3 *Violence against women*

It has been said that in South Africa 'our interpersonal relations are written…in blood. Our identities stitched together against brutal conditions'.[1] The culture of violence that exists in South Africa stands, paradoxically, alongside highly progressive legislation (Sigsworth 2009). It must be contextualised and explained against the historical backdrop of hostility and inequity entrenched by apartheid (Lau 2009). Violence perpetrated against women is particularly embedded in the social fabric of South Africa to the extent that it is both normal and normalised in communities. For example, many young people draw on 'narratives of normalization' (Moffet 2006: 129) in their explanations of gendered violence and coercion, connecting 'ideas [of] exchange and [male] sexual entitlement, love, and the importance of "intention", violation, and "deserving" victimhood' (Wood et al. 2007: 277–8). In so doing, they not only construe gendered violence and coerced sex as normal and expected, but even as a sign of love (Wood et al. 2007).

The worrying issue is that where violence is a socially and culturally sanctioned norm, the risk of gendered violence is heightened (Lau 2009). Violence in South Africa is often condoned under the rubric of 'culture'. On the one hand, 'culture' may operate as a rhetorical device to justify violence, while on the other hand, certain cultural practices may involve or perpetuate violence. Thus, we see, for instance, the attacks on and 'corrective rapes' of 'black' lesbians justified on the basis that homosexuality is 'un-African', and men claiming that beating female partners is a cultural norm. In terms of cultural practices, which are both tolerated and contested, we witness the Xhosa custom of 'bride seizure' (ukuthwala) that involves kidnapping, rape and forced marriage of young women to older men. Another cultural practice is the virginity testing of teenage women, which has been found to cause these young women emotional harm and places them at higher risk of rape. Such practices fuel the culture of violence in South Africa (DFID 2012; Hames n.d.; Sigsworth 2009).

The 'profoundly gendered' (Seedat et al. 2009: 1011) nature of violence in our country is evident when one considers violence-related statistics. South Africa has an especially high rate of rape of women and girls (Seedat et al. 2009: 1011). It is estimated that a South African woman is raped every 26 seconds (Womankind Worldwide 2007) and the latest figures reported by the South African Police Service indicate a total of 56 272 recorded cases. These numbers obviously do not take into account the rapes that go unreported, and it is suggested that only about 11% (or 1 in 9) cases are ever reported (Vetten & Ratele 2013). Disturbingly, a high proportion

1 Ratele (2003) cited in Peacock et al. 2006: 73

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of men interviewed by researchers also admit to having raped a woman: 27.6% and 37.4% in studies conducted by Jewkes et al. (2009) and Machisa et al. (2011) respectively.

In addition to high levels of rape, the country has also long had some of the highest incidences of reported sexual and gendered violence perpetrated against women globally, despite progressive legislation and commitment to a number of binding international treaties to promote gender equity (Britton 2006; SGJ Network 2007a). Levels of female homicide are also high: the rate was reported as six times the global average in 2009 (Seedat et al. 2009). While these rates have been decreasing in recent years, intimate partner femicide and suspected rape homicide rates have not decreased (Abrahams et al. 2013).

Such statistics show the gendered dynamics of violence in the country with the majority of the victims women and men as the perpetrators (Womankind Worldwide 2007). In fact the perpetrators of violence against women are most likely to be intimate male partners and the most common form of violence against adult women is intimate partner violence (De Vylder 2004). Half of the total female homicides are perpetrated by male partners. The rate of intimate partner femicide is one murder every six hours (SGJ Network 2007a), with a daily average of eight femicides (Seedat et al. 2009). A significant proportion of men in research studies have admitted to being violent toward their female partners. For instance, in a study in the Eastern Cape conducted by Dunkle et al. (2006), 31.8% of men reported to having committed physical or sexual violence against their female main partners. (See also Sikweyiya et al. 2013.)

This is not to deny that men are not also victims of violence in general and gendered violence in particular, as indicated in this chapter. However, the fact remains that such violence 'is largely a masculine undertaking' (Vetten & Ratele 2013: 5), as attested to by the various figures mentioned above. It is noted that the exact levels of gendered violence are difficult to assess, due to underreporting, yet, 'it does not matter what the reported statistics are or…the "actual" number of rapes; whatever the number, it is simply too high' (Britton 2006: 146). Any amount of violence against women is a human rights violation of the most fundamental kind that undermines the support for gender equality given by the South African constitution (Britton 2006). For this reason, the elimination of gendered violence is a priority in South Africa, both for development and for political transformation.

The focus of this chapter is on what civil society has done in the country to address violence against women. The chapter begins by looking at the research that has attempted to ascertain the causes of gender-based violence, highlighting gender norms and power relationships as a significant factor. We then focus on the South African context, sketching the broad backdrop against which sexual and/or gender-based violence (S/GBV) occurs, showing the links between inequity, violence and gendered poverty, and the relationship between the disproportionate number of women and girls who live in poverty and the violence that is directed at them

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(Reddy & Moletsane 2009). The section that follows reviews research literature on the costs and consequences of S/GBV, a central concern when viewing violence against women in the context of poverty reduction, followed by best practice models of civil society interventions to reduce violence against women, including both international good practice and local lessons. The chapter concludes with challenges and opportunities encountered by civil society and makes some recommendations for good practice models.

Definition of key terms

In order to contextualise the issue of gender and related violence, it is necessary to understand key terms such as gender, sexual and/or gender-based violence (S/GBV), and gender-based violence (GBV). The definition of gender provides an understanding of how we understand the term in this publication, and is provided due to the lack of conceptual clarity and loss of a nuanced view that has resulted as a 'gender perspective' has become mainstreamed.

Gender

We adopt a social constructionist view of gender in this book, which is familiar to many people whose work takes cognisance of gender. Most practitioners understand to some extent that gender is historically and socially constructed and therefore connected to categories that are inscribed in social institutions, processes and practices. Consequently, we accept that gender is social, not natural, and open to change. Following a social constructionist view, gender can be understood as a social category that is based on visible physiological markers, much like the category of race (Clarke et al. 2010).

However, it is also common to distinguish between sex and gender, known as the sex/gender binary. In this view, sex is seen as a real biological basis upon which gender, the social construct, is overlaid. The distinction was made by feminists and sociologists in the 1970s to try to deal with the biological essentialism upon which sexism rested and to argue that one's biology does not determine one's destiny. The sex/gender binary has been, and may arguably continue to be, useful when intervening in gender issues, because it is easy for people to understand this distinction and to see that gender norms are changeable. However, in truth, social constructionists reject the formulae sex = biological reality, and gender = cultural construct. They argue that *both* sex and gender are socially constructed and that it is actually unnecessary to distinguish between the two (Butler 1999).

This argument is based on the belief that the body does not exist as a neutral fact prior to culture. Rather, ideas about gender are also used to make sense of bodies. As with racial categorisations, for example, we ascribe social meanings to the body and classify people accordingly. So, ideas about gender shape what we call sex. This is clearly evident when we look back at the ways that gender has been understood in

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the West. Most contemporary ideas about gender are based on the modern Western two-sex model[2], which is now widely accepted and perpetuated by the scientific disciplines. According to this model, we categorise people with vaginas as female, and those with penises as male.[3] Those who fall in between (intersex persons) or who move in between categories (transsexuals and transvestites) confound these categories and create gender trouble. People must then find ways to restore meaning to their systems of classification (seeing gender non-conformists as disordered or as needing to be reassigned into one category).

Gender is thus seen to be tied to sex, so that females are seen as appropriately enacting femininity and desiring men, and vice versa for males. In contrast, the social constructionist understanding of gender frees gender from its supposed biological foundation. The advantage of this view is that it allows radical possibilities for change (Butler 1999; Clarke et al. 2010). However, as mentioned above, this view may fly in the face of common sense understandings of gender and may not be the most appropriate way to approach gender issues in interventions.

