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Challenges Johannesburg non-governmental organisations face in the fight against gender-based violence

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2022
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CHALLENGES JOHANNESBURG NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS FACE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Wits School of Governance

Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management

Research report in partial fulfilment of the requirements

For the Degree of Masters in Management Public Policy (PADM7024)

By

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December 2020

Acknowledgments

To my supervisor Prof. Erin McCandless, Thank you for the support and guidance throughout this research process.

To the participants of this research from the selected NGOs. Thank you for the wealth of knowledge you provided to inform the findings of this research.

To my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Rwebangira; my sisters: Joanita, Liberata and Redempta. Thank you for the encouragement, financial and emotional support you have given me from the start of this journey.

To my nephew and niece, Ethan and Abigail Rutashongerwa. Thank you for giving me purpose, the efforts of this project are to inspire you to work hard and chase your dreams.

Abstract

The purpose of this research is to examine the challenges NGOs in Johannesburg face that hinder the fight against GBV, and to offer recommendations on how to overcome them so as to achieve greater success in their work. A qualitative methodology is used to obtain the findings of the research, with methods of semi-structured interviews and document analysis. The three main challenges facing NGOs dealing with GBV, according to Britton (2006) are shortages in funding, inadequate leadership, and inappropriate methods. This research interrogates these three challenge areas as they relate to GBV. The findings suggest that similar challenges still persist among NGOs as those pointed out by Britton. Shortage in funding is still the leading challenge facing NGOs. Inadequate leadership is continually observed in the form of the limited extent of collaboration of the NGOs with other stakeholders especially the government officials. Lastly, it builds upon the challenges associated with the methods carried out by the NGOs while implementing the strategies, *i.e.* they are hindered by harmful socio-cultural practices and ethical challenges while carrying out GBV research. In conclusion, the research suggests that NGOs should devise alternative means of securing additional funding, provide more training to enhance leadership, and design methods that are socially and culturally sensitive to the needs of the victims of GBV.

Key words: Gender-Based Violence, Gender, Sexual Violence, Strategies, Success.

Declaration

I declare that this research is my own unaided work, and that I have given full acknowledgement to the sources that I have used. It is being submitted for the master's in management, Public Policy at the University of Witwatersrand. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or any other university.

Signed Date

……  ……. 21/12/2020.

Annelies Rwebangira

List of Acronyms

ADAPT	Agisanang Domestic Abuse Prevention and Training
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CEDAW	Convention of the Elimination of Discrimination against Women.
CGE	Commission for Gender Equality
CSVR	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
DVA	Domestic Violence Act
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GBV	Gender- Based Violence
GEM	Gender Education Movement
HIV	Human Immune Virus.
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
LGBT	Lesbians, Gay, Bi-sexual, Transgender
MAP	Men as Partners
NGOs	Non- Governmental Organisations
PEP	Post Exposure Prophylaxis
POWA	People Opposing Women Abuse
SADC	Southern African Development Community.
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SAPS	South African Police Services
SOA	Sexual Offence Act
SGVH	Stop Gender Violence Helpline
SWEAT	Sex Workers Education and Taskforce Team
TCCs	Thuthuzela Care Centres
TLAC	Tshwaranang Legal Advice Centre
UN	United Nations
VAW	Violence Against Women

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Research

Gender-Based Violence (GBV) is an umbrella term for any harmful act of physical, sexual or mental form, threats of such acts, coercion, and deprivation of liberty happening in public or private based on socially ascribed differences between males and females (United Nations Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2015). GBV affects different categories of people among others: children, refugees, sex workers and those who identify as LGBT. This research focuses on women and how violence is directed towards them based on normative gender expectations. As such, the terms GBV and Violence against Women (VAW) are used interchangeably throughout this research report. The research problem deals with the fact that GBV incidents continue to be on the rise in the country especially in Johannesburg despite the 'promising' practice strategies that are used by the NGOs to combat GBV. The objective of this research, therefore, is to explore the challenges Johannesburg NGOs face in the fight against GBV, and secondly to offer recommendations on how to overcome them based on both the NGOs' perceptions and international promising practices. Johannesburg is chosen as an area of focus because the most active and longest standing NGOs dealing with GBV are located in the area. Furthermore, the province in which the city is located records one of the highest incidents of GBV. The crime statistics report of 2017/2018 recorded an increase in the rate of GBV at 2.4% in Gauteng (SAPS, 2017). This was the highest increase in that year in comparison to other provinces. Furthermore, according to the Medical Research Council, one in four women in the general South African population has experienced physical violence at some point in their lifetime (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana, Levin, Ratsaka, Schreiber, 2001).

The state through its institutions is liable to uphold and protect the rights of women as per international and domestic human rights obligations. South Africa is a signatory of international

treaties, such as the Convention of the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) that aims to uphold principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity. Regionally, through the Southern African Development Community (SADC), this mandate is reinforced under the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (2008). Domestically, the South African Constitution (1996) states that no one should be treated unfairly directly or indirectly based on their gender or sex. Furthermore, the constitution mandates the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE) to promote respect, protection, development and attainment of gender equality. Lastly, the Domestic Violence Act (DVA) 116 of 1998 and the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 32 of 2007 are key pieces of legislation in place to deal with concerns of GBV in the country. The former offers guidelines of how to deal with GBV when it occurs in a domestic setting while the latter focuses on the protection of victims of sexual abuse. The enactment of these Acts illustrates the commitment of the state to uphold the rights of women and protect them from any form of abuse both in the public and private spheres.

In 2018, the country was brought to a standstill by the Total Shut Down campaign that called upon different stakeholders to contribute efforts in the fight against GBV. This campaign brought GBV to the forefront of the public and private conversation in the country, and it showed that GBV is still prevalent and costs the country a significant percentage of its GDP (Total Shutdown, 2018; KPMG, 2014). The campaign was spear-headed by NGOs and Community Based Organisations (CBOs), and it highlighted their contribution in the fight against GBV. Furthermore, the campaign highlighted the challenges that NGOs are facing, especially concerning the shortage of resources that are needed to enable them to carry out their duties effectively. It is from this backdrop that this research aims to explore further these challenges that the NGOs are facing and propose ways to overcome them.

1.2 Problem Statement

At the macro level, the continuous GBV directed towards women in South Africa specifically in the city of Johannesburg creates a context for the research problem. NGOs working on GBV are challenged in achieving intended outcomes from the strategies that they implement (Bazola and Mafokeng, 2016). This contributes to the persistence of GBV.

The severity of GBV in the country is illustrated through numerous statistics. The overall injury death rate of 157.8 per 100 000 in the country is nearly twice the global average, additionally, half the rate of homicide of women is six times the global average, with half being killed by their intimate partners (Seedat, Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla and Ratele, 2009). In a study done by Jewkes and Abrahams (2002a) they reported 240 incidents of rape and attempted rape per 100 000 women each year, with an increased concern of child rape which implies that at least half of South African women will be raped in their lifetime. Despite the high incidence of abuse towards women documented, these numbers are a fraction of the reality as sexual violence especially perpetrated by an intimate partner is often not reported in surveys (Jewkes *et al*., 2002a). It is estimated that marital rape occurs in as much as 60 per cent of marital relationships (Rape Crisis website, 2001). In a study done in Gauteng by Gender Links (2012), more men (76%) than women (51%) reported involvement in GBV both in the private and public, this discrepancy illustrates the under-reporting of such incidents. Furthermore, the crime statistics of 2017/2018 recorded an increase in the rate of GBV at 2.4% (SAPS, 2017) in the Gauteng province where Johannesburg is located.

Most of the existing research on GBV thus far is on its causes and the different ways to overcome the scourge (Machisa, Jewkes, Morna and Roma, 2011; Jewkes, Levin, Penn- Kekana, 2002b; Heise, 2011; Pickup, William, and Sweetman, 2001). This research delves into exploring the three challenge areas of limited funding, inadequate leadership, and inappropriate methods as faced by NGOs in South Africa (Britton, 2006). The limited funding hinders the access to the much

needed resources for carrying out strategies needed to combat GBV (Arts, 2011; Simpala, 2012; Shukumisa, 2016; Shukumisa, 2018); inadequate leadership has hindered the level of collaboration of NGOs with other stakeholders responsible for fighting GBV (Foundation for Professional Development, 2016; Vetten, 2015); and inappropriate methods have limited success of some of the strategies, where they have resulted in negative unintended consequences exacerbating the GBV problem (Gender Links, 2009; Monyane, 2013; Mpani and Nsibanda, 2015). Furthermore, literature suggests that when NGOs are carrying out research they are faced with ethical dilemmas where ethical guidelines contradict with state laws. For example, researchers are expected to maintain confidentiality but at the same time they are required to report GBV offences especially where children are involved (Strode and Slack, 2006; Bhamjee, Essack, Strode, 2016). There is also confusion of the legality of some cultural practices that tend to violate the rights of women and girls in communities (Shukumisa, 2016). This research builds on the work of the above mentioned authors who have documented the important work done by NGOs in fighting GBV on a domestic and international level.

1.3 Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this research is to examine the challenges NGOs in Johannesburg face in their fight against GBV. To achieve this goal, the research examines the concept of GBV and its underlying causes; the strategies that NGOs use, and how NGOs understand and evaluate their success. Secondly, the research offers recommendations on how to overcome the challenges based on both NGOs' perceptions and international 'promising' practice strategies.

This research is significant because various pieces of legislation, both domestic and international, re-assure women of a life free of harm and danger, however, in reality, women are subjected to abuse both in the private and public spheres of their lives. The South African Constitution (1996) states that no one should be treated unfairly directly or indirectly based on their gender or sex, essentially it guarantees women safety and protection from abuse. Additionally, South Africa has

signed and ratified several international and regional treaties that reinforce this same mandate. Different stakeholders are entrusted to uphold the provisions stated in the above pieces of legislature, however, evidence shows that victims can easily access NGOs as compared to formal structures such as the police, therefore there is a need for community-based organisations to be able to respond sensitively and appropriately (Garcia-Moreno, Jansen, Ellsberg, Heise and Watts, 2005).

1.4 Research Questions

The primary research question of this research is: *What are the challenges Johannesburg NGOs face in the fight against GBV?*

The secondary research questions are:

- What are the underlying drivers and causes of GBV?
- How is success in the fight against GBV understood and assessed by NGOs?
- How do the 'promising' practice strategies inform the work of NGOs dealing with GBV – both in Johannesburg and globally, as cited in the literature?
- How can NGOs in Johannesburg overcome the challenges that they face?

1.5 Overview of the Report

The chapters below present the overview of the research. A summary of each chapter is described.

Chapter One: The chapter presents the background to the research, the problem statement, the purpose of the study, research questions, and the overview of the research.

Chapter Two: The chapter presents the literature review and the theoretical framework of the research. The chapter aims to show that the research falls under existing literature. Key concepts

of the research are also discussed in depth under the chapter.

Chapter Three: The chapter presents the research design and methodology of the research. It includes the methods and instruments used to collect the data, a section of how the data is to be analysed, the limitations to the study, and the ethical considerations undertaken while collecting the data.

Chapter Four: The chapter presents the findings to the research as obtained from the interviewees and document reviewed.

Chapter Five: The chapter presents an analysis of the findings obtained, as they relate to the research questions informing the research.

Chapter Six: The chapter presents a summary of the main findings as well as the recommendation to NGOs and the government informs of policy recommendations. Furthermore, it proposes areas of future research.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

2.1 Introduction

The literature review firstly explores the concept of GBV and the challenges NGOs face while dealing with the problem. This section conceptualises the notion of GBV, its drivers, and the context and challenges faced by NGOs dealing with the problem. The three main challenge areas identified are associated with the amount of funding available, the availability and quality of leadership in the NGO, and the nature of strategies that are used to fight GBV (Britton, 2006). Secondly, the 'promising' practice strategies used by the NGOs globally are explored to draw a comparison with what is done by NGOs in Johannesburg. These strategies are categorised into preventative and curative measures, the former speak to what is done to advocate for prevention and awareness while the latter speak to what is done to help victims cope with GBV. To understand better the challenges faced while combating GBV, the following section presents a discussion on how success is understood and measured by the NGOs. The last section of the chapter presents an analytical framework of the research developed from the study done by Britton (2006). To conclude the chapter, a summary of the chapter is presented.

2.2 The Concept of GBV and the Challenges Faced by NGOs

This section presents a context within which GBV is understood in the country. The three forms of GBV defined are sexual assault, sexual violence, and domestic violence. Secondly, the drivers or the different ways to understand GBV are also presented. GBV can be understood through the following approaches of feminist and socio-political approach, systems theory, psychoanalytic, sociological theory, social learning approach, and biological and psychobiological approach (Lau, 2009). Thereafter, the causes of GBV are presented in the form of the ecological model (Ellsberg

and Heise, 2005). The model suggests that GBV is as a result of the interaction of personal, relationship, communal and societal factors. To conclude the section, a discussion of the challenges faced by NGOs as they fight GBV is presented. Britton (2006) states that, in the new democracy, NGOs face challenges around three areas of funding, leadership and methods. NGOs also face ethical related challenges while carrying out GBV research (Jewkes, Watts, Abrahams, Penn-Kekana, & Garcia-Moreno, 2000; Gender Links, 2009).

2.2.1 Definitions

As stated before, GBV is an umbrella term that refers to the interpersonal conflict that occurs when power imbalances exist among males and females (United Nations Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2015). From the above definition both men and women can be victims of GBV, however, based on statistics women and girls are the main victims of GBV (Mpani and Nsibanda, 2015). GBV takes different forms such as sexual violence, sexual assault, and domestic violence. Below are the definitions of these forms of GBV.

Sexual violence is broadly defined as any sexual act; attempt to obtain a sexual act, or other act directed against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting (DVA, 1998). It takes form of intimate partner violence (IPV), sexual assault, forced prostitution, exploitation, and human trafficking.

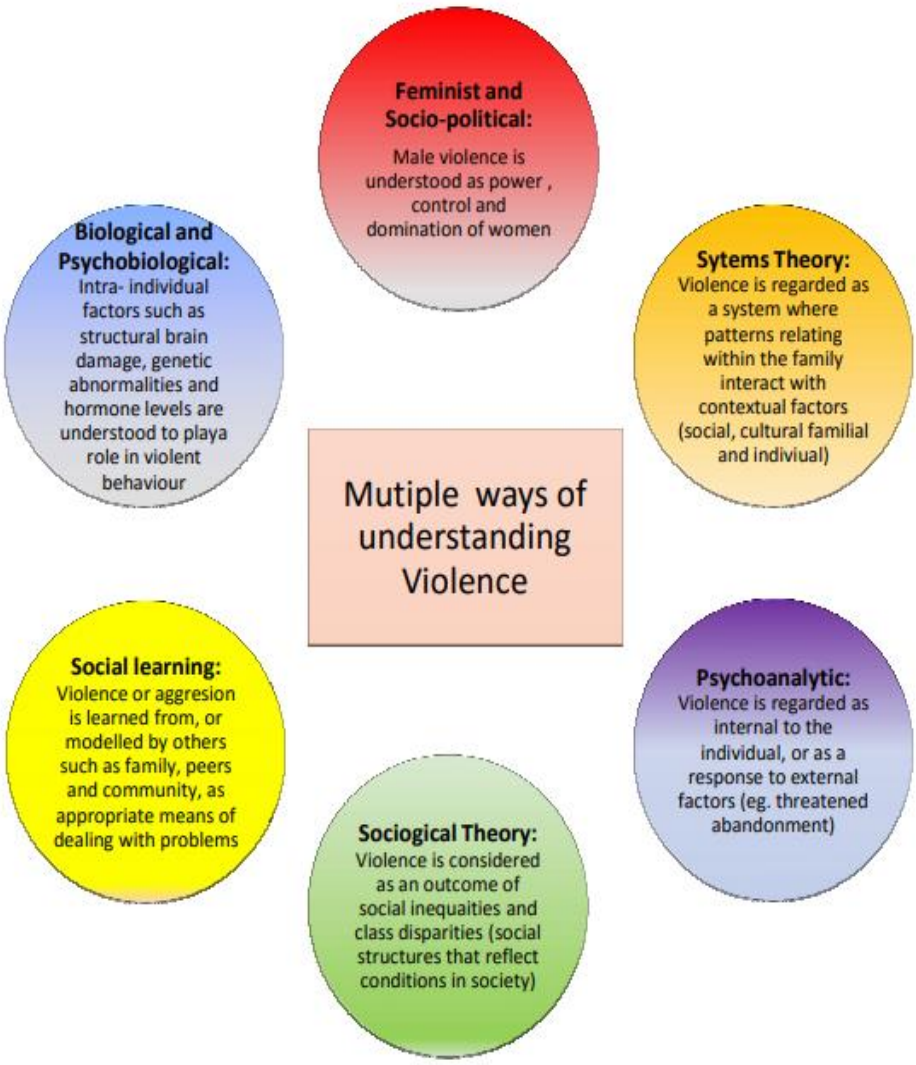
Sexual assault is defined as any sexual act, attempt to commit a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments and advances, coercion, threats, and physical force to obtain a sexual act (WHO, 2013). The South African Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act, 2007 provides a broad and detailed definition of sexual assault to include all non-consenting sexual activity from fondling to penetration and includes attempts at penetration by the genital organs of one person or any object into the anus, mouth or genital organs of another person.

