They had to carry their pass that showed that they had permission to work in the area or face imprisonment (Coovadia et al. 2009). Clermont residents were actively involved in the liberation struggle (Oelosfe & Patel 2000).

KwaDabeka and Clermont have a population of 150, 000 Black residents (Hoque 2011). Clermont is partitioned into eight wards, with each represented by a ward councilor. The Clermont Development Forum is well established (Oelsfe & Patel 2000). The community of Clermont has a strong cultural bond with KZN and the Eastern Cape (Hoque 2011). The study was conducted at the shelter for abused women - a non-profit day care Centre that assists abused women with counseling and meals.

3.3.2. Sampling method and sample

The researcher conducted a google search for shelters in Durban that address the issue of abused women. Permission to investigate IPV was sought and the shelter in Clermont responded positively. The researcher then sought permission from the Centre to conduct the research and obtained a gatekeeper's letter. Selecting a sample for the study and deciding which techniques to use is called sampling (Bogdan & Biklen 2003). According to Best & Khan (2006), "a sample is a small proportion of the population that is selected for observation and analysis" (p.13). The sample was selected using purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is a non-probability technique normally used to select participants with the qualities desired by the researcher (Tongco 2007). Such participants normally provide the researcher with rich information (Best & Kahn 2006). The study was interested in women who attended counseling sessions who were experiencing IPV in their relationships. The women had characteristics that enabled detailed exploration and understanding of the study's themes (Ritchie et al. 2013) on IPV. The sample of seven was sufficient as qualitative studies rely on small samples; the intention is not generalize but to understand people's perspectives (Boyce & Neale 2006). The researcher only managed to get seven participants for the study because the issue of IPV is still sensitive. Again, a small sample is permissible in a qualitative study of this nature.

3.3.3. Data collection methods

Once the researcher had obtained ethical clearance from the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee, arrangements were made with the Centre for data collection. Women who met the selection criteria were identified with the help of

the Centre Manager and the Social Worker. This approach to data collection was useful because it is difficult to access women who experience abuse due to stigma and marginalization. A translator assisted with the interviews.

The researcher employed a single method, in-depth semi-structured interviews, to collect data to determine the socio-economic factors that render women in Clermont vulnerable to abuse. Data was collected from April to May 2016.

Interviews are conducted to solicit participants' views on an issue and to investigate complex behaviors, opinions and emotions (Longhurst 2003). In-depth semi-structured interviews are verbal exchanges where the interviewer solicits information from the interviewee by asking questions (Best & Khan 2006: p.124). Qualitative research normally employs semi-structured interviews with an individual or groups and they last from 30 minutes to several hours (Best & Kahn 2006).

Individual face-to-face interviews were appropriate as the study focused on IPV. People that have experienced abuse are often not comfortable sharing information in the presence of a third person. The researcher also conducted individual interviews so that she could have the participant's full attention and interact with her without any interruption (Ritchie et al. 2013). Such interviews also encourage participants to raise issues that they consider as important (Longhurst 2003). They enabled the researcher to understand the participants' lived experiences and the meanings they make of their lives (Opdenakker 2006).

The interviews were conducted at different scheduled times; to maintain privacy, the researcher ensured that the participants did not arrive at the same time. Each interview lasted for a minimum of forty-five minutes and a maximum of an hour. The questions were open-ended. Such questions are normally used to allow respondents to narrate their stories without being influenced by the researcher (Reja, Manfreda, Hlebec & Vehovar 2003). The questions unfolded from informal to formal as the interview continued and were posed in a non-threatening manner (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006). The researcher rephrased questions when a participant did not understand them (Best & Kahn 2006). She helped them to formulate their thoughts into words without putting words into their mouths (Best & khan 2006). The questions were translated into IsiZulu by the translator.

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Four participants did not have a problem conducting the interview in English and the other three were conducted in IsiZulu. To protect the participants from harm, the interviews were conducted at the shelter. This also ensured that they did not have to travel far (Ritchie et al. 2013) and the set up was comfortable and conducive. The researcher listened attentively as the participants narrated their stories. She only probed when she needed clarification on aspects that had already been discussed (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006). At this stage, the interviewee can correct the interviewer or confirm what she said (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006). The researcher feels free to ask the participant the questions she felt were too sensitive to ask at the beginning of the interview because the interviewee is now relaxed (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006). After completing the interview, the researcher asked for permission to return if she needed clarity or more information and all the participants agreed. Once the interview was completed, the researcher expressed her gratitude for their time and sharing their experiences. The limitation of using interviews in doing research was that they are time consuming (Hackley 2003) and that they can be prone to bias because the participants could tell the researcher what they think she wants to hear rather than their real experiences (Doody & Noonan 2013).

3.3.4. Data analysis

According to Bogdan & Biklen (2003), "data analysis involves working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, coding it, synthesizing it and searching for patterns from the field notes, interview transcripts and other materials accumulated to enable the researcher to come up with findings" (p.147). Thematic analysis has recently been recognized as a method in its own right (Joffe 2012). Vaismoradi, Turunen & Bondas (2013) define thematic analysis, "as an independent qualitative approach mainly described as a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns" (p. 400) for meanings produced by people, situations and events (Floersch et al. 2010). It is flexible, yields rich, detailed data and provides researchers with skills to conduct qualitative research analysis (Floersch et al 2010).

The data were analyzed using the six thematic steps recommended by Attride-Stirling. Those are:

Coding the material: This phase involves the production of the initial codes from data (semantic or latent content) that appear interesting to the analyst and refers to the most basic segment or

element of the raw data or the information that can be assessed in a meaningful way in terms of the phenomenon. In the coding process, the data is organized into meaningful groups (Joffe 2012).

Identifying themes: once the text had been coded, themes were abstracted from the coded segments. A) Abstract themes from the coded segments - this is done by re-reading the text segments within the context of the codes under which they have been classified and abstracting from the full text. This procedure enables the researcher to reframe the reading of the text, which allows for the identification of underlying patterns and structures (Attride-Stirling 2001).

b) Refined themes – the next step is to go through the selected themes that are specific enough to be discreet (non-repetitive) and broad enough to encapsulate a set of ideas contained in numerous text segments (Attride-Stirling 2001).

Constructing the networks: This phase involves levels of reviewing and refining themes. Level one calls for the themes to be reviewed at the level of the code data extracts. The researcher reads all the collated extracts for each theme and considers whether they appear to form a coherent pattern. If the candidate themes do not fit, the researcher needs to consider if the theme itself is problematic, or whether some extracts within it simply do not fit, in which case the researcher will rework the theme, creating a new theme and finding a home for those extracts that do not currently work in an already existing theme (Braun & Clarke 2006).

Describe and explore the thematic networks: this involves on-going analysis to refine the specifics of each theme and the overall story that the analysis told, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.