Sexual and/or gender-based violence

Violence that occurs owing to one's gender categorisation, or due to gender non-conformity, is termed gender-based violence (GBV). Given that this violence often has a sexual dimension, theorists often speak of sexual and/or gender-based violence (S/GBV). Gendered violence is therefore commonly taken to comprise 'physical, sexual, and psychological abuse from intimate partners, sexual violence by non-partners, sexual abuse of girls, and acts such as trafficking women for sex' (Dunkle et al. 2004b: 230). As mentioned earlier, the targets of such violence are most often female and the perpetrators are almost always male (Womankind Worldwide 2007). In addition, these men are also most likely to be male intimate partners, so that the most common form of violence against women is intimate partner violence (De Vylder 2004).

This does not mean that men are exempt from such violence. As alluded to in the introduction, men – and particularly young men – are 'disproportionately engaged in violence both as victims and perpetrators' (Seedat et al. 2009: 1011). Men who do not conform to dominant ideals of manhood, and who are seen as effeminate, may also be targets of S/GBV (for example gay men or men who have sex with other men; see Mkhize et al. [2010]). This underscores how misogyny and the devaluation of femininity are at the heart of S/GBV and function as a way of reinforcing and maintaining a hetero-patriarchal gender order.

It is clear from the preceding discussion that men are most often the perpetrators of S/GBV against both women and men. However, the focus in this chapter is on

2 Prior to the emergence of the two-sex model, a one-sex model was dominant in the West, in which women's bodies were understood as different, inferior versions of men's bodies. For more on this see Clarke et al. (2010: 30–33) and also Laqueur (1990).

3 Other supposedly neutral biological indicators such as reproductive organs and chromosomes are also used.

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the violence that men direct at women. We therefore use the term (sexual and/or) gender-based violence (S/GBV) interchangeably with 'violence against women' (or 'men's violence against women'), in order to highlight the gender inequality in which violence is embedded (Keesbury & Askew 2010).

Causes of gender-based violence

Violence against women is a complex and multilayered issue shaped by forces that operate at different levels. Sociocultural norms play a significant role in levels of violence, which implies that the issue cannot be dealt with in isolation from social factors (Guedes 2004). The social factors driving the problem, which are addressed in depth in this chapter, include a broader culture of violence, as well as gender and socioeconomic inequity. Although these issues are discussed separately, they are inextricably interlinked. Moreover, they in turn are related to other individual risk factors that act as drivers of gendered violence, such as intergenerational cycles of violence, exposure to violence, alcohol and drug abuse, the proliferation of firearms and weak law enforcement (Seedat et al. 2009).

These causal factors are interconnected and therefore best understood and addressed within an ecological approach, endorsed by the World Health Organization (WHO). An ecological approach combines individual level risk factors with community and society level factors, as illustrated in Figure 3.1. Many researchers have used an ecological model as a way to examine the combination of risk factors that increase the likelihood of violence against women in a particular setting (Bott et al. 2005). Such an approach captures the interrelationships of all potential influences on men's motivation to abuse women, including the wider impact of forces within the community and society (Taft 2003).

A culture of violence

As noted in the quote below, there is a notion that South Africans live within a culture of violence, and most especially, a culture within which this violence is seen as normal as well as normalised. In our country,

> …violence is accepted as a long-standing means of resolving conflict and problems in the family, in sexual relationships, in school, in peer groups, in the community and in political spheres. Assault is so common that it has become acceptable in a wide range of relationships…This social tolerance of violence in general only serves to foster the perpetuation of sexual violence. (Sigsworth 2009: 18)

The high rates of interpersonal violence in general, and violence against women in particular, in South Africa can be contextualised and explained against the historical backdrop of hostility and inequity entrenched by colonial and apartheid patriarchies, as well as widespread political violence (Britton 2006; Moletsane et al. 2010). The

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violence that we see today, and the particular forms that it takes, can be understood in relation to the political, social, economic, and psychological shifts that work alongside the process of sociopolitical transformation and the instability that this process creates.

Entrenched gender norms

At its most fundamental level, endemic violence against women is linked to gender norms, regardless of the form the violence takes (i.e. physical, sexual, or psychological) and is related to the low social status and deep-seated devaluation of femininity (Heise 2011; Vogelman & Eagle 1991). Historically, all South African women, irrespective of social categorisations, have been publicly silenced and 'obstructed from participation in formal political life' (Britton 2006: 148). It has been said that 'one of the few profoundly non-racial institutions in South Africa is patriarchy'.[4] Women have generally been relegated to the private sphere of domesticity and childrearing. In contrast, men, especially 'white' Afrikaners, enjoyed the economic freedom of paid employment, as well as the relative power and status that this brought with it (Morrell 2006). Nevertheless, though women as a class were disenfranchised, 'black' women suffered the multiple oppression of being 'black', poor and female, while 'white' women were able to use the privileges granted by race to negotiate economic power. The contracting of 'black' women to perform domestic labour, for example, allowed 'white' women to balance the double burden of their domestic 'duties' with paid employment. To date, domestic labour remains to a large extent feminised and racialised, allowing many middle-class women to enter the workforce, without substantively altering gender norms in the private sphere and often also perpetuating the racialised class differentials of apartheid.

Significantly, S/GBV is both a consequence of gender power inequities and a means for maintaining inequities (Bloom 2008; Jewkes et al. 2010). Men use violence to maintain dominance over women and other men. For instance, in South Africa, rape has been a means of keeping women and people who choose non-conforming gender identities in check (Britton 2006). Some recent examples of this include the public sexual assault of women for wearing miniskirts at South African taxi ranks,[5] the 'corrective rape' of lesbians in townships, and the murders of homosexual men allegedly as part of gang initiation. Although women may also be perpetrators of or involved in such violence (for example in the assault of lesbians), these crimes function to uphold the hetero-patriarchal gender order in which heterosexual men dominate. Heterosexual women also have a stake in the current gender order and also commit or support violence in order to assert their own place in the social hierarchy.

4 Judge Albie Sachs (Sachs 1990)

5 For more on this see Vincent's commentary (accessed November 2013) at http://www.ru.ac.za/media/rhodesuniversity/content/documents/politics/LOUISE%20DOC%201.pdf

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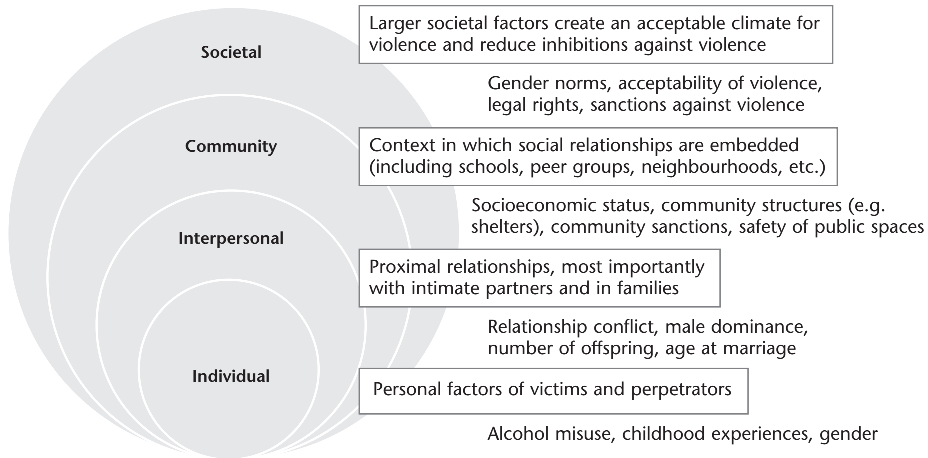
Figure 3.1 *Ecological model of factors associated with violence against women*



Source: Adapted from Taft 2003 and Bott et al. 2005

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Although as stated men are in most cases the perpetrators of violence against women, men do not form a homogenous group and therefore hold a wide range of views and opinions about violence against women. Research indicates that there is also a significant number of men who claim to want to be proactively involved in reducing men's violence against women (Peacock & Levack 2004; SGJ Network 2007a). In addition, patriarchal gender norms have a 'double-edged nature' (Peacock & Levack 2004: 177) and also affect men's health negatively, for example, promoting risky behaviours, promiscuity and preventing medical help-seeking (Ringheim & Feldman-Jacobs 2009). Hetero-patriarchal gender norms therefore also compromise men's health and well-being (SGJ Network 2007a; 2007b) creating vulnerabilities and needs. Nonetheless, these can in no way be equated with women's challenges or negate the global aggregate power imbalance between women and men (Barker et al. 2010). It is also important to recognise that in South Africa these gender norms and relationships are situated within a socioeconomic context characterised by high levels of inequality, limited social welfare services, and high levels of generalised violence (SGJ Network 2007a).

