Rethinking Human Security:
Taking into Consideration Gender Based Violence.

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Abstract

The human security concept challenges the traditional view of state security. The very essence of human security means to respect human rights. The Commission on Human Security did not focus on women as a special area of concern in the 1994 Human Development Report. The report does not recognise that being subject to gender hierarchies increases women's insecurity and that women experience human security differently from men and shows that the human security concept does not include gender based violence (GBV) because there is no specific attention paid to issues that predominantly pertain to women. This study is conducted from a feminist perspective. It is reflexive research and based on standpoint theory. The data is gathered through analysis of secondary data and primary data, collected through interviews.

GBV in South Africa tends to be continuous and the perpetrator is most likely to be a spouse or partner. Studies show that women are seen as being dependent on and weaker than men. Many men view women's rights legislation as a challenge to the legitimacy of men's authority over women. Women who try to be more independent in their relationships are regarded as threats and violence against them becomes a way for men to show control. The criminal justice system in South Africa has made progress in protecting women from GBV but myths, stereotypes and social conventions still prevent women from receiving justice. Traditionally, the state regards what happens in the private sphere as outside its responsibility. The public/private dichotomy challenges state regulations and norms which is evident in the case of domestic violence. It is often argued that GBV has remained imperceptible because it takes place in the private sphere. However, this research indicates that due to the socio-economic situation in South Africa, the abuse is often publicly known by those in the immediate environment as people live in informal housing.

This research shows that a human security framework that targets GBV has to be developed for those who bear its consequences. When women are not viewed as subjects, issues that mainly affect them remain invisible. It is necessary that analysis of human insecurity starts from the conditions of women's lives. Many women in South Africa live highly traumatic lives. Fighting GBV requires that we know the victims of GBV and let them decide what they need to feel secure. Creating human security requires that other threats which contribute to GBV, such as poverty, gender stereotypes and prejudice are also addressed. GBV has become an epidemic in South Africa and is a permanent constraint in women's lives and impacts society as a whole.

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The security of the state rest on the security of women and as long as the state fails to treat GBV as a serious crime and protect women the state is more likely to use violence on a larger scale against its citizens.

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Opsomming

Die Menslike Veiligheidskonsept daag die tradisionele siening van staatsveiligheid uit: die kerbetekenis van Menslike Veiligheid is om menseregte te respekteer. Die *Kommissie op Menslike Veiligheid* het nie op vroue as ‘n spesiale area van kommer gefokus in die *Menslike Ontwikkelingsverslag* van 1994 nie. Die verslag het daarin gefaal om te erken dat die realiteit van geslags-hiërargieë vroue se insekuriteit verhoog, en dat die ervaring van menslike sekuriteit van mans en vroue verskil. Hierdie navorsing sal toon dat die menslike veiligheidsbegrip nie in staat is om geslags-gebaseerde geweld (GGG) in ag te neem nie, aangesien daar geen spesifieke aandag verleen is aan vraagstukke wat hoofsaaklik op vroue betrekking het nie. Hierdie studie is vanuit 'n feministiese perspektief gedoen. Die navorsing is reflektief en op standpunt-teorie gebaseer. Die data is deur die analise van sekondêre data, asook die gebruik van primêre data i deur middel van onderhoude ingesamel .

GGG in Suid-Afrika is geneig om oor ‘n uitgerekte tydperk plaas te vind en die mees waarskynlike oortreders is ‘n eggenoot of lewensmaat. Navorsing toon dat gemeenskappe geneig is om vroue as swakker en afhanlik van mans te sien. Wetgewing op die regte van vroue word deur vele mans as ‘n uidaging van hul legitieme superioriteit, ten op sigte van vroue, gesien. Vroue wat dus onafhanklikheid in hul verhoudings probeer uitoefen, word as bedreigings gesien en geweld word gebruik om hulle “in hul plek te hou”. Die Suid-Afrikaanse kriminele regstelsel het al vordering gemaak in terme van die beskerming van vroue teen GGG, maar mites, stereotipes en sosiale konvensies belemmer steeds die volle gang van die gereg. Die staat het in die verlede die private sfeer as buite sy jurisdiksie gesien. Die openbare/private sfeer digotomie bied uitdagings vir staatsregulering en vir die implementering van regulasies , en dit word veral duidelik in die geval van huishoudelike geweld. Daar word aangevoer dat aangesien GGG in die private sfeer plaasvind, dit onsigbaar bly. Hierdie navorsing het egter bevind dat GGG in die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks dikwels in die openbare gemeenskapsfeer (deur diegene in die onmiddelike omgewing) opgemerk word, omdat baie mense in Suid-Afrika informele nedersettings woon.Hierdie navorsing het verder bevind dat ‘n GGG raamwerk vir menslike veiligheid ontwikkel moet word wat diegene wat die gevolge van GGG dra insluit. Indien vroue nie spesifiek as navorsingssubjekte geag word nie, bly faktore wat hulle spesifiek beïnvloed onsigbaar. Dit is belangrik dat analise van menslike insekuriteit begin om die omstandighede van vrouens se lewens in ag te neem. Vroue in Suid-Afrika leef in hoogs traumatiese omstandighede. In die bestryding van GGG is dit belangrik dat die slagoffers van

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GGG in ag geneem word en dat dit hulle toelaat om dit duidelik te maak wat hulle onveilig laat voel. Die skep van menslike veiligheid vereis dat bedreigings wat bydra tot GGG, naamlik armoede, geslagstereotipes en vooroordeel , ook aangespreek word. GGG in Suid-Afrika het 'n epidemie geword, en plaas 'n permanente beperking op vroue se lewens. Dit het ook 'n blywende impak op die samelewing as 'n geheel. Die veiligheid van die staat rus op die veiligheid van vroue. Solank as wat die staat versuim om GGG te bekamp en as 'n ernstigge misdaad te erken, en vroue nie die beskerming van die staat geniet nie, is daar 'n hoër moontlikheid vir die gebruik van geweld deur die staat teen sy eie burgers op 'n groter skaal.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AGI	African Gender Institute
DV	Domestic Violence
GBV	Gender Based Violence
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OSISA	Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa
POWA	People Opposing Women Abuse
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SBC	Saartjie Baartman Centre
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SAPS	South African Police Service
SOC	Sexual Offences Court
STOP	Stop Trafficking of People
TCC	Thuthuzela Care Centres
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Fund for Women
VAW	Violence Against Women
WHO	World Health Organization

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the research

1.1 Introduction

> If it were between countries, we'd call it a war. If it were a disease, we'd call it an epidemic. If it were an oil spill, we'd call it a disaster. But it is happening to women, and it's just an everyday affair. It is violence against women. It is sexual harassment at work and sexual abuse of the young. It is the beating or the blow that millions of women suffer each and every day. It is rape at home or on a date. It is murder (Michael Kaufman, Director of the International White Ribbon Campaign[1]).

Mainstream theories of International Relations have traditionally focused on security of the state, the self-interest of the nation state and military power with a focus on issues that happen in the public sphere. Human security departs from the traditional conception of state security to concentrate on the security of people and communities. Human security is about security within states and takes into account how issues such as gender, class, race, ethnicity and sexual orientation impact security.

Although human security tries to take into consideration the impact that gender has on security issues the current concept of human security has not directly confronted the ideologies and structures that oppress and deny justice and equity to women. In a presentation of the United Nations (UN) Commission on Human Security Report at the National Council for Research on Women Annual Conference in May 2003 Sadako Ogata, the Commission on Human Security co-chair, said that the Commission decided not to isolate women as a special area of concern in the report. By not taking up women as subjects the report fails to explore core matters that are critical to intimate security such as reproductive rights and violence against women (VAW) in the family (Bunch 2004; 4 and Chenoy 2009; 46). Gender based violence[2] (GBV) is a major concern in all societies in the world and a threat to women's personal security, society's security as well as the security of the nation. Globally, it is estimated that one in every three

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[1] The International White Ribbon Campaign (WRC) is an international movement organised by men working to end men's violence against women.

[2] An official definition of GBV was first introduced in the 1993 UN declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women. Article 1: Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life (UNDP). Article 2: The Declaration states that the definition should encompass, but not be limited to, acts of physical, sexual, and psychological violence in the family, community, or perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs (UNDP).

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women faces some form of violence during her lifetime and that one in every five women will become a victim of rape or attempted rape in her lifetime (Morna and Walter 2009; 124). Impunity for VAW[3] feeds a more general culture of violence. The high levels of GBV in South Africa has become normalised and is a threat to personal and national security. It has a negative effect on women's development, women's possibility to participate in and contribute to society and it drains South Africa's financial resources.

Western feminists argue that the divide between the public and the private sphere has created immunity to GBV. Patriarchy continues to relegate women to the private sphere where most VAW take place. The public/private distinction:

> ...treats the private sphere as a sphere of personal freedom. For men, it is. For women, the private is the distinctive sphere of intimate violation and abuse, neither free nor particular personal. Men's realm of private freedom is women's realm of collective subordination (MacKinnon 1989: 168).

Issues that happen in the public sphere are regarded as threat to the national security. Feminist theorists argue that what happens in the private sphere are public concerns. GBV is a public matter that ought to be regarded as a security threat because of the negative impact that GBV has on the society. However, the divide between the private and the public sphere is unclear in South Africa because of socio-economic factors. Many people do not have private space because they share a room with a number of people or live in shacks and houses that are very close to each other.

1.2 Problem statement

GBV is a major threat to women in every society and country. It happens to women in all age groups, communities, religions and social classes. It is one of the most widespread violations of human rights that exist. GBV can include physical, sexual, economic or physiological abuse. It can manifest itself in various forms: domestic, sexual violence or through harmful practises such as female genital mutilation. GBV is based on unequal power structures and gender-based

[3] The convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) recognises that violence against women (VAW) "inhibits women's ability to enjoy rights and freedoms on the basis of equality with men". VAW is connected to other forms of oppression and discrimination that manifest in the political, economic, social, cultural, and gender inequities spheres, associated with patriarchal relations that subordinate women (POWA 2010).

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discrimination. It creates an environment of fear and prevents women from fully participating in the society. Most women have at some point felt that their lives are restricted out of fear of becoming victims of violence. VAW is a social mechanism to control and limit women.

The notion of human security was introduced in the 1994 Human Development Report. Human security[4] broadened the concept of security studies from state-centric security to people-focused security. The concept of human security has been acclaimed for its focus on the security of individuals because it incorporates more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance and access to economic opportunity, education and health care. The Human Development Report states that there may be no other aspect of human security so vital for individuals as their security from physical violence. The report empathises that women face the worst personal threats and that there is no society where women are as secure as men or treated equally to men. The results are telling as the report focused mainly on issues that happen in the public sphere and was neither gender focussed nor was GBV given specific attention.

The public/private divide has restricted women to the private sphere: their experiences, interests and actions deemed private within the political spheres. GBV happens in all spheres of life but it is often argued that the most common form takes place within the private sphere of the home. It is a common assumption that there is impunity for GBV because it happens in the private sphere but this is not always true. Due to the socio-economic situation in South Africa many people sleep under one roof or in shacks and houses that are so close to each other that neighbours can hear what is happening in the next house. People in the immediate environment are often aware of the abuse (Bassadien and Hochfeld 2005; 7).

The Commission on Human Security does not give specific attention to women as subjects and issues that predominately affect women remains invisible. The concept of human security needs to be reconstructed to confront ideologies and structures that oppress women and creates a climate of impunity for GBV. GBV has an impact on the society in its entirety: it has to be recognised as a public matter and a social problem. GBV prevents women from participating

[4]The Commission on Human Security declares that human security "brings together the human elements of security, rights, of development" and that "to protect people—the first key to human security—their basic rights and freedoms must be upheld" (Human Security Now; 2003).

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and contributing to society and this leads to further poverty and creates a vicious cycle of violence. GBV has to be seen as a human security threat in order to create a more secure society for women in South Africa and in the rest of the world.

1.3 Aims and objectives

This study aims to show that different models of human security have not been able to protect women from GBV because there is no specific attention to issues that predominately pertains to women. GBV is a major concern in South Africa but it is not regarded as a public security threat. This study will illustrate that GBV does not happen in the private sphere. This study also aims to show that there is a relationship between GBV and state insecurity. The research explores whether GBV will be exposed if women are given special attention in the human security framework. The main research question is; *to what extent does gender based violence threaten human security in South Africa?*

1.3.1 Sub-research questions

In order to get relevant information this study addresses the following issues.

- What are the impacts of extremely high levels of GBV on South African society?
- Why have human security models not been able to target GBV? How can including women as a subject enrich the notion of human security?
- How does the socio-economic situation contribute GBV in South Africa?
- What is the relationship between the construction of masculinity and GBV?

1.3.2 Rationale

This thesis concentrates on VAW. GBV enacted against men is a major problem but it is not as common as VAW. Gender research is not only about women and must involve studies on masculinities as well as femininities. Nevertheless, as Polavarapu (in Williams et al 2010; 85) points out “questions relating to gender equality tend to focus on women for the simple fact that women’s lack of relative rights is a worldwide phenomenon”. The notion of human security has broadened the field of security from a state-centric approach to human-centric approach but has not been able to target GBV, the most widespread security threat to half of the world’s population. Issues that mainly concern women are not included in the concept of human

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security and it is therefore important that GBV receives special attention. GBV is not only a major concern to women's personal safety but also a threat to the security of men, communities and the whole nation. GBV should receive special attention in the human security framework because it is related to the general violence in society. The high levels of GBV in South Africa have received a lot of national and international attention but not necessarily as a public threat or as a national security concern.

1.4 Methodology

The research is conducted from a feminist perspective. Feminist research aspires to reveal gendered power dynamics that influence our understanding of binary oppositions such as war/peace, public/private and objective/subjective knowledge. Feminist researchers make an effort to expose the power dynamics in language and "knowing" which have influence beyond gender (Ackerly and True 2010; 26). Feminist research aims to expose and change power structures and as a result change women's lives:

> "the truth of a theory is not dependent on the application of certain methodological principles and rules but on its potential to orient the process of praxis toward progressive emancipation and humanization" [Mies 1983; 124]. Feminist research is, thus, not research about women but research for women to be used in transforming their sexist society..." (Letherby 2003; 72).

An epistemology is the system of thoughts that we use to distinguish facts from beliefs and a theory of knowledge. Feminist researchers argue that the traditional epistemology systematically excludes women as "knowers" and that the voice of science is a masculine one. Women should be able to talk about their experiences and have an equal say in the design and administration of knowledge producing institutions. There is, however, no single "women's experience" but several "women's experiences". Men's and women's experiences and interests differ within class, culture (and race). Masculinities and femininities are constructed within these spheres (Harding 1987; 7). Feminists argue that knowledge is situated in time and place, and embodied in cultural constructions. Feminist epistemology identify knowledge that is harmful for women with the aim to reshape these power constructions (Sarantakos 2005; 55). Feminist epistemology reviews and challenges the notion of reliable ways of knowing and understanding the world. "Research processes themselves [re]produce power difference..., including power differences between different ways of knowing" (Ackerly and True 2010; 24). Ramazanoglu and Holland (2002; 12) argue that Western epistemology believes that knowledge rests on factual evidence that can be observed. During the nineteenth century, the

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examining of people's brain size, bodily differences and observing behaviours, women's inferiority was "scientifically" established. Patriarchal and power relations were present in the initial "scientifically" ideas and in the research methods which produced the theory that women are inferior to men.

Feminist research believes that the world is socially constructed and rejects that there could be value-free research (Sarantakos 2005; 54). This research is in line with Letherby's (2003; 73) ideas that research should give value to the personal and the private as worthy of study and that feminist research provides a challenge to the norm of "objectivity" in research. This study is inductive qualitative research with a nonlinear research path. The methods used in the data gathering process include analysis of secondary data, such as newspaper articles and relevant books and articles. Primary data is collected through semi-structured qualitative interviews with scholars, researchers and counsellors as a complement to the secondary data.

I interviewed Yaliwe Clarke from the African Gender Institute (AGI) at the University of Cape Town. Clarke comes from Zambia and before joining the AGI she worked with a range of civil society organisations in Southern Africa such as the Southern African Conflict Prevention Network and the Centre for Conflict. Clarke's research interests focus on feminist perspectives on notions of peace, conflict and security in the African context. She manages a research project titled "Women Activists Confronting Militarism and Conflict in Eastern and Southern Africa" which aims to develop new analytic voices around the meaning of "gendered security" for women in diverse settings. I also interviewed Dee Smythe the director of the Law, Race and Gender Research Unit at the University of Cape Town. Smyth's research includes law, policy, and social justice and she is an expert on state responses to GBV. She has written publications on HIV/AIDS, crime prevention, and police transformation, while convening the African Network of Constitutional Lawyers' focus group on Women, Equality and Constitutionalism. Corinne Sandenbergh, the director of Stop Trafficking of People (STOP) in Stellenbosch, was also interviewed. STOP is an independent, Christian value-based organisation that aims to create awareness and educate the public about human trafficking. STOP runs a shelter for abused women in Stellenbosch, which is the main reason why she was contacted. Further interviewed were counsellors from the Saartjie Baartman Centre (SBC) for Women and Children in Manenberg, Cape Town. SBC is a one-stop centre for women and their children who are experiencing domestic and/or sexual violence. SBC has a residential shelter and

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transitional housing for abused women and their children, job-skills training, legal assistance, counselling and a 24-hour crisis response.