Summarize the Thematic Network: in this stage, a summary is provided of the principal themes that began to emerge in the description of the network (Attride-Stirling 2001).

Interpret patterns: involves weaving together the analytic narrative and (vivid) data extracts to tell the reader a coherent and persuasive story about the data, contextualizing it in relation to the existing literature (Clarke & Braun 2013).

Once the data is analyzed, it needs to be interpreted. Data interpretation explains and frames ideas in relation to the theory, other scholarship and action, shows why the findings are important and

makes them understandable (Bogdan & Biklen 2003). Data was obtained from seven participants. The researcher first familiarized herself with the information provided by the participants by listening to the recordings a few times and reading the notes taken during the interviews. She then transcribed it. The next step was to go back to the participants for clarity on some issues. This was done with three participants. The responses were then sorted according to the categories that emerged from the developed themes. As the categories were further examined, sub-themes also emerged.

3.4. Trustworthiness

The trustworthiness of the results was important since this is a qualitative study (Graneheim & Lundman 2004). In order to claim trustworthiness, a study should demonstrate credibility, dependability, transferability, conformability and authenticity (Cope 2014:89).

In order to ensure the credibility and authenticity of the research, the researcher formulated a research proposal that was reviewed by two academics in the School of Built, Environment and Development Studies and then submitted to the Department of Humanities Research office for ethical clearance. Data collection only commenced after the ethical clearance was granted. Furthermore, the researcher sought and received permission from the Ekuzameni Rehabilitation Center for abused women to conduct the research. After data collection, transcription and analysis, the researcher went back to the participants to confirm the preliminary findings. This process is referred to as member-checking (Harper & Cole 2012). Credibility was achieved through interview recording and field notes. Credibility ensures that the researcher interprets and presents the data in a truthful manner (Cope 2014).

To ensure conformability, the researcher audio recorded the participants' narratives. This preserved the spoken words for data analysis (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen & Liamputtong 2007). The researcher also took short notes on the major ideas discussed as well as non-verbal behavior. Conformability demonstrates that the data represents the participants' responses and not the researcher's bias or viewpoints (Cope 2014). Dependability is achieved when another researcher concurs with the decisions made at each stage of the research process (Cope 2014). To

ensure dependability, a single method, in-depth, semi-structured interviews, was employed to obtain detailed descriptions of the participants' views. The social worker and manager of the center assisted with the selection of the participants and a translator helped with the interviews.

Transferability refers to findings that can be applied to other settings or groups (Cole 2014). Transferability was achieved as the study fulfilled its goals.

3.5. Ethical considerations

Ethics provide guidelines for researchers to minimize harm to participants (Flick 2009). The researcher complied with the ethical requirements of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The participants were informed of the nature and purpose of the study, that their participation was voluntary and that they were free to withdraw at any stage with no adverse consequences. The research arranged for a social worker to be on hand to assist with emotional support where necessary. The participants were informed that the audio recording would not be used in ways that were harmful to them and their consent was obtained to record the interviews. They were also assured of confidentiality and anonymity, and that pseudonyms would be used in analyzing the data.

No participant was coerced to take part in the study. The researcher was non-judgmental and treated everyone with respect (Flick 2009). She built rapport with the participants, which promoted trust and encouraged them to open up during the interview (Legard, Keegan & Ward 2003). Building a rapport also includes establishing a safe and comfortable environment for sharing the interviewee's experiences (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006). It also includes cooperation, apprehension, exploration and participation ((DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006)). All the participants signed consent forms that explained their rights and these were kept in a safe place.

3.6. Limitations of the study

A few limitations were noted as follows

- Due to the sensitivity of IPV, some participants withheld information even after probing.
- In some instances, the age difference between the researcher and the participants acted as a barrier as the participant was not free to ask them certain questions and did not want to hurt their feelings with certain questions.
- English is not the home language of the researcher or the participants. The researcher is fluent in Sesotho and English while most participants speak isiZulu. Some participants nonetheless requested to be interviewed in English.
- The interviews were recorded and this could have inhibited some participants from revealing certain information. After the session, they opened up and discussed issues that they had not mentioned during the interviews.
- There was also a distraction during the interviews where the owner of the office kept coming in and this made participants hold information after they left.

Despite these limitations, the researcher is of the view that the research questions were satisfactorily addressed.

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the research design and methodology employed to conduct this study. A qualitative research design was used to collect data at the shelter for abused women in Clermont, Durban. Qualitative studies are mainly concerned with understanding a social phenomenon; this was thus an appropriate approach for this study. The critical paradigm was also relevant. Purposive sampling was used to select a sample of seven participants and interviews and observation were used to gather the data. The researcher complied with all ethical requirements and arranged for a social worker to be on hand should the participants require emotional support. Participation in the study was voluntary and anonymity was guaranteed. The data was analyzed using the steps in

thematic analysis recommended by Attride-Stirling. Finally, the chapter highlighted the study's limitations. The following chapter presents and discusses the study's findings.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

4.1. Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the research design and methodology employed to conduct the study. This chapter presents the findings from the observations and interviews conducted with seven participants. It begins with a presentation of demographic profiles of women who participated in the study. The participants' profiles are critical in a study that used a poststructuralist feminist theory since it is interested in issues of class, race and gender. The rest of the chapter discusses the findings under different themes.

4.2. Demographic profile of participants

Name	Age	Marital status	Highest qualification	Employment status	Number of children
MH1	22 years	Not married	matric	Unemployed	1
MH2	51 years	Divorced	matric	Unemployed	2
MH3	41years	Married	matric	Unemployed	4
MH4	36 years	Married	Grade 11	Employed as a Domestic worker	3
MH5	54 years	Married	Matric	Unemployed/Former preschool teacher	2
MH6	39 years	Married	Matric	Employed as a Secretary	2
MH7	35 years	Married	Grade 10	Employed as a Cleaner	2

The table shows that the participants were between the ages of 22 and 54. Two were not married but in relationships and not living with their partners; four were married and one was divorced. All had children, with four participants having two children, one three and one four children. Five of the seven participants were able to complete matric. Two furthered their studies, with MH5 doing secretarial and preschool teaching courses and MH6 studying Early Childhood Development. Two participants did not complete matric due to poor family backgrounds.