Socioeconomic inequities

Attaining gender equality and fostering equitable gender norms requires a nuanced understanding and a consideration of the broader socioeconomic context, including the ways that gender-based power, poverty and violence intersect. Power disparities, S/GBV, and gendered poverty are interlinked (Moletsane et al. 2010; Seedat et al. 2009). Women living in poverty, especially in rural or remote communities, are

particularly susceptible to violence (Benjamin 2007; Womankind Worldwide 2007). Lack of economic rights and the concomitant economic dependence of women on men increase their vulnerability to violence, particularly violence of a sexual nature (Greig et al. 2008).

Despite the connection between poverty and GBV, in South Africa little consideration is given in violence-reduction efforts to the broader socioeconomic context in which men's violence occurs. The relationship between men's violence, HIV and AIDS and broader socioeconomic conditions requires greater attention. It is also important that attention is focused on women who are poor and/or marginalised in other ways. These women may suffer inordinately due to the economic costs of violence perpetrated against them, for instance the cost of medical treatment or earnings foregone due to absence from work, as discussed below (UNFPA 2005 & 2006; De Vylder 2005).

Costs of violence against women

Violence has economic costs and consequences for individual women, as well as health costs, both in the interim (e.g. chronic, undiagnosed pain, forced pregnancies, sexually transmitted infections) and the long-term (e.g. depression, mental health issues and attempted suicide) (De Vylder 2004; UNFPA 2005 & 2006). Sexual and reproductive health is a particular concern and men's constructive engagement, which is discussed more fully later in this chapter, is seen as integral to promoting women's sexual and reproductive health (Ringheim & Feldman-Jacobs 2009). There has also been increased attention to men's health as an equally significant concern (e.g. Alan Guttmacher Institute 2003). It has been noted, for instance, that the same norms that promote violence against women also drive men's risky behaviours and make both women and men vulnerable to contracting HIV (Ellsberg & Betron n.d.; Ferguson et al. 2004; Greig et al. 2008; SGJ Network 2007a & b; WHO 2010).

Globally, studies confirm the interlinkage of violence against women and HIV (WHO 2010). 'GBV is increasingly recognised as a critical driver of the HIV epidemic in many settings, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa where the incidence of HIV infection is growing at alarming rates among woman in particular' (Ellsberg & Betron n.d.: 1). Research indicates that GBV makes females especially susceptible to infection, through rape, coerced sex and the inability to negotiate appropriate contraceptive use. In addition, stigma and shame related to both violence and HIV may prevent them from seeking timely medical intervention, if they seek help at all (Ellsberg & Betron n.d.). (See Campbell et al. 2008 for more on this topic.) Not only are women at greater risk of being infected, they are also disproportionately affected, since they bear the greater burden of care and support for those with AIDS-related illnesses (SGJ Network 2007a). The connection between GBV and HIV has also been confirmed by several South African studies (e.g. Abrahams et al. 2004; Dunkle et al. 2004a & b, 2006, 2007; Jewkes & Abrahams 2002; Jewkes et al. 2000, 2003, 2006,

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2009, 2010; Wood, Lambert, & Jewkes 2007 & 2008). There is therefore a need for integrated strategies that address GBV within the context of HIV, and most experts maintain that primary prevention of GBV is effective in reducing both GBV and HIV prevalence (Ellsberg & Betron n.d.; Jewkes et al. 2006).

Violence against women is not only correlated with high social, health and economic costs to the individual, but also to society at large (Abrahams & Jewkes 2005; De Vylder 2004; Heise 2011; UNFPA 2005; Womankind Worldwide 2007). It is therefore imperative – from the perspective of individual human rights and societal well-being – that GBV is addressed. Civil society has played a major role in doing so. Civil society organisations (CSOs) are critical partners for government's strategies to reduce violence against women. There has been at least a decade of sustained collaborative work between civil society – including NGOs and researchers – and a number of statutory sectors, particularly the health sector, justice system, and the police service (Seedat et al. 2009). Grassroots organisations, coalitions and government–civil society initiatives have united to provide a range of services, including training sessions, empowerment programmes, face-to-face and group counselling, shelter and intervention services, legal assistance and rape crisis centres (Britton 2006). Civil society organisations are frequently at the forefront of direct work with survivors, providing them with shelter, psychosocial and legal support and other services (UNIFEM 2012).

This work has been challenging, owing to the violent legacy of the apartheid state as well as governmental budgetary limitations, although partnerships between civil society, NGOs, and the business community have alleviated some of the resource constraints (The Presidency 2007). In addition to their role as strategic partners, civil society organisations have conducted research that has contributed significantly to understandings of violence and ensuring effective responses (The Presidency 2007). (Although a gap in this work is research on attitudes and perceptions about gendered, including men's, beliefs about and experiences of violence against women, see Sikweyiya et al. 2013 on this.) Some organisations (e.g. Men as Partners Network) have also been involved in policy and advocacy work (Peacock & Levack 2004). The remainder of this chapter concentrates on civil society efforts in relation to gender-based violence. The explicit focus in this chapter is on efforts to prevent future partner violence, that is, primary prevention.

What works to prevent men's violence against women?

Primary prevention is focused on changing the low social status of women, gender roles and power imbalances by targeting the underlying norms, attitudes, and behaviours of individuals, communities and society (Mullick et al. 2010). Since it is focused on the underlying causes, it 'is a more effective strategy for reducing both GBV as well as HIV prevalence' (Ellsberg & Betron n.d.: 3) than secondary or tertiary prevention strategies, which concentrate on ameliorating the effects of

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violence. Yet the South African government's attention has been largely focused on tertiary prevention (Seedat et al. 2009) and primary prevention is an aspect of programming that has received relatively less attention within existing programmes and in evaluation literature (Heise 2011). This is most likely because interventions that aim for the primary prevention of S/GBV are the most challenging to implement and assess (Mullick et al. 2010).

In considering which prevention programmes work to prevent violence against women, we look first to promising international practice and then turn to South African case examples. Before doing so, it is important to highlight that there is a lack of rigorous programme evaluation and thus a general lack of data to support recommendations for best practices in the field. In addition, most of the programmes lack quality systems for monitoring and evaluating their progress (Bloom 2008). There have been some reviews that identify effective programmes that do monitor and evaluate. These reviews highlight those programmes that appear to be promising. In particular, Aidstar-One (2012) has, on the basis of a review of the evidence gleaned from evaluations, identified a number of gender transformative programmes[6] aiming to address violence against women. These are categorised as: 1) interventions with preliminary evidence that reflects emerging promise; 2) those with intermediate evidence reflecting good promise; and, finally, 3) those with good evidence that reflects high promise. These programmes are tabulated below and are drawn on for illustrative purposes in the remainder of this chapter. The programme examples in this chapter also refer to these categories (where appropriate).