1.5 Limitations and ethical implications

GBV is a very complex and sensitive issue and this research will not be able to encompass all aspects of GBV in South Africa. Violence against lesbians is one aspect of GBV that is increasing in South Africa and requires more attention. This thesis cannot give justice to those affected by GBV or include all aspects of GBV. I do not attempt to speak for all women who are victims of violence in South Africa but to argue that the notion of human security needs to be changed in order to target GBV. My background and experiences will influence this study and it outcomes. My view on gender equality and GBV is shaped by my upbringing in Sweden and this influences my perceptions of GBV in South Africa.

1.6 Chapter overview

The first chapter introduces the research conducted. The theoretical framework and literature review is presented in the second chapter before looking at the research design and methodology in the third chapter. The findings from this research are outlined in the fourth chapter, including the interviews, before the conclusion in the last chapter.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the research and the feminist critique against the concept of human security. The Commission on Human Security has not integrated women as subjects in the human security concept and has therefore failed to explore core matters that are critical for women's intimate security. The concept of human security should be created from women's experience of GBV. A gendered analysis of human security will expose social structures that allow GBV to flourish. GBV is a major problem in all spheres of South African society and has a negative impact on the society and the state.

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Chapter 2: Theoretical framework and literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter has two sections. The first section introduces the concept of human security before looking at GBV in South Africa. Critique of traditional security and how the concept of human security challenges the notion of state security is also discussed. Although the concept of human security has broadened the security field, the term "human" excludes gender dimensions making it gender-neutral. The most pervasive threat to women's security is violence in its various forms. The United Nations Security Council recognises that the treatment of women is linked to international peace and security. Yet, regarded as something private, GBV is not treated as a serious crime. The first part of section two analyses the nature of GBV in South Africa. South African legislation protects women from violence but most cases on VAW do not even make it through the criminal justice system. The police received 92 151 sexual offence complaints from 16 December 2007 to 30 June 2011, 24 253 were withdrawn before they reached court and 48 349 were withdrawn in court (Swart 2012/04/26). There are many stereotypes and myths around rape and this prevents rape cases from reaching the courtroom. The private/public divide is even less clear in South Africa were many people are sharing the same living space due to the socio-economic situation.

2.2 Traditional security

Security has traditionally revolved around issues of war and peace with the state entrusted to protect its citizens. Realism has dominated the field of International Relations since World War II. Realists focus on the self-interest of the nation-state and see war as inevitable. They believe that creating security means to pursue power. Feminists have been critical of this strategy within security studies. They argue that realism theory makes women invisible in the politics of International Relations because the discourse is patriarchal and dominated by elite, white, male practitioners (Blanchard 2003; 1292). There is a growing recognition that "an entire dimension of international politics" has been missing (Hudson 1998; 8). The main discourse in International Relations is subsumed under the binary logic of dichotomies which manifest itself in "paired opposites" such as public/private, rationality/irrationality, self/other, objectivity/subjectivity, fact/value, war/peace and order/anarchy. Feminists believe that such

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binary constructions are the result of a false masculine/feminine dichotomy. Traits such as reason and intellect are believed to be male attributes while emotions and disorder are female attributes (Hudson 1998; 8). Tickner (in Hudson 1998; 9) argues that the presence of "masculinist hegemony" in International Relations can be analysed on three levels; the individual, the state and the international system. The individual is a "male warrior" and the modern state was born through war and power. Security is created through the conquest for resources and territory. In gendered terms, the state acts like a male protector of the nation that is represented as a female. Reardon (2010; 7) highlights that human security can never be achieved within the present militarised, war prone, patriarchal nation-state and if human security is to be achieved patriarchy must be replaced with gender equality.

Feminists highlight that a state-centric analysis of security fails to see the interrelation of security across different levels. Since the "women space" is often inside the household and beyond the reach of law in most states, feminists are suspicious about concentrating on state security. Although the family is regarded as a safe space within nationalist ideology, women are constantly without protection and subject to abuse in the home (Tickner 2001; 63). All forms of violence are fundamentally interrelated and violence in the family must be seen in the wider context of unequal power relations. Violence is a major consequence of the imbalance created by a male-dominated/gendered society. A feminist analysis of security makes us aware of the correlation between "private" and "public" violence (Hudson 1998; 21).

2.3 Human security

The concept of human security was first introduced in the 1994 Human Development Report by the UNDP. The report argues that security:

> has for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of nuclear holocaust... Forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives (Paris 2001; 89).

The report states:

- Human security is a *universal* concern and it is relevant to people everywhere.

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- The components of human security are *interdependent* and all nations are likely to get involved when the security of people is threatened.
- Human security is *easier to ensure through early prevention* than later intervention.
- Human security is *people-centred* and concerned with how people live and how freely they can exercise their choices. How much access they have to social opportunities and if they live in conflict or peace (Human Development Report 1994; 22).

Human security challenges the notion of state security and advocates that states must concern itself with the security of the individual. Human security includes all kinds of threats: environmental, economic, social, cultural etc. (Chenoy 2009; 44). The very essence of human security means to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms. Human rights help us to understand a security situation and answer the question; "how should human security be ensured?" By upholding human security we achieve individual, national and international security (Chenoy 2009; 45). Ogata and Cels (2003; 275) argue that human security offers a framework for identifying rights and obligations in a particular security situation. In the same vein, Bunch (2004; 1) asks. "Whose security are we talking about and who has not felt secure in terms of gender, class, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation etc?" The United Nations Commission on Human Security highlights that:

> Human security in its broadest sense embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her own potential (Mlambo 2005; 230).

The peace educator and activist, Betty Reardon, (in Muthien 2003: 10) speaks of four sources of human security. First, the environment we live in needs to be able to sustain human life. Second, our basic needs for physical survival are met. Third, our fundamental human dignity, personal and cultural identities should be respected. Fourth, we need protection from avoidable harm. Reardon argues that human security demands that the four conditions are met. The 1994 Human Development Report divides threats to human security in seven main categories: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security.

The report emphasises that individual security from physical violence is most vital to human security and that the worst threats are those against women. "Personal insecurity shadows them

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from cradle to grave. And from childhood through adulthood, they are abused because of their gender" (Human Development Report 1994; 30).

2.4 Gender analysis of human security

There is no unanimously accepted definition of human security but the concept in its broad definition gives special attention to human development and individuals- and group access to developmental benefits (Vlachovà and Biason 2003; 6). Human security is a radical departure from the traditional state-centric approach to security. It seeks to complement state security by making social justice the central theme of national security but does that mean that there is equal concern for women's security? Chenoy (2005: 167) questions, "How sound is the assumption that women's rights will follow 'naturally' if human security is accepted by states?" Experience has shown that the notion of "people" does not include women and it is therefore necessary that the concept of human security becomes engendered. There are structural discriminations against women in every society and that means that women's security is not guaranteed either during peace or armed conflict. Women's security will not improve if human security is not identified from a gender perspective. Gender equality goals and objectives must be incorporated into the human security approach. The central question that needs to be incorporated is: "what is different about men's and women's security and how can we create long lasting peace?" This question should be integrated into the very understanding of what a human security approach entails (Chenoy 2005; 176).

A Joint Proposal to Create a Human Security Report from Harvard University and the UN University presented in 2001 outlined an ambitious plan to create a report that would map key systemic causes of armed conflict and violent crime as well as a human insecurity index. The proposal, however, never mentioned concepts that have emerged from feminist work such as gender, masculinity, rape or VAW (Bunch 2003; 8). The result is a gender-, race-, religion-free document, that offers a more general framework for gendering security issues. The UN Commission on Human Security 2003 report refers to women's issues and focuses mostly on issues concerning conflict and poverty. The report recognises the important role women play in peace processes and discusses the consequences of poverty on women and men (Vlachovà and Biason 2003; 7, Zeitlin and Mpoumu 2004; 31). However, the report has failed to integrate integrity, reproductive rights and VAW in the report. It does not address the core matters of physical integrity that women have identified as central to their intimate security which

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includes VAW in the family. When there is no specific attention to women as subjects, issues that predominately affect women remain invisible (Zeitlin and Mpoumu 2004; 31, Bunch 2004; 5). Zeitlin and Mpoumu (2004; 31) argue that the failure to integrate VAW that happens in the family in the report shows that we cannot prioritise gender mainstreaming[5] over women specific work. The different approaches need to complement each other. A gendered notion of security and power is closely linked to women's experience of structural inequality in all spheres of life. The meaning of peace and security cannot be separated from the broader issue of inequality between women and men. Cynthia Cockburn (in Manchanda 2001; 1959) argues that "if women have a distinctive angle on peace, it is not due to women being 'nurturing'. It seems more to do with knowing oppression when we see it".

Chenoy (2005; 168) argues that the human security approach takes into account gender discrimination, gender violence and the need for gender equality but in this conceptualisation, gender is subsumed under the larger problem of people and does not recognise that the concept of power is gendered. Women experience human insecurity differently from men. Women are subject to gender hierarchies and power inequities that increase their insecurity. Ulf Kristofferson, Humanitarian Coordinator of the Joint UN Program on HIV/AIDS argues that:

> [W]hether it is economic security, food security, health security, women and young girls are affected in a very specific way due to their physical, emotional and material differences and due to the important social, economic, and political inequalities existing between women and men (McKay 2004; 153).

Hudson (2005; 157) highlights that gender dimensions tend to be overlooked in the concept of human security and that there is a real danger of grouping femininity and masculinity into the term "human" as if the term is gender-neutral. There is also a danger of grouping all women together as if the security needs of all women are the same. Women's security must be examined in the terms of their specific gender roles which require that a feminist notion of security is integrated into the mainstream discourse of human security. Women have a very specific role in the family and in the community and their safety impacts the whole society (Bunch 2004; 4). Gender based insecurity is often linked to other threats. A gender-sensitive

[5] Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated (UN Economic and Social Council).

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approach to security must therefore link women's everyday experience with broader regional and global political processes and structures (Hudson 2005: 164).

The important role of the individual and people's identities are recognised within the concept of human security but individual security is often determined from the position of elites. Human security has given legitimacy to an individual-based approach, but when focusing on identity, gender is often excluded (Hoogensen and Stuvoy 2006; 156). Hoogensen and Rottem (2004; 163) argue that gender is linked to identity and that identity is central to our understanding of security. Focusing on gender as a significant dimension of identity and security contributes to a more "people-centred" approach and moves away from a "state-based" view of security. The feminist notion that *the personal is political* is also true for security studies. A gendered analysis illustrates how identity shapes the security needs of the individual and the group. It also reflects interests and security concerns of significant groups and exposes many of our assumptions about the structures we live with or within. Hansen (2000; 299) argues that there is a difference between gender identity and other collective identities such as ethnic, religious, class and nationality. These identities can form the foundation for self-producing political communities, but gender identities cannot do the same. Gender-based security is often more characterised by their inseparability from "national" or "religious" security. Women's identities are significant cultural symbols of their communities and nations and these identities together with militarism and patriarchy restrict women (Chenoy 2005; 171).

Many constitutions provide for gender equality but the "neutrality" of legal institutions hides gender biases. The interpretations of laws do not give women the same rights. There are traditions, customary laws and social customs that support structural inequalities and these take much longer to change. Theories of gendered security argue therefore for a further feminisation of the human security approach (Chenoy 2005; 172). Feminists take a more bottom-up approach when analysing the impacts of violence and starts with the condition of women's lives and looks at the presence of direct and indirect violence at unorganised and organised levels (McKay 2004: 160). A gendered approach to human security gives more substance to a wider security concept and by learning about security from the "bottom up", from individuals and groups; theory becomes linked to political practices. Hoogensen and Stuvoy (2006; 211) incorporate feminist perspectives in human security as an epistemological perspective for security studies.

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The notion of human security has been criticised for not having a framework of analysis and that the existing definitions are too broad and vague. It does not provide academics with what is to be studied (Acharya 2008; 494). Floyd (2007; 42) argues, however, that the human security approach is not trying to set a framework of analysis but wants to identify existential threats to individuals and/or groups of individuals. A feminist approach on the other hand, would set a framework of analysis and identify existential threats to individuals. Some questions that feminists ask are: how do ordinary women define human security and is there a difference between current meanings? What forces in a nation or community create, reinforce, and maintain gendered conditions of human insecurity? (McKay 2004; 156). Hudson (2005; 162) argues that gender as the unit of analysis in the security discourse reveals a complex and fluctuating mix of interlinked gendered constructions and practices within all the sectors of security, for example, the connection between gender and globalisation, patriarchy and militarism and structural violence and physical violence. She believes that security can only be achieved if the relations of domination and submission in every aspect of life are eliminated and gender justice is achieved. Gender justice refers to legal processes that are fair and that distinguish the gender-specific injustice that women experience. Girls and women are often invisible or marginalised within judicial processes especially in war tribunals. Within the context of armed conflicts and their aftermath "gender injustice perpetuates inequality, violates fundamental human rights, hinders healing and psychological restoration, and prevents societies from developing their full potential" (McKay 2004; 158).

2.5 Gender based violence and human security

Human security and human rights are interlinked and we cannot speak of security without the respect of human rights. GBV violates the main principle of human rights: "the inherent dignity and worth of all members of the human family, the inalienable right to freedom from fear and want, and the equal rights of men and women"[6]. The United Nations Security Council recognises that the treatment of women is linked to international peace and security. National and international security cannot be achieved without individual security in the form of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and situations. Although GBV is linked to overall peace and security it has been difficult to make GBV and particularly domestic violence a human rights issue under

[6] The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948.

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international law (Thomas and Beasley 1993; 37). It is clear that the concept of human security has failed to include issues that predominately affect women and that there are several gendered dimensions that are missing in the human security discussion. UNIFEM emphasises that gender inequality is the reason for the continuing scale of VAW (McKay 2004; 158). The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women define VAW as:

> [V]iolence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman, or that affects women disproportionally. It includes acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, and threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty (Muthien 2003; 19).

The World Health Organization (WHO) identifies VAW as an epidemic throughout the world and as a key public health concern. Studies have revealed that interpersonal violence is the 10th leading cause of death for women between the age of 15 and 44 (McKay 2004; 159).

> Women in both the [global] North and South live with the constant risk of physical harm. The experience and fear of violence is an underlying threat in women`s lives that intertwines with their most basic security needs at all levels—personal, community, economic, and political. In virtually every nation, violence (or the threat of it) shrinks the range of choices open to women and girls, limiting their mobility and even their ability to imagine having control over their lives (Mckay 2004; 159).

VAW is a particular concern for feminists since women are more likely to be victims of private violence (domestic violence) than men. Structural violence impacts women's daily lives and prevent them from fully participating in society (Chenoy 2009; 45). The threat of violence creates fear and insecurity in women's lives. It is a permanent constraint on women's mobility and limits their access to resources and basic activities. VAW is a social mechanism that forces women into a subordinated position and it is major obstacle to achieving gender equality (Zeitlin and Mpoumu 2004; 31). Caprioli (2004; 414) argues that VAW is considered to be outside the boundaries of state control and is therefore often excluded from state measures that focus on public rights. Caprioli (2004; 414) highlights that "throughout the world, women are still relegated to second-class status that makes them more vulnerable to abuse and less able to protect themselves from discrimination".

Feminists have long argued that the most pervasive threat to women's security is violence in its various forms and that gender inequality is the key reason for the continuing scale of VAW. Direct physical violence according to Bunch and Carillo (in McKay 2004; 158) is the primary human security concern that is tied to global security**.** Bunch (2004; 5) believes that if you look

at the definition of human security, there is no better paradigm for human insecurity than VAW. GBV is not only an important human security threat in itself but is also connected to other forms of power structures and insecurity in the world. The way VAW in the family is normalised is a key component for creating a culture that accepts the violence of war, militarism and other forms of domination and conflict. Bassadien and Hochfeld (2005; 7) maintain that GBV has remained imperceptible because it often occurs in the *privacy* of the home, which is considered the safest place for women.

Domestic violence (DV) is a social problem that leads to women's insecurity and impacts the whole society. DV contributes to economic decline. According to UNICEF, the socio-economic cost of violence has four major effects. First, there is a *direct cost:* services in treating and preventing violence such as medical and policing costs. Second, *non-monetary cost*: the pain and suffering of the victim that can lead to alcohol and drug abuse as well as depressive disorders. Third, *the economic multiplier effects:* the impact on the macro-economic and labour market. DV leads to lower productivity in the workforce, lower earnings and lower education attainment of children. Lastly, *social multiplier effects:* impact on interpersonal relations, quality of life and reduced participation in democratic processes (Lomratanachai 2007; 7). A human security perspective that takes into account GBV will reveal our limited understanding of human security. A gender-sensitive approach to human security will introduce new contexts and relationships to the security discourse. Whether it is in the form of research, networking or advocacy, integrating human security work with GBV would involve networking with women's organisations. We have to network at the local level rather than at the international level or through inter-state collaboration where most security studies are concentrated today. Addressing GBV will shift the emphasis of politics to the personal and the immediate (Lewis 2006; 11).