Domestic Violence also referred to as IPV is defined as any physical, sexual, emotional, verbal, psychological and emotional abuse. It also includes intimidation; harassment; stalking; damage

to property; entry into the complainant's residence without consent, or any other controlling or abusive behaviour towards the complainant; where such conduct harms, or may cause imminent harm to the safety, health or wellbeing of the complainant (DVA, 1998).

2.2.2 Drivers of GBV

Figure 1: An Illustration of the Drivers of GBV

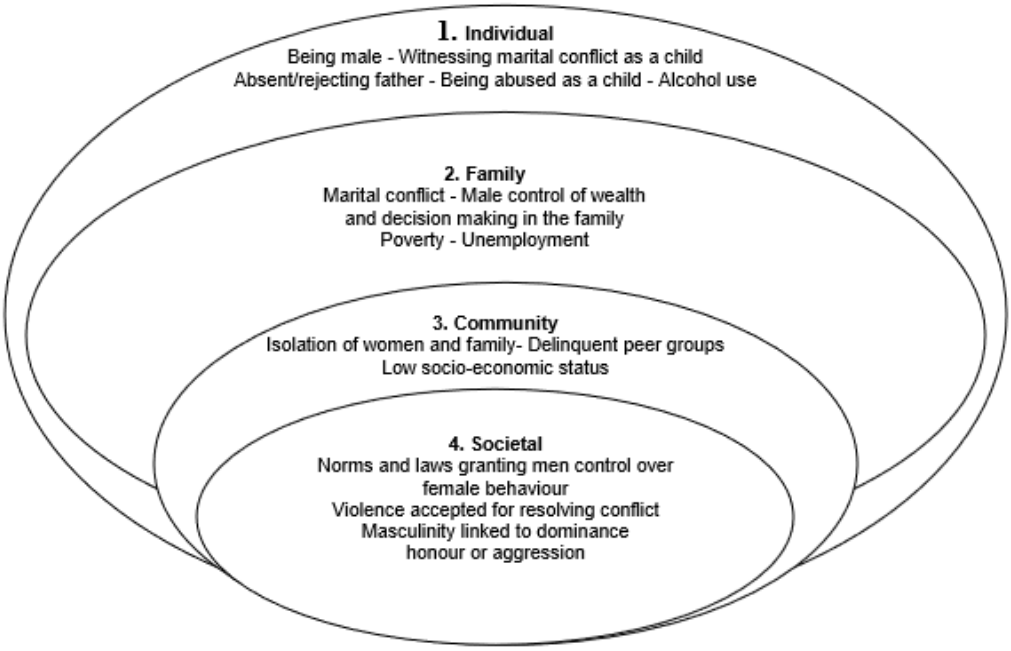


***Source*:** Lau, 2009 Fact Sheet on Intimate Partner Violence

The figure above is an illustration of the multiple ways to understand GBV as presented by Lau (2009); these theories explain the different drivers of GBV. He further argues that to tackle GBV there is a need for a multidisciplinary approach, as the problem is a result of an interplay of various factors.

Given the above different approaches to understanding GBV, the causes of violence are also complex and multi-dimensional. The WHO (2012) offers an ecological model of understanding the causes of GBV. The ecological framework is as a result of the interaction between individual, relationship, community, and social factors (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005). These factors encourage vulnerability in some people and predispose others to become perpetrators of GBV (Mpani and Nsibande, 2015). Below is an illustration of these factors that cause GBV.

Figure 2: An Illustration of the Causes of GBV



Source: Ecological model: (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005)

Individual factors: These are the biological and personal factors that influence how individuals behave determining their likelihood of being victims or perpetrators of GBV. The framework suggests that human behaviour is affected by the environment and vice versa, and the interaction of the two at different levels (Green, 1999). The environment consists of the political, social, cultural, economic and psychological environment. Risk factors of individuals are also determined by characteristics such as age, education and income, personality disorders, substance, and alcohol abuse, and a history of experiencing, witnessing and engaging in violent behaviour (Krug, Mercy, Dahlberg, Zwi, 2002). It is also argued that when children experience violence in their homes from childhood, they learn to use it to resolve conflict (Jewkes, 2002).

The presence of unequal power between two people on a personal level can also act as a risk factor for GBV. For example, an attitude of sexual entitlement influences the perceptions that women and girls are responsible for their own rape (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005). They further argue that in terms of personality disorders, perpetrators of rape are said to be psychopathic and have low empathy on an individual level. This is also exacerbated by the fact that little attention is given to the psychological rehabilitation of perpetrators of GBV (Shukumisa, 2017a).

Relationship factors

These may manifest in close relationships such as between intimate partners, family members and friends, often referred to as domestic violence. High dependency on a partner may create a power imbalance in a relationship and can be used as a justification for abuse (Jewkes *et al*., 2002b).Domestic violence is strongly related to the status of women in a community and to the normative use of violence in conflict situations or as part of the exercise of power (Ellsberg and Heise, 1998; Jewkes *et al.,* 2002b; Jewkes, 2002). Furthermore, one is likely to accept and tolerate domestic violence if they experienced violence in their childhood (Jewkes *et al.,* 2002b; and Prinsloo, 2007). Most adult victims of domestic violence report that they have been experiencing abuse from adolescence meaning they have normalised and internalised it as a way of living and

are reluctant to follow up legal processes all the way to court (Prinsloo, 2007). Lastly, when a male has multiple partners it poses as a risk factor in a relationship and can increase the vulnerability of the female partner to experience GBV (Heise, 1998; WHO, 2002).

Community factors

These explore the context in which social relationships occur, as well as examining risk factors existing within schools, workplaces, and neighbourhoods (WHO, 2002). These factors may arise due to the absence of social networks resulting in the isolation of women and families, delinquent peer groups as well as poverty and high levels of unemployment (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005; Krug *et al.*, 2002; WHO; 2002).

Furthermore, some state institutions like the police portray negative gender relationships that perpetuate GBV. The police and the armed personnel are sometimes placed above the law and this discourages questioning of their authority (Mpani and Nsibande, 2015). Therefore, they argue that violence towards women who are viewed as disobedient or disrespectful to the police is justified as an appropriate response. The practice of bullying in schools or joining a gang can be a risk factor for violence in communities. This is because it encourages expressions of dangerous ideals of masculinity that shape men and boys into aggressive beings (Mpani and Nsibande, 2015).

Social factors

These focus on the broad environment that encourages GBV among people. These include the responsiveness of the criminal justice system, social and cultural norms regarding gender roles or parent-child relationships, income inequality, the strength of the social welfare system, the social acceptability of violence, the availability of firearms, and the exposure to violence in mass media, and political instability (Kruger *et al.,* 2002). According to Monyane (2013), the law tends to concentrate on the accused other than focusing on the needs of the abused which leaves

victims prone to secondary abuse. Opponents of enforcement of women's rights usually base their arguments on religious and cultural norms claiming that women's human rights are not universal (Pickup *et al*., 2001). Larger societal factors influencing GBV include health, economic, educational, as well as social policies that may help to maintain economic and social inequality among men and women (WHO, 2002).

Certain practices offer grounds on which abuse is practiced and normalised in societies, and where formal legislation contradicts customary beliefs, enforcement is unlikely. Traditional practices such as *ukuthwala* violate domestic and international rights of girls and women but are still practiced on the basis of upholding customs and culture (Monyane, 2013). Such traditions are inherently practiced to place women as subordinates to men (Ansell, 2001). Additionally, culturally sanctioned gender roles are intimately connected to GBV and virtually all assign more power and higher status to men (Strebel, *et al*., 2006).They argue that in such settings, sexual violence is understood as a strategy used by boys and men to put girls and women in their place if they became too independent and assertive. Pickup *et al* (2001) affirms this by saying whenever masculinity is threatened, violence is one of the compensatory responses used by men. Furthermore, according to different social and economic and political settings, a practice like *lobola* especially among young people is viewed as a financial transaction that disadvantages women, increasing their vulnerability to GBV (Ansell, 2001). These harmful socio-cultural norms and practices have greater adverse effects for women belonging to marginalized racial, ethnic, class, and indigenous status (Hooykaas, 2014). Lastly, the western idea of marriage as an institution can also threaten the independence of women. For example, women who choose to get married under the community of property, may find themselves in a more vulnerable position where it is difficult for them to negotiate for their assets in case of a divorce (Fin24, 2013), which is a form of economic abuse.

2.2.3 The Context and Challenges Faced by NGOs Dealing with GBV

This section offers a brief context on the transition and development of NGOs post the apartheid regime. The main characteristic of NGOs in the years after the new democracy, is that they were issue-based *i.e.* their mandates focused on one issue at a time, *e.g.* health issues as they related to VAW (Britton, 2006). Britton argues that this approach was criticised for not tackling the structural issues such as the economic, social and political factors as they related to GBV. On the contrary, currently NGOs focus on more than one issue at a time as they relate to GBV such as housing, health issues, economic self-sufficiency, education and poverty (Shukumisa, 2016, Shukumisa, 2017a). Secondly, she states that post-apartheid most NGOs moved from suburbs into townships to facilitate the easy access of their services to the disadvantaged inexpensively.

During the colonial period and throughout the apartheid era, rape was used as a weapon to ensure control, obedience and interracial conformity (Scully, 1995). Moffet (2006) states that in South Africa gender rankings were maintained and women were regulated through rape as the most intimate form of violence. Police humiliated and harassed women during menstruation, and security forces often denied women access to sanitary protection to violate women's privacy and to ridicule them psychologically (Truth and Reconciliation Committee Report, 1998). This report also showed that women in the struggle movement were subjected to abuse and violence not only from the opposing forces but from their own comrades even at the ANC camps. It is said that the regime, therefore, cultivated a 'culture of violence' that made violence a normative rather than a deviant behaviour regarded as an appropriate means of resolving social, political and even domestic conflict (Britton, 2006; Pickup *et al*., 2001). While tackling GBV, NGOs in the new democracy faced challenges around three areas of inadequate leadership which hindered the extent of collaborating with the state, securing funding, and the nature of methods to use to fight GBV especially regarding the extent of male involvement in strategies (Britton, 2006).

In the new democracy women organisations faced a problem of inadequate leadership. It is argued that they lacked skilled personnel to run their programs and projects in the best and most efficient way possible (Bazola and Mafokeng, 2016). According to Pickup *et al*., (2001), untrained NGO workers tend to perpetuate negative gender stereotypes which go against the values of their organisations. The inadequate leadership is attributed to the fact that during the transition, the top tier of women leaders joined national and provincial offices, leaving the women's groups struggling to find leaders (Britton, 2006). Furthermore, Britton argues that these women who assumed government office lacked the experience to lobby for the interest of the women groups they once represented. These dynamics contributed to NGOs' difficulties in establishing suitable relationships with the government to effect change in their areas of work. NGOs struggled to establish suitable ways of collaborating with the government representatives whilst maintaining their autonomy and independence. It is argued that once an organisation becomes a contract agency for the government it loses its ability to engage as a strong critic of the government and pursue more radical and less institutionalised forms of social change (Britton, 2006). However, independent NGOs are also in jeopardy due to political, legal and financial repercussions they face after challenging state policies (Weldon, 2003). Furthermore, Lombard (2008) warns against a top-down approach of South African NGOs as they deal with the government, as it limits their involvement in the planning and implementation of projects.

Secondly, funding is important for the survival of an NGO, however, NGOs continue to face a challenge when securing the financial resources needed to run their activities. In a study done by Ward and Vann (2002) on GBV in refugee camps, they argue that a common limitation to humanitarian relief is not a lack of strategies but inadequate means to implement them. The funding shortages are exacerbated by the fact that NGOs greatly depend on the government for funding. Rasool (2016) states that in recent times this is more so the case as international donor funding that used to go directly to NGOs is now directed via the government. Furthermore, it is argued that the mechanism through which the funding is disbursed is not fully developed, and at

times money does not reach the intended recipients (Britton, 2006). According to Shukumisa (2018a) the lack of transparency and consistency results in the mismanagement of funds directed towards fighting GBV. Britton (2006) cites an example where once funds dedicated to the fight against HIV/AIDs were not used. These funds could have been helpful especially because of the identified link between HIV and GBV (Dunkle, 2004).

Donor funding to NGOs is also limited which reduces the amount of funds available for NGOs to carry out their activities. When donors started channelling funds through the government, it increased competition for the funding among service providers. It is said that the government preferred funding smaller CBOS that provided services at relatively cheaper prices compared to funding NGOs (Britton, 2006). Furthermore, she argues that international funding usually comes with demands which may not align to the mission and goals of the NGOs, this limits the NGOs' extent of control of power over programs and projects. NGOs ought to accept funding from donors whose values and principles are aligned to theirs as accepting funding may come with certain conditions that may hinder the progress of the NGO (Hooykas, 2014). NGOs are also working against the short attention span of funding agencies that like to fund new and exciting projects rather than ongoing programmes (Britton, 2006). However, Britton argues that NGOs are usually involved in the implementation of long-term strategies such as changing family systems and structures of oppression which take longer than one year to materialise. Similarly, funding from the private sector and domestic donors has also been declining over the years. It is argued that post the 2008 global recession; NGOs have noticed reduced funding from the private sector (Shukumisa, 2016; Shukumisa, 2018a). In 2014, out of the 6 billion rand from CSI, only 6% was given to fund strategies of victims of violence and abuse (Trialogue, 2014).

Thirdly, NGOs engage in several methods while combating GBV, and some involve the inclusion of men in the strategies carried out. This approach, however, is contentious, and its benefits have not been adequately documented (Bowman, 2003), which leaves NGOs to question the appropriateness of involving men in strategies especially for NGOs that are feminist-oriented.

The approach has been popular as funders are motivated to fund organisations that work with both men and women (Britton, 20006). However, Goetz (1992) argues that NGOs like other institutions often reflect unequal power relations in their ideologies, resource allocation patterns, and practices that favour men in communities in which they work. Therefore, the trend of working with men victims and male perpetrators, while an important effort, can be a form of victimization as resources are shifted from most survivors of GBV who are women (Britton, 2006). Furthermore, she questions the legitimacy of male victims of abuse, where some men report being abused as a form of retaliation from their partners, and that most are abused by their fellow men or male family members.

Furthermore, in terms of the methods used, NGOs face a challenge while carrying out GBV related research. In instances where methods of collecting and disseminating information are not properly designed, and ethical guidelines not adequately followed, data becomes less reliable. According to Gender Links (2009), it is difficult to quantify abuse especially emotional and economic abuse (Gender Links, 2009; Jewkes, Watts, Abrahams, Penn-Kekana, Garcia-Moreno, 2000) therefore GBV is often synonymous to physical or sexual abuse. This may create difficulty in assessing the extent of the problem resulting in a failure to adequately implement the strategies needed to combat GBV.