Table 3.1 *Promising gender-transformative interventions for addressing violence against women*

Name of programme	Category	Country
Bridges to End Violence	1	Nigeria
Intervention with Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity (IMAGE) Study	1	South Africa
Kivulini Mobilizing Communities to Prevent Domestic Violence	2	Tanzania
Memory Book Project	1	Zimbabwe
One Man Can	1	South Africa
Programa H: Promoting more Gender-equitable Norms and Behaviours among Young Men	2	Brazil
Refentse Project (Resilience in the face of adversity): Post Rape Care	3	South Africa
Stepping Stones: Promotion of Life Skills and Sexual Well-being in Rural Communities through a Standardized Training Package	2	Uganda

Source: Aidstar-One 2012

6 For details on this see USAID Interagency Gender Working Group cited in Heise 2011: 17

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Experience from global practice on violence prevention

Five key lessons emerge from a review of international intervention evaluations:

- Lesson 1: Gender transformative prevention programmes, with a critical and nuanced understanding of gender, are most effective.
- Lesson 2: Cultural norms can be changed.
- Lesson 3: Comprehensive, multifaceted strategies work best.
- Lesson 4: Community mobilisation is effective.
- Lesson 5: Rights-based and empowerment approaches are crucial for success.

We discuss each of these in turn, with examples of actual programmes that have been deemed to be promising.

Lesson 1: Gender transformative prevention programmes, with a critical and nuanced understanding of gender, are most effective

Gender transformative programmes, which aim to transform gender roles and promote equitable female-male relationships, are generally found to be more effective than programmes that do not acknowledge the importance of gender roles (that are 'gender neutral') or that are merely 'gender sensitive'. For instance, Barker, Ricardo and Nascimento (2007) found that gender-transformative programmes had a higher rate of effectiveness than other interventions aimed at men and boys. Significantly, however, successful gender transformative interventions are also based upon a critical and nuanced understanding of gender (Macleod & Tracey 2009). Such an understanding would translate into the following features, as identified by Barker et al. (2007):

- Take an explicit/implicit social constructionist approach (i.e. they understand both sex and gender to be socially constructed rather than based on a biological reality).
- Critically discuss or question traditional, inequitable attitudes about gender within the intervention.
- Take into account the other power dimensions and social realities facing participants.

Programa H [Category 2], Brazil

This programme has been replicated in several parts of Brazil and throughout the world. As Table 3.1 above indicates, this intervention is rated by Aidstar-One (2012) as having intermediate evidence and good promise. The goal of this programme is to encourage young men to question some of the patriarchal norms related to manhood, consider the costs associated with such constructions and consider the benefits of gender equitable behaviours.

According to Aidstar-One (2012), Programa H 'uses educational workshops, lifestyle campaigns, innovative approaches to attracting young men to health facilities, and a culturally sensitive impact evaluation methodology'. The core

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components include a validated curriculum (with a manual series and an educational video), a social marketing campaign, a research-action methodology for reducing barriers to young men's use of clinic services, and a culturally relevant, validated evaluation model, the Gender Equitable Attitudes in Men (GEM) Scale.

One of the key lessons learned from this programme is that, although it might take time, gender-related attitude and behaviour change is possible, as discussed further below.

Lesson 2: Cultural norms can be changed

Contrary to the widely-held view that it is not feasible to attempt to transform community gender norms, or that the process is too lengthy, evidence suggests that it is possible for well-designed programmes to effect tangible and measurable change within a programme's time-frame, for instance in the examples of programmes discussed below.

Stepping Stones [Category 2] and SASA!/Raising voices, Uganda; IMAGE [Category 1], South Africa

Both Stepping Stones and IMAGE have been shown to be particularly effective in reducing sexual and gender-based violence and have subsequently been rolled out in other locations, including South Africa (Mullick et al. 2010). The SASA!/Raising voices project is a community mobilisation project designed to alter gender power relations and thereby address both violence against women and HIV (Heise 2011). This programme illustrates the importance of grounding the issue of S/GBV (and HIV) in people's actual experiences in order to change people's attitudes (Ellsberg & Betron n.d.).

Lesson 3: Comprehensive, multifaceted strategies work best

Owing to its multifaceted nature, addressing S/GBV requires comprehensive, multifaceted strategies that heed structural (e.g. poverty, education, housing, unemployment) and sociocultural factors. Rather than stand-alone themes or projects, a coordinated, complementary response promotes change at multiple levels (Guedes 2004). Joint programming of this kind can:

- contribute to progress toward attaining Millennium Development Goals;
- improve the effectiveness and coverage of HIV-prevention programmes and thereby contribute to universal access to prevention, treatment, care, and support;
- advance other areas of social and economic development, including reducing poverty and increasing educational attainment;
- advance the promotion and protection of human rights and thereby contribute to a decrease in violence against women and an increase in access to needed services; and

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- address other important health outcomes beyond HIV, including sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and infertility, unwanted pregnancy, maternal morbidity and mortality, child health, mental health, substance use, education and economic productivity (WHO 2010: 25).

Since violence against women, gender inequity and HIV are cross-cutting issues, 'HIV programs would be wise to integrate components to address gender-based violence' (Guedes 2004: 86) as this would increase the overall impact of these programmes, including their cost efficiency (WHO 2010). Such approaches necessitate strengthening multisectoral collaboration.

Bridges to End Violence [Category 1], Nigeria;
Kivulini [Category 2], Tanzania

Two examples of promising interventions that take a joint approach are the Nigerian Bridges to End Violence programme and the Tanzanian Kivulini programme (see Table 3.1 above). These programmes used a combination of community-based approaches, including awareness, education, engagement, and outreach, as well as legal advocacy. The Kivulini project, which reached over 75 000 people in one year, also incorporated economic empowerment and capacity building into the intervention, while the Bridges to End Violence intervention established community forums and hotlines to the Ministry of Women Affairs [sic] and police stations. Both included HIV and AIDS-related education or information (Aidstar-One 2012). The SASA! Project, mentioned above also takes a joint approach and is currently under evaluation (Heise 2011).

Lesson 4: Community mobilisation is effective

Community mobilisation is a part of many promising interventions. This approach works within an ecological model, because it reaches beyond the individual level to the social setting, including relationships, social institutions, gatekeepers, community leaders and so forth (Barker et al. 2007). Such approaches comprise a range of social change strategies and should expand upon workshops and community education approaches (SGJ Network 2007a). 'Integrated programmes and programmes within community outreach, mobilization and mass-media campaigns show more effectiveness in producing behaviour change' (Barker et al. 2007: 5). This approach is deemed to be effective because it:

- shifts gender violence into the public sphere;
- reduces community tolerance for such violence; and
- creates an environment in which perpetrators fear their actions (Guedes 2004).

Involving communities in combating violence against women is important for changing the perception that this issue is simply a women's problem. Based on this premise, involving men in programmes is seen as vital. Along with men's greater visibility, advocacy approaches to demand an end to men's violence against women have also been noted to be successful (SGJ Network 2007a).

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Stepping Stones [Category 2], Uganda

This successful programme uses participatory learning activities based on adult education theory, Freirean models of critical reflection, and conscientising (WHO 2010). This methodology is based upon the premise that education and critical reflection is a means of raising consciousness in order to liberate people from a 'culture of silence' and is particularly relevant to impoverished communities.

Lesson 5: Rights-based and empowerment approaches are crucial for success

Women's empowerment is crucial for the reduction of violence against them and to conscientise them regarding their rights (Holmes et al. 2010). It is important that 'both men and women...feel capable and empowered to act on changed attitudes in their own personal lives as well as in their communities' (Ellsberg & Betron n.d.: 3). One way of achieving this is to help people to feel capable and energised by concentrating on their strengths and community assets as well as solutions and potential action strategies.