2.6 The public/private divide

The traditional notion of security is based on a conventional distinction between a male-dominated public sphere and a female-dominated private sphere. The state has traditionally been concerned with the public realm and issues in the private realm have not been regarded as threats to national security. GBV is therefore regarded as an issue beyond the state's responsibility, rather than a violation of women's human rights (Thomas and Beasley 1993; 39). The public/private dichotomy has contributed to the exclusion of women's perspectives

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and experiences that have contributed to women's insecurity (Muthien 2010; 66). Nussbaum (2005; 176) believes that some human rights approaches have reinforced the traditional distinction between the public sphere and the private sphere. The discourse on human rights originated in Western societies, where the sphere of rights was typically imagined as the public sphere. International human rights law is gender-neutral in theory but it interacts with social structures that relegate women and men to separate spheres. If gender bias is not challenged, they become entrenched in social structures and assume the form of a social or cultural norm.

Feminists argue against a distinction between the public and the private spheres by demonstrating that there is interdependence and a relationship between these spheres. The private/public dichotomy has significant political implications and represents more than mere labels (Albertson 1991; 21). The lives of individuals in the private sphere are directly influenced and structured by public life, especially in terms of social policy and formal politics (Bassadien and Hochfeld 2005; 5). The public/private dichotomy creates the idea that women belong in the private sphere and that the family is sacrosanct in law. The two spheres interact as ideological channels for the allocation of resources of power and authority. The concepts influence political decisions and shape the practical outcomes. It has implications for the manner and method of state regulation and shapes contrasting norms of interaction and expectation within and between the spheres (Alberson 1991; 21). Steans (2006; 113) argues that the development of women's rights has transformed the boundary between the public and the private and that illustrates the degree to which one might now speak of an international consensus that VAW is wrong. It is no longer considered as a private matter but a violation of women's human rights.

GBV is direct and very personal for the victims but it is also embedded in cultural legitimisation. Galtung (in Muthien 2010; 66) discusses a more holistic comprehensive definition of security that includes structural, personal (direct) and cultural violence. Structural violence refers to, for example, discrimination based on class, race or gender and is embedded in the very structure of the society. Personal violence means direct verbal or physical attack of one person on another. Cultural violence is "used" to justify personal or structural violence, e.g. "victim blaming" in the case of rape. Galtung (in Vlachovà and Biason 2003; 8) states that "t[hus]when one husband beats his wife there is a clear case of personal violence, but when one million husbands keep one millions wives in ignorance there is structural violence".

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2.7 South Africa

2.7.1 The nature of gender based violence in South Africa

GBV has reached epidemic proportions in South Africa. It exists in every community and cuts across race, class, ethnicity and geographic location. GBV is linked to a particular violent history of slavery, imperialism, colonialism and apartheid. The history of South Africa has created a militarised society that has nurtured extremely violent masculinities (POWA 2010; 7). Gqola (2007; 114) argues that South Africa has failed to dismantle “the ideology of militarism” in the new South Africa. If we continue to have violence as a constant companion, we can only continue to live in a messy state. It is widely acknowledge that GBV in South Africa is one of the most prevalent social problems undermining South Africa’s development. Vetten (Davis 2007; 61) believes that in South Africa, violence as a mean to solve problems, has become well institutionalised. Massive social inequality sharpens conflict and violence placed on women. Some men see the changes, which they think have disadvantaged them, as coming from the empowerment of women and violence has become an effective way to put women back in their place. In a set of interviews conducted in KwaZulu-Natal townships in the late 1980s, men and women talked about the “common practice of forced sex” and that violence is a normal part of a relationship between a man and a woman. One woman said that “[I]n marriage there are too many rules. Husbands tend to beat their wives and scold them”. Another woman said that “[o]f course I don’t like it when my boyfriend beats me. However, there is no point in leaving him. I will probably just find someone worse” (Human Rights Watch/Africa 1995; 46).

A national survey conducted in 1998/1999 showed that VAW in South Africa tends to be ongoing over time, that the perpetrator is most likely to be a spouse or partner and that the most unsafe area for women is the home environment (Rasool et al 2002; 12). Interviews with focus groups conducted countrywide suggest that families often tell women that abuse is something that “normally” happens in a marriage or in an intimate relationship. The survey also showed that women were discouraged from going to professional service providers and that they were told that the abuse should be resolved within the family. Many women who have tried to leave abusive relationships were sent back to the perpetrator because of cultural, social or financial issues that concerned family members. The survey indicated that women in the rural areas are less likely to use counselling services, because there are fewer counsellors in the rural areas. However, the survey also revealed that only half of all the survivors living in the metropolitan

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areas visited a counsellor even though there are more counselling services in these areas (Rasool et al 2002; Executive Summary).

2.7.2 High levels of gender based violence

The exact extent of VAW in South Africa is unknown. SAPS statistics for reported rape were 69 117 in 2004/2005, 68 076 in 2005/2006, 65 201 in 2006/2007, 63 818 in 2007/2008 and 71 500 in 2008/2009 (POWA 2010; 7). Findings from the Medical Research Council (MRC) suggest that the actual levels of violence are much higher than what the SAPS statistics show. In 2002, the MRC estimated that 88% of rape cases were unreported. Interviews conducted in Cape Town in 2005 showed that 40% of women have experienced sexual assault, 45% between the ages 14 and 24 described their first sexual experience to have been persuaded, tricked, forced or raped, 27.6% of men interviewed in 2009 admitted to having raped a woman, while 14.3% had raped a current or former girlfriend or wife. Almost 50% of the interviewed had raped more than one woman or girl (Jewkes et al 2009; 3). A study conducted in three provinces concluded that almost 27% of women in the Eastern Cape, 28% of women in Mpumalanga and 19% of women in the Northern Province had been physically abused in their lifetime by a current or ex-partner (Jewkes et al 1999; 1). Research on intimate femicide[7] found that every six hours a woman is killed by her male partner in South Africa, which is one of the highest rates ever reported in research in the world (Jewkes and Abrahams 2004; 4). A 2010 study estimates that the South African rate of femicide is 24.4 per 100 000 women which is six times the global rate of 4.0 per 100 000 (Mathews 2010; 70).

Sexual assault should not only be seen as an *individual* act of violence but as a reflection of the structures and values of a society. Sanday (in Albertyn et al 2007; 300) distinguish between "rape-free" and "rape-prone" societies. She observes that in rape-free societies the social separation between the sexes is less marked and both sexes are more integrated and equal in the everyday life. In rape-prone societies women hold limited power and authority and there is an acceptance of interpersonal violence. The incidence of violence directed at women tends to

[7] The definition "killing of females by males because they are females" was introduced by Russel and Harmes in 2001. This definition was an attempted to politicise the term by recognising that such crimes are based on the power and control men have over women.

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reflect the general levels of violence in the society. The high numbers of sexual assault reflect extreme gender inequalities in South Africa.

2.7.3 Legal protection

The criminal justice system has made progress in protecting women from GBV. There are clear policy directives for the management of sexual assault, but police and prosecutors often disregard these directives. The Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 provides accessible immediate relief to complainants of domestic violence. DV is defined broadly in the act, including physical, sexual, emotional, verbal and economic abuse, intimidation, harassment and stalking. The act recognises a wide range of relationships protected under the law. A "domestic relationship" is defined to include marriage, cohabitation relationships (same-sex or heterosexual), parents, family members, engagements, dating or customary relationships, including an actual or perceived romantic, intimate or sexual relationship of any duration and people sharing a residence (Albertyn et al 2007; 324). The success of the Domestic Violence Act depends on how the act is implemented. The police are obligated to respond to DV, but the government does not always allocate enough resources to implement it and very often, the police cannot, or choose not to help abused victims. The act recognises a wide variety of behaviours as abuse but not all of these behaviours can be prosecuted as a violation of the criminal law. This means that perpetrators are unlikely to be prosecuted for emotional, verbal or physical abuse. Research has shown that if the abuse is persistent women are less likely to be guaranteed protection. Many women are re-victimised by the police and courts when confronted with prejudice and other obstacles. The Constitutional Court recognises this problem:

> The ineffectiveness of the criminal justice system in addressing family violence intensifies the subordination and helplessness of the victims. This also sends an unmistakable message to the whole of society that the daily trauma of vast numbers of women counts for little. The terrorisation of individual victims is thus compounded by a sense that domestic violence is inevitable. Patterns of systemic sexist behaviour are normalised rather than combated. Yet it is precisely the function of constitutional protection to convert misfortune to be endured into injustice to be remedied (Ludsin and Vetten 2005; 37).

Rape was, prior to the Sexual Offence Act of 2007, defined as intentional, unlawful sexual intercourse with a female without her consent. Only vaginal penetration by the penis constituted as rape. This was problematic because it excluded the possibility of the use of other

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body parts and the fact that rape often happens with objects such as sticks or bottles. By this definition, rape is "sexualised" since it focuses on the sexual penetration rather than the violence associated with the attack (Naylor 2008; 24). Legal feminist scholars have developed the concept of "real rape". The "real rape" or "perfect rape" refers to the stereotype on what constitutes rape. The stereotype rests on prejudices and assumptions about gender roles and behaviours that are deeply rooted in patriarchal beliefs. A "real rape" is recognised as when:

> ...a virginal young women, of the most respectable standing, is violently accosted by a stranger either outside or at home in the sanctity of her own bedroom. She resists, but is brutally raped sustaining multiple, serious, lasting physical injuries. She runs to report immediately (bloody panties in hand) in a highly emotional state to the police... (Chennells 2009; 27).

Interviews with 20 men between 18 and 49 years of age in the Eastern Cape revealed that a majority believed in many of the rape myths. They said that rape only occurs if the woman got pregnant in the act: if physical violence was used and if the man has scratches to prove that the woman had tried to fight him off. They believed that many of the accusations that women make are unfounded and made when women change their minds after agreeing to consensual sex. They argued that women feel that they need to protect their reputation, even though they wear revealing clothes that causes men to have unstoppable urges (Sikweyiya, Jewkes and Morell 2007; 51). "Real rape" myths do not represent the real life experience for the vast majority of rape victims. These myths are important to reveal because studies have shown that the rapes that most closely conform to the stereotype of "real rape" are more likely to be investigated, prosecuted and have higher chances of conviction and meaningful sentencing (Chennells 2009; 24). International studies have shown that one of the key factors that determine whether sexual violence will be reported is the circumstance of the assault. Victims of "real rape" are more likely to report. Women who are raped by men they know, who are raped without a weapon being present and who experience few injuries are less likely to report the rape to the police (Stanton, Lochrenberg and Mukasa 1997; 16, Smythe and Waterhouse 2008; 199). A South African woman made the following observation about police response to marital rape:

> ...[w]hat must we do? Go to the police? Even if you are raped by a stranger they don't believe you, and now you must tell them that your husband is raping you? They are just as bad as the husbands. They ridicule you too and tell you that you are full of shit and you are wasting their time. You can have scars on your face... bleeding... and the police will send you home to "sort it out with him". Rape by your husband is only real in the law (Smythe and Waterhouse 2008; 206).

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SAPS claim that many woman lie about the rape in fear of not being believed (Jewkes and Abrahams 2002; 1232). The police will file the case as "unfounded" if they believe that the complainant has lied about the alleged rape (Smythe and Waterhouse 2008; 206).

The new Sexual Offence Act took ten years to develop. In 1997, a project committee was appointed to the South African Law Commission (SALC) to investigate sexual offences laws applicable to children and with time, the investigation expanded to include adults. The result of the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act, 32 of 2007 (The Sexual Offences Act) has nevertheless not lived up to the expectations. Vetten and Watson (2010; 1) argue that the result is "first and foremost a clumsily drafted encyclopaedia of sexual offences, rather than the major advance in rape survivors' rights envisaged by women's and children's organisations". For feminists in South Africa the law has been a very important and effective site of struggle against discriminatory laws, policies and practises. The law has been used as a tool to challenge both the legal and social situation of inequality, oppression and VAW. Artz and Smythe (2007; 17) argue that the development of the Sexual Offences Act is no different in this regard, for almost ten years feminist academics, NGOs, public health professionals, legal practitioners and mental health experts contributed to the law reform process. The contribution ranged from substantive legal submissions to public awareness campaigns. The new Act was expected to be more than a law but also a social statement about sexual violence. They highlight that "in law, one is either guilty or not guilty, consenting or not consenting - there is little evidence of a social context approach that would allow the suggestion that the circumstances surrounding sexual violence are complex and sometimes ambiguous".

2.7.4 South African Police Services (SAPS)

Stigma attached to sexual assault impact the way that sexual assault cases are being treated by the criminal justice system. The common myths about "real rape" have influenced the decision-making processes in each stage of the legal system. The manner in which the police respond to victims of GBV in South Africa has been identified as problematic. Police officers' judgment plays a primary role in determining the validity and seriousness of a crime. The police have become "gatekeepers" to the criminal justice system. Research has shown that police officers routinely prevent women from laying charges against the perpetrators of sexual assault. Women who enter the criminal justice system are confronted with "[a] unique scepticism in the

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form of institutionalised policies and practises which reflect both enduring myths about gender violence and unchallenged bureaucratic routines" (Albertyn et al 2007; 308). One SAPS officer involved in human rights training expressed that:

> [F]or many police, implementing the interdict is a contradiction between their culture and how they were brought up, and the responsibilities of the job. So they treat violence lightly. In some cases, in small communities they have to serve interdicts on their friends so they tend to counsel the family rather than the abused in many cases (Rasool et al 2002; 123).

A survey with 111 women in South Africa found that only 6% went to the police to report GBV while 50% sought assistance from their extended family; 22% went to friends and neighbours; 12% went to the church; 8% went to street committees or councils and 2% went to social workers (Human Rights Watch/Africa 1995; 47). In 1998/1999, 1 000 women were interviewed across the nine provinces in South Africa. Most women in the study knew that abuse against them was a crime but only 46% reported it to the police. Just over half of the women who report the abuse were satisfied with the treatment they received. The levels of satisfaction with the police were far less than those recorded for other service providers. The survey revealed that survivors often believe that abuse is not a matter that can or should be resolved by the criminal justice system or by the helping agencies. The study concludes that DV is still regarded as a private matter and less of a crime if the perpetrator is not a stranger (Rasool et al 2002; chapter 10). The Crime Information Analysis Centre showed that in 2000, the police or the prosecutor withdrew 40-50% of rape cases. The most common reason for a case being withdrawn is because the police believe that the accusation is "false" or the victims withdraw it for their own "personal reasons". Smythe and Waterhourse (2008; 207) argue that the main obstacles to affective police management of rape cases is that most cases do not make it through the criminal justice system. In each stage of the justice process, cases leak out of the system and very few of the reported rapes go to trial and result in a conviction, with a majority of the cases closed by the police.

Resource constraints play into poor quality police work. The SAPS National Instructions on Sexual Offences require that police officers with specialised training take victims' statements but it is often the first officer that meets the victim who takes the statement. Few investigating officers receive specific training on sexual offences and the ones that receive training are often provided with little practical experience on how to deal with the complex realities of sexual violence (Smythe and Waterhouse 2008; 209). At the scene, the police officer must first

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determine whether the complainant is in danger and protect her from the violence. Some police officers automatically arrest the respondent, regardless of the nature of the crime, whereas others only arrest in circumstances where there have been physical violence. In general, there is a tendency by the police to only arrest at "imminent harm". A number of police officers have received training on DV but the training has been sparse and focused on the practical implementation of the Domestic Violence Act. The training needs to focus more on explaining the dynamics of patriarchy and gendered power relations that underpin DV (Albertyn et al 2007; 329). Smythe and Waterhouse (2008; 199) highlight that myths on the "nature" of women and "real rape" impacts the policing of sexual offences cases. It is a major challenge to reform the criminal justice response to rape. Attitudes held by the police generally reflect the same attitudes that are predominant in the broader society. Patriarchy influences the police service and affects how women are treated when they report a gender based related crime. A magistrate in charge of the DV division in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town, expressed the following at a conference on DV:

> The South African Police Service has the power to send the message to the community that domestic violence is not acceptable. So it is disheartening when police officers simply show loyalty to the patriarchal family system [by siding with the male offender] (Rasool et al 2002; 115).

2.7.5 Masculinity in South Africa

Gender is a concept of power and each man has a general advantage from the overall subordination of women (Morrell 2001; 7). Ludsin and Vetten (2005; 22) argue that South Africa is a culturally diverse society but in every group, women are subjects to their male partners' authority and control. The subordinate status of women exists across cultures in South Africa, although in various forms. Not all men share the same power and there are different types of masculinities. Some men oppress women, some dominate other men. There is a masculinity that is hegemonic; one that dominates other masculinities and creates a cultural image of what it means to be a "real man" (Morrell 2001; 7). Donaldson (in Morrell 1998; 608) argues that the hegemonic masculinity is, "exclusive, anxiety-provoking, internally and hierarchically differentiated, brutal, and violent". The meaning of masculinity is not fixed but socially and historically constructed and is constantly responding to challenges of masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is a key element of patriarchy and both developed and maintained in

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particular locations. At a gender awareness workshop run by the Gender Education and Training Network (GETNET) the male participant expressed that men are supposed to be:

> [S]trong and tough and hide pain; a fighter/defend self, sister and property; compete/be better than girls and other boys; do the physical work, heavy duties; be in control, be in authority positions; do well academically and pursue "manly" careers/occupations; drink alcohol and smoke; and have sex with lots of females (Elliot 2003; 11).