While using quantitative methods, GBV research is challenging due to the lack of sufficient and reliable data. According to Jewkes *et al.* (2000), the major limitation of self-reporting surveys is under-reporting. This is attributed to the fear of an abusive partner and the preference to resolve conflict within a family (Artz, 2011), failure of the police to adequately record and identify incidents of GBV (Vetten, 2005), and the lack of disaggregated data on GBV (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005). Whereas when using qualitative methods, ethical guidelines are likely to be breached due to the sensitive nature of GBV research. Researchers are often faced with complexities on how to appropriately approach victims of abuse without including biases from their own experiences (Jewkes *et al*., 2000). Similarly, the principle of not causing harm to the participant in research is

likely to be compromised, Vetten (2015a) states that victims are prone to experiencing secondary trauma as they retell their stories and experiences.

In conclusion, this section has offered a discussion of the meaning of GBV by defining the different forms of GBV as they are used in this research. To understand further the concept of GBV its drivers and causes were also discussed to conceptualise this research. Lastly, a discussion on the context of NGOs dealing with GBV in the country post-apartheid was presented. The research is informed by the theoretical framework presented by Britton (2006) where he points out that the three main challenges that affect NGOs are: the shortage in funding, the lack of adequate leadership, and the challenges associated with some of the methods used in their strategies.

2.3 Promising Practice Strategies used to Combat GBV

As is evident widely in the literature and a review of NGO websites working on GBV, NGOs tend to organize their work around a range of activities. According to Schuler (1992) and Pickup *et al*., (2001) these should include: considering the needs of the victim, challenging social norms that justify abuse towards women and enforcing socio-legal activities that protect the rights of the innocent and sanctioning the guilty. Building on the two mentioned authors, this section presents thinking and debates in the literature framed around these areas of activity. Some of the promising practice strategies used globally and locally in Johannesburg to combat GBV include education and training, campaigning, carrying out research, providing quality health services, rehabilitating of male perpetrators of GBV, providing legal support, and providing shelters. These practices are discussed in-depth below:

2.3.1 Education and Training

This strategy is beneficial especially to girls and women from marginalized societies who lack access to quality and gender-sensitive schooling. Bloom (2008) argues that school-going children who experience GBV are more likely to drop out of school, fall pregnant and contract sexually

transmitted diseases. Therefore, when women are educated, they are more confident and aware of their self-worth and can challenge norms of male violence which increases their bargaining power within their households and communities at large (Pickup *et al*., 2001).

SINAGA Women and Child Labour Resource Centre based in Kenya offers a good model for education and training in GBV areas. The program offers basic schooling and counselling to abused girls who are domestic workers and offers them a platform to socialize with their peers (Mzungu, 1998). In South Africa, the Girls' Education Movement (GEM) was created to make school environments safe for learning, with a particular focus on training programs designed to combat violence against girls in schools (Gender Links, 2009). They state that the GEM program also educates communities about harmful cultural practices such as early marriage for girls. The People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA) has a program that aims to empower abused women through offering literacy classes and raising bursaries needed for training programs (POWA, undated). It is argued by Eade and Williams (1995) that structures that enable education and training of GBV should be in place in all spheres of the society.

Furthermore, when victims of GBV are educated and trained, it increases their chances to secure jobs and gain financial independence. The easy access of jobs for women usually translates into increased financial freedom and less dependence on a male partner which reduces vulnerability to GBV (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005; Jewkes, 2002). However, it is also reported that less violence in a home is attained through an independent source of income and not merely by additional resources (Hashemi, Schuler and Riley, 1996). Nonetheless, an overall reduction in household poverty reduces economic stress and consequently potential triggers for conflict (Ellsberg *et al*., 2014). For example, in Bangladesh, the credit programs that administered loans particularly to married women mitigated against violence by reducing tension and suffering around scarcity (White, 1991; Kabeer, 1998).

On the contrary, women may experience more violence as they get more educated and transition into the job market because they may be viewed as infringing on the male traditional role of the breadwinner (John and Gammage, 2017). Eade and Williams (1995) argue that if victims are not offered enough training in skills such as accountancy and resource management, income-generating projects can prove to be unsuccessful and result in reinforced gender inequalities. Furthermore, in the recent developments under the #MeToo movement, it has been highlighted that sexual assault and abuse is still prevalent in the work places. This implies that the mere opening up of the job market for women is not going to solve GBV fully, there is a need for a more nuanced approach to deal with the crisis (John and Gammage, 2017). Additionally, they argue that women should be empowered in all spheres of their lives *e.g.* they need to be able to claim assets during a separation and or when they get a divorce. From the perspective of the NGOs, even though economic empowerment programs have helped to resolve GBV holistically, the strategy requires more time, capacity and technique to implement (Britton, 2006), resources that are not readily available to them.

2.3.2 Campaigning

Campaigns are carried out to increase awareness of the prevalence of GBV and inform people in communities of the services available for victims of abuse. The discussion on abuse leads to the acknowledgment of its existence and this can validate the victims' experience in an attempt to end their isolation (Pickup *et al*., 2001). Furthermore, social movements encourage transparency and promote accountability, according to Mogstad, Dryding and Fiorotto (2016) the civil society working with NGOs acts as a whistle-blower and holds accountable other stakeholders regarding their roles towards fighting GBV.

In South Africa, the *Soul City Fourth Series* campaign used ‘edutainment’ through media outlets to raise awareness on GBV matters (Gender Links, 2009).The use of radio and television is effective in disseminating information especially in communities where literacy levels are low

(Pickup *et al*., 2011). However, it is also argued that in rural areas radios and televisions are usually owned by men (Gender Links, 2009), information may not reach women who are the target audience. Apart from the use of the mainstream media outlets, more recently social media has been used to raise awareness on (VAW) by launching campaigns online. According to the Partners for Prevention (2013), campaigning on social media has attracted a lot of young people to act against GBV and challenge practices that discriminate against women. Despite the advantages, media has contributed to campaigning, the approach can be counter-productive. For example, when messaging through media perpetuates negative stereotypes which demonize women and portrays them as inevitable victims, it reduces the seriousness of the problem (Masimanyane Women's Support Centre, 2011).

Internationally, the *16 Days of Activism,* are recognised as days dedicated to the increased awareness of issues surrounding GBV. From 1998, South Africa has observed these days as VAW. The period from the 25th of November to the 10th of December is internationally recognized as the *'16 Days of Activism'* against GBV and a time to implement action to end VAW and girls around the world (UN, 2014). The United Nations activist organizations and the media have organised events around this period ranging from marches, marathons, and panel discussions to radio and television programs, concerts and film festivals (UN Women, 2014). The UN has also used social media platforms to increase awareness around this period, for example the United Nations UNiTE to End Violence against Women campaign which utilizes social media platforms like Face book and Twitter to organize events around the *'16 Days of Activism'* against Gender Based Violence (UN Women, 2014). Furthermore, in March 2007, South Africa extended the '*16 Days of Activism for No Violence against Women and Children'* campaign to the *365 Days National Action Plan to End GBV* (Machisa, Jewkes, Morna and Ramona, 2011). They argue that the shift from a campaign to an action plan that runs throughout the year is the result of the realization that there is a need to maintain awareness and tackle the root causes of VAW. However, the plan has been criticized for being fragmented and lacking a dedicated budget (Gender Links, 2012).

Additionally, the *Stepping Stones* program is an international campaign that uses a participatory learning approach by use of critical reflection, drama and role play to increase awareness of GBV, especially in regard to improving sexual health through better communication between partners (Gender Links, 2009).

2.3.3 Researching

The carrying out of GBV related research is important as it enables the identification of services available and lacking to abused victims, the exploration of survivor's perceptions and experience of each intervention, and the effects of interventions (Shukumisa website, undated).Through the Shukumisa coalition, representatives from NGOs and CBOs carry out research to assess the performance of different institutions such as the police, health care practitioners, and court officials; and investigate the ways in which relationships between these institutions and NGOs can be strengthened so as to effectively combat GBV (Shukumisa, 2017a). Similarly, they argue that NGOs carry out research to assess their performance and know what strategies to eliminate and those they need to scale up. While researching on GBV, NGOs collaborate with researchers in accredited institutions so that data and subsequent findings can be compared (Pickup *et al*., 2001). Reliable research findings contribute to policy amendments based on facts and evidence. For example, research helps to inform the dynamics within an abusive relationship especially in countries with stringent laws towards perpetrators of GBV (Bowman, 2003). In a study done by KPMG Human and Social Science (2014) study domestic violence related cases cost the economy an estimated 0.9%-1.3% of the annual GDP. Such findings highlight the extent and cost of GBV, calling for a need to urgently alleviate the problem in the country.

However, it is argued that reliable research is hindered by the lack of baseline data to quantify the extent of GBV (Gender Links, 2009). Some national statistics do not differentiate between males and females, and gender specific data is often collected and published mostly by international agencies (Eade and Williams, 1995). It is stated that South African annual statistics

do not offer detailed information on the relationship between victims and perpetrators (Shukumisa, 2017) and experiences on sexual minorities (Vetten, 2015a). It is also reported that the murder-suicide rate is also not frequently recorded in crime statistics (Bowman, 2003). In a study done in 1999, 19.4% of perpetrators of intimate femicide committed suicide (Mathews, Abrahams, Jewkes, Martin, Lombard, Vetten; 2008), this is in comparison to the international rate that ranges between 18% and 40% (Easteal, 1994). Similarly, the NPA does not offer detailed information of their conviction rates per rape cases; moreover only less than 5% of the cases reach courts with no information on what happens to the rest (Shukumisa, 2017a). According to Bloom (2008), in order to obtain reliable findings, care and support structures should be put in place while undertaking GBV related research due to the sensitive nature of information that is collected.

2.3.4 Providing Quality Health Care

Health care to victims of abuse is in the form of physical and psychosocial care. Victims of GBV suffer post-traumatic disorder, rape trauma syndrome, depression, anxiety, alcohol and drug abuse (Bott, Morrison and Ellsberg, 2005). Pickup *et al*., (2001) also notes that in some cases victims of GBV face social stigma and are blamed for bringing the violence upon themselves, which affects their psychological well-being. Furthermore, it is stated that there is an association between IPV and HIV infections, where women who experience sexual violence are at a greater risk of contracting HIV (Bloom, 2008). Under the SOA (2007), victims of sexual violence have a right to PEP administration in all the designated health centres in the country. The Thuthuzela Care Centres (TCCs) were established in hospitals and health care centres so that victims of sexual violence can have access to PEP and counselling (Foundation of Professional Development, 2016). The centres also have forensic nurses and social workers to offer services ranging from acute care trauma to medium and long-term care (Vetten, 2015b).

The nature of the provision of psychosocial care differs across communities. Summerfield (1992) argues that the experiences of individuals and communities vary therefore there may be differences in the way people understand and survive a traumatic experience. He proposes a more community-based approach where the intervention suits the needs of the people. Pickup *et al* (2001) urges that this option needs to be used with caution as communities that ostracize women are less likely to be sensitive to their needs or interests. They propose that the survivors of the abuse themselves should contribute to the psychosocial approaches that fit their social, cultural, historical and political settings.

2.3.5 Rehabilitating Male Perpetrators of Abuse

The empowerment of women is more effective if destructive male norms and cultures are also challenged. Eade and Williams (1995) believe that if intervention measures are to be effective, women's needs cannot be tackled in isolation but in relation to the concerns of men. Evidence shows that effectively engaging men in rehabilitation and gender equality work can have benefits for women, children and men themselves (Sathiparsad, 2008). It is argued that, in developing countries women seek to end violence towards them without leaving their husbands or partners independent of economic factors (Pickup *et al*., 2001).

The men's houses program in Australia is an example of this initiative, it enables victims to maintain their structure of support and shifts blame from them to the abusers (Pickup *et al*., 2001). In South Africa, most initiatives for men in regards to fighting GBV are designed as advocacy and training programs. Sonke Gender Justice through its *Men Engage* program carries out programs in communities to educate men on the harms of GBV in an attempt to involve them in the fight against GBV (Sonke Gender Justice Website, undated). Furthermore, initiatives such as Men as Partners (MAP) were also started to engage men in workshops, to try to change negative male attitudes towards women, in that way challenging distractive male norms that perpetuate GBV (Peacock and Levack, 2004). ADAPT is the only NGO that has a rehabilitative

program for abused women and their abusers (ADAPT website, undated). The successes of these programs have not been adequately documented to date.

The degree of effectiveness of this strategy has been questioned in literature. Bowman (2003), states that in the United States, court ordered rehabilitation programs for barterers as opposed to prison time have proven not to be effective. According to Hearn (1998) this is due to the fact that therapy to male perpetrators is not voluntary therefore it becomes less effective. Furthermore, according to Pickup *et al*., (2001), resources should not be taken away from women's initiatives to support men's programs, and that these measures should not act as substitute approaches that are meant to punish abusers.

2.3.6 Providing Legal Services

The Domestic Violence Act (DVA) (116 of 1998) and the Criminal law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (SOA) (32 of 2007) are the two pieces of legislation that were enacted in South Africa to ensure that victims of GBV receive maximum protection the law can provide in the event of abuse (Artz, 2009; Artz, 2011). The DVA protects victims of domestic abuse through the provision of the protection order (PO) (Mathews and Abrahams, 2001 and Artz, 2011) while the SOA handles all legal aspects relating mainly to sexual violence offences (Mogale, Burns and Richter, 2012). According to Mpani and Nsibande (2015) these Acts are informed and aligned to the international and regional treaties aimed at fighting GBV that South Africa has signed and ratified. NGOs with the help of stakeholders in the criminal justice system, are responsible for implementing the provisions stated under these Acts.

In South Africa, the Tshwaranang Legal Advice Centre liaises NGOs with the state to ensure that victims receive legal assistance. The NGO effects change in the legal system from the top-down so that NGOs and women's organisations receive justice (TLAC website, undated). MOSAIC as an NGO helps complainants to apply for POs and sees that cases reach the courts of law (Artz, 2011). In Zimbabwe the Musasa project is a good example of an initiative that trains the police on legal

matters relating to GBV and offers education to people in communities about the legal systems meant to protect the rights of women (Pickup *et al*., 2001). Lastly, they also argue that on an international platform, NGOs can act as representatives for abused women to seek justice in case domestic law fails, through article 4 optional protocol under the CEDAW treaty (Pickup *et al*., 2001).

The National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) under its Sexual Offences Community Affairs (SOCA) unit is the custodians of the TCCs. The three main functions of the centres are: to reduce secondary victimisation faced by rape victims; reduce the time it takes to finalise rape court cases; and increase the number of rapists that are found guilty in court and sent to jail (Shukumisa, 2017; Vetten, 2015b). Furthermore, TCCs offer legal services such as court preparation for victims and ensuring that perpetrators of abuse are punished accordingly (Foundation of Professional Development, 2016). In the attempt to fulfil the above stated functions, the NPA also set up sexual offence courts to fast track sexual assault cases and ensure justice to victims is served (Vetten, 2015b). Mogale, Burns and Richter (2012) argue for community-based interventions that can act as an informal structure to resolve domestic disputes. In some settings this approach is deemed legitimate for those involved in the conflict than formal justice processes (Moult, 2005). He warns that this approach is not always effective in tackling the root cause of the problem, but it offers an opportunity of conflict resolution based on restoration, and that it is appropriate for people living and working in the same community.

2.3.7 Providing Shelter

The provision of shelters is an important service needed by victims of GBV. This is because abused women often lack alternative housing for themselves and their children, consequently, they are forced to stay with their abusers (Watson and Lopes, 2017). Research also suggests that women who have a low education and are from a low socio- economic background are more likely to be shelter seekers in the event of abuse (National Research Council, 1996). According to Carillo

(1992) shelters are more effective in big cities of at least 10,000 inhabitants where victims will not be easily stigmatized or found by their abusers. They do not work in rural communities where everyone knows everyone else (Bowman, 2003). During war or conflict, refugee camps act as shelters for abused women. However, abuse is exacerbated in these camps due to forced dependency, high levels of physical and psychological pain which often follows resettlement, and a breakdown in community support, social norms and laws (Kusnir, 1993; Ward and Vann, 2002).