Since men have frequently been stigmatised and stereotyped as risky or as 'the problem' in relation to violence against women 'the challenge is to promote responsibility for sexism but to do so in a respectful way without labelling all men as violent and blame-worthy. Supporting and challenging teachers and other mentors of young men is crucial to successful outcomes' (Ringheim & Feldman-Jacobs 2009: 36–37). The rights-based approach, which underpins South African legislation and policy, can be a useful way of assisting men to appreciate and comprehend how contemporary gender roles infringe human rights, which were hard won during the country's struggle for democracy. It is possible to demonstrate how oppressive gender power relations mirror historical class and race relations. It is especially important to involve young men – and youth in general – and to address norms and behaviours before they become fixed (Guedes 2004).

Puntos de Encuentro and SASA!/Raising voices, Uganda;
One Man Can [Category 1] South Africa

Puntos de Encuentro and SASA! provide tools for dialogue in everyday life that do not require an expensive new project or a highly skilled facilitator. The South African One Man Can (OMC) programme provides action toolkits.

Best practice in South Africa

A range of interventions have been conducted by South African civil society, including media campaigns to raise awareness and shift gender norms, peer training and community-based workshops, and gender transformative programming (Heise 2011; Seedat et al. 2009). This chapter deals with successful approaches and discusses examples of actual interventions, as summarised below. Note, however, that approaches are not necessarily mutually exclusive and in practice there may be overlap.

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Table 3.2 *Overview of approaches reviewed in this chapter*

Type of intervention	Example of actual programme
Awareness campaigns	Soul City
Community-based interventions	Men as Partners (MAP)
Gender-transformative programmes for men Gender-transformative programmes for youth Gender-transformative programmes for women	One Man Can Stepping Stones IMAGE

Awareness campaigns

Awareness and advocacy campaigns (also referred to as social marketing campaigns or Behaviour Change Communication) are among the most common strategies used to prevent S/GBV in low and middle-income countries (Guedes 2004; Heise 2011). The advantages of these types of programmes are that they are useful for 'breaking the silence' about violence against women (Heise 2011; Womankind Worldwide 2007), and provide a platform for advocacy projects (Heise 2011). However, they are also 'generally ill-suited to the complex task of shifting social norms…[because they] are seldom intensive enough or sufficiently theory-driven to transform norms or change actual behaviours' (Heise 2011: 14–15).

A number of South African campaigns have been conducted, many utilising the edutainment (or education–entertainment) strategy, to address the issue of GBV. This entails the purposeful design of media messages that simultaneously amuse, entertain and instruct, so as to increase the knowledge of audience members, create favourable attitudes, alter social norms, and convert behaviours. The advantage of such an approach is that it may be especially appealing to younger people and affords the opportunity to target those who are still being socialised (Guedes 2004). Consequently, awareness-raising campaigns are frequently used in schools (Womankind Worldwide 2007).

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Soul City

Soul City is an NGO that attempts to promote social change, health and development (Usdin et al. 2000 & 2005). On the basis of research, the campaign integrates social issues into popular, high-quality entertainment formats (Guedes 2004). Its multimedia awareness campaign is estimated to reach between 12 million (Macleod & Tracey 2009) and 16 million (Guedes 2004) South Africans. This is achieved 'through a prime time television programme, a daily radio drama, booklets on health topics, a publicity campaign that keeps Soul City within public awareness, and adult education and youth life skills materials' (Macleod & Tracey 2009: 56). The fourth series of Soul City, in which S/GBV was a major focus (Usdin et al. 2005), reached 16.2 million people. This series tackled a range of issues such as, domestic violence, sexual harassment and date rape (Guedes 2004).

Strengths: A capacity-building focus that serves to foster cultural relevance and appropriate local solutions through the recruitment of local staff (WHO 2010).

Challenges: Possible shortcomings that were identified in an evaluation were 'the potential for divided loyalties, issues of brand association and responsibility for impact, and building and retaining adequate local skills' (WHO 2010: 22).

Evaluation: This programme was identified by a number of sources as a promising programme (Guedes 2004) and as 'effective' (Barker et al. 2007). An evaluation of Soul City 4 shows a 'consistent association between [the series] and positive change' (Usdin et al. 2005: 2443). Both qualitative and quantitative evaluations indicated that the series is associated with:

- increased knowledge and awareness after exposure to the series;
- positive impact on attitudes around violence (e.g. the private nature of violence against women, appropriate responses to such violence and attitudes about its seriousness);
- increased interpersonal communication about the violence against women, and help-seeking behaviour;
- increasing women's self-efficacy by informing them of their rights and facilitating access to services, as well as raising general awareness about gender roles and equity; and
- facilitating the creation of an environment conducive to social change (e.g. implementing a help-line and other services).

However, as is the case with awareness campaigns, evaluators have not been able to determine whether an actual change in violent behaviour towards women occurred, and important attitudes regarding gender roles and the cultural acceptability of violence toward wives remained unchanged (e.g. people express views that as head of the home a man may beat his wife, and that this is culturally acceptable) (Guedes 2004).

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Community-based interventions

Community-based work with men and boys, as well as with women and girls, is widely implemented and seeks to promote new gender ideals aimed at eliminating the use of GBV (Greig et al. 2008). Though community-level interventions vary considerably, ranging from one-off workshops to training that is incorporated into existing platforms (e.g. clubs or microfinance groups), in order to be successful it is imperative that such interventions are embedded in a larger programme of sustained intervention and engagement and based on thorough formative research (Heise 2011).

The Sonke Gender Justice Network[7]: Men as Partners

This is a unique example of civil society coordinating its efforts at a programme level to improve the status of women in South Africa. Men as Partners (MAP) is a community intervention programme that was started in 1998 by the Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa (PPASA), and received technical support from Engender Health (an American reproductive health organisation). The programme adopts a rights-based approach and has a broad focus based on the recognition that gender inequity contributes to both AIDS and violence against women in South Africa (Peacock & Levack 2004). Men are central to the MAP programme owing to the belief that they have a personal investment in challenging harmful and restrictive gender roles (Bott et al. 2005; Guedes 2004). The programme works 'with individual men in community settings [and] emphasises the link between gender violence and HIV and AIDS, and promotes active male involvement in reducing both epidemics in South Africa' (UNICEF n.d.: 43). It aims to transform the attitudes and behaviours that compromise men's own health and safety, as well as the health and safety of others, and to encourage men's active responses to GBV and the HIV and AIDS epidemic (Peacock 2007).

This programme involves community-based education workshops conducted by female and male facilitators with men and mixed gender audiences, at workplaces, trade unions, prisons, faith-based institutions, and so on (Bott et al. 2005; Guedes 2004). Through MAP a number of civil society organisations have been trained, including, among others, government departments, the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), AIDS Consortium and CBO affiliates. Community Action Teams are an integral part of the Sonke Gender Justice Network's approach and encourage transformation at both individual and community levels (SGJ Network 2007a & b). The processes adopted are:

> ...participatory and non-directive, acknowledging the experiences that all participants bring with them. Central to any MAP workshop is the discussion of gender issues reflecting on participant values about gender, examining patriarchal gender roles, understanding the power dynamics that exist based on gender, assessing gender stereotypes, and sharing male and female perspectives on gender. (Peacock 2007: 4)

Challenges: Some of the challenges particular to this programme are reported by Guedes (2004). These include resistance within communities, women's and men's deeply rooted patriarchal and conservative attitudes, and dependency of peer educators and community action teams on programme stipends.

7 The Sonke Gender Justice Network (SGJ) is a South African-based NGO that works across the continent to reinforce government, civil society and citizen capacity to support men in taking action to promote gender equality, prevent domestic, sexual and gender based violence, and reduce the transmission and effects of HIV. The organisation focuses on providing support to ensure that men's commitment to preventing violence against women is sustained. See Peacock (2013) for a recent overview of the organisation's work.