4.3. IPV unfolds in a specific context

The findings suggest that most women in abusive relationships come from poor socio-economic backgrounds. As reflected in the demographic profiles of the participants discussed earlier, four participants indicated that they were unemployed at the time of the abuse. Two of the three participants who are employed are doing menial jobs in cleaning and domestic work. The two participants who did not complete matric related the challenges of growing up in poor households and this had an impact on schooling. A sense of hopelessness was evident in women in such contexts. One of them stated that, "*After I failed matric, I was not able to repeat because in my family we were six children. My father was a breadwinner. I had to give my other siblings a chance to continue with their studies*" (MH4). MH7 added that, "*I never finished grade 10. I dropped out due to financial problems.*" The women's narratives further revealed that lack of education and employment compelled some to remain in abusive relationships. For instance, MH2 shared that, "*I stayed in an abusive relationship because I was an orphan and had no place to go.*" MH1 added that she experienced poverty because her extended family forced her to leave home. She lamented that,

> My mother passed away when I was three months. After I completed matric, my stepfather also passed away and his family came to the house where we stayed and they kicked me out. Since my stepfather was my only family I knew, I went in town to find a job in one of the stores that sold clothes, where I only worked during Easter and December holidays (MH1).

These assertions are in line with Chambers' (2014) observation that powerlessness, poverty, and isolation interact to form the clusters of disadvantage. As shown in the study, lack of education

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due to poor family backgrounds results in unemployment and powerlessness, thus leaving women trapped in the cycle of poverty. This argument is consistent with Armstrong et al.'s (2008) claim that women are more vulnerable to poverty than men. This is also evident in Times Live 2017) report, which illustrates that Black women in South Africa are disproportionately affected by poverty and unemployment. As noted earlier, Clermont suffers high rates of poverty and unemployment within eThekwini Municipality (Roberts & O'Donoghue 2013). According to Swanepoel & de Beer (2011), poverty is most felt in contexts like Clermont where the entire community is poor. Poor people lack access to assets that can help them secure livelihoods (Chambers 2014); thus, they remain voiceless and powerless (Swanepoel & de Beer 2011. These findings illustrate that IPV unfolds in a specific socio-cultural context, mainly affecting women in poor socio-economic backgrounds. This situation leaves women in Clermont more vulnerable to IPV due to social and economic strife.

4.4. Gradual aspect of abuse interlocks emotional and physical abuse

Asked to describe their lives before the abuse, some of the participants noted that they had good relationships with their partners, which were characterized by mutual kindness, respect, and gentleness and caring. This was more evident during courtship and shortly after marriage. Furthermore, six participants revealed that the abuse started at a time when it was least expected. It came out of the blue. They did not know why their partners were abusing them and were too afraid to raise questions. It was also established that while the abuse was moderate in the beginning, it gradually became severe: *"In the beginning, we did not see eye to eye. We could not talk. Ultimately, he was always on my throat, getting violent and very abusive"* (MH5). Another participant added, *"We got married in 2004 but things began to change in 2013 and he started abusing me physically"* (MH4). It further emerged that the abuse became intense after the birth of the first child in some relationships. Women stayed in abusive relationships because, unlike their own experience, they wanted their children to grow up with both parents in the same household. Another participant indicated that she left and ran away to a safe place but always came back to her partner for the sake of the children: "*I always ran away to places of safety but I always came back to him, I always forgave him because I had children with him"* (MH3).

It also emerged that some partners isolated their spouses from other people. One participant said: *"He slapped me, pulled my hair and called me useless. It was very hurtful to be called useless by someone I loved. He did not allow me to befriend other people."* This participant further remarked, *"How can I live so close to my neighbors and not greet them?"* (MH7).

Similarly, MH5 was not allowed to socialize with her friends. She lamented:

> He abused me emotionally by picking up on my family, picked up on me for no reason and swore insults towards me. He did not allow me to visit my friends or my family. I had to stay inside the house. I would go out with friends without his knowledge. One day he hit me with the backside of his belt.

MH3 added, *"Every time before we left home, my partner would tell me that if I talked to any man in the flea market he will kill me."*

Emotional abuse also led to physical abuse in the case of MH2 and MH3 and this resulted in severe injuries. MH2 recalled that, *"He banged my head against the wall, and he kicked me. Arguments would begin any time of the day when I asked him where he had been for the past days."*

Having been badly injured, MH3 remarked:

> …throwing items such as pots, solids, dishes and sharp items and something entered my eye. When we arrived at the hospital, the doctor said that my eyeball was damaged and he had to operate my eye and remove it. …he hit my face with a pot and it turned blue. …he broke my hand and I went for an operation. Sometimes when he came to the house, he would eat the food and throw the remaining on me while I was sleeping.

These findings are in line with the literature that shows that women in abusive relationships experience different forms of abuse (Mills 2008) wherein emotional and physical abuse co-exist (WHO 2012). In the first stage, the abuse is disregarded as insignificant although it is accompanied by emotional abuse (Kaur & Herbert 2005). In the second stage, the abuse is more severe and leads to injuries (Hall 2014). The findings also show that some women were treated with respect in the beginning of the relationship; however, this slowly changed with the abuse becoming more and more severe. The participants did not leave their abusive relationship immediately because they

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were too afraid to question the status quo. The fear to question is linked to fear that it could lead to further abuse, but also women's subservient position in society. As Moser (1993) observe, what happens in the household is regarded as private. This thinking propagates a dangerous narrative that leaves women susceptible to IPV. As illustrated earlier, what started out as emotional abuse turned into physical abuse. As shown in the study, women in abusive relationships tolerate emotional abuse, which later turns into physical abuse. The meaning deduced from these findings is problematic as women seem to view emotional abuse as less harmful than physical abuse, thus overlooking the psychological impact of the former for women who already suffer from low self-esteem due to abuse in the household. This study argues that all forms of abuse are equally bad for the emotional, economic and psychological development of women. Physical abuse can cause unnecessary death, whereas emotional abuse has a psychological impact that is likely to create low self-esteem in abused women, thus deepening existing vulnerabilities.

4.5. A patriarchal system perpetuates oppression of women

It emerged that a patriarchal society conditions women to accept and tolerate cheating spouses, with some who abuse alcohol and equate jealousy with love, while policing a woman's body. This was evident in situations wherein some of the participants are involved with partners who are in multiple relationships. When confronted about their extramarital affairs, the partners in question became defensive and abusive, thus contributing to physical and emotional abuse within the household.

Some women fought with a partner's girlfriend in order to gain his attention and this led to further abuse. One participant blamed the woman who had an affair with her husband, claiming that she used *muti* (traditional herbs) to charm her husband. She was quick to justify her husband's behavior arguing that the abuse was not his fault since he was not in his right senses. She is waiting in hope that her husband would return to her: "*I think the stepmother is using muti towards my husband...that's what my children told me. This explains why my husband abused me, left me and married her*" (MH4).

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MH4's reasoning above is based on the fact that her husband was not in control of his senses at the time of the abuse. This was a recurring theme in the study. It was established that most women were subjected to IPV because they were married to partners who abuse alcohol. Two participants stated that when they got married to partners who drank alcohol, they were not abusive to them. After a while, they would drink and abuse them due to the bad company of friends. One said: "*As time went on, he became abusive after a few drinks with his friends. I would talk him out of it, but I was reminded that it was his life. A woman is not supposed to ask him questions*" (MH3). Another participant noted that her partner spent most of his money on alcohol and did not support their children:

> My husband used to give me money to buy food but the food would finish before month end because he would drink and go clubbing with his friends and women. It would be hard during the month and the children would not have food to eat and he never bothered to buy more food when it was finished. Therefore, I had to make means to buy my children a loaf of bread and some food. I had to sell my clothes just to feed my children. If he was not doing other things with his money, it would be able to last us for the entire month (MH6).