Many men and women describe the characteristic of a "real man" as the head of the household, breadwinner of the family, having a heterosexual orientation, the privilege of a social life outside the house and to have a need for sex. 14-16 year old boys from seven schools in a study in the Western Cape expressed that man has a duty toward and authority over women. "[I]f you are a man, you are supposed to engage and know" (Ratele et al 2007; 114). The participants were asked, "What does it mean to be a man?" and the boys responded, "When you have a girlfriend". The participants expressed that the compulsion for sexual activity is the centre point for boy-girl relations (Ratele et al 2007; 117). Studies in South Africa show that communities see women as being dependent on and weaker than men. Women who try to exercise some power in their relationships are regarded as a threat and are blamed for having brought the abuse upon themselves (Ludsin and Vetten 2005; 22). Men do not see themselves as responsible for their violent actions but instead regard women as the problem. As Lorentzen (in Elloit 2003; 12) expresses it:

> [I] feel small and master this feeling by making her even smaller. I am afraid and overcome this by making her more afraid. I am hurt and overcome this by hurting her... I feel powerless and master the feeling by assuming power and control over my immediate surroundings. I do not think of myself as afraid, I think of her as dangerous. I do not consider myself insecure, I consider her untrustworthy....

Women's rights legislation that defends the integrity of women and the discourse on empowering women pose challenges to the legitimacy of men's privileged status over women. Many men feel a tension between customary law, which claim rigid gender and age hierarchies, and the calls for right to equality. During an interview with a group of men in Nkomazi, Mpumalanga, who were known to openly reject violence against women and children, one of the men expressed that: "[Y]ou have to change and you don't know how. The government is confusing things. They say let's go back to our culture and they say let's go forth. Meanwhile they are legalising polygamy they say women have equal rights" (Sideris 2004; 45). The clash of value on equality- and sexual rights was evident during the Jacob Zuma's rape trial in 2006.

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The trial reinforced many of the stereotypes around male and female sexuality as well as rape. Zuma's defence council argued that "Khwesi"[8] had seduced Zuma by wearing "revealing clothes", referring to the kanga, a traditional African cloth. The defence lawyer questioned "Khwesi" about her sexual history at length. "Khwesi" told the court she has been raped three times as a child and the defence countered by saying that she ought to have "developed ways of resisting rape". "Khwesi" was also questioned on why she had not screamed. Zuma emphasised throughout the trial that he is a "real" Zulu man. He spoke in isiZulu and drew on traditionalist idioms and "cultural rules". He spoke of how in Zulu culture "leaving a woman in that state [of sexual arousal]" was the worst thing you can do (Robins 2006; 163).

Morrell argues that dominant and subordinate masculinities in South Africa emerge in relations to structural factors such as the racial and economic ordering of society during the apartheid era. These values and practises continue to shape the masculinities in contemporary South Africa (Salo 2007; 161). Moffett believes that sexual violence in South Africa is justified by narratives that are rooted in apartheid practises that legitimised violence by the dominant group against the disempowered, in the political arenas, in the social and in the informal and domestic spaces. Factors such as alcohol and substance abuse, unemployment, entrenched poverty, the threat of HIV and AIDS, prior history of abuse, post-traumatic stress syndrome, oppressive culture and religious mores, gang membership, peer pressure and the breakdown of the family and clan structures contribute to the problem of sexual violence in South Africa as it does in all societies. Moffet (2006; 9) highlights that the relation between apartheid's legacy and the current sexual violence have to be framed in order to understand the high levels of sexual violence in South Africa. The South African state has since 1994 worked on developing principles of gender equality, but the state is caught up in its violent past and lacks political will to deal with GBV. High unemployment and widespread poverty coupled with rising expectations have fostered the growth of violent masculinities that undermine South Africa's progress on creating gender equality (Morrell 2001; 19).

2.7.6 When the private is not private

When we observe GBV it seems that there is no split between the private and the public spheres. The separation between a public sphere and a private sphere is not always applicable,

[8]Zuma's rape accuser was given the name "Khwesi" (star) by her supporters.

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especially, in South Africa. Almost universally, families are legislated as public sphere but during apartheid in South Africa, legislation also targeted the private sphere. The state regulated the family, and restricted people from marrying or having intimate relationships with people from other racial groups (Fester 2005; 201). Mbatha (in Moosa and Bonthuys, 2007: 159) argues, "most legal issues for (African and Muslim) women are located in the "private" sphere of family relationships". Bonnin (2000; 303-304) argues that people's experience of space is race, class and gender specific and people's ability to control their space and exclude others from it depends on their race, class and gender:

> [U]nder apartheid, a white middle-class South African family would be likely to have experienced the household as a private space, while a poorer black family, subjected to the invasions of the pass laws and the regulations of resettlement, privacy would have been less assured. The private space of the white household was frequently the public space of the black domestic worker's workplace, while for many women involved in informal sector activities the home was, and is their place of work.

The divide between the public and the private has an impact on women's willingness to report abuse by their partner. Women who report "wife-beating" to the police are regarded as disloyal and risk being alienated. Most women who experience GBV do not seek help outside an informal network of family and friends (Human Rights Watch/Africa 1995; 47). What happens within the family has historically been viewed as beyond the realm of outside intervention, and what happens within the marriage has been treated as a private matter. Marital rape only became a crime with the enactment of domestic violence legislation in 1993. Ludsin and Vetten (2005; 22) highlight that treating DV as a private matter encourages a private solution to the problem.

Nowhere is the effect of the public/private divide more evident than in the case of DV. The state often dismisses crimes; including murder, rape, and physical abuse in the home as private matters and as a result takes no action or fails to prosecute VAW on par with other similar crimes. Thomas and Beasley (1993; 46) underline that if DV is inherent in all societies then it cannot be dismissed as something private and beyond the scope of state responsibility. The slogan that *the personal is political* is highly applicable to GBV and particularly in South Africa. Bassadien and Hochfeld (2005; 7) argue that the notion of DV as a private matter is even less relevant in South Africa. Violence does not necessarily happen in secret, behind closed doors. There are a variety of living spaces in South Africa, household arrangements and domestic spaces. Because of the socio-economic situation in South Africa a number of people

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sleep under one roof. Many houses and shacks lack doors or have only one room. Informal housing is common and these vary in density and structure. Shacks and houses are often so close to each other that neighbours are aware of what is happening next door. The home is the most common location for abuse but a large percentage of VAW also happens in public spaces such as shopping areas, bars and in the street (Bassadien and Hochfeld 2005; 7, Meth 2003; 320). Even in communities that are not desperately poor, extended family members live in the same household.

In a national survey conducted in 2002, many survivors of GBV said that they were not alone at the time of the physical abuse, 60.4% in rural areas, 58.9% in urban areas and 63% of survivors in the metropolitan areas said that the perpetrators were not alone during the abuse (Rasool et al 2002; 39). Gqola (2007; 121) argues that women's bodies are seen as accessible for consumption and control, and that women are denied the very freedom that the constitution protects. The police warn women against travelling alone, to avoid deserted places and encourage women to dress conservatively. The message is clear women should modify their behaviour to avoid being attacked. The warnings "communicate quite unequivocally that South African public spaces do not belong to the women who live in this country".

Meth (2003; 326) argues that the vulnerability, insecurity and informality that women experience of DV in South Africa suggest that we cannot use the framework developed in Western studies. In the Western studies, DV is often assumed to be taking place in a private space. Researchers may ask questions that are not always applicable to the situation in South Africa such as "[D]id you lock the door?, did you hide somewhere?, did you phone the police?, did you report the case?". Meth emphasises that the idea of what is private and public is being challenged in South Africa. *What is it that makes a space "private"?* She argues that analysis of people that live on the street or in shack settlements challenge what it means to have and enjoy a private space. Women street traders who live and work from street pavements are a good example of the domestic within the public. At night, their space changes from a public work site into a domestic space but they have no privacy. The home space is assumed to be *private*, a space that is exclusive and separate as well as sound and vision proof. This view presumes the materiality and formality of a home, the material thickness of the building and density of the settlement (Meth 2003; 321). Bonnin (in Meth 2003; 320) suggests that we move away from the public/private conceptualisation to focus on the *sites where women challenge*

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the dominant power relations. If we want to understand DV, the focus should be on women's experiences of violence in different spaces.

2.7.7 The impact of gender based violence on security in South Africa.

Vlachova and Biason (2003; 20) argue that the concept of a security sector and GBV have much in common. Both concepts were developed within the international development community after the end of the Cold War in order to cope with new security challenges. The inclusion of gender into security studies and development strategies contributed to the recognition that women have to be included in peace negotiations, peace–building and the rebuilding of post conflict societies. Reardon (2010; 20) argues that fundamental human dignity, personal- and cultural identity has been overlooked in security studies. A vast majority of humans live in fear that their sexual, racial, ethnic, political and/or religious identities could be the cause of traumatic physical and psychological abuse. These oppressions create circumstances of constant human insecurity.

The consequences of GBV are devastating for South Africa. Many women have been victims and the women who have not directly been victims of GBV suffer from threats of violence. The high levels of violence reduce valuable capabilities in South Africa (Nussbaum 2005; 16). Many women have been murdered and many survivors experience life-long emotional distress and mental health problems. Abused women are at higher risk of acquiring HIV and other STDS and women who have been physically or sexually assaulted tend to be intensive long-term users of health services (Sigsworth 2008; 6). Gqola argues that there is a contradiction between women being legally empowered but not feeling safe in their home or on the streets. Gqola wonders what the consequences of the violent era of the 1980s in the townships have on today's society:

> What happens to that collective trauma?"... in what ways did being able to get away with mass rape solidify violent masculine patterns, and what kind of socialization did it have on other Black men and boys watching? What (unintended) consequences for masculinities and femininities followed from this?" (Gqola 2007; 120).

Violence has a long lasting impact on women, communities, societies and the state. Children, who have witnessed abuse, have been victims themselves or have been conceived from rape, often suffer from lasting psychological damage and many children become abusive when they

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grow up (Sigsworth 2008; 6). When violence is tolerated in the everyday life, children come to see violence as a natural way to deal with differences. Conflicts and wars will continue if violence in the homes is not stopped (Bunch 2003; 7). Muthien (2003; 12) asks "can it justifiably be called peace when women and children are beaten and raped every few seconds in every country in the world". The main insecurity for women is in their daily life in peacetime or in conflict. War brings additional violation to women's lives but it is linked to the "normal" GBV during peacetime. Bunch (2003; 7) questions whether the term "peacetime" is an accurate description for the lives of most women. Gender and war are inextricably linked:

> [G]ender roles adapt individuals for war roles, and war roles provide the context within which individuals are socialized into gender roles. For the war system to change fundamentally, or for war to end, might require profound changes in gender relations. But the transformation of gender roles may depend on deep changes in the war system (Goldsten in Bunch 2003; 7).

Lomratanachai (2007; 9) argues that DV contributes to women's insecurity and that it affects women's needs, in terms of economic status and standard of living, along with increasing every day fears. DV should therefore be seen as a major impediment to human security with regards to freedom from fear. Chenoy (2009; 48) highlights that human security is context and structure specific and different issues create insecurity for people. Nevertheless, there is no country in the world were women are free from GBV. Women's empowerment is central to poverty eradication and national development but because of GBV, women are denied access to public spaces, resources and employment. Empowerment of women and gender equality are central to human security and development is not possible without security (Zeitlin and Mpoumu 2004; 30). Reardon (2010; 11) highlights that "[i]f women and those who depend upon them are not secure, to what extent can a nation, in the true sense of the word, meaning the people of a state or society, be secure?".

2.8 Conclusion

It is often argued that GBV has remained imperceptible because it occurs in the so-called "private" but due to the socio-economic situation in South Africa, violence is often known in the close surroundings. VAW in South Africa has reached epidemic proportions but it is often regarded as something that women just have to endure. Women are seen as weaker and subjects to men's authority and control. There is legislation in place to protect women from VAW but the stigma attached to VAW and myths around masculinity and femininity affect

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how women are treated by the criminal justice system. There is a strong contradiction between the progressive legislation that legally empowers women and the reality that women are not safe in their homes and in the streets. VAW contributes to women's insecurity and affects women's needs in term of economic status and standard of living. This has a long lasting impact on the community, the society and the state.

The notion of human security has been a radical departure from state security. Although the 1994 Human Development Report states that the worst threats are those towards women but there is no special concern for women's security given. Because of structural inequalities, issues that predominantly affect women tend to be overlooked under the notion of "human". Where VAW is normalised there is an increased culture of violence. VAW is as a result tied to global security. Feminists argue for a feminisation of the human security concept in order to address the structural inequalities that neglect VAW.

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Chapter 3: Research and methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, an overview is given of feminist research and introduces the research methodology. In the first section, the fundamental principles of feminist research are introduced. Feminist research attempts to uncover relationships and theories of gender and power while critically looking at the perception of "knowledge". In the second section, the research methodology of this paper, feminist standpoint is discussed. Feminist standpoint theory argues that we need to start research from the marginalised viewpoints to generate new knowledge. Thereafter, the subjectivity within the research is examined before the methods used in this research are introduced. In the last section, I deliberate how my thoughts, beliefs and experiences influence the research process.

3.2 Feminist research

In 1941, Elin Wägner, a Swedish feminist and activist, wrote in *Väckarklocka,* "Although the history of men and the history of women are interwoven in the same way as weft and warp in a piece of fabric, science has managed to create history without the warp" (Saarinen 1988; 35). Traditional social science is based on men's experiences. Enloe (2009: 82) argues that it is important to have a "feminist curiosity" in global issues. Research in International Relations should ask more questions about the meaning of masculinity and femininity. By asking questions about women, men, and power, we can gain a more nuanced understanding of complex issues (Williams et al 2010; 83). The assumption that we do not have to question the politics behind masculinity and femininity fuels the perpetuation of patriarchal cultures and structures within societies, organisations, social movements, universities and NGOs (Enloe 2009; 82). Ramazanoglu and Holland (2002; 147) argue that feminist research can be identified largely by theories of gender and power and the aim to produce knowledge that will end injustice and subordination.

The impact of feminist research can be concluded as follows (Sarantakos 2005; 60):

- helped to reconstruct the domain of conventional research
- brought to surface neglected aspects of social reality
- added a new view (lens, prism) to the perception of the world

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- drew attention to problems in the conduct of social research
- challenged gender ethics, female subjugation and discrimination
- produced evidence that put gender in a new context
- helped to raise women's consciousness and empower them
- freed social research from 'androcentric blinkers'
- offered a legitimate basis for social change in the area of gender
- raised issues that helped to redefine the notion of humanity

Feminist theories of knowledge have been developed from a number of sources since the 1970s. Harding (1991; 19) highlights that:

> within the conventional approaches to science studies, it was impossible to see how women's lives could be recognised as legitimate grounds from which true beliefs - or, at least "less false" ones - could be generated. A "woman scientist" appeared to be a contradiction in terms; the reason for this was that "man scientist" named far too perfect a union.

In order to change normative definitions of knowledge, whether it is categorised as theory, method or praxis, and change the idea of who a knowledge producer is, we need to reshape meanings that are embedded in socio-political contexts, languages, and institutional cultures (Nagar and Geiger 2007; 275). Feminist researchers want to highlight issues that have traditionally been regarded as "female" or "women's" matters, often in the private sphere, but by exploring these issues, researchers find themselves on the margins of private life and public social knowledge. We shift uneasily between the position of participant and observers, reflecting on our knowledge and how we should view the knowledge we produce. The researcher tries to position herself/himself with the marginalised, but if the researcher wants to be heard in the academic world s/he needs to approach the research subject in a way that can be understood and accepted in the dominant Western knowledge framework (Ribbens and Edwards 1999; 2). However, we need to explain what we mean by "knowledge"? Gunew (in Letherby 2003; 22) argues that knowing can be defined as "a kind of meaning production, as the way in which we make sense of the world by learning various sets of conventions". Knowledge can also be described in territorial terms, which means that "knowledge" becomes legitimate if it is produced within certain institutions, such as academia, and when only some can claim "rights to" it. Women have historically been excluded from institutions and *authorised knowledge* has therefore been masculinised knowledge. The conflict between knowledge of academia and everyday experiences has therefore been of great interest for feminist philosophers and social scientists (Gunew in Letherby 2003; 22).

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Feminist researchers claim that each methodology follows a particular ontology and a particular epistemology. The notion that masculinity belongs to the male body and that femininity belongs to the female body has been contested in feminist ontology. Ontologies offer different beliefs about social existence. Epistemologies present rules of what constitutes legitimate knowledge (Ramazanoglu and Holland 2002; 12). In some epistemologies, scientific studies are essential knowledge while in other epistemologies personal experiences are more important. Empiricist epistemology introduces a method on how to move from private experiences to generate general and certain knowledge. Empiricists depend on their observations and experiments to make connections between human experience, external reality and what really exists (Ramazanoglu and Holland 2002; 12). Sprauge and Kobrynowich (1999; 39) argue that there is epistemological advantage of studying women because society places them in contradictory social locations. Women are constructed as both subjects and objects and this gives women an "outsider within" advantage. There is, however, no single standpoint and the subject of feminist knowledge is sometimes divided. Women exist in different social locations such as class, race, ethnicity and sexuality.