Despite their ability to offer relief and safety to victims of GBV, Pickup *et al*., (2001) states that shelters have been criticized for offering dependency instead of dealing with the root cause of VAW. On the contrary, most shelters offer additional services to victims such as counselling, medical care, legal services, child care, and employment services (Watson and Lopes, 2017), to help abused women to live a better life after they leave the shelters. The delegation of the European Union to South Africa (2018) states that to enhance the provision of shelters in the country, there is need for an inter and multi-department cooperation so that victims can easily access these additional services.

In conclusion, this section presents a discussion of the 'promising' practice strategies used to combat GBV. It is observed that these strategies carried out are aligned to the domestic, regional and international treaty requirements regarding the protection of women's rights especially against violence and abuse. Examples are offered from both domestic and international organisations on the different strategies that are used to deal with the problem. Some NGOs specialise in the provision of a given strategy, and some part take in more than one strategy. However, all the NGOs in the country part-take in at least one form of preventative strategy aimed at fighting GBV. The following section presents a discussion of how success is perceived and measured by the NGOs.

2.4 How Success is Understood and Assessed by NGOs

This section firstly defines success as it is understood by NGOs. Nanthagopan, Williams and Thompson (2018) offer a definition of success, they also argue that before assessing the impact of a given organisation, the success of the various projects carried out need to be assessed. This is followed by the importance of carrying out assessment in an NGO, assessment can be done either internally or externally, and reasons for each choice are offered. Thereafter the pros and cons of using a qualitative or a quantitative methodology when assessing the success of an organisation are also presented. The three main criteria for assessing NGO success discussed below are: the ability to achieve the vision, mission and goals of an NGO; the extent of collaboration with other stakeholders; and the level of sustainability and reputation of the NGO (Nanthagopan *et al.*, 2018). To conclude the section, a discussion is presented stating the difficulty of measuring success and/or impact of an NGO.

Success is defined as the ability to build capacity and improve performance within an organisation (Banerjee, 2006). He emphasizes the importance of ensuring capacity development, if the needs and wants of an organisation are to be effectively addressed. He further argues that success can be understood by those undergoing the change given their historical, cultural and institutional environment. Success can also be observed through a pattern of information, awareness, attitude and behavioural change (Gender Links, 2009). According to Roche (1999) success is achieved when there is significant change in the behaviour and attitude of people brought about by an action or a series of actions of an organisation.

NGOs have become more critically aware themselves of the need to assess their success, both for organisational learning and strategy development and in order to inform an increasingly discerning public supporter base (Adam, 2001). Success can be assessed both at project and organisational level. Nanthagopan *et al* (2018) argue that project success, even though time-bound, contributes to the overall success of the organisation. Furthermore, they argue that the

terms success and impact are often used interchangeably but they are different in a sense that the former can be assessed over a short period of time while the latter over a long period of time. Additionally, Oakley and Clayton (2000) and Banerjee (2006) state that impact can be influenced by external factors that the NGO may have no control over. Assessment is defined by its scope and the time given to undertake it (Firestone, 1987), and can be done either internally or externally. The self-assessment of NGOs is advocated for because of the increased likelihood of realistic findings, improved learning and better use of resources (Hailey and James, 2003). It is argued that this process should not be once-off but a continuous process so as to strengthen the capacity of those involved especially the marginalised whose interests may not be at the forefront (Fowler, 1995). Conversely, external assessment is preferred when there is a need to eliminate internal bias of the findings (Hailey and James, 2003).

In terms of the methodology used in measuring and assessing success, there is often a preference in the use of qualitative methods due to the richness in the interpretation of results (Hailey and James, 2003). However, they point out the possibility of human error and the bias that is likely to occur where participants may manipulate data so that they are viewed in a favourable light. Alternatively, the over reliance on a quantitative approach may mean that the real essence of change is not recorded or understood (Adam, 2001). Furthermore, the use of a quantitative approach involves the collection of baseline data at the beginning of the project to aid the measurement process. However, since projects evolve rapidly over time, there has been a shift from the emphasis of collecting baseline data to developing monitoring systems (Adam, 2001), which may alter the measurement processes. Below are the factors that help an NGO to understand and assess its success.

2.4.1 The Ability to Achieve the Vision, Mission and Objectives

For an NGO to achieve this mandate, its projects or strategies need to be successful and their outputs delivered in a stated time frame. While assessing success, there is a maximum time

beyond which, results will not be believable to stakeholders (Hailey and James, 2003; Oakley and Clayton, 2000). According to Nanthagopan *et al* (2018) project success constitutes the project's impact and sustainability in relation to its stated goals. In regards to the fight against GBV, Stanley (2012) argues that strategies need to be centred on areas of advocacy, awareness and service provision. In striving to achieve the vision, mission and objective of the NGO, Barnejee (2006) emphasises the importance of flexibilities in models and strategies used. He argues that this involves constantly questioning the cultural, social, political environment in which the NGO exists.

2.4.2 The Extent of Collaboration with Stakeholders

The connections and interrelations between stakeholders are critical when assessing the success of an organisation. Stakeholders include fellow NGOs, donors and beneficiaries. Barnejee (2006) emphasises the maintenance of good relationships in organisations and among stakeholders to facilitate the exchange and development of ideas that benefit an organisation, including a reasonable relationship with donors- based on trust and cooperation. Similarly, Stanley (2012) argues that it is not the duty of NGOs to eradicate GBV nor is it in their capacity to fulfil this function, they help to fight GBV by cultivating the culture of engaging with different stakeholders. According to Lister (2003) an NGO is deemed to be legitimate if can present accountably the interest of its beneficiaries and or its members. However, Fowler (1995) points out the difficulty in reaching a mutual agreement on the role of aid and operation of NGOs, especially when many stakeholders are involved.

2.3.3 The Level of Sustainability and Reputation of the NGO

This factor is linked to the above factors, when an organisation is able to meet its goals and objectives, and maintains good relationships with its stakeholders, it earns a good reputation and stands a great chance to thrive over a long period of time. To achieve sustainability, an organisation needs to have a clear model that shows its long-term goals and contingency plans

throughout its life cycle (Nanthagopan *et al*., 2018). Whereas a good reputation is achieved when an NGO can foster legitimacy through intellectual capabilities, mass mobilization, empowering and ultimately challenging the status quo (Banerjee, 2006). He also argues that sustainability is dependent on an NGO's ability to secure predictable and sustained sources of funding. Furthermore, NGOs that cannot demonstrate long term sustainability tend to lose their skilled staff, conversely if it is able to reassure longevity, their staff are motivated and it's likely to perform effectively and accomplish its core mission (Barnejee, 2006).

In conclusion, several scholars admit that assessment of success is an onerous task because its methods are not well developed and researched on (Roche, 1999; Oakely and Clayton, 2000; Pettit, 2000). This is because of the difficulty to establish causality due to the interplay of internal and external factors as well as changing circumstances (Barnejee, 2006; Patton, 2015 and Pettit, 2000). According to Roche (1999) this problem cannot be fully resolved however when tools and methods are used jointly, it enables the cross-checking of facts and a reasonable level of judgement can be reached on the success of a given intervention. The three factors discussed in the section above help to ease the process of assessing success of the strategies implemented by NGOs.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

As discussed in more detail below, this research aims to examine the challenges NGOs face hindering their fight against GBV. In the attempt to fulfil the purpose of this research, I built on the theoretical framework developed by Britton (2006), where she analyses the challenges NGOs in South Africa face as they are tackling GBV. The main challenges Britton points out are associated with three factors of funding, leadership, and methods of a given NGO.

The funding component is observed to be essential if NGO strategies are to thrive and be sustainable over a long period of time (Britton, 2006; Bazola, Mafokeng, and Rapoo, 2016). Like in Briton's study, I analyse further the sources and nature of funding available to NGOs; the extent

of dependency of NGO funding on the government and/or on certain funders; the mechanisms through which the funds are disbursed to the NGOs; and the frequency with which NGOs receive the funding, in the Johannesburg context. According to Britton (2006) when NGOs seek funding from donors, they are likely to compromise their autonomy in regards to following through the mandates they set up for their organisations. Therefore, I also explore whether NGOs in Johannesburg meet the requirements that funders put in place, and whether the funding they receive affects the way they implement their strategies. Away from the findings of Britton, I delve further into the effects of funding shortages on the human capacity of the NGOs, consequently affecting the nature of methods used to carry out the strategies.

The leadership factor speaks to the internal structure and organisational set up of an NGO. Britton focuses on the leadership aspect of the NGOs in relation to the collaboration of the state through the government representatives. I delve further into the quality of leadership as it affects the extent of collaboration with the other stakeholders such as the funders, beneficiaries (victims), and other related NGOs related in the fight against GBV. Furthermore, the skills and expertise of the rest of the staff in the NGO is also analysed. I explore whether they possess the required skills to meet the needs of the GBV victims that they serve.

The methods refer to the tools and techniques the NGOs use in their strategies in the fight against GBV. I analyse how the methods used by the NGOs can enable successful outcomes or impede the efforts of NGOs in the fight against GBV. Britton (2006) emphasises on the nature of methods used in the fight against GBV, especially in relation to the involvement of men in strategies. This research explores this aspect further, and the extent to which NGOs in Johannesburg are embracing this strategy. I also analyse how the socio-cultural setting of a given society may serve the interests of the victims or render them more vulnerable to GBV. It is argued that when methods are designed in a way that they do not suit the needs of a given society, they tend to be counter-productive (Ansell, 2001; Monyane, 2013; and Mpani and Nsibande, 2015). This research also further explores how the methods carried out by NGOs are also affected by structural factors

that are prevailing in the economy. It is pointed out that the high poverty rates among women increases their risk to GBV especially within intimate relationships (Schuler, 1992; Pickup *et al*., 2001; Ellsberg *et al*., 2014).

In summary, given my primary research question, I analyse whether the above three challenge factors stated by Britton (2006) still persist as the key challenges in NGO work, and specifically if this pertains to the area of GBV, or whether improvements have been made by the NGOs to tackle the challenges in order to achieve greater success in their work of fighting GBV.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented the literature review and conceptual framework that underlie this research. The first section of the chapter offered a discussion of the nature of GBV, where the different forms of GBV were defined, the drivers and causes of GBV were also discussed so as to better conceptualise the nature of the problem facing the NGOs, and the challenges faced by the NGOs dealing with GBV in the new democracy. The second section presented the 'promising' practice strategies carried out by the NGOs in fighting GBV. These strategies were categorised under preventative and curative strategies. The third section presented an understanding of success as perceived by the NGOs dealing with GBV. The fourth and last section presented the analytical framework of this research as developed from the work of Britton (2006). The next chapter presents the methodology of this research in the attempt to obtain the findings of this research.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology of the research. The first section presents the research design, this research follows a qualitative approach because it aims to explore the perspective of NGOs as they experience the challenges they face while combating GBV. The second section presents the methods that were used to collect data for the research *i.e.* semi-structured interviews and document analysis. I discuss the nature of the choice of questions and the documents reviewed. Seven experts were chosen for the interviews from the selected NGOs in Johannesburg. The documents analysed included Acts of law pertaining to GBV, policy documents, and academic articles and books on GBV, and policy documents. The third section of the research discusses the method of analysis of the data collected. Thematic analysis is used to make sense of the data collected from the interviews and the documents analysed. The three themes that emerged from the findings are funding, leadership and methods based on the study by Britton (2006). The fourth section presents the limitation to the research, which essentially is the limited geographical scope and the bias of the findings towards the perspective of NGOs in the fight against GBV. Thereafter a section of the ethical considerations undertaken while carrying out the research is presented. In conclusion, a summary of the chapter is presented.

3.2 Research Design

Due to the exploratory nature of the research, a qualitative approach is seen as the best fit to obtain findings to the research questions. Leedy and Ormrod (2010) state that a qualitative approach focuses on phenomena in all its complexities and how they occur in the real world. The research is informed by the constructivism paradigm which is the study of human consciousness and self-awareness, where knowledge is socially constructed, and reality cannot be generalized into a common belief (Wagner, Kawulich, and Garner, 2012). The phenomenon essentially aims

at understanding the world from others' perspectives. This research, therefore, explores the challenges faced by NGOs while fighting GBV from the perspective of the interviewees, and what needs to be done to overcome these challenges.

The research design is phenomenological where the aim is to know the shared experience of a group of people with respect to a particular issue. Creswell (2003) states that phenomenology offers a researcher the ability to identify the essence of human experience concerning a given phenomenon. The research, therefore, intends to uncover the lived experiences of NGO workers as they carry out their strategies aimed at combating GBV.

Due to the great degree of subjectivity, while carrying out qualitative research, the method of triangulation was used. Triangulation according to Adams (2001) offers an acceptable degree of objectivity to the subjective perspectives in a given research. The primary sources of collecting the data were through interviews and this data is complemented by findings from documents analysed relating to the challenges NGOs face while combating GBV, to increase the trustworthiness and credibility of the findings, consequently overcoming concerns of the validity of the data.

3.3 Methods and Instruments

The choice of a method or instrument depends on a range of circumstances like data availability, output measurability and speed with which an intervention needs to be undertaken (Wagner *et al*., 2012). Two methods were used in this research *i.e*. semi-structured interviews and document analysis.

Due to the phenomenological nature of the research, semi-structured interviews were seen to be an appropriate tool to obtain an in-depth understanding of the experiences of the key informants of the research. The interview questions asked were designed based on the research questions and the underlying themes from the literature review. The three main categories of the questions were: the generic questions aimed at collecting demographic information of the

interviewees and the NGOs chosen for the research; questions on the strategies carried out by the NGOs, questions on the challenges faced by the NGO; and any recommendations they would offer to overcome the challenges they were facing. In the course of the interviews, I kept modifying some of the questions depending on the area of GBV a given NGO specializes in. A detailed list of the interview questions is attached to appendix A.

Securing the interviews was relatively manageable as I was able to obtain all the interviews at a scheduled time. The delays I encountered were because some interviewees kept rescheduling appointments due to work commitments. Where I found it difficult to contact an interviewee, I resorted to finding out their contact numbers from previous interviewees. Obtaining personal telephone numbers also made it easy to contact them for further queries and follow up questions.

The choice of NGOs and experts was purposeful, according to Lincoln and Guba (1985) this kind of sampling aims to maximize information, and not offer generalization on a given topic. I chose to examine seven NGOs that are most established in the city and have been operating for the longest time. This is because these NGOs have an advantage of experience over challenges faced in GBV work compared to newly established NGOs. These NGOs carry out a range of strategies such as advocacy work, legal services, and psychosocial support. Similarly, I purposefully selected the interviewees for the research, they were chosen based on their experience on the functioning of the NGO, and they all hold senior positions in their given NGOs. They include gender specialists, senior strategic advisors, and operations managers. A list of the interviewee's information is attached to appendix D.

The second method used was document analysis. It is an integrated and conceptually informed method, procedure and technique for locating, identifying, retrieving and analyzing documents for their relevance, significance, and meaning (Altheid, 1996). The documents were easily accessible since they are public documents available on the internet for public use. I reviewed

key policy documents and Acts that inform GBV in the country, documents uploaded on the various NGO websites, research papers and books relating to GBV and NGO work. The data obtained from the review of the documents helped to increase the validity of the findings obtained from the interviewees.

3.4 Data Analysis

Firstly, I transcribed the audiotapes verbatim, the raw data was then coded and arranged in themes. I used thematic analysis approach to the process, analyse and interpret the data obtained. According to Wagner *et al* (2012) analysis begins with the study of the interviewee's experience, then expands to include other's experiences followed by the researcher's interpretation of the phenomenon based on the collective descriptions. The findings obtained from the interviewees and the documents are presented under themes to make meaning out of the raw data, in that way easing the process of analysing the data collected.

Through the process of coding, two main themes of strategies and challenges emerged. In an attempt to answer the central research question, the analytical framework of this research is informed by a previous study done by Britton (2006). The challenges facing NGOs she obtained were attributed to three factors of funding, leadership, and methods. This research, therefore, explores if the findings obtained in this research vary from those stated by Britton (2006). Additionally, the analysis makes use of the ecological model (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005) to get a greater understanding of how the challenges faced by NGOs are as a result of the root causes and drivers of GBV in the four categories of the individual, family, community and society settings of both the victims and perpetrators.