Again, it was noted that when some partners lost their jobs they became heavy drinkers and this led to abuse. One said:

> When he was fired from the academy, he was offered money where he stayed with his friends. He spent his money on unnecessary items such as buying two cars and moving out of his home and hired a room where he paid R60,000 per year. He also abused drugs. When he was kicked out of where he stayed, he came back to where I stayed. We always fought because he was always on drugs and drank a lot of alcohol" (MH3).

MH3 also declared that when her partner lost his job he took all the money in the household that was meant for groceries and school fees and bought alcohol. She would go hungry with her children. Her partner also borrowed money from their friends to buy alcohol:

> Sometimes he would go to his friends to borrow money by saying that he was going to buy us food but instead he bought alcohol. They also offered him beer on credit,

when he failed to pay the debt; the owners came to my house to ask for their money

and I had to pay them (MH3).

In addition, two of the participants that were working revealed that their unemployed partners expected them to pay for alcohol from their salaries. If they refused, they were abused. One stated:

My partner is unemployed, but he drinks alcohol. He was working before but his job ended. If I refuse to give him my salary when he asked for it, he would abuse me physically. Sometimes when I arrive late at home, he would ask why…if I said I was from work, he would hit me (MH7).

In some cases, it was reported that men were abusive due to jealously. One participant mentioned that,

The abuse started when we were dating. One day he saw me with my cousin and he became jealous when he saw me with him. He did not know that he was my cousin since I come from a big family. When we arrived at home, he hit me. I should have learned from that day that he was abusive. But I got married to him (MH3).

These statements reiterate Fedler & Tanzer's (2000) argument that women are still subjected to violence at the hands of their partners. Most women in such contexts experience physical and emotional abuse owing to hegemonic masculinities that privilege men's rights over women's. Moreover, a patriarchal system socializes women to fight each other instead of addressing gender oppression for the emancipation of all women. Again, some women are subjected to violence at the hands of spouses who are jealous and their actions go unpunished. This is consistent with Vandello & Cohen's (2008) view that jealousy causes women to experience violence in their relationships. Sadly, this state of affairs leaves women vulnerable to emotional and physical abuse. The study also traces a link between alcohol abuse and women abuse. In some cases, it was noted that alcohol fueled abuse and men that drank heavily spent all their money on alcohol instead of taking care of the children.

These findings reiterate the significance of the poststructuralist feminist theory with its emphasis on the interlocking forms of domination to illustrate how gender intersects with class, race and

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ethnicity to leave some women more susceptible to oppression. Women who are among the poorest of the poor in society lack a voice to question their partners in a patriarchal system that conditions them to believe that they are too insignificant to challenge an oppressive system. Therefore, IPV continues unabated in the private domain of the home.

4.6. A combination of factors keeps poor women trapped in a vicious cycle

The findings suggest that women who participated in the study believe that marriage is likely to elevate their status in the community. In such circumstances, they would tolerate abuse at all costs. Linked to this issue was the tendency to equate abuse with love. Asked why they stayed in abusive relationships, one participant mentioned that she was afraid of being judged by her community. She expressed her claim that, *"People look down upon you as a married woman when you have separated with your husband"* (MH2).

Furthermore, some participants indicated that they stayed in abusive relationships because they were in love with their partners. Having witnessed the abuse, family members and neighbors' interventions to assist the abused women were inconsistent. One participant said that, *"I stayed because I loved my partner and I had never been in a relationship with any other man"* (MH1). The participant further reported that she did not receive support from her neighbors during the abuse as they did not want to get involved. She explained that, *"Sometimes the neighbors provided assistance when I screamed for help but sometimes they never bothered. They just stood there and watched him abusing me"* (MH1). This participant was also afraid to be judged by her friends. She admitted that, *"I never told my friends about the abuse because I thought they would laugh at me"* (MH1).

Another participant added that she and her partner were staying with his family and they did not intervene when he abused her:

> We were staying with his family of fourteen people where each family had their own bedrooms and we shared the living room and the kitchen. When the abuse occurred, we screamed for help with my children but his brothers and their wives never came out of their bedrooms to help us (MH2).

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One participant remarked that,

> I used to tell his parents but because of old school tradition and culture, they always
> said that a woman had to be submissive to her husband. Even when I went through
> divorce, I went through emotional abuse from my family and my husband's family
> because they did not believe in divorce. In fact, I was blatantly told to make my
> marriage work because divorce was culturally wrong (MH6).

Another participant recalled that, *"The family told me that if I left, I would lose everything and my
children would not have a good life"* (MH5). It emerged that the family interventions were
successful in the beginning, but the abuse would persist. MH5 did not leave the relationship in the
hope that the abuse would stop. However, this was not the case. She revealed that, "*With family
intervening I stayed in my marriage and I never left my matrimonial home. When he abused me, I
always screamed for help and his sister would intervene. After his family talked to him, he would
change for a while, but after a few days, it would start all over again"* (MH5).

In addition, another participant shared that the family of her partner also told her that they were
tired of talking to their son because he did not take heed of their advice. The participant declared
that,

> I told his family about the abuse but they said that they could not talk to him because
> after they talked to him he acted like he understood but once he left the gate he forgot
> everything we said and he continued to abuse you (MH7).

Another participant explained that when she spoke to her partner's family, instead of taking action,
they took her back to her father's house. She lamented that, *"It was not my idea to leave. He took
me to my father's house and said that I should stay at home as long as I do not return to his house"*
(MH4).

Again, some women mentioned that a lot of care was demonstrated in the way their partners treated
them after abuse. This was construed to mean they were loved. MH1 revealed that she stayed
because her partner always took her to hospital after physical abuse, "*He always took me to the
hospital. When the nurses asked him what had happened, he would tell them the truth...I always*

went back to him afterwards." Another participant said that her partner assists to develop her business. She asserted that, *"He used to help me with the stuff I was selling in the flea market"* (MH3).

It was also established that one participant tolerated the abuse because her partner never stopped her from socializing with friends or family: *"He did not stop me from socializing because he knew that I would never tell anyone about the abuse"* (MH6). Another participant stayed because her partner only inflicted minor injuries: *"He never hurt me, I only had bruises"* (MH7). In addition, MH5 expressed that her husband used to fetch her from work and her co-workers envied her: *"When I was still a teacher, he used to pick me up from work every day. My co-workers were always happy when he picked me up. They said that he took good care of me and they wished they had husbands like him."*

However, three participants ran away to their maternal homes to escape the abuse. Their partners went to fetch them, apologized and promised that they would never hurt them again. This caused them to forgive their partners. Their partners would treat them well for a few days and the abuse would start again: *"We could get into a conflict, separate for some time and then get back together. After hitting me, he would apologize, and I would forgive him. But after some days the abuse would start all over again"* (MH1).