3.3 Feminist standpoint

Standpoint theory emerged in the 1970s and 1980s as critical theory against the relation between the production of knowledge and practices of power. Standpoint theory is critical of the conventional view that politics obstruct and damage the production of scientific knowledge. Standpoint theory sets out to explain how politics can stimulate and guide the growth of knowledge. Feminist standpoint is not restricted to what is regarded as social or political issues, but focus on the very standards for what counts as knowledge, objectivity, rationality and good scientific method (Harding 2004; 2). Feminist standpoint theory argues for "starting from [the] thoughts" of the lives of marginalised people. Starting research from women's lives will generate less partial knowledge for women, men and the entire social world. Women's lives and experiences provide the "grounds" for this knowledge and are the site from which scientific questions arise (Harding 2004; 128). Smith (in Ramazanoglu and Holland 2002; 72) argues that women's standpoint takes us to the actualities of our everyday lives, "the secret of everything we do". When women speak from their experiences of subordination, they produce new knowledge that does not exist in the dominant discourse. Smith does not grant women any special epistemological privilege, but argues that starting from people's experience of everyday life has value as a site of knowledge production in power relations.

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Feminist standpoint epistemology includes critique of the research process and recognises that the production of knowledge is a political act. Letherby argues that women's experiences are a valid basis for knowledge because their knowledge emerges through their struggle against oppression. So:

> to achieve a feminist standpoint one must engage in the intellectual and political struggle necessary to see natural and social life from the point of view of that disdained activity which produces women's social experiences instead of from the partial and perverse perspective available for the "ruling gender" experience of men (Harding 1987; 45).

Feminist standpoint theory claims that knowledge is always partial knowledge. Knowledge is partial in the sense that it is "not total" and "not-impartial". There can be grounds for local, regional or global knowledge but not for a "universalizing discourse" (Ramazanoglu and Holland 2002; 66). Standpoint theory should not be thought of as an ascribed position but rather as an achievement. Harding argues (2004; 8) that feminist standpoint is a technical term and not just another viewpoint or perspective. For example, women had to *learn* to define sexual assault in marriage as rape when it had previously been defined as part of heterosexual sex. Feminists have made rape a significant public and political issue, but rape is neither a single concept, nor a standard concept. It is impossible to treat experiential knowledge as one simple truth. Women experience rape differently because of their different "realities". Factors such as culture, religion and differences in material realities enable or constrain people's lives.

> The knowledge that comes from actual experience, emotion and embodied violation cannot make a clear and direct connection between: (1) feminist theory (or any other cultural conception) of rape; (2) people`s experiences of raping/being raped; (3) an ultimate reality that is truly what rape is, independently of experience, language and theory (Ramazanoglu and Holland 2002; 129).

Ramazanoglu and Holland (2002; 129) argue that feminist researchers have to go beyond personal experiences if we are to produce valid knowledge of the connection between rape, sexuality and power relations. Because of women's position in the world, it makes it possible for them to challenge the existing (male) perspectives. Integrating women's experiences into the domain of science will not be a mere adding of details, but will result in a shift of perspective and change the very nature of existing practices in science. Women's experiences are a resource from which we can produce scientific problems, hypotheses and design research. However, it is misleading to suggest that women are a homogenous and cohesive group.

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Women of colour, lesbians, underprivileged and working-class women have been very critical of the assumptions that there is a universal explanation of women's lives (Okeke 1996; 223). Letherby (2003; 46) argues that feminist standpoint could imply that the perspective of one group is more real than others. We have to consider the power that some women have over other women. All women have multiple identities, but shared sex does not automatically break down other barriers. Women's oppression varies in both nature and degree and different identities such as ethnicity, class and sexuality affect women's (and men's) lives. Harding (1991; 193) argues that "feminist" is even more contentious in discussions of race, gender, and science. Many researchers and activists of the "Third World" feel that "feminism" is too "Eurocentric", highly politicalised and intellectually regressive to describe the goals of their own struggle. She highlights that we should try to "reinvent ourselves as the other" and redirect our analyses and agendas so that they are closer to the comprehensive ones advocated by women from the South.

Lazreg (in Nnaemcka 2007; 55) highlights that "identity politics" or "home politics" should be an initial building block for constructing social change. We must scrutinise methodological procedures in feminist research when studying marginalised women. Theorising diversity is risky and difficult questions arise; "[H]ow can we theorise diversity without falling into the trap erecting hierarchies, up-holding differences, and legitimating exclusions?" "How can we theorise difference or diversity, and what are the pitfalls in such theorising?" "How do we gather information about the Other? How do we organise, order, and disseminate that information?" According to Harding (1991; 278), some feminist epistemological positions claim that only women can generate feminist insights because they are women, that only lesbians can generate anti-homophobic insight or that only the "Third World" can generate anti-imperialist insight. Knowledge must be socially situated but does gender, or race, or class, or sexuality "determine" social situation? How is the social situation of a female feminist scholar different from an antifeminist woman, a defender of the patriarchy? Said (in Nagar and Geiger 2007; 272) recognises that:

> ...regardless of my individual motivations, in terms of world power relations, I work from a dominating and colonising discourse which imposes western, first world values on others, not the least by defining them as "non-western" or "third world"- that there is some possibility of developing counter discourses by sharing and working with other, by repositioning ourselves at least temporarily, both latterly by doing fieldwork and metaphorically, and by "smuggling ideas across the lines".

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Feminist researchers avoid distancing themselves from the subject that they study. This includes taking in personal insights, feelings and being open about one's personal involvement in the study. Harding (1987; 9) argues that feminist analysis goes beyond the subject matter and insists that the researcher puts herself/himself in the same critical position as the overt subject matter. "That is, the class, race, culture, and gender assumptions, beliefs, and behaviours of the research her/himself must be placed within the frame of the picture that she/he attempts to paint". We can "learn" to experience race and class relations but we cannot separate or ignore these dimensions of our lives. Harding (1991; 284) highlights that if we try to do that "how are we different from the men in the dominant social groups who claim that they can separate the authority of *their* knowledge claims from the social situations that generated their claims?".

3.4 Subjectivity in research

Feminists argue that being totally unbiased is impossible and it is therefore better to state the bias and replace "value-free objectivity" with "conscious subjectivity". By explaining how you feel about your research, you are contributing to breaking down power relationships between the researcher and the researched (Letherby 2004; 71).

> We need to avoid the "objectivist" stance that attempts to make the researcher's cultural beliefs and practises invisible while simultaneously skewering the research objects, beliefs and practises to the display board.... Another way to put this point is that the beliefs and behaviours of the researcher are part of the empirical evidence for (or against) the claims advanced in the results of research (Harding 1987; 9).

Perspectives in feminist research incorporate subjectivity, partiality, bias and political commitment and try to make the knowledge production as obvious as possible. Feminists are not trying to see research as a neutralised process, but claim that research can be reasonable, logical and systematic (Ramazanoglu and Holland 2002; 49). Harding (2005; 229) believes that feminist research should aim to "maximise strong objectivity". This requires that the subject of knowledge is as studied as the objects of knowledge. Strong objectivity requires "strong reflexivity" which means to be clear about power relations, the exercise of power and identify how the researcher is socially situated in the research process (Ramazanoglu and Holland 2002; 119). People's position and social structures influence people's knowledge about the world and which questions they ask. Harding (1987; 30) argues that men and women are located in different social structures and therefore inhabit different realities. As a researcher one needs to realise that the research activity tell us things about ourselves as well as the people we are

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researching. The researcher has to consider how s/he is positioned in relation to the research process and how this affects the choice and the design of the research.

All researchers are situated in particular cultures, locations and languages, have personal biases and limited experiences. Political commitment is an inextricable part of social investigation for feminists but if we abandon all quests for objectivity, it will be considerably more difficult to claim any connection between knowledge and social realities (Ramazanoglu and Holland 2002; 54). Harding (1991; 144) highlights that there are many ways to conceptualise objectivity. She believes that objective researchers conceptualise the value-neutrality of objectivity too broadly by claiming that objectivity requires elimination of *all* social values and interests from the results of the research. Objectivism cannot "maximise strong objectivity" when they turn away from critically identifying historical, social desires, values and interests that shape science as much as they shape other human activities. In contrast, feminist standpoint research states that the subjectivity as well as the objectivity of knowledge is necessary for the research (Harding 2006; 230). Harding (in Ramazanoglu and Holland 2002; 50) offers six steps to maximise strong objectivity;

1. *The knowledge-production process is included in the research.* This means reflecting critically (reflexively) on who is producing knowledge for whom, with what funding, by what means, in what social situation...
2. *The agendas for research questions should be grounded in the experiences of those who are ignored in the dominant beliefs and activities.* "From the standpoint of the marginalized, dominant truths are not objective" (Harding 1993; 69). Those who are socially dominant dominate the production of knowledge. (This is how knowledge of, for example, "male power" or "domestic violence", can remain un-conceptualized in the knowledge of "family life"".)
3. *Strong objectivity resists relativism,* since feminists need to be able to judge whether some knowledge claims offer "better" accounts of reality than others.
4. *Strong objectivity means treating the research and the subject of knowledge as embodied and visible, and also as socially heterogeneous.* Feminist knowledge has to be grounded in the diversity and contradictions of women's lives, and the logic of multiple subjects.
5. *Feminist knowledge is located within an explicit, historically specific community-* a political and epistemic community of women-rather than being produced by individual feminists.
6. *Strong objectivity entails a commitment to liberatory knowledge.*

Letherby (2004; 8) talks about the importance of our "intellectual biography" and "accountable knowledge". By providing "accountable knowledge", the reader has access to the logical process behind the research process and the findings. Sprauge and Kobrynowich (1999; 39)

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highlight that we need to recognise and take into account the authority that comes from the experience of having studied and reflected upon an issue. As a researcher, you have to take responsibility for the authority of your experience. Harding (1991; 151) underlines that:

> it is important to remember that there are no “women” or “men” in the world - there is no “gender”- but only women, men, and gender constructed through particular historical struggles over just which races, classes, sexualities, cultures, religious groups, and so forth, will have access to resources and power”.

3.5 Methods

Feminist research does not have a method that is exclusively made and used by feminists; rather the existing methods are adjusted to meet feminist principles. The most common methods are in-depth interviews, participant observation and document analysis (Sarantakos 2005; 61). Ackerly and True (2010; 163) argue that there are “feminist methods” in the sense that when a feminist adopts and adapts a method, s/he reflects on the use of the method through the lens of feminist theory and feminist research ethics.

The methods used in this research include an inductive qualitative study with a nonlinear research path. The data is gathered through analysis of secondary data, such as newspaper articles and relevant books. Primary data is used as a complement to the secondary data, collected through semi-structured qualitative interviews with scholars, researchers and NGO workers. I interviewed Yaliwe Clarke from the African Gender Institute at the University of Cape Town, Dee Smyth the director of the Law, Race and Gender Research Unit at the University of Cape Town, Corinne Sandenbergh director of Stop Trafficking of People (STOP) in Stellenbosch and the personnel of Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children (SBC) in Manenberg, Cape Town. The SBC is a one-stop centre for women and their children who are experiencing domestic and/or sexual violence. The SBC assists with shelter, legal assistance, counselling and economic empowerment.

I chose to interview people within the field who have a deep understanding of the complexity of GBV in South Africa. I wanted to explore an angle not previously considered, to re-evaluate the issues at stake and to see if there were any new questions and issues that would come up during the interviews. The people contacted were those who have researched GBV and human security rather than women who have been victims of GBV. The criticism against the current

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definitions of human security is that the concept does not take into consideration women's experience and that issues that predominately affect women remains invisible. In this regard, it is important to talk to and listen to the women who are victims of GBV and create a definition from that point. This research, however, is not trying to develop a new definition of human security. It looks at how the current definitions have failed to address issues that primarily affect women and looks at the *extent to which gender based violence threatens human security in South Africa?* Due to time constrains and ethical concerns, I decided to focus on interviewing people who have more experience than me about GBV in South Africa and who could add value and strengthen the research. Through semi-structured interviews, there was the possibility to adapt and generate new questions. During the interviews, this was realised: new issues and questions came up and I had the chance to look at the issue from a new perspective. During the semi-structured interviews, there was engagement in implicit analysis rather than only requesting information and collecting data. Ackerly and True (2010; 197) highlight that we converse with our subject-participants, probing their understandings and comparing the research participant's analysis to existing theories.

3.6 The research

When I started this research, I knew very little about feminist research but I knew that I wanted to write about GBV. My supervisor gave me *Whose Science?, Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women's Lives*? by Sandra Harding and I was immediately drawn to feminist standpoint theory and reflexive research. At the same time as I was conducting the research for this paper I tried to understand reflexive research. During this process, I have reflected a lot on my background, thoughts, beliefs and experiences: *what lead me to this research?* Ramazanoglu and Holland (2002; 150) highlight that deciding which methodology and justifying that decision means conceptualising your starting point. All research starts from a position that influences the research project although this might not always be obvious to the researcher. My experiences have brought me to this research. As most women I have been verbally degraded, stared at and grabbed. Several female friends have been raped or been subject to attempted rape. As a teenager, a good friend was drugged and raped. She made me promise not to tell anyone or go to the police and because I wanted to be a good friend I kept my promise. Over the years, it has bothered me that I did not tell anyone or that we never talked about it again. During this research, I found out that another good friend was raped a couple of years ago. She normally does not talk about it because she feels that people expect her to cry and be very upset

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but that is not what she feels. She hates the way people look at her and feels sorry for her when she talks about what happened because she does not feel like a victim. She does not fit the stereotype of a rape victim and that prevents her from talking about her experience. These experiences have influenced the way I understand GBV.

I came to South Africa three years ago and was quite nervous about living in a country that the Swedish media portrays as dangerous. I came to Cape Town to work as a volunteer in the underprivileged communities of Delft, Atlantis and Khayelitsha. I was not directly confronted with high levels of violence but I was really shocked by people's fear. I was told that I should be very careful when I was out alone and that I should not go out when it was dark. I learnt about peoples, especially women's and girls', extreme vulnerability in their own communities. In Delft and Atlantis, I worked on a project that targets youth that have been sexually exploited or were identified as being at risk of sexual exploitation. The high level of inequality and poverty were among the stories I heard from the girls and the boys that I worked with. A teenage girl, from Delft, in despair told me how she had to face the man that raped her because he lived in the same street as her grandmother. She could not understand how he could be out from prison and why she had to face him in her community. The community workers told me that the prison sentence could have been longer if the girl had testified but she had refused and they hinted that she had herself to blame for refusing to testify. How can a young teenage girl be blamed for not being able to face the man that raped her, in the courtroom with the risk of being re-victimised? South African courts are not known for protecting victims of GBV.

I worked with a women's group in Kayamandi, Stellenbosch where I heard about the women's experiences of DV. In a group of 40, almost all the women had been or knew someone who had experienced DV. They said that there is no point reporting the abuse to the police because the police only say that it is a private matter and will therefore not intervene. Sometimes the police will take the husband/boyfriend in over the weekend to sober up but then he comes back after the weekend even angrier. These experiences made me want to do research on GBV in South Africa. I believe that GBV is a threat to human security and ultimately an obstacle to achieve gender equality. How can we talk about the empowerment of women and gender equality when women are not safe, or do not feel safe from violence because of their gender? Before I started this research, I thought that the main challenge was to make South Africa's progressive Constitution a reality for people and to implement the laws that are meant to protect women

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from GBV. I believed that we need to address norms and create a police service that recognises GBV as a serious crime and that would lead women to trust the police service and report abuse.

I believed that rape is one of the worst violations that can happen to a person but I thought so in terms of a person who has her/his other basic needs fulfilled, such as proper housing, clean water, a stable income and nutritious food. I assumed that one of the problems was to make "private" issues "public" but I did not consider that these spheres might not even exist due to socio-economic factors. I thought of GBV as mainly physical violence and gave little attention to material, economical and emotional violence that is often linked to the physical violence. Growing up in an average city in Sweden, I had my basic human needs fulfilled and I learned that the only thing I really need to worry about was walking home alone in the night. Rape is always a severe violation and a horrible crime regardless of who to the victim is and under what circumstances. Yet, for many women in South Africa rape is only one of many vulnerabilities that they face and live in fear of. Most women who are affected by sexual and domestic violence in South Africa are already incredibly vulnerable. The trauma of GBV also depends on the support you receive by the police, health care, your family, community etc. During the research process, I have been reflecting on how I can "understand" GBV in South Africa when I grew up in Sweden under very different circumstances than most victims of GBV in South Africa.