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Evaluation: The work conducted by MAP has been called 'pioneering and internationally-renowned' (SGJ Network 2007a: 21). This intervention was classified as 'promising' in a World Health Organisation review of global programmes aimed at men and boys (Barker et al. 2007). The preliminary evaluation of MAP suggested that in comparison to control groups, a higher percentage of participants believed in equal rights for women and men and that intimate partner violence is wrong (UNICEF n.d.). Subsequent evaluations have shown some positive changes (Guedes 2004), as did qualitative evaluations (Bott et al. 2005). However, there were some areas that were highlighted as requiring further attention during training. For example, there were only slight or moderate increases in participants' understanding of different forms of GBV and of rape as motivated by power rather than sexual desire (Guedes 2004).

Gender-transformative programmes

Research indicates greater efficacy for interventions aimed at transforming ideas about gender than those interventions that are individual-focused and target risk behaviours alone, as mentioned earlier (Dunkle et al. 2007). Implementing agencies have also recognised that changing gender norms necessitates working with both women and men, even if they are addressed separately in same-gender groups. Consequently, there has been a general injunction to adopt 'gender synchronised' approaches, in other words using the same programmatic umbrella or partnering with other organisations to address 1) men and boys; 2) youth; and 3) women (Heise 2011). Each of these programme types are dealt with in turn.

Working with men and boys

Global evidence indicates that men need to be actively engaged in supporting women's empowerment as well as the health and well-being of families if violence against women is to be eradicated (Ringheim & Feldman-Jacobs 2009). South Africa is widely recognised as a leader in some of the most significant interventions, and research focused on men and gender equality and pioneering work with men to achieve gender equality is occurring in South Africa (Peacock et al. 2006; SGJ Network 2007a). Yet, for the most part, 'work to involve boys in achieving gender equality currently receives very little attention from either government or civil society' (SGJ Network 2007b: 7). In addition, shortcomings that have been noted in the past (SGJ Network 2007a) are the adoption of overly narrow approaches and the use of one-off workshops that do not duly consider audience or seek community involvement. Such approaches cannot promote sustained change and attempts have since been made to do so, notably by the SGJ Network's flagship project, One Man Can (OMC), that builds upon the MAP programme discussed above (Peacock 2007).

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One Man Can

OMC 'is a multifaceted, multisectoral, multimodal mass media and community mobilization campaign [that] explicitly promotes activist and rights-based collective action and links with the historical anti-apartheid struggle and post-apartheid emphasis on building a human rights culture' (WHO 2010: 23). It attempts simultaneously to address the risk of GBV and HIV (WHO 2010). A particular strength of this campaign is its multisectoral collaborations. These include partnerships with other NGOs that have made a significant contribution to the field as well as with government departments (Peacock 2007). The intervention makes use of interconnected participatory social change strategies, which are 'mutually reinforcing, generate important synergies and promote multisectoral approaches' (Colvin & Peacock 2009: 12). These are informed by extensive formative research. The following are outstanding features of the programme:

Empowerment and advocacy: The founding premise is that men can be constructively involved in curbing violence against women. Positive messaging and constructions of masculinity are intended to mobilise men and boys to take action to end violence against women, reduce the spread of HIV, and promote equitable relationships between women and men (Ringheim & Feldman-Jacobs 2009; WHO 2010). The campaign 'encourages men to work together with other men and with women to take action, to build a movement, to demand justice, to claim our democratic rights, and to change the world' (SGJ Network 2007a: 33).

Ecological approach: Based upon an explicit human rights approach, the campaign uses a social ecological model (discussed earlier) and is thus built upon a spectrum of change that occurs across several levels, including 'building individual knowledge and skills, strengthening organizational capacity, building effective networks and coalitions, community education, community mobilisation, and working with government to promote change in policy and practice' (WHO 2010: 23). This approach is illustrated in Figure 3.2 below. This model shows the relationship between community education and mobilisation, training, and changes in men's gender-related practices.

Sustaining participation and commitment at the social, political and economic level: The campaign goes beyond prevention and awareness workshops to actively co-opt males into advocacy and care work. Materials, resources, and definite strategies are provided to participants in the form of an Action Kit (SGJ Network 2007a).

The programme has reached tens of thousands of people and has been identified as a 'promising practice' (Colvin & Peacock 2009). A number of indicators were predetermined and targets set in order to monitor and evaluate its impact. The 2009 programme evaluation reported 'very positive' findings overall, and responses to the follow-up questionnaire on reporting of GBV appear in Figure 3.2 below (Colvin & Peacock 2009). While the main findings of the impact

evaluation indicate that the OMC Campaign was effective in changing behaviour and attitudes at both the individual and community levels, the findings are limited in that they relied on a self-report format and qualitative data. It was therefore not possible to ascertain long-term changes in attitude or behaviour (SGJ Network 2009). However, assessments of the programme's impact are on-going and 'suggest that men who had attended at least one One Man Can event were likely to…intervene if they witnessed an act of gender-based violence' (WHO 2010: 23).

Working with youth

A substantial body of South African research on coerced sex and violence among young people, especially within the context of HIV and AIDS, has emerged in recent years (e.g. Jewkes et al. 1999 & 2006; Wood & Jewkes 1997; Wood et al. 1998; Wood, Lambert, & Jewkes 2007 & 2008). These studies highlight the need to address the underlying gender and power dynamics that contribute to violence against women (Dunkle et al. 2006). Globally, programmes that address GBV among young people have adopted various approaches, including the empowerment of girls and addressing gender norms among female and male teenagers and youths. Programmes that target the youth can assist in changing gendered norms and behaviours before they become firmly established. They may not only limit the levels of GBV that occur at schools, where sexual violence is more common than many believe, but also set an example for the community regarding acceptable behaviour. Finally, youth programmes may also disrupt the intergenerational cycles of violence (Guedes 2004).

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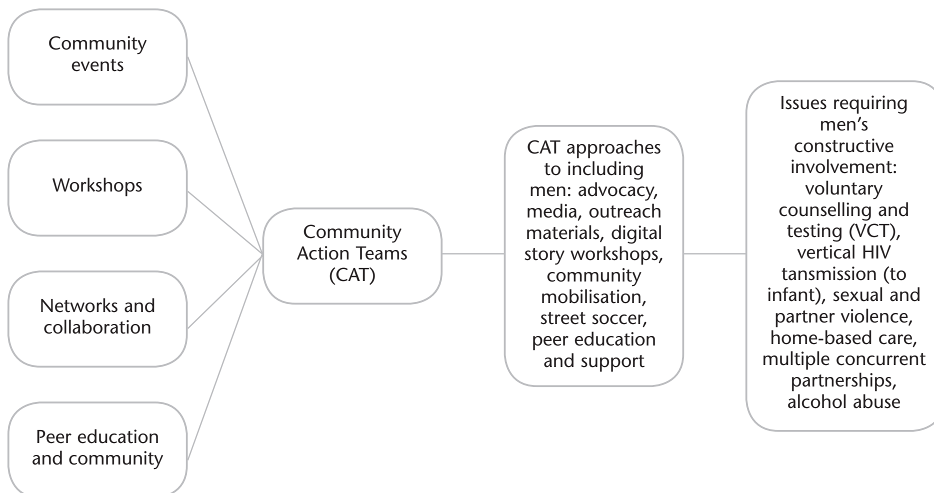
Figure 3.2 *One Man Can community mobilisation model*



Source: Adapted from Colvin & Peacock 2009

Stepping Stones

This programme was originally developed for use in Uganda in 1995 and has since been used in more than 40 countries, including South Africa. It is 'a participatory HIV prevention programme that aims to improve sexual health by building stronger, more gender-equitable relationships and through this process seeks to reduce gender-based violence' (Seedat et al. 2009: 1017). The programme employs participatory learning approaches based on adult education theory and Freirean models, involving critical reflection, role play, and drama in men-only or women-only groups, and attempts to incorporate everyday realities faced by participants' lives into the sessions (WHO 2010).