One participant recalled that,

> When he hit me with a plate and my inner lip fell off, I did not go to the hospital because I knew that the doctors and the nurses were going to report my case to the police. There was a possibility that he was going to be arrested for domestic violence. I did not want him to be arrested. By that time, I was still young and naïve. I loved him as the father of my children (MH6).

The findings also suggest that the participants stayed because they were unemployed. One participant declared:

> My husband was the only one working. I tried to make it work because by that time I was not working and did not have income of my own. It was difficult to go out of the

abuse and leave the abusive relationship. I had to stay because I had a roof over my head, food for my children and they were getting education. If I had to leave it meant I would be taking that away from my children and myself (MH6).

Another participant stated that, *"I stayed with my husband because my mother's house is small. My brother and his children stayed there. My children did not like the environment there. I did not know where to go this is why I stayed"* (MH7). One woman added that, *"My partner has a lot of money. He works at the shop, he is a paramedic and he owns a gym. He also drives a fancy car and he is also paying my rent. So I had to stay in the relationship"* (MH1).

These findings concur with previous studies that have shown that family members are reluctant to intervene in domestic violence (Owoaje & OlaOlorun 2012). It was demonstrated that the families of the women's partners offered very little in the way of assistance. Moreover, the participants did not receive support from neighbors who did not want to get involved. To explain this situation, Anderson & Saunders (2003) assert that many communities blame violence on women. The general view is that women must have done something wrong to provoke their partners to abuse them (Heise et al. 2002). Ultimately, women are blamed for the abuse (Wu et al. 2010). Consequently, the findings are in line with the literature that illustrates that women remain silent for fear of being judged (Lutenbacher et al. 2003). In the end, women feel morally and ethically obliged to remain with their families (Koenig et al. 2003). As noted in MH1's assertion, women were made to feel guilty for leaving abusive relationships. She had to stay in an abusive relationship not only for herself, but also for her children since women who decide to leave abusive partners are considered self-centered for putting their needs above those of their children. As Owoaje & OlaOlorun (2007) note, families want women to stay in their relationships as they do not want them to air dirty laundry in public. Thus, they are socialized to remain silent about their abuse as a way of showing loyalty to their husbands and to maintain the family honor (Tang & Lai 2008). Moreover, women who are financially dependent on their partners find it very difficult to leave an abusive relationship.

Furthermore, the study underscores Pulerwitz et al.'s (2015) claim that in communities where women are regarded as inferior to men, violence is left unchallenged. Women tend to normalize abuse (Hegarty & Taft 2001), resulting in it being perceived as a sign of love (Abrahams & Jewkes

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2005). This claim was evident in the case of MH1 who indicated that she remained in the relationship because she was in love. A seminal question is: What is love in an unequal relationship where you are disrespected, humiliated and dehumanized merely for being a woman? It can be deduced that women's socialisation perpetuates IPV. This recognition reinforces the significance of the poststructuralist feminist theory, which is interested in the underlying factors that keep women oppressed. Again, this study illustrates that a combination of factors (internal/micro versus external/macro issues) perpetuates IPV. In light of this understanding, it is argued that the patriarchal system would need to be problematized so as to unmask its contribution to IPV. It is further argued that to address IPV, women should seek to find new definitions of love that are embedded in relationships that are nurturing and life-giving.

4.7. Impact of domestic violence on children keeps women in a deprivation trap

The findings suggest that most abusive partners were raised in homes where they witnessed domestic violence. A similar pattern is sustained in their own homes as they continue to abuse their partners in the presence of the children. Six participants stated that they were physically and emotionally abused in front of their children. One noted the effect on her children *"The abuse affected them because he used to abuse me in front of them when they were young"* (MH2).

The sons of two participants tried to intervene when their mothers were abused. One suffered severe consequences. The participant shared that, *"One time when my son was eleven, his father was abusing me and my son intervened and his father cut his face with a glass and he had to go to a hospital to be stitched"* (MH3).

Another participant shared that she was physically and emotionally abused together with her children. She said that,

> There were many times that my husband abused my children and me. When he arrived home, he would beat and swear on the children for no reason. When I intervened, he also abused me. However, I knew that when he abused the children, he wanted me to intervene, so that he could abuse me" (MH3).

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MH3 continued to state that, *"I am not judging, but I gathered that his father was very abusive. He abused his mother in front of them. He left his mother with six children and married another wife."* The participant gave an impression that her partner was abusive because he grew up in an abusive home where his father abused alcohol. He therefore witnessed violence during his childhood. Having observed his father abuse his mothers, he thought that it was normal to use violence to resolve conflicts.

However, one participant's experience illustrated that violence is also evident in children that grow up in non-violent homes. The findings suggest that such children are not immune to violence. This observation is justified in a case of one participant who is married to someone who grew up in a non-violent home, but became an abusive adult. She admitted that, *"His family does not have a history of abuse"* (MH4).

The literature notes that the abuse of women that happens in the presence of their children is a form of child abuse (Mokwena & Adeoti 2014). Sadly, the study discovered that domestic violence continues unabated in the company of children in some of the homes. Although some of the children are spared from physical harm in this form of abuse, they suffer great emotional and psychological hurt, which can result in them becoming abusive adults. This view resonates with Koening et al.'s (2006) observation that children that witness abuse are likely to be abusive as adults. It also emerged that some of the women are abused physically together with their children. This underscores Koenig et al.'s (2006) observation that men that abuse their partners are also likely to physically abuse their children. As Edleson et al. (2003) note, this often happens when children try to help their mothers and they end up being hurt themselves. Generally, the findings demonstrate that the abuse that involves children becomes a pattern in homes where men also experienced or witnessed violence during childhood. According to Creparo et al. (2014), men in such contexts tend to develop aggressive personality traits and are likely to abuse their partners. However, the findings also illustrate that men who were raised in non-violent homes are not immune to violence. Therefore, whether men experienced domestic violence or not during childhood, they are still privileged over women. A patriarchal system that privileges men over women keeps women in a deprivation trap. The children who become abusive in their adult life reproduce and perpetuate practices and behaviors that are oppressive to women. Unless the vicious cycle of abuse is broken, women will continue to be victims of violence in their homes.
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4.8. Escaping the vicious cycle of IPV

The findings illustrate that some women decide to leave abusive relationships against all odds. When asked what made them decide to leave their partners, four participants said that the abuse continued for many years and became progressively more severe. They lost hope that it would stop. One said: *"I left my husband because I recognized that if I continued staying with him, I was going to lose my life"* (MH2).