3.5 Limitations

This research report focuses on one city, Johannesburg is a metropolitan city with varying characteristics as compared to other cities. Therefore, findings to this report are context-specific and not representative of what occurs in other parts of the country especially the rural areas,

where their environmental context may create unprecedented challenges to NGOs.

Secondly, the work done by NGOs is greatly influenced by the perceptions of victims of GBV *e.g.* strategies carried out need to be in line with the norms and beliefs of a given community. This research, however, focuses only on the views of NGOs while fighting GBV and excludes the opinions of the victims or perpetrators of GBV. This implies that the findings are biased towards the perceptions of NGOs.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

The ethical guidelines for carrying out research were followed. Given that the interviewees were experts who are dealing with a victim of GBV, they fell under the minimum risk group of participants. Before carrying out the interviews, I applied to the Wits ethics board to obtain permission to go ahead and carry out the interviews of the selected interviewees. My application was reviewed, and I was granted the ethics clearance letter to proceed and collect the data needed for my research. The interviewees were emailed an information sheet (attached to appendix B) that outlines the purpose of the research and a request to the potential interviewee to participate in the research. Additionally, the participants were offered a consent form (attached to appendix C) stating the ethical guidelines associated with undertaking this research. The form informs the interviewee of the main ethical principles this research adheres to *i.e.* the voluntary nature of the research, anonymity, and confidentiality and that there are no risks or benefits associated with participating in this research. Furthermore, the interviewees requested, I provide them with the findings at the end of the research, which I agreed to. Lastly, regarding the documents analysed they were categorised as 'no risk' therefore they were readily available at no cost. In summary, I did not encounter any ethical challenges while I was conducting this research.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter presented the methodology of the research. Two methods were selected to obtain data that was needed *i.e.* semi-structured interviews and document analysis. The interview process was successful, and I managed to obtain the data within the required time. The documents reviewed and analysed were readily available online. The use of the two methods enabled the triangulation of the data collected, which increased the validity of the findings obtained. The data were analysed by the use of thematic analysis, the findings were categorised under themes to make sense out of them. The limitations of the study are also stated, these helped to define the scope of the research and propose future areas of research related to combating GBV by NGOs. The ethical guidelines were also carefully adhered to while carrying out this research. The following chapter presents the findings obtained from the data collected.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the research as obtained from the interviewees and the GBV related documents analysed. The findings are presented under two categories of the strategies carried out by the NGOs and the challenges that they face. The strategies include both preventative and curative measures. The research found that all the NGOs partake in preventative strategies in the form of advocacy work, while some carried out both preventative and curative strategies. The provision of health care in the form of psychosocial support is found to be the most common service offered to victims of GBV. Whereas the involvement of men especially in curative strategies was found to be the least practiced strategy by the NGOs. The challenges presented are informed by the three main challenges facing NGOs associated with funding, leadership, and methods (Britton, 2006). The shortage in funding was found to be the greatest challenge facing NGOs, affecting the quality of strategies and human capacity. Inadequate leadership is shown by the limited extent of collaboration with the government officials, and methods are hindered by harmful socio-cultural practices and ethical challenges.

4.2 Strategies

The exploration of the strategies helps in understanding the challenges as they relate to the individual practices carried out by the NGOs. A first observation is that the strategies carried out by the NGOs in Johannesburg match those that are implemented internationally. These same strategies are based on the recommendations stated in the international guidelines set to combat GBV and protect the rights of women especially in relation to living a life free of violence and abuse (Pickup *et al*., 2001;United Nations Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2015).This table illustrates the strategies of the NGOs in this research.

Table 1: List of NGOs and Strategies Carried Out

NGO	Strategy
Sonke Gender Justice	Advocacy, research
Centre for Studies of Reconciliation and Violence	Advocacy, research
Soul City Institute for Justice	Advocacy, media campaigning
People Opposing Women Abuse	Advocacy, counselling, shelter
Tshwaranang Legal Advocacy Centre	Advocacy, legal services
Nisaa Women's Institute for Women's Development	Advocacy, counselling, shelter
Frida Hartley Shelter	Advocacy, counselling, shelter

Three of the seven NGOs in this research focus on preventative strategies dealing with advocacy work. Advocacy work constitutes activities such as campaigning, carrying out training and education programs, and carrying out research. The other four NGOs do a combination of both preventative and curative strategies. The curative strategies are also referred by the interviewees as care work, which involves activities such as counselling and shelter provision.

Below I present findings on the nature of the strategies carried out and the successes the NGOs have achieved while implementing them. The strategies are categorised under: campaigning, involvement of men in advocacy work, education and training, researching, providing medical and psychosocial services, providing legal services, and providing shelter.

4.2.1 Campaigning

The NGOs either go out on the streets to campaign or launch campaigns on the various media platforms. All the NGOs in this research take part in the '*16 days of activism against GBV*', which is the largest annual campaign carried out in the country to increase awareness on GBV. Furthermore, POWA has been carrying out its annual walkathon campaign since 2017 to increase awareness on their activities and encourage women to speak about their experience of abuse as

stated by interviewee F. Interviewee B says that in their campaigns as an NGO, they incorporate the emphasis of male engagement in advocacy of GBV.

On August 1st, 2018, the country came to a standstill under the total shut down campaign initiated by NGOs and CBOs. This campaign drew attention to the GBV scourge and the need to urgently tackle the problem. It called upon the state to do everything in its power to alleviate GBV to achieve a state free of violence both in the private and public spheres (Total Shutdown, 2018).

More recently, social media has been used not only for educational purposes but to increase awareness of gender violence (D'Ambrosi, Papakristo and Polci, 2018). An example of this is the #MeToo movement where women have used different social media platforms to share their experiences on sexual gender-based violence (SGBV). The movement has increased awareness of how SGBV is pervasive in both the private and public spheres. Locally, hashtags such as AmINext? NotAgain *etc.* have had the same effect in encouraging a continued conversation on SGBV and women empowerment in the city of Johannesburg. All the interviewees state that they use social media to increase awareness about their programs and to launch virtue campaigns that can reach more people within a short period with little to no cost. The excerpts below illustrate how social media has contributed to the success attained by the NGOs while carrying out campaigns.

"We have a very present social media presence, so we are actively posting either statistics, or what's happening in and around, victims of GBV, how we can help, how other organisations can help."(Interviewee A)

"Social media has helped us advocate our work, CSVR doesn't have an actual facebook page but we have used the hashtags such as #EndVAWNow on various platforms to launch some of our campaigns and increase awareness on ongoing programs."(Interviewee B)

"Without it (social media) we wouldn't be known as widely, we write articles and share on our social media platforms, and we answer questions and engage with people in communities." (Interviewee F)

"Some of the people reaching us are responding from something they saw from our social media platforms meaning we are reaching a lot of people by using our social media platforms."(Interviewee D)

"Our work is greatly influenced by our social media presence, we have managed to capture the attention of the youth especially regarding the work we do. We have been exposed more domestically and internationally because of social media." (Interviewee G)

Additionally, mainstream media outlets like radio and television are used by NGOs to disseminate information on GBV and related health issues in communities (Mpani and Nsibande, 2015). For example, Soul City Institute of Justice under its fourth series campaign has launched various programs to increase awareness on GBV and sexual reproductive health awareness matters (Gender Links, 2009).

However, the media has also been criticised for reinforcing gender stereotypes *e.g.* when messages are presented to portray women as sexual objects existing to fulfil male desires (Gender Links, 2009). There are times when messages accompanying campaigns are misinterpreted and are perceived to threaten masculinity or patriarchal beliefs, which can cause more harm than good. Interviewee C says that her NGO had a similar experience in one of their online campaigns, where they did not anticipate the backlash that followed.

"We once launched a campaign which stated that 'you are only half a man if you rape a woman' and images accompanying it portrayed an image of a man as half a man and half a beast. That brought a lot of criticism and backlash to the NGO, ultimately affecting our campaigning targets." (Interviewee C)

She says that this was perceived as all men are 'beasts and irredeemable', so they had to change their messaging to be more neutral calling it: *'Consent is Sexy'*. On the other hand, it is also argued that messages that are very victim-centered tend to reinforce negative stereotypes of women being weak and helpless which may reduce the seriousness of the problem (Masimanyane Women's Support Centre, 2011).Furthermore; women's voices are not always represented adequately through media (Gender, 2009). The Gender and Media Baseline Study found that males control the narrative surrounding GBV, where their voices are more likely to be heard through different media platforms (Gender Links, 2005). Part of the reason for this is that the majority of GBV stories emanate from the courts where court processes are male dominated (Gender Links, 2009).

Lastly, the NGOs incorporate the needs of the marginalised in communities such as sex workers while carrying out campaigns and advocacy work. The positive policing partnership campaign was formed by Sonke Gender Justice in collaboration with Sex Workers Education and Taskforce Team (SWEAT) as a vehicle to drive solutions aimed at improving the operational policing experience of sex workers and other marginalised groups in communities (Sonke Gender Justice, 2018). They argue that the platform has enabled meaningful collaborative engagements and partnerships between civil society, policing and government entities. Interviewee F states that as an NGO they work closely with lesbian victims of abuse in programs meant to empower and uphold their rights as humans.

4.2.2 Involvement of Men in Advocacy Work

It is argued that women's needs cannot be tackled in isolation but in relation to the needs and concerns of men (Eade and Williams, 1995). Therefore, NGOs have increasingly involved men in their advocacy programs to encourage them to challenge patriarchal beliefs and condemn GBV (Mpani and Nsibande, 2015). Sonke Gender Justice as an NGO has greatly involved men in their advocacy work. Interviewee D states that this NGO is part of a male consortium called *Men*

Engage, a platform that educates men on the issues relating to GBV, while interviewee C and F involve men in their advocacy work through partnering with male organisations.

"We have a positive experience working with Men Engage and men generally. Men who have been in those workshops commit to change in behaviour and attitude and join up with efforts to end GBV."(Interviewee D)

"We work with men too in our advocacy work, we understand that women usually go back to stay with their abusers, also men feel threatened when women go out and seek assistance, so there are programs for them as well, with some of the organisations we work with." (Interviewee C)

"We deal with them (men) through partnering, where our partners speak on behalf of men and we for the women, it works better when men are challenged by other men to stop abuse. Some of our funding also requires that we partner with male organisations." (Interviewee F)

Additionally, Sonke Gender Justice has a '*one-man can'* toolkit which teaches men different elements of taking action against domestic abuse and sexual violence to promote healthy, equitable relationships that men and women can enjoy passionately, respectfully and fully (Sonke Gender Justice, undated).

The work done in Men as Partners (MAP) workshops has shown that men have managed to change negative attitudes towards women to consider them as equals; they also recorded behavioural changes through constantly challenging traditional norms of masculinity (Peacock and Levack, 2004). They state that the MAP initiative aims at establishing healthy relationships between spouses and their families. EngenderHealth (undated) states that it is important that men are involved in fighting GBV, as men usually have power in decision making in sexual relations and reproductive health issues such as condom use.

On the contrary, interviewee A states that the focus of her NGO is on women victims and the ability to meet their needs in the event of abuse, and that they do not have programs dealing with men or perpetrators.

"We focus on the women who are usually the victims of GBV, statistics show this. Therefore, we focus our energy on the victim not the perpetrator." (Interviewee A)

Interviewee E points out the importance of having male rehabilitation programs, as some victims contact them to find out what options they have on how to deal with their male abusers.

"*We cannot force them to say: hey leave the husband, we just advise and give them options about male organisations that can help out. So, you find that most of them are phoning for someone to tell them something, but they do not want to report to the police." (Interviewee E)*

Male involvement in GBV also constitutes the rehabilitation of male perpetrators of abuse through therapy or counselling (Pickup *et al.,* 2001). However, none of the NGOs in this research have programs that rehabilitate male perpetrators, their mandates emphasise the provision of care to victims (women) of abuse. Agisanang Domestic Abuse and Prevention Training (ADAPT) is the only NGO in the country that offers counselling services to male perpetrators individually and as couples (ADAPT, undated). In the excerpt below interviewee F states the work done by her NGO in regards to the rehabilitation of male perpetrators of abuse.

"Even with the counselling you do get males who call us, that they are in an abusive relationship or am an abuser we often refer them to male groups. We have a database; we know where to send them."(Interviewee F)

4.2.3 Education and Training

As part of the advocacy work done by NGOs, they carry out seminars and workshops to educate and train people in communities on matters relating to GBV. Interviewee F and interviewee C say that, they are aware that NGOs are incapable of reaching all people from their centres, therefore they go out to communities to train and educate leaders and elders in communities on how to tackle GBV. They believe that the increased involvement of different stakeholders reduces the stigma attached to the problem in communities. Interviewee C says that it works to their advantage that the NGO she works in has long-term experience training in communities, therefore it is easy for them to identify programs and activities that work. While interviewee E states that her NGO trains people in communities about their legal rights in the event of abuse.

"We have done work in schools, teaching about sex and reproductive health for a long time now. We talk about vulnerabilities and dangers while in intergenerational relationships. This has helped us also in designing future programs that suit a given community." (Interviewee C)

"We go out in communities and educate people teaching them how the law works and what to do when dealing with the police, and when applying for protection orders." (Interviewee E)

Secondly, NGOs carry out training in schools. This training is done according to the guidelines that are set by the Department of Education (DoE). The DoE has a duty to establish the required schools' code of conduct, offer relevant training material to educators; and to develop a curriculum to address GBV in schools (DoE, 2011). NGOs have initiated programs in schools to educate children on safe sex practices and the available sexual reproductive health services. Interviewee C points out the TeenzAlliance program that they carried out in schools that were dedicated to this initiative.

Training is also offered to the NGO staff to ensure that victims of GBV receive quality care services, and that they are less prone to secondary trauma. Training of NGO staff is in the form

of debriefing and regular counselling, for example interviewee E says they offer regular debriefing to paralegals before they can offer assistance to victims of abuse. Interviewee D says that their NGO trains volunteers who go out in communities to do advocacy work and that it is important to the organisation that they are committed and follow ethical standards.

4.2.4 Research

Two out of the seven NGOs in this research and the country as a whole carryout extensive research on GBV, in collaboration with other research institutions. Interviewee B states that research at CSVR is informed by lived experiences of victims and vice-verse where victim's lives are enhanced by the research findings that are obtained. Interviewee C agrees with this, she says that:

"The issue is that advocacy is dependent on the issues that emerge from the front line, they are informed by what is happening. For example, complaints from victims on how they are treated at police stations inform policy reforms." (Interviewee C)

GBV research is done to assess the performance of the NGOs dealing with the problem. The interviewees state that each of their NGOs has a monitoring and evaluation (M&E) team or person that carries out occasional reviews to assess the success of the strategies in place and in the process identify strategies that work and need scaling up. The excerpts below illustrate the contribution of the M&E teams in the research work done within the NGOs.

"We want to be able to say to the planner that what we thought initially is not going to work and this is what we found, can we change the project so that we are able to address this gap and whatever challenge is at the baseline." (Interviewee C)

"We have done major randomised control trials in Diepsloot, in collaboration with other institutions to assess the impact of community mobilisations, and on our overall GBV projects in the area. The results from that research were quite promising." (Interviewee D)

"We go in communities and interview people, on their perceptions on some of the programs that we have implemented, that way we get to assess how effective our programs have been." *(Interviewee E)*

Additionally, through the Shukumisa coalition, representatives from NGOs and CBOs carry out research to assess the performance of different institutions involved in the fight against GBV such as the police, health care practitioners, and court officials. (Shukumisa, 2017a). They argue that the process also informs them on how to strengthen the relationship between the NGOs and other institutions entrusted to help combat GBV.

4.2.5 Providing Medical and Psychosocial Support

The SOA (2007) emphasises that victims of sexual violence have a right to PEP within 72 hours of a rape incident, at designated medical health services. According to Vetten (2015b), victims have a right to services ranging from acute care trauma to medium- and long-term services. All the three NGOs offering care services have social workers and counsellors at their main offices hired on a full-time basis to offer psychosocial services. Counselling services can be offered directly or through telephone/helpline services to victims who are far from their centres. The excerpt below states the convenience that telephone counselling offers to victims of abuse.