My upbringing, my experiences and my views on gender equality affect how I approach GBV in South Africa. When I was working with the women's group in Kayamandi, we talked about gender roles. I said that I believe that gender roles are socially constructed and the women told me that they believe that some roles are natural. They believed that women are natural caretakers, and that men are the providers but they also said that the gender roles are changing and that more women are providers for the family. I interpret this to mean that gender roles are not natural and that they are changeable. This is one incident where I realised that my perception of gender roles and gender structures are different from the views held by many South Africans. In the group, it was difficult to understand each other's point of view and I think that a lot of the knowledge was lost in translation.

I am critical of International Relation theories that try to describe how the social world should be, instead of describing the lived reality of people. However, I had not really reflected upon the politics of knowledge production nor did I understand the different knowledge that we

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produce as women within different contexts. During the interview with Clarke, I was confronted with the politics of knowledge production. I was specifically asked by the respondent; how I am going to analyse the data and whose voice it is? She expressed that;

> if you reflect upon your personality, your identity, and your history and your position or lack thereof and your engagement with the literature, you will be engaging in the politics of knowledge production. It is a good struggle.

A feminist research ethic prompts us to notice *how* we analyse. During the interviews, I have been able to look at GBV from others points of view and that helped me to better understand the complexity of GBV in South Africa. During that process, new questions have been raised but it is my “impression” and analysis of what is being said during the interviews that becomes this research.

3.7 Conclusion

Feminist standpoint research means starting the research from women’s experience and focus on issues that have traditionally been regarded as “female” or “women’s” matters, often in the private sphere beyond public regulation. Speaking from women’s experience of subordination will produce new knowledge that does not exist in the dominant discourse. Knowledge is always partial and there is not one female voice but many different experiences. Women’s general subordinate position to men makes it possible for them to see the world differently and challenge the existing (male) perspectives. People’s social position influences their “knowledge” and the questions that they ask. As researchers, we need to realise our relation to the research and how this impacts the research process. For this research, I chose to analyse secondary data and primary data as a complement to the secondary data. The primary data was collected through semi-structured qualitative interviews with scholars, researchers and NGO workers. During the research process it became clear that my standpoint influenced how I understand GBV and that there are aspects of GBV in South Africa that I had not previously considered.

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Chapter 4: Findings

4.1 Introduction

The research findings are introduced in this chapter. I discuss how a feminist human security framework will expose power dynamics and create human security for women. A human security framework based on women's experiences and their gender identities will have no separation between theory and lived reality. Thereafter, the fact that South Africa's broad definition of human security gives no specific attention to women is looked into. The SADC Protocol on Gender and Development 2008 emphasises a broad range of insecurities as GBV. Women in South Africa are very vulnerable to GBV because of socio-economic factors. Finally, the impact of GBV and South Africa's response is discussed. GBV is devastating for the society and the state but there is a lack of political will to fight GBV in South Africa. There is insufficient training on the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 and the police force does not know how to respond to GBV or choose not to respond to GBV. Few programmes intervene before the problem becomes a criminal offence. When women are being mistreated by police officers and in the courtroom, it represents a more general view of women's subordination, and there are no real repercussions for not acting on DV.

4.2 Changing the framework of human security

The current definition of human security has not been able to address GBV because it is not developed from women's experiences. It is not enough to simply add gender to the analysis but the framework needs to be changed. Truong (2009; 18) highlights that:

> The tendency to write "gender" in the planning machinery without sufficient contextual understanding of its meaning can reinforce experiences of social exclusion resulting from gender identities which do not fit the templates of planners. Issues of participation and representation can acquire instrumental values and can therefore become socially meaningless at best, oppressive at worst.

Viewing security from a feminist epistemological perspective would reveal power dynamics that exclude women's experiences. Chhachhi (2006; XXII) argues that a feminist human security framework should construct a space for a normative approach to human security (human as bearer of capabilities, rights, entitlements and duties) and an interpretative approach

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(who are we talking about and in what context). The normative approach is necessary to recognise people's rights and to make sure that the state fulfils its obligations. The interpretative approach recognises power dynamics within and across the categories of gender, ethnicity and generation. Through feminist standpoint theory, we can move from including thoughts on research to ask research questions, design research and develop theoretical concepts that start from the lives of people. It is not only women's experience that "grounds" feminist standpoint theory but also the views and thoughts of women (Harding 1991; 269). During the interview with one respondent, Yaliwe Clarke, she highlighted that it is important with grounded theory to study the realities of women and men. We need to know the woman who has been raped. Who is she?, what does she need?, etc and then build the human security concept from that basis. The structural and symbolic construction of "the individual" happens through multiple identities such as gender, ethnicity, class etc. These multiple identities should be central to the quotidian and societal experience of human security (Chhachhi 2006; XXV). Clarke believes that if we really listen to women in South Africa, they will not only talk about physical violence but about many different issues that contribute to their insecurity.

From women's experiences and views we can create a very complex human security framework that includes all aspects of gender identity and that has no separation between theory and the lived reality. Stigma around GBV should be a core part of the human security debate. Clarke emphasised during the interview that it is necessary to study different gender identities. There are several gender identities - women and men in South Africa are being abused because they fit the stereotype and because they do not. It is therefore important that women's security is examined in terms of their specific gender roles (Hudson 2005; 157). There is no singular gender role for women and it is therefore necessary that we look at a woman's specific situation in order to create a safe environment. South African legislation has the potential to empower women but it has not been able to protect women from violence. The human security framework should be built from those who have to bear its consequences. If the human security framework is going to target GBV, it requires that we first understand why women are so vulnerable in South Africa. It requires an analysis of the consequences that extreme poverty has on women's lives; on the challenges of implementing a proactive legislation in an extreme patriarchal society and analysis on how to change the norm that violence is something that women have to endure.

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The human security concept is often accused of being too broad and defused but a broad definition also means that it can be framed to address the specific needs in a country and society. During the interview, Clarke expressed that the Western idea of rights is too individualistic. She believes that the legislation in South Africa focuses too much on individual security and that there should be more focus on collective security. Women as a group have the right to feel secure but it might require different approaches to achieve that security. Mutua (in Fox 1998; 8) highlights that the individual rights must always be applied in a social environment. She argues that:

> ...a thorough understanding of the meaning if human rights, and the complicate processes through which they are protected and realized, would seem to link inextricable the concepts of human rights, people´s rights, and duties of individuals. Individual rights cannot make sense in a social and political vacuum, devoid of the duties assumed by individuals. This appears to be more true in Africa than any other place.

Primary cultural models in traditional African societies acknowledge that an individual is a part of many interdependent human relations, including the family and the community. Mikell (1997; 10) refers to these primary cultural models as a *corporate* including societies, states and gender relations. The goal of the community is to preserve the well-being of the social group rather than the well-being of the individual. Truong (2009; 21) argues that the Western notion of group rights is too narrow and the perception of identity is too simplified. Human security has to be more epistemologically grounded. A demand for such a "situated" understanding and action requires a reflexive approach to existing institutions; their contextual performance; and their capacity to pursue human security goals. The African Charter emphasises a duty/right concept that provides two types of duties: direct and indirect. A direct duty is emphasised in article 29 (4) where it states that the individual "preserve and strengthen social and national solidarity, particularly when the latter is threatened". An indirect duty is exemplified in article 27 (2) where it is stated that "the rights and freedoms of each individual shall be exercised with due regards to others, collective security, morality and common interests" (Mutua 1995; 5). The African language of duty in the charter emphasises that while people have rights they also have duties, which create the opportunity to seek a balance between the competing claims of the individual and the group (Fox 1998; 10). The African Charter implies that the individual has a duty to intervene and protect when VAW is taking place, because GBV is a threat to the national solidarity. This means that the state has a responsibility to treat GBV as a serious crime and create a society where women feel safe.

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4.3 Defining human security in South Africa

The 1996 South African White Paper on Defence offers one of the broadest definitions of human security on record:

> In the new South Africa national security is no longer viewed as a predominantly military and police problem. It has broadened to incorporate political, economic, social and environmental matters. At the heart of this new approach is a paramount concern with the security of the people. Security is an all-encompassing condition in which individual citizens live in freedom, peace and safety; participate fully in the process of governance; enjoy the protection of fundamental rights; have access to resources and the basic necessities of life; and inhabit an environment which is not detrimental to their health and well-being (Ferreira and Henk 2009; 510).

This broad definition is very difficult to implement and much like the 1994 UN Human Report, the 1996 South African White Paper on Defence does not give special attention to women as subjects. At the same, this broad definition makes it possible for the state to approach human security from the experience of women but South Africa has failed to do this. Ferreira and Henk (2009; 509) argue that no other country in Africa has committed to the ideal of human security as South Africa and that there have been great changes in South Africa's military establishment. They, however, also highlight that the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) still employs military power but that is in line with human security thinking. The new security agenda has not permeated all government institutions to the same degree:

> ...commitment of military force to law enforcement, humanitarian relief, and peace support operations is not the same thing as building an organisational culture reflecting human security values.... A government may seek human security objectives by committing its military establishment to the protection of victimized populations, but participation in peace keeping does not necessarily indicate that the military establishment itself is particular suited by training or equipment to pursue a broad human security or that it is imbedded with a human security ethos (Ferreira and Henk 2009; 513).

Clarke and Smythe[9] argued during their interviews that South Africa is a military society and that the SAPS have a state-centric approach to security. Smythe highlighted that state services are diminishing in large parts of the country and that there is a reinforcement of traditional leadership, traditional laws and values in the rural areas and an increase of a particular masculine identity. She emphasised that it is important to bear in mind that there are 17 million

[9] 2011-08-19

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people living in South Africa's former homeland areas whom are subjects to traditional courts. Smythe believes that we should explore crime prevention within traditional leadership and that it is necessary to study how traditional values impacts women's security. Asking questions through feminist standpoint theory we will be able to build the human security concept from people's lived reality. It means that in South Africa we have to look at the impact that traditional values have on women's security, the affect that poverty has on human security, the lack of political will to fight GBV, and the challenges of limited resources etc.

4.3.1 What constitutes the public and private in South Africa?

Feminism has successfully shown that what happens in the public sphere is closely connected to the private sphere and that the private sphere is not beyond the interference of the state. This is important because it challenges the idea that there is impunity for GBV because it often happens in the private sphere. The false perception that women are most safe in the home - in the private sphere - influences legislation and how policies and programmes are shaped.

The public/private theory assumes that people have access to a private space; this is not always the case in South Africa. Bassadien and Hochfeld (2005; 7) have shown that DV does not happen behind closed doors in South Africa due to socio-economic factors. It is often argued that most rape happens in the private sphere by someone that the victim knows well. Smythe argued, however, during the interview that perpetrators of rape in South Africa are often from the victim's community. She spoke of a woman who woke up in her shack with four men who then raped her. The woman vaguely knows the men or has seen them around in the community. She might say that she knows one or all of the men but that does not mean that they have a relationship or are formally acquainted. However, in court, the case is being treated as if someone she knows raped her. Smythe highlights that the Western literature on "acquaintance rape" does not represent "acquaintance rape" in South Africa. "Acquaintance rape" means that the rapist uses trust to come close to the victim and that there are often no, or few, physical injuries that make it difficult to report and prosecute the rape. There are often high levels of violence associated with rape in South Africa, such as genital injuries. Smythe highlights that we need to question the actual meaning of "acquaintance rape". Many people live in houses frequented by a big number of visitors or in shacks that do not have doors or locks. Women's private space becomes a public space. The lack of a physical private space makes women highly vulnerable to violence in South Africa. The state has a responsibility to provide adequate

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houses where women can be safe. In the case of Grootboom[10], the court emphasised that everyone at all levels of society has the right of "access" to adequate housing. The UN Committee on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) recognises that women are particularly vulnerable to inadequate housing because of their vulnerability to violence. It is the obligation of the state to create the conditions, through laws and budgets that enable individuals and groups to gain access to adequate housing (IDASA 2002; 5).

There is no universal form of a private/public dichotomy: what constitutes the private and the public varies in different societies. African cultures have generally emphasised communal groups, as opposed to the Western model of the individual, which includes an overlap between the household, or domestic, and the public/political roles of women. Women's biological roles as mothers did not prevent them from taking political and economical responsibilities. The economic contribution of women extended beyond the household and contributed to the whole community (Mikell 1997; 11). Chhachhi (2006; XXV) argues that the notion of human security often fails to address the effects of multiple hierarchies. The connection between the global and the local needs to reach further into the domains of the private/domestic (invisible gendered spaces) where DV is linked with militarism/communal and conflict/war. A transnational feminist vision of human security requires that economic justice links with gender justice, as well as race and ethnicity. It needs to span the divide between the political and private spheres and between the individual and the social. The notion of a private/public divide, impacts how laws and policies are formed and the kind of support that survivors of DV receive. It is therefore important to acknowledge that there is no universal form of a public/private divide. It is necessary to have a new framework when we study and develop policies around GBV in South Africa.

4.4 Defining GBV in South Africa

GBV is defined in many different ways. In article 1 of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development 2008 it is stated that:

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[10] The residents of Wallacedene, Cape Town lived in severe poverty, without any basic services such as water or sewage. With legal assistance, the community formally launched an urgent application in the Cape High Court. The Court found, in 2000, that the government had not met its obligation to provide adequate housing for the residents of Wallacedene informal settlement.

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> "gender based violence" means all acts perpetrated against women, men, girls and boys on the basis of their sex which cause or could cause them physical, sexual, psychological, emotional or economic harm, including the threat to take such acts, or to undertake the imposition of arbitrary restrictions on or deprivation of fundamental freedoms in private or public life in peace time and during situations of armed or other forms of conflict.

The leaders at the SADC Heads of State Summit signed the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development into effect in August 2008 in Johannesburg. The definition of GBV in the Protocol is similar to the definition of VAW in the 1993 UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women. Article 1 of the declaration states that:

> ...any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life (UNDP).

The SADC Gender Protocol on Gender and Development includes violence against women and men, girls and boys. In addition to physical, sexual and psychological harm, the SADC Gender Protocol also includes emotional and economic harm, including the threat to take such acts. The protocol and the declaration states that GBV take places in private or/and public life but the SADC Gender Protocol also highlights that this is during peacetime and in situations of armed, or other forms of, conflict. The SADC Protocol on Gender and Development defines GBV in very broad terms and focuses on the fact that violence also happens to men. Although both documents emphasise a broad range of violence, it is primarily physical violence against women that is referred to as GBV. Physical GBV receives the most attention in academia, in media, in campaigns and in intervention programmes. Rape is often seen as the ultimate violation against ones "private sphere", the body and soul. Smythe believes that it is a very common perception in the West to think of rape as the worst violation that can happen to a person. However, many women in South Africa live in poverty and bigger concerns are feeding the children and keeping them safe: this overshadows the fear of sexual exploitation or rape. We cannot look at rape in South Africa through a Western lens because there is no single concept of rape and women's experiences of rape vary. Nevertheless, we do not dismiss rape as a serious crime but need to understand rape within the South African context.

GBV includes a whole range of insecurities like psychological abuse, verbal- and emotional abuse, threats of violence, economic and material violence. Many abused women say that the emotional violence is worse than the physical violence. Smythe highlights that many women in South Africa live very traumatic lives and the women who are most affected by sexual- and

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domestic violence are already very vulnerable. These women live in the townships where general violence is already very high. Many women have two jobs, use public transport and walk in poorly light areas. Sexual– and domestic violence are two of many vulnerabilities that these women face and it is difficult to know where one vulnerability begins and another ends. According to counsellors interviewed at the Saartjie Baartman Centre[11] women that come to the centre present a number of abuses. They talk about physical violence but also about verbal, economical and emotional abuse but they might not know that it is GBV. Clark[12] expressed, during the interview that the definition of GBV has to become clearer. She believes that the current definitions are too narrow and that GBV is too often only referred to as DV and rape against women. She thinks that greater focus on violence that has no physical manifestation, like emotional and psychosocial violence, is needed.

Article 2 in the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women states that the definition of GBV should encompass, but not be limited to acts of physical, sexual, and psychological violence perpetrated by or condoned by the state. Women are more vulnerable than men in all spheres of life and in all classes of the society but poverty increases women's vulnerability. Although the state does not provide economic and material security for many people in South Africa, it has a different impact on women's and men's personal security. Inequality and poverty contributes to women's vulnerability and increases women's risk of becoming victims of violence. Women are more exposed to violence when they have to live in unsafe homes and communities, walk and work in unsafe areas and use public transport. The South African state has an obligation to fight poverty and to create a safer environment for women. It is an act of GBV when the state does not recognise VAW as a serious crime, especially when women are being re-victimised by the police and in the courtrooms. Many women have never been victims of violence but still live in fear of GBV. The state's inability to create a safe environment for women could be an act of GBV.

[11] 2011-09-29 SBC is a one-stop centre for women and their children who are experiencing domestic and/or sexual violence.
[12] 2011-08-05

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4.5 GBV is devastating for South Africa's society

Human security is relevant to people everywhere and concerned with how people live, how freely they can exercise their choices and the level of access they have to social opportunities. Human security can be said to have two main aspects:

> It means, first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life—whether in homes, in jobs or in communities (Paris 2001; 89).

It is clear from studying GBV from a feminist perspective that GBV is a chronic threat and has hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life in South Africa. Most women live in fear of becoming victims of violence in their home by someone they know or by a stranger in the street. Women who are in abusive relationships live with the fear as well as the hurtful disruption that violence has in their daily life. A feminist perspective on human security reveals why so many women in South Africa live in fear of becoming victims of violence. The fear in itself has a severe impact on women's lives and affects women's capabilities, hinders women's development and their possibility to contribute to the society.