Another participant decided to leave on the advice of her child:

> When my son turned 21, the abuse was still going on. So, he said to me, 'mommy you have to decide whether you want to live in this marriage or not. We are old now and we recognize that daddy has been beating you ever since I was two years old.' My son gave me the advice in December and in January I filed for divorce (MH6).

Three participants shared that when they left the relationship, they were not allowed to stay with their children. They were only allowed short visits and this led to them becoming stressed and depressed:

> All my children now stay with him and his new wife. They are not good parents to my children. Every three months, I go to the children's school to pay them a visit. I often observe that they are not taken good care of. The teacher and the neighbor to my husband also shared that my husband was mistreating the children. If I buy them clothes and shoes, their father would rebuke them and instruct them not to accept gifts from me. He would throw those items away or burn them and beat the children to punish them. They were also accused of sharing their father's family secrets with me. He further went to school to instruct the teacher not to accept anything from me (MH4).

Three participants that took their children with them when they left their partners reported that they did not support the children financially: *"After our separation, I took him to court because he was not supporting the child. A court decision stipulated that he should support his child but he only provides an amount of R200.00 or R400.00 when he feels like"* (MH1).

Two participants were adamant that they would not return to their partners even though they had pleaded with them to forgive them: *"My family helps me with everything, but I cannot rely on them forever. I am still trying to find a job so that I can provide for my children. I do not want another man in my life"* (MH3).

Three participants said that they coped with abuse by keeping busy in the household and finding a job. They tried to be good wives by making things work. One said: *"I used to work as a preschool teacher. Unfortunately, the school did not have enough children and it was closed down. To keep myself busy, I found a job in a local clothing factory even though the salary was small"* (MH5).

The findings concur with Zakar et al's (2013) observation that abused women often find ways to cope. This was evident in women who decided to leave their abusive partners once they were convinced that the abuse will not stop or when they fear for their lives. This is consistent with Potter's (2007) view suggesting that women leave abusive relationships when the abuse becomes severe and affects their children. In some cases, the fathers of children who remained with their mothers did not pay maintenance. Some of the participants lost custody of their children, nevertheless, they were adamant that they would never return to their partners. They chose to escape the vicious cycle of IPV for their own emancipation.

It can be deduced that it takes boldness on the part of women who decide to leave the familiar surroundings of their homes to gain freedom. As illustrated in the study, this has dire consequences in some cases since it could result in lack of financial support. It was further demonstrated that some men use children to settle old scores with their partners – an action that is likely to lead to further abuse on the part of children. To this end, the findings illustrate that women who take risks to escape the vicious cycle of IPV and step into the unknown future pay a great price to achieve emotional and psychological well-being and that of their children.

4.9. Social and economic factors are interlinked to form a trap

The findings show that when the abuse started, some of the participants did not leave immediately. The abuse became severe and it became more and more difficult to escape the trap of abuse. Financial difficulties due to unemployment lead men to drink alcohol, and alcohol fueled abuse, as did suspicions that the women were unfaithful. Families did not always intervene. The findings also show that women in Clermont incurred abuse due to perceptions that hold them back. They remained in the relationship because they hoped their partners would change. The study found that some of the participants were unemployed, making them financially dependent on their partners. Some who had jobs were living with partners that were unemployed and turned to alcohol, fueling abuse. These findings are in line with the theoretical proposition that posits that the issue of class, power and race leave some women more vulnerable to abuse (Oyewumi 2002). As Swanepoel & de Beer (2011) note, people who lack power in the social, economic, cultural and political environment suffer even more. Ultimately, these findings address the objectives of the study to suggest that both social and economic factors are interlinked to form a trap that women find very difficult to escape.
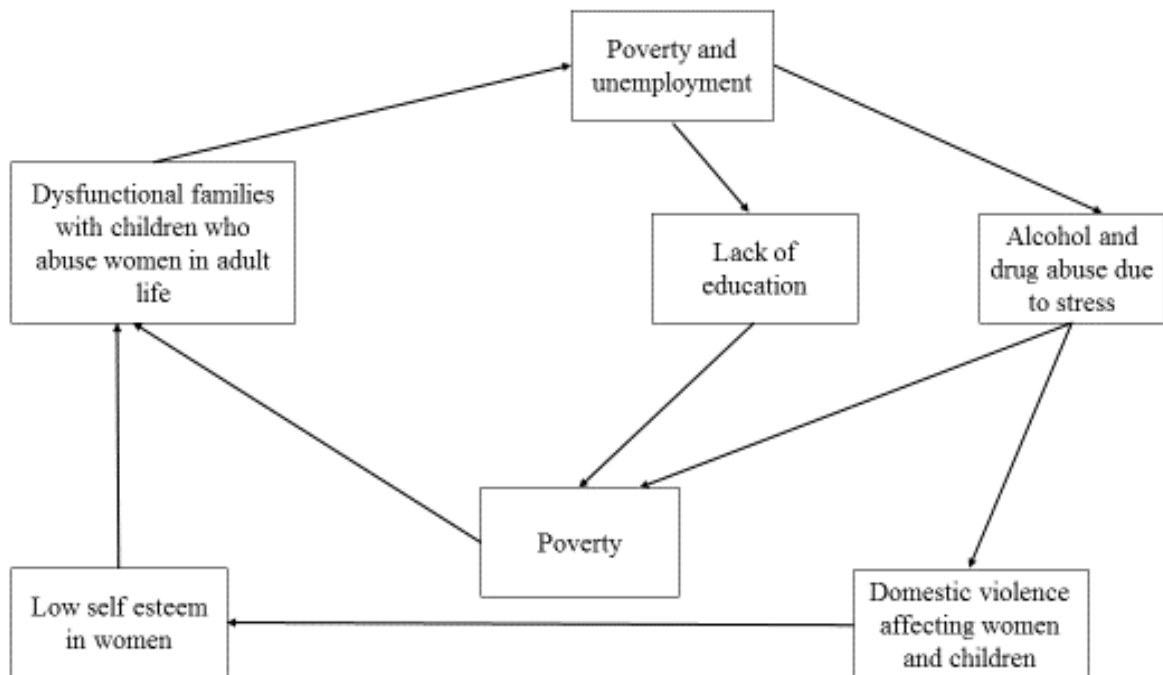

Fig. 2: The vicious cycle affecting the women in the study (Swanepoel & de Beer 2011)

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4.10. Conclusion

The findings illustrate that the study participants were physically and emotionally abused by their partners; often in front of their children. Children were also sometimes abused. They identified different reasons for the abuse, including financial dependence due to unemployment; their partners losing employment and turning to alcohol; affairs with other women; tolerance of abuse within the family and community, and their partners witnessed violence as children. The issue of alcohol and abuse had dire consequences in most homes. Alcohol abuse fueled domestic abuse, particularly among unemployed male partners, some of whom demanded that their employed female partners pay for their alcohol. Most participants who stayed in abusive relationships were compelled to do so due to financial dependence on their partners.