"It is difficult and costly to open up offices in all provinces therefore we offer telephone counselling for those who are far away. We identify the problem and if we cannot help, we refer them to other professionals in their areas." (Interviewee E)

Additionally, the Stop Gender Violence Helpline (SGVH) is a nation-wide service that offers telephone counselling services to victims of GBV. The service ensures that callers are offered information on available services to facilitate a continuum of care by providing referrals to other actors in the GBV space (Machisa *et al.,* 2011).

Lastly, TCCs have eased the provision of both medical and psychological services consecutively, especially in cases where the centres are located in hospitals (Foundation for Professional Development, 2016 and Shukumisa, 2017). Interviewee F says they have representatives in 2 TCCs, while the other three NGOs offering care services state that they offer temporary services at the centres. According to Padmanabhanunni and Edwards (2014), the lack of adequate counselling services has greater effects on victims belonging to minority groups such as the LGBT people and sex workers. Therefore, to achieve success from psychosocial services, this strategy should be designed to meet the individual needs of victims (Shukumisa, 2016), as opposed to generalised approaches that often ignore the needs of the marginalised in societies.

4.2.6 Providing Legal Services

NGOs offer legal support to victims of GBV by offering legal representation to victims especially during court proceedings. The main mandate of TLAC as an NGO is to offer legal services that focus on justice for women and girls who have experienced abuse or are under the threat of violence (TLAC, 2017). They argue that the access to legal representation minimises secondary trauma since it reduces the number of times victims are asked to retell their stories. Interviewee E from TLAC says that their staff consists of paralegals, lawyers, and advocates who offer services of legal representation, legal advice, and case monitoring. Other NGOs in this study refer victims to related non-profit organisations for legal services such as MOSAIC, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), and Legal Aid.

The provision of legal support to victims of GBV by NGOs is greatly linked to the duties performed by law enforcement officials in the country (Prinsloo, 2007). Interviewee E says that victims need

help to follow up charges placed at the police and ensure that their cases do not drop out of the system. Legal support services are afforded to victims of domestic violence and sexual violence under the DVA and SOA respectively. Under the Acts, victims have a right to protection orders (POs) and the maximum and least traumatising experience that the law can provide (Artz, 2011 and Artz, 2009). The custodians of the duties stated in the Acts are the members of the criminal justice system mainly the SAPS and the NPA. The SAPS are responsible for reporting and investigating sexual and domestic violence offences (Shukumisa, 2017a, and Vetten, 2015b) while the NPA is responsible for instituting criminal proceedings on behalf of the state and to carry out necessary functions to proceedings (Vetten, 2015b). The NPA through its SOCA unit established TCCs and sexual offence courts to increase the conviction rate of GBV perpetrators and fast track sexual assault cases (Shukumisa, 2017a). They also argue that at TCCs, victims are required to undergo a medico-legal examination that a health care practitioner performs on a victim, which eventually acts as evidence to substantiate sexual assault cases.

4.2.7 Providing Shelter

Three out of four of the NGOs that provide care services run shelters for abused women and their children at their centres or from another location. Shelters are important to help victims seek safety from their abusers to break the cycle of abuse. Watson and Lopes (2017), state that abused women often endure abuse due to lack of alternative housing for themselves and their children.

The National Shelter Movement of South Africa (NSM-SA) and the Women's Shelter Movement (WSM) are collective organisations that coordinate shelter initiatives provincially and nationally across the country to meet the shelter needs of women facing GBV (NSM, undated; WSM, undated). Through the platforms, they aim to increase awareness of shelter services; strengthening and building capacity in shelters and advocating for policies aimed at improving shelter services. Interviewee C says that Nisaa spearheaded the NSM-SA, a platform that advocates for women's right to descent shelters, and to ensure that the shelters are operating

within the minimum standard of service delivery. According to a report compiled by Nisaa in 2017 regarding the welfare of abused women, it says that life at the shelters helps victims to grow emotionally and psychologically while preparing them for life after their shelter experience. Interviewee A states that their shelter ensures that victims have access to other related services needed to meet their needs in the event of abuse, among other things, the access to medical assistance and legal support services.

"We offer a variety of activities at our shelter on top of the safe accommodation: job skills training, counselling, an internal crushe to protect the children of the abused women, medical assistance and we help the ladies who have opened up cases to attend court and make sure that the proceedings go well."

(Interviewee A)

4.2 Challenges

The section below presents what are deemed to be the challenges facing NGOs while carrying out their strategies. The challenges discussed below are funding shortages, inadequate leadership and inappropriate methods.

4.2.1 Funding Shortages

All four of the NGOs in this research that carry out curative strategies such as the provision of shelter, legal services, and counselling to victims of GBV are predominantly funded by the government. Whereas the three NGOs that focus mainly on advocacy work receive the vast majority of their funding from donors and private companies.

NGOs experience a shortage in funding needed to effectively carry out their work. Care work done by NGOs is not considered to be critical social investment, therefore it is less prioritised and underfunded (Department of Welfare, 1997). It is reported by some of the interviewees that funding especially from the government to fund for care services is limited and usually doesn't match their needs when trying to carry out the strategies, as is stated below.

"The funding we get from the government is only enough to cover the counselling department, meaning the pay for the social workers and social auxiliary workers. It is frustrating because this only covers salaries and administration costs." (Interviewee F)

"It is a struggle running the shelters as funding is low and we also depend on donations from charity organisations and proceeds from fundraising events which are also low."(Interviewee A)

"We once carried out a project called the 'true cost of sheltering' which looked at the cost of housing a woman and not just offering accommodation. These costs were found to be significantly high and difficult to acquire with the limited funding we get from the government." (Interviewee C)

Regarding shelter provision, the Victim Empowerment Program (VEP) under the DSD states that victims have a right to safe sheltering in the event of abuse (DSD, undated). However, the DSD has no statutory duty to provide and fund for these shelters, resulting in haphazard and fragmented responses to GBV by various service providers (Simpala, 2012), and inadequate resourcing towards this effort throughout the country (Adonis and Lopes, 2018). NGOs working on the VEP tend to be funded less than those providing services in other social welfare areas. The VEP receives between 1% to 2% of DSD's overall budget, and the allocations to women's shelters may range from 25% to 49% (Natasha Adonis and Claudia Lopes, 2018). Additionally, they state that the DSD funding to shelters can range from as low as R9 a day to a slightly more generous rate in other provinces but none which exceeds R7 a day, and that shelter staff are paid a meagre R600 a month. This funding shortage results in shelters closing down as they are unable to operate with such constrained resources (Lopes, 2018).

Likewise, the provision of psychosocial services is said not to receive adequate attention under the legislation, both the SOA (2007) and DVA (1998) do not explicitly state how these services can be accessed and provided for to victims of abuse (Artz, 2011 and Prinsloo, 2007). They argue that this affects the amount of funding that is dedicated to the provision of the service. This

leaves NGOs with a great task of finding additional funding needed for the provision of the psychosocial needs of victims of GBV.

The problem of the limited funding from the government has been exacerbated by the mismanagement and misallocation of funds meant for the NGOs dealing with GBV, as is evident from the interviewees in the excerpts below.

"There have been various scandals with the department of social development and how money has been given to certain NGOs in the gender sector, money was once distributed through an NGO which is illegal, and there was a lot of information on that in the news."(Interviewee C)

"There was a lot of research that was done with regards to the care work that we do, and we found that the department of social work gave a huge chunk of money to an organisation that was run in Nkandla and it was not in various news and online, this money would have been enough to fund all the NGOs." (Interviewee C)

"Organisation like ours do not get the funds but you find out some other organisations get those funds and they are newly established and they do not have a portfolio, so there is obviously a lot of internal politics and if you are not willing to bribe people, then they won't process your application and unfortunately that's not how we function." (Interviewee A)

"When the government puts out tenders, they only give it to someone who they have earmarked for that. It is a known thing- they have people that they work with. So, they put out tenders based on their policies, but recipients are already known." (Interviewee E)

"The level of corruption in the last 9 and 10 years has been enormous and that has taken a lot from the fiscus, so as much as they (the government) want to do a lot of things physically the money is not there, so that's a challenge to us too." (Interviewee D)

Furthermore, the DSD has been criticised for reducing post subsidies to NGOs while increasing salaries of its workers and paying high costs to commercial providers (Shukumisa, 2016). They also argue that the program subsidies are often low and do not enable NGOs to effectively carry out their strategies. This is improper given that NGOs offer services that are part of the government's obligations (DSD, 2011).

Like government funding, donors have steadily reduced funding especially to NGOs that are not involved in advocacy work as stated by the interviewees. Interviewee F states that their funding from donors is never guaranteed over long periods. She also offers an example where a funding agreement with some of their donors is yet to expire, and they do not have the assurance of future funding of their activities amidst the unpredictable economic times.

"Our funding from international donors is declining. It is not like in the past, after the recession they focussed on funding advocacy issues, they say that we are a middle-income country and should be able to take care of social ills like GBV." (Interviewee F)

"We got money from Global Fund and NACOSA, however that grant ended this March. We realised there will be trouble in terms of getting alternative funding." (Interviewee F)

Furthermore, it is also noted that donors are attracted to NGOs that include minority groups in their intervention strategies, which is a minority of the NGOs working under GBV. For example, interviewee E says that recently donors are motivated to work with NGOs that involve the LGBT victims of abuse.

Similarly, the private sector in South Africa contributes very minimally funding wise to NGOs fighting GBV as stated by the interviewees below.

"Unfortunately cooperates in South Africa concentrate more on what is topical, what can give them direct returns in the immediate and never consider investment in social capital, which for me is much more long term and sustainable."(Interviewee D)

"We wish the private sector will come more on board to support our work because GBV affects them too, it is a national crisis. The money is there, it is just that GBV is not a priority to most of the corporate organisations." (Interviewee G)

"We obtain funding from the private sector through the corporate social investment initiatives that fund violence against women, but this contribution is very limited, GBV does not interest a lot of companies unfortunately." (Interviewee C)

The year on year funding from the private sector makes it difficult to plan long term (Shukumisa, 2017a). For example, they state that the funding from the National Lottery Commission is highly limited and periodic in nature, reducing the amount of funding that is already constrained. Additionally, interviewee D states that global affairs have a direct link with what happens to the country's economy and its continued dependency on external donors.

"It is also about structural issues related to the global economy, the current set up unfortunately is not favourable to our regime, and essentially it serves to maintain the existing status quo. So, it is up to our leaders to begin to improve our economic engagement globally, so that we benefit and compete equally on the global scene."(Interviewee D)

One of the consequences of the limited funding is that NGOs are unable to pay their workers market related wages. It is noted that social workers in NGOs are being paid less wages than those working in the government doing similar work, regardless of their work experience (Shukumisa, 2018b; National Coalition of Social Services, 2018). Moreover, the DSD since 2015 has been reducing the budget share for social services by 3% while increasing salaries of its own staff at a rate higher than inflation (DSD, 2016). The low wages that they are paid have prompted them to seek employment in the government instead, working under the DSD. Interviewee F affirms of the discrepancy between the salaries paid to their social workers in the government and those working in the NGOs.

"If you look at social workers working in the government, they have better salaries than those working for NGOs, the money is there but it is a lack of political will on issues of GBV that we have to deal with. Our work is equally important to that done by social workers in the DSD, so we deserve equal pay too. So, one of the greener pastures is the DSD itself because they pay social workers higher salaries. It is rare that a social worker leaves one NGO for another because our challenges are the same." (Interviewee F)

It is also reported that funding from the government may have conditions attached to it. According to interviewee D sometimes the funding from the government is such that they cannot pay their workers above a certain wage rate and this can create a problem especially if they usually earn above the stated rate. He says that they encounter challenges to come up with this balance needed to top up their worker's salaries.

"We have scales on which we are remunerating our staff but at times the government dictates that for certain programs you cannot pay above the stated rate, which creates a dysfunction for us. So, we have to find ways to top up, because we can't pay less to our colleagues than people who are doing similar work, which is a challenge for us." (Interviewee D)

Secondly, it is observed that the shortage in funding means that NGOs cannot afford to hire additional staff when needed, therefore the existing staff is overworked as a result. Interviewee E says that due to the limited funding, they are forced to hire less lawyers and take up fewer cases despite the high demand for legal services while interviewee C says that failure to hire additional staff forces them to multitask and take up extra duties.

"We used to have a full-time staff, now it is only paralegals who we employ full time, and this affects the number of cases we can take up because attorney charges can be high that's why we pay the attorney per case." (Interviewee E)

"We cannot afford to hire additional staff when needed. You find yourself becoming a 'Jack of all trades' because we do not have money to allocate one person for a specific role. So, most of our staff take up more than one role at a time." (Interviewee F)

However, interviewee C states that the presence of a board of directors has contributed to the overall improved quality of workers in the NGOs. Interviewee C says that their board of directors has individuals with varying expertise who offer leadership and direction to other workers and the NGO as a whole.

"Members in our board of directors are professionals and have wide experience in this field, they are aware of the issues at hand. Some of them are previous victims of GBV, so they mentor and offer direction to the workers and the NGO as a whole." (Interviewee C)

Thirdly, the limited funding encapsulates the central tensions among the groups working to end GBV as it creates competition for the scarce public, private and international funding that is available (Britton, 2006). She further argues that when donors started to request accountability and demonstration of success and achievements, NGOs tended to compete along the lines of

race, class and ideological divisions. Interviewee F says that competition arises when it is assumed that NGOs that have been operating the longest have an advantage in receiving funding from the government compared to the new NGOs. She says:

"It comes as a surprise because we are working towards the same cause there should not be jealousy, or competition and I guess this stems from the issue of lack of resources." (Interviewee F)

In addition to being granted low funding, it is said that NGOs are subjected to restrictive, costly and unreasonable financial processes that are designed for commercial service providers when they seek funding from the government (Shukumisa, 2016). Interviewee C says that such processes cause stress to them as an NGO.

"Last year we were forced to register as a service provider, and we are not. Our funding was delayed because of this and it caused a lot of undue stress in trying to fill in something that you do not necessarily want to fill in, especially because we are not a service provider to the government." (Interviewee C)

Additionally, the interviewees that obtain funding from donors state that one of the requirements of their funding is that they undergo an evaluation process as a requirement for continued funding. However, measurement of performance is not always easy because of the difficulty in setting up adequate performance indicators as stated by interviewee G.

"In order to maintain funding, we need to meet the deliverables as expected by our funders, but sometimes the work we do is difficult to quantify, and measure progress adequately and that can be problematic to our end, and in a way affects our funding prospects." (Interviewee G)

Lastly, on a macro level, the lack of reliable statistics to quantify the prevalence of GBV in the country has affected the funding that is directed to the country from external donors as pointed out by interviewee B below.

"South Africa once missed funding from the UN women because of the lack of data to substantiate the extent of GBV on a national level added to the fact that data is not disaggregated where VAW is lumped together with other crimes such as common assault."(Interviewee B)

4.2.2 Inadequate Leadership

The inadequate leadership within the NGOs affects the extent of collaboration with other stakeholders involved in the fight against GBV. The NGOs have reported having trouble working with senior officials in designated government departments, where they face bureaucratic barriers, have limited powers to negotiate terms and conditions of their work, and the difficulty that comes with the change of government officials as stated by the interviewees below.

"When we are working with the government, sometimes we are required to get permission from court and we are times not granted, even when the information is for public use, they think we are spying on them."(Interviewee E)

"Working with the government can be a challenge. For example, at some point they were forcing us to take in victims who have been trafficked in sex trade, but we are not equipped to deal with such cases." (Interviewee C)

"When you think you are getting somewhere with a government official or representative then another person comes in and having to bring them on board in terms of where you are, depending on their personal interest they may not be interested in your area of work, their priorities and interests may be different." (Interviewee B)

However, interviewee B says that they have a good record of working with some of the government institutions, and there are times where her NGO has represented the country on an international platform. She says:

"We have a more collaborative than a confrontational relationship with the government. For example, we have a very good relationship with the ministry of women and the commission on gender equality, which is why it is easy for them to call us in case they need some technical support on different areas of their work." (Interviewee B)

Secondly, when NGOs are working in communities, they may experience political interference from the ruling party. Interviewee D states an incident where their research results were refuted by the community in question where their leaders claimed that the research findings portrayed their leadership in a bad light. However later on they were backed up by the community members on the validity of their research. He says:

"It was a main political party in Diepsloot, who challenged our findings. They felt that the results indicated failure in their leadership. So there were threats that they would not allow us to do more work in the area. But we took this matter to the forum established by the community and they supported us since we worked in a transparent manner and we offer feedback constantly." (Interviewee D)

Thirdly, the TCCs model has been criticised for portraying power imbalances where the NPA officials have more powers at the centres compared to other stakeholders, and that the role of NGOs is not adequately acknowledged (Foundation for Professional Development, 2016, Vetten, 2015b).