Green argues that there are so many social problems in South Africa that DV is de-prioritised because it is not seen as a threat to society at large (Green 1999; 101). It is, however, very clear that GBV is devastating for South Africa's society and is crippling South Africa's development. The 1994 UNDP Human Development Report includes seven dimensions of human security; economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. GBV contributes to several of these dimensions in South Africa. A survey[13] conducted in 2010 with 1 568 men and women living in Gauteng province showed that 7.7 % of the physically abused women spent money on medication, transport and counselling costs, 4.1% had spent less than R100 while 3.6% had spent more than R100. This extra cost is an extremely heavy burden for many poor families. Research has also shown that women who are abused have higher absence from work resulting in a negative impact on the household economy (Irish Joint Consortium 2010:1). Many women at the Saartjie Baartman Centre express mistrust and are suspicious of those trying to help them. They have low self-esteem, intimacy problems and are depressed and/or suicidal. Some

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[13] The Gender-Based Violence Indicators Project; 85.

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women are so traumatised that they present Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) symptoms and live in constant fear. Many of the women cannot work or are not allowed to work by their partners and are therefore depended on financial support. This hinders women's development as well as the development of the society. A study in Uganda found that there is a link between food insecurity and physical violence. Abuse leads to loss of productivity and production when women have primary responsibility for food provision. Physical violence increased during May and June when the household experienced food shortages (Irish Joint Consortium 2010:1). GBV contributes to increased poverty, and abuse that has a negative impact on the entire society.

A survey conducted 2010 in Gauteng shows that it costs the government a substantial amount of money to respond to GBV.

Budgetary allocations or costs of GBV programmes

Department/Organisation	**GBV programme description**	**Budgetary allocation 2009-2010: Costs of running programme**
Gauteng Department of Community Safety	Safety promotion through Ikhaya Lethemba for the period 2009-2010. These funds were to be channelled towards providing a comprehensive package of services for abused children and women.	R 35 800 000
	Re-conceptualisation of the decentralised survivor empowerment model.	R 4 900 000
Gauteng Department of Health and Social Development	Shelters for women.	R 7 065 150
	Survivor empowerment programme.	R 13 694 050
National Prosecuting Authority Thuthuzela Care Centres (TCC)	Five TCCs in Gauteng province at estimated running cost per annum for each TCC at R 1 120 045.	R 5 600 225
Department of Justice and Constitutional Development	Issuing and breach of protection orders	R 185 399
Total cost		**R 61 644 599**

Source: Mercilene et al 2011, GBV Indicators Project; 86

Women's contribution to society is essential for sustainable development and thus South Africa's development is hindered by GBV. It has a negative impact on women's education,

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work, ability to take care of the family and it impacts women's mobility. Women bear most of the responsibilities in the family and in the household but they cannot engage in productive activities when the state fails to provide minimum security. GBV and the fear of violence lead to South Africa's stagnation and maintain a vicious circle of violence. A lack of security leads to mistrust in the immediate environment and in the state's ability to protect its citizens. At the Saartjie Baartman Centre, the counsellors have noticed an increase in DV in the last couple of years. They theorise that the increase is due to multiple factors but one major factor is the intensifying drug usage. Previously, it was mainly the perpetrators that were using drugs but there is a rise of drug abuse among the women who experience DV, possibly as a coping mechanism.

The World Development Report 2011 on Conflict, Security and Development highlights that there is a connection between GBV and political- and criminal violence. The paper states that there is a clear relationship between experiencing violence as a child and becoming a victim or perpetrator of violence as an adult. Various studies demonstrate that male children who witness abuse, in the home or in criminal activities, present an increased tendency to perpetuate violence as an adult. Female children who witness abuse are more likely to enter abusive relationships as adults. A study of nine countries found that women were twice as likely to be in an abusive relationship if their own mother has been abused (Willman and Makisaka 2010; 20). GBV contributes to destructive behaviour amongst the abused women and the children who witness the abuse. Abused women often use violence to discipline the children. Children who grow up in a violent home do not know any other way to handle conflicts. Male children who see that VAW rewards their father are more likely to become violent in their own relationships with women when they grow up. At the Saartjie Baartman Centre, many of the children expressed that they want to grow up and become gangsters like their fathers. Studies have shown that when DV is used to resolve conflicts in the family, the society is more likely to rely on violent conflict resolutions and be involved in war (Hudson et al 2008/2009; 19). As long as the South African state allows GBV to persist, it increases the likelihood that men will have a lower barrier to engage in violence on a larger scale. The security of the state, rests in the first place, on the security of women (Hudson et al 2008/2009; 26). States that promote gender equality through laws and its enforcement are less likely to use force in conflicts whereas violence becomes an acceptable option when women are not considered as equals (Hudson et al 2012; 3).

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4.5.1 South Africa is not responding to GBV

Maybe the most powerful way in which the state contributes to GBV is by neglecting to protect women. When the state fails to treat GBV as a serious crime, it constitutes, defines and reproduces a social order that creates impunity for VAW. Laws are used to obtain values and norms and through its administrative and legal systems, the state structure and restructure relationships between the state and society. Gender ideology determines how women are perceived and treated by the police, lawyers, juries and judges and state policies have gender implications that affect the social status of women (Green 1999; 101). Green (1999; 149) argues that the state's treatment of GBV deny people their basic human rights broadly defined as liberty and security. It is necessary that the South African state acknowledges that victims of GBV are entitled to the state's protection. Smythe stressed, during the interview, that the Domestic Violence Act has put more pressure on the courts. The Act is very broad and includes everything from swearing to severe sexual abuse and that has consequences for the implementation thereof. The magistrates have to deal with all kind of cases and do not have the time to ask the right questions that will determine the seriousness of the situation. Such as; does this person have previous conviction, does he have a gun license and should this weapon be confiscated, is he a member of a gang etc**.** It is very demanding for prosecutors to consult with traumatised complainants and prepare them for court but many of the magistrates have no psycho-social support for the prosecutors. Court staff require the knowledge and expert skills necessary to give the victims fair treatment before and during the trial to avoid secondary victimisation (Kruger and Reyneke 2008; 36).

South Africa's progressive legislation indicates that there is a commitment to fight GBV. In 1993, the Sexual Offences Court (SOC) at the Wynberg Magistrates' Court in Cape Town was opened to handle sexual offences cases against women and children. SOCs were created to make the courts' function more effective and to decrease secondary trauma to victims of sexual abuse. SOCs have a separate waiting room for witnesses that are decorated in a child-friendly way and there is a room equipped with closed-circuit television. The courts are meant to have two prosecutors, one that consults with the complainants while the other is in court, and a social worker who provides counselling to the children who have to testify (Sadan, Dikweni and Cassiem 2001; 5). Some of the SOCs are linked to Thuthuzela Care Centres (TCC). A TCC is a one-stop centre that coordinates and centralises the activities of all players, provides investigations, medical, psychological and prosecutorial services for victims of sexual abuse

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(Kruger and Reyneke 2008; 44). There were on average 52 000 sexual offences reported between 2000 and 2005 but only 1000 a year were adjudicated and finalised by a court (Rabkin 2011/11/07). The conviction rate in the SOCs was more than 15% higher than in the other regional courts between 2002 and 2007 with a difference up to 28% in the 2005/2006 financial year. In 2005/2006, the conviction rate linked to TCC was 38% higher than in other regional courts (Kruger and Reyneke 2008; 54).

In 2005, a moratorium was placed on the establishment of more SOCs in the wait of an evaluation. The evaluation showed positive results but there have been no mentioning of lifting the moratorium. By October 2010, there were 40 SOCs left and according to Jennifer Williams, director of the Women's Legal Centre[14], there are now only six SOCs left in South Africa. Mthunzi Mhaga, spokesperson for the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) supports SOCs but it was not NPAs decision to reduce the SOCs but the judiciary (Swart 2012/04/26). The SOCs were not established by statute but are dedicated courts that were created by the Department of Justice for the purpose of administrative efficiency. The regional magistrate's court should appoint a permanent magistrate to all SOCs something general courts that deal with murder, theft, robbery and house-breaking already have (Swart 2012/04/26). This demonstrates that the South African state does not regard GBV and women's insecurity as a national security threat.

There is still a major gap between the legislation, attitudes and ruling norms in South Africa. There has been massive lobbying on improving women's legal position that has contributed to a new legal framework but there is a lack of interest from the government to implement laws, change attitudes and ultimately fight GBV. The law has an important role in shaping and changing attitudes but there must also be room for other approaches to fight GBV. There is a close connection between poverty and GBV in South Africa. GBV may be a problem in all of South Africa but the violence is higher in poorer communities. Statistics show that the levels of rape are higher in the townships where the areas are poorly lit, fewer police officers and people cannot afford to pay for private security. There are many men in the high-risk population: 16 to 25 and there are high levels of alcohol abuse and unemployment. All these factors contribute to GBV and it is therefore necessary that the government fights poverty and inequality in South Africa. Smythe argues that we will be lead into a strange policy direction in terms of how we measure risk if we claim that sexual violence happens in the same extent to everyone. But it is

[14] The Women's Legal Centre is a non-profit, independent law centre in Cape Town.

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also more difficult to measure DV in the upper classes because many of these women do not report the abuse to the police. Some women have lawyers that can get protection orders more discretely and they go to a private psychologist, which means that these cases are not represented in the statistics.

The government has to increase and improve its services because there are not enough jobs, too many insufficient and inadequate housing and people are starving. Sandenbergh emphasised, during the interview, that many women in South Africa are the sole providers and are raising the children on their own which contributes to their vulnerability. Women who need shelter, food, clothes etc. are more likely to stay in an abusive relationship. The consequences of abuse depend on the support that victims receive but there is a lack of victim's assistance in South Africa. The state could reduce the damage by providing more care and protection for abused women. There are shelters organised by NGOs but there is not enough funding to keep them running. At the Saartjie Baartman Centre, women are only meant to stay for a short while and together with the social workers find an alternative accommodation. Many women return to the shelter several times but the centre can only take in a woman three times. They fear that women can become too depended on the shelter. The centre does not have the capacity to track women once they leave but the counsellors fear that many women go back to the perpetrators. During an interview, a counsellor highlighted that there are limited choices for the women who come to the centre. Lack of socio-economic security contributes to GBV and it is not possible to fight GBV in South Africa without improving people's living situation. Shelters and programmes have little impact if women have to return to the perpetrator. High unemployment and social inequalities lead to a feeling of powerlessness that contributes to GBV and poverty that locks women into abusive relationships. This leads to a viscous circle of poverty and further GBV.

4.5.2. The South African Police Service (SAPS)

The SAPS treatment of women is a major obstacle if human security for women is to be achieved in South Africa. The SAPS is not regarded as a safety service. Women do not trust police officers and that is a major obstacle when trying to fight GBV. Women are being re-victimised by the police and in the courtroom which contributes to their vulnerability. At the Saartjie Baartman Centre, the counsellors see that it is not unusual that women encounter some kind of discrimination by the police. Many police officers take the abusers side and imply that the women have provoked the abuse. Women say that the police do not always respond to

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emergency calls or record statements. Through its treatment by the police, prosecutor, and judges, DV is sentimentalised, romanticised and legitimised. "Wife battery" is the same as any physical violence but it has always been treated differently. Legal action is only taken when this "private" behaviour becomes a public nuisance (Green 1999; 101).

The Domestic Violence Act states that the SAPS have to be at the scene in as little time as possible or when the incident is reported. Police officers have to determine if the victims need shelter and inform the victims of their rights to lay charges and how to get a protection order. The Act should be used as a tool for the SAPS to improve their responses to DV but most officers are not even trained about the Act. The Independent Complaints' Directorate (ICD) reports that of 1 116 stations nationwide, only 9.8% of the audited police stations were fully compliant with the Domestic Violence Act while 13.4% were non-compliant and 74.9% were compliant to varies degrees (Mercilene et al 2011; 97). Sanja Bornman, an attorney at the Women's Legal Centre, has noted that many police officers are not aware that the definition of rape has changed with the Sexual Offence Act 2007 which means that the police may not recognise a rape when it is reported (Swart 2012/04/26).

Another problem is the lack of police response when protection and restraining orders are violated. At the Saartjie Baartman Centre, it has been noted that the abuse sometimes gets worse with a protection order and some women have even been killed. One counsellor at the centre said that: "[W]omen need to think about their safety. Is a protection order the best for them?" Smythe argues that DV orders only work if people feel that they have something to lose, like their reputation or job, and are therefore deterred by the thought of going to jail. A restraining order may not always control a violent man who is already in the process of being prosecuted. The sentence is very low if you break a DV protection order and this might not deter someone who has already been in jail for a violent crime. Mahoney (in Green 1999; 121) talks about "separation assault" which she means occurs at the moment of separation or attempted separation. Legal remedies alone will never eliminate DV because some abusers will not hesitate to harm despite legal penalty. "If a man is intent on harming his wife, the interdict will not stop him. In fact, it may even infuriate him sufficiently to kill her" (Human Rights Watch/Africa 1995; 73).

Smythe believes that it is not the attitude of the police that is the main problem rather an issue around training and capacity. There are few resources distributed to implement the Domestic

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Violence Act because there is no real political will to end GBV in South Africa. She claims that most police officers know not to discriminate on the basis of sex and/or race and that the treatment of rape victims has improved. However, the police are overloaded with work and do not know how to conduct an investigation and take a case further when they get a complaint. Bornman believes that in many instances the crime scene is not investigated properly which results in the case not being strong enough to prosecute (Swart 2012/04/26).

Smythe argues that there is a problem with the quality of the middle management's work and that supervision is weak in many sectors of the public service in South Africa. Although the police may know that they are not meant to discriminate, it does not mean that they always follow regulations. The SAPS is overloaded with work but how they decide to manage the work overload is influenced by their attitudes and rape and DV is not regarded as a priority.

Although it is essential that the SAPS treat GBV as a serious crime, it is also important that discrimination and GBV are being picked up earlier as a social, development or an educational problem. Smythe points out that the criminal justice system is being used as a default state response to a social problem. Children who have committed a crime are being diverted out of the criminal system to different appropriate interventions. However, she wonders why there are diversion programmes in the criminal justice system, but not in the Departments of Social Development and Education. Many of the sexual offences happen before people have turned 18, but few programmes intervene at that stage. The SAPS should not have to act as social workers and there have to be more programmes and projects that work with changing gender norms, attitudes and that target youth in the risk zone before it becomes a legal issue.

4.6 Breaking down stereotypes and changing gender roles

High levels of GBV are an indicator of an unstable society and a sign that the state cannot protect its citizens. There is a strong connection between GBV and violence in general. Vogelman describes rape in South Africa as a component of a larger "war culture" that ran uncontrolled during apartheid when rape was used as a political weapon by the apartheid regime (Green 1999; 89). Thousands of girls and women were detained, sexually harassed and assaulted and this violent culture continues. There is a belief of male supremacy, dominance and aggression that exists across class and racial lines in South Africa (Green 1999; 89). When the police and judges mistreat women, it is not an isolated incident but represents a more

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general view about women's subordination to men. During one of the interviews, it was said that women are categorised as subordinated to men. That a men's alter ego is very important and that a man needs to be praised, respected and feel appreciated. Men are made to be the champion, the provider and the protector. A wise woman will read her man, learn how he operates and not provoke him. She believes that this will lead to less abuse and less violence in the world. A woman should be feminine and create a lovely home, keep the children happy, cook for the man and make him feel good about himself. She also expressed that it is easier for a man to love a woman who shows vulnerability. She believes that if a woman makes it easy for the man to love her, which means respecting him and not being too demanding, he will be a content man. It is dangerous (and frightening) when a counsellor who works with abused women implies that as long as women treat their men as superior then they will not be abused. It shows how deeply entrenched the notion that women are subordinate to men is.

Gender roles influence personal security and development. Through socialisation, gender stereotyping and constant fear of DV, there is a manipulation of the consciousness to make women seen as inferior. Although women have been successful in the struggle for equality, violence remains a component between men and women in the private sphere (Hudson et al 2008/2009; 21). Rape is linked to men's general relationship to women and an expression of an ideology of male dominance. Green (1999; 123) argues that rape is an extreme and logical conclusion of that relationship and that a rapist can presume that other men will support his action. Sexual violence is often naturalised and seen as a fact of life and treated as an understandable spasm of uncontrollable lust. Rape is considered a crime of passion rather than a crime of violence and as a mean of social control (Green 1999; 95). The counsellors at the Saartjie Baartman Centre expressed that it is very worrying that GBV is seen as a norm in South African communities. Rape has become something that women just have to endure:

> My mother told me that I must forget about it because she and my grandmother had been raped. This is something that just happens in the family. After that day it was never talked about. No one asked me how I felt. As a result I felt dirty and had low self esteem (Mercilene et al 2011; 72).

In countries with high incident of rape, it is not uncommon to find that the law also operates under a number of myths. These myths are often based on the argument that men rape because they are sexually aroused and that rape is an uncontrolled male urge. The victim is often to blame for stimulating him through her appearance, attitudes, or behaviour (Green 1999; 124).