An assessment conducted by the Medical Research Council (MRC) showed a significant reduction in intimate partner violence (IPV) (Dunkle et al. 2006 & 2007; Seedat et al. 2009; SGJ Network 2007a). This is the only intervention outside of North America to show a decrease in male perpetration of GBV (WHO 2010). There were also changes reported in HIV risk behaviours, such as transactional sex and problem drinking (Greig et al. 2008; WHO 2010).

The reason for the efficacy of this programme is that Stepping Stones 'addressed gender norms and provided communication skills that could be used to build better relationships, which was seen as a valued outcome by both men and women' (Greig et al. 2008: S37). This project also draws attention to the role of interventions with women that empower them with relationship skills and questions the acceptability of GBV and ideals of femininity grounded either on subservience to men or promiscuity (Greig et al. 2008).

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Empowering women

There is a close link between women's empowerment, the development of their capabilities, and their economic self-sufficiency (UNFPA 2006). The lack of a means to earn an income limits the choices available to women, especially those who are already in abusive relationships. However, assisting women financially is not a simple matter, owing to widespread and deeply-rooted ideas about the gendered division of labour, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter (Moletsane et al. 2010). Evidence on the impact of microfinance and microcredit schemes on the status and power of women within the home and farther afield suggests that microfinancing and microcredit programmes seem to work in two directions simultaneously (Bott et al. 2005): on one hand, these initiatives 'reduce women's vulnerability to violence by strengthening their access to resources and making women's lives more public' (42); on the other hand, initiatives may 'increase the risk of violence by challenging patriarchal norms and escalating conflict in the household' (42). The effects of income or employment, as well as property ownership, on women's risk of violence vary contextually: in some settings they serve a protective function, while in others the opposite (Heise 2011). In South Africa, a meaningful decline in men's violence toward women has subsequently been related to women's participation in an economic and social empowerment initiative (Kim et al. 2009).

The challenge, therefore, is to find ways to maximise the benefits of microcredit programmes, while mitigating or minimising risks. Programmers must never lose sight of the fact that gender norms play an important role in determining whether economic autonomy may actually increase women's authority and relative power. Research – particularly in relation to sexual and reproductive health – has shown that heterosexual marriage in particular functions as a site of male dominance and is a significant intervening factor in women's autonomy, regardless of income or education (DeRose et al. 2002). Thus, advocacy work might be needed to raise awareness about issues such as men's burden-sharing within households and the importance of women's economic empowerment in terms of the economic costs of the lack of women's participation in the labour force as a result of violence (Bott et al. 2005; Schuler, Hashemi & Jenkins 1998; UNFPA 2005). In addition, involving women and collaborating with them to learn about the realities of their lives and what it is they want and need is important when planning interventions that seek to empower women (e.g. Lambrick & Travers 2008).

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Intervention with Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity (IMAGE)

This South African initiative is repeatedly singled out as a success story. This 'project showed significant reductions in IPV and strong trends in reducing HIV risk behaviour, by combining a microfinance intervention to relieve women's poverty with a gender-training programme and support for gender transformation within communities, including a focus on reducing gender-based violence' (WHO 2010: 27). The poorest women in villages in a rural area of Limpopo were given loans. Gender and HIV sessions were conducted during loan repayment visits (Mullick et al. 2010). The combination of financing and explicitly addressing the implications of GBV are crucial for success, as Bott et al. (2005) stress. In an assessment of the project in rural Limpopo two years subsequent to the intervention there was a 55% decrease in the risk of sexual or physical partner violence targeted at women for the preceding year (Mullick et al. 2010; Seedat et al. 2009). Kim et al. (2007: 1800) assert that 'women participating in the IMAGE intervention reported greater household communication and collective action, mobilizing their villages around a range of issues, including violence and HIV infection'. As a result of this success, it was decided that the intervention should be rolled out to 15 000 women in the province (Seedat et al. 2009).

Challenges and opportunities for civil society organisations

The major challenges identified in this review include: 1) the lack of governmental support and collaboration; 2) funding constraints; and 3) engaging men with feminist organisations. These are discussed in turn below before discussing the opportunities upon which CSOs can capitalise.

Lack of government support and resistance from male politicians

The South African government's response to violence against women and HIV and AIDS has been inconsistent. This is largely due to the attention required by the major task of post-apartheid reconstruction and transformation. (Although, of course, it could be argued that eliminating violence against women (VAW) and realising women's rights is part of this agenda.) The approach has been characterised by poor coordination and inclusion of the NGO sector. Continuous attention needs to be directed at fostering and maintaining cohesion between the various stakeholders (Peacock & Levack 2004). Nevertheless, the government has made some progress toward addressing violence aimed at women, and more has been achieved where support has been received from senior government officials. However, any initiatives that have been undertaken are also potentially undermined by the lack of, or negative, response from the state (SGJ Network 2007a).

Another way that prevention efforts are undermined is through resistance from male politicians. Resistance is manifest indirectly in the attitudes and actions relating to women, rape and gendered violence, for example allegations of rape and sexual harassment made against senior male government officials (SGJ Network 2007a). Direct resistance is also reported by those working in the NGO sector. They recount a lack of buy-in, support, and participation from men in South African government in general, despite the isolated champions that do participate here and there. This is part of a broader, overarching difficulty that organisations encounter when engaging males. Resistance from men is possibly unavoidable, since preventing violence against women often requires working with men who hold negative attitudes toward women (SGJ Network 2007a).

Britton (2006) points out another difficulty in relation to civil society–government partnerships. She maintains that working with government has not been simple or easy for civil society organisations owing to the political transformation that the country has undergone. As a result, civil society groups have had to walk a fine line between collaborating with the new democratic government while simultaneously monitoring its progress and avoiding being co-opted by it, particularly in light of the need to secure funding. Likewise, some NGOs have had to balance their advocacy work with the consultancies they conduct for the government, as we discuss next.

Funding and donor conditions

Funding is a particularly challenging aspect of NGO work. This is owing to the tension between 'maintaining autonomy' and becoming 'technocratic handmaidens' (Britton 2006: 154). NGOs find themselves in a quandary, caught between meeting donor expectations or limitations and having their agenda appropriated by them. For instance, SGJ Network (2007a: 5) points out that one of the challenges in their work is that international donor funding comes 'with strings attached'. This is especially problematic when foreign donors adopt prescriptive approaches with

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little or no understanding of local realities. Given the limitation of state funds, NGOs are increasingly dependent on donor funding (The Presidency 2007; SGJ Network 2007a). This is also a problem in relation to the work that NGOs frequently do for government on a contract or consultancy basis, since 'despite the potential for co-optation…[they] need to have stronger linkages with government to secure funding, ensure trust and facilitate collaboration' (Britton 2006: 155).

Engaging men within feminist organisations

Engaging men has come to be seen by many as 'the latest silver bullet to achieving gender equality' (Meer 2012: 3). Yet, as interest in men and masculinities in the policy and programming area has increased, so too has ambivalence among many feminists in the field about the 'men agenda' (Cornwall & Esplen 2010: unpaginated). 'Many of those working in the field have remained hesitant, tentative, often hostile to the notion that men might be potential allies in the struggle for gender justice' (Cornwall & Esplen 2010: unpaginated). They argue that women's empowerment has fallen by the wayside because of the depoliticising effect of mainstreaming the gender approach. 'Gender, stripped of ideas of male privilege and female subordination, [has come] to mean that women and men suffered equally the costs of the existing gender order' (Meer 2012: 4) and feminists are concerned that such uncritical approaches may compound the marginalisation of women's interests (Baden & Goetz 1997; Berer 1996). This depoliticisation has been complicated further by the growing focus on men in research, policy and interventions.