4.2.3 Inappropriate Methods

The methods carried out by the NGOs are affected by the socio-cultural and economic setting of a given society. The interviewees state that harmful social norms and practices hinder the progress of their advocacy strategies. In the context of Johannesburg, it is observed that there is an accepted culture of intergenerational relationships. Young girls who engage in such relationships are vulnerable to abuse given the unequal power dynamics that may exist (Monyane, 2013). Interviewee C states that these relationships are at times encouraged by parents provided there is a monetary exchange.

"This is especially the case for girls coming from more poverty-stricken areas, they are more vulnerable to these relationships, they are required to engage in inappropriate sexual relations in exchange for money, and their parents do not necessarily discourage it because sometimes they are putting food on the table." (Interviewee C)

These intergenerational relationships are also reported between teachers and learners. In South Africa, some male teachers particularly have been identified as perpetrating rape against school girls (Human Rights Watch, 2001).Mncube and Harber (2012) state that:

"Twenty-seven complaints of sexual misconduct against teachers were received by the South African Council of Educators between January and October 2008, and in some cases the teacher-learner relationships took place with the consent of the children's parents based on some kind of financial agreement."

It is reported that boys in schools are more prone to physical abuse while girls to verbal and sexual abuse (NSP-GBV, 2017). A nationwide landmark study done to investigate the safety environment in schools stated that 32% reported that they felt unsafe while 15% reported being forced into sex (Gender Links, 2009). As per the SOA (2007) teachers are obligated to report

sexual violence offences in schools to the concerned authorities, however, Jewkes *et al.,* (2002b) report the lack of adequate infrastructural support in schools to facilitate this process.

Interviewee G states that the high levels of poverty especially among women reinforce the gender inequality gap and women become more vulnerable to abuse as they stay in relationships because of the financial dependency on their abusers.

"We try so much to empower women through our advocacy but if these women are themselves not empowered economically or financially, it becomes difficult to remove them out of abusive relationships. So the government needs to work with us in that regard to improve the economic situation facing women." (Interviewee G).

Interviewee B also affirms the fact that harmful norms reinforce the belief that men and women are not equal, and this often justifies or perpetuates GBV in societies. She says:

"In my view GBV is more of a manifestation of pervasive gender inequalities. So it is not only about GBV, it speaks to issues of economic inequalities, issues of land, it cuts across, so as long as there are inequalities or gender inequalities, then GBV is likely to persist." (Interviewee B)

Furthermore, despite the increased involvement of men in GBV matters, patriarchal norms and beliefs deter men from joining advocacy programs initiated by NGOs. Interviewee B points out the difficulty and stigma that still exists with male involvement in GBV matters.

"What was interesting is that, under the community works program, participants (including men) in four or six communities had to choose what focus area they would work in, either, substance abuse, parenting, engaging men and boys but none of them chose the area of engaging men and boys in GBV, even though our intention was that at least one of them do that. So despite the fact they were trained none of them did that."(Interviewee B)

The attempts to involve men in advocacy or rehabilitation strategies towards GBV are also hindered by the lack of clear policy guidelines to implement this strategy (Shukumisa, 2017a). According to Mpani and Nsibande (2015), it is not easy to rehabilitate abusers when their behaviour is normalised and re-enforced by patriarchal beliefs in societies.

Traditionally there are some practices that place women under the threat of GBV, yet they are not considered illegal. This causes confusion as to what extent NGOs can eradicate the practices as they are fighting GBV. For example, the practice of *ukuthwala,* which is an irregular method for commencing negotiations between the families of the intended bride and bridegroom directed at the conclusion of a customary marriage (Shukumisa, 2016). They argue that in its extreme form, it constitutes rape and abduction of children as young as 12 without their consent to enter marriage. This constitutes violation of the women and girl's constitutional rights of dignity, freedom, privacy and security of the person (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). The practice is regulated in the Children's Act (38 of 2005) without condemning it, this causes confusion on the legality of the practice among the different stakeholders entitled to implement legislation relating to GBV (Shukumisa, 2016), including NGOs.

The practice of virginity testing is also considered to be harmful to young girls. According to the Commission of Gender Equality (2005), it makes women and girls sole bearers of social repercussions of unsanctioned sexual activity. They state that the practice discriminates on the grounds of gender and impairs the dignity and well-being of the girl child, violating their constitutional right to privacy and bodily integrity. The Children's Act 38 of 2005 criminalises the practice for girls under the age of 16; however, there is no regulation for older girls over 18 years of age (Shukumisa, 2016).

Secondly, methods used by the NGOs are hindered by ethical challenges related to carrying out GBV research, where the violation of ethics guidelines can result in negative consequences, which impedes efforts of their work. During campaigns when victims are asked to talk about their

experiences, they are likely to face some unintended consequences which could place them in a worse situation than they were before the intervention. This may undermine the credibility and trustworthiness of some of the NGOs and the work they are involved in. Interviewee B offers an example of how advocacy through research and public speaking can subject the victim to further trauma.

"We did not anticipate what the impact of publicly speaking on their experience could be, and now we having to deal with those consequences were survivors are going straight to the union buildings saying: 'you made me speak out and now am finding myself in a more compromised situation than I was before'."(Interviewee B)

Interviewee B also points out ethical concerns when their researchers are also subjected to trauma as they are carrying out GBV related research.

"It can also be triggering as well for we as researchers in the organisation because we are also women and a lot of us are women and survivors too and this can be triggering of our own experience working in this space."(Interviewee B)

Ethics are also easily compromised when dealing with participants who are minors. By law anyone who is aware of engagement of underage sex is required to report to the concerned authorities (Bhamjee, Essack, and Strode, 2016). However, researchers in NGOs are faced with a dilemma of either reporting the offences or maintaining confidentiality with their interviewees (Strode and Slack, 2009). Bhamjee, Essack, and Strode, (2016) state that:

"Reporting of intergeneration sex may create mistrust and unease in the therapeutic and research relationship and result in the refusal to disclose partner's ages which may impact on prevention services and counselling."

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter presented the main findings obtained from this research as obtained from the interviewees and the analysis of documents relating to challenges NGOs are facing in the fight against GBV. These findings are presented under the strategies carried out and the challenges faced while implementing the strategies. I observed that the strategies carried out by NGOs in Johannesburg are aligned with what is considered to be the 'promising' strategies when fighting GBV in literature. Funding challenges are due to limited funders, mismanagement of funds, and poor mechanisms of disbursing funds. The inadequate leadership is linked to the poor extent of collaboration with other stakeholders especially the government representatives. Lastly, the methods used are hindered by harmful socio-cultural practices and ethical challenges while carrying out GBV research. The following chapter presents an analysis of these findings.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the findings presented above, obtained from the interviewees and documents analysed. This analysis is informed by the analytical framework based on the study done by Britton (2006) on the challenges faced by NGOs in South Africa in the new democracy. This analysis reflects on the above findings on the challenges in the context of this framework and the three main challenges of shortage in funding, inadequate leadership and inappropriate methods. I observed that these challenges have persisted many years after the country's transition into democracy. The shortage in funding remains as the leading challenge facing NGOs fighting GBV. Furthermore, the research shows that the inadequate leadership is evident in the weak collaboration that persists between NGOs and the government representatives. The research goes further to analyse the extent to which NGOs collaborate with other related stakeholders, and consequently how these collaborations enhance the work they do in the fight against GBV. The socio-cultural and economic barriers of a given society are also identified as a major hindrance to the success of the methods used by the NGOs. The patriarchal and harmful traditional norms and practices, and high poverty levels have proven to slow the progress of NGOs in their work. To conclude the chapter, I analyse the findings through the ecological model (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005), where the risk factors of GBV are analysed to inform the challenges faced by NGOs. This analysis is discussed under the spheres of the individual, family, community, and the society.

5.2 Shortages in Funding

The shortage in funding still persists as the main challenge facing NGOs fighting GBV in the country. This shortage is exacerbated by the fact that NGOs are greatly dependent on funding from the state and donors, with limited alternatives to securing funding. Similarly, donor funding is limited and highly competitive to secure by the NGOs, for example sometimes they are required to meet certain requirements that are not always part of their mandates. Recently donors are interested in NGOs that include men and other marginalised groups which disqualifies a significant number of local NGOs that focus mainly on women and girl initiatives. Nonetheless, NGOs recognize the importance of affiliating with donors whose values and principles are aligned with theirs (Hooykas, 2014), a prerequisite necessary for attaining success in an organisation. On the contrary, I observed that NGOs that are directly funded by donors are not greatly affected by funding shortages. This is because there has been a shift from what was observed by Britton where donor funding was channelled through the state and was subjected to the bureaucracies and inconsistencies associated with government funding. Currently, donor funding is granted directly to the NGOs in question. Additionally, the research suggests that global economic affairs tend to influence the amount of funding available from both the government and donors, for example during a recession funding from donors is observed to decrease significantly. Likewise, the economic affairs within the country including the high level of corruption contribute to the funding shortage that the NGOs experience.

Furthermore, according to Banerjee (2006) success within an NGO is attained by the ability to build capacity and improve performance within an organisation. However, in the absence of adequate funding, the quality of the human capacity in NGOs is compromised. With low funding workers are paid low wages, are not regularly trained, and tend to be overworked. It is noted that social workers at NGOs are paid lower wages compared to those working in the DSD, which offers them a less incentive to work for NGOs. Secondly, regular training requires a budget that NGOs lack as they are often operating with constrained resources. Consequently, the untrained

workers tend to offer low-quality services to victims of GBV, and they also stand a chance of experiencing secondary trauma from the work they are involved in. Thirdly, NGOs cannot afford to hire additional staff during peak times, therefore their workers are overworked as a result, which leads to staff burnout. However, the presence of a skilled board of directors has shown to mitigate some of the negative effects of inadequate funding on human capacity, as they offer leadership and direction for the NGOs which has improved the overall success of NGOs fighting GBV.

Lastly, the preference of donors in the funding of advocacy strategies, as opposed to care work, has made NGOs dealing with curative strategies more financially constrained. The provision of shelters as a strategy is affected the most because it requires high financial commitments to set up and maintain, which does not incentivise most NGOs to provide the service. As argued by Pickup *et al* (2001) NGOs prefer offering short-term help to victims of abuse to minimise incurring large costs. Initiatives such as the NSM have somewhat eased the financial burden placed on individual shelters as the limited resources are used jointly across the shelters. Regardless of this effort, there is a need for more and continued funding towards shelters to ensure their sustainability. In theory, the government is obligated to allocate budgets towards shelters for victims of abuse, but the funding is never adequate to effect the implementation of this strategy. Moreover, most donors are also not inclined to provide funding for infrastructure setup for NGO shelters (Barnerjee, 2006), making the funding towards this strategy more constrained and difficult to acquire.

5.3 Inadequate Leadership

The challenge of inadequate leadership affects the extent to which NGOs can establish suitable ties to collaborate with other stakeholders involved in the fight against GBV. Britton (2006) focused on the significance of the collaboration of NGOs with the state, but this research went further to analyse how the extent of collaboration with other stakeholders determines the level

of success an NGO dealing with GBV can achieve. It is observed that the work of NGOs cannot thrive in isolation, its success is dependent on the role of other stakeholders entrusted in the fight against GBV. For example, the collaboration of the police helps legal representatives in NGOs to follow up cases to courts to ensure that victims of abuse receive the legal protection that is afforded to them by the law.

The findings suggest that NGOs greatly collaborate, especially amongst themselves while carrying out both preventative and curative strategies. For example, they have referral contacts from other NGOs in case a victim needs a service that is not available at their centres. The collaboration amongst the NGOs is also beneficial to them as it minimises the duplication of programs (Bazola and Mafokeng, 2016), which eliminates the wastage of the limited resources. Furthermore, there is a great collaboration between NGOs and their donors, especially those that are greatly dependent on donor funding to run their activities. The interviewees who obtain the majority of their funding from donors state that to ensure continued funding they submit a regular assessment and accountability of their activities.

The extent of collaboration with beneficiaries should be seen to be commendable, as is evident with the advocacy work done by NGOs through already established CBOs *e.g.* the Total Shut down campaign in 2018 was made possible by the collective efforts of both the NGOs and CBOs. The creation of rapport with beneficiaries is important as it eases the identification of the needs of the members of the communities, especially those belonging to minority groups.

However, the extent of collaboration with government representatives can be improved so as to enhance the success of the NGO work. For example, as stated by interviewee D, the lack of clear communication between them and a political party in a certain community hindered the progress of their research work. Therefore, NGOs are obligated to work transparently and in a consultative manner to earn the approval of the leadership within the communities in which they operate. The lack of effective collaboration with government representatives is also evident in the role of

NGOs at TCCs as is argued by (Vetten, 2015b). There is a significant power imbalance among stakeholders in TCCs with NGOs having the least power and autonomy, where their workers are exploited and their contributions at the centres not adequately remunerated. Such dynamics hinder NGOs from pursuing more institutionalised forms of social change as argued by Britton (2006).

5.4 Inappropriate Methods

The methods used by NGOs in carrying out strategies are sometimes hindered by external factors arising from the communities in which they serve. Nonetheless, I observed that the NGOs are flexible in their methods while carrying out strategies, this is especially the case with NGOs that deal with advocacy programs, where they structure them in ways that suit the needs of a given community. The influence of cultural and societal values were cited as one of the drivers of GBV, as argued by Monyane (2013) and Ansell (2001) some traditional practices by nature are designed in a way that women are subordinates to men, which often times creates grounds on which abuse towards women is justified, causing a challenge for NGOs while they are working in communities. Intergenerational relationships that are common in a city such as Johannesburg are indicative of the high levels of poverty, especially among women. Therefore, these relationships are condoned in societies as they are considered to be a source of income to young girls and their families. This calls for the increased need to incorporate economic skills training in advocacy programs carried out by NGOs so that to alleviate the high levels of poverty and dependency of women in communities today. Furthermore, it indicates that some of the challenges faced by NGOs in their work are structural and have to be tackled in association with other key economic policies.

Furthermore, another aspect that builds more on the findings of Britton is that, increasingly women are seeking justice through reconciliation other than punishment which calls for increased male rehabilitation programs aimed at reuniting families. From the findings it is observed that none of the NGOs partake in rehabilitative programs for male abusers, this

indicates a shortage of this strategy from the NGO sector. However, it is emphasised that the choice of rehabilitation of a perpetrator as opposed to seeking legal justice should come from the victim and that community-based interventions ought to be sensitive to the needs of the victim (Moult, 2005; Pickup *et al*., 2001), an aspect that was not emphasised in Britton's study. From the interviewees the NGOs emphasise on the provision of their services to women, to improve their overall welfare both socially and economically. Similar to what was argued by Bowman (2003) they argue that success of male rehabilitation programs has not been adequately researched on. This explains their reluctance to devise strategies that aim at rehabilitating male perpetrators of abuse.

Lastly, the findings of this research highlight the effect of socio-cultural norms and beliefs of a community while devising methods aimed at fighting GBV, this factor was not emphasised by Britton in her study. The findings suggest that the deeply entrenched patriarchal beliefs in most communities in South Africa, manifest in the way the strategies carried out by NGOs are not well received by men as they are perceived as threatening traditionally held norms of masculinity. Therefore, the intervention strategies carried out by NGOs may jeopardize the safety of women in communities as argued by (Pick *et al*., 2001). This calls for socially and culturally sensitive methods if strategies carried out by the NGOs are to be effective. Furthermore, harmful cultural practices are continuously practiced due to a lack of clear legislation to regulate them, therefore the abuse towards women tends to persist in communities. These laws are often considered legal under customary law, however, there is a need for continued deliberation on their legality based on the country's constitution. The ethical challenges that affect the quality of research carried out by the NGOs is a new component that has been observed from the findings of this research as it was not explored in the study by Britton.