The women adopted various coping strategies, but when the abuse did not stop, some left their partners. Ultimately, the findings demonstrate a connection between women's personal experiences and their subordination as women. Women from poor family backgrounds with limited education find it very difficult to escape from abusive relationships. Even after they had run off to a safe place, they returned and when they were injured, they did not report the incident. They did not want their children to grow up without both parents. The findings demonstrated that staying in an abusive relationship can do the children more harm than good. Some women were too afraid to ask their partners about the cause of the abuse, thus they remained trapped in a cycle of violence and abuse. In some cases, it was clear that socialization conditions women to accept or tolerate abuse for the sake of having a man. It was concluded that structural transformation is required for the benefit of women.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1.   Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the findings of the study. This chapter presents a conclusion and recommendations arising from the findings. This conclusion summarizes and interprets the findings in line with the study's objectives. The objectives of the study were to explore the social and economic factors that render women in Clermont vulnerable to IPV.

5.2.   Summary of the key findings

The main findings indicate that women from poor socio-economic backgrounds are disproportionately affected by IPV. People are poor because they are powerless to make decisions due to physical weakness, isolation and limited access to finances, skills and knowledge (Chambers 2014). These factors subject women in Clermont to a vicious cycle of abuse. The participants that were unemployed were financially dependent on their partners. Some who had jobs were doing menial work and still needed financial assistance from their partners. Others with jobs were living with partners that were unemployed and turned to alcohol, fueling abuse. These findings are in line with the theoretical framework to suggest that abuse affects poor women more than others.

The findings further revealed the social factors that led women in Clermont to experience abuse. When their partners started abusing them, the participants did not leave immediately. The abuse became severe and it became more and more difficult to escape the trap of abuse. Furthermore, alcohol fueled abuse, as did suspicions that the women were unfaithful. Families did not always assist. The findings also show that women in Clermont incurred abuse due to perceptions that hold them back. They remained in the relationship because they hoped that their partners would change. They also wanted their children to have both parents in the same household. They were also afraid

of being judged by friends or community if they left their partners. In some instances, the family background perpetuated an abusive environment, thus leading to a vicious cycle of abuse.

5.3. Recommendations

5.3.1 Private problems to be shifted to the public domain

Clermont is one of the few communities in Durban with a shelter for abused women. Hence, the findings suggested that IPV remains hidden in private spaces of the homes and shelters, but later impacts the entire community. Seen in this way, shelters for abused women are not a solution. Rather, they are relevant as a short term strategy, but they are not a panacea for the development of women. The transformation of the entire system in order to question men's power over women should be the goal. Therefore, it is recommended that women in Clermont should move their problems from the private domain of the home to the public domain.

Women should be made aware of different organizations that can assist them, including the police, shelters, and health professionals. Furthermore, such organizations need to establish a more visible presence in Clermont.

5.3.2 Role of different institutions in eliminating IPV

Women that experienced violence in their relationships did not always receive appropriate services when they sought assistance. Organizations operating in Clermont should ensure that they are knowledgeable about the nature of IPV, the issues surrounding it and the reasons why women stay in abusive relationships. This would ensure that they do not judge women and are able to assist. This would require on-going training. There is need for different organizations to work together to protect women and children against IPV. The following institutions could collaborate to advance the emancipation of women.

NGOS

NGOs could provide women with skills training that would enable them to access employment opportunities. Government agencies and NGOs that offer such training should be encouraged to find placements so that the skills gained are not wasted. Furthermore, women need formal employment to experience the working world. NGOs and the government could also establish projects such as vegetable gardens, sewing projects and poultry businesses. Training should be provided and the projects should be monitored on an on-going basis to ensure their success. Community members should be encouraged to support them by buying their products. Where there is surplus production, markets should be identified. However, it is important to note that such projects should respond to the identified needs of the beneficiaries.

Such efforts would financially emancipate women and enable them to leave abusive relationships because they will be able to support themselves and their children. Women that cannot survive on their own are unlikely to return to an abusive relationship. Furthermore, economic empowerment of women would challenge the patriarchal notion that men should work and financially provide for the family. The shelters could also increase the number of people they help.

Family and friends

It was noted that many communities condone abuse, leading women to regard such behavior as normal. There is a need to raise awareness of IPV among the entire community of Clermont.

Families and friends should also be made aware that women stay in abusive relationships due to a lack of support. They should be encouraged to be non-judgmental and offer support. Sons should be encouraged to not abuse their partners and the blame should not be shifted to women. This would enable women to open up about their abuse. Toll-free numbers that women can call when they need help or that members of the public can use to report abuse should be widely publicized. Men-only workshops could also be held to educate men on women's rights and parenting skills. This would challenge patriarchal notions that a woman's duty is to take care of the children while the man is expected to be the breadwinner (Moser, 1993). Men that are involved in their children's lives and treat their partners with respect offer positive role models to their children, decreasing the likelihood of them growing up to engage in abusive behavior.

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Social Workers/ Psychologists

Furthermore, social workers that offer counseling should be trained to assist women to map how to change their lives and to constantly assess whether the women are is achieving what they planned to achieve. The social worker should also help the woman to address any obstacles that hinder her progress. It is crucial that women be allowed to make their own decisions and the social worker should only intervene if such decisions would harm them. Follow up is necessary to establish how the woman is coping and what kind of assistance she requires.

Police Officers and the Courts

The police should encourage women not to retract their statements after reporting abuse. A safe space should be created for abused women in a non-judgemental environment.

Court officials should be trained to be sensitive to women's predicament but to remain neutral (Wolf et al, 2003). Once a perpetrator has been found guilty of abuse, the courts should impose harsh sentences within the ambit of the law to ensure that they do not commit such crimes in the future.

The media

The media should promote gender equality by not publishing adverts that depict women as inferior or that confine them to certain roles in society. The media is a powerful force in today's world. Different media should be used to disseminate information on IPV and organizations that can offer assistance.

Health workers

Health workers should screen all patients for abuse even when there are no visible signs of such. They should also ensure that a patient's details remain confidential.

Pastors

Pastors should be equipped with knowledge and skills in order to offer emotional support to women who are subjected to IPV.

The government

As the custodian of the law, the state should ensure enforcement in a way that does not promote gender inequality. The law should challenge patriarchal ideologies and women should be given the opportunity to state their views when new legislation or amendments to exiting legislation are contemplated.

Community members should be involved in the formulation and implementation of any projects at local level. This would ensure that such projects meet community needs. Finally, there is an urgent need for government to address the social and economic factors that make women vulnerable to IPV.