A central concern therefore is how men ought to be included in interventions, as well as the role that men's organisations should play. The call for gender equity has increasingly been turned into a call for male involvement and participation, in some cases with little or no reference to women and/or little recognition of the fundamental power difference between women and men (Berer 1996). This challenge is addressed to some degree by the 'men as partners' approach, discussed earlier. This approach attempts to retain a focus on female empowerment by addressing and engaging men as partners, both in the sense of being women's partners as well as in partnering with women to achieve this end goal. The focus is on involving men as instruments of positive change and aims to inform policies and interventions (Browner 2005; Dudgeon & Inhorn 2003; Greene 2002). These interventions seek to address gender dynamics and many also concentrate on assisting men in questioning their gender roles in terms of the advantages and disadvantages that these bring them. These programmes seek to engage men constructively in issues around GBV (e.g. Greig et al. 2008; Jewkes et al. 2009; Peacock & Levack 2004; Stern et al. 2009).

Opportunities

South Africa's historical legacy of violence has been highlighted – and the current culture of violence it has created – as a causal factor in VAW. This very history of

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struggle and political action may also represent a potential opportunity in the move to end VAW. SGJ Network (2007a) identifies South Africa's history of rights-based activism and ability to mobilise people as a potential opportunity for the work of civil society. Peacock (2003: 327) argues that organisations can draw 'on the rich tradition of community organizing that succeeded in toppling the apartheid regime' in order to enlist men as activists in preventing violence against women. Therefore, although the country's history of hostility and social upheaval has left us a legacy of continuing violence, it also provides a unique basis upon which to build interventions and advocacy. Indeed, work with men has revealed some disturbing beliefs and attitudes toward women and gender equity, however, research also indicates that more than half of all men report wanting to end violence against women and are willing to become constructive partners in this endeavour (SGJ Network 2007a). '[A] body of effective evidence-based programming has emerged and confirmed that men and boys are willing to change their attitudes and practices and, sometimes, to take a stand for greater gender equality' (SGJ Network 2007a: 18), as many of the programmes in this review show.

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Recommendations and policy implications for violence against women

In this chapter we have explored violence against women within the South African context, highlighting how this issue is inextricably intertwined with sociocultural norms pertaining to gender roles, poverty and the country's violent history. In reviewing the current efforts to reduce rates of GBV within the country, it is possible to see how certain interventions have harnessed the county's legacy of struggle and human rights activism to mobilise people to act against violence committed against women and girls (Peacock & Levack 2004). This provides an important lesson for future interventions, namely, the necessity of adopting an overarching human rights perspective. Further important lessons were illuminated in the review of promising practices and international good practice in this chapter. These are summarised here as recommendations for future interventions. However, before doing so, it is important to recall that the evidence base for interventions to reduce violence against women, particularly in low- and middle-income countries, is compromised by the lack of rigorous evaluations of how effective they have actually been in reducing GBV. The overarching endorsement in this chapter therefore is that priority must be given to the (meaningful) monitoring and evaluation of GBV reduction programmes, especially those that serve the most disenfranchised women and children in contexts of poverty (Heise 2011). Further recommendations are discussed below.

Adopt a rights-based perspective

This perspective underpins much of South Africa's relevant legislation and policy (Mkhize et al. 2010), such as The Domestic Violence Act (No. 106 of 1998), The

Protection from Harassment Act (No. 17 of 2011) and The Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (No. 32 of 2007)[8] [9]. Although there are still many obstacles and challenges with respect to the implementation of these policies, it is important to remember the success represented by, and potential that arises from, such rights-based legislation (Macleod & Tracey 2009). Framing the issue in the rhetoric of rights also allows programmes to understand GBV as an infringement of women's human rights, and how oppressive gender power relations mirror those that have occurred, and still do occur, along other axes of difference such as race or socioeconomic status (Peacock & Levack 2004).

Use a multifaceted approach within an ecological framework

There is no doubt that sociocultural norms that re/produce gender power disparities are an important contributing factor to VAW and that the very same norms contribute to behaviours that promote the spread of HIV. It is therefore essential to adopt a holistic systemic or ecological framework that combines individual level risk factors with community and society level factors, including gender-based power differentials and relationships. In line with this approach, a multifaceted, multisectoral, and multimodal approach to programming is advocated. Successful and promising interventions have demonstrated that changing 'deeply held beliefs about gender roles and relations requires comprehensive, multifaceted strategies' (SGJ Network 2007a: 9). This includes attention to structural factors such as poverty and education. Stand-alone and one-off workshop-type interventions are not sufficient to engender the sustained change required to reduce violence against women.

Adopt a critical and nuanced view of gender

Given the centrality of gender norms in the persistence and maintenance of violence against women, it is essential that programmes aim to transform gender norms. A number of gender transformative programmes were addressed in this chapter, including South African undertakings, which have gained international recognition. It cannot be stressed enough, however, that a critical and nuanced understanding of gender is essential for success (Macleod & Tracey 2009). The following criteria comprise such an understanding, and are found in successful gender transformative interventions:

- have an understanding of gender as a social construction;
- encourage critical discussion and questioning of patriarchal attitudes about gender within the intervention; and
- take into account the other power dimensions and social realities facing participants.

8 This amendment to the Act expanded upon the definition of rape to include marital rape as well as acts that were previously not considered as rape. It also strengthened minimum sentencing and removed the cautionary rule that instructed courts to regard rape survivors' testimonies with suspicion.

9 See also Parliament 2013.

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Implement gender transformative programmes in dialogue with feminist principles

Gender transformative approaches also recognise that violence against women will never be effectively eradicated unless both women and men are constructively involved in interventions. In constructively engaging men, it is essential that they are presented as capable partners – rather than problems or barriers to women's empowerment – and that men are involved at an early age, before negative beliefs and ideologies take a firm root. However, as South African work with men and boys has emphasised, it is imperative that those working with men collaborate closely with women's advocacy organisations and feminist principles (SGJ Network 2007a). 'Closer dialogue and accountability offers the potential for…more rigorous work with men and hopefully greater success in achieving gender equality' (SGJ Network 2007a: 9).

Embed economic empowerment programmes within broader initiatives

When it comes to women's empowerment through economic means, programmes should be monitored carefully in order to ensure that women obtain the maximum benefits of such programmes, while risks are mitigated as far as possible. It is recommended that, for this reason, economic empowerment initiatives are embedded within a programme that also works to bring about community-level change, which facilitates solutions to the disruption that women's economic activity may bring to patriarchal gender relations.

Conclusion

In closing, it must be stressed that attention and resources should be devoted to ensuring that primary prevention is given due attention and that any efforts to reduce violence against women target the underlying norms, attitudes, and behaviours of individuals, communities and society. As indicated earlier, evidence suggests that primary prevention of violence against women is a more effective means of reducing GBV as well as HIV prevalence than secondary or tertiary interventions. This is in line with a human rights perspective, which insists upon an emphasis on reducing GBV before it begins. In the South African context, however, insufficient attention has been devoted to primary prevention (Ellsberg & Betron n.d.; Heise 2011).

Focusing on primary prevention would mean adopting other important change strategies like advocacy for policy change or rights-based activism, which may be necessary to address structural level issues like poverty. Another significant policy implication is in relation to the recommendation of involving men in interventions. As noted earlier in this chapter, men are often viewed from a problem perspective in research and programming on S/GBV.

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This is reflected in public policy where constructions of masculinity:

> …often become evident in law and policy when these instruments engage with the criminal, antisocial or destructive behaviours of men. Public policy is thus generally geared to limit, constrain or punish men's behaviour. Much less often is policy framed as providing an opportunity to change constructions of masculinity [and femininity] in a positive way as part of a broader social project of building gender equity in society through constructive engagement with men and boys. (Barker et al. 2010: 54)

A crucial move, therefore, would be to frame policy in a way that recognises the role of men as potential partners in changing detrimental gender constructions and in the broader social project of building gender equity in society in ways that recognise the patriarchal nature of South African society and women's needs.

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