5.5 The Ecological Framework in Relation to the Challenges Facing NGOs

According to systems theory, violence is regarded as an interactive system, where patterns of relating within the family structure interact with the contextual factors *i.e.* the social, cultural, familial and individual (Lau, 2009). This helps to shed a light on the multi-dimensional nature of GBV and the importance of devising nuanced strategies that meet the needs of the victims in question. The ecological framework as discussed by Ellsberg and Heise (2005) further builds on a systems theory approach. They argue that GBV is as a result of the interaction of four spheres which determine the likelihood of being a victim or perpetrator of GBV. They include the individual characteristics, family dynamics, community interactions, and society norms and laws. These factors above can help NGOs to understand the risk factors of GBV and figure out how these translate to the work they do hindering their success and impact in communities.

Individual characteristics involve the personal experiences that can act as risk factors for GBV incidents to occur, they include childhood trauma of witnessing conflict, child abuse, and alcohol and drug abuse. Social workers at NGOs need to have an in-depth understanding of personal triggers as they relate to victims of GBV. This knowledge informs especially the psycho-social support strategy, as argued by Summerfield (1992) the needs of individuals vary therefore the counselling and guidance that they are given ought to be tailor made to suit the needs of the victim in question. Furthermore, individual traits determine the way in which a victim reacts to treatment post a traumatic event. Victims who are prone to post traumatic stress disorder may require additional support services which necessitates for close collaboration of NGOs with health professionals and other related support systems. The structure of the TCCs in this respect is commendable; therefore it should be maintained and further strengthened.

Family dynamics inform GBV especially within intimate partner relationships and domestic violence incidents such as between a couple, parents and children, and other extended family members within a household. When victims are abused and violated by their intimate partners

and caretakers it becomes harder to break the cycle of abuse as the victims are often dependent on their abusers. The findings have shown that secure shelter for victims of GBV is crucial for their recovery after a traumatic experience. However, this service is not readily available to victims because it requires large investments which most NGOs cannot afford. Therefore, victims are forced to stay with their abusers increasing their chances of experiencing further GBV. Another risk factor of GBV within the family dynamic is unemployment and poverty. There is a feeling of powerlessness associated with not being able to meet societal expectation of manhood, due to poverty and unemployment attributed to violence in households (Wood and Jewkes, 2001). Furthermore, intergenerational relationships are prevalent in Johannesburg because of the economic hardships facing families, which forces young girls to fend for themselves in the process they are drawn to such relationships that are usually abusive due to the power imbalances that exist in such relationships.

Community interactions refer to the perceptions of the roles of women within families and the communities at large, peer group dynamics of young girls and boys, and the level of socio-economic status of women and communities (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005). As alluded to earlier, victims need psychosocial support to deal with the traumas associated with GBV. In most traditional settings, this kind of support is entrusted to the elders of the community who do not necessarily have the training to offer counselling to victims of GBV, those in conflict are often advised to resolve matters within the family. Such dynamics create a challenge for the NGOs working in communities they are not familiar with, where they need to put in the extra effort to earn the trust of the members in that community before their strategies can be effective and successful. The poor quality of services to victims is further exacerbated by the lower socio-economic status within certain communities. With restrained resources the fight against GBV is not considered as a priority crisis. Furthermore, to minimize the effects from delinquent peer groups, NGOs need to strategise on effective advocacy programs that empower the youth, while

working collaboratively with other law enforcing agents to hold them accountable in case they engage in harmful practices like alcohol and drug abuse.

The societal laws and norms also inform the challenges NGOs face while combating GBV. The laws in a society determine the effectiveness of the policies formulated, and subsequently the amount of funding that is allocated to various causes such as GBV. As stated above, the amount of funding allocated to NGOs fighting GBV often does not match the needs to effectively combat the problem, causing the problem to gradually persist. Similarly, GBV is not prioritised by the private sector, because donors do not see a direct link between their investment in the problem and the returns from fighting it. However, in reality GBV is a public health issue and greatly influences the productivity of the labour force of the country as a whole. Furthermore, some customary laws contradict with the protection of the rights of women and young girls, and a reasonable consensus on how these should be implemented is still an element of debate especially in societies where traditional practices are still held in high regard. On the other hand, the state has succeeded in setting up laws that have legitimised the practice strategies carried out by the NGOs. However, there is still a challenge in enforcing these laws as GBV is still largely viewed as a private matter, therefore regardless of the legal structures in place, NGOs and CBOs bear the brunt of ensuring the problem is adequately resolved within the communities that they operate in.

Secondly, regarding the societal norms, patriarchal beliefs tend to justify the power dynamics in societies between men and women, greatly impeding the efforts of NGOs. This is because culturally sanctioned beliefs, even though harmful, are difficult to unlearn and are often justified by both the victims and perpetrators of GBV creating a vicious cycle of abusive patterns that at times result in death. Furthermore, these beliefs also tend to contradict established ethical guidelines, as researchers and social workers may have internalised negative stereotypes of victims of abuse in a male informed society. Lastly, it is evident that the challenges faced by the NGOs at the societal level are a manifestation of the challenges present at the individual, family

and community level because they all inform the risk factors of both the victims and perpetrators of GBV. Therefore it is important to tackle the challenges at all these levels in order to effectively combat the problem.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented an analysis of the findings obtained from the interviews and the documents analysed. The analysis was based on Britton's (2006) framework of the three main challenges facing NGOs that are the limited funding, inadequate leadership and inappropriate methods. I analysed the similarities and differences of my findings in comparison to what was found by Britton. Funding remains the leading challenge facing NGOs. The quality of leadership within an NGO determines the extent of the collaboration of other stakeholders. However, NGOs in Johannesburg lack the adequate leadership to help them achieve effective collaboration. The methods of implementing some of the strategies have proven to be challenging for NGOs. The findings suggest that the harmful socio-cultural norms and practices also impede the progress of NGOs while fighting GBV. Furthermore, an additional factor of the ethical challenges faced while carrying out research hinder the success of NGOs while fighting GBV. Lastly, the findings were analysed under the ecological framework lens to achieve a greater understanding of the challenges faced by the NGOs as informed by the risk factors of GBV. The following chapter presents the conclusion of this research.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The primary research question aimed at examining the challenges NGOs face that hinder their fight against GBV. This chapter begins by offering a summary of the findings and analysis on the challenges obtained in the research. Recommendations are then proposed to NGOs on how to overcome these challenges. Given that the shortage of funding is the leading challenge facing NGOs, my research suggests that NGOs ought to devise more creative means of obtaining the funding needed to sustain their programs and activities. Further, findings suggest that inadequate leadership calls for more training and the increased use of social media to affect the collaboration amongst the different stakeholders; the harmful social practices require that NGOs are more socially and culturally sensitive in their methods while implementing strategies. Furthermore, as observed strategies carried out by NGOs are guided by laws and policies enacted by the government, recommendations to public policy are also stated. The research proposes for increased gender mainstreaming in policies and greater NGO representation in their institutions. In conclusion of the chapter, areas of future research are proposed.

6.2 Summary of the Challenges

The three main challenges found in this research are the shortage in funding, inadequate leadership and inappropriate methods while carrying out strategies. The funding shortages are as a result of limited funding sources, lack of proper mechanisms to transfer the funds to the NGOs, and the mismanagement and misallocation of funds especially from the government. Secondly, inadequate leadership is due to the lack of adequate skills and training of the management and junior staff of the NGOs, which hinders the level of collaboration of the NGOs with other stakeholders, and ultimately the extent of success NGOs can attain while carrying out their strategies. Thirdly, the inappropriate methods are as a result of lack of the right expertise

in the NGOs to carry out the strategies, and the harmful socio-cultural norms and practices in the communities where the NGOs serve, which tend to reinforce negative gender stereotypes that perpetuate GBV regardless of the efforts of NGOs to combat the problem.

To understand the challenges that the NGOs face in the fight against GBV, I reflected on the underlying drivers and causes of GBV. The ecological theory presented by Ellsberg and Heise (2005) showed that there is a link between the causes of GBV and how NGOs ought to tackle the problem. The theory emphasises that GBV is multi-dimensional and affects people at either an individual or communal/societal level. I delved into the 'promising' strategies of NGOs, they involve a variety of practices that can be categorised under preventative and curative measures *i.e.* they should be centered on advocacy, awareness and service provision as argued by Stanley (2012). Furthermore, I reflected on the perceptions of NGOs on success while fighting against GBV. The three main criteria for success are the ability to achieve the vision, mission and goals of an NGO; the extent of collaboration with other stakeholders; and the level of sustainability and reputation of the NGO (Nanthagopan *et al.*, 2018). In order for NGOs to overcome the challenges that they face, they need to seek greater funding to carry out their strategies to overcome the challenges, improve skills training to their stuff so as to improve leadership, and be socially and culturally sensitive with the methods they use while carrying out strategies.

6.3 Recommendations

This section offers recommendations of the challenges discussed in this research. Firstly, are the recommendations to the NGOs and then followed by the recommendations to public policy.

6.3.1 NGOs

Given the above-stated implications that are a result of the funding shortages, NGOs need to devise creative means of acquiring additional funding to ensure longevity and sustainability of strategies. For example, and drawing upon Nanthagopan *et al*., 2018, NGOs can more regularly send out proposals to donors; advertise their services on websites and different platforms; and

lobby for increased funding from the state (Shukumisa, 2016; Shukumisa, 2017a; Shukumisa, 2017b) because GBV is proving to be a national crisis bearing economic costs to the country. Interviewee E proposes that NGOs should start operating like business if they are to acquire financial stability. These methods can also act as contingency plans to help NGOs secure additional funding, especially during recessions. Additionally, NGOs need to adopt more flexible strategies that factor in the needs of minority groups among others the LGBTs, sex workers, and migrant women, that way they can attract different donors increasing the pool from which they can receive funding for their activities.

Secondly, NGOs need to increase and improve their use of information, communication and technology systems to effect the collaboration and coordination amongst themselves and other stakeholders, especially in this era of the increased use of social media. Additionally, NGO workers need to be continuously trained on leadership skills to improve the nature and extent of collaboration with other stakeholders. This will ensure that NGOs implement strategies that are relevant and inclusive of all members in the communities; programs will not be duplicated, and policy lobbying with government representatives will be done more easily and effectively.

Lastly, regarding the harmful socio-cultural practices, NGO workers ought to be sensitive to the practices, beliefs, and norms of a given community, so that their programs are more successful in the communities they work in. This can be achieved by closely working with beneficiaries (victims) of the programs in the communities in a transparent manner. This has proven to be effective especially when creating psycho-social programs needed for victims of abuse or the rehabilitation of the perpetrators of GBV.

6.3.2 Public Policy

The government needs to ensure increased gender mainstreaming across all the departments so that GBV is treated with greater attention, especially with respect to funding strategies aimed at alleviating the problem. Additionally, interviewee E recommended the finalizing of the National

Strategic Plan to fight GBV (NSP-GBV) that is costed as the current one is just a shadow report. The costing of the GBV agenda as opposed to demanding resourcing will show the level of commitment the state has towards fighting GBV. Furthermore, this will address implementation challenges, as programs will be rolled out at the right time, and future events will easily be planned for.

Given that there is increased advocacy for programs that involve men in strategies, the government needs to form policies that guide the implementation of this strategy to ensure that it is not carried out at the cost of the victims of abuse who need more attention and care services. Furthermore, cultural practices that threaten the rights and freedom of women especially those in rural areas need to be constantly reviewed and amended. This calls for thorough consultation of policies with the public before they are passed as laws.

Furthermore, there is a need for increased involvement of NGO representatives in the provincial and national spheres of government as they are more in touch with the needs of the people on an ongoing basis, this will ensure the better coordination of programs. In other words, NGOs need to be more involved proactively in policy implementation other than reacting towards the shortages in policy gaps. This effort should be coupled with increased representation of women both in the government and corporate spheres.

6.4 Future Research

Given the stated limitation of this research *i.e.* it is focused on the Johannesburg area, future research can compare these findings with those that NGOs in rural areas face while combating GBV. This is vital given that context and socio-cultural factors have an impact on the degree of success achieved by NGOs as they carry out the strategies intended to combat GBV. Furthermore, while carrying out this research, I found out that there is inadequate research on the effectiveness of male rehabilitation programs in respect to fighting GBV. Future research ought

to explore this strategy further especially because increasingly women are seeking justice through reconciliation as opposed to punishment of their abusers.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Questions:

1. ***Generic questions***

a) What position do you hold in the NGO?
b) How does the NGO understand its mandate as regards to fighting GBV?
c) What are the main services offered by this NGO to victims of GBV? (Legal, Shelter, Health, Economic/financial).
d) Do you have collaborations with other NGOs fighting GBV? If yes, please name them.
e) What professional skills (work experience) do workers in the NGO possess?
f) Is the volunteering staff given training? If so, how often?

2. ***Strategy Questions***

a) How do you acquire financial resources? Do you have freedom in fundraising resources?
b) How has the corruption especially relating to state capture affected the securing of funds to provide for the needs of the organisation?
c) How often (annually) do you carry out campaigns, workshops?
d) How do you make use of the social media platform to reach and inform the public about activities?
e) How do you deal with the male perpetrators of abuse?
f) What are some of your strategies that have resulted in unwanted consequences or increased GBV, and why?
g) How do you understand or assess the success of your programs and activities? (stakeholder relationships, sustainability plans)

3. ***Challenges Questions***

a) What challenges do you face as an NGO that hinder the fight against GBV?

b) What limitations do you face by carrying out self-assessment of programs and activities?

4. ***Recommendations***

a) What suggestions would you propose that would make your work more impactful in the fight against GBV?
b) Lastly, do you have any questions for me relating to this interview?

Thank you for your time!

APPENDIX B

Participation Letter



Dear Sir/ Madam

I am conducting research for the purpose of obtaining a Master's degree in Management in the Discipline of Public Policy (School of Governance) at the University of the Witwatersrand, under the supervision of Professor Erin McCandless. The aim of my research is to explore the challenges Johannesburg NGOs in Johannesburg face in the fight against Gender-Based Violence.

I am requesting you part-take in this study, participation will involve a one on one interview with me, at a time that is convenient for you. The interview will last approximately an hour. With your permission this interview will be recorded to ensure that whatever you tell me will be analysed and interpreted accurately. All of your responses will be kept confidential, and any information with identifiers will not be included in the research report.

The interview recordings will be for my use as I undertake my research and will be destroyed immediately after. Participation in this research is voluntary, and you may refuse to answer questions that you prefer not to and may choose to withdraw from the interview at any point.

This research intends to offer recommendations to NGOs on how to overcome challenges faced in relation to GBV based on their perceptions and international promising practices. If you choose to participate in the study please fill in your details on the form below, for any queries/further information please contact me on +27790337783.

APPENDIX C

List of policy documents analysed

1. Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998.
2. Sexual Offences and Related Matters Act Amendment Act 32 of 2007.
3. South African Integrated Programme of Action Addressing Violence Against Women and Children (2013-2018).
4. 365 Day National Action Plan to End Gender Based Violence, 2007.
5. Shadow Report: The National Strategic Plan 2017.
6. Integrated Programme of Action addressing Violence against Women and Children (POA)-2013

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND JOHANNESBURG

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26 September 2019

Dear Annelies Rwebangira,

Title: Challenges Non-Governmental Organizations in Johannesburg Face Hindering the Fight Against Gender-Based Violence
Student Number: 1728269
Degree: Masters in Management in the field of Public Policy
Ethics Clearance Number: *WSG-2019-39*

Your ethics application has been received and considered by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Wits School of Governance.

Your application was reviewed and your ethical clearance has been approved. You may continue with your data collection under the guidance of your supervisor.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any queries.

Yours sincerely

Professor Pundy Pillay
Research Director

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