The findings also showed that some of the participants were not able to complete matric due to financial problems. The government should consider after-school and evening classes to enable such women to complete their studies and advertise the availability of such classes. Education and formal employment would go a long way in addressing IPV in Clermont.

Furthermore, the findings showed that some men in Clermont abused their partners due to financial difficulties. More job opportunities also need to be created for men so that they will not feel that women are usurping their role as providers.

The women that participated in this study were attending counseling at the shelter for abused women in Clermont. Due to limited funding, the shelter is only able to assist a few women with meals and accommodation. The shelter is under-resourced since it is the only shelter in Clermont, and thus fails to extend its reach. The government should assist shelters with funding. Ideally,

women should be cared for in their own communities and families; however, this is not always possible in cases where they are subjected to death threats as shown in this study.

The government should also formulate and implement effective policies to eliminate IPV. Furthermore, institutions should be aware of their strengths and limitations and acknowledge the value of networking with others to address gaps in service delivery.

5.4. Future research

Further research is required to determine additional reasons for women remaining in abusive relationships and the interrogation of the system that sustains the abuse. As reflected in chapter 2, a lot of studies in IPV are conducted in social work and psychology, but not in community development. This study illustrates that IPV requires a multidisciplinary approach since issues of women abuse impact on individuals and communities. The studies conducted in the field of domestic violence often tackle isolated issues such as men's tendency to abuse alcohol, promiscuity, etc. without engaging with the structural inequalities that fuel the abuse. Ultimately, the studies tend to unintentionally blame and stereotype the poor. However, this study illustrates that IPV has a context – it thrives in poor socio-economic backgrounds, particularly among the poorest of the poor. Studies in community development and critical feminist theory argue that you cannot draw conclusions about poor people without analyzing the social, economic, and political context in which they live. Thus, to transform the system that leaves women susceptible to IPV, interventionist approaches in the field of gender must engage with structural issues. Therefore, future research should focus on the systemic nature of IPV.

5.5. Summary

In conclusion, it was found that women lived in abusive relationships because they were afraid of being judged by their friends, family, and community while some stayed because their partners always apologized to them. Furthermore, some women stayed because they still loved their partners and hoped that they would change. Others were trapped in a vicious cycle of abuse because when the abuse started they did not leave immediately, and some stayed because they thought their partners still cared for them. Women who were working were abused by their partners

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when they refused to hand over salaries to them to buy alcohol. Yet others stayed because they were unemployed and financially dependent on their partners or due to pressure from their families.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: The questions that guided the study

- Obtain informed consent and create rapport

- Obtain biographical data (age, marital status, number of children, level of education and household status)

1. Tell me more about your relationship

2. How was your life like before the abuse?

3. What do you think are the causes of abuse in your intimate relationship?

4. What are the effects of abuse in your life?

5. (If a woman is still living with the abusive partner) What are the reasons of staying in an abusive relationship?

6. (If a woman has left an abusive partner) What are the reasons that made you decide to leave your abusive partner?

7. Are there any other issues that you would like us to discuss?

- Express gratitude for their participation and valuable time

Appendix B: Consent form

PARTICIPANT'S INFORMED CONSENT

Date: 05/05/2016

Dear Madam

My name is Mantsali Hleoheng from the Department of Community Development in the School of Built Environment and Development Studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN).

I would like to invite you to participate in a study entitled: **Factors influencing intimate partner violence among women in Clermont, Durban: An exploratory study.** The purpose of the study is to understand the socio-economic factors that influence abuse of women in Clermont. All study participants attend counseling sessions at the shelter for abused women in Clermont. Data collection method will use in-depth individual interviews by observing verbal and non-verbal behaviors, audio-recording and documenting of data. Each interview is expected to take 45 minutes to 1hour maximum.

Please be aware that your participation in the study is entirely voluntary. You may withdraw your participation at any stage of the interview and there will be no consequences. Should you require counseling during the interview process, there will be a Social Worker at hand to offer emotional support.

The researcher will not use the information against you. Whatever has been disclosed between us will not be shared with anyone. To maintain confidentiality, pseudonyms will be used to ensure anonymity. The data collected will be stored in a safe place at the supervisor's office.

The study went through the ethics process of the UKZN's Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (Approval Number: HSS/1732/015M).

Please find the relevant details:

MA Candidate Ms. Mantsali Hleoheng [School of Built Environment and Development

Studies, College of Humanities]
Contact details: 0603544490 (mobile); hleohengmantsali@yahoo.com
(email).

Supervisor Ms. Nompumelelo Thabethe [School of Built Environment and

Development Studies, College of Humanities]
Contact details: 031 260 7854 (landline); 082 622 9755 (mobile)

thabethe@ukzn.ac.za (email).

Project Location Department of Community Development, School of Built Environment and

Development Studies, Howard College Campus, UKZN

UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Research Office, Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building, Private Bag X54000, Durban 4000

Contact details: 031 260 45457 (landline), 031 260 4609 (fax), HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za (email). Ms. Phumelele Ximba: 031 260 358 (landline), ximbap@ukzn.ac.za (email).

Regards,

Ms. Mantsali Hleoheng

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

I…………………………………………………………… (Full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of this research and I consent to participating in the study.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time

NAME OF PARTICIPANT _____

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT_____**DATE** _____

Appenix C: Approval Letter

UNIVERSITY OF ™
KWAZULU-NATAL

INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

14 April 2016

Ms Mantsal E Hleoheng 214583985
School of Built Environment and Development Studies
Howard College Campus

Dear Ms Hleoheng

Protocol reference number: HSS/1732/015M
Project Title: Factors influencing intimate partner violence among women in Clermont, Durban: An exploratory study

Full Approval – Full Committee Reviewed Protocol

In response to your application received 27 November 2015, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL.**

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

....
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanitities & Social Scinces Research Ethics Committee

/pm

Cc Supervisor: Ms Nompumelelo Thabethe
Cc Academic Leader Research: Dr Cathy Sutherland
Cc School Administrator: Ms Nolundi Mzolo

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
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Appendix D: Gatekeeper's letter

11/08/2015

Mantsali Hleoheng

Department of Built Environment and Development Studies

College of Humanities

UKZN

Email: hleohengmantsali@yahoo.com

Dear Miss Mantsali

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Gatekeeper's permission is hereby granted to you to conduct research at Ekuzameni Rehabilitation Center for Abused Women in Clermont provided the ethical clearance has been obtained. We note the title of the project is

"Causes of Intimate Partner Violence among Women in Clermont, Durban: An Exploratory Study".

It is noted that you will be constituting your sample by approaching women who experienced intimate partner violence in Clermont who attend sessions at the shelter.

Please note that the data collected must be treated with due confidentiality and anonymity.

Yours sincerely

....

Joyce Machunu

EKUZAMENI REHABILITATION CENTRE
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CLERNAVILLE, 3610
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