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During this research, President Jacob Zuma appointed Judge Mogoeng Mogoeng as South Africa's new Chief Justice. Judge Mogoeng has a questionable court history regarding cases on GBV. In the 2001, The State vs. Eric Mathibe case, Judge Mogoeng reduced the sentence of a man accused of brutally assaulting his girlfriend, from two years in prison to a R 2 000 fine. His motivation was that Mathibe was a first time offender and that he pleaded guilty which shows that he feels remorse. Judge Mogoeng also stated that Mathibe was "provoked" by the woman and that she "did not sustain serious injuries". His motivation for reducing the sentence sends out a message that GBV is not a serious crime under certain circumstances (OSISA 2011). In 2007, he suspended a two-year prison sentence of a convicted rapist who throttled his wife, who he was separated from, before raping her. Mogoeng argued that "no real harm or injuries resulted from the throttling" and because of their relationship it was less traumatic than if a stranger raped the woman. He also said that the perpetrator was sexually aroused by his wife and "overwhelmed" by his desires. In 2004, Mogoeng reduced a ten-year prison sentence to five years for marital rape; on the ground, that marital rape cannot be legally classified as rape (OSISA 2011).

Appointing Judge Mogoeng to Chief Justice invokes dangerous myths that the victim is to blame for the rape. His statements are very dangerous in a country where GBV is regarded as normal. Judge Mogoeng reinforces the idea that GBV is a minor crime when he reduces the sentence on the basis that the victim did not sustain any serious injuries. It is not the perpetrator who is criminalised but the woman who has been a victim of GBV. All South African judges should use the Constitution as a guide when passing down judgment, but Msimang, the director of OSISA, believes that there is no distinction between Mogoeng's personal views and his implementation of the law (OSISA 2011). Most rape victims that seek justice through the legal system find that the system is biased from the start. They experience psychological assault by the police, medical personnel and the judicial system. Sandenbergh argued, during the interview, that moral values often come from the top and it is therefore very worrying when people in the public eye express views that are so conservative. She believes that men identify with politicians and people in the public eye and will act in the same way. South Africa's progressive constitution and legislation have little impact on women's security when the people who are meant to implement the laws send out a message that we can disregard gender equality. Political transformation in South Africa has not changed the gender structures that secure men's power in the state, the economy and the realm of private relations.

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In the last decades, women's situation has changed a great deal. South Africa has the third largest female parliamentarian representation in the world and South African women have more rights under the Constitution than anywhere else in the world. This challenges the traditional roles but not necessarily change the status of women. There is still a strong belief that men should be the breadwinners and the protectors but many men cannot live up to the role of a "real" man and feel disempowered. Campbell highlights that it is important to consider how a factor such as unemployment transforms family relationships. He believes that it has contributed to a "crisis of masculinity", where violence functions as a mean to control one's environment (Green 1999; 60). As women's position in society improves, men feel threatened and women become the battlefield of a broader struggle. There has been a backlash against women's emancipation and in order to create a safer environment for women we need to address the "crisis of masculinity". GBV is a threat to women and men and if we do not focus on gender norms and stereotypes, the vicious cycle of violence will continue. We need to understand GBV as part of a wider political conflict. During periods of economic, political and social upheaval, violence against subordinate groups escalates (Green 1999; 70).

4.7 Conclusion

Through standpoint feminist theory, we can ask research questions, develop theoretical concepts and create policies that create human security for women. South Africa defines human security in very broad terms, but no framework targets the different aspects that contribute to women's insecurity. A human security framework has to be able to address the specific needs in South Africa. The state has a responsibility to recognise and treat GBV as a threat to human security. People in the public sphere have to take a strong stand against GBV and there should be more criticism and pressure on political leaders that act and express views that might endorse VAW. The state has to help people to change their circumstance that includes fighting poverty, changing gender norms and treat GBV as a serious crime. GBV has a negative impact on human security and the security of the state. Many women live in fear and many abused women cannot contribute to sustainable development in South Africa. Studies have shown that female children who witness abuse are more likely to enter an abusive relationship as an adult, and male children are more likely to become violent adults if they see that VAW rewards their fathers. GBV in South Africa costs the government a substantial amount of money and as long as the state allows GBV to flourish, men will have a lower barrier to engage in violence on a larger scale.

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Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

The last chapter is divided in two parts. In the first part, the research is summarised before my contribution to the research is presented in the second part. Human security is a strong alternative to the traditional notion of security. The United Nations Security Council and the 1994 Human Development Report recognises that the treatment of women is linked to international peace but failed to give special attention to issues that primarily affect women and its relation to human security. A gender analysis will expose structures that marginalise women and we will be able to build a human security framework that targets GBV. South Africa has the highest recorded rape statistics in the world and GBV is often continual. GBV reproduces general violence in society and hinders women's ability to contribute to their community. My contribution to the literature on human security is to highlight that it is necessary to know the plight of women who are victims of GBV and to advocate that human security be created for those who have to bear its consequences. The high level of GBV in South Africa is closely linked to the current socio-economic situation in South Africa and poverty increases women's vulnerability. When the South African state fails to treat GBV as a serious crime, it reinforces the idea that women are to blame for the violence and creates impunity for GBV; this contributes to South Africa's stagnation on addressing GBV.

5.2 Gendering human security

The concept of human security was ground-breaking when it was first introduced. It is a clear statement against the traditional notion of security studies and has the potential to address GBV, the most common security threat faced by half of the world's population. In the 1994 Human Development Report, it states that the worst personal threats are those against women and that there is no society where women are as secure as men, but it does not recommend a framework for creating security for women. The Commission on Human Security has tried to "add women" by offering a general framework for gendering security issues, but women are not given specific attention as subjects. In order to address issues that primarily concern women, we need to identify human security from a gender perspective and not take for granted that women's experiences are assumed under the notion of human. A framework of human security should be built on feminist research and gender analysis. This would expose power

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structures that marginalise women's experiences and their needs. To create a human security framework that is gender sensitive, we first have to expose the power structures that marginalise women and disregard GBV as a human security threat. Why have women not received special attention even though it is recognised that GBV is the most common threat to women in all societies? A gendered notion of security should be built on women's structural experiences of inequality and linked to broader regional and global political processes. Building human security based on feminist standpoint theory will challenge the existing (male produced) knowledge that shapes the construction of the human security concept.

Women are not a homogenous group and different identities impact women's lives and contribute to oppression. The methods we use to achieve security have to be framed within a specific context and require a reflexive approach to the existing institutions. Women's security needs to be examined contextually and grounded theory should be the building blocks for social change and for reshaping human security. Gender, ethnicity and sexuality are significant dimensions that impact how secure we are and these aspects have to be central in the study of human security. We can never achieve human security without respecting human rights. The main principles of human rights are the "...right from freedom and want, and the equal rights of men and women". The fact that GBV has not been given more attention is testament to the problematic structures that currently inform the human security concept.

5.3 GBV is a human security threat

Human security is defined as safety from chronic threats and sudden and hurtful disruptions in daily life (Paris 2001; 89). GBV can be a chronic threat to women and is a hurtful disruption. People in abusive relationships live in constant fear and the violence affects their ability to study, work, and take care of the family. GBV has a severe impact on women's lives and hinders women's chance of contributing to their society. Women who are abused have higher absence rates from work and this impacts the household economy and South Africa's economy. GBV prevents women from participating and contributing to the society and this leads to insecurity in society as a whole. GBV leads to further poverty and creates a vicious cycle of violence.

GBV includes abuse such as physical, sexual, psychological, emotional and economical harm. The SADC Protocol on Gender and Development highlights that GBV can take place in the

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private sphere and in the public sphere, in times of peace and in situations of armed conflict. GBV exists in all communities, and cuts across race and class. It is one of the most prevalent social problems in South Africa. The actual extent of GBV is unknown but different studies have shown that it is extremely widespread and that most of the violence is never officially recorded. South Africa has one of the highest rates of femicide in the world and it is estimated that a woman is killed by her male partner every six hours (Jewkes and Abrahams 2004; 4). Women are often told that violence is common in intimate relationships and that the problems should be solved within the family.

There is a contradiction in women's legal protection and the reality for most women. The criminal justice system in South Africa has made progress in protecting women from GBV but laws and directives are not fully implemented. Prior to the Sexual Offences Act 2007 rape was defined as vaginal penetration by the penis; however, this definition has been broadened but the myth of what constitutes "real rape" is still prevalent. Rapes that closely mirror the stereotypes of "real rape" are more likely to be investigated, prosecuted and convicted. SAPS remain "gatekeepers" to the criminal justice system and their response to a crime influence the decision-making processes in the legal system.

The subordinate status of women exists in all cultures in South Africa but there are many men who are also dominated by other men. A hegemonic masculinity dominates and creates an image of what it means to be a "real man". The "real man" is the head of the household, has a heterosexual orientation and is superior to women. Marked social inequalities and poverty have contributed to people's frustration, and violence has become a way to handle that frustration and solve one's problems. Many men see the empowerment of women as a threat to their masculinity and try to gain power over women through violence.

5.4 Contribution to the literature on human security

5.4.1 The research process

It has been a great challenge to conduct this research. I have always believed that there should be more room for women's voices in research. I was immediately drawn to the openness that feminist research entails, and although I still have much to learn about feminist research, I hope that this study contributes to the literature on human security. I have been honest and open

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about my background and my bias that has shaped this research because it has a big impact on how the research has been conducted. My understanding of GBV was challenged during the research process. However, with my supervisor's guidance and through the interviews with Yaliwe Clarke from the African Gender Institute, Dee Smythe the director from the Law, Race and Gender Research Unit, Corinne Sandenbergh the director of Stop Trafficking of People (STOP) and counsellors from the Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children, I have been able to better understand the complex issue of GBV in South Africa and how it is a human security threat.

5.4.2 Research findings

A gendered analysis of human security will expose social structures that allows GBV to flourish and do not treat it as human right violation and a serious crime. Human security should be built for those who have to bear its consequences and a gendered analysis will help us understand the security needs for different groups. An analysis of human insecurity has to start from the condition of women's lives to be connected to political practises. Fighting GBV requires that we know the victims of GBV and let them inform the measures necessary to make them feel secure. Many women in South Africa live highly traumatic lives and are extremely vulnerable. Domestic- and sexual violence are only two vulnerabilities that these women face and it is difficult to know how they are interlinked with other human security threats. It is often argued that rape is the worst violation against a person but when women face poverty and inequality, they face many violations and concerns. The threat of hungry children who need to be kept safe could be a greater threat than having to face sexual violence.

GBV is a general problem in South Africa but the incidents are higher in poorer communities and we might be lead into strange policy directions if we claim that GBV happens to the same extent to everyone. A woman who needs shelter, food and clothes is more likely to stay in an abusive relationship. The consequences of the abuse depends on the kind of support the victim receives, but in South Africa there are very few choices for abused women and many have to stay with their abusive partners. Attention to GBV that has no physical manifestation should be increased and there should be more education on verbal, psychological and material abuse because often people do not know that this is also GBV. Economical violence is a great threat to women's security and it will not be possible to reduce GBV if the state does not fight

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poverty and inequality. It is the obligation of the state to create a safe environment for women but it is also an act of GBV when the state does not treat GBV as a serious crime.

In the 1996 White Paper on Defence, it reads, "In the new South Africa national security is no longer viewed as a predominantly military and police problem". South Africa defines human security in very broad terms and emphasises that national security has to include human security. One problem is that state services are diminishing in large parts of South Africa and this increases people's vulnerability and human insecurity. Lack of services, such as healthcare, education and policing contribute to women's vulnerability. The SAPS has to receive more education on the Domestic Violence Act and the Sexual Offences Act, and these should be used as tools for the SAPS. It is, however, a problem that the SAPS is expected to solve social problems. It is essential that the SAPS treats GBV as a serious crime but the criminal justice system should not be used as default state response when the government does not provide sufficient service delivery. There are an insufficient number of social workers and teachers as well as inadequate programmes for youth that intervenes before the problem becomes a criminal offence. Clarke[15] believes that it won't be legislation that changes norms but through talking spaces, learning spaces, marriage ceremonies, arguments, agreements and discussions that will spur the change.

It is necessary to work with young people and challenge gender norms that claim that women are subordinate to men. GBV is linked to men's general relationship to women. Sexual violence is often treated as men's uncontrolled lust, a crime of passion, rather than a crime of violence. These structures influence law practises. During this research, Judge Mogoeng was appointed Chief Justice in South Africa. Judge Mogoeng has a highly questionable sentencing history regarding cases of GBV. Appointing Judge Mogoeng to Chief Justice sends the message that women are to blame for to the violence against them. When women are being mistreated by the SAPS and in the courtroom and these are not isolated incidents but represent a more general view of women's subordination. During an interview with a counsellor who worked with abused women, she said that a woman should be feminine, create a lovely home and make her partner feel good about himself. She argued that there would be less violence in the world if women learn not to provoke men. Although women have made progress in the struggle for

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equality, it is very difficult to change the idea that men are superior to women and that GBV is ultimately the fault of women.

Creating a safe environment for women (and men) requires that we challenge gender stereotypes and the structures that secure men's power and make women inferior. There are a variety of living spaces in South Africa and it is not unusual for people to live in informal housing that are close to each other. It is also commonplace for a number of people to sleep under one roof or in houses without doors or with doors that cannot lock. Women live in insecure houses where a large number of people circulate, with the possibility of exposure to alcohol and drugs: substances that increase women's vulnerability to violence. Feminists have successfully shown that the private/public dichotomy shapes political decisions and practises and nowhere is the effect more evident than in the case of DV. The state often dismisses DV as a private matter and does not intervene but this private/public divide can also have other implications for South Africa where the spheres are more diffuse. The home is assumed to be a private space with no outside interference or insight. This research has shown that the idea of a home and what is regarded as private and public is being challenged in South Africa. Research on GBV in South Africa has to be able to address these challenges. We need to move away from the simple private/public dichotomy and focus on women's experience of violence in different spaces. DV in South Africa does not happen primarily behind closed doors as many victims of GBV say that they were abused in the presence of other people. The common argument that most rape happens by someone that the victim knows well is also not always applicable to South Africa. "Acquaintance rape" in Western literature is characterised by few physical injuries that makes it difficult to report but this is not the case in South Africa.

There is no real political will to end GBV in South Africa. There are not enough resources allocated to implement the Domestic Violence Act and the Sexual Offences Act. The Sexual Offences Courts were created to handle sexual offences against women and children. Even though the courts have a much higher conviction rate than other regional courts, many of the SOCs have closed down (Swart 2012/04/26). GBV is not regarded as a social or a national threat and is therefore not receiving much attention. This research has shown that GBV drains South Africa's financial resources. These funds should be used to improve state services, create jobs, build proper houses and fight poverty to create a safer environment for women. Children who grow up in violent homes are more likely to become victims or perpetrators of violence themselves. Male children who see that VAW rewards their fathers are more likely to become

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violent in their own relationships with women. GBV and the fear of becoming a victim of GBV contributes to South Africa's stagnation and increases mistrust in the immediate environment and towards the state. When the state fails to treat GBV as a serious crime, it reproduces the social order that creates impunity for GBV.

Mainstream theories of International Relations have traditionally focused on security of the state and power dynamics between states, but have failed to see the interrelation of security across different levels. There are relationships between the treatment of the individual, the state and the international system. GBV increases the chance of societal violence while states that promote gender equality through laws and the enforcement thereof are less likely to go to war or become involved in violent crises (Hudson et al 2012: 3). Theoretical assumptions in International Relations theory are assumed to be gender-neutral but have in fact, a male-centric view (Hudson et al 2012: 3). A gendered notion of human security exposes how the treatment of women affects international security. Including notions of GBV in the human security concept will reveal the relationship between VAW and other insecurities such as food insecurity, poverty, and obstacles to educating women and access the workplace. This inclusion will give us the knowledge and the tools to fight all these insecurities. Including GBV in the human security concept requires an analysis of gender identities and gender norms and how these shape the treatment of women on the individual level, state level and international level. A gendered notion of human security with a focus on GBV makes it possible for the state to create policies that target norms of gendered inequality, and to offer policymakers an important policy agenda for creating peace and stability for individuals, societies and states.

5.5 Conclusion

GBV in its various forms is the most common threat to women's security and in no society are women as secure as men. Women are not a homogenous group and women's security needs to be examined in terms of their specific gender roles. Human security should be built on those that have to bear its consequences. This means that we have to study the different aspects that contribute to women's vulnerability in South Africa. Gender norms and myths create impunity for GBV and because of socio-economic factors; many women do not have access to a safe private space. The public/private dichotomy is being challenged in South Africa and research on GBV has to be able to address these challenges. Poverty and inequality contribute to GBV and women's insecurity, but GBV also contributes to further poverty and insecurity in the

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whole community. GBV creates a vicious circle of violence and as long as we allow it to persist, it increases the risk that the state will engage in violence. Recognising GBV as a serious human security threat and including notions of GBV in the human security concept requires analysis of gender identities and gender norms. This would reveal the relationships between GBV and other insecurities and offer policymakers an important policy agenda in the quest for peace and security